

THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE EARLY OTTOMANS:
A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE FOUNDATION OF
THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by

FAHRİ DİKKAYA

Department of History

İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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by

FAHRİ DİKKAYA

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January 2015

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Prof. Dr. Halil İncik
Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Prof. Dr. Suna Güven
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Doç. Dr. Marie Henriette Gates
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Evgeni Radushev
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE EARLY OTTOMANS: A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE FOUNDATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Dikkaya, Fahri

Ph.D., Department of History

Supervisor: Halil İnalçık

January 2015

This dissertation aims to evaluate the socio-economic structure of the Early Ottoman Period, and is based on an archaeological approach to reconstructing the early Ottoman state and its foundation. In this context, the settlement patterns of the region between Eskişehir and Bilecik and their reflection on settlement distribution and modification from the Late Byzantine to Early Ottoman Periods will be analyzed and interpreted using archaeological and historical data through the reconstruction of the Early Ottoman landscape in the region.

The dissertation first examines archeological evidence relating to the Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman periods, including pottery and architecture. In the second part, it presents the extant evidence for and critical analyses of the relevant historical data dating a period from Mantzikert to Bapheus Battles. Through these evidences, the collected data from archaeological survey in the research area in Eskişehir and Bilecik provinces are analyzed. In this analysis, the data is discussed in

the methodology of historical archaeology, especially documentary archaeology based on examining archaeological artifacts and historical texts together. Lastly, this study investigates the settlement patterns of Early Ottoman State in the research area and its reflection of social and cultural phenomenon characterized by the frontier (*uç*) cultural atmosphere.

The research area was the conjunction and interaction area for two main cultural complexes, which were newcomers Turkmens and local Byzantines. The effect of these two cultural complexes to the settlement pattern was based on settlement strategies in the topography and the frontier social and cultural phenomenon in the both societies. In this context, the restricted and problematic topography and the pastoralist system determined the cultural, political and economic landscapes.

Keywords: Early Ottoman, Osman I, Late Byzantine, Anatolian Seljukid, Ottoman Archaeology, Historical Archaeology, Documentary Archaeology, Archaeological Survey, Settlement Pattern

ÖZET

ERKEN OSMANLILARIN TARİHSEL ARKEOLOJİSİ: OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU'NUN KURULUŞUNA DAİR TARTIŞMALARA YENİ BİR YAKLAŞIM

Dikkaya, Fahri

Doktora, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Halil İnalçık

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Bu çalışma, Erken Osmanlı Döneminin sosyo-ekonomik yapısını değerlendirmeyi amaçlamaktadır ve bu değerlendirme Erken Osmanlı Devletini ve onun kuruluşunu yeniden inşa ederken arkeolojik bir yaklaşıma dayanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Eskişehir ve Bilecik arasındaki bölgenin Geç Bizans Döneminden Erken Osmanlı Dönemine geçişteki yerleşim düzeni ve bu düzenin yerleşim dağılımı ve değişimi üzerindeki yansıması analiz edilecek ve bölgedeki Erken Osmanlı manzarasının yeniden inşası üzerinden arkeolojik ve tarihsel verilerin kullanımı izah edilecektir.

Tezde, ilk olarak Geç Bizans ve Erken Osmanlı dönemleriyle ilişkili seramik ve mimariyi kapsayan arkeolojik kanıtlar incelenmiştir. İkinci bölümde, Malazgirt Savaşından Bafeus Savaşına kadar geçen dönemin tarihsel verilerinin analizi tartışılmıştır. Bu iki bölümde ortaya konulan veriler üzerinden, Eskişehir ve Bilecik illerinde yapılmış olan arkeolojik yüzey araştırmasında toplanan veriler incelenmiştir. Bu inceleme sırasında, veriler tarihsel arkeolojinin yöntembilimi

içerisinde tartışılmış ve özellikle arkeolojik maddi kültürleri ve tarihsel metinleri birlikte ele almaya dayanan belgesel arkeoloji açısından ele alınmıştır. Son olarak, bu çalışma, araştırılan alandaki Erken Osmanlı Dönemi yerleşim düzeni ve bu düzenin uç kültürel atmosferi ile karakterize olan sosyal ve kültürel fenomeni araştırılmaktadır.

Araştırılan alan, yeni gelen Türkmenlerin ve yerel Bizans'ın kültürel yapıları arasında karşılaşma ve etkileşim alanıdır. Bu iki kültürel yapının yerleşim düzenine etkisi topografyadaki yerleşim stratejisine ve bu iki toplumun sınırdaki sosyal ve ekonomik fenomenlerine dayanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bölgenin sınırlı ve sorunlu topografyası ve pastoral sosyo-ekonomik yapısı, kültürel, politik ve ekonomik yapılarını belirlemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erken Osmanlı, Osman Gazi, Geç Bizans, Anadolu Selçuklu, Osmanlı Arkeolojisi, Tarihsel Arkeoloji, Belgesel Arkeoloji, Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırması, Yerleşim Düzeni

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Archaeology and history, both explain their epistemologies by studying the past. Thus, a dialogue between archaeology and history is a must. Archaeology first sprang out of philology of ancient historical documents (Champion 1990: 89) as a part of history in the modern world. The transformation of archaeology from “handmaiden of history” to independent discipline which collected artistic artifacts (Austin 1990) was the first period in the history of archaeology. However, as a result of processual archaeological fraction in the 1950s and 60s, archaeology met history in the New World Archaeology again, and “Historical Archaeology” was founded as a new field of enquiry. Thus, archaeology constructs itself as historical in orientation (Trigger 1984: 295) and expresses itself as a historically based discipline (Little 1988: 264). Similarly, history notices that archaeological enquiry has become a vital element for historical interpretation (Knapp 1992: 3). Interdisciplinary collaboration between archaeology and history has advocated a fundamental contribution for

knowledge and a *critical* approach of enquiry and exposition. Semiotic insights contribute to archaeological and historical interaction dialogically, interpreting one another reciprocally and critically (Funari 1997: 190; Petrilli 1993: 360). Thus, the nature of evidence, for archaeologists and historians alike, has been regarded as the concept of subjectivity in interpretation which was formulated by Collingwood who was an archaeologist (Collingwood 1970), but acted also as philosopher and historian (Funari 1997: 191).

In this study, historical and archaeological evidences will be examined to grasp Early Ottoman social and political contexts and their impact on the foundation of the Ottoman state. The Ottoman state was founded around 1300 as a small *beylik* on the frontiers of the Anatolian Seljukid State and of the Byzantine Empire. The settlements dated to this period were determined by archaeological survey carried out as the fieldwork component of this thesis. The general aim of this survey is to examine settlement patterns of the Early Ottoman period, and to study how landscape and settlement strategy was affected by the socio-cultural contexts. A settlement pattern may be defined as “the arrangement of population upon a landscape” (Price 1978: 165) to explain socio-cultural, political and economic structures determined by landscape and environment. The settlement means “the local context wherein the community is presumed to have resided and to have gone about its daily business” (Chang 1968: 3). Thus, settlement patterns help explain how members of a community lived, ensured their subsistence, and constructed their social functions.

In this study, the research area was the conjunction and interaction region between Anatolian Seljukid/Ottoman cultural areas and Byzantine cultural areas with the borderland’s (*uç*) local characters. The region was located in the borderland between two provinces, Phrygia Salutaris and Bithynia, in the ancient

Roman/Byzantine periods also. In this period, Dorylaeum (modern Eskişehir) was the biggest city in the region, and Thebasion (Söğüt) and Belekoma (Bilecik) were other important settlements.

The research area is situated on the borders of modern Eskişehir and Bilecik provinces (Map 1). The research area covers about 600 km² and is enclosed within 36° 33' UTM Zone/Datum. The general geographical and topographical structures were formed by the Sangarius and Porsuk rivers and mountains. Eskişehir Plain covered with a thick alluvium soil layer, is one the most arable plains in Western Turkey and lies parallel to Sündiken Mountains at the North and Turkmen Mountains at the South. Porsuk Creek, ancient *Tymbris*, and its branches flow in the plain in a west-east direction. Porsuk Creek is formed of two branches coming from Kütahya province, but these two branches unite in Çukurova at the borders of Eskişehir province. In Eskişehir, the creek unites with Kunduzlar, Kargın, Ilicasu, Mollaoğlu, Sarısu, Keskin-Muttalip Brooks respectively and Purtek Creek while approaching the Sangarius River. Sarısu, ancient *Bathys*, flows in the western part of the plain, and unites with Porsuk in Karagözler village near the Eskişehir city center. The Sarısu brook formed the “Sarısu Plain” which is a part of Eskişehir Plain, covered with a thick alluvium soil. Upper Sakarya Plain formed by the Sangarius River is another basin located in the northern border of research area. It is neither as flat as Eskişehir Plain, nor as arable. The plain is covered partly with a thick soil layer, and floods of the Sangarius River were common in the past before the construction of the Gökçekaya dam.

Another topographical unit in the research area is the mountains surrounding those plains. The Sündiken mountain chain in the north is a part of North Anatolian Mountains or Pontic Mountains, ancient *Paryadres* or *Parihedri*. The Sündiken

Mountains run in the east-west direction, and extend from the eastern part of Eskişehir Plain to Bozüyük in the west, to Bilecik in the north. High plateaus in the Sündiken Mountains determine economic activities such as animal husbandry in the region; in contrast, the valleys are convenient for agricultural activities. The Türkmen Mountains at the South of Sarısu Plain and the Domaniç Mountains covered the research area in the south. The highest point of the research area is the Türkmen Mountain at 1825 m., and some villagers in the region still move from their village to Türkmen Mountain as a summer quarter with their flocks. In a geological context, some of the important economic resources in the region are iron, gold and marble. Iron ore in the Küre mines was extracted in great amounts in the Early Ottoman period. The other metallurgical resource of the region is gold. Gold deposits are located in Söğüt, one of the resource-rich gold deposits in Turkey. But, gold mines in the region weren't documented in historical texts. Another rich resource in Söğüt is marble, but it wasn't documented in historical texts, either.

The earlier archaeological investigations in the region were conducted by early European travelers who passed through the area (Chesneau 1887; Dernschwam 2014; 1992; von Rauter 1880; Sanderson 1931; Leake 1834; Mortdmann 1925; Barth 1860; Dutemple 1883; Texier 1862; von der Goltz 1896; Dernburg 1892; Hartmann 1928). To our knowledge, the first scientific archeological reconnaissance of the region was carried out by two English archaeologists, Cox and Cameron, in 1936-37 (Cox & Cameron 1937). In 1939, a well-known Anatolian archaeologist, Kurt Bittel surveyed in the region, and wrote very significant information about Karacahisar in the publication of his survey (Bittel 1942). As a result of this survey, he excavated in Demircihöyük as a rescue excavation in 1937, and wrote a report about the result of this excavation in 1942 (Bittel & Otto 1939). Demircihöyük was again excavated by

Korfmann between 1975 and 1978. There is not any information about Byzantine and Ottoman periods in the publication of Demircihöyük (Korfmann 1983). The Early Bronze Age sanctuary area of the site was later excavated by Seeher between 1990 and 1991 as a rescue excavation (Seeher 2000). After Bittel, Haspels surveyed the region, but focused on only Phrygian and other Classical sites in the region (Haspels 1971). The first long-term archaeological excavation in the region was conducted by Darga in Şarhöyük/Dorylaion between 1989 and 2004. Taciser Sivas continued the excavations until her death in 2013. In the excavation reports of the site, there is no information about the Early Ottoman period. Sivas conducted an extensive archaeological survey in Eskişehir, Kütahya and Afyonkarahisar provinces between 2001 and 2005. In the reports of this survey project, she determined some Ottoman settlements although she focused on mostly Phrygian sites (Sivas 2003; 2004; 2005; 2009). Another archaeological survey in the region was conducted by Turan Efe between 1993 and 1995. His survey in Kütahya, Bilecik and Eskişehir provinces was based on finding prehistoric sites, especially the Early Bronze Age as his main research period. Therefore, he did not look at any Ottoman or Byzantine settlements in the region (Efe 2001; 2007). Efe excavated in Külluoba and Orman Fidanlığı as prehistoric settlements in Eskişehir region. In these sites, according to reports, there is no Ottoman level (Efe 2001; 2007).

The earliest archaeological researches in the region related to the Early Ottoman Period were conducted by Altınsapan and Parman. In 2001, Altınsapan excavated Orhan Gazi İmarethanesi in Bilecik as a rescue excavation. His detailed and interdisciplinary archaeological research in Bilecik shed light on the Early Ottoman Period of Bilecik in its archaeological context. He published the archaeological results in 2003 (Altınsapan 2003). Another Ottoman archaeological

excavation was conducted by Ebru Parman in Karacahisar between 2000 and 2002 (Parman 2000; 2001). According to reports, the excavation strategy was based on the fortification walls in the settlement. The Karacahisar excavation began under the direction of Altinsapan in 2008 again. He found some working areas, houses and a zaviye in the settlements.

In historical studies over the past 90 years, the emergence of the Ottoman State has become the subject of an ongoing debate between Ottoman historians. The main questions of historians in this dispute have been why Osman and his successors accomplished their success and why they, rather than other *beğlik*, rose to dominance. These questions and their analysis by the first group of historians, Gibbons, Köprülü and Wittek, provided conflicting interpretations, and provoked debates around the relation of history to nationalism and of history to orientalism. In his book entitled *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, first published in 1916, Herbert Adams Gibbons, as the first modern historian who initiated this issue as a topic for academic discussion, claimed that the Ottomans as Asian “barbarians” could not have been willing to construct such a complex and significant state. Therefore, a new “race,” constituted of converts to Islam from Christianity as a “creative force,” founded the Ottoman administrative practices that were mere continuations of the Byzantine bureaucratic practices. As a result of this, according to him, the Christian converts were the main foundation elements behind the Ottomans, and their state was merely a continuation of the Byzantine Empire (Gibbons 1968). In the 1930s, Fuad Köprülü and Paul Wittek were strong opponents of Gibbons’ thesis. Although Köprülü and Wittek both favored the same methodology, examining the “social morphology, culture and institutions” of the frontier, they reached significantly different conclusions. Köprülü first rejected

Gibbons' thesis of institutional continuity between the Byzantine and Ottoman administrative practices, and argued that the Ottomans were trained in Seljukid administrative practices, as they came to Anatolia before the Mongol invasion and lived through the Seljukid and Ilkhanid periods (Köprülü 1931; 1999). Later, in a series of lectures delivered at the Sorbonne in 1934, Köprülü rejected again the idea of the continuation of Byzantine bureaucratic practices in the foundation of Ottoman Empire. He argued that the rise of the Ottoman state was the success of Turkish tribalism (Köprülü 1992; 2006). After Köprülü, in a series of lectures delivered at the University of London in 1937, Wittek announced his well-known theory as the *ghaza* or *ghazi* thesis (Wittek 1967). In the *ghazi* thesis, he argues that the emergence of Ottoman polity was based on military frontier society as the *milieu* of *ghazis* with religious fervor who were mobilized across the Byzantine frontier in the 13th century. According to him, Osman Beg and his followers applied this *ghazi* ethos to expand their *beğlik* to Empire. Although the *ghazi* thesis of Wittek has been criticized by many scholars since its first formulation in 1937, this thesis became the dominant paradigm for explaining the origin of the Ottoman Empire until the 1980s.

In 1980, Halil İnalçık brought up the emergence question again in his influential article entitled *The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State*. İnalçık suggested a new dimension to the emergence of the Ottoman state that was Turcoman "population pressure" in the 13th century. He accounted for the dynamism of conquest and innovation through the militaristic-political leadership of Ottoman *begs* with newcomers in Bithynia and Rumelia (İnalçık 1980). After the trenchant intervention of İnalçık about the question of the emergence of the Ottoman state, the issue became one of the most significant discussions between Ottomanists. In 1983, Lindner published his book *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* in which he

suggested that the early Ottomans were a nomadic tribe (Lindner 1983). He structured his book from an anthropological perspective emphasizing only a nomadic pastoralist view, but from this perspective his nomadic tribe became more an anthropological than an historical phenomenon. This problematic point of view was shaped by only “so-called” analogical interpretation between early Ottomans and modern nomadic societies in the Middle East and Central Asia. After this book, in 1999 he published an article about the Mongolian connection with early Ottomans. He pointed out the importance of the Mongolian context in understanding the foundation of the Ottoman state. According to him, the early Ottomans have to be considered subordinate to the Ilkhanate (Lindner 1999: 282-289). In this article, he used some numismatic evidence, but the connection of numismatic data with early Ottomans was not convincing enough to support his thesis. His last work about the foundation of the Ottoman Empire was published in 2007 (Linder 2007). Although he asserts that he used archaeological data to support his thesis, he only used problematic numismatic evidence and there were flaws in his interpretation of data. In this context, he does not look at any archaeological study in the region such as the Bilecik Orhan Gazi İmarethanesi, İznik or Karacahisar excavations. On the other hand, his claims about the foundation of the Ottoman Empire in this book need some supporting evidence, e.g. the Sangarius River’s flood is cited as a main reason for the early Ottoman move from the Eskişehir region to Bursa. However, his methodology, based on the Pachymeres’ accounts, failed to check geological sedimentation data from the region. In this way, his works about the foundation of the Ottoman Empire have a number of problematic interpretations and deductions.

In 1995, Cemal Kafadar published his book called *Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State* (Kafadar 1995). In this book, he reasserted the

validity of *ghaza* within the historiography of the emergence of the Ottoman state. He structured his thesis through heroic epics and hagiographies of the frontier, and analyzed the historiography of Ottoman origins. He tried to argue a new paradigm based on a fresh reading of the sources, but he only criticized known sources by new theoretical approaches in the social sciences. All the same, this book is an important addition to early Ottoman historiography and vital reading not only for Ottomanists, but also for scholars interested in the methodology of source criticism. After Kafadar, Heath W. Lowry published his book entitled *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* in 2003 (Lowry 2003). According to Lowry, the Ottoman state was established by several Christian and Muslim warriors. The system was organized as a “predatory confederation” in order to plunder and pillage the surrounding areas. A symbiosis and cohabitation between Christians and Muslims in Bithynia created an “Islamochristian synthesis” in which Christians and Muslims were equal. In this context, according to Lowry, Christians lived in the territories controlled by this “predatory confederation” and began to convert to Islam. From this point of view, it could be deduced that he reanalyzed and reformulated Gibbon’s theory about the foundation of the Ottoman state.

The latest contribution to this ongoing debate was written by Halil İnalçık. İnalçık indicated that the Ottoman written sources such as Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri could be an aid to historical interpretation (İnalçık 2007) while Colin Imber thought that the historical data about Osman were “fictitious” because of dubious validity of chronicles written by Ottomans. According to Imber, “the best thing that a modern historian can do is to admit frankly that the earliest history of the Ottomans is a black hole” (Imber 1993: 75). However, Halil İnalçık pointed out that the comparative use of written sources with topographical data could help with the historical

reconstruction and interpretation. His article is an important addition to early Ottoman historiography and its interpretation. In consequence, this article highlighted the invalidity of the “black hole” deduction of Imber.

This dissertation aims to assess the socio-economic structure of the Early Ottoman Period, and is based on an archaeological approach to reconstructing the early Ottoman state and its foundation. In this context, the settlement patterns of the region between Eskişehir and Bilecik and their reflection on settlement distribution and modification from the Late Byzantine to Early Ottoman Periods will be analyzed and interpreted using archaeological and historical data through the reconstruction of the Early Ottoman landscape in the region.

In order to understand the mechanism of settlement distribution in the research area, the chronological and cultural developments through archaeological and historical data will first be investigated in this study. In Chapter II, the archaeological data found during excavations will be examined in chronological order. In this chapter, the chronological framework will be based on the Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman/Beylik periods. Each period will be examined in detail with attention to the differences in pottery technology and the changes in architecture.

In Chapter III, the historical data will be examined in detail. In this chapter, each historical datum will be examined and used to construct the socio-historical environment in Early Turkish Anatolia. Seljukid, Byzantine, Early Ottoman and other medieval primary sources on Anatolia will be used to construct the early Turkish period from the Manzikert to Bapheus battles. The chapter has three parts. In the first part, the early history of the Turkish period after Manzikert will be examined, and the foundation of Anatolian Seljukid State will be discussed until the

Kösedağ Battle. In the second part, Mongolian occupation and destruction in Anatolia will be examined. In the third part, Early Ottoman history in Ertuğrul and Osman will be examined through the chronicles.

In Chapter IV, the theoretical and methodological contexts of historical archaeology and Ottoman archaeology will be examined. In the first part, historical archaeology and its text-aided approach will be discussed in a universal context. In the second part, this approach will be applied to Ottoman archaeological studies in Ottoman geography. In Chapter V, the archaeological survey method in this research and collected data will be discussed. In the first part, the survey methodology will be explained, and in the second part, the survey area will be defined. In the third part, site collection strategies will be discussed. In the last part, the sites determined in the survey research will be listed with their location information, archaeological data found in the site and historical data by chronicles, tahrir defters and other historical sources.

In Chapter VI, the settlement patterns of the research region in Early Ottoman Period will be discussed. The theoretical context of the study will be presented in the first part of Chapter VI. Later, the landscape of the region in 13th and 14th centuries will be presented. In the third part, a population estimate will be made, and a population estimate model will be presented. In the last part of Chapter VI, the settlement systems of the region will be analyzed according to relevant statistical models. These models, the gravity model, nearest neighbor analysis and the rank-size model, will be presented and applied to the data. In the context of results of these models, the social implication of settlement systems will be analyzed. A summary of the results in these chapters will be presented in Chapter VII.

CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EARLY OTTOMANS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The determination of Early Ottoman periodization presents some contradictory perceptions between history and archaeology. Although an historical study can categorize “Early Ottoman” dated to 13th and 14th centuries as a period because of chronicles and other historical data (İnalçık 1998: 15-8), an archaeological study cannot describe these centuries directly as “Early Ottoman,” because they do not have relatively stable material cultural characteristics related with only Ottomans. The stable and differentiated characteristics of Ottoman material culture began in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Before these centuries, the structural characteristics of material culture of Medieval Anatolia can be described as a local and common Turkish feature with a busy cultural interaction with the Byzantine Empire.

During the past years scholars have proposed many different names for material cultural data of “the Early Ottoman Period”. This debate is mostly seen in pottery studies. In pottery studies relating to the 13th and 14th centuries, there are two main tendencies to identify pottery as Turkish-Principalities Period Pottery or as

Early Ottoman Pottery. These pottery types, especially “Miletus Ware”, were described as “Early Ottoman Pottery” by O. Aslanapa (Aslanapa 1965a: (37) 393; 1965b), E. Parman (Parman 2003a: 73; 2006: 5) and N. Özkul Fındık (Özkul Fındık 2001). According to Aslanapa, the production center of “Miletus Ware” was İznik because several kiln-sites were found there by him (Aslanapa 1965a; 1969a; 1969b). He thought that this kind of ware was distributed around all Anatolia from İznik (Aslanapa 1965a; 1969a; 1969b). Therefore, he described “Miletus Ware” and other kinds of pottery dated to the 14th century as “Early Ottoman Pottery”. Following him, some art historians applied this identification about this kind of pottery in their studies. On the other hand, another group generally described the pottery dated to the 13th and 14th century as “Turkish” or “Principalities Period”, but the pottery dated to the 15th century and later is described as “Ottoman” (Sarre 1931-32; 1935). Sarre, a scholar who studied firstly this pottery type in detail, separated Turkish pottery from Ottoman in his publication of the Miletus excavation. This separation was later accepted by some other scholars. At the same time, after the Aslanapa article, Paker criticized “Early Ottoman” periodization for this pottery type, and identified them as “Anatolian Principalities Period Pottery” because of other non-Ottoman kiln sites and production centers for this period in Konya, Kütahya, Çanakkale and maybe İstanbul, which produced this type of pottery. According to him, Ottoman İznik was not the only production and distribution site for this pottery; therefore “the Early Ottoman” identification is problematic. To resolve this dispute, “Late Medieval Turkish Period Pottery” has been deemed acceptable as a general name for Turkish pottery for this period. Therefore, in this study, this identification will be used.

Although Turkish pottery in this period has seldom been analyzed in archaeological research in Turkey, Byzantine pottery has been analyzed more. But

compared to prehistoric and classical pottery studies, both pottery types are not generally accepted as a mainstay to archaeological research. In this study, Late Medieval Turkish Period and Late Byzantine potteries will be used to define settlements chronologically. Therefore, at first, both potteries will be examined in detail. In addition to pottery analysis, diagnostic architectural features will be examined later also.

2. 1. Pottery

2.1.1. Late Byzantine Pottery

The Late Byzantine period is generally dated from the time when the Fourth Crusade captured and sacked Constantinople in 1204 to the time when the city fell to the Ottomans in 1453. The Empire recaptured the capital and a core area around the Aegean in 1261. The period between 1204 and 1261 is identified as the “Latin Period”. In agreement with the radical changes demonstrated in the internal zone of the Empire by historians, a profound change in material culture seems to have occurred in the Late Byzantine period also.

There are two main groups to identify Late Byzantine Pottery: they are Coarse Wares and Fine Wares. For Coarse wares (Figure 1), a general continuity regarding shapes and manufacturing techniques can be seen in the Late Byzantine period; but at the same time, some innovation to forms and decorative styles were introduced also (Joyner 1997; Williams 2003: 432). In the Late Byzantine period, a profound change in Coarse Ware manufacture seems to have occurred. The previous Coarse Wares were replaced by grey and red fabrics and the pottery had a much poorer quality. The fabric is soft and medium coarse (Vroom 2005a: 105). The clay is gritty containing many coarse limestone incisions, medium black or white quartz

inclusions and some coarse voids (Bakirtzis 1989; Vroom 2005a: 105). In Anatolia, the Coarse Wares dated to 13th and 14th centuries were manufactured mostly as globular pots with vertical strap-handles attached to the rim and the body, and bases are rounded or flat (Dark 2001: 50-2; Vroom 2005a: 105).

For Late Byzantine Fine-Ware, there are two distinctive identification groups. The first one is “Glazed Pottery with cut” and the second one is “Slip-Painted Decoration”. The first group is divided into three sub-groups: *sgraffito*, *champlevé* and *incised*. The common form of fine-ware pottery is bowls in this period as a distinctive characteristic, in contrast to previous periods when plates were used more. According to Dark, this replacement perhaps indicates a reflection of changes in dining customs, as supporting his interpretation that the chafing dishes disappear in this period (Dark 2001: 73). The Byzantine chafing dish is a deep bowl with molded rim and flat bottom having a high base tapering toward a concave foot with a large rectangular opening on one side and on the opposite side at least one small round hole. Two vertical handles attached at the base of bowl and just above the foot. Generally, the glaze, green or brown, covers the inside of the bowl (Frantz 1938: 434, 457, 459).

The fabric is exclusively red and main colors are red-grey, red-buff and entirely buff-colored. Glazes are glossier and more vitreous than those of the previous period, at the same time dark green and distinctive bright gold yellow are mostly used as colors of glaze, and sometimes as paint. Another distinctive feature of Late Byzantine pottery involves a technological change. To stack the pots for firing in the kiln, “Ox-yoke-shaped clay separators” were replaced by ceramic tripod stands (Dark 2001: 74) (Figure 2). These stands sometimes left distinctive scars on the interior and exterior of pots. The chronologically distinctive pottery types in the 13th

– and 14th – century Byzantine world are Green and Brown Painted Ware, Colored Sgraffito Ware or Late Sgraffito Ware, Zeuxippus Ware, Impressed Red Ware and Slip-Painted Ware with linear designs.

Green and Brown Painted Ware (Figure 3) is a red fabric glazed with green and brown painted decoration. It is called sometimes Green and Black Painted Ware also because the brown can be very dark in some examples. Green and Brown Painted Ware was in use from the 11th to 15th centuries (Morgan 1942; 75-103, 116-57; Mackay 1967: 251). From the 13th century onwards, the pigments were combined with the glaze prior to application, and made the colors sleek. The colored glaze shows a swirling effect of mixed brown and green colors. In the 12th century, spiral designs appear on the pottery. The designs in this period are often outlined in brown, with green infilling (Armstrong 2008: 435). At the same time, concentric and medallion designs are first applied. In the 13th century, green or brown can be employed monochromatically and dotted designs become popular (Dark 2001: 130). The most frequent shapes in this ware are plates, bowls, cups, jugs and chafing-dishes (Morgan 1942: 116-57; Dark 2001: 129).

Colored Sgraffito Ware or Late Sgraffito Ware (Figure 4) is mostly a red fabric pottery, glazed with sgraffito decoration. Sgraffito is a “scratched decoration especially when the scratched line or area reveals a different colour” (Hammer 1986: 300). Colored Sgraffito Ware is distinguished by its striking mixture of colored glazes (Dark 2001: 136). Mostly brown and green colors were applied in this group (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1997: 135). The main motif is linear decoration cut through white slip into the fabric prior to glazing. According to Dark, “mixing the glazes allows color from the glaze to more easily enter the incisions than previously. This gives them darker, often light- to mid-brown, color, a feature that should not be

confused with the deliberately infilled incisions of Elaborate Incised Ware” (Dark 2001: 136). The most common forms of this ware are bowls and plates, and few jugs. Among the different Sgraffito types is Fine Sgraffito Ware (Figure 5). It has fine red-brown fabrics, and is mostly unslipped and unglazed on the exterior. Scratched decoration was cut into the body through a white or pale pink slip. In 12th – and 13th – century examples, the pale yellow or green or deep mid-green glaze is always monochrome. The sgraffito decoration is characterized by very thin and delicate incision (Dark 2001: 130). Geometric, mythological, floral and human designs, and pseudo-Kufic decoration are the most popular motifs in this group. The main shape is a shallow plate. Another Sgraffito type is Incised Sgraffito Ware (Figure 6). This ware has red, pink or frequently brown hard fabrics with few or no inclusions. White slip and a light- to mid-yellow, or light- to mid-green glaze were applied internally or over the whole vessel (Dark 2001: 132). Decoration in earlier examples is characterized by a medallion in the centre of the interior. Geometric motifs and animals are depicted. According to Dark, “on later examples decoration is unrestrained across the whole of the interior and frequently involves human and animal forms, often employing tendril-like wavy lines radiating toward the rim around a central motif” (Dark 2001: 132). Green and Brown Painted Sgraffito Ware is the third class in this group (Figure 7). It has a soft red-brown fine fabric, slipped in pinkish-buff or cream with transparent-pale cream glaze. The painted decoration is in green and brown on the interior. Shapes are mostly plates and cups. Geometric, floral and animal motifs are popular in this group. These motifs are restricted to a central basal medallion with concentric bands of internal and rim decoration. In 13th century examples, streaks and linear designs were used and the fabric has more inclusions.

Zeuxippus Ware (Figure 8) was a major pottery class in the second half of the 12th and 13th centuries in the Byzantine world. It has a hard and fine brick red fabric. Its shiny glaze and distinctive decorative motifs instantly distinguish it from other pottery types (İnanan 2010: 118). At the same time, both a gouge and stylus were used in its decoration, but tripod-stilts were not certainly employed in the firing of all Zeuxippus Ware (Dark 2001: 139). This type of pottery was first identified as Shiny Olive Incised Ware by Talbot Rice, based on a few examples from the excavations of the Hippodrome of Constantinople, in particular from an area associated with the Baths of Zeuxippus (Talbot Rice 1928: 34). In 1968, A.H.S. Megaw divided the ware into two main classes, the first of which has three subclasses (Megaw 1968: 68). According to Megaw's classification, Class I is monochrome; IA has a colorless or slightly green or yellow transparent glaze; IB has an orange-brown glaze and IC a green glaze. Class II has the same glaze of Class I but it has also splashes of additional colors of glaze (Megaw 1968). Tripod stilt firing marks can be seen on the pottery in both classes. The characteristic Zeuxippus motif is a central basal medallion containing two or three finely cut concentric circles and sometimes a palmette, trefoil, phi or a simple spiral in medallions (Megaw 1968: 71). S-shaped motifs on the centre or side and ovals or triangles on the rim, and club-shaped designs and lines, also occur (Dark 2001: 138). His original classification was revised by himself twenty years later on the basis of new excavations and publications. He also reconsidered the dating of Zeuxippus Ware, extending it beyond the early thirteenth century (Megaw 1989: 259-66). After Megaw's classification of Zeuxippus Ware, many scholars have written about this pottery, and they identified new examples. According to İnanan, "it has become clear that Zeuxippus Ware is neither a homogeneous group nor the product of a single centre.

This has led to an inconsistency in the nomenclature, though ceramic experts usually know which type of Zeuxippus or its related wares are being referred to. The obvious differences in characteristics between the ceramics published by Megaw in 1968 and similar ceramics identified elsewhere have led to the concept of those with the finest fabric and highest quality being the prototype Zeuxippus Ware” (İnanan 2010: 119). Prototype Zeuxippus Ware has a very shiny glaze and a finer and harder red fabric than the other examples. Another class of later identified Zeuxippus Ware is Zeuxippus Ware Imitations. It has a finer and harder red fabric with a shiny glaze and high quality clay than all other Zeuxippus Ware types (Waksman & Spiser 1997: 106).

Impressed Red Ware is a coarse red-grey fabric with dark grits and an overall yellow or green glaze over a white slip. The yellow glaze appears mid-brown above the reddish fabric. Occasionally a cream glaze was used over green and brown paint in this class (Dark 2001: 140). The most common decorations are geometric designs. Stamped animal ornament is sometimes found in the centre of the interior. It was surrounded by concentric circles of stamped decoration in some examples. In all this kind of decoration, the stamped decoration is limited to a central internal basal medallion (Dark 2001: 140). The ware is potentially a crucial link between Middle and Late Byzantine pottery, but few examples come from well-dated contexts. Forms are mostly bowls and plates.

Slip-Painted Ware (Figure 9) has a pinkish-buff to red fabrics, and is easily recognized in decoration and in sherd form. It is unslipped and usually glazed yellow or green. Shapes include plates, bowls, cups and jugs (Morgan 1942; Patterson-Whitehouse 1992: 110; Vroom 2005a). According to Dark, “what makes it so distinctive is the use of white slip beneath the glaze in lines, dots, spirals or circles to

form the decoration” (Vassi 1993: 291; Dark 2001: 140). By the 12th century the glaze is applied only internally, but before this time it occurs both on the exterior and interior. Although the dotted design is used earlier, stripes begin to appear in 12th century, as does all-over decoration, usually in concentric bands or cross-shape patterns (Dark 2001: 141). Motifs are usually geometric, but floral and animal designs can be seen. In some late examples, spiral, pseudo-Kufic motifs and animals are found also. On a minority of vessels, relief-decoration, such as segmented U-shaped bands, skeuomorphs of rope handles, and linear segmented strips, was applied to the exterior (Makropoulou 1995: 22). These seem to belong to the phase of linear slip-painted decoration (Dark 2001: 141).

Aegean Ware (Figure 10) is another pottery group dated to the 13th century in the Byzantine world. It has a gritty light red-brown/purple-red fabric, a white slip and usually a pale yellow, sometimes green, glaze covering the inside (Armstrong 2008: 437; Dark 2001: 133). According to Dark, “no other colors of glaze are known, but there is sometimes green glaze splashed on the rim of yellow-glazed examples and in symmetrical dabs elsewhere on the vessel” (Dark 2001: 133). The main shape is a bowl with vertical or everted rim and potted ring-base. Because of this ring-base, Megaw identified this pottery group as Low Ring Base Ware (Megaw 1975: 35-45) also. Some scholars think that Aegean Ware is essentially a variant of Incised Sgraffito Ware (Armstrong 2008: 437; Dark 2001: 133). The incised patterns are distinctive (Armstrong 2008: 437). Decoration includes a central roundel with animals in relief, within a broad gouged border, or a freer sprawling style of gouged decoration covering the whole interior. Geometric designs, especially compass-drawn circles, can be seen also (Dark 2001: 133).

Elaborate Incised Ware (Figure 11) has a hard, fine and grey-buff, orange-red or red fabric with white slip applied overall (Talbot Rice 1930; Dark 2001: 134; Vroom 2005a: 123). Decoration including geometric, animal and human designs was incised into the body through the slip and the whole vessel covered in green or yellow glaze (Dark 2001: 134). According to Dark, “when this dried, the incisions were painted with, usually dark brown, glaze before firing” (Dark 2001: 134). Religious subjects such as crosses and monograms and very elaborate scenes such as interlace stars are found also (Vroom 2005a: 123). The “interlace star” design is the most common motif in this class, therefore this ware is closely related with Incised Sgraffito Ware (Dark 2001: 134). The most common shape in this class is the hemispherical bowl, but other shapes can be seen also. The bowls are shaped with a ring foot, sloping walls and plain rim (Vroom 2005a: 123; Dark 2001: 134).

Another pottery type in this period is Champlevé Ware (Figure 11). It has a hard gritty, light red-brown and sometimes purplish-red fabric and white slip. The glaze is light yellow and green, often pale, but sometimes mottled. Shapes are shallow dishes with a tall ring foot and a plain rim, and hemispherical bowls on a higher pedestal base (Morgan 1942: 162-66; Armstrong 1991: 340; Vroom 2005: 93; Dark 2001: 134). According to Vroom, “the whitish slip is cut away by a broad blunt tool so that the decorative subjects appear in very low relief, while details are usually in fine incision” (Vroom 2005: 93). This decoration technique was called “Incised Ware” by Morgan (Morgan 1942: 162), but the French term *champlevé* was accepted internationally because of French translation of the technique, raised (*lever*) of the slipped ground (*champ*). Decoration includes geometric, human and animal designs, vegetal motifs and literary and mythological scenes. Motifs cover the whole interior, and form a central motif with a concentric border. Supplementary decoration was

achieved by applying splashes of green glaze (Dark 2001: 134). Morgan dated this pottery only to the late 12th century (Morgan 1942: 162), but recent studies by Sanders tend to date this pottery also up to the early 13th century (Sanders 1993: 260).

Turquoise Glazed Ware (Figure 12) has been found only in Anatolia. It has a gritty red fabric and is entirely covered in turquoise. Decoration includes purple or brown dots and streaks. Handled cups, bowls, plates and jugs are the common shapes in this class. Some examples have “pie-crust” rims (Dark 2001: 139).

The last pottery type in this period is Impressed Red Ware. It has gritty red fabric and cover yellow and green glaze with an overall white slip. Occasionally a cream glaze was applied over green and brown paint also. The most common motif in this class is stamped geometric, especially concentric circles. Sometimes a stamped animal ornament is found in the centre of the interior. The stamped decoration is limited to a central internal basal medallion. The most common shapes include bowls and plates (MacKay 1967: 257; Dark 2001: 140).

2.1.2. Late Medieval Turkish Pottery

This period is dated from the late 13th century to early 15th century in Anatolia. Although the beyliks in this period had different political governors, they shared common material cultural institutions. But, according to design analysis, this common cultural area is only delimited by pottery and some metal works, and some architectural examples constructed through Byzantine tradition. However, Turkish art and architecture began growing into rich and sophisticated cultural areas, and by the late 15th century and early 16th century, these artistic and architectural approaches

created “Ottoman Art and Architecture”. In this section, pottery types in the Turkish Beyliks dated from the late 13th century to early 15th century will be discussed.

There are two main groups to identify Late Medieval Turkish Pottery; they are Coarse and Unglazed Wares and Fine Glazed Wares. Analysis of Coarse and Unglazed Wares from Karacahisar excavation determined seven types: they were Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Red Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Fine Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware and Storage Jars.

Early Ottoman Cooking Ware (Figure 16 – 29) has a hard reddish brown fabric with dark and white grits, mica and quartz. It is handmade, unslipped, unglazed, rough, medium porous and underfired. Because of cooking, some examples have soot inside and out. On the other hand, some examples are completely black on the inside and outside because of refiring. Even though Early Ottoman Cooking Ware is mostly undecorated, comb impressions are common. Some examples have groove and notch decorations also. The main shapes of this ware are jar, jug and lid. Lids have finger-printed, impressed and channeled decorations. Vertical handles are common, but scalloped handles and lugs can be seen also. Flat base is only found.

Wheel-made, unglazed and unslipped Early Ottoman Red Ware and Coarse Buff Ware are rare groups in Karacahisar. Early Ottoman Red Ware (Figure 30, 31) has a hard and medium tempered red fabric with grits and quartz. It is undecorated, moderately fired and medium porous. The main form is a jar with a flat base, but some bowls are found also. Early Ottoman Coarse Buff Ware (Figure 32, 33) has a high tempered, gritty pale red fabric. It is highly porous and underfired. A bowl decorated with ridge and groove, found in Karacahisar, gives the only attested form

in this pottery group. Storage jars or pithoi are common types (Figure 14 – 18). It has medium tempered, porous light red paste with white and dark grits and quartz. It is wheel-made, unglazed, unslipped and moderately fired.

Early Ottoman Red Slip Ware has two subgroups: Fine Red Slip Ware and Coarse Red Slip Ware. The paste of Early Ottoman Fine Red Slip Ware (Figure 34 – 41) is untempered, light red and poorly fired. It is wheel-made, unglazed, unporous, and some examples are thin-walled. For decoration, combing is common, but spirals and fluted decorations are found also. Red slip is applied over the whole exterior, and partly on the interior; a dark cream slip is used on the interior in some examples also. Wheel marks can be seen on the inside. The main shape is a jar, but a serving bowl with vertical handle can be found also. Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware (Figures 42 – 44) has a medium-tempered weak red, dark reddish gray or light red paste with quartz and grits, but some examples are very tempered. It is unglazed, thin-walled, pitted and underfired, although some are fired moderately. Main shapes are a hollow jar, jar, bowl and vase with flat base.

Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware (Figures 45 – 47) has a hard, wheel-made, moderately fired light red to light reddish brown paste. It is mostly untempered and unporous, but some medium porous and tempered examples with grits and quartz were found also. Cream, whitish cream, dark cream and yellowish cream were applied mostly on the inner and outer surfaces. The main shapes are jar, hollowed jar and bowl with flat base.

Fine Glazed wares consist of Slip Painted Ware, Turkish Sgraffito Ware, Monochrome Glazed Painted Ware, Impressed Ware and Miletus Ware.

Slip Painted Ware (Figure 48) has a hard red fabric with dark and white grits and quartz. Light or dark yellow slip was used to cover inner surfaces, extending

over the outside of the rim. The glaze was applied externally and internally, but green and dark yellow glaze was used only on the interior and light green on exterior. Floral ornament and all-over decoration are the main motifs with a central design on the interior. In some examples, floral designs were placed on the outer rim, also. The main shape of this ware was an everted rim bowl. This group was at one time dated from the early 15th to late 16th centuries, and added into the “Early Ottoman Pottery” group by Arslanapa based on the Kalehisar and İznik excavations (Arslanapa 1987: 4). Öney thought the slip technique was used in Anatolia from the 12th century to the late 15th century (Öney 1976: 12; 1993: 288). Özkul Fındık did not suggest any periodization about this group, but thought it was unpopular, and disappeared gradually after Miletus Ware became widespread in Anatolia (Özkul Fındık 2001: 36).

Another group is Turkish Sgraffito Ware (Figure 49 – 51). It has two subgroups, called Monochrome Glazed and Two-Color-Painted Turkish Sgraffito Wares. The paste of Monochrome Glazed Turkish Sgraffito Ware is red, hard and gritty. The slip including yellowish or whitish cream was applied overall internally and externally, but its quality was not fine (Özkul Fındık 2001: 85). The application of glaze was the same, but turquoise, green, dark yellow and dark brown paints were used. Mostly everted rim bowls were produced in this group. The ornaments around the central motif on the interior include floral and geometric motifs. Geometric motifs are mostly circles, stars, helices and diagonal lines. Two-Color-Painted Turkish Sgraffito Ware is a glazed red fabric pottery with green and brown painted decoration through pouring technique. The fabric has dark and white grits and quartz. Like the previous sub-group, the slip including whitish or dark cream and glaze were applied overall internally and externally. In the glaze a decoration, light or dark

yellow was used on the interior, green on the exterior. Floral motifs such as flowers with leaves, and geometric motifs including helices, circle, half circle, waves and hexagons were used. The main shape was an everted rim bowl. Turkish Sgraffito Ware was identified and analyzed first by Frederick O. Waagé in the publication of Athenian Agora excavation (Waagé 1933: 318-21), and later by David Talbot Rice in the Great Palace excavation in İstanbul (Talbot Rice 1957; 1958). In the İznik excavation, Sgraffito Ware was studied, but dated to the “Transformation Period from Byzantine to Ottoman”, 14th century, by Oktay Aslanapa (Aslanapa, Yetkin & Altun 1989: 57, 81). On the other hand, Hayes dated this pottery group to a period between 15th and 17th centuries in the Saraçhane excavation. Veronique François restudied pottery of the İznik excavations and identified this pottery group (François 1996: 231-45) as dated to the early 16th century (François 1996: 233). Özkul Fındık, who studied and published Ottoman Pottery from the Roman Theatre Excavation in İznik, did not give any specific dating about this pottery group, but classified the Early Ottoman red fabric group and dated it to the 13th and late 15th century (Özkul Fındık 2001: 85-126). In the Korucutepe excavations in Elazığ, Ömür Bakırer assigned this pottery group to the 12th to 14th century (Bakırer 1980). Öney proposed the same dating about this pottery group in Samsat also (Öney 1982). According to Özkul Fındık, Turkish Sgraffito Ware indicates a continuity of cultural tradition from Byzantine to Ottoman in İznik (Özkul Fındık 2001: 118).

Monochrome Glazed Ware (Figure 52) and Turkish Stamped Ware (Figure 53) were other pottery groups in this period, but they were not common and popular like other groups. Monochrome Glazed Ware has a red fabric, gritty and hard. Dark cream, whitish cream or mustard yellow slips were applied overall to the inside. Some examples have slip on the exterior, only on the rim. Glaze was used only over

the interior, occasionally extending over the rim. Brown, dark yellow, purple, and turquoise paints were used in glaze application. Mostly everted rim bowls and plates were produced in this pottery group. Turkish Stamped Ware was first studied by Frederick O. Waagé in the publication of the Athenian Agora excavation (Waagé 1933: 323), with examples dated to the 14th and 15th centuries. Dark cream, yellowish cream, and light cream slips are used on pottery over interior and exterior surfaces. Glaze was applied on pottery the same as slip, and dark green paint was used in glaze application. Ornaments are seen only on exteriors including geometric motifs, circles, pentagon, lozenges or stars. Motifs are not used on the interior.

Miletus Ware (Figure 54 – 56) is the main characteristic pottery group in this period: it is a painted ware. It was identified and studied at first by Sarre in Miletus, so this pottery group has been called as “Miletus Ware” (Sarre 1935). Against this identification, Aslanapa identified this pottery group as “Early Ottoman Pottery” produced in Iznik and distributed to Anatolian Turkish sites from there. But this theory was contested by Paker because this pottery was also produced at Konya, Kütahya, Çanakkale, and other centers in this period; he identified this pottery group as “Anatolian Principalities Period Pottery” (Paker 1964-65). Miletus Ware has three subgroups called Monochrome, Two-Color-Painted and Incised Painted Wares. The paste of Miletus Ware is red, hard and gritty. Underglazed painted in azure blue is common, but green and black examples are also found. In Two-Color-Painted Miletus Wares, azure blue is applied with reddish or eggplant purple, turquoise, green, red and black. It is fine and cream or white slipped over all its interior. In green examples, yellowish cream can be seen also. Glaze was applied in different colors in a different paint. A fine, clean and uncolored glaze was applied to pottery inside, but uncolored or green on the outside in azure blue examples. For Green

Miletus Ware, a fine, clean and uncolored glaze on the interior is common; but in some instances a slightly yellowish glaze was applied also. Most exterior glaze in this group is green. In the black examples, turquoise paint was used over the inside, and green on the outside in glaze application. Two-Color-Painted Miletus Ware was mostly fine, clean, with an uncolored glaze on the inside, green on the outside. Miletus Ware is characterized mostly by a motif with a flower rosette, rosette or sunburst at the center and radial lines such as curled branches or loose leafy patterns around the central motif. This characteristic composition is decorated sometimes by leaves, closed palm leaves (palmette), rumis, stars, hexagons, spirals, meanders, pearl series, and hatayis. Occasionally, faunal compositions with bird or fish motifs are used. Small triangles or diagonal lines decorate the rim. The main shapes of this pottery group are everted rim plates and bowls. Miletus Ware was dated to the 14th and 15th centuries. It was found in Iznik (Aslanapa 1987; Aslanapa, Yetkin & Altun 1989; Özkul Fındık 2001: 36-84), Karacahisar (Parman 2002: 74; Parman, Parla & Bursalı 2006: 5), Sardes (Crane 1987: 53), Kütahya (Paker 1964-65: 157; Şahin 1979-80: 261), Amorium (Fındık 2003: 106), Ephesus (Vroom 2005b: 24-6), Troy (Hayes 1995: 205), Bilecik Orhan Gazi İmareti (Deveci 2003: 125), Saraçhane in İstanbul (Hayes 1992) , Antalya (Ünal 1974: 27), the Miletus excavations (Sarre 1935: 72), and the Akçaalan survey in Çanakkale (Akarca 1979: 503).

2.2. Architecture

2.2.1. Late Byzantine Architecture

Architectural forms for this period consist of castles, churches, houses and palaces. The castles in this period were built under the Byzantines and, therefore they belong to Byzantine architectural tradition. According to Foss, Byzantine castles in

this period are constructed with massive and very long walls (Foss 1979: 316). Technically, the fortresses were made of brick mixed with local stone. In this context, the characteristic feature of wall technique in the Byzantine period is that the core of the wall is a mass of rough fieldstones set in a white mortar with large brick and smaller stone inclusions.

Generally, in the church constructions, the brick courses were elaborately laid, but the stone courses are irregular. According to Ousterhout, “in several Late Byzantine churches, complex designs seem to have resulted from changes that were initiated only *after* the building was under way” (Ousterhout 1999: 102).

The ruins of a church, which has a cross-in-square plan standing on four columns with a single narthex and three apses, and dated to the Late Byzantine period was found at Nicea (Eyice 1949; Papadopoulos 1952). This church was identified as the church of St. Tryphon by researchers (Eyice 1949: 37; Papadopoulos 1952: 110). In addition, in his *Synopsis Chronike*, Theodore Skoutariotes wrote that a state school for high studies was found beside the church (Heisenberg 1903: 291), although the survey by Eyice did not report any architectural structure beside the church. The walls of the church were built with one course of rubble stones followed with two to four courses of bricks (Ötügen *et al.* 1986: 231). The pedestals inside the building were constructed with one course of stones alternating with four courses of bricks (Eyice 1949: 38). The narthex being accessible through a single door was covered by a cross ribbed vault. It was divided into three sections through the pillars on the eastern wall. There were gates in the northern and southern walls of the narthex. The access from the narthex to the naos was provided by three doors (Eyice 1949: 41) . The naos was constructed in a plan consisting of a main bay which was

covered by a dome supported by four columns, cross arms covered with barrel vaults, and corner compartments.

In Sardis, the remains of a church, named Church E, is dated to the same period also. It was built in the 13th century on the site of a basilica dated to the 4th century. The building, a three-aisled basilica with five domes, was constructed on a large platform and measures about 20 x 11 meters. The wall technique is the same with other buildings dated to this period (Foss 1976: 84). According to Foss, “the church was carefully built; reinforcing timbers for protection against earthquakes run through the walls and foundations. For the period, this is an impressive building” (Foss 1976: 84). In Ephesus, the church and buildings dated to this period were constructed in the same technique (Russo 1999).

For house construction in the Late Byzantine period, it is a very characteristic feature that nothing of the classical peristyle plan is found anywhere (Türkoğlu 2004: 108). Excavations in the middle city of Pergamon, carefully studied and published by Rheidt, indicate that the majority of the houses have courtyards. But these courtyards were constructed differently from the peristyle or the inner courtyard examples of Late Antiquity (Rheidt 1991; 1996: 221-2). The main entrance to the house opens into this courtyard, and this courtyard is created by a series of rooms around it as independent units. The space was used as a living place also. This architectural feature later transferred to the Turkish house design (Türkoğlu 2004: 108). In Pergamon, the walls were mostly built with local andesite stones from the ancient ruins. Any binding material was used in the outer and inner faces of the walls (Rheidt 1991a: 187-9; 1991b: 21-6). These houses were covered with a lean-to tile-roof according to the brick and roof-tiles found in the excavation (Rheidt 1991: 22-6). Most of these houses in Pergamon are single storied. According to Türkoğlu,

“Living, sleeping and cooking took place in the main room of the house, which was the largest and also had a hearth; the other rooms were used as stables, or for storage, and/or crafts. Many had cisterns, storage jars of baked clay, or storage pits built in the ground” (Türkoğlu 2004: 110). In Hierapolis (Şimşek 2000) and Cyme (Lagona 1993), the houses dated to the Late Byzantine period were constructed in the same style and technique. In a rescue excavation in Allianoi, a medieval village settlement was unearthed. One of the houses was constructed with the courtyard with a stone pavement. Like Pergamon, the courtyard was surrounded by rooms, one of which had a hearth. Another house was built with four chambers having pits in the floor (Türkoğlu 2004: 114). Both houses were dated from the 12th to 14th century by Türkoğlu.

The palace at Nymphaion (Kemalpaşa) near İzmir was another important building in the Late Byzantine period (Eyice 1961). It was the favorite residence of the Lascaris family in Nicea. A shell of the palace can be seen today. The palace was constructed as a rectangular structure with three stories. The ground floor is built with cut stone. The walls were constructed with the common technique in this period, which combines brick with local stone.

In Constantinople, the south church of the monastery of Lips (Fenari İsa Camii) is an ecclesiastic building of this period. It was founded by the Empress Theodora, the wife of Michael VIII Palaeologus. The precise date of construction is unknown, but it was built in the late 13th century, and added to the original church of Constantine Lips. The south church of Lips was constructed according to the ambulatory type, referring to a dome supported on four masonry piers. In this type, two columns were inserted between each pair of piers (Mango 1978: 150). The Pammakaristos Church (Fethiye Camii) founded in 1310 was constructed on the

same formula as the south church of Constantine Lips. Another example for enlargement of an older church in this period is Chora (Kariye Camii). The church was restored by Theodore Metochites between the years 1316 and 1321. Its dome, two narthexes and the mortuary parecclesion to the south of the church were built anew in this period.

Tekfur Sarayı or Palace of the Sovereign is another important building dated to the Late Byzantine Period in Constantinople. The building was constructed in the late 13th century (Mango 1978: 155). It is a three-story rectangular building located between the inner and outer fortifications of the northern corner of the Theodosian Walls. The remaining walls are typical of the late Byzantine period; that is elaborately decorated in geometric designs using red brick and white marble. The ground floor was vaulted and columned, and opens into a courtyard. The first floor had a flat wooden ceiling and five large windows. The second floor has windows on all four sides, and on the east the remnant of a balcony can be seen.

2.2.2. Early Ottoman Period Architecture

Like pottery, architecture reflected traces of a shared tradition in the beyliks also. This tradition was produced with the former architectural, cultural and artistic traditions in the vicinity, such as the Byzantine or Seljukid traditions. In this section, architecture in the Turkish Beyliks dated from the late 13th century to early 15th century will be discussed. But the focus will be more on the Ottoman state than the other beyliks, so the architecture of the period will be referred to as “Early Ottoman architecture”.

The wall construction of Late Byzantine architecture with one course of local stone and three or four courses of brick can be seen in Early Ottoman architecture

also (Öney 2002: 57). The Balabancık Walls in Bursa dated to Osman Gazi Period (Ayverdi 1966: 8-9) were constructed as the same technique.

Mosques and mesjids are the most important buildings in Early Ottoman architecture. In this period, the oldest Ottoman building bearing an inscription and a date is Hacı Özbek Mosque in İznik. This single-domed mosque with its three-vaulted portico is strongly influenced by the architecture of Seljuqid masjids. Its dome was constructed with prismatic or ‘Turkish’ triangles. It has an entrance portico in the west side of the building. The portico has three sections characterized by two different vaulted features; one is with a transverse-vaulted section in front of the door and other two sections roofed with a single plain vault (Aslanapa 2004: 189). This portico was destroyed during modern road-widening operations in 1959. Other single-domed cubical mosque examples are Beçin Yelli Mosque dated to the 15th century, the İznik Yeşil Mosque dated to 1392 and the Balat İlyas Bey Mosque dated to 1404. Another mosque type in this period is characterized by equal-size multiple bays. These mosques were constructed in a plan with a prayer hall divided into bays of equal size each of which is covered by a dome, and without a courtyard (Öney 2002: 46). The Bursa Great Mosque dated to 1400 and Edirne Eski Mosque dated to 1414 are examples of this group. Another important architectural group is mosques with *tabhanes* or *zaviyes*. These buildings have a new mosque plan developed in the Early Ottoman period in Western Anatolia. This new mosque plan reminds one of an upside down letter “T”, therefore it is called a “reverse T” (ters T) mosque also (Eyice 1963: 4). In this study, mosques with *tabhanes* will be used. The well-known examples are the Orhan Gazi Mosque in Bursa and Firuz Bey Mosque in Milas. The plan was a very common architectural style in 14th and 15th centuries Western Anatolia (Eyice 1963: 32-49), but some examples can be seen in the

Balkans and other regions of Anatolia also. According to Öney, “facing the direction of the *qibla* is a domed or vaulted *iwān* in which the prayer ritual is performed. In front of the prayer hall is a central area generally covered with a dome and flanked with *tabhanes* and in some examples *iwāns* on both sides. These side rooms called *tabhanes* were used in order to shelter the itinerant dervishes” (Öney 2002: 48). In the 14th and 15th centuries, this plan was extended to *imarets* and *hammams*. Among *imarets*, the Hüdavendigâr İmaret in Bursa is a well-known example of this plan. In İznik, there is a fireplace in each *tabhane* of the Nilüfer Hatun İmaret constructed in 1388. The Great Hammam in İznik is a well-known example of this plan in *hammam* architecture. Other architectural groups in this period are Basilical Mosques, e.g. the Birgi Great Mosque (1312/13) and Milas Great Mosque (1378) ; and Mosques with Transepts Aisles, e.g. the İsa Bey Mosque in Selçuk (1375) and Saruhan Beylik’s Great Mosque in Manisa (1367).

Another important architectural building in this period is the *türbe* (tomb). *Türbes* have a great variety in appearance and design in Early Ottoman Period. They were mostly constructed with a polygonal or cylindrical shaped main body, and always covered with a dome (Öney 2002: 51). The typical conical or pyramidal spire of the Seljuq *türbes* was not popular in this period. Examples with crypts were not constructed very much in this period either. Some *türbes* are richly decorated such as the Yeşil Türbe (1419-1424) in Bursa (Gabriel 1958), but usually a plain structure was preferred. A monumental *iwān*-shaped portal in the Bursa Hatuniye Türbe constructed in 1449 is one of the exceptional examples of the Early Ottoman Period. The *türbes* such as Bursa Gülşah Hatun (1486) and Devlet Hatun (1413/14) were built with square bodies covered by conical spires also (Baykal 1982).

Early Ottoman *madrasas* were also constructed. In Beçin during the Menteşè Beylik, Ahmet Gazi Madrasa, constructed in 1375, is one of the earliest examples of a *madrasa* with two *iwans* (Öney 2002: 50). In the Ottoman Beylik, Yeşil Madrasa (1419-1424), and Yıldırım Madrasa (1399) in Bursa, and Süleyman Paşa Madrasa in İznik are monumental examples (Goodwin 1971).

In the Early Ottoman Period, *hammams* are constructed in two types. The first type is small scale *hammams* such as İsmail Bey Hammam in İznik from the late 14th - early 15th century. The second type is large and double *hammams* made up of separate places for men and women. Saadet Hatun Hammam in Selçuk and Murad II Hammam in İznik are the well-known examples for this period (Öney 2002: 53). According to Ayverdi, Palace Hammam in Yenişehir was constructed in Osman Gazi Period (Ayverdi 1966: 15-6), but without inscription in the building or historical records, it is difficult to date this building.

As an Early Ottoman caravanserai, Issız Han on the edge of Ulubat Lake (Apolyont Lake in ancient period) is another important architectural building. According to Öney, “with its two fireplaces together with their chimneys resting upon short columns placed on the bench in the centre, is an example of the transition from Seljuq *han* to the Ottoman *han*” (Öney 2002: 54).

CHAPTER III

FROM MANTZIKERT TO BAPHEUS: EARLY TURKISH HISTORY IN NORTH-WESTERN ANATOLIA

3.1. The First Period: From Mantzikert to Kösedag

The history of Anatolia was changed in 1071 by the battle of Manzikert where the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine army under Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes, taken as prisoner at the end of the war. Manzikert as a pivotal moment was the beginning of a very long process resulting in the Turkish conquest, settlement, and political unification of Anatolia, enduring until the final Ottoman reunification by Mehmet II.

Following the defeat of the Byzantine Empire, and as a result of the voiding of the treaty between the emperor and the sultan because of civil war in Byzantine Empire between the Ducases and Romanus IV, the Seljuks moved into Anatolia on a significant scale and eventually occupied the Byzantine lands (Vryonis 1971: 104). A few years after the battle, the Seljukid army flooded the whole of Anatolia up to the western coast (Matthew of Edessa 1987: 144; Attaliates 2012: 335; Bryennius 1944: 57). In this period, the sons of Kutalmış played a crucial role in the occupation of Anatolia by the Turks. Kutalmış had struggled unsuccessfully against his cousin Alp

Arslan for the throne of the Great Seljukid Empire after Tuğrul Bey died childless in 1063. At the end of this struggle, Kutalmış died in 1063, and his four sons, Mansur, Süleyman, Alp İlek and Devlet were arrested and exiled in Rey (Sıbt İbnü'l-Cevzî 1968: 111). In 1072, Kutalmış's sons appeared in the historical sources again, and settled in Birecik to govern Southeastern Anatolia (Reşîdeddîn 1960: II, 28; Aksarayî 2000: 11, 14, 20). There are different stories about their appearance in Anatolia and about the end of their exile in Rey. According to Bar-Hebraeus and some other historians, the sons of Kutalmış fled from Rey in the midst of internal problems in the Great Seljukid Empire after Alp Arslan died, which was a struggle between Melik Şah and his uncle Kara Arslan Kavurt for the throne of the empire (Abû-l-Farac Tarihi, I: 326 - 28; Müneccimbaşı, 2001: II, 13; Skylitzes, 1973: 127). On the other hand, according to Ibn Bibi, Melikşah gave Anatolia to the sons of Kutalmış because Nizâmü'l-Mülk and the Abbasid Khalifate requested it in order to show respect to the old Turkish state perceptions (İbn Bibi 1956: 18; 1996: I, 37). As for Michael the Syrian, he told a different story in his chronicle, claiming that Sultan Alp Arslan ordered his *beys* to conquer Anatolia because Michael VII Doukas in the Byzantine throne didn't accept the agreement between Alp Arslan and Romanos IV Diogenes after the battle of Manzikert. Upon his order, the sons of Kutalmış came and conquered Anatolia for the Great Seljukid Empire (Michel le Syrien 1905: III, 172). According to Cahen, Melik Şah made their escape easier in order to make peace with them, because a number of Turkmens had gathered around them. Therefore they became an important subject in the socio-political conditions of the Great Seljukid Empire in Anatolia (Cahen 2001:8).

Two sons of Kutalmış, Alp İlek and Devlet, conflicted with Atsız who was sent to Syria by Alp Arslan to conquer Palestine and Egypt. At the end of this

campaign, Alp İlek and Devlet were defeated, and Atsız sent them to Melik Şah as prisoners. On the other hand, the other brothers, Süleyman and Mansur, avoided the problems with Atsız and Melik Şah, by withdrawing from Southeastern Anatolia and moving to Inner Anatolia. In 1074, they conquered Gevâle, an important castle in Konya (Anonymous Selçuk-nâme, 1952: 23), then they moved to the Sangarius Basin in Phrygia, and subjugated Nicaea in 1075 (Attaliades 2012: 485-6; Bryennios 1944: 103). Thus, the Anatolian Seljukid State was founded in Nicaea by the brothers, Süleyman and Mansur. In the other parts of Western Anatolia, the Turks reached Melanoudium on the western coast, and most of Ionia was occupied in 1079 (Miklosich & Müller 1865, VI: 61-2).

In this period, the political chaos in Constantinople between Michael VII Doukas and his rivals contributed to the sons of Kutalmış' success in expanding in Phrygia and Bithynia easily. In this context, two Byzantine generals, Nikephoros Bryennios and Nikephoros Botaneiates, simultaneously revolted in Anatolia and the Balkans to take the throne in Constantinople in 1078. In this revolt, Süleyman and Mansur supported Botaneiates, who first reached Constantinople with their aid (Bryennios 1944: 95). Thus, Botaneiates became the new emperor even though Micheal VII Doukas resigned the throne in 1078 with hardly a struggle against Botaneiates (Attaliates 2012: 497-517; Bryennios 1944: 103; Laurent 1988: 224-6). This intervention resulted in the sons of Kutalmış being accepted as political actors in Phrygia and Bithynia by the Byzantine elites.

Süleyman and Mansur went on expanding into the lands of the Byzantine Empire, and reached the Asian side of the Bosphorus (Turan 2010: 724). As a result of this successful expansion, the first problems regarding sovereignty between Süleyman and Mansur emerged in the new-born Anatolian Seljukid State (Yımanç

1944: 89; Kafesoğlu 1973: 67). In this struggle, Mansur took refuge in Constantinople, and then Süleyman appealed to Melik Şah for support against him (Abû-l-Farac Tarihi 1999: I, 328-29; Müneccimbaşı 2001: II, 12-3). On the other hand, according to Turan, both Süleyman and Mansur were supported by the Byzantines against Melik Şah when he sent Porsuk against them to control Anatolia (Turan 2011: 88). Melik Şah was clearly uncomfortable with two vassal states gaining strength in their regions in this period: Atsız's state in Syria and Süleyman and Mansur's state in northwestern Anatolia. Therefore, Melik Şah sent his brother Tutuş against Atsız, and his commander Porsuk against Nicaea (Turan 2010: 725-9). In this campaign, Mansur was defeated by Porsuk, and then Süleyman became the only ruler of the state. Thus, the first political and social stability in the Anatolian Seljukid period was achieved for a short time during his reign. He ruled Eastern Bithynia, Phrygia and Inner Anatolia, expanding from the Marmara Sea to the Taurus Mountains (Runciman 1997: I, 56). According to Anna Komnena, Süleyman established his headquarters and state organizations in Nicaea according to the Byzantine system (Anna Komnena 1996: 124). Anna Komnena's account indicates that Süleyman introduced centralization and the characteristics of a state system to Nicaea.

Another political upheaval in the Byzantine Empire led to Süleyman being an important political actor in Constantinople again. A Byzantine general and aristocrat Nikephoros Melissenos, revolted in Anatolia against Botaneiates with the aid of Süleyman (Treadgold 1997: 613; Vryonis 1971: 113). In this chaos, however, Melissenos' brother-in-law Alexios I Komnenos, succeeded in ascending the throne in Constantinople, and became the new emperor in 1081, thus ushering in the Komnenian dynasty to Byzantine history. Alexios I Komnenos offered to recognize

Melissenos as Caesar and to give him the governance of Thessalonica (Skoulatos 1980: 241-2). The new emperor founded a military, financial, and territorial recovery in the Byzantine Empire, known as the Komnenian Restoration (Treadgold 1997: 612-19). In the beginning of Alexios I's sovereignty, the Byzantine Empire still had some officials in Heracleia on the Black Sea, in parts of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, in Choma, Trebizond, and some parts of Western Anatolia (Anna Comnena 2003: 125; Vryonis 1971: 114). At the same time, the Armenians in Cilicia who controlled the region in the Taurus and Anti-Taurus, though actually independent, posed as Byzantine officials (Vryonis 1971: 114). Even though the Turks in Anatolia appeared to present a big problem for Alexios I, the major problem at hand was the Normans in the west, and Robert Guiscard's plan to conquest Constantinople (Ostrogorsky 1996: 298). In addition, the Pechenegs, another Turkic tribe, raided the Byzantine Empire in the Balkans (Vryonis 1971: 114). The Norman and Pecheneg difficulties in the west forced Alexios I to make peace with Süleyman in Bithynia and Phrygia. Therefore, Alexios I made a peace treaty with Süleyman in June 1081 (Anna Comnena 2003: 198). According to this treaty, the border was recognized as the river Dracon. After this treaty, according to Anna Comnena, Süleyman left Nicaea and appointed Abu'l Kasım governor of the city. However, Abu'l Kasım violated the treaty, and reached the Propontis (Marmara Sea) and the area on the coast there (Anna Comnena 2003: 198). During this period, Süleyman carried out a military campaign in Cilicia against the Armenian Kingdom, and took Tarsus in 1082 (Abû-l-Farac Tarihi 1999: I, 329; Ahmed Bin Mahmûd 1977: I, 142). In Tarsus, he turned to Ibn 'Ammâr, the Shii ruler of Tripoli, who was hostile to the Greater Seljukid State, for the appointment of a qadi (Ahmed Bin Mahmûd 1977: I, 142). After Tarsus, he conquered Adana, Misis and Anazarba successively (Michael

the Syrian 1905, III, 179; Azimî Tarihi 1988: 24; Sıbt İbnü'l-Cevzî 1968: 229). In 1085, Antioch, one of the important Byzantine/Armenian cities in the region, was conquered by Süleyman with the aid of the Armenian King Philaretos' son, Barsam (Anna Comnena 2003: 198-9; Abû-l-Farac Tarihi 1999: I, 331; Müneccimbaşı 2001: 6). The conquest of Antioch pitted Süleyman against Şerefü'd-devle Müslim, ruler of Aleppo and Mosul because jizya of Antioch paid Müslim (Ahmed bin Mahmûd 1977: II, 145; Aksarayî 2000: 14-5; Sıbt İbnü'l Cevzî 1968: 229; İbnü'l Esîr 1987: X, 129). Müslim and Süleyman went to war in Kurzehil between Aleppo and Antioch. Müslim was defeated by Süleyman, when Syrian Turkmens belonging to Çubuk Beg aligned themselves with Süleyman in the middle of the battle (Sıbt İbnü'l Cevzî 1968: 234; İbnü'l Esîr 1987: X, 129). Thereupon, Süleyman turned his attention to Aleppo, and laid siege to it. The followers of Müslim appealed to Tutuş, Damascus Melik of the Greater Seljukid State, for help against Süleyman (İbnü'l Esîr 1987: X, 135). Tutuş was annoyed by Süleyman's campaign in Northern Syria and his increasing power in the region, and therefore accepted the help Müslim's followers. Süleyman and Tutuş battled in Ayn Saylam close to Aleppo in 1086. Syrian Turkmens who had aligned themselves with Süleyman in Kurzehil Battle this time defected to Tutuş in the middle of the battle. Therefore, Süleyman lost the war, and killed himself in the battlefield so as not to be captured (Anna Comnena 2003: 199; Abû-l-Farac Tarihi 1999: I, 333; İbnü'l Esîr 1987: X, 135; Urfalı Mateos 1987: 168-9; Müneccimbaşı 2001: II, 7; Azimî Tarihi 1988: 25, Ünsî Tarihi 1942: 5). Süleyman's sons, Kılıç Arslan and Kulan Arslan, and his wife were exiled to Isfahan by Melik Şah (Sıbt İbnü'l Cevzî 1968: 235). According to Anna Comnena, Kılıç Arslan and his brother ran away from Iran and arrived in Nicaea soon after Melik Şah died (Anna Comnena 2003: 210). While Kılıç Arslan and his brother were in the

exile, Nicaea was at first governed by Abu'l Kasım. Melik Şah sent his commander Bozan against him, and his brother Abu'l Gazi then became governor of the city (Turan 2010: 570). According to Anna Comnena, the problem between Abu'l Kasım and Melik Şah was based on his going with money to the Sultan (Anna Comnena 2003: 209). It means Abu'l Kasım refused to pay taxes to Melik Şah. His brother Abu'l Gazi, Poulchases in Anna Comnena, came to Nicaea and occupied it (Anna Comnena 2003: 209). When Kılıç Arslan and his brother arrived in the city, “the people of Nicaea ran riot with joy and Poulchases gladly handed over the city to them, as if it were a family inheritance” (Anna Comnena 2003: 210). Kılıç Arslan I received the title of sultan. In this period, one of Kılıç Arslan's commanders, İlhan, Elkhanes in Anna Comnena, occupied Apollonias and Cyzicus in the Biga Peninsula (Anna Comnena 2003: 210). But he was later defeated by the army of Alexios I, and brought to Constantinople. According to Anna Comnena, he converted to Christianity when he was in Constantinople (Anna Comnena 2003: 211-2).

The death of Süleyman led to a proliferation of independent Turkish states in Western Anatolia (Vryonis 1971: 115). Tanrıvermiş and his brother Merak founded his Beylik in 1074 in Ephesus, and controlled the land around Ephesus and Philadelphia in Western Anatolia. Another Beylik was founded by Çaka Bey in 1081 in Symrna (İnalçık 2013: 52). He first conquered Klazomenai and Phokaia, then Aegean Islands including Lesbos, Chios, Rhodes, and Samos (İnalçık 2013: 52-4). Kılıç Arslan I was married to his daughter. In 1092, he took Adramytteion, and controlled an area between Rhodes and Dardanelles (İnalçık 2013: 54). After taking Adramytteion, he laid siege to Abydos in the Hellespont. At this point, Alexios I tried to ally with Kılıç Arslan I against Çaka Bey affirming he would have been a threat against the Byzantine and the Anatolian Seljukid State (İnalçık 2013: 54).

Kılıç Arslan I helped Alexios I against him, then Çaka Bey demanded to meet his brother-in-law Kılıç Arslan I. He invited his father-in-law to banquet in his tent, and killed him (İnalçık 2013: 54). After this tragedy, Çaka Bey's state was governed by his sons.

On the other hand, in Europe, Pope Urban II declared the Christians were to unite against Muslims, and retake Jerusalem from them. The first Crusade movement was founded around Peter the Hermit of Amiens as a charismatic monk and a powerful orator with a number of unexpected peasants and low-ranking knights (Albertus Aquensis 1921: 57; Krey 1921: 57-67; Runciman 1997: 110-30). When they arrived in Constantinople, Alexios I ferried them across the Bosphorus as soon as possible because he thought they could have destroyed and plundered Constantinople and the Byzantine lands (Sevim 2000: 180). After crossing the Bosphorus, the Germans, of the Peoples' Crusade under Reinald, besieged Xerigordon, a Turkish fort close to Nicaea in September, 1096. But the Germans were defeated by the brother of Kılıç Arslan (Durmaz 2006: 39). According to Kery, it was İlhan or Elkhanes as a commander of Kılıç Arslan (Kery 1921: 71-2). After the defeat of the Crusaders in Xerigordon, the other part of the Peoples' Crusade under Peter the Hermit marched out toward Nicaea. Kılıç Arslan's army was waiting for them in the narrow and wooden valley near the village of Dracon. When approaching the valley, Kılıç Arslan and his army assaulted and defeated the Peoples' Crusade Army in the Battle of Civetot, bringing an end to the Peoples' Crusade (Runciman 1997: 60). After this success, Kılıç Arslan I directed his activity towards Eastern Anatolia, and aspired to possess Melitene (Malatya) under the control of its Armenian governor, Gabriel, who was a dependent (*haraçgüzar*) of the Greater Seljukid Empire (Turan 2010: 571-2). Melitene was located in the principal

route-center and strategic keypoint of Eastern Anatolia for trade between Anatolia and the Middle East throughout history. At the same time, Malik Gazi of Danişmend wanted to possess Melitene, therefore Kılıç Arslan I directed his activity to Melitene immediately after the battle of Civetot because he did not consider the First Crusader Army to be a serious threat. When approaching Melitene, Kılıç Arslan received messages that the First Crusaders besieged Nicaea in May 1097. He quickly turned back to defend his capital. Godfrey of Bouillon was the first to arrive at Nicaea, with Bohemund of Taranto, Bohemond's nephew Tancred, and Raymond IV of Toulouse. Robert II of Flanders joined with them later with Peter the Hermit and some of the survivors of the People's Crusade. A small Byzantine force under Manuel Boutoumites took part in this campaign also. On 6 May, they arrived in the city without adequate food, but Bohemond arranged for food from Byzantine by sea and by land. The city had well-defended walls with 200 towers. Therefore, the city was besieged on 14 May, by forces deploy on different sections of the walls: Bohemond on the north side of city, Godfrey on the east, Raymond and Adhemar of Le Puy on the south.

On 16 May, the Seljuk Turks in Nicaea skirmished against the Crusaders, but were defeated. When Kılıç Arslan I arrived to the city, the troops under Raymond IV of Toulouse and Robert II of Flanders defeated the army of Kılıç Arslan. Therefore, he retreated without entering the city. Nicaea was besieged by the Crusaders, and skirmishes went on in front of the fortification walls of the city. On 17 June, the Byzantine troops arrived in Nicaea under the command of Manuel Boutoumites and Tatikios (or Tetig, Tetik), a Turkic general in the Byzantine army (Brand 1989: 3). Boutoumites secretly negotiated with the Turks to surrender the city to Byzantines without the knowledge of the Crusaders. Boutoumites and Tatikios made a direct

assault on the walls to make it look as if the Byzantine Army had captured the city in a battle. On 19 June, the Seljuk Turks agreed to surrender to the Byzantines. But the Crusaders were quite angry because of the negotiation between the Turks and the Byzantines.

On 29 June, the Crusaders left Nicaea with two groups: Bohemund of Taranto, Bohemond's nephew Tancred, Robert II of Flanders and Tatikios in the vanguard; and Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Boulogne, Stephen Count of Blois and Hugh I of Vermandois in the rear. The first group under the command of Bohemond of Taranto arrived to the Eskişehir region on 30 June and made camp around Dorylaeum. The next day, they were surrounded by Kılıç Arslan I. Even though Kılıç Arslan I had early success against Bohemond, when the second group arrived to the battlefield just after mid-day, the Crusaders had an edge over against Kılıç Arslan and his allies, Hasan of Cappadocia and Danişmend Gazi. The Crusaders attacked from different lines against the Turks, and Turkish arrows had no effect against the Crusader armours. At the end of battle, the Crusaders succeeded against the Turks, and Kılıç Arslan I withdrew from the battlefield. After the Battle of Dorylaeum in 1097, the Anatolian Seljukid State collapsed for a while, and Crusaders moved onwards towards Cilicia and Antioch. The Çaka Bey and Tanrıvermiş states were recovered immediately by the Byzantine army under the control of John Doukas. He reestablished Byzantine rule in Rhodes, Chios, Symrna, Ephesus, Sardis and Philadelphia. Thus, western Anatolia was not able to be penetrated by Turks for about two centuries, until the Ottomans and other Beyliks came up. Kılıç Arslan moved to Central Anatolia, but tried to recapture his territory in Phrygia. In this period, Danişmend Gazi campaigned against the Armenian, Gabriel, in Melitene, but the Crusaders under the control of Bohemond provided

Gabriel with help. In this battle, Bohemond were captured by Danişmend Gazi. His capture demoralized the Crusader army known as the Crusade of 1101, and the Lombards attempted to rescue him. The Crusaders took Ankara from Arslan who depended on Danişmendid. Kılıç Arslan I ambushed them with the alliance of Rıdvan who was the Atabeg of Aleppo in the Battle of Mersivan (Merzifon). In 1101 Kılıç Arslan I defeated the Crusaders again in Heraclia Cybistra (Konya Ereğlisi). After this very important victory, Konya was constructed as a capital for the Anatolian Seljukid State. After one week, another Crusader force led by William II of Nevers besieged Konya, but was defeated by Kılıç Arslan I. In 1104, after Danişmend Gazi died, Kılıç Arslan I campaigned against Danişmendid to take Melitene. In 1106, Yağısıyan, one of the sons of Danişmend Gazi, surrendered the city to Kılıç Arslan. After these victories, Kılıç Arslan I moved towards the east taking Carrhae (Harran) and Amida (Diyarbakır). He advanced to Mosul, but his enemies, Çavlı, Atabeg Rıdvan of Aleppo and İlgazi moved against him (Turan 2010: 579). The battle between them took place in Khabur in 1107, and Kılıç Arslan was defeated. Having lost the battle, he tried to escape, but drowned while crossing the Khabur River.

According to Cahen, “this date marks a turning-point in the history of Asia Minor, and we must stop for a moment to see the balance-sheet of this first phase” (Cahen 2001: 13). The first wave of the peopling of Anatolia by the Turks stopped for about two centuries until the Mongol invasion in the 13th century (Cahen 2001: 13).

After Kılıç Arslan I died, his son Şahin Şah or Melik Şah was held in prisoner in Isfahan until 1110. Şahin Şah returned to Anatolia with his brothers, Arap and Mesud, to assume his throne. He put his brothers in prison in Konya (Abu'l-Farac

Tarihi 1999: 349), but Mesud and Arap escaped. Mesud went to Danişmendid and was married to the daughter of Emir Gazi, but Arap moved to Ankara. After regaining control of Central Anatolia, Şahin Şah besieged Nicaea in 1113 unsuccessfully. In 1116 Alexios I decided to move against the Turkish raids of the Byzantines, and first campaigned in northwestern Anatolia. He succeeded in defeating the Turks in the Battle of Poemanenon (Soğuksu or Eski Manyas) (Birkenmeier 2002: 78). After this victory, Alexios I moved against Şahin Şah in Konya, and the armies met in Philomelion (Akşehir) in 1116. Şahin Şah was defeated in this battle, and he signed a treaty with Alexios I agreeing that Şahin Şah would evacuate the Byzantine lands (Anna Comnena 2003: 486-7). After this defeat, his brother Mesud moved against him with the support of Emir Gazi of Danişmendid. Mesud successfully overthrew Şahin Şah, and captured Konya.

As his first act, Mesud I attended to problems with his brother Arap and new Byzantine king John II of Komnenos after Alexios I. John II recaptured Laodicea (Denizli) and Sozopolis (Uluborlu) from Mesud I, and the Turks living in this area were forced to leave (Choniates 1984: 9; Kinnemos 1976: 14-5). Emir Gazi took Malatya (Melitene) from Mesud's brother Tuğrul Arslan in 1124 (Michel le Syrien 1905, III: 219). Then he captured Ankara, Çankırı and Kastamonu from Arap (Michel le Syrien 1905, III: 224; Abu'l Farac Tarihi 1999: 361). Thus, Emir Gazi became the most powerful leader in Anatolia, but he died in 1134. After the death of Emir Gazi, Danişmendid began to collapse under pressure from Mesud I and John II, and divided into three parts: Yağlıbasan in Sivas, Zunnun in Kayseri and Aynu'd-Devle in Malatya. When Mesud I moved against Aynu'd-Devle in Malatya, John II died, and his son Manuel I became Byzantine king (Magdalino 2002: 3). In 1146, one of the first campaigns of Manuel I was against Mesud I to capture Konya. The

first reason for this campaign was the halt of Turkmen raids from the Eskişehir region to Bithynia (Kinnemos 1976: 37; Choniates 1984: 31). According to Choniates, “When he came to Melangeia, he attacked the Turks in those parts; after he had directed the campaign for the recovery of Melangeia and stationed a garrison for her defense” (Choniates 1984: 31). After passing the Eskişehir region, Manuel I ravaged the area around Konya, but did not succeed capturing it (Treadgold 1997: 640).

In 1147, the Second Crusade under the command of Conrad III entered to Anatolia, and found a difficult terrain in the Eskişehir region. They were defeated at Bathys (modern Porsuk Çay) in Eskişehir region by Turkmens under the command of Mamplanes (Choniates 1984: 39; Kinnemos 1976: 68). Both chronicles write that Turkmens slew large numbers in the Eskişehir region. After this victory, another crusader force under the command of Louis VII was defeated in Laodicea in 1148 by Turkmens (Choniates 1984: 39-42).

After the death of Mesud I in 1155, his son Kılıç Arslan II became Seljukid sultan in Konya (Papaz Grigor’un Zeyli in Urfalı Mateos 1987: 312). During his sovereignty, contemporary chronicles wrote in detail about his struggle against Byzantium in Western Anatolia and the Turkmen population in the region. Therefore, his sovereignty is very important for understanding the Turkmen population, especially in Kütahya and Eskişehir regions, in 12th century. His first struggle against Byzantines occurred in Manuel I’s eastern campaign against Armenian king Toros in Cilicia and Nureddin Mahmud as Atabeg of Aleppo. Manuel I passed the Anatolian Seljukid State to arrive in Cilicia under the permission of Kılıç Arslan II (Magdalino 1993: 76). During his campaign, political turmoil took place in Constantinople because his cousin Andronikos escaped from prison to take

the throne (Choniates 1984: 59-60); therefore he had to turn back to the city (Urfalı Mateos 1987: 326). During his return, Turkmens in the neighborhood of Dorylaion ambushed his army in the valleys of Tembris and Bathys near Cotyaeum in 1159 (Choniates 1984: 63; Urfalı Mateos 1987: 327; Vardan 1937: 204) and shattered the main part of the Byzantine army (Choniates 1984: 63; Urfalı Mateos 1987: 327). These Turkmen attacks caused irrevocable problems between Seljuks and Byzantines. However, Kılıç Arslan II tried to make a peace agreement with Manuel I, and went to Constantinople (Urfalı Mateos 1987: 334). In the end, Kılıç Arslan II and Manuel I signed a peace treaty that lasted 13 years. One of the articles in this treaty was to punish Turkmens who raided imperial territories (Magdalino 1993: 77). In this peace period, Kılıç Arslan II focused on problems in Anatolia, and Manuel I on the Balkans.

This peace period was ended by Manuel I because of successive attacks of Turkmens against Byzantine lands in Western Anatolia. Manuel I acted to solve the Turkmen problem in the borderlands and planned to construct some new fortifications against Turkmens (Choniates 1984: 99). In this plan, he came to the Eskisehir region at first and constructed the Dorylaion fortification (Choniates 1984: 99; Kinnemos 1976: 220). According to Muhibbe Darga, excavator of Dorylaion, the fortification was dated to the Middle Byzantine Period between the 8th and 11th centuries (Darga 1994: 484, 491-92). After Dorylaion, Manuel I proceeded to the south, and also constructed Sublaion fortification in Pisidia. The activities of Manuel I provoked Kılıç Arslan II, especially his activities in Eskişehir, because a huge amount of Turkmen tribes lived in the region (Turan 1971: 205). At the same time, according to Choniates, flocks of Turkmens grazed on the pastures of the Eskişehir region in the summers. Because they didn't want to be under the control of Byzantine

army in the pastures, Turkmens were very angry the construction of a fortification (Choniates 1984: 99). On the other hand, Manuel I didn't want for Kılıç Arslan II to gain strength in Anatolia after his victories on the Danişmendids, therefore he planned to completely destroy the Seljukid sovereignty in Anatolia for the future of the Byzantine Empire. On the Seljukid side, Kılıç Arslan II was livid that Manuel I was in Turkmen living areas in the Eskişehir region. According to Joannes Kinnemos, "at that time two thousand Turks, wanderers, were as usual encamped around it [Dorylaion]" (Kinnemus 1976: 220). Therefore, he sent his envoy, and stated that Manuel I should have left the region (Choniates 1984: 100). Thus, the war between the Byzantine Empire and the Anatolian Seljukid State became inevitable, and both armies met in the mountain pass of Tzivritze (modern day Çivril) near the fortress of Myriokephelon on September 17, 1176. In this war, Byzantine army was defeated calamitously because of military genius of Kılıç Arslan II (Haldon 2001: 142-143; Birkenmeier 2002: 54). Niketas Choniates described the war in detail in his chronicles (Choniates 1984: 101-7). According to Vryonis, the Battle of Myriokephelon was "a clear demonstration of the great growth of Turkish strength in Asia Minor" (Vryonis 1971: 126). Manuel I sent his envoy, Gabras, to negotiate a peace treaty with Kılıç Arslan II (Choniates 1984: 107). According to treaty, in Choniates' chronicles, "Time would not permit certain articles to be spelled out precisely, but it was stipulated that the fortresses of Dorylaion and Souvleon (Sublaion) were to be demolished" (Choniates 1984: 107). Yet Manuel I demolished the Sublaion fortification, though not the Dorylaion (Choniates 1984: 108). On the other hand, Abû'l-Farac and Michael the Syrian wrote in their chronicles that the Byzantine king sent much gold to Kılıç Arslan II to take back a symbolic cross containing a part of the wooden cross that Jesus was crucified on, meaning that the

Byzantine Empire paid war compensation to the Anatolian Seljukid State (Abû'l-Farac Tarihi, II, 422; Michel le Syrien, III: 372). The Anonymous Selçukname supported that a tribute was paid by the Byzantine Empire to the Anatolian Seljukid State, which included one hundred thousand drachmae gold and the same weight of silver, horses, and haircloth (Anonymous Selçukname 1952: 25). At the same time, Michael the Syrian recounted an interesting anecdote about “uç” and the Turkmens. After the peace treaty, Kılıç Arslan II sent three emirs with a cavalry to remove them from there and take them to Constantinople peacefully. “The emirs came to them by night, chased away the Turkmens, removed [the Byzantines] thence, and took to the road. The Turkmens dispersed here and there and disrespected the sultan, who had established friendship with their weakened enemies – who had been besieged and were almost in their grasp” (Michel le Syrien, III: 372, Bedrosian Translation). However, Turkmens followed them and “unexpectedly struck at them seizing clothing, weapons, and horses, killing many, and looting, and from a distance [also] were shooting arrows and slingshots, and killing many of them. The Byzantines complained to the emirs blaming them and saying: ‘This is your doing. You are allowing this’. But [the emirs] swore to them that ‘it is not because of us, but because [the Turkmens] are unbelievers and savages and do not heed us and no one can stop their depredations’” (Michel le Syrien, III: 372, Bedrosian Translation). This anecdote indicates that Turkmen in uç (the borderland) were a group not submitting to the center, and behaving as semi-independent, and even in some ways as completely independent. On the other hand, according to Choniates, Manuel I campaigned against the Turkmens to drive them out in Panasium (Banaz), Lacarion, and Charax in the Uşak region, but he was defeated by the Turkmens (Choniates 1984: 110). According to Vryonis, “these isolated incidents indicate that nomadic

tribesmen on the borders had taken advantage of the battle of Myriokephalum to push their movements and depredations deeper into Byzantine territory” (Vryonis 1971: 126).

Kılıç Arslan II moved to Eastern Anatolia after his victory in Myriokephalon, and embarked on an expedition to take Malatya from Danismedids and to terminate their state. At the end of his expedition, Malatya was taken in 1178 (Michel le Syrien, III: 373; Abu'l Farac Tarihi: 424), and other Turkish states in Eastern Anatolia, Mengüçüks in Erzincan and Saltuks in Erzurum, declared their subjection to the Anatolian Seljuk State (Anonymous Selçukname 1952: 26).

In western Anatolia, especially in Eskişehir region, Kılıç Arslan II was displeased that Manuel I didn't demolish the Dorylaion fortification. The Turkmens grazed their herds of goats and cattle on the fertile plain of Dorylaion, and thought that they would be in danger should they be forced to abandon the Eskişehir region if the Byzantine garrison stayed there (Choniates 1984: 99). On the other hand, according to Micheal the Syrian, after the Battle of Myriokephalon, “the Turkmens dispersed here and there and disrespected the sultan, who had established friendship with their weakened enemies – who had been besieged and were almost in their grasp” (Michel le Syrien, III: 372, Bedrosian Translation). Manuel I left Dorylaion untouched because Turkmens in Eskişehir region were the main problem of the Byzantine borderlands and settlements when they raided and plundered.

Kılıç Arslan II, as other Seljukid Sultans in Anatolia, needed to establish a good relationship with Turkmens and their supports. Kılıç Arslan II “dispatched an embassy to remind him of the articles of the treaty and expressed his surprise that the emperor had not demolished Dorylaion immediately. The emperor responded that he had been able to give but little attention to urgent matters, and made no mention

whatsoever of dismantling Dorylaion” (Choniates 1984: 108). Thereon, Kılıç Arslan II appointed “*Atabeg*” as a commander to ravage the Byzantine lands in the Meander Valley as far as Aegean Sea in Western Anatolia (Choniates 1984: 108). He is *Atabeg* in the Magoulias edition (Choniates 1984: 108), but in the Işiltan edition based on Bekker’s 1835 edition his name is *Atapagos* (Choniates 1995: 133). In this expedition, Seljukid forces were defeated by the Byzantines, and *Atabeg* was killed by an Alan soldier (Choniates 1984: 110). After this defeat, Seljukid forces attacked Claudiopolis (Bolu) located in the north of the Eskişehir region. The Turks “first blocked the defending garrison assigned to the fortress from issuing forth and laid siege to the city” (Choniates 1984: 111). Magoulias dated this siege at the end of 1179 (Choniates 1984: 111). Thereon, Manuel I set out for Claudiopolis as fast as possible via Nikomedia, survived the siege on the city (Choniates 1984: 111-2). Thus, the Byzantine garrison in Dorylaion continued to stand, and it was not demolished for a while.

After the victory of Claudiopolis, Manuel I interested in the problems of the Latins in the Aegean Sea. In the end of his life, he turned toward religion issues in Constantinople (Choniates 1984: 113-25). He died in 24 September 1180 (Choniates 1984: 125). After his death, disorder arose in Constantinople from desires for the crown, but his son Alexios II aged 11 became an emperor for 3 years. In his reign, Renier of Monferrat who was the husband of Manuel I’s half-sister Maria, and Andronikos Komnenos, a first cousin of Manuel I, tried to capture the crown. In this turmoil, Kılıç Arslan II embarked on an expedition against Byzantium, and captured Sozopolis in Pisidia at first, and besieged Attaleia (Antalya) later, but the city was not taken (Choniates 1984: 146). In this expedition, Kılıç Arslan II moved to the north, and Cotyaeum (Kütahya) and many other cities including Dorylaion were

seized by him (Choniates 1984: 146). Cinnemus wrote about Dorylaion that “the Turks, when their assault against the Romans reached its peak, threw down the city to its foundations and rendered it entirely bereft of inhabitants; everything there vanished, even to the barest trace of its former splendor” (Cinnemus 1976: 220). Even though Joannes Cinnemus wrote this anecdote in just before the part of Battle of Myriokephelon in his chronicles when he described Dorylaion and its vicinity, the fortification of the city was pulled down by Kılıç Arslan II in this expedition. As a result of losing Cotyaeum and Dorylaion, Andronikos Komnenos would overthrow Alexios II, and became an emperor in Constantinople.

In 1185, Kılıç Arslan II divided the state among his sons, and Muhyiddîn Mesud governed the Eskişehir region with Ankara, Çankırı and Kastamonu (Ibn Bibi 1996, I: 41; Aksarayî 2000: 23; İbnü'l-Esîr 1987, XII: 83; Turan 1971: 217). Choniates wrote that Kılıç Arslan II transferred power to his sons and they governed their lands also; “To the Ikonian Kiliç Arslan, who in former years was a most formidable foe of Emperor Manuel and was crowned with victory in battle, were given many sons. To Mas`ud [Muhyi al-Din] he allotted Amaseia and Ankara, prosperous Pontic cities; Qutb al-Din governed Melitene and Koloneia together with Kaisareia; Rukn al-Din was given Aminsos, Dokeia, and other coastal cities to rule. This Kaykhusraw ruled Ikonion, Lykaonia, and Pamplylia and governed all the land stretching to Kotyaeion” (Choniates 1984: 286).

After this division, Kılıç Arslan II stayed in Konya as sultan, and his sons as *meliks* governed their lands. But another Crusader army moved from Europe to reconquer the Holy Land from Saladin. Even though another Crusader threat was close to the Seljukid State, Kutbeddîn Melikşah tried to rule over and annex his brothers and father’s governed areas (Turan 1971: 226). Therefore, he occupied

Konya, and governed there in the name of his father in 1189 (Anonymous Selçukname 1952: 26).

In 1189, Third Crusade moved from Europe to the Levant to retake Jerusalem and Acre from Saladin Ayyubid. The Third Crusaders preferred to pass through Meander Valley in Western Anatolia, not through Sangarios Valley as had other previous Crusader armies. Therefore, the Eskişehir region did not come across another Crusader Army. Therefore, Kılıç Arslan II and Kutbeddîn Melikşah fought against the Third Crusade commanded by the German Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in Akşehir at first, and then in Konya (İbnü'l-Esir 1987, XII, 52). Kılıç Arslan II and Melikşah were defeated in Konya by Barbarossa in 1190, and Kılıç Arslan made peace with Barbarossa, and the Crusader army passed through the Seljukid state without problems with the guidance of emirs charged by the sultan (İbnü'l-Esir 1987, XII, 52; Abû'l-Farac Tarihi, 1999, II, 454; Michel le Syrien, III: 407). Shortly afterwards Melikşah assaulted his brother Nureddin Sultansâh in Kayseri. During this campaign, Kılıç Arslan II escaped and first went to his son Nureddin, then Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev in Uluborlu (İbnü'l-Esir 1987, XII, 82-3). Melikşah then declared himself sultan in Konya, and again assaulted his father and his brother Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev, but in the course of the battle, Kılıç Arslan II died in 1192, and was buried by Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev in Konya. Then, Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev became the new sultan of the Seljukid State (İbnü'l-Esir 1987, XII, 83; Abû'l-Farac Tarihi, II, 463; Michel le Syrien, III: 289).

Even though it was an interregnum period, the Anatolian Seljukid State emerged to gain power in Konya between Melikşah, Nureddin and Keyhüsrev. The other sons of Kılıç Arslan II governing the lands close to uç went on assaulting and subjugating lands from the Byzantine Empire, especially Mesud as Melik of Ankara

and Eskişehir. In this period, Melik Mesud intervened in the struggle for the throne in Constantinople, and supported Manuel's son Alexios from Cilicia (Choniates 1984: 253). The false-Alexios (*Pseudoalexius*), described by Choniates, attacked the Byzantine towns in Bithynia with 8000 Turkmens under Arsan supported by Mesud (Choniates 1984: 253). Then, Alexios III Angelos, current emperor in the Byzantine Empire, arrived in Melangeia/Malagina in 1195 to gain support, and gained the recognition of its inhabitants (Choniates 1984: 253; Foss 1990: 164). The city was located between Bosphorus and Dorylaion by Ramsay (2010: 204), but Foss described the settlement as a place of considerable strategic importance for the Byzantine Empire (Foss 1990: 161), and located it around Yenişehir in the lower Sangarius River valley (Foss 1990). The arrival of the emperor from Constantinople to a *polisma*, a town, in the borderland of the Seljukid State and requirement of the recognition of the people living in this area all indicate the importance of the region for the Byzantine Empire and the severity of the attacks of false-Alexios with Turkmens. On the other hand, Choniates mentioned that Mesud demanded money in order to keep the peace, maybe in exchange for false-Alexios, but Alexios III was niggardly about the money (Choniates 1984: 260). Therefore, according to Choniates, Byzantine Empire lost some lands in Paphlagonia, "the city of Dadibra [Safranbolu] fell, and submitted to the Turks" (Choniates 1984: 260). Dadibra, Safranbolu, was laid siege by Mesud from July 1195 to December 1196. Choniates wrote that "The Turk set out with all his forces, pitched his camp around this city, where he remained and laid siege. Time wore on, but the barbarian swore not to lift the siege until Dadibra surrendered. The siege stretched into four months, with no help from any quarter for the Dadibrenians. Through emissaries the emperor urged them to resist bravely, promising to fight along with them, but as he would always

change his mind when he was on the verge of setting out, their adjoining neighbors, the Paphlagonians, did not dare to draw near and come to their aid. Then the besieged despaired of all succor. They were particularly distressed by famine and utterly ruined by the engines that discharged their stones from the hills outside into the middle of the city, demolishing the dwellings, hurling lime, and letting fly whatever else was deleterious for man; these shattered the water receptacles and ruined everything drinkable which stood and did not run” (Choniates 1984: 260). Then, Alexios III sent an imperial auxiliary force, and they arrived and encamped in Mount Babas, but they were defeated by Mesud. Because of severe siege and this defeat, Dadibrenians conceded their city to Mesud in 1196. After a while later, Alexios III made peace with Mesud and paid tribute (Choniates 1984: 261). Thus, Mesud expanded his lands from Eskişehir in the west to Amasya and Safranbolu in the north, and Ankara became a prosperous cultural center in his reign (Turan 1971: 261). When Alexios III made peace with Mesud in the east, he focused on Bulgarian and Vlach issues in the Balkans. But, Alexios III demanded soldiers from Mesud to add to his army against the Vlachs. According to Choniates, “the Turks who were sent to the emperor as allies by the satrap of the city of Ankara took Vlachs captive by the spear” (Choniates 1984: 278). Thus, Mesud became one of the most important allies for the Byzantine Empire.

In 1196, a fight for the throne in Konya broke out between Keyhüsrev and Süleymanşah governing in Tokat and its vicinity, and Süleymanşah became new sultan of the state (Anonymous Selçukname 1952: 26-7). Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev was exiled in Constantinople for 9 years (Akropolites 2007: 124). During this period, Süleymanşah was interested mostly in Eastern Anatolia and the Georgian Kingdom (Turan 1971: 242-65). On the other hand, the problem between Turkmens of Arsan

in Eskişehir region and Byzantine Empire emerged in 1199. Alexios III sent an army under the command of Andronicus Dukas against Turkmens, and simultaneously the emperor had gone to Nicaea and Prusa to protect them from Turkmens located in the Bathys area (Porsuk Çayı) (Choniates 1984: 273). According to Choniates, many Turkmen lived in Bathys area, and he described Arsan as an emir of Eskişehir region; “After a long delay, he [Andronicus Dukas] mounted an attack against the Turks with the troops under his command, but, after conducting nocturnal assaults against the shepherds and herdsmen of a certain amir Arsan, he returned shortly afterwards” (Choniates 1984: 273).

Before his campaign against Georgians, Süleymanşah planned to rule out his brother Mesud because a powerful Mesud could have been problem for his reign in Anatolian Seljukid State when he was in Georgia. Therefore, he conferred with Mesud, and he left his lands to Süleymanşah on condition that he and his two sons stayed in a fortification in uç, most probably in the Eskişehir region. According to Turan, “rumor has it that he and his two sons were killed on the road while they were going to fortification mentioned before” (Turan 1971: 262). After a while, on the road of his campaign against Georgians, Süleymanşah died in 1204 of an enteric disease (İbnü'l-Esir 1987, XII, 76).

In 1204, Constantinople was stormed and occupied by Latins, the soldiers of the Fourth Crusade; therefore Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev left the city. The death of Süleymanşah and his heir Kılıç Arslan III as a child, which was disapproved of by the frontier Turkmens, helped Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev to found his reign again with the support of three descendants of Danişmendid Yağıbasan (Cahen 2001: 42). His second reign in Konya began in 1205. (İbnü'l-Esir 1987, XII, 78; Abû'l-Farac Tarihi, II, 463). During their periods, he and his sons, İzzeddin Keykavus and Alaeddin

Keykubad, were interested mostly in the eastern, northern and southern borders of the state, not in the western because at this moment Western Anatolia was administered by different Byzantine aristocrats in exile, and Theodoros Laskaris founded a new Byzantine state in Nicaea.

One of the Byzantine aristocrats in this region, Manuel Maurozomes, whose daughter was married to Keyhüsrev (Choniates 1984: 143), had taken refuge with Keyhüsrev when Constantinople was occupied by the Latins. After leaving Constantinople, Keyhüsrev and his father-in-law moved to Nicaea at first, and Theodoros Laskaris forced Keyhüsrev to sign a treaty in agreement of passing his lands to Konya. According to this treaty, Laodicea ad Lycum (Denizli) and Chonea (Honaz) were given to Manuel Maurozomes (İbn Bibi, İbnü'l-Esir 1987, XII: 78). According to Choniates, "Making peace with Kaykhusraw, the sultan of Ikonion, he assigned a part of his dominion to the sultan's father-in-law, Manuel Mavrozomes. This portion included my own homeland, Chonai, whence I, the author Niketas, derive, as well as neighboring Phrygian Laodikeia and the lands through which the Maeander wends to discharge its waters into the sea" (Choniates 1984: 350). At the same time, David Komnenos, one of the founders of the Empire of Trebizond, founded his principality in Paphlagonia with the support of the Latins in Constantinople (Akropolites 2007: 120; Choniates 1984: 343; Ostrogorsky 1996: 364, 369).

In the first years of his reign, Keyhüsrev seized Antalya from a Frankish king named Aldebrandinus in 1206 (Choniates 1984: 351), then focused on the eastern border of the state. The last Byzantine emperor before Latin's occupation in Constantinople, Alexios III refuged to Keyhüsrev in Antalya. According to Akropolites, he was welcomed most warmly by Keyhüsrev (Akropolites 2007: 129),

because Alexios III sheltered him in Constantinople during his exile (Turan 2011: 310). Keyhüsrev thought that supporting Alexios III could have been a perfect pretext for attacking Laskaris' land in western Anatolia. Therefore, he sent an envoy to Nicaea to call upon Theodoros Laskaris to relinquish his lands to Alexios III as a legitimate emperor. Theodoros Laskaris refused his demands, and therefore, Keyhüsrev launched a campaign against Theodoros Laskaris' land in western Anatolia (Akropolites 2007: 129; Savvides 1991: 97-8). Keyhüsrev, with Alexios III in tow, attacked Antioch on Meander, but Theodoros Laskaris vanquished Keyhüsrev and Alexios III in the Battle of Antioch on Meander in 1211 (Akropolites 2007: 130-1; Savvides 1991: 99-101). Keyhüsrev was killed on the battlefield, and Alexios III was captured by Nicaeans. The battle was the last major encounter between the Anatolian Seljuks and the Byzantines in history, and Anatolian Seljukid State lost Western Anatolian lands. In 1212, according to Akropolites, "The emperor Theodore also prevailed over the ruler of Paphlagonia, David, and brought to terms Herakleia and Amastris and all the surrounding land and fortresses" (Akropolites 2007: 132). Thus, the Nicaean Byzantine State reoccupied Western Anatolia completely in 1212. His successors, Keyhüsrev and his sons, İzzeddîn Keykâvus and Alâeddin Keykubad, were mostly interested in strategical harbours, Antalya and Sinop, and the eastern borders of the state.

After this victory, the Eskişehir region could have been a part of Byzantine land because the successor of Theodoros Laskaris, John III Doukas Vatatzes settled Cumans in eastern regions of the state in 1237. Even though Akropolites and Pakhymeres described only the "eastern region" (Akropolites 2007: 215; Pakhymeres 1984, I: 126), Gregoras described the "eastern region" as Meander and Phrygia (Gregoras 1973, I: 81). In the reforms of Diocletian, a Roman emperor from 285 to

305 AD, Phrygia was divided into two provinces: Phrygia Salutaris based on Afyon, Eskişehir and Ankara; and Phrygia Pacatiana based on eastern Meander Valley and Denizli. In the Byzantine period, Phrygia belonged to Tema Anatolikon (Haldon 1997: 157), but the term Phrygia remained in use at the end of the Byzantine Empire to describe the ancient Phrygian region. Gregoras' description of "eastern region" indicates the division of both Phrygian areas; Meander means Phrygia Pacatiana, Caria and Lydia, and Phrygia means Phrygia Salutaris. Therefore, on the basis of Gregoras' description, the Eskişehir region was a part of Nicaean Byzantine State in the beginning of 13th century. In the end of the century, during Michael VIII's reign, the area beyond Sangarios River was called 'Scythian desert' by Pakhymeres (Pakhymeres 1984, I: 290-3, II: 633). Scythian means Cuman or Pecheneg in Byzantine chronicles, even though Persian means Turk, therefore Pakhymeres' identification as "Scythian" supports that the Cumans were settled in the Eskişehir region by John III Doukas Vatatzes. In an encomium of John III Doukas Vatatzes, his son and successor Theodoros II Laskaris praised him in the following words: "Having removed the Scyth [*Cuman*] from the west and the western lands, you led his race to the east as a subject of people and, substituting [them] for the sons of Persians [the *Turks*], you have securely fettered their assaults towards the west" (Opuscula Rhetorica 2000: 28.107-29.2; Vásáry 2005: 67; Bartusis 1992: 26).

John III Doukas Vatatzes' settling of Cumans in "eastern region" was based on a restoration in the system of frontier defences against Turks, and according to Pakhymeres, made "this to be one of the most outstanding achievements of Nicean state" (Ostrogorsky 1996: 442; Pakhymeres 1984, I: 126-7). A group of Cumans numbered tens of thousands (Gregoras 1973, I: 81) compelled to move on by the Tartars, crossed the Danube with their wives and children, roved around in Thessaly

and invaded Thrace (Gregoras 1973, I: 81; Pakhymeres 1984, I: 126). According to Gregoras, John III Doukas Vatatzes succeeded in settling most of them in eastern region “with gifts and diplomacy made them over from a very savage to an obedient people” (Gregoras 1984, I: 126). Thus, Cumans were settled as *stratiotes* in the frontier areas of Nicaean state (Ostrogorsky 1996: 442-3; Vásáry 2005: 67; Bartusis 1992: 26). *Stratiotes* means ‘soldier,’ “often with the added sense of ‘pronoia soldier’” (Bartusis 1992: 383) that had individual’s landed property. On the other hand, in this settling process, “barbarian” Cumans, according to Gregoras, converted “from a very savage to an obedient people” (Gregoras 1984, I: 126), or “[John III Doukas Vatatzes] changed them from their wild nature” (Akropolites 2007: 215) meaning that they were “Romanized” and baptized by the Byzantines. In Kantakouzenos’ chronicle, one of Cuman leaders named Sytzigan, from Cuman-Turkic Sičğan, meaning ‘mouse’ (Vásáry 2005: 68), was baptized and given the Christian name Syrgiannes by his godfather (Kantakouzenos 1982: 22; Vásáry 2005: 67-8; Bartusis 1992: 27). Thus, “Romanized, baptized and settled” Cumans played a key role as *akritai*, smallholding soldiers installed in the frontier zones of Nicaean state, such as the Eskişehir region. According to Bartusis, the Cumans “lived on the fringes of the Empire and led the more dangerous life of the highlander, probably practicing the same mixture of agriculture and transhumance in the hills of Anatolia as did the indigenous population and similarly serving a buffer between Nicaean farmers and Turkish nomads” (Bartusis 1992: 26). Pakhymeres’ calling the area beyond Sangarios River as “Scythian desert” in the end of the 13th century indicates that Cumans still settled in the Eskişehir region when the Ottomans came (Pakhymeres 1984, I: 290-3, II: 633).

In this military restoration process, a frontier towns and castles with provincial garrisons or *themata* were constructed by John III Doukas Vatatzes (Korobeinikov 2008: 724). In this context, Karacahisar in the Eskişehir region must have been constructed in this period. Even though there is no any historical document or data about Byzantine Karacahisar, the archaeological excavations in the castle indicate a Late Byzantine period material culture dated some time after 1204 (Parman 2001; Parman 2003; Parman & Parla 2004; Parman, Parla & Bursalı 2006). Eskişehir region was taken by Kılıç Arslan II during his campaigning in the region after the Battle of Myriokephelon, after which his son Mesud governed the region. After Seljukid defeat in the Battle of Antioch on Meander in 1211 and the annexation of the lands of David Komnenos, the ruler of Paphlagonia on the Black Sea shores, by Nicaea, the Eskişehir region belonged to Nicaean Byzantine State for a short time. Therefore, Karacahisar as a Late Byzantine frontier castle must have been constructed in the military restoration project of John III Doukas Vatatzes based on the system of frontier defenses against the Turks. But, in the north of the region, Hüsemaddin Çoban Bey was the governor of Kastamonu in 1211 (İbn Bibi 1996: 80)

While re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire through militaristic and economic achievements by John III Doukas Vatatzes was enhancing Nicaea as a major powerful actor in the Balkans and Anatolia, the formal rivals of Nicaea were eliminated and weakened, such as Konya into unabating internal turmoil. After the death of Alâeddin Keykubad, the Anatolian Seljukid State soon found itself embroiled in revolts and turmoil, then lost its independence and finally became a vassal state to the Mongol Empire. In the Keykubad period, Celâleddin Mengübirtili, the last sultan of Khwarazm Shahs, attempted to flee to Anatolia with his followers because of the Mongol invasion in Transoxiana and Khurasan. After he captured the

town Ahlat from Ayyubids and after allying with the Erzurum governor Cihanşah, Anatolian Seljuks and the Ayyubids decided to launch a campaign against the Khwarazm Shahs to halt any potential danger for their sovereignty in Eastern Anatolia. The armies fought in Yassıçemen located in Erzincan in 1230, and the Khwarazm Shahs were defeated by Keykubad I (İbnü'l-Esir 1987, XII: 462; İbn Bibi 1996: 420-421). For Anatolian Seljuks the principal gain in the Battle of Yassıçemen was the annexation of principality of Erzurum. But, it was a cursed victory for Anatolian Seljuks because they then confronted the upheavals of Iranian world and the approach of the Mongols (Cahen 2001: 61). The Mongolian invasion and pressure on the people living in Transoxiana, Azerbaijan and Khurasan indicates a new influx of Turkmens to Anatolia in great numbers. These new-comers were concentrated mainly in the Sivas-Amasya-Bozok region, the Taurus Mountains and the mountainous areas in the Byzantine borders (İnalçık 2002: 47). They lived a quasi-independent existence, always opposed to the heavy taxation of central bureaucratic system of the Anatolian Seljuks (İnalçık 2002: 47; Vryonis 1971: 133). The problematic relations between the Turkmens and the Anatolian Seljukid bureaucracy galvanized the most important revolt of Turkmens against the Seljukid state in 1240, during the reign of Keyhüsrev II, under the leadership of Baba İshak, a follower of Baba İlyas who was a Turkmen sheikh of Vefâiye order (Elvan Çelebi 1995: 47-54; İbn Bibi 1996: 498-9). But this revolt was suppressed vigorously by Keyhüsrev II. Turkmens were not sufficiently assimilated into the Anatolian Seljukid bureaucratic system (Vryonis 1971: 134; Önder 1959: 83-88), and as a result of this, the descendants of Baba İlyas, Aşık Paşa, Muhlis Paşa and their successor *Babais* migrated to the frontier zone (İnalçık 2002: 47). Thus, according to İnalçık, they played a crucial role in the social and cultural life in the frontier

societies (İnalçık 2002: 47). Only three years after this revolt, the Anatolian Seljukid state was invaded by the Mongol commander Baiju, and crushed by the Mongols in the Battle of Köseadağ. The complete defeat in Köseadağ resulted in the decline and disintegration of Anatolian Seljukid state, and devastated other neighboring states, including the Komnenos Empire of Trebizond and Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. Even though they became vassals of Mongols, the Mongolian invasion was bypassed the Nicean state (Ostrogorsky 1996: 445). According to Ostrogorsky, the Mongolian invasion brought immense economic benefit to the Byzantines and foodstuffs in the Nicaean state were purchased at prices by the Turks (Ostrogorsky 1996: 445). On the other hand, the turcicization of Anatolia accelerated in this period because of mass Turkish immigration as a result of Mongolian pressure in Transoxiana, Azerbaijan and Khurasan.

3.2. Mongolian Period

In 1206, Temüchin was acclaimed in a great *quriltai* (general assembly) as supreme khan of Turko-Mongol tribes living in Mongolia and Manchuria, and he assumed a title of “Chingiz Khan” meaning universal leader (Secret History 1982: 141-71; Morgan 1986: 61). It was marked as the beginning of Great Mongolian Empire in history. Chingiz Khan expanded his Empire to Central Asia at first, and then Transoxiana and Eastern Persia. Later, he raided Kievan Rus’, later devastating the Caucasus. When he died in 1227, his son Ögedei became the khan, and expanded the empire to Southern China. Then his general Chormagan destroyed Khwarezmian Empire of Celâleddin Mengü Berti completely in 1230. According to Sümer, Chormagan found his military quarters in Mogan Valley in Azerbaijan, and some of his soldiers were located in the Arran Valley in the same region (Sümer 1967: 130;

Sümer 1970: 3). Both valleys had been Turkmen areas before they came, and as a result of Mongol pressures in these areas, many Turkmens migrated from Azerbaijan to Anatolia. Huge Turkmen migrations to Anatolia led to emerging internal problems and turmoil in the Anatolian Seljukid State. Therefore, as mentioned before, the Baba İshak revolt was based on these new-comer Turkmens, or *Ağaç Eri*, living in Elbistan, Maraş and Malatya. Rashiduddin described them as an historically Turkish tribe in his *Jami'u't-tawarikh* (Rashiduddin 1998: 31). After the Baba İshak revolt, many Turkmens and their religious leaders were forced to move to the frontiers of the Anatolian Seljukid state. One of the Vefaiyye-Babai shaykhs, Ede-Bali, would be depicted as the spiritual teacher of Osman Gazi in future Ottoman annals (İnalçık 2002: 47). Meanwhile, many Iranians migrated from Persia to Anatolia in this period also (Sümer 1970: 6). According to Sümer, these Iranians played pivotal roles in intellectual, social, economic and political life in 13th century Anatolia. They had mostly urbanized identity, and founded their colonies in urban centers such as Konya, Kayseri and Sivas (Sümer 1970: 6).

In the beginning of the Mongolian period, Çobanoğulları governed in Kastamonu, and Turkmens lived in the Eskişehir region. According to Akropolites, Michael Palailogos, as commander in Nicaea, and future Byzantine emperor, “came to the dwellings of Turcomans” when he was going to Aksaray to support the Seljukid army against the Mongols in 1256. Turkmens were “people who occupy the furthest boundaries of the Persians [Anatolian Seljukids]” (Akropolites 2007: 315). Pakhymeres wrote on this event in more detail, especially regarding geographical location. He wrote that Michael Palailogos crossed the Sangarios River, the boundary between the Turks and Niceans, making his way to Konya (Pakhymeres 1984: 42-3).

Even though Akropolites refers to some Turkmens attacking him, Pakhymeres didn't write anything about such an event.

When Möngke became the Great Khan of the Mongolian Empire after the death of Chingiz Khan, he appointed his brother Hulagu Khan, founder of Ilkhanate, to govern Iran and complete the conquest in southwestern Asia (Cahen 2001: 184). In the beginning of 1256, Hulagu established himself in Iran, located in Mugan Valley, and he gave his soldiers to Arran (Sümer 1970: 11-12; Cahen 2001: 184). Therefore, Baiju who lived in Mugan and his soldiers in Arran moved from Iran to Anatolia, and demanded land from the Seljukids for his troops to quarter themselves permanently (Cahen 2001: 184). But this movement led to an internal disorder in the Seljukids because of the loss of resources, economic difficulties from supporting Mongolian troops, and “the effective military control secured to the Mongols to the detriment of the Seljukid magnates” (Cahen 2001: 184). As a result of this, İzzeddin Keykavus II, sultan of the Anatolian Seljukid State in this period, and some beys around him planned to halt Mongolian pressure on Anatolia. Baiju's troops and the Seljukid army met in Aksaray in 15 October 1256. The Seljukid army was defeated in Aksaray by Baiju (Aksarayî 31-32; Anonymous Selçukname 1952: 32; İbn Bibi 1996: 146-148; Abû'l-Farac Tarihi, 1999, II, 562). In this battle, Michael Palailogos fled to Paphlagonia with Alp Yürek who was the governor of Kastamonu and the son of Hüsameddin Çoban Bey (Akropolites 2007: 316). After the defeat, according to Abû'l-Farac, Baiju moved to “Bithynia” on the sea-coast (Abû'l-Farac Tarihi, 1999, II: 563). Armenian chronicler Kirakos wrote that Baiju reached the “Mediterranean as well as Black Sea shore” (Kirakos 1986: 311-2). According to Korobeinikov, “Bithynia” in Abû'l-Farac means the Seljukid part of Paphlagonia, which was very close to Bithynia (Korobeinikov 2014: 193). Therefore, after the Battle of Aksaray in

1256, the Kastamonu and Eskişehir regions belonged completely to the Mongols. According to Aksarayî, Tuğrayî Şemseddin was inducted as vizier of the Seljukids by the Mongols, and the Kastamonu region was given to him (Aksarayî 2000: 47). After his death, the region was given to Taceddin Mu'tez as *ikta* by the Mongols (Aksarayî 2000: 55). In Eskişehir region, Cacaoğlu was sent there as *emir* by Mongols (Temir 1989: 202). According to Togan and Temir, Cacaoğlu was a Mongol (Togan 1981: 466, note 20; Temir 1989: 184-5). Aksarayî wrote that he suppressed a Turkmen revolt in Anatolia in 1261 as the Kırşehir *emir* (Aksarayî 2000: 56). Because of this information, it can be said that he was governed a land from Kırşehir to Eskişehir in this period. In 1272, he dedicated all of his possessions to his descendants and the madrasah, mosque and inn (*han*) he had constructed. In this *vakfiye*, a small mosque (*mescit*), but incorrectly referred to as Alâeddin Mosque by scholars, was constructed by him in Eskişehir. But according to İhsan, it was later destroyed because of a road construction in Ottoman times (İhsan 1934: 262). Alâeddin Mosque in today was constructed during a later period, but the minaret of the previous small mosque was standing in the ruins next to Alâeddin Mosque, and its inscription was still there in 1934 (İhsan 1934: 262). According to the inscription, the small mosque was constructed by Caca oğlu Nur El-din in 1268 and the settlement was called "Sultan Üyüğü" (İhsan 1934: 263). Besides this small mosque, he had constructed an inn (*han*) with a small mosque, named Babahan in *vakfiye*, and had 17 small mosques repaired (Cacaoğlu Vakfiyesi 1989: 128). Seventeen small mosques, Şeyh Abdullah el-Bedevî zaviye and another inn before his period indicate that there had been a Muslim settlement, Sultan Üyüğü or Sultan Yüğü, in Eskişehir before Cacaoğlu, but there is not any adequate information about this settlement in current Seljukid or Byzantine chronicles. Only information about this settlement in

the 12th century comes from a travel book of an Arab traveler, Ali bin el-Herevî, dated to 1172. According to el-Herevî, “Sultan Üyüğü is located on the borderland of infidels, and called Av-Germ (*ilica*) by Muslims, and al-Thirma (*thermae*) by Greeks. The hot springs are incomparable, and patients come there to heal” (Turan 2011: 232).

In Cacaoğlu vakfiye, are listed the names of dedicated villages and farms (*çiftlik*) in the Eskişehir region. In this vakfiye, seven villages were dedicated to *Caca oğlu Nur el-Din Vakfiye* (Cacaoğlu Vakfiyesi 1989: 127). These seven villages were gathered in two areas in vakfiye: Kara Gova, Eğri Özi, Alıncık and Göç Özi were neighboring villages, and Eğri Özi is modern day Eğriöz village located in the northwest of Eskişehir. Alıncık could be the modern Alıncak village close to Eğriöz, but Alıncak village were founded by Balkan immigrants in the 19th century. Even though Çavlum village in the east of Eskişehir had a zaviye in the 14th century (Altınsapan 1999), the village was abandoned by its dwellers sometime in Ottoman period, and re-settled by Tatar and Balkan immigrants in the 19th century. But, the name of the village was kept by new comers in the 19th century because local people continued to call the area Çavlum. Therefore, the old name of the village must have been accepted by new-comers. As did Çavlum, Alıncak must have remained in the historical memory of the people in the region, and new-comers called their village Alıncak.

Other neighboring villages in *vakfiye* were Sündek (Sündük or Sevindik), Direklü and Saruv Kavak. Saruv Kavak is modern Sarı Kavak located in the southeast of Eskişehir. Sündek, according to Temir it could be Sündük or Sevindik could be modern Sevinç close to Sarı Kavak. The location of Kara Gova, Göç Özi and Direklü is unknown today. On the other hand, *vakfiye* listed some names of

people having landed properties (*mülk*) and of inheritors in the region; İlyas or Emir İlyas, Emir Nemre, Emir Ali, Cemal el-Din Bedel, Muhammed, Melik İlyas as owner of landed properties, Kaymaz and Abdullah as inheritors. At the same time, *vakfiye* mentioned two mills, farms, gardens having fruit trees, wells and houses. The information in *vakfiye* and accounts of el-Herevî indicate that it is problematic to describe the Turkmens and Early Ottomans as only nomadic groups (Lindner 1983; Lindner 2007; Vryonis 1971).

In 1277, Cacaoğlu was listed among the prisoners of Baybars of the Mamluks after the defeat of the Mongol-Seljukid army in the Battle of Elbistan (Baybars Tarihi 1941: 86; Anonymous Selçukname 1952: 37). After the battle, Abaqa Khan, the son of Hulagu and second ruler of Ilkhanate, came to Anatolia to capture Baybars, but he went back to Egypt (İbn Bibi 1996: 196-9; Aksarayî 2000: 87-9; Anonymous Selçukname 1952: 38). In the battlefield, Abaqa saw many Mongolian corpses, and therefore attacked Divriği and other Anatolian cities to punish the Anatolian Seljukids (Anonymous Selçukname 1952: 38). Mongolian violence led to Turkmen revolts in Anatolia. Karamanids with the Eşref and the Menteşe launched a great offensive against the Mongols and Seljukids (Cahen 2001: 204).

In Kastamonu and the Eskişehir region, Çobanoğlu family occurred again under the governorship of Muzaffereddin Yavlak Arslan as *emir* in the late 1270s (Yücel 1988: 42; Turan 2010: 532). In this period, Ibn Bibi wrote that Empire of Trebizond (*Canik* in Ibn Bibi) delivered an attack by sea on Sinop, but the Mongolian governor of the city, Tayboğa, succeeded in repelling this attack with the support of Çobanoğlus (*Çepni* in Ibn Bibi) (Ibn Bibi 1996: 238). According to Cahen, this support indicates that they had been in agreement with the Seljukid-Mongol government during this period (Cahen 2001: 209). In 1280, Muzaffereddin

Yavlak Arslan supported Mesud II, the last Seljukid sultan, against Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev III, and they moved from Sinop to İlkhane palace in Iran to show Mesud II's loyalty to Arghun Khan (Ibn Bibi 1996: 248). Thus, Çobanoğlu Muzaffereddin Yavlak Arslan intervened in internal problems of the Anatolian Seljukid state in the struggle for the throne. This intervention gave him a power base in İlkhane government at first, but in 1291 the turmoil after death of Arghun led to Turkmen revolts in Anatolia, and Muzaffereddin Yavlak Arslan supported Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan against Mesud II in the turmoil. After the death of Arghun a decline of Mongolian dominance in Anatolia began because of the struggles for the throne and assassinations in İlkhane palace, in addition to the Mongols being more focused on Syrian issues against Mamluks than on Anatolia.

After the death of Arghun, Gaykhatu became the new İlkhane khan in Iran, and moved to Anatolia to suppress the Turkmen revolts. Gaykhatu first attacked against Karamanids, Eşrefs and Menteşes, then sent his troops to Kastamonu where Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan had fled. In the battle, Muzaffereddin Yavlak Arslan was killed by the Mongols (Aksarayî 2000: 137). His son Mahmud became emir in Çobanoğlu (Yücel 1988: 48).

In this period, the Germiyans emerged as new political actors in Western Anatolia. When the Karamanids occupied Konya and Cimri had ascended the throne with Karamandid Mehmet as vizier, appointed by them in 1277. *Melikü's sevahil* Bahaddin and the two sons of Fahreddin Ali, supporting the Mongolian campaigns financially in Anatolia, prepared a counter-attack from their *iqta* of Karahisar, supported by Germiyans (Cahen 2001: 206; Aksarayî 2000: 95-96; Ibn Bibi 1996: 203-6). Two sons of Fahreddin Ali, Taceddin Muhammed and Nusreteddin Mahmud were titled "*emâret-i vilayet-i uç*" (governor of the borderland) and Kütahya,

Sandıklı, Gorgorum (Beşşehir) and Akşehir were given to them as *iqta* when Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan ascended the throne in Konya in 1248 (Aksarayî 2000: 52). According to Cahen, the Germiyans had probably been settled in Kütahya by them in order to control and keep an eye on the Turkmens in this period (Cahen 2001: 206). The anti-Turkmen role of the Germiyans in their first period can be noted many times in the chronicles. In 1279, the Germiyans joined the Mongolian-Seljukid army against Cimri who sheltered the Turkmens in the Sangarios River. The Sangarios Turkmens and Cimri were defeated in the battle, and Cimri was arrested by the Germiyans (Aksarayî 2000: 101-3; Ibn Bibi 1996: 236-8; Cahen 2001: 209). According to Ibn Bibi, “Cimri was flayed alive, and his skin, stuffed with straw, promenaded on a donkey through every city of Rum” by the Germiyans (Cahen 2001: 209; Ibn Bibi 1996: 238). In this period, according to Aksarayî, Çobanoğlu Ali Bey was governor of the borderland (*emir-i büzürg*), and he was killed either by Kılıç Arslan IV, or Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan, because of his support of Cimri (Aksarayî 2000: 103). In 1277, in the first battle against Cimri in Altıntaş, Kütahya, two sons of Fahreddin Ali, Taceddin Muhammed and Nusreteddin Mahmud were killed by Turkmens, and then the Germiyans occupied their *iqtas* in Kütahya (Cahen 2001: 215). Thus, Germiyan Beylik was first founded in this period, but as Çobanoğlu, they had problems with Mesud II in the late 1280s.

On the Byzantine side, Michael VIII Palaiologos recaptured Constantinople from the Latins in 1261. According to Nicol, the location of Nicaea was better than Constantinople for fighting against the Seljuks in Anatolia (Nicol 1996: 19). At the same time, the Nicaean Byzantines were more united and better organized than in many previous generations in Constantinople. Nicaea as a center of the continuing Byzantine and Orthodox tradition became more important than other post-Byzantine

states after the Latins, in Trebizond and Epirus (Nicol 1996: 19). In Epirus, Theodore Komnenos Doukas was defeated by the Bulgarians in 1230. After the defeat in the battle of Klokonitsa, Epirus never regained its power, and it was divided into two parts: Thessalonica and Epirus. Thus, the Doukas Dynasty encountered the pressures of the Bulgarians and Latins, and ceased to be a threat to the Lascaris Dynasty in Nicaea's continuing construction of Byzantine and Orthodox tradition. Firstly, Theodore Laskaris' annexation of territory in the Western Black Sea to where the Empire of Trebizond expanded under David Komnenos, and secondly the Mongolian invasion of Anatolia, led to the ceasing of a threat by the Komnenos Dynasty in Trebizond for Nicaea. Thus, Nicaea was constructed as a new center for Byzantine socio-political and religious tradition by the Lascaris Dynasty. On the other hand, the Mongolian invasion in Anatolia made the Empire of Nicaea stronger and more secure than its neighbors because of Mongolian damage to the Seljuks, Trebizond and the Balkans (Ostrogorsky 1996: 439; Nicol 1996: 23). According to Nicol, "the eastern frontier of the Byzantine world was indeed now protected more effectively than it had been since the great days of the tenth century" (Nicol 1996: 24). After the death of John III Doukas Vatatzes, his son Theodore II Laskaris became the emperor. But he was an epileptic, and died 1258. During his period, Arsenios was selected as patriarchate. He was to be one of the main problems for Byzantine in the future. Before his death, he left George Mouzalon as regent for his minor son John IV Laskaris, but Mouzalon was murdered by Byzantine aristocrats in 1258 because he was not one of the blue-blooded aristocrats of the Byzantine Empire (Geanakoplos 1959: 39-40; Ostrogorsky 1996: 444-7; Nicol 1957: 157-8; Nicol 1996: 29). Thus, the regency of the infant John IV Laskaris passed to Michael VIII Palaiologos who

was a member of Palaiologos family moving in high circles in the Byzantine Empire since the 11th century (Nicol 1996: 29).

As a regent, Michael VIII laid his hands on institutions of the Empire of Nicaea in 2 years, and obtained the power of an emperor. He then planned to recapture Constantinople from the Latins to realize his full power, and to become a new emperor. In this plan, he needed the support of Genoa and its fleet; therefore he signed a treaty with Genoa in Nymphaeum in March 1261 (Geanakoplos 1959: 81-91; Vasiliev 1958: 537-8). For only a few weeks after it had been signed Constantinople fell without the support of Genoese fleet (Nicol 1996: 34). Although the possession of Constantinople made the Byzantine Empire a great power once again in the Mediterranean and European worlds, the maintenance and rebuilding of Constantinople taxed the resources of the few remaining provinces. In addition, the continuing threat of western world to recover it, and the rivalry of the separatist Byzantine rulers in Epirus and Trebizond led to high defense expenditures for the city. Therefore, the people living in the few remaining provinces in Byzantine Anatolia began to feel neglected and aggrieved (Nicol 1996: 44). In addition, the coronation of Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261 and the proclamation of his son Andronikos as co-emperor disturbed Byzantine elites and ordinary people, especially those living in Anatolia (Angold 1975: 296). According to Pachymeres, prophets of doom showed up in Bithynia and declared that the recapture of Constantinople was a disaster for Byzantium (Pachymeres 1984, I: 204, note 3).

These internal problems transformed Byzantine socio-political systems, especially in Anatolia, leading to a problematic structure that continued for a long time after John Laskaris was blinded by Michael VIII. According to Byzantine law, a blind man could not be an emperor, therefore the power transferred from the Laskaris

dynasty to the Palaiologians. Thereon the Patriarch Arsenios excommunicated Michael VIII Palaiologos, and one of the main social and religious problems in Byzantium, called the Arsenites movement, began to affect Anatolian Byzantium on a large scale. As a first hostile reaction against Michael VIII, a big revolt in Nicaea occurred, and Michael VIII sent an army to quell the riots (Nicol 1996: 45). Thus, Byzantine cities in Anatolia such as Nicaea, Brusa, Nikomedia, Ephesos and Philadelphia began to be alienated from the new emperor in Constantinople, and “the sympathies of many of them continued to be with the family of Laskaris rather than with that of the usurper Palaiologos” (Nicol 1996: 44). It meant disintegration between Constantinople and Anatolian Byzantium. In 1265, Arsenios was deposed and sent to exile by Michael VII. Germanos III was appointed as Patriarch, but he resigned. In 1266, a monk named Joseph was enthroned as Patriarch, and he accepted Michael VIII back into the church (Pachymeres 1984, I: 259-71; II: 335-53, 379-99). The problem was solved by Michael VIII ostensibly, but the quarrel lasted till 1315 and was carried on between the Arsenites and Josephists. This quarrel contributed to Anatolian Byzantium’s alienation from Constantinople. According to Nicol, even though people in Constantinople belonged to Joseph, and were loyal to Michael VIII because they thought he had liberated them from Latin domination, people in Anatolia were part of the Arsenites movement, and the opposition against Michael VIII was strong (Nicol 1996: 46). Because of this, Patriarch Arsenios was exiled to a monastery in Bithynia close to the Turkish borderland. Bithynia and its vicinity became a rallying point for all Arsenites and people who remembered and supported the Laskarids in the past (Laurent 1945: 250-55; Nicol 1996: 81). Thus, “The Arsenite schism” disrupted the Byzantine Empire, and Anatolian Byzantium became

an area where there was a sense of neglect in the Constantinopolitan central socio-political system.

This political and religious turmoil in Constantinople provided encouragement for the Turkmens. The neglect of administration and defense in Byzantine Anatolia contributed to the expansion of Turkmens in Western Anatolia. But, the main problem between Byzantine Anatolia and Constantinople occurred when Michael VIII attempted the reunion of churches of Rome and Constantinople in 1274 through accepting the “errors” of the Orthodox Church in *Filioque* (Geanakoplos 1959: 258-64; Gill 1979: 120-41). Even though it was a diplomatic triumph for Michael VIII in Europe against Charles d’Anjou who planned to found the Latin Kingdom in Constantinople, it created political and religious turmoil against him in Byzantine Anatolia. “A Catholic emperor” and “a Catholic patriarch” in Constantinople strengthened the opposition against him gathered around the Arsenite movement, and the Josephites joined in this opposition (Papadakis 1997: 68-9). Byzantine Anatolia, Epiros and Trebizond welcomed the refugees from Constantinople who refused to sacrifice the principle of their Orthodox faith against Catholics (Nicol 1996: 62). Thus, Byzantine Anatolia was further alienated from Constantinople.

Not only the Arsenite schism but also the reunion of churches under Rome turned Byzantine Anatolia into a center of opposition against Constantinople and Michael VIII’s sovereignty. As a result of this, the defence of Byzantine Anatolia, especially the Sangarios River Valley, was affected by problems in the economic and social structure in the region. The region was under heavy taxation to support the reconstruction of Constantinople and expense of the defenses in European Byzantine lands. This situation alienated the region from Constantinople. Pachymeres and

Gregoras described how Michael VIII brought ruin to the Byzantine system in Northwestern Anatolia.

“For the Emperor had exhausted the treasury and bankrupted the Empire by his subsidies to the ‘nations’, and he had imposed crushing taxation on the people of these areas to make up the deficiencies. He seems also to have supposed that, by depriving them of the necessities of life, he would weaken their powers of resistance; for he feared that these people were most prone to rebel against him because of their loyalties to the house of Laskaris and to the Patriarch Arsenios. He appointed to the task of fleecing them by taxation, vile creatures of no distinction... and the farmers of Paphlagonia and further afield, unable to find the tax in currency, which they were required to do, gave up the hopeless task and went over to the Turks day by day, regarding them as better masters than the Emperor. The trickle of defectors became a flood, and the Turks employed them as guides and allies to lead them the other way and to ravage the land of those who remained loyal to the Emperor, at first by way of raiding parties, but soon as permanent settlers taking over the land. The Emperor meanwhile turned a deaf ear to all appeals for help, and spent all his energies on the west, disregarding what was at his own feet” (Pachymeres 1984, I: 291-3, translated to English by Nicol 1996: 83).

According to Gregoras, it became “the origin of disasters of Romans” (Gregoras 1973, I: 137). In Pachymeres account, Paphlagonia means the Bilecik and Bolu areas. Central Paphlagonia, Kastamonu, was governed by Chobanids for years. In this context, the social and economic problems in Byzantine system of the region contributed to the Ottoman’s expansion in the north of the Eskişehir and Söğüt region in the future.

3.3. Early Ottomans until the End of Osman I’s Period

When Süleymanşah founded the Anatolian Seljukid State in Nicaea in 1075, many Turkmens migrated to Northwestern Anatolia with him, and some of them settled in Eskişehir region. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Byzantine and Crusader chronicles indicate that these Turkmens continued settling in the region, even though the Anatolian Seljukid State left the region and moved to Konya. In addition, they became one of the main reasons for problems between the Byzantine Empire and the Anatolian Seljukid State. The Eastern campaigns of many Byzantine Emperors from Alexios I and Michael VIII were mostly based on the problems of Turkmens in Northwestern Anatolia, especially in Eskişehir region, such as the Battle of Myriokephelon. In the Byzantine Chronicles, there were two leaders of Turkmens in Bathys (modern Porsuk Çay) in Eskişehir region: Mamplanes, who defeated the Crusaders in 1147 (Choniates 1984: 39; Kinnemos 1976: 68), and Arsan in the beginning of 1200s (Choniates 1984: 253; 273).

Mamplanes was described as commander of Turkmens in Bathys, and he is an unknown character in the other chronicles. On the other hand, the stories of Arsan in Choniates are similar to stories of Ertuğrul in the Ottoman chronicles in later periods. In Choniates’ chronicle, Arsan first appeared as the commander of Melik Mesud of

Ankara, the son of Kılıç Arslan II, and sent by him to help pseudo Alexius in attacking to towns in Bithynia with 8000 Turkmens (Choniates 1984: 253). From this first account, it could be said that Arsan would have lived in a region around Ankara. According to Neşri, Ertuğrul came to Ankara and settled in Karacadağ (Neşri 1995, I: 60-61). Some other Ottoman chroniclers gave the same information (Şükrullah 1947: 51-2; Ruhi 1992: 375; Bayatlı Mahmud Oğlu Hasan 1947: 394; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 49; Oruç Beğ 2014: 9; Kemal 2001: 25). Nişancı Mehmed Paşa, however, differed by writing that Kayık Alp, grand grandfather of Ertuğrul, settled in Karacadağ in Ankara (1947: 343). On the other hand, in Selçukname of Yazıcızade Ali, Ertuğrul attacked towns in Bithynia under the command of Alaeddin Keykubad (İnalçık 2007:480; Yazıcızade Ali 2009: 353).

In the second account about Arsan in Choniates' chronicle, he appeared again as emir of the Turkmens in Bathys (Porsuk Çay) in the Söğüt and Eskişehir regions in the beginning of the 1200s (Choniates 1984: 273). According to Choniates, Alexios III sent an army under the command of Andronicus Dukas against the Turkmens, and simultaneously the emperor had gone to Nicaea and Prusa to protect them from Turkmens located in the Bathys area (Choniates 1984: 273). In this period, Arsan would have moved from Ankara to Eskişehir and Söğüt, and become the emir of the region, and attacked the Byzantine borderland. According to some Ottoman chronicles, Ertuğrul settled in Söğüt after leaving Ankara, and attacked to the Byzantine borderland (Neşri 1995: 60-1; Şükrullah 1947: 51-2; Ruhi 1992: 375-6; Nişancı Mehmed Paşa 1947: 343; Bayatlı Mahmud Oğlu Hasan 1947: 394; İbn-i Kemal 1991, I: 49; Oruç Beğ 2014: 9; Kemal 2001: 25). These similarities indicate that Arsan in Choniates' chronicle in the beginning of 1200s would have been young

Ertuğrul, and Choniates' account supports Ottoman narratives about Ertuğrul, as does contemporary information.

In the first period of Söğüt, Ertuğrul as emir or bey belonged to the Chobanid family in Paphlagonia. In Selçukname of Yazıcızade Ali, Sultan Alaaddin (Alaaddin Keykubad) left the administration of *uç* to the sons of Hüsameddin Bey (Hüsameddin Çoban), and Ertuğrul, Gündüzalp and Gökalp (Yazıcızade Ali 2009: 353). According to Yücel, because of this account, Ertuğrul and his brothers should have belonged to Chobanids (Yücel 1988: 39). The title of Yavlak Arslan, the son of Hüsameddin Çoban, *Melikü'l-ümera, Sipah-bud-i diyar-i uc* in *Kavâ'idü'r-risâil* supports that Ertuğrul and Osman I belonged to Chobanids also (Yücel 1988: 43; Togan 1946: 316). In this period, the Byzantine *tekvurs* of the Bilecik and Eskişehir regions were alienated from Constantinople, and came under the domination of Seljuk Sultanate (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 93; Neşri 1995, I: 64-5; Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 10). In the Byzantine chronicles, this alienation was described very well also, and the politics of Michael VIII on the eastern borders were criticized, indicating his mistakes in the region (Pachymeres 1984, I: 291-3, Gregoras 1973, I: 137). It is deduced that Ertuğrul lived in a peaceful relationship with Byzantine *tekvurs* under the domination of the Seljukid Sultanate until he died (Neşri 1995, I: 64-5; İnalçık 2007: 481).

After Ertuğrul, Osman I became bey of the Ottomans at the end of the 13th century (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 94; Neşri 1995, I: 70-1; Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 11; Şükrüllah 1947: 52; Ruhi 1992: 377-8; Nişancı Mehmed Paşa 1947: 344; Bayatlı Mahmud Oğlu Hasan 1947: 395; İbn-i Kemal 1991, I: 65; Oruç Bey 1972: 23; Kemal 2001: 33). Osman I was an *Alp* fighting against the Byzantines in the frontier also (İnalçık 2007:491-5; İnalçık 2002: 49). According to İnalçık, the

alps among the Turks were descendants of noble families in the Central Asian tradition (İnalcık 2002: 59). In Mongolian, it was called *noyan*, and the Mongol *noyans* from aristocratic families held the title *bagatur*. Similarly, the Ottoman *alps* held the honorific title of *bahadır* (İnalcık 2002: 59). Under their command, Early Ottoman *gazis* engaged in the military campaigns against the Byzantine frontiers. In the Aşıkpaşazade chronicle, Osman I campaigned against the Byzantines with the *alps* as his allies (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 99-100).

According to İnalcık, Osman I was a *bey* or *alp* under the rule of the Chobanid family in Paphlagonia (İnalcık 2002: 49). The problems between Mesud and Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan for the Seljukid throne turned Paphlagonia to a warzone in 1291. After turmoil in 1291, the son of Yavlak Arslan, Ali, led a campaign of raids to on the Byzantine lands, and captured the areas around the Sangarios River valley (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 362), but he later stopped the raids and founded peaceful relations with the Byzantines (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 364). After he stopped the raids, Osman I began to organize gaza activities against the Byzantine lands. As a result of this, the *gazis* began to gather around Osman I. Pachymeres mentioned that Osman I took up the leadership and was ruling over the Söğüt area near the Sangarios River valley (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 364-6). Thus, Ottoman Beylik was founded by Osman I, and it was named after its founder Osman because of the patrimonial tradition in Turkish culture that the state and its subjects were regarded as the patrimony of a dynasty (İnalcık 2002: 49).

According to Pachymeres, the fighters came from areas as far as Paphlagonia because of the success of Osman I (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 364). Analyzing this account in Pachymeres, it should be said that the Ottomans completely cut their dependence on the Chobanid family in Paphlagonia. At the same time, Şemseddin

Yaman Candar was sent to Paphlagonia by Gaykhatu to help Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan in the conflict with Mesud for the Seljukid throne in 1291 (Müneccimbaşı Ahmed 1868, III: 29-30). In acknowledgement of this help, Gaykhatu gave him the Ilkhanate *timars* centered on Eflâni (Müneccimbaşı Ahmed 1868, III: 29-30). In later Ottoman *tahrirs*, the city was called Eflaganlu (Barkan 1953-54: 216). Later, Şemseddin Yaman Candar's son, Süleyman, took Kastamonu and Zalifre castle (it was later called Burglu) from Mahmut Bey of the Chobanid family (Yazıcızade Ali 2009: 910). In this period, the Ottomans began to behave independently from Chobanids, and it could be claimed that as a result of the annexation of Kastamonu, many Turkmens in Paphlagonia began to gather around Osman I instead of Ilkhanid related Candars, as Pachymeres mentioned.

In this period, Osman I's headquarters were at Söğüd, but early Ottomans as transhumants moved from Söğüd to Domaniç Mountain with their flocks in the summers. According to Aşıkpaşazade, during their seasonal migration, there was hostility between the Ottomans and İnegöl Tekvur because of the trampling by their flocks of agricultural lands of İnegöl (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 94, Bab 3). In this dispute, Bilecik tekvur supported Osman I against İnegöl Tekvur (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 94, Bab 3). Because of these problems, Osman I fought with İnegöl Tekvur in Ermeni Beli on the road between Söğüd and Domaniç (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 94, Bab 3). After this first conflict, Osman I moved against İnegöl, and took Kulaca castle close to İnegöl in 684/1285 (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 96, Bab 5). Thereon, İnegöl Tekvur appealed to Karacahisar Tekvur for support against the Ottomans. According to Aşıkpaşazade, Karacahisar Tekvur, named Kalanoz in the Aşıkpaşazade chronicle, and İnegöl Tekvur advanced on Osman I together. The Ottomans and Tekvurs made war in İkizce, and the Ottomans gained a big victory. But, Osman's brother Sarı Yatu

died in the battlefield (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 96, Bab 5). According to İnalçık, this battle would be the first big battle of Osman I in history (İnalçık 2007: 500).

After the İkizce Battle, according to Aşıkpaşazade, Karacahisar Tekvur became a *yagı* (enemy) of the Seljuks and lost the patronage of the Sultan (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 97, Bab 6). Thus, Osman I received the right to attack Karacahisar directly. Karacahisar is a steep fortress founded a hilltop only seven kilometers away from Odunpazarı, the old town of Eskişehir. Karacahisar Tekvur as a local Byzantine commander was a *haracguzâr* (tributary) of the Seljukid Sultan, meaning Seljukid Sultan had left this fortress to him as his vassal. According to Islamic Law, as a part of the Daru'l-Islam, Karacahisar was under the patronage of the Seljukid Sultan. An attack on the fortress by anybody meant an attack on the authority of the Sultan. Osman I had not attacked any Byzantine *haracguzâr* fortress under the protection of the Sultan in the region before İnegöl and Karacahisar Tekvurs attacked Osman I as a Muslim leader in the region. Thus, both Tekvurs converted from Daru'l-Islam (*illik* in Turkish) which was the status of being a part of the Islamic territory to Daru'l-Harb (*yagilik* in Turkish) which was the enemy land (İnalçık 2002: 51). According to Aşıkpaşazade, the Sultan declared that the Karacahisar Tekvur became “*yagi*”, so he attacked him with Osman I (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 97, Bab 6). During this attack, in the Aşıkpaşazade chronicle, receiving the news of the attack in central Anatolia by Bayancar, an Ilkhanate commander, Sultan Alâeddin had left aforementioned siege on Osman (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 97, Bab 6). Osman I then captured the fortress in 1288. According to İnalçık, Osman’s capture of Karacahisar in 1288 was confused with the Bayancar incident and the revolt of Sülemiş, the other Ilkhanate general in Anatolia, in 1299 in the Ottoman chronicles (İnalçık 2002: 51). Furthermore, according to İnalçık, “in 1288, the Saljuqid sultan

was not Alâeddin, but Gıyâseddin Mes'ud II. Sülemish's revolt in 1299 may be related to Osman's claim of independence, because it was a result of this revolt that the outlying frontier regions became virtually independent of Ilkhan's authority" (İnalçık 2002: 51).

After the Karacahisar conquest, Osman I campaigned against the north of the Eskişehir region. In this campaign, Köse Mihal, Tekvur of Harmankaya-Göl region, helped Osman I because he knew the Middle Sangarios Valley and the Tekvurs in this region very well (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 99; Neşri 1995: 88-93). Köse Mihal was a *nöker* of Osman I. According to İnalçık, *nökerlik* or *yoldaşlık* are usually established through a ritual "*anda*" meaning an oath of allegiance to the leader of a *gaza* (İnalçık 2002: 59). Köse Mihal, a Byzantine tekvur of Harmankaya, was captured as a prisoner in a war by Osman, and then he became Osman's *nöker* (Neşri 1995, I: 76-7). Thus, he served with him loyally in the military campaigns, and in Osman's relations with the Byzantine tekvurs in the region (İnalçık 2002: 59).

In this campaign, Osman I first visited Beştaş Zaviye in Eskişehir to obtain information about the best place in Sangarios to cross the river. They crossed the Sangarios River in Sarucakaya and met with Samsa Çavuş, a gazi leader in the north side of the Middle Sangarios Valley. They moved from there to Sorkun, located in the north of the valley, and then to Mudurnu. According to Aşıkpaşazade, Osman I didn't try to capture Mudurnu castle (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 100). They then plundered Göynük, Taraklı-Yenice and Göl-Pazarı in the north side of the Middle Sangarios Valley. Osman I came back to Karacahisar by crossing Sangarios in Harmankaya. According to İnalçık, even though the aim of the campaign was seen as booty raids, the main aim of this campaign was the representation of new authority of the Karacahisar over Tekvurs (İnalçık 2007: 506).

During this period, Osman I killed his uncle Dündar (Tündar) because of a difference of opinion regarding politics against the Bilecik Tekvur and other post-Byzantine subjects in the region. According to Neşri, Dündar supported maintaining a good relationship with the Bilecik Tekvur. Neşri writes “(Dündar) said that Germiyan was an enemy, we should not have become an enemy towards Bilecik Tekvur also” (Neşri 1995: 94-5). Osman I understood this judgement against his right of independence, and killed his uncle Dündar with an arrow (Neşri 1995: 94-5).

Even though Osman I was described as being against the local Christian population and the Tekvurs in Neşri’s account, Aşıkpaşazade wrote different stories about Osman’s relations with the local Christian population. In the Aşıkpaşazade chronicle, Osman I spoke with his brother Gündüz after the capture of Karacahisar (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 98-99, Bab 9). In this conversation, Gündüz proposed going on booty raids. But, Osman I replied to his brother “our city Karacahisar will never reach prosperity with continuous raiding activity. It is wiser to establish reconciliation with our neighbours.” (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 98-99, translation of this account in İnalçık 2002: 50). In this account, Osman I is shown as a protector of the local Christian population against the Germiyanids’ attacks. Osman’s protection policy was based on “*istimâlet*” meaning gaining the support of people through reconciliation and protection (İnalçık 2002: 50). According to İnalçık, *istimâlet* was important for the Ottoman conquests and the rapid spread of Ottoman rule (İnalçık 2002: 50).

In 1299, Osman I campaigned in the western Eskişehir, and captured Bilecik, Yarhisar and Yenişehir. According to chronicles, he claimed his independence for the first time in Karacahisar at this time because he had the *hutbe*, that is religious sermons, read in his name (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 103, Bab 14).

According to İnalçık, it seems that Aşıkpaşazade tried to depict Osman as an independent governor like the other Turkmen rulers in Anatolia (İnalçık 2002: 50). Later, he appointed a *kadi*, a religious judge, in Karacahisar to declare his rule (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 104, Bab 15). Thus, he engaged in organizing his small state as a Turkish-Islamic state (İnalçık 2002: 50).

Osman I founded Yenişehir as his center for raids, but his family stayed in Bilecik (Neşri 1995: 120-1). According to İnalçık, it is certain that the capture of the Bilecik-Yenişehir region was a turning point in Osman's career (İnalçık 2007: 509; İnalçık 2002: 51). At this point, the final target of Osman was the capture of İznik (Nicaea) where had been captured by the Crusaders in 1097 from Süleymanşah.

He marched to İznik in 1302. But, before this campaign, he brought Marmaracık and Koyunhisar in Bursa valley under control to block any Byzantine attacks in this area. After crossing the Avdan Mountains via Kızılhisar valley, he besieged İznik. Then, Andronikos II Palaiologos sent a Byzantine force including recently hired Alan mercenaries under *meğas hetaireiarches* George Mouzalon to rescue the city. Byzantine and Ottoman forces met in the plain of Bapheus located in what is Yalova today.

Two independent historical sources, the Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle and Pachymeres' Chronicle, wrote of the siege of İznik and the Battle of Bapheus, Koyunhisar Battle in Ottoman chronicle, in detail. According to the Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle, Köprühisar, a strategic stronghold on the way to İznik, was captured by Osman at first. Then, Ottoman forces crossed the valley of Yalak-Dere. The siege of İznik from all directions was not possible because of the marshy landscape of İznik. Therefore, Osman decided on a strategy of a blockade and famine. For this strategy, Osman founded a *havale*, a watch tower, on the mountain

side of the city, and placed a small armed force therein, under the command of Draz Ali. Then, Andronikos II Palaiologos sent a Byzantine force because of a dispatch sent to the emperor by the people of İznik, saying that they needed outside help to avoid surrender to the Ottomans. The Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle says that “When the Byzantine emperor found out about this situation, he gathered a large naval force with a large number of soldiers and sent them to the region in order to expel the gaza fighters from İznik... In response to this, the gazis laid an ambush. In the mean time, the infidel soldiers came to harbours in the Yalak-Ova plain and began to land at night. When they set their feet on the ground and began to unload their horses and war equipment, the gazis launched their attack, taking refuge in God, and then began to kill enemy soldiers... those who remained in the ships were forced to go back” (Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 13).

According to Pachymeres’ Chronicle, the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos sent a Byzantine force under *megas hetaireiarches* George Mouzalon in order to relieve İznik (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 366). The Byzantine force was composed of 2000 paid soldiers including Alan mercenaries, and there was disagreement among them (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 366). The fortress of Bapheus located right on the way to Bapheus Plain (Yalak-Ova) before entering this plain. The fortress of Bapheus was named Koyunhisarı in Ottoman sources. Its ruins today are called Çoban Kale. This fortress has been confused with another Koyunhisarı in Bursa as von Hammer-Purgstall incorrectly wrote that this battle was located in the Bursa valley. But, Halil İnalçık correctly determined the location of the battle and its date (İnalçık 1993: 96-98). According to Pachymeres, the Ottoman force was formed of 5000 foot soldiers and a light cavalry under Osman himself. The Ottoman force was composed as well of gazis from Paphlagonia and the Meander Valley (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 366). The

Ottoman forces gained their first victory in the Battle of Bapheus against Byzantine imperial forces. Pachymeres mentions that disputes and panic within the Byzantine forces led to a fatal defeat for Byzantine Empire, even though the Alans fought well. Pachymeres gives 27 July 1302 as the date of the battle (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 366). Ottoman tradition dated the Yalak-Ovası Battle one year before Dimbos Battle in H. 702 the year begun 26 August 1302 (İnalcık 1993: 97). Thus, the battle must have taken place in the previous year, in the summer of 1302. According to İnalcık, both sources are in agreement here on the course and the date of the battle (İnalcık 1993: 96-98; İnalcık 2002: 53; İnalcık 2007: 509-14).

The victory of the Ottomans over Byzantine imperial forces was the first major achievement of Osman, and it established Osman as a charismatic leader in the region. Pachymeres writes that Osman's fame reached as far as Paphlagonia, and many gazis began to flow to his side after the victory. Even though Aşıkpaşazade is silent about this battle and victory, Neşri notes that it meant the actual independence of a nascent Ottoman Beylik, because the victory opened the way to found his dynasty and allowed his son to succeed him in the Beylik without opposition. Yazıcızade Ali also writes that Osman's fame spread to the faraway corners of Anatolia and the gazi fighters rushed to gather under his command. According to İnalcık, 27 July 1302 can be accepted as the date of the formation of the Ottoman dynasty, and accordingly, the Ottoman State (İnalcık 1993: 97-8, İnalcık 2002: 53; İnalcık 2007: 514).

The effect of this victory on the Byzantine side was fatal for their future in Asia Minor, and it heralded the final loss for Byzantine Empire (Laiou 1972: 91). This victory led the Ottomans to future expansions and as a result, the Byzantine Empire lost its control in Bithynia. Although, as Pachymeres notes, the Byzantine

emperor and authorities took the threat of the Ottomans seriously for the future of Byzantine Empire, it was too late to gain a Byzantine Asia Minor again. The faults of Michael VIII and his western centered policy in the state induced an isolated and weak Byzantine Asia Minor against the Turks.

After the Battle of Bapheus, Tekvurs of Bursa, Adranos (modern Orhaneli), Bidnos, Kestel and Kite (the modern village of Ürünlü) in the Bursa valley allied against Ottomans and advanced to Yenişehir (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 105, Bab 17; Neşri 1995: 114-116). Osman I defeated them in the pass of Dimbos (the modern village of Erdoğan) close to Kestel on the way to Yenişehir. Osman's nephew, Aydoğdu, and Tekvur of Kestel died in the battlefield. The Tekvurs of Bursa and Andranos escaped their fortress, but Osman followed the Tekvur of Kite. The Tekvur sought refuge in Lopadion (modern Uluabat), but he was given to the Ottomans as a result of a negotiation between Osman and the Tekvur of Lopadion. He was then killed and Osman captured the Kite fortress (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 105; Neşri 1995: 114-116). The victory of Dimbos led to the opening of a settlement of Turkmens in the Bursa Valley, and to a siege of Bursa in 23 years (İnalçık 2007: 515). Osman constructed two *havales* named Aktimur and Balabancık in the skirts of Uludağ Mountain in Bursa to blockade and control of the city (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 106, Bab 18).

After the Dimbos victory, the Byzantine Empire lost its control completely in Bithynia. The position of Osman in the region strengthened after this victory, and many gazis from Paphlagonia and other beyliks of Anatolia gathered around Osman for *doym* (booty) and *gaza* (holy war) against Byzantine Empire (İnalçık 2007: 516). Therefore, Osman held another booty raid against Byzantine fortresses in Sakarya valley, but it was preparations for the capture of İznik. Aşıkpaşazade

recounts this campaign in detail (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 107-8, Bab 20). Before this campaign, Köse Mihal, tekvur of Harmanakaya, converted to Islam. During the campaign Orhan, the son of Osman, stayed in Karacahisar, and Osman followed the Sakarya River passage, capturing the fortresses in this passage respectively. He captured Leblebüci Hisarı without any resistance at first, and then Lefke (modern Osmaneli) and Çadırlu. According to Aşıkpaşazade, the Tekvurs in these three fortresses became nökers of Osman. A small fortress close to Lefke was given by him to Samsa Çavuş. After Lefke, he also captured Mekece without any resistance. Then, Osman went towards Ak Hisar (modern Pamukova), but the Tekvur of this fortress resisted. The Tekvur of Ak Hisar took sheltered in the Kara-Çepüş fortress (Katoikia, today Paşalar Kalesi) after losing the battle against Osman. Osman then captured Geyve (Kabakia) without resistance as, before the Ottomans came, the tekvur left the fortress but was later arrested by gazis.

During this campaign, Çavdar Tatars in Germiyan assaulted Karacahisar. But Orhan fought them off (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 108, Bab 21). According to Aşıkpaşazade, the Sakarya Valley campaign dated to H. 704, a year between 4th August 1304 and 25th June 1305. After this campaign, Osman cut the connections between İznik and Constantinople. For the Byzantines, according to Pachymeres, it caused a panic in Constantinople, and a loss of all hope for regaining Bithynia (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 450-4). Osman was not a serious threat for Byzantine Empire any more. Nevertheless, the Byzantine emperor offered one of his illegitimate daughters as a wife to Ilkhanid Gazan Khan, and after Gazan's death, to his successor, Öljaitü to receive their help against the Ottomans in 1304 (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 502-8; Laiou 1972: 176). Andronikos II had two known illegitimate daughters, Maria and Irene. In 1292, Maria was married to Tokhta, khan of the

Golden Horde, who died in 1312 (Rashiduddin 1999: 654). Therefore, Andronikos' negotiations cannot have concerned Maria (Laiou 1972: 176, note 66). It was probably Irene whom Andronikos offered as a wife to the Ilkhanid Khans. But Irene was later married to John II of Thessaly (Cheetham 1981: 280). This shows that Andronikos' negotiations on marriage with Khans failed. Nevertheless, he continued seeking the help of Ilkhanids, and sent embassies to request help from the Khans against the Ottomans (Pachymeres, II, 459-60; 588; Gregoras I: 214). According to Pachymeres, the khan was preparing to send 40000 men; another 30000 were already around Konya and were awaiting instructions. But they never came to Bithynia and or Western Anatolia.

As a last hope, he sent his sister Maria, the widow of Öljaitü's grandfather Abaqa Khan, to İznik to use a Mongolian threat as a factor against the Ottomans (Pachymeres 1984, II: 620, 637). Maria had gained an effect on the Ilkhanids because of Abaqa Han. Called Despina Hatun in the Mongolian palace, she had a strong reputation there (Runciman 1960: 46-53). According to Laiou, "she had instructions to promote the marriage and to try to persuade the Ottomans to accept Andronikos' authority. She would use the impending arrival of the Mongols as a weapon of persuasion" (Laiou 1972: 176). But, her effort was ineffective on the Ottomans, and Osman went on besieging İznik. In this period, Öljaitü focused his effort mostly against the Memluks. Pachymeres' chronicle finishes with the news coming to Constantinople that Öljaitü attacked the Turks with his 30000 soldiers (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 646). But, again, the news was not true.

After the Sakarya Valley campaign, Osman sent his son Orhan with Mihal Gazi, Akça Koca, Konur Alp and Gazi Rahman to conquer the Kara-Çepüş (Kataikia, modern Paşalar Kalesi) and Kara-Tigin fortresses (Aşıkpaşazade 1947:

108, Bab 22). According to İnalçık, the goal of this campaign was the complete isolation of İznik from other Byzantine areas (İnalçık 2007: 517). Orhan first captured Kara-Çepüş, then the Absuyu and Akhisar fortresses. At the end of this campaign, Orhan captured the key fortress, Kara-Tigin, to gain control of İznik. The Kara-Tigin fortress was used as a *havale* like Draz Ali constructed by Osman. In this campaign, Orhan told the commander of Kara-Tigin fortress that his rancor was against İznik, not Kara-Tigin (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 109; Neşri 1995: 126-7). Thus, after capturing these fortresses in the Sakarya Valley, the road to İznik opened for the Ottomans, and it helped them control the roads going to İznik from Nicomedia (İzmit) and Constantinople. At the same time, after this campaign, Akça Koca began his booty raids on Nicomedia and the Kocaeli peninsula, while Konur Alp captured Akyazı, Konurpa, Mudurnu and Bolu in the east of the valley (İnalçık 2007: 518).

When the Ottomans expanded in Bithynia, the other beyliks, being neighbors of the Ottomans, expanded in western Anatolia, also. But, their expansion didn't coincide with that of the Ottomans. All historical sources mention that the Germiyanid Beylik was very strong at this time and even Byzantium paid it one hundred thousand *drahmi* as an annual tribute (Varlık 1974: 36). Germiyanids were settled in Kütahya region in order to keep an eye on the Turkmens in the region by Ilkhanids (Cahen 2001: 206). The main Turkmen group in the region resided in the Sangarios Valley in Eskişehir region, and that was the core population of the Ottomans. Therefore, according to Aşıkpaşazade, Ottomans and Germiyanids fought each other often (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 99, Bab 9) until the Çavdar Tatars invaded Karacahisar when Osman campaigned against the Tekvurs in Sangarios Valley in 1313. Aşıkpaşazade wrote that the Ottomans and Germiyanids made peace after this Çavdar's invasion until Yıldırım Beyazıd's Anatolian campaign against the other

beyliks in 1390 (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 108, Bab 21). In their first period, the Germiyanid Beylik controlled an area between Kütahya and Denizli, but Hüsameddin bin Alişîr fought with the Seljukid vizier Sahip Ata to keep hold of Denizli until 1289 (Varlık 2006: 153). According to inscription on mimbar of Kızılbey Mosque in Ankara, dated to H. 699 (1299), Yakub bin Alişîr had it repaired (Uğurlu 1967: 77). This information on the inscription indicates that the Germiyanids expanded their beylik through Ankara in 1299. Therefore, the southern and eastern Ottoman borders were surrounded by Germiyanids in the period of Osman I. According to Varlık, the Germiyanids declared their independence against the Seljukid Sultan in the period of Yakub (Varlık 2006: 153). In his period, dated between 1300 and 1340, the Germiyanids were mostly interested in expanding into the last Byzantine lands in the Meander Valley. In this expansion, Yakub besieged Philadelphia (modern Alaşehir) in 1303 (Muntaner 1921: 494, Pachymeres 1984, IV: 468). But, M. Ç. Varlık dated this siege in 1306 (Varlık 2006: 153). However, according to Muntaner and Pachymeres, by August 1304, Catalans hired by Andronikos II against the Turks in Western Anatolia had achieved a certain amount of success in Asia Minor, and the Turks abandoned the siege of Philadelphia (Muntaner 1921: 494-7, Pachymeres 1984, IV: 476-8). The defeat of the Germiyanids in Philadelphia caused to cease the Germiyanid's expansion in Western Anatolia, and the Germiyanid Beylik weakened. According to Taş Vakfiye in Kütahya, the Catalans captured Kula and Angir (Simav) after the defeat in Philadelphia, and Yakub's son Mehmed recaptured these towns after 1340 (Varlık 1974: 148; Varlık 2006: 154). But, Catalan Chronicer Muntaner wrote that Catalans, under the command of Roger de Flor, moved back to Magnesia (modern Manisa) from Philadelphia, and thence down to the coast to Ephesus (Muntaner 1921: 496). The

Catalans then moved to Gallipoli and Thrace to help Andronikos's son Michael IX against the Bulgarians (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 486). Therefore, Muntaner and Pachymeres don't support the information regarding the Catalan capture of Kula and Simav on Taş Vakfiye written and erected by Germiyanid sultan, Yakub II in 1414. It is problematic that the Germiyanids revealed themselves as losers against the Catalans through unnoted events. But, it is certain that the Germiyanid Beylik weakened after the defeat in Philadelphia, and historical sources were silent about them in this period.

As the Germiyanids, Jandarids in Paphlagonia were settled in the region by Ilkhanids to keep control of the Turkmens. After Şemseddin Yaman Candar, according to an inscription in Muzaffereddin Madrasah in Taşköprü, his son Süleyman became the ruler of the beylik in the very early beginning of 14th century (Yücel 1988: 152-3). After his annexation of Kastamonu and Safranbolu, he was interested in capturing seaside settlements on the Black Sea, especially Sinope, in order to control Black Sea trade routes in the region. According to Yücel, his capture of Sinop can be dated just after the death of Gazi Çelebi, the ruler of Sinop, in 1322 (Yücel 1988: 59). Before Sinop, he raided to Nicomedia in 1305, but Adronikos II sent his governor, Nogay, to Nicomedia, a Christian Ilkhanid in origin, to make peace between Byzantium and the Jandarids (Pachymeres 1984, II: 345). According to Togan, Süleyman raided, but did not capture, some Byzantine fortresses on the borders (Togan 1946: 325). This information suggests that their main interest was controlling Black Sea trade in this region instead of Bithynia. Continuous Genoese attacks on Jandarid settlements on the Black Sea could have been caused the Jandars to be interested in seaside settlements other than Bithynia (Stella 1975: 174-6).

Therefore, the Jandars were not rivals of the Ottomans in their expansions in Bithynia.

Another neighboring Beylik in the region for the Ottomans was Karesids in Mysia. According to an epitaph in Tokat, the Karesid family's geneology was based on the Danismendids in Tokat (Uzunçarşılı 1927: 43-4; Uzunçarşılı 1984: 96; Karamağaralı 1971: 85-6). However, Günal challenges this, saying the Karesids could have been a family that took service with Danismendids in Tokat, and might have not been attributed genealogically to Yağıbasanoğulları of Danismendids (Güenal 1999: 4-14; Güenal 2006: 159). According to Uzunçarşılı and Varlık, Karasids founded their beylik by means of the Germiyanids in 1296 or 1297 (Uzunçarşılı 1984: 96; Varlık 1974: 9, 24, 33, 40, 42). The Ottoman chronicles write that Saruhan and Karesi were *nökers* of Sultan Mesud in Konya (Yazıcıoğlu Ali 2009: 907; Neşri 1995: 50-1; İbn-i Kemal 1991, I: 137). The first sultan of the beylik was Karesi Bey (Tevhid 1911/12: 565). In his first years, Karasi Bey defended his beylik against Catalan and Alan attacks in Mysia. After the victory of Philadelphia, the Catalans occupied Gallipoli, and acted independently in Thrace against Byzantium (Laiou 1972: 137). At the time, Andronikos II used Turcoples from Sarı Saltık Turkmens in Dobruca, under the command of Ece Halil, against the Catalans in Thrace (Gregoras 1984, I: 232). According to *Saltuknâme*, Ece Halil, was the successor of Sarı Saltuk (Saltukname 1974, III: 450). In 1305, the Catalans attacked and pillaged the Byzantine settlements in Thrace after their commander Roger de Flor was killed by the Byzantines (Gregoras 1984, I: 254-5). They then moved back to Gallipoli to appeal to Karasid for help (Güenal Öden 1999: 26). According to Wittek, 500 Turkmens traveled from Karasid to Gallipoli to help them (Wittek 1952: 662). In addition, 400 hundred Turkmens from Aydınid Beylik went to Thrace. In the Battle

of Apros, the Turcoples under the command of Halil passed to the Catalan side from Byzantine army (Bartusis 1997: 79). Then, all the Sarı Saltuk and Anatolian Turkmens plundered Thrace with the Catalans for two years before the Catalans moved west and south through Greece to capture the Latin Duchy of Athens in 1311 (Gregoras 1984, I: 248). After leaving the Catalans, the Turkmens of Halil continued plundering in Thrace. Therefore, Andronikos II offered him passage to Karasid from Gallipoli by means of the Byzantine Empire with their horses and booty (Gregoras 1984, I: 248-54). During their passing, one of the Byzantine soldiers seized some booty, leading the Turkmens to plunder in Thrace again. In the battle between the Turkmens and the Byzantine army, Philes Palailogos defeated the Turkmens. Andronikos II then sent subsidiary forces to help Philes against the Turkmens. According to Pachymeres, Halil, as Tachanziarin in the chronicle, were killed by the Byzantines (Pachymeres 1984, II: 632-3). According to Byzantine chronicles, many Turkmens were killed by the Byzantine army in Thrace, and a very small number of Turkmens achieved the passage to Karasid (Pachymeres 1984, II: 633; Dölger 1960: 46-7). Different from these contemporary Byzantine sources, Müneccimbaşı wrote that Ece Halil and Sarı Saltuk Turkmens passed to Karasid Beylik, and Ece Halil became emîrû'l-ümerâ of Karasi Bey, and then of the Ottomans (Müneccimbaşı 2001: 95-6). According to Günal Öden, Müneccimbaşı confused Ece Halil with Ece Yakup, a commander of Süleyman Paşa, the son of Orhan I (Günal Öden 1999: 30). At this time, Karasi Bey expanded his Beylik from Balıkesir to Bergama (Tevhid 1911/12: 565; Günal Öden 1999: 30). Not only had their interest in expansion through Bergama, but also problems with the Byzantine Empire caused Karesi Bey to have no interest in Bithynia. Therefore, Karesid Beylik was not a rival for the Ottomans when they expanded into Bithynia.

Other beyliks in western Anatolia at the time of the formation of Ottoman Beylik were Menteşe in Karia, Saruhan in Ionia and Aydın in the Meander Valley. These beyliks were not relevant to the Ottoman Beylik in the Osman I period. Therefore, they will not be examined in this study.

In conclusion, Turkmens in the Eskişehir-Söğüt region played a crucial role in the very early formation of the Ottoman State in the 13th and 14th centuries. According to contemporary chronicles, especially Byzantine chronicles, Turkmens in this region caused most problems between Byzantines and Anatolian Seljukids since the late 11th century. These Turkmens had come to the region in the first wave of the peopling of Anatolia by Turks after Manzikert. In 1097, when Nicaea had been recaptured by the Crusaders, some Turkmens moved to the Eskişehir region. In 1146, according to Choniates, when Manuel I came to Melangeia, he attacked the Turks in the region (Choniates 1984: 31). In 1147, the Second Crusade under the command of Conrad III entered into Anatolia, and was defeated at Bathys (modern Porsuk Çay) in the Eskişehir region by the Turkmens under the command Mamplanes (Choniates 1984: 39; Kinnemos 1976: 68). Both chronicles wrote that the Turkmens were in large numbers in the Eskişehir region. These accounts indicate the existence of Turkmens in the region after 40 years when they left Nicaea. The historical accounts about Eskişehir Turkmens can be seen in the later Byzantine chronicles.

Nicaea and Süleymanşah were to be important parts of the historical narrative and common memory among these Turkmens being a main population of the Early Ottomans. Consequently, the capture of İznik was regarded by the Ottomans as the ultimate conquest (İnalcık 2002: 49; İnalcık 2007: 516-8). For instance, in Orhan's first campaign, after his father's, against the Byzantine tekvurs in Sangarius Valley, he said to the commander of the Kara-Tigin fortress that his rancor was İznik, not

Kara-Tigin (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 109; Neşri 1995: 126-7). At the same time, in the later Ottoman chronicles, Kutalmışoğlu Süleymanşah, who captured Nicaea in 1078 and founded the Anatolian Seljukid State there, was depicted as the grandfather of Osman. Though it provided a justification of their expansion and existence against Byzantium and other beyliks, it was also relevant to the common historical narrative and memory among Turkmens in the Eskişehir region. They were Turkmens of Süleymanşah, and he was their *ata* (ancestor).

On the other hand, the other beyliks in western Anatolia, such as the Germiyanids and Jandarids, were settled in the region by Ilkhanids to control the Turkmens (Cahen 2001: 206). Aydınoğlu, Karesi and other beyliks were founded by the commanders of the Germiyanids. Hostility between the Turkmens and Ilkhanids contributed to the Ottomans' formation of their state in the first period. As Pachymeres mentioned, *gazis* coming from areas as far as Paphlagonia gathered around Osman I. This hostility provided the population that was required by Ottomans for their first expansion in Byzantine Bythina and beyond.

At this time, the main religious orders in the Ottoman State were the Vefaiyye, Haydariyye and Yesevviyye (İnalçık 2002: 47; Köprülü 2006: 117-9; Ocak 1989: 28-35). After the Baba İshak revolt in 1240, the most important revolt of Turkmens against Seljukids, his descendants belonging to the Vefaiyye order migrated to the frontier (*uç*). One of these Vefaiyye sheikhs, Ede-Bali, one of the khalifas of Baba İlyas in the Menakibname of Elvan Çelebi, was depicted in the Ottoman chronicles as the *murşid* (spiritual teacher) of Osman I. Therefore, the descendant of Baba İlyas, Aşık Paşa and Muhlis Paşa played a very crucial role in the social and cultural life of the Early Ottoman society. Their successors on the

frontier were *Babaîs*, and they were called “Abdalan-ı Rum” in the Aşıkpaşazade chronicle.

In the Early Ottoman society, the *Ahis* and the *Fakis* were actively involved in the organization of social and legal affairs in the Ottoman State (İnalçık 2002: 62). The *Fakis* were the scholars of religion and religious law. Tursun Fakih was the most well-known *Faki* during Osman’s period. The *Ahis* were *esnaf* guilds. According to Ibn Battuta, who visited Anatolia in 1334 and wrote about the Ahi guilds in detail, “... in all the lands inhabited by the Turkmens in Anatolia, in every district, town, and village, there are to be found members of the organization known as the *Akhiya* (Ahi) or Young Brotherhood. Nowhere in the world will you find men so eager to welcome strangers, so prompt to serve food and to satisfy the wants of others, and so ready to suppress injustice and to kill [tyrannical] agents of police and the miscreants who join them. A Young Brother, or *akhi* in their language, is one who is chosen by all the members of his trade [guild], or by other young unmarried men, or those who live in ascetic retreat, to be their leader. This organization is known also as the *Futuwa* (*Futuvvet*), or Order of Youth. The leader builds a hospice (*zawiyah*) and furnishes it with rugs, lamps, and other necessary appliances. The members of his community work during the day to gain their livelihood, and bring him what they have earned in the late afternoon. With this they buy fruit, food, and the other things which the hospice requires for their use. If a traveler comes to the town that day they lodge him in their hospice; these provisions serve for his entertainment as their guest, and he stays with them until he goes away. If there are no travelers they themselves assemble to partake of the food, and having eaten it they sing and dance. On the morrow they return to their occupations and bring their earnings to their leader in the late afternoon. The members are called *fityan* (youths) and their leader, as we have

said, is the *akhi*.” (Ibn Battuta 1984: 125-6). According to İncalcık, the national character of the Anatolian Turkish people was determined for centuries by the *futuvvet* and *ahi* ethics (İncalcık 2002: 65). One of the founders of ahi institution in Anatolia was Ahi Evren (Bayram 1991: 82). According to Köprülü, the religious base of this institution was Bektaşî (Köprülü 2006: 117). Therefore, the *ahis* had a genealogy of masters going back to Ali (İncalcık 2002: 64).

On the other hand, the Mevleviyye, Rûfaiyye and Haydariyye orders were very effective in the cities (Köprülü 2006: 115). Even though the presence of these orders is observed in Karamanid, Germiyanid, Aydinid and Menteşe beyliks, there is no information about the presence of these orders in the Early Ottoman State (Ocak 1996: 61). According to Eflaki, Ulu ‘Arif Çelebi, Rumi’s grandson, and an important sheikh of Mevlevis, visited the Germiyanid, Candarid and other beyliks, but not the Ottoman beylik (Eflaki 1976, II: 851, 864, 948-9). Therefore, a heterodox religious perception through Vefaiyye, Haydariyye and Yesevviyye ethics was widespread in the Early Ottoman State. This perception in the Early Ottoman State was based on the presence of a dense Turkmen population conflicting with the Seljukids and Ilkhanids, and their religious orders.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY: HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE OTTOMAN PAST

Archaeology is a way to reconstruct the historical past, and in the end it writes history. According to V. Gordon Childe, “archaeology has revolutionized history” (Childe 1944: 2). In Europe and the Mediterranean world, archaeology generally means the study of the distant past from prehistory to medieval times. The archaeology in this region is interested in mainly prehistoric achievements, the first empires of Iron Age, as well as the Classical civilizations of Greece and Rome. The recent past is still generally considered irrelevant for archaeologists. Traditionally, the main archaeological interest has been constructing the search for a distant past. Archaeological studies on the recent past in other parts of the world, such as historical archaeology in the North America and post-medieval archaeology in Europe, have successfully shown the applicability of archaeology to the recent past.

In North America, with the advent of the Society of Historical Archaeology and its journal in 1967, “Historical Archaeology” was founded as the study of post-Colombian periods in North America (Hall & Silliman 2006: 1). In the first period of historical archaeological studies, it was the archaeology of a more recent past including “early modern” history that “most people learn in school, as well as the well-remembered history that has unfolded in living people’s lifetimes” (Orser 1995: 5). Since the 1960s, historical archaeology has been defined in different ways by different scholars. In this context, historical archaeology was first described geographically in the European and colonial contexts (Falk 1991; Leone 1995; Paynter 2000). For some others, historical archaeology is the archaeology of capitalism to understand the transformation of western societies between feudalism and capitalism (Leone and Potter 1988: 19; Leone 1995; Johnson 1996). On the other hand, according to Orser, historical archaeology is only a method that “includes the careful use of several sources, many of which may be considered ‘nonarchaeological’” more than its chronological and geographical contents (Orser 1996: 24). In this context, he mentioned the study by William Adams in the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth century abandoned town of Silcott, Washington, because of reservoir construction. Adams used excavated archaeological materials, written historical texts and oral historical data (Adams 1977). Archaeological research usually proceeded in order by the following steps: excavation, classification and dating, analysis and interpretation. However, in their archaeological research at the site of Silcott, archaeologists followed a different process. They began the project by examining the historical documents such as census, photographs and other official documents. Then, the archaeologists interviewed the local people to collect stories about the site, and recorded them for following generations. After analyzing

historical documents and oral historical data, the archaeologists excavated a cross-section of the kinds of sites found in Silcott. Thus, the Silcott excavations commenced to be excavated based on the results of the analysis of historical documents and oral historical data. In this project, the traditional research design centered on excavation was transformed to a research design constructed equally by historical and archaeological data. As a result of the Silcott excavations, historical archaeology deals with archaeological artifacts through historical written texts and oral traditions informing and contextualizing material culture.

After the Silcott excavations, historical archaeologists began to discuss the importance of historical documents in their research design. For Anders Andrén, it means a new insight on the relationship between artifacts and historical texts (Andrén 1998). Andrén focused on an analysis of the crucial relationship between material culture and written historical text. In his emphasis, “text” plays a crucial role in the definition of historical archaeological studies. Archaeologists working on the Hittite, Classical or Roman periods through textual data were described as historical archaeologists by him. However, text-aided archaeology interested in a period from the emergence of writing in Mesopotamia to the more recent past was viewed as a special methodological perspective by Andrén (Andrén 1998: 4). But, according to Orser, “historical archaeologists are text-aided archaeologists, but not all text-aided archaeologists are historical archaeologists. Both groups of historical detectives use the same techniques to locate historical records and the same critical methods to evaluate them” (Orser 2004: 5). The difference of historical archaeology is based on its interest in the most recent past. Thus, the historical archaeologists have separated from other archaeologists through their chronological interest.

Even though historical archaeology is constructed as a sub-discipline in North American archaeology through the first European colonial period and its expansion in the continent running a period after 1492, historical archaeology in the European archaeology was labeled as “Medieval/Post-Medieval Archaeology” in the period starting with wide spread of Christianity and ending with the Cold War. In Europe, Post-Medieval archaeology developed as a discipline in much of Northwestern Europe, and Britain has known it as the European version of North American historical archaeology. But, “Historical Archaeology” as a term has been used by archaeologists in Central and Southern Europe. Especially in the German speaking world in Europe, *Historische Archäologie* is being used to identify the period after “prehistoric” archaeology ending with the Medieval period (Müller 2012; 2013). In his discussion of methodology and content of historical archaeology in Germany, Sören Frommer’s use of the term “historical archaeology” is based on the historic character and the historical conclusions of medieval and post-medieval archaeological data with written and visual sources (Frommer 2007). In the German speaking world, the term historical archaeology “is being used for pragmatic reasons [as] a pendant to prehistoric archaeology and to avoid cumbersome constructs such as the ‘Archaeology of Early History’, the ‘Archaeology of the Early Middle Age’ or ‘Medieval and Post-Medieval Archaeology’. But, the term should not be simply pragmatically understood, it also means an approach different to that of Prehistoric Archaeology” (Müller, Staecker, Theune-Vogt & Mehler 2009: 2-3). In a similar way, according to Courtney, in the last two decades there has been growth in the teaching of medieval/post-medieval archaeology in Britain through American historical archaeological theorized approach, and it is termed historical archaeology, also (Courtney 2013: 2).

In the general specifications of archaeology, Ottoman archaeology is a part of “Historical Archaeology” in European and Middle Eastern archaeologies. In this study, the term “historical archaeology” will be used. In the identification of Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeologies in Europe, some key transformative moments such as Renaissance or Industrial Revolution aren’t seen in Ottoman history. Therefore, it is cumbersome to identify Ottoman archaeology in Western European Medieval/Post-Medieval archaeologies’ contexts, even though it is a part of European archaeology. In addition, the methodological aspect of historical archaeology concerned with combining the archaeological data with textual sources supports Ottoman archaeology in taking part in methodologically historical archaeology. As a result, periodical and methodological focal points of historical archaeology are appropriate for Ottoman archaeology in this study. Consequently, historical archaeology will be used as the methodological approach in this study and it will be recognized that material and documentary resources support each other in this archaeological context.

4. 1. Archaeology Between Artifacts and Texts

Archaeology is a discipline that constructs a past through material culture; therefore its aim is similar to history. In this context, historical archaeology and its text-aided approach have been building a permeable border between history and archaeology. In the beginning of archaeology as a discipline, archaeological data was used to confirm or to test classical literary sources. The first archaeologists in the Old World tried to find historical sites through the Bible, Homer’s Iliad or other classical writings. In this period, the historical text was the main source for archaeologists to confirm religious and idealized classical literatures. Once adequate archaeological data had been compiled from several archaeological projects, artifacts became the

primary source for archaeologists, and the historical text was used occasionally as a secondary source to confirm archaeological data.

After the Silcott excavations, historical texts and archival documents, especially in historical archaeological projects in the North America, have come into prominence in archaeological research, and have become a primary source with artifacts for archaeologists. In this period, two projects indicate that artifactual and textual evidences work well together to construct the more recent past. Scott and Fox's archaeological project to reconstruct the Custer Battle at Little Bighorn in the USA was a successful example to integrate artifactual and textual evidences (Scott & Fox 1987). In that project, historians re-evaluated the documentary records, Native American oral traditions, and ethno-historical accounts. The results are a significant reinterpretation of the battle events, shaped by its archaeological research design. Another successful example was Charles Hudson's archaeological survey project to trace the route of Hernando de Soto and to identify its sites (Hudson 1997). Hernando de Soto led the first European expedition ranging throughout the Southeastern United States, and documented the Mississippi River. His expedition was first studied by John R. Swanton of the Smithsonian Institution in 1939. In his study, Swanson used mainly de Soto's account to propose his expedition route. In 1984, Charles M. Hudson, as a historian, led restudy of de Soto's route by using written accounts of the expedition and matching them with geographical information and archaeological data from Indian settlement excavations. Hudson's proposed route is quite different from that proposed by Swanton. Hudson's proposed route agrees with archaeological and ethno-historical studies in the Southeastern United States. Hudson's method indicates the importance of an interdisciplinary approach among historical documents, geographical features and archaeological evidences.

Therefore, the collaboration between historical documents and archaeological evidences plays a crucial role in the methodological construction of the recent historical archaeological projects.

Historical documents indicate that “a society which documents itself is of its very nature a different form of society from [one] which does not” (Austin 1990: 30). The written documentation plays a crucial role in constructing the past for societies. In this documentation process, the writers and their worlds, shaped by their own perceptions and their own forms of remembrance, determine how their history is to be understood and transferred to the following generations. The written accounts created and used by rulers neglect not only urban poor, but also rural life in general (Dyson 1995: 36). In this context, archaeology helps subvert history focused on masters and their successes, and brings ordinary people back in to scholarly discourse (Ober 1995: 111). Thus, excavations and archaeological surveys in rural areas and living spaces of ordinary people in the urban areas have shown the unspoken and everyday life in history. But most recently, archaeological data attain the greatest significance when associated with historical documents. In this context, “documentary archaeology” was introduced in the historical archaeological studies in 1990s.

Documentary archaeology was first introduced by Mary Beaudry in the introduction to her edited book *Documentary Archaeology in the New World* (Beaudry 1988: 1-3). Beaudry argued that “historical archaeologists must develop an approach towards documentary analysis that is uniquely their own” (Beaudry 1988: 1). According to her, archaeology that focused on prehistoric, protohistoric and classical periods required, for the most part, different research strategies from historical archaeology (Beaudry 1988: 1). In this context, historical documents play

crucial roles in archaeology for the most recent periods. Historical archaeology with its textual approach differs from archaeology based on a materialist perspective dictated by the nature of archaeological evidence. “The tautological nature of much research in historical archaeology is a part of the reason that historians often find little merit in the field” (Beaudry 1988: 1). In this context, documentary archaeology reflects “the increased sophistication that historical archaeologists have brought to the study of the documentary past in the interpretation of historical sites” (Beaudry 1988: 3). Thus, archaeological and historical analysis cooperate to offer insight into past.

Documentary archaeology has developed a particularly strong tradition in New World archaeology (Wilkie 2006: 13). In this development, according to Wilkie, archaeologists and historians have crucially different perceptions about data in their focus, practice, and gaze. “Historians, although they may use oral historical or material evidence, usually see the documentary record as the primary window available for gazing into the past.” On the other hand, archaeologists who are interested in documentary archaeology see their archive as “including written records, oral traditions, and material culture – from both archaeological and curated sources” (Wilkie 2006: 13-4). These different perceptions may provide overlapping, conflicting, or completely different insights into the past. “The challenge for archaeologists is to use these independent but complementary lines of evidence to construct meaningful, fuller, understandings of the past” (Wilkie 2006: 14).

Following the publication of Beaudry’s book, Barbara Little described documentary archaeology as “text-aided archaeology” from a different perspective in her edited book *Text-Aided Archaeology* (Little 1992). This, of course, is the traditional definition for “historical archaeology” so long as there is a direct link

between the ethnographic population and the archaeological one. According to her, different sources coming from history, anthropology or ethnology may aid archaeological interpretation (Little 1992: 1). In her view, historical documents must combine with oral testimony and ethnographic description to contribute an interpretive structure for archaeological data (Little 1992: 1-6). Thus, she added a different argument from Beaudry's thought which was focused on only historical documents to analyze archaeological data. In the words of Wilkie, "Little's terminology suggests that texts serve archaeology rather than the reverse as argued by an earlier generation of historical archaeologists such as Ivor Noël Hume" (Wilkie 2006: 14).

In the 2000s, historical archaeologists, especially working in the colonial sites in Africa or Asia, discussed the reliability of texts for analyzing archaeological data of colonized subaltern peoples. The colonial transcript of dominant classes is problematic for understanding the historical past and for examining the material culture of subjugated people through these texts. Martin Hall suggests that "both artifacts and literary texts make use of images; those who read their meaning did not respect the disciplinary boundaries of the practitioners who would one day seek to understand their minds" (Hall 2000: 16). Thus, according to him, the dissonance between artifactual and textual evidence revealed biased historical documents written with the colonized subaltern subject having been historically invisible. After Hall's critique, John Moreland criticized historical archaeology because divided into two camps: one embracing quickly the authority of documents and the other dismissing quickly the reliability of texts (Moreland 2001: 110-111). Moreland proposed that "historical archaeologies which see objects and texts simply as evidence *about* the past, and which see texts as given, distorted or supplemental, can never produce such

knowledge. Only when we recognize that people *in* the past conducted their social practice, and constructed their identities through the Object, the Voice and the Word in specific historical circumstances will historical archaeology fulfill its real potential both in understanding the past and in contributing to the present” (Moreland 2001: 119).

Following Moreland’s critique, Wilkie pointed out documentary archaeology influenced by the practice of history and its approach to historiography (Wilkie 2006: 15). According to her, “essential to historiography is the role of the ‘historical imagination’, which the writer draws upon to make meaningful interpretive connections between source materials, or evidence. In documentary archaeology, a central aim is for our historical imagination to be guided by both our anthropological perspective and our attention to materiality. These distinctive, archaeological perspectives profoundly affect the kinds of documentary sources that archaeologists rely upon” (Wilkie 2006: 15-16). On the other hand, Galloway suggests that “dissonances between material and textual evidence produced by archaeologists and historians must first be recognized as arising from the separate production processes for two forms of evidence” (Galloway 2006: 43).

In the Ottoman territory, the first archaeological research to shed light on the importance of material and textual evidences was the Minnesota Messenia Expedition in Greece (Topping 1972; McDonald & Rapp 1972). Peter Topping was enlisted to write on the population density, economic and socio-political history of the Messenia region in Venetian and Ottoman periods. The investigation in this project was successful, but only Venetian archival sources were investigated in support of the project research (Topping 1972). However, Topping’s perspective was completely new for nationalist Greek classical archaeologists in the 1960s; therefore

it was difficult to use Ottoman documents to analyze archaeological data coming from a Classical Greek project. He did refer to some articles about Ottoman Greece by Barkan and Gökbilgin as secondary sources. In this project, the Ottoman period was associated with the problem of “great destruction” to growth and prosperity (Macdonald 1972: 4, see Chronological Chart; Topping 1972: 72). According to Topping, in the Ottoman period, “besides heavy loss in lives, the destruction of vines, olives, and mulberries was extensive” based on information from Sakellariou’s research on Ottoman Messenia without any Ottoman historical data (Topping 1972: 72; Sakellariou 1939). Therefore, this first investigation was completely based on a nationalistic perspective about *Tourkokratia* (Turkish occupation) in Greek historiography of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Sakellariou was one of the well-known members of this school. After this project, Topping undertook to perform similar services for the Southern Argolid Project in the 1980s (Topping 2000).

In these archaeological surveys, even though detailed documentary evidence from Venetian archives was published, Topping rarely attempted to integrate these textual data with artifactual evidence from archaeological research. For the Messenia region, Venetian records provided details about the settlement system and land use between 1686 and 1715 (Longnon & Topping 1969: 73-6), as does a published and complete 14th century Frankish census. But, according to Zarinebaf, Davis and Bennet, the archaeologists did not integrate this information into their archaeological study (Zarinebaf, Davis & Bennet 2005: 3). Topping’s own discussion of landholding under Frankish-Ottoman periods is similarly detached from any discussion of archaeological data in the project (Topping 1976). Likewise, in the Southern Argolid Project, Topping didn’t attempt to integrate the very detailed

Venetian cadastral maps he published (Topping 1976) with the project's evidence for material culture (Topping 2000).

According to Zarinebaf, Davis and Bennet, "ideally, regional archaeological projects will benefit most from the availability of written sources that contain ample information about past settlement and land use in enough detail to make it possible to locate accurately the settlements, fields, and other agricultural installations described. This will clearly be the most direct way in which archaeologists will be able to relate the evidence contained in such texts to the spatially variable artifact distributions recorded" (Zarinebaf, Davis & Bennet 2005: 3).

In the 1980s, the regional archaeological projects in Greece recognized the importance of rich Ottoman historical documents for understanding past settlement patterns and land use in the Greek landscape. Leaving the nationalistic perspective about *Tourkokratia*, the archaeologists began to study more about Ottoman periods in the archaeological sites in Greece.

4.4. Ottoman Archaeology Between Artifacts and Texts

The Ottoman Empire is, with Italy, a place where archaeology began. The archaeological past of the empire took in Ancient Greece, the Roman, Anatolian and Mesopotamian civilizations and Ancient Egypt. Archaeologists working in this geographical region can mostly examine humanity's prehistoric achievements, the rise of agriculture and settlement, the urbanizations of the Bronze Age, the empires of the Iron Age, and the Classical civilizations of Greece and Rome. It is thus curious that references to the Ottoman Period are somewhat absent from modern archaeological studies. According to Baram and Carroll, an artificial barrier has been raised, to separate the past and the less distant past (Baram & Carroll 2000: 4). Some

archaeologists have reacted to this artificial barrier, and concentrated on developing a properly Ottoman archaeology over the past three decades.

In the 1980s, some archaeologists working in different regions and different periods pointed out the importance of the medieval and post-medieval periods in Ottoman territory (Glock 1985: 468; Kohl 1989; Seeden 1990), although they didn't refer to the Ottoman period or Ottoman archaeology in these contributions. Similarly, in Greece, "in the 1980s, most field projects did not systematically collect post-medieval finds and, if they did, they had to be content with classifying them as Ottoman/Venetian to modern, or even just medieval to modern" (Bintliff 2007: 221). After this initial awareness, by the 1990s, the Ottoman period and Ottoman archaeology were discussed by some archaeologists and historians, and "Ottoman" as an archaeological concept was put into place in the research design.

During this stage, Silberman's contribution was very crucial. In his paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1995, he argued that "the recognition and intellectual integration of the 'old' world to the 'new' world could fundamentally challenge and redirect historical archaeology's quest to understand colonialism, capitalism, and the genesis of the modern world" (Silberman 2000: 243). This important paper was published in 2000, but it was already forcefully advocated by Charles E. Orser in his book entitled *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World* published in 1996 (Orser 1996: 195). According to Orser, the "old world" referred to the Near East and the Mediterranean, or Ottoman territory in his paper. "Within the long and venerable history of the Mediterranean, Silberman specifically pointed historical archaeologists toward the Ottoman Empire. To him, historical archaeologists who continue to ignore the Mediterranean will never truly understand the motivations and designs of oceangoing

Europeans” (Orser 1996: 195). In this paper, Silberman argued that North American historical archaeologists insisted on rejecting non-American and non-European worlds in their archaeological perceptions to investigate the earliest colonial expressions of European expansion (Silberman 2000: 247). In this context, according to him and Orser, the historical archaeology of the Ottoman Empire and the Mediterranean is important to understand the broader historical archaeology of European expansion well (Orser 1996: 194-198, Silberman 1989: 228- 243, Silberman 2000). For Orser and Silberman, European expansion in the New World was a reaction of Ottoman advances (Orser 1996: 195-6; Silberman 2000: 247-9), and “Columbus made his first voyage at a time when many Europeans believed that Christendom was a life-and-death struggle with Muslims [Ottomans]” (Orser 1996: 196). Therefore, according to them, historical archaeologists should not overlook the Ottomans to understand European expansion in the New World. In the historical context, it has been discussed by historians for a long time, and Ottoman impact in European expansion has not been ignored by them (Özbaran 1994; 2009; Goffman 2002: 1-23; Hentsch 1992: 1-48; Yapp 1992; Lewis 1982: 30-5). However, in the archaeological context, it is currently very difficult to discuss this issue with existing archaeological data. Future archaeological research done in the Americas can contribute to an understanding of the Ottoman impact on European expansion. As a result, the first contributions of Orser and Silberman are very crucial for understanding the importance of Ottoman archaeology in the greater global historical archaeology.

After Silberman and Orser, some archaeologists and Ottomanists in the English-speaking world began to discuss the importance of Ottoman archaeology. The first conference, entitled “Breaking New Grounds for an Archaeology of the

Ottoman Empire: A Prologue and a Dialogue” was organized by Uzi Baram and Lynda Carroll at Binghamton University in 1996, and later published (Baram & Carroll 2000). A few years later, Kate Fleet and Mark Nesbitt organized a meeting about Ottoman archaeology in the Skilliter Center of Ottoman Studies at Cambridge University in 1999. In addition, Abdeljelil Temimi organized a meeting about Ottoman archaeology in Tunisia in 1997 (Temimi 1997).

Because historical archaeologists belong to a research design focused mostly on North America and European colonial expansions, they are not interested in the Ottoman past in the Mediterranean. However, these meetings and discussions did reveal that Ottoman archival documents provide analogical data to supplement rural and urban studies in Classical Greek archaeology in Greece. Ottoman archaeology was therefore identified as an archaeological research area by Classical archaeologists.

It has developed on several key fronts. First, John Hayes’s very detailed analysis on Ottoman pottery from Saraçhane excavations in Istanbul made a crucial contribution to the development of Ottoman archaeology (Hayes 1992). John Hayes can be considered a pioneer in this development (Bintliff 2007: 222). He systematically defined pottery categories from antiquity to modern era. He distinguished pottery assemblages not only into broad chronological divisions such as Byzantine, Frankish, and Ottoman, but also into subdivisions such as Early, Middle or Late Ottoman. Another important contribution for Ottoman archaeology was the realization that Ottoman textual evidence such as *tahrir defters* could provide a background on social and economic transformations and features from the more recent past that could be applied to earlier periods, even to prehistoric antiquity, and in the modern era to archaeological studies by some well-known archaeologists.

Tahrir defters constitute a major serial document with detailed information about population and economic activity expressed in terms of taxable revenue. They contain a considerable amount of data collected over several years. The aims in compiling the defters are based on two main reasons: the first aim was primarily the identification of all sources of revenue, and the second was the distribution of these revenues to various beneficiaries. According to Anane, “the defters offer a relatively integrated collection of data with consistent physical structure, adequate naming conventions for various categories of data, and relative consistency across time-lines” (Anane 2001: 303). In the archaeological context, defters contribute the analysis of population estimates, and toponymical and production researches in the archaeological projects. In this study, defters are being used to grasp the big picture of the research area, and analogically to analyze socio-economic structure. Therefore, the tahrir defters are very appropriate for settlement/land use analysis in this study.

One of the first archaeological studies interested in the Ottoman period in Greece was Cherry, Davis and Mantzourani’s archaeological survey undertaken in 1983-84 in the north and northwestern part of the Greek Island of Keos in the Cyclades (Cherry *et al.* 1991). The scholars defined the Ottoman period in their Keos survey as Frankish-Turkish Period (Cherry *et al.* 1991: 352-53). The importance of this survey in the archaeological world lies primarily in its approach to intensive survey, whose methods and achievements were described in full, with the integration of a variety of types of information such as oral and historical data. In this context, for instance, Susan Buck Sutton used documentary evidence from population census reports of independent Greece in the 19th century (Sutton 1991: 383- 402; Sutton 1994). The relevance of ethnohistoric analogies concerning population density on Keos from the 19th century back to ancient periods was determined empirically.

Sutton's success with this method, using 19th century historical census reports and analyzing population density and land-use policies through the data, analogically brought attention to the importance of historical documents for Classical archaeology in Greece. In this publication, she wrote that "the Greek landscape of the early 19th century was characterized by many small, local centers, each dominating its surrounding countryside. Most of these towns derived power from their position within the Ottoman system" (Sutton 1991: 385).

As a result of the Northern Keos project, historical documents gained significance in helping the reconstruction of local histories of settlement, land use, and toponymy. In this context, archaeologists working in Greece discovered the Ottoman *defters* and their very detailed information about villages, towns, population and land use. The first historical contribution through Ottoman documents to archaeological research was undertaken by Halil İnalçık in the Phokis-Doris Archaeological Project in central Greece (İnalçık 1991). He analyzed in detail Ottoman land and population surveys to examine the Great Isthmus Corridor and its adjacent areas. His contributions helped to increase understanding of land use and settlement systems in the area, and to aid the analysis of settlement patterns from prehistory to the Ottoman period through analogical context. Therefore, his successful Ottoman textual contribution to the project raised the enormous potential of the Ottoman archival documents in archaeological research in the Ottoman geography to be recognized.

After İnalçık, two important archaeological projects in Greece, the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project and Boiotia Project, began to work with Ottomanists who mined Ottoman archives for information relevant to research areas. John Bennet and Jack L. Davis organized regional archaeological studies in the

province of Messenia between 1991 and 1995, in the district that was known as Pylos in the ancient times (Davis *et al.* 1997; Zangger *et al.* 1997; Davis 1998). The project involved the collection of surface archaeological remains from prehistory to the Ottoman period through intensive survey techniques. The objective of the project was based on archaeological evidence, with textual data to examine the complex interrelations between local peoples and their landscape in Messenia. Therefore, two historians became members of the project in order to gather documentary evidence: Siriol Davies, a Venetian historian who had worked particularly in the Morea, and Fariba Zarinebaf, an Ottoman historian and student of Halil İnalcık, who was interested in the social and urban history of the Ottoman Empire. Zarinebaf provided Ottoman documents that yielded a wealth of information about the older Ottoman land-management system (Davis 1991; Zarinebaf, Davis & Bennet 2005: 4).

The first problem in interpreting the documents arose from the difficulties in relating Ottoman toponymy to the modern landscape. “Although some of the toponyms recorded by Ottoman administrators remain in everyday use and were easily recoverable and others were recorded on old maps, many had not survived in official governmental usage of the late 20th century and consequently could not be found on contemporary maps. These were highly localized names of the sort likely to be familiar only to farmers who still cultivate fields in a specific area” (Zarinebaf, Davis & Bennet 2005: 5). Therefore, the toponymy in the Ottoman documents needed to be deciphered in order to reconstruct a map of settlements and land use. Thus, the data could be of practical use to archaeologists if they can compare it to artifact distributions. On the other hand, in this project, Bennet, Davis and Zarinebaf realized that the general macroscopic perspective of Ottoman historians through *tahrir defters* ran the risk of overlooking microregional variations, such as Messenia

(Pylos), that can be highly indicative of significant economic and social transformations within larger regions (Bennet, Davis & Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000). In the end, the team mapped toponyms in the documents and analyzed settlement patterns and land use in Messenia according to the agrarian history of Ottoman Messenia. Their collaborative effort contributes to the development of interdisciplinary and regional archaeological projects in the Ottoman Balkans.

Another project studying Ottoman documents to analyze their archaeological data was the Boiotia Project, conducted by John Bintliff since the 1980s. In this project, John Hayes studied Byzantine and Ottoman surface survey finds, and Machiel Kiel provided detailed breakdowns of the Ottoman *defters* dated between the 15th and 18th centuries. Bintliff and Kiel provided a detailed illustration of historical modifications in Boiotia during the long span from the Frankish to Ottoman period (Bintliff 1995; Kiel 1997). According to Kiel, the first preserved *defter* of 1466 reflects the devastating collapse of Greco-Slav population in the region because of 14th-century warfare and Black Death outbreaks (Kiel 1997: 320). The 1570 *defter* shows a population and economic recovery as a result of *Pax Othomanica* (Kiel 1997: 338-45). An intensive archaeological survey gave detailed confirmation of these changes in the *defters* (Bintliff 1996a; 1996b). According to Bintliff, the dramatic expansion of Panaya in the Valley of the Muses, Boiotia, in the 16th century indicated this population and economic gravity. Based on the intensive archaeological survey in the village based on the dispersal of dated surface ceramics across the gridded site area, its heyday of some 1100 inhabitants in this period was presented by archaeologists (Bintliff 2007: 224).

The *defter* dated to 1687/8 for Ottoman Boiotia clearly indicates a severe decline in the number of villages and in the size of those that survived at the end of

17th century (Bintliff 2007: 226, Figure 11.6). According to İnalçık, the Ottoman Empire suffered a series of crises, and the Ottoman decline included the Balkans in its beginning stages (İnalçık 1972: 353). The intensive archaeological studies in Panaya village and surveys in Boiotia indicate the accuracy of İnalçık's remarks. A reduction of population to one-third of Panaya's 16th century size and the circumstances leading to the formation of *çiftliks* (landed estates) were observed by the archaeological studies (Bintliff 2007: 226). As a result of decline in population, the big villages transformed to small villages, and the *çiftliks* associated with these small villages were formed by local people. Some other archaeological contexts in the region, such as a deserted *çiftlik* at the abandoned settlement of Harmena, and a smaller example within the ancient city Tanagra, supported İnalçık's remarks on changes within the framework of village life, migrations and the circumstances leading to the formation of *çiftlik* (Bintliff 1997; 2000; 2007; Bintliff *et al.* 2001).

Another important project, conducted by Bommeljé and Doorn, concerned land routes in Aetolia from the Byzantine to Late Ottoman periods (Bommeljé & Doorn 1996; Doorn 1989). In this project, the archaeologists focused on Ottoman *hans* recorded by travelers, and the Ottoman road system in Aetolia. Doorn combined archaeological data with Ottoman archival documents provided by Kiel to understand the settlement system in the 15th and 16th centuries in Aetolia, and its relationship with the Ottoman road system in the region (Doorn 1989). Karydis and Kiel studied standing buildings dated to the Ottoman Period in Lesbos through Ottoman documents, narrative historical information and historical geography, also (Karydis & Kiel 2002).

In Cyprus, two British archaeologists interested in Cypriot prehistory, Michael Given and Bernard Knapp, conducted the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project

(SCSP) and the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TAESP) to analyze settlement patterns in Cyprus from prehistory to the Ottoman periods (Given & Knapp 2003; Given *et al.* 2002). In these projects, especially the TAESP, Given studied the archaeology of Ottoman Cyprus through the combination of Ottoman and other historical documents and archaeological data in detail (Given 2000; 2002; 2007), using the 1572 *Defter-i Mufasssal* (Jennings 1986) and an Ottoman legislative decree, *Kanunname* of 1572 (Arbel & Veinstein 1986). With the Ottoman documents, he included a Venetian census of the mid-16th century (Grivaud 1998). Given's study focused on settlement patterns and pastoralism in the mountain landscape of Ottoman Cyprus, where he saw a wide range of morphologies and roles within the landscape (Given 2007: 146; Given *et al.* 2010).

In the Levant, documentary archaeology of the Ottoman period is not as widespread as for Greece. However, the archaeological analysis of Ottoman material culture and its stratigraphical context have been studied in more detail than in other Ottoman geographical areas (Ben-Tor, Avissar & Portugali 1996; Avissar 1996, 2005, 2006, 2009; Abu Khalaf 2009; Ziadeh 1995; 2000). They include research centered on the Ottoman period. Bethany J. Walker combined Ottoman documents and archaeological data in her Ottoman Northern Jordan Project and the Madaba Plains Project excavations at Tell Hisban (Walker 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2009a; 2009b; Walker *et al.* 2007; Lucke *et al.* 2009), administered during the Ottoman Empire as Liwa' Ajlun. She used 16th century *defters* published by al-Bakhit (Walker 2009b), and the 1858 Land Code (Walker 2009b: 38). In addition to Ottoman documents, Walker used European travelers' accounts, personal memoirs and letters, and British Mandate-era Land Settlement files dated to the 19th and early 20th centuries. According to her, "the Ottoman Empire essentially withdrew from

Transjordan, with the exception of a handful of garrisons, and after the end of the 16th century, leaving control of the region in the hands of semi-autonomous client tribes, and reimposing itself in the form of tax collector and police force only in the second half of the 19th century” (Walker 2009b: 38). Therefore, no official records were kept from the period between the 17th and 18th centuries. Similarly, in the archaeological record, the settlement patterns in the region indicate that the nature of settlement from the Mamluk to Ottoman periods changed from an extensive network of villages tied to intensive agriculture to a more dispersed occupation and less intensive land use (Walker 2009b: 39). These shifts supported by the 16th century *defters* were also expressed ceramically by a relative scarcity of imports and glazed wares, a greater percentage of handmade wares, and a more limited range of wares and forms, mostly of local production (Walker 2009b: 39). Another project in the Levant about the Ottoman Period and documentary archaeology through historical records is the Sataf Project of Landscape Archaeology in the Judean Hills in Israel directed by Shimon Gibson (Gibson, Ibbs & Kloner 1991). The Sataf site, overlooking the Soreq Valley (Wadi es-Sarar), in the Judean Hills immediately west of some modern suburbs of Jerusalem is an agricultural terraced landscape with two springs of water and the ruined houses of an Arab village abandoned in 1948 (Gibson, Ibbs & Kloner 1991: 29). In the project, the Ottoman period referring to contexts from the late 16th and 18th centuries is characterized by hand-made and wheel-turned pottery, black Gaza ware, Turkish pipes and glass bracelets. The Late Ottoman/Modern period applied to contexts from the 19th and early 20th centuries contains similar materials but with addition of modern porcelain, glass and metal artifacts (Gibson, Ibbs & Kloner 1991: 45). Gibson used a 16th century *defters* (Hütteroth & Abdulfattah 1977) and European travelers’ accounts (Richardson 1822;

Robinson 1841). During the Ottoman period, the pre-existing agricultural systems from the Byzantine, Crusader and Mamluke periods were maintained and developed. The archaeological studies have shown that the Staf landscape flourished in the Ottoman periods and there are no signs of decline (Gibson, Ibbs & Kloner 1991: 49).

In Turkey, even though Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu pointed out the importance of documentary archaeological perspective in Ottoman archaeology (Yenişehirlioğlu 2005: 251), there isn't any archaeological project interested in the combination of Ottoman documentary evidence and archaeological data with the exception of Clive Foss's works. Clive Foss wrote the Late Antiquity, Byzantine and Ottoman pasts of Ephesus and Sardis through the historical documents (Foss 1976; 1979). The purpose of these works is to trace the history of the sites from the decline of the Roman Empire to the beginning of the excavations in the 19th century. Although Clive Foss as a Byzantinist wrote about the Late Roman and Byzantine periods in these sites in detail through the integration with archaeological data, he didn't integrate the historical information with archaeological data for the Turkish/Ottoman periods. However, in the late 1970s when he wrote these books, the Turkish/Ottoman periods in these sites hadn't been worked on in detail by the archaeologists. Therefore, his chapters on Turkish/Ottoman periods were written with poor archaeological information. Nevertheless, his works can be considered a crucial contribution towards indicating the importance of the integration of historical documents and archaeological data for Ottoman studies.

In Hungary, the first country where archaeology of the Ottoman Period was studied in detail, the Ottoman archaeology has been worked on for more than half a century. According to Gyözö Gerö, Ottoman architectural remains, such as the Valide Sultan Bath in Eger and Malkoç Bey Mosque in Siklos aroused the interest of

Floris Romer, the founder of archaeology in Hungary, in the 19th century (Gerö 1972; 1983). But, the first archaeological investigation of the Ottoman period in Hungary was conducted in the Gazi Kasım Paşa Mosque in Pecs by Gosztonyi and Török between 1939 and 1941 (Gosztonyi 1941; Gerö 1980: 14). After WWII, major archaeological projects of the Ottoman period began in Hungary, such as the Yakovalı Hasan Paşa Mosque in Pecs (Gerö 1980: 54-8), the Medieval Royal Palace and the associated fortifications in the Buda Castle District (Gerevich 1966), and some other Ottoman buildings and structures. However, the first documentary archaeological perspective is seen in some recent projects such as Szentkirály by András Pálóczy Horváth (Pálóczy Horváth 1992, 2000, 2003). In this project, Lajos Györffy and Gábor Ágoston provided him with Ottoman documentary evidence to identify the settlements and other locations in the research area (Pálóczy Horváth 2003: 201). As Géza Dávid mentioned, the combination of the archaeological data and the Ottoman historical documents contributes to a detailed understanding of Ottoman Hungary (Dávid 2003: 16).

To conclude, historical archaeology is defined generally as the archaeology of the recent past examining the spread of Western European influence in the world. However, the recent historical archaeological approach is being practiced in the global context, such as in Africa (Posnansky and Decorse 1986; Hall 1993; Schmidt 2006; Schmidt and Walz 2007), in East and South Asia (Junker *et al.* 1994; Sugandhi 2012), and in Australasia (Connah 1988; Mackay and Karskens 1999; Jack 2006). As a result of this global approach, Ottoman archaeology in the Balkans and the Middle East is becoming a part of global historical archaeology. Since the 1990s, historical archaeology has been characterized by a new approach in its methodology based on documentary analysis and oral historical researches. In this context, Ottoman written

sources, especially *tahrir defters*, provide innovative interpretations and contributions for Ottoman historical archaeology. The archaeologists and the historians collaborate to apply documentary archaeological methodology successfully in the Ottoman levels of some archaeological projects in Greece and other Ottoman territories. Therefore, in this study, this methodological approach through the documentary analysis of *tahrir defters* will be applied with the collected archaeological data.

CHAPTER V

SURVEY METHOD AND COLLECTED DATA

5.1. Survey

The general aim of archaeological survey in this research is to study how landscape and settlement strategy affected the phenomenon of the Ottoman State during its period of emergence and foundation, and how this phenomenon was reflected in Early Ottoman material culture, according to contextual characteristics. This study calls for a short-term temporal perspective applied to a specific period and region for the collection of detailed information about Early Ottoman locations and their characteristic features. The project and its methodological context were constituted by limitations and regulations of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The survey was conducted by the permission of Ministry of Culture and Tourism for PhD research of PhD students having Turkish citizenship. Its methodology was shaped by the regulations of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

According to its conditions, this kind of survey can be conducted only by the PhD student who holds the research permit, and can not include a larger research team. Its time limit is also short. Therefore, the survey was carried out only by myself, under the control of a representative from the Eskişehir Museum. Furthermore, since it was forbidden to collect any pottery and other archaeological material, all recording of the pottery and of architectural remains was photographed on site. The survey was financially supported by Bilkent University, Halil İnalçık and the Eskişehir Governorship. The Governor of Eskişehir Province, Mehmet Kılıçlar, generously provided a car and a driver to visit Early Ottoman sites in the region. In accordance with regulations, the research methodology was designed as an “extensive survey” concentrated on a single period: the Ottoman period.

Archaeological survey means the systematic investigation of a selected region in order to map and record archaeological sites and areas exploited by the sites to determine their land use activities. The sites are dated by the artifacts, principally pottery and architectural evidences, recovered from their surfaces. By information from artifacts, the sites may be classified according to their size and the nature of surface features (Matthews 2003: 47-8). Archaeological survey is often considered as the first stage of a long-term archaeological project. But, this doesn't mean that survey is “a poor substitute for archaeological excavation” or a method “to discover sites for us to excavate” (Banning 2002: 1).

The aim of an archaeological survey is to “build up a series of connected pictures of the landscape at sequential stages in its history, and thereby to discern and bring into the forum of debate trends and patterns in human/landscape interactions over time periods that may vary from the short to the very long-term” (Matthews 2003: 48). According to Wilkinson, a systematic survey helps to understand

settlement patterns, ancient land use and communications, demography, and urban/rural flux and interaction (Wilkinson 2003). In addition, “to be maximally informative, the statistical data generated by these surveys must be related to their geological and modern ethnographical and historical contexts” (Hole 1995: 2720).

Archaeological surveys are standardly divided into two types: extensive survey and intensive survey. Extensive survey covers large sampling areas, and assumes that all significant cultural information concerning a region may be obtained from sites or from artifact scatters around sites (Knapp 1997: 11). Generally, it provides a regional perspective by gathering information on the location, the size, and the chronological occupation of the site. As a result, extensive survey is designed to determine archaeological settlements and their identifications across a large area, thus provides very important information about previous archaeologically unknown regions and periods.

On the other hand, intensive survey intends a systematic and detailed examination of a relatively small area. In this survey type, archaeologists walk in a controlled pattern in the research area designed to gather information about archaeological data. In other words, it is characterized by the complete coverage of the landscape in question at high-resolution approach, documenting all its archaeological artifacts and buildings. Thus, the artifact density designates a site, and such artifact distribution indicates the modification of cultural systems and intensities of landscape use (Ebert 1992). However, intensive survey needs a team of survey archaeologists, and other scholars from different disciplines, such as geography, geology or ethnology. Therefore, it is more costly and timely than extensive survey. Due to these reasons and the regulations of the Ministry of Culture regarding permits for doctoral students, the survey in this research was designed as extensive survey.

5.2. The Definition of the Survey Area

The survey area was determined by historical documents and natural topographic or environmental units that indicated the Early Ottoman political borders during its period of emergence and foundation. Topographically, the study area was bordered by the Sangarius River in the north, the Türkmen Mountains in the south, the Sivrihisar Mountains in the east, the Bozüyük Mountains such as Kala, Yirce and Üç Tepe in the west, Domaniç Mountain in the southwest and Söğüt-Bilecik and their villages in the northwest. Aşıkpaşazade wrote that Osman I crossed the Sangarios River and campaigned against Byzantine tekvurs in the north of the region to plunder their castles (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 99). According to İnalçık, the main purpose of this campaign was to display the new authority of Karacahisar on tekvurs belonging to Karacahisar (İnalçık 2007: 506). Therefore, the northern border of the study area is limited by the Sangarios River because historically the region was controlled by Byzantine tekvurs during the Osman I Period, and they belonged to him, also. At the southern border, Seyitgazi was under the rule of Germiyans until 1336 (Küçükcan 1999: 3). Therefore, the southern border is limited by Türkmen Mountains to the north of Seyitgazi. At the eastern border, Sivrihisar was under the rule of Karamanids until Süleyman Paşa, the son of Orhan I, conquered the region in 1354 (Doğru 1997: 10). Therefore, the eastern border of the study area was limited by the east of Alpu in Eskişehir. The western border was determined by Bozüyük and İnönü because the region was bordered by Bithynia of the Byzantine Empire and Germiyanids.

Geography is responsible for three different environmental constraints in the survey area. The Porsuk and Sarısu Plains, located in the middle of the study area, are characterized by flat and marshy features. The Porsuk Creek is formed by two

branches. The one rises in Murat Mountain located between Uşak and Kütahya, and flows in Altıntaş basin. Another branch comes from the western part of Kütahya, and passes north of Eskişehir city. These two branches unite in Çukurova, and constitute Porsuk Creek. The creek then unites with some brooks in the region, respectively Kunduzlar, Kargın, Ilıcasu, Mollaoğlu, Sarısu, and Keskin-Muttalip brooks. Before approaching the Sangarius River, Porsuk Creek unites with Pürtek Creek. Porsuk Plain is in the narrow valley between Kütahya province border and Eskişehir city, and this area is called “Porsuk Trough” because it cuts a deep channel. Beyond it, the plain suddenly becomes wide and flat. Between the villages of Sultandere and Muttalip, its width reaches about 13 km. Then, it narrows east of Çavlum village, and the width of plain declines 1 km. After Çavlum, it widens again and reaches 21 km its maximum width between Sepetçi and Fevziye Villages. Thereafter, the plain becomes narrow again until it approaches the Sangarius River. The Porsuk Plain forms one of the main sectors of the study area. It is covered with a thick alluvial soil layer; therefore it is very productive agriculturally. As a part of the Porsuk Plain, the Sarısu Plain begins north of İnönü, from there runs east to the Porsuk Plain. It is narrower than Porsuk, and covered with a thick layer of alluvial soil.

Another environmental zone is the Sündiken Mountains and Söğüt-Bozüyük-Bilecik area which are mountainous and forested. The Bozdağ-Sündiken mountain range oriented east-west is located north of the Porsuk Plain. Oak and black pine trees are observed in this environmental zone. Söğüt is located in the western extension of the Sündiken Mountains. Bozüyük also has a rough and mountainous character. The Bozüyük Plain is surrounded by mountains such as Kala, Yırce and Üç Tepeler of the Bozdağ-Sündiken range.

The Upper Sangarius Plain in the northern part of the study area is narrow and not as flat as the Porsuk Valley. The Sangarius River in this area flows in the narrow valley between the Bozdağ-Sündiken and Köroğlu Mountains. The plain is partly covered with a thick soil layer, but is not as productive as Porsuk and Sarısu.

5.3. Site Collection Strategies

The concept of a characteristic “Ottoman site” in the archaeological sense at first presented inherent difficulties. In general, its definition and its visibility have been recognized through architectural remains or fine painted pottery by art historians. Furthermore, archaeological surveys in the Eskişehir region mostly focused on pre-Ottoman periods and *höyüks*. Clearly, the determination of “an Ottoman site” or “an Ottoman village” in an archaeological study needed some new criteria and a historical archaeological perspective. Our own approach in this project is not to aim for instant certitude, but offers a first approach to identify an “Ottoman site” in an archaeological survey. The concept of “site” in this project corresponds to an Ottoman village where the ceramic repertoire consisted mainly of storage jars/cooking pots made of coarse wares. A typology of these coarse ware assemblages has been established by their stratigraphical contexts in the Karacahisar and Beycesultan excavations. Secondly, before undertaking the survey, historical documents were analyzed in detail from which the sites planned to visit determined. This was suggested the places where the survey could expect to find archaeological remains. In this context, the first historical document studied was the “*vakfiye*” of Cacaoğlu Nur El-Din, Mongolian governor in the region, written in Arabic and Mongolian and dated to 1272. This *vakfiye* gives information about 6 villages in the region (Cacaoğlu Nur El-Din 1989: 127-28). Other important historical documents and the basic testimonial source group for the project were the *Tahrir defters*, which

provided very detailed documentary evidence about Ottoman “sites” in the region. Ottoman chronicles, especially Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri, contain ample information about topography, and some early Ottoman settlements where Ertuğrul and Osman visited in their military campaigns and social life. Thus, documentary evidences contributed to design the archaeological survey strategy in the project. Fortunately, the persistence of Ottoman toponyms until the present time made it possible to identify village locations easily.

During the survey research, conversations with villagers about their villages in Ottoman period also provided help to understand the location of the settlements. Oral history as a form of historical enquiry has a lengthy tradition in archaeological researches. Oral and social memory collecting in this survey indicates the presence of transgenerational oral tradition and folklore about the villagers’ ancestral movements in the landscape, as well as conflicts against other villages. In this context, the narratives about seasonal migration of the villagers from winter quarters (*kışlak*) to summer pastures (*yaylak*) in the Ottoman period are still preserved in oral and social memory. Therefore, together with villages, the summer pastures were considered in this survey, also. On the other hand, the modern locations of some villages are completely different from the Ottoman period. In these cases, oral historical research contributed to determine the original Ottoman location of villages. For instance, such narratives indicated socio-economic modifications and conflicts amongs the villages. The location of Eğriöz village in the Cacaoğlu *vakfiye*, according to oral and social memory of villagers, changed three times in Ottoman periods because of conflict with Keskin village. Each location is still known by modern villagers. Similarly, according to villagers, Özdenk, Dereköy and Taycılar villages recorded in the *Tahrir defters* were founded after leaving their first village called Kavacık because of

malaria. The location of the first village was called as Kavacık Mevkii by them, and pottery dated to Early Ottoman Period was found in the surface. Therefore, transgenerational oral and social memory played a crucial role in tracing the locations of villages in the research area.

During the survey, a “daily survey report” form was filled, and oral historical data was recorded in a notebook. The daily survey report form registers the historic or common name(s) of the site, followed by its universal transverse Mercator (UTM) coordinates. UTM coordinates are used to pinpoint and describe horizontal position with reference to a two-dimensional Cartesian coordinate system. Thus, this system gives the location of a site on the surface of the Earth. The survey area was then described in terms of artifacts found on its surface, architectural remains or buildings, oral historical data and any nearest modern structures that could define its location more precisely. The approximate size of the site was also estimated. Conditions affecting coverage, such as weather, surface visibility, topography and vegetation were described. Finally, the pottery found on the surface, architectural remains and buildings and topographical features around the site were photographed.

After the survey, verification, collation and studying of data process took place at Bilkent University. In this process, all data collected in the survey was analyzed and recorded in the “Early Ottoman Settlements Survey Archaeological Site Record” form. In this analysis, site location was defined by detailed UTM coordinates, legal description, driving direction and narrative location. Any previous research about the site was consulted. Cultural attributions, cultural constituents and features in the site and around it were described in detail. Sampling limitations, such as restricted access, natural obstructions, disturbance and modern building destructions were explained. Elevation, slope and aspect of the site were recorded.

Localecological, geophysical environments and site condition were described. This information concludes with a written interpretation of the site.

5.4. Gazetteer of Archaeological Sites (Map 1 & 2)

1. Karacahisar

Historic or Common Name(s): Karacahisar, Karacaşehir

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 26' 44.54" mE / 39° 43' 57.78" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 26' 41.69" mE / 39° 44' 00.97" mN
NE: 30° 26' 52.20" mE / 39° 43' 58.04" mN
SW: 30° 26' 40.30" mE / 39° 43' 55.83" mN
SE: 30° 26' 51.45" mE / 39° 43' 57.10" mN
- **Site Location:** The site is located on the hill to the southeast of modern Karacaşehir Mahallesi in Eskişehir city.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 1004 m./ 8m. / Easterly

Occupation (archaeological data): To our knowledge, the first archeological reconnaissance of the site was carried out by two English archaeologists, Cox and Cameron, in 1936-37 (Cox & Cameron 1937). In 1939, the well-known German archaeologist, Kurt Bittel surveyed in the region, and wrote very significant information about Karacahisar in the publication of this survey (Bittel 1942). The first detailed archaeological investigation was conducted by a team of archaeologists and art historians at Anadolu University under the leadership of Halil İnalçık in 1998. This research was published as a 1999 report entitled *Osmangazi'nin ilk fethi:*

Karacahisar Kalesi in 1999 (Osmangazi'nin ilk fethi: Karacahisar Kalesi Projesi 1999). In this report, the first topographical plan of the fortification was made. Following this research, the first archaeological excavations were conducted by Ebru Parman between 2000 and 2002 (Parman 2000; 2001). These first excavations mainly focused on the sites's Byzantine levels. Later, the Karacahisar excavations were reopened under the direction of Erol Altınsapan in 2008. The second period of archaeological excavations has been continued by him to the present. In this second phase of excavations, the focus has shifted to the Early Ottoman levels in the fortress. Here, a commercial district and a monumental building, thought to be a *zaviye*, were unearthed. Characteristic pottery (Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware, Miletus Ware, Monochrome Painted Ware) were recovered in stratified contexts.

Occupation (historical data): In the Ottoman chronicles, Karacahisar belonged to the Seljukid Sultan (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 93, Bâb 2; Neşri 1995: 65; Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 10; Giese edition of Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 1992: 9; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 50; Oruç 2013: 9; Ruhi 1992: 376; Lütü Paşa 2001: 154). Sultan Alâaddin embarked on an expedition against the *tekvür* of Karacahisar. He left the conquest of region to Osman. Osman conquered Karacahisar in 1288, the first conquest of the Ottomans in history (İnalçık 2007: 500; Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 97-8, Bâb 6, 7; Neşri 1995: 87; Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 11; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 104; Oruç 2013: 14; Ruhi 1992: 381; Hadîdî 1991: 36). In the chronicles of Neşri, İbn-i Kemal and Ruhi, Karacahisar was at first conquered by Ertuğrul, and then it became independent under the control of Seljukid Sultan again (Neşri 1995: 69; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 56; Ruhi 1992: 377). In Karacahisar, Osman constructed a

mosque in which read a sermon (*hutbe*) declaring independence of the Ottoman State against the Seljukid Sultan (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 103, Bâb 14; Neşri 1995: 105-11; Ibn-i Kemal 1991: 111-13). Lütü Paşa, however, didn't mention anything about the conquest of Karacahisar (Lütü Paşa 2001). In the period of Mehmed II, Karacahisar was abandoned, and in its place, Karacaşehir was founded by a *ferman* (edict) of Mehmed II at the bottom of the hill (İnalçık 2006: 9-10).

In 1530, according to the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri, Nahiye-i Karacaşehir* had 81 *hane*, 17 *ehl-i berat* and 1 *muhasıl*. The town had the only Christian population in the area. *Cemaat-i Ermeniyan-ı Karacaşehir* had 30 *hane*. This Armenian community came to the region only in the beginning of the 16th century. However, the market, *Bac-ı Pazar-ı Karacaşehir*, founded by Osman (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 104, Bâb 15; Neşri 1995: 111) was still active in 1530 (TD 438, s. 226).

2. Söğüt

Historic or Common Name(s): Thebasion, Beğ-Söğüdü, Söğüd, Söğüt

Location: Older town of Söğüt disappeared because of modern constructions, and therefore, it is impossible to define the UTM corners of the old town.

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 10' 59.44" mE / 40° 00' 49.31" mN (the central square of the town)
- **UTM Corners:** (unavailable)
- **Site Location:** (unavailable)

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: (unavailable)

Occupation (archaeologically): As mentioned before, the old town disappeared because of modern constructions. Archaeological remains are attested by a few monumental buildings that still survive. The *Ertuğrulgazi Kuyulu Mescid* is located in the southwest of the town, next to Söğüt Creek. According to historical documents, the *mescid* (small mosque) was constructed by Ertuğrul Gazi. The *kuyûdât-ı kâdime* mentions the *mescid* two times: as “Söğüd’de Ertuğrul Gaazî câmî-i cedîdi...” (Ayverdi 1966: 2; Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Kuyûdât-ı Kâdimesi, Bursa Esas Defteri 1/2, sıra 1968), and “Söğüd kasabasında Ertuğrul Gaazî vakfından Elhac Hüseyin mescid-i şerîfi...” (Ayverdi 1966: 2; Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Kuyûdât-ı Kâdimesi, Bursa Esas Defteri 1/2, sıra 2014). In *Evkaf-i Nahiye-i Söğüd*, one *çiftlik* in Söğüt was donated to the mosque of Söğüt by Osman (Yinanç 1988: 59). But, in the *Tahrir Defterleri*, the Mosque of Söğüt referred to the modern Mehmed Çelebi Mosque constructed by Mehmet I (Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri 1988: 280). Therefore, the mosque mentioned in *Evkaf-i Nahiye-i Söğüd* should have been *Kuyulu Mescid* because of Osman’s donation. Since this *mescid* was re-constructed by Abdülhamit II in 1902, it is today impossible to date this building through its plan and construction technique. Nevertheless, the original *mescid* is dated to the period of Osman or Ertuğrul because of the entries in *Evkaf-i Nahiye-i Söğüd*.

The *Ertuğrul Gazi Türbesi* was constructed by Orhan Gazi (Ayverdi 1966: 198; Bursa Kadı Sicilleri, cilt 33, sayfa 137). A new gate was constructed by Abdülhamid II in 1886 according to the *kitabe* in the gate. In this *kitabe*, it was written that Ahmed III constructed the building again (*Sene bin yüz dahı yetmiş bir iken Ahmed Hân / Temelinden bunu itmişti binâ vü tecdîd*) in Hicri 1171 (1758). However, the Ottoman sultan in 1758 was Mustafa III, not Ahmed III. On the other

hand, the plan and construction technique of the *türbe* is similar to the 14th century practise, not the 18th century. According to Ayverdi, Mustafa III should have constructed *revak* (porch) seen in an old picture in 1882 before Abdülhamid's construction (Ayverdi 1966: 199). This *revak* was demolished by Abdülhamid II. In Evliya Çelebi's travel account, the *türbe* was described as *Ziyâret-i Ertuğrul Hân* (Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi 1999). According to Evliya Çelebi, Söğüt was destroyed by Timur after the Ankara Battle in 1402, and *Ziyâret-i Ertuğrul Hân* would have been damaged in this destruction because he described the *türbe* as ruined, "...*hâlâ türbe-i pür-envârı eyle mükellef âsitâne değildir*". Therefore, Mustafa III in the 18th century restored the 14th century *türbe* and constructed a new *revak*.

Occupation (historical data): According Ottoman chronicles, Söğüt was given to Ertuğrul by Sultan Alâaddin (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 93, Bâb 2; Neşri 1995: 63; Oruç 2013: 9; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 49-50; Ruhi 1992: 376; Lütfi Paşa 2001: 154). Ahmedî and Şükrullah, however, wrote that Ertuğrul conquered Söğüt by himself (Ahmedî 1949: 8; Şükrullah 1949: 52). In the Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle and Hadîdî, an Ottoman establishment in Söğüt wasn't mentioned in the text (Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000; Hadîdî 1991). However, the Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle's introductory poem writes Ahmedî's verses about Ertuğrul's conquest of Söğüt (*Yürüdi Söğüd iline geldi ol / Kılıç ile ol arayı aldı ol*) (Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 6). In Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri, it is understood that Söğüt was the first center of Ottomans (Aşıkpaşazade 1949, 93, Bâb 2; Neşri 1995: 63, 69, 71). In the chronicles, Ertuğrul and his son Sarı Yatu were buried in Söğüt (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 96, Bâb 5; Neşri 1995: 79, 87; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 64; Hadîdî 1991: 28, 38). In Aşıkpaşazade, Neşri and İbn-i Kemal, Osman died in Söğüt, and was at first buried

there (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 115, Bâb 28; Neşri 1995: 145; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 192-194).

In *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defteri*, Söğüt was recorded as *Karye-i Beğ-Söğüdü*, and had 11 *hane*, 2 *mücerred* in A, and 20 *hane*, 4 *mücerred* in B. In C, the site was recorded as *Nefs-i Söğüd* having 80 *hane*, 44 *mücerred*.

3. Sultanöyüğü / Eskişehir

Historic or Common Name(s): Sultan Yuki, Sultan Eyüğü, Sultan Öyüğü, Sultanönü, Eskişehir, Odunpazarı

Location: The older town of Eskişehir, in Odunpazarı Mahallesi, disappeared because of later Ottoman and modern constructions, and it is therefore impossible to define UTM corners of the old town.

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 31' 25.82" mE / 39° 45' 56.98" mN (The Odunpazarı Square)
- **UTM Corners:** (unavailable)
- **Site Location:** In the center of Eskişehir city.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 810 / 35 / Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): As mentioned before, old town disappeared because of later Ottoman and modern constructions. It is attested only by a few monuments. In the *Caca Oğlu Nur El-Din's vakfiye*, a *mescit* was constructed by *Caca Oğlu Nur El-Din* in 1268 in the area of today's *Alâaddin Mosque*. According to

İhsan, this *mesçit* was demolished in the Late Ottoman period because of road construction (İhsan 1934: 262). The *Alâaddin Mosque* was reconstructed later, but the minaret of previous *mesçit* was standing in ruins next to the Mosque, and its inscription was still there in 1934 (İhsan 1934: 262). Today, the *minaret* of *mesçit* disappeared, and the inscription has been inserted on the wall of today's *Alâaddin Mosque*.

The *Şeyh Ahi Mahmud Türbesi* was dated to Seljukid Period by Altınsapan because the Türbe was recorded as “Kadimden Vakıf” in Mehmed II Period (Altınsapan 2010: 10). It is difficult to date *türbe* through its plan and construction techniques. Another türbe was *Şeyh Ede-Bali Türbesi*, but it was recorded in *vakıf* recordings in the Mehmed II Period as “*Ahi Ede Türbesi*” (Ahmed Refik 1924; Kamil Kepeci, nr. 3358, s.13). The building is dated to the 14th century because of architectural plan (Altınsapan 2010: 13). Another one, the *Şeyh Şehabeddin Sühreverdi Türbesi* or *Salı Tekkesi* could have been constructed in the Seljukid Period (Altınsapan 2010: 19), but it is difficult to date because the original building has been destroyed by restoration. In the *Caca Oğlu Nur El-Din's vakfiye*, *Şeyh Abdullah el-Bedevi Zaviyesi* is mentioned, and Caca Oğlu Nur El-Din is supposed to have restored it. The *zaviye* was also called as *Aktogan Zaviyesi* after the 16th century (Doğru 1991: 39). In the 19th century, the *zaviye* must have been destroyed because no remains of the building can be seen today. The Türbe has also disappeared completely in the memory of local people today. (Doğru 1991: 39).

Occupation (historical data): In Aşıkpaşazade, when Ertuğrul came to Söğüt, the *tekvurs* of Sultanöni and Karacahisar belonged to Anatolian Seljukid State (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 93, Bâb 2). However, other chronicles wrote *tekvur* of Bilecik instead of Sultanöni (Neşri 1995: 65; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 49; Oruç 2013: 9; Lütü Paşa

2001: 154). *Eskişehir* and *Sultanöni* were used as different location names in the chronicles. In Aşıkpaşazade, Osman founded a market (*bazar*) in Eskişehir mentioned as the central market in the region because Aşıkpaşazade wrote that women from Bilecik came to the Eskişehir market to shop (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 99, Bâb 9). In another mention of Eskişehir in the chronicle, Orhan had his horse shod in Eskişehir when Çavdar Tatars attacked Karacahisar (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 108, Bâb 21). On the other hand, Neşri wrote “Eskişehir of Sultan-Öyüğü”, and one of the regents (*naib*) of Sultan Alâaddin in the region lived there (Neşri 1995: 73). Other contradictions about the locations are seen in the problems after Osman kidnapped Mâl Hatun from İtburnu village. Neşri wrote *Sultan Öyüğü beği* and *Eski-Şehir beği* as different beys. In this reference, *Sultan Öyüğü beği* looks to be the most powerful ruler in the region, and the people consulted him to solve their problems. In this narrative, Osman defeated *Sultan Öyüğü* and *Eskişehir beğs*. After this event, Neşri didn't mention the name of *Sultan Öyüğü* again, and used only *Eskişehir*. In Neşri, when Sultan Alâaddin learned the death of Saru-yatı in the İvizce Battle, he said that the tekfur of Karacahisar became the enemy (*yağı olmak*) for Seljuks and Muslims. Therefore, he gave “Eskişehir” to Osman, and let him attack Karacahisar (Neşri 1995: 87). After the conquest of Karacahisar, Osman owned “Eskişehir” (Neşri 1995: 87). Aşıkpaşazade also mentioned, Neşri wrote that Osman then founded a market in Eskişehir (Neşri 1949: 89). On the basis of these historical documents, one concludes that Sultanönü was the name of the region, *Liva-i Sultanönü*, and Eskişehir was the name of the settlement, *Kaza-i Eskişehir*.

In 1530, the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* described Kaza-i Eskişehir as a town (*kasaba*) where prayer was held on Friday (*cuması kılınır*), and had a market and thermal baths (*ılıca*). The town had 7 *mahalle*, 172 *hane*, 4 *sipahizade*, and all of

residents were exempt from taxes (*kasaba-i mezkür ahalisi külliyyen avarız-ı divaniyeden ve tekalif-i örfiyeden muaf ve müsellemler olup ellerinde hükm-ü şerif verilmiş*) (TD 438, s. 223).

4. Bilecik

Historic or Common Name(s): Belecama, Bilecik

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 29° 59' 17.23" mE / 40° 08' 35.51" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 29° 59' 12.36" mE / 40° 08' 37.93" mN
NE: 29° 59' 33.68" mE / 40° 08' 36.20" mN
SW: 29° 59' 04.38" mE / 40° 08' 13.97" mN
SE: 29° 59' 33.51" mE / 40° 08' 23.26" mN
- **Site Location:** Old Bilecik is located east of modern Bilecik. The old town was destroyed by the Greek Army in 1923, when the city moved to its current location.
- **Elevation/Slope/Aspect:** 411m./50m./Westerly

Occupation (archaeological data): The remains of the Byzantine castle in Bilecik can be seen today. In the old town, the *Şeyh Ede Bâli Türbesi* and *Mâl Hatun Türbesi* were dated to the 14th century on the basis of their plans and construction techniques (Ayverdi 1966: 35). The Osman Gazi Mosque and Orhan Gazi Mosque were constructed in the period of Orhan. The Orhan Gazi İmareti (Figure 57) was excavated by Altınsapan in 2001 (Altınsapan 2003). Miletus Ware and Monochrome

Painted Ware were found in the excavation (Deveci 2003: 125-235). Altınsapan dated to the imaret to 1326 (Altınsapan & Deveci 2003: 99).

Occupation (historical data): In the Ottoman chronicles, the *tekvur* of Bilecik belonged to the Seljukid Sultan when Ertuğrul came to Söğüt (Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 10; Neşri 1995: 65; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 49; Oruç 2013: 9; Lütü Paşa 2001: 154). In Aşıkpaşazade, the relationship between Early Ottomans and Belecomanians was at first very friendly (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 100, Bâb 10). Ertuğrul protected them against the Çavdar Tatars (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 93, Bâb 2); the Ottomans trusted them, and left their important belongings (*kamu esbabları*) with their women in Bilecik Castle when they moved to their summer pastures (*yaylak*) (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 94, Bâb 3; 98-99, Bâb 9). According to Aşıkpaşazade, the problems between Ottomans and Germiyanids were the main reason for Belecomanians' friendship with the Ottomans, because Germiyanids were mutual enemies for both (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 99, Bâb 9; Neşri 1995: 89, 93; Ruhi 1992: 381). However, Osman lost the trust of the *tekvur* of Bilecik at the wedding of Mihal Gazi's daughter with the son of Göl-Flanoz's bey (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 100, Bâb 11). For his part, Neşri wrote that Osman was angry at the *tekvur* of Bilecik because he forced Osman to kiss his hands (Neşri 1995: 95). In 1299, Osman conquered Bilecik Castle when Bilecik Tekvur married the daughter of Yar-Hisar's *tekvur* in Çakır Pınarı (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 101; Neşri 1995: 97-103; Ahmedi 1947: 9; Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 11; Oruç 2013: 14; Ruhi 1992: 381; Şükrüllah 1947: 52; Nişancı Mehmed Paşa 1947: 345). Osman gave Bilecik to his father-in-law, Şeyh Ede Balı, as *timar*, and his wife Mâl Hatun lived there with her father (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 105, Bâb 16; Neşri 1995: 113; Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 12; Ruhi 1992: 381). Aşıkpaşazade wrote that Şeyh Ede Balı and Mâl Hatun were buried in

Bilecik (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 114-115, Bâb 28; Neşri 1995: 145), and a mosque (*Cuma mescidi*) was constructed by Orhan (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 129, Bâb 49; Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 30; Oruç 2013: 26).

In 1530, the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* records that *Kaza-i Bilecik* had 5 *mahalle*, 107 *hane*, 13 *mücerred*, 8 *ehl-i berat*, 2 *pir*, 1 *malül*. In the beginning of 16th century, Armenians moved to Bilecik. The Armenian community consisted of 14 *hane* and 1 *mücerred* in Bilecik (TD 438, s. 219).

5. Şarhöyük

Historic or Common Name(s): Dorylaion, Şerh Eyük, Şarhöyük

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 32' 10.18" mE / 39° 47' 57.71" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 32' 06.97" mE / 39° 48' 04.30" mN
NE: 30° 32' 19.53" mE / 39° 47' 03.75" mN
SW: 30° 32' 01.46" mE / 39° 47' 50.17" mN
SE: 30° 32' 16.62" mE / 39° 47' 51.98" mN
- **Site Location:** The site is located in modern Şarhöyük Mahallesi, north of Eskişehir. It is on Hatboyu Caddesi.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 811m./3m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Archaeological excavations at Şarhöyük (Dorylaion) haven't found any Ottoman artifacts. After the fortress of Dorylaion was abandoned in the Middle Byzantine Period, Turks founded a new settlement in the Odunpazarı area. The Ottoman Şerheyük village might have been located at the

lower end of Dorylaion, in the modern Şarhöyük Mahallesi of Eskişehir. It is very difficult to find any archaeological material of Ottoman Şerheyük under present modern buildings.

Occupation (historical data): The first historical document about Şarhöyük is found in the *Sultanönü Vakıf Defteri* dated to Mehmed II. In this document, the village was devoted to *Ahi Mahmut Zaviyesi* and was in the possession of *Mümin Fakih* by *nişan* (order) of Mehmed II (Ahmet Refik 1924: 129-141; Kamil Kepeci, Nr. 3358, s.6). In 1521, the *Sarı Hamza Çiftliği* of the village was registered in the *Taycı Defteri* and belonged to *Nahiye-i Ok* (Doğru 1992: 95; Doğru 1990: 160, 189; TD. Nr. 112, s. 71, 84. TD. Nr. 247, s. 46). In 1530, the village was recorded as having 27 *hane*, 1 *mücerred*, 1 *korucu*, 1 *imam* and 1 *pir* in the *Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri* (TD 438, s. 231, 141). The latest recording of the village was in 1571 as a common timar (*ortak timar*) of *Hasan* and *Beyşehirli Mustafa* (Doğru 1992: 95; TD. Nr. 515, s. 44). According to Doğru, the village was abandoned in the 17th century. In the *Sultanönü Vakıf Defteri* published by Ahmet Refik (Ahmet Refik 1924), the *Ahi Mahmut Zaviyesi* was identified as *Kadimden Vakıf* ; therefore, this *zaviye* and Şerheyük (Şarhöyük) might have been founded in the Seljukid Period.

6. Söğütönü

Historic or Common Name(s): Aşağı Söğütönü, Yukarı Söğütönü, Söğütönü

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 26' 04.18" mE / 39° 48' 31.80" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 25' 59.44" mE / 39° 48' 35.32" mN

NE: 30° 26' 06.54" mE / 39° 48' 35.44" mN

SW: 30° 26' 02.46" mE / 39° 48' 26.81" mN

SE: 30° 26' 08.22" mE / 39° 48' 30.53" mN

- **Site Location:** Aşağı and Yukarı Söğütönü are eastern suburb mahalle districts of Eskişehir. There are many modern construction projects in the area, such as TOKİ, and intensive agriculture. According to villagers, the Ottoman settlement of the village was founded to the east of modern Aşağı and Yukarı Söğütönü. There is only a fountain having an inscription dated to 1235/1819-20 in Aşağı Söğütönü. According to villagers, their transhumant ancestors were forced to establish a permanent settlement by the Ottoman Empire in 19th century.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 818m./5m./Southwesterly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was recovered about the Ottoman period. On the eastern border of Aşağı Söğütönü village, a höyük is dated by its finds to the Early Bronze Age II/III and Iron Ages (Early-Middle-Late).

Occupation (historical data): The villages were first recorded by the *Yaya Defteri*, dated to 1466 (Doğru 1990: 77; MM nr. 8/44a-49b). They were recorded again in the *Yaya Defteri* in 1520, and the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* in 1530, 1563, and 1573 (Doğru 1990: 77; MM nr. 64/22a-22b; TD nr. 158/20-21; TD nr. 347/24-26; TD nr. 532/44-45). In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* dated to 1530, Karye-i Aşağı Söğüd had 25 *hane*, 10 *mücerred*, 1 *pir*, 1 *ehl-i berat* (Doğru 1992: 182; TD nr. 158/20-21). Karye-i Yukarı Söğüd Eyüğü had 35 *hane*, 12 *mücerred*, 1 *imam*, 1 *pir*. Archaeological and historical documents don't support dating villages in the Early Ottoman period.

7. Keskin (Beştaş)

Historic or Common Name(s): Keskin, Keskün, Biş-Taş, Beştaş Zaviyesi

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 22' 15.35" mE / 39° 52' 32.07" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 22' 12.27" mE / 39° 52' 33.09" mN
NE: 30° 22' 17.77" mE / 39° 52' 32.91" mN
SW: 30° 22' 12.90" mE / 39° 52' 28.34" mN
SE: 30° 22' 19.23" mE / 39° 52' 28.49" mN
- **Site Location:** It is located northwest of Keskin village. It is very difficult to find Beştaş mevki without the help of local people.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 995m./5m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Five columns (Figure 58) or the the site date to the Classical or Roman Period. Intensive destruction is occurring because of gas-pipeline construction.

Occupation (historical data): Aşıkpaşazade wrote that Osman I visited *Beştaş Zaviyesi* in his Mudurnu campaign, and asked the sheikh of the zaviye about the road (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 99, Bâb 10). Neşri recorded the same story in his chronicle (Neşri 1995: 91). According to Doğru, the zaviye was found by *Halil veledi Beştaş*, as seen in the Vakfiye Defteri dated to 1523 (Doğru 1992: 141). Beyazıd I gave two *çiftliks* to the daughter of *Beştaş Zaviyesi*'s sheikh as vakıf (Doğru 1992: 141; Kamil Kepeci Nr. 3358, s.5; TD nr. 438, s. 144, MMD nr. 18333, s. 11). In the period of Mehmed II, *mutasarrıfs* (tenants) of vakıf were Derviş Paşa veledi Halil and Halil veledi Mezid; and the zaviye offered accommodation and guidance to *ayende ve*

ravende (passerbys) (Ahmet Refik 1924). In the *Tahrir Defter* of 1530, Keskin village (*Karye-i Keskiin*) defined as “*tabi-i mezbur, Vakf-ı zaviye-i Beş Taş, ma’a nefsi Eskişehir*” having 35 *hane*, 6 *mücerred*, 5 *Pir-i fani*. Because of the Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri chronicles, the village can be dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

8. Uludere

Historic or Common Name(s): Uludere , İtburnu

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 19' 51.12" mE / 39° 55' 02.48" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 19' 39.91" mE / 39° 55' 08.50" mN
NE: 30° 19' 58.28" mE / 39° 55' 09.14" mN
SW: 30° 19' 38.98" mE / 39° 55' 58.96" mN
SE: 30° 19' 59.72" mE / 39° 55' 58.95" mN
- **Site Location:** It is the last village of Eskişehir on the border with Bilecik. It is a mountain village located northwest of Keskin village. The road to Uludere from Keskin is very steep.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 1048m/31m/Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): The present village is located on top of the previous settlement, therefore it is impossible to find any archaeological evidence because of modern construction. In the village the *Orta Tekke Türbesi* (Figure 59), dated to 14th century on the basis of plan and construction technique (Altınsapan 2010: 41), dates the site to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): According to the Ottoman chronicles, Şeyh Ede-Bali lived in İtburnu village where Osman visited him often. One night, when Osman was resting in Şeyh Ede-Bali's house, he fell asleep and dreamed his famous dream, interpreted by Şeyh Ede-Bali as *muştı* (good news) of Allah about his state and the future achievements of his family. Osman and the daughter of Şeyh Ede-Bali, Mal Hatun, were then married in the village (Ahmedi 1949: 9; Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 93; Neşri 1995: 79; Oruç Bey 1925: 9; Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 11; İbn-i Kemal 1991, I. Defter: 93). The village was recorded in 1521 and 1546 as Taycı (horse breeder) in the Tapu Tahrir Defters. In these registers, the village had 1 *çiftlik* for horse breeding (Doğru 1990: 161, 190; TD nr. 112/115, TD nr. 247/56). No mention of the village is made in the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530.

9. Ortaca

Historic or Common Name(s): Ortaca, Ortanca

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 32
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 19' 55.43" mE / 39° 57' 45.78" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 19' 47.77" mE / 39° 57' 48.87" mN
NE: 30° 20' 00.76" mE / 39° 57' 49.27" mN
SW: 30° 19' 49.05" mE / 39° 57' 49.05" mN
SE: 30° 20' 01.66" mE / 39° 57' 42.71" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located in Bilecik Province, and north of Uludere village. The very steep main road to the village connects from Uludere. It is a mountain village.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 1038m./26m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeologically): The modern village is located on top of the previous settlement, therefore it is impossible to find any archaeological evidence because of later constructions. The *Koç Takreddin Baba Türbesi* (Figure 60), dated to the 14th century on the basis of plan and construction technique (Altınsapan 2010: 36), places the village in the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): According to the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* from 1530, the village had 2 *hane*, 2 *miücerred* (TD 438, s. 229).

10. Eğriöz

Historic or Common Name(s): Egri Özi, Eğrice Öz, Üzerlik, Halaköy, Eğriöz

Location: for Üzerlik Mevkii (see below).

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 24' 16.98" mE / 39° 51' 39.87" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 24' 16.36" mE / 39° 51' 40.55" mN
NE: 30° 24' 17.65" mE / 39° 51' 40.50" mN
SW: 30° 24' 16.20" mE / 39° 51' 39.13" mN
SE: 30° 24' 17.61" mE / 39° 51' 39.09" mN
- **Site Location:** Modern Eğriöz village is located 2 km north of Keskin village; Üzerlik Mevkii is just north of Keskin village, next to Keskin Höyük. The area is called Doktorlar Sitesi.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: Üzerlik Mevkii: 871m./2m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the village because of modern constructions.

Occupation (historical data): In 1272, the village was recorded in the *vakfiye* of *Caca oğlu Nur El-Din* as Egri Özi (Cacaoğlu Vakfiyesi 1989: 127). According to villagers of Eğriöz and Keskin, the location of the village changed three times in the Ottoman period because of conflict with Keskin village. The villagers said that the first location of the village was in Üzerlik Mevkii next to Keskin Höyük. After conflict with Keskin, the village moved to Halaköy Mevkii, north of modern Eğriöz. Later, the village moved to present Eğriöz. The village was recorded in the *Tapu Tahrir Defterleri* of 1521 and 1546 as a *müsellem* village in *Nahiye-i İnönü* (Doğru 1990: 192; TD nr. 112, s. 158; TD nr. 247, s.84). In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village had 10 *hane*, 2 *mücerred* (TD 438, s. 144). Because of the entry in the *Caca oğlu Nur El-Din Vakfiyesi*, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

11. Alınca

Historic or Common Name(s): Alıncık, Alıncak, Alınca

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 26' 51.86" mE / 39° 51' 58.21" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 26' 46.16" mE / 39° 52' 00.67" mN
NE: 30° 26' 59.37" mE / 39° 52' 04.18" mN
SW: 30° 26' 51.86" mE / 39° 51' 58.21" mN
SE: 30° 26' 51.86" mE / 39° 51' 58.21" mN

- **Site Location:** It is located in the west of Eskişehir city, on the way to Keskin village.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 925m./22m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the village.

Occupation (historical data): In 1272, the village was recorded in the *vakfiye* of *Caca oğlu Nur El-Din* as Alıncık (Cacaoğlu Vakfiyesi 1989: 127). The modern Alıncak villagers moved here from Salonika after Mübadele in 1923 , with the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey after WWI. Because it is recorded in the *Caca oğlu Nur El-Din Vakfiyesi*, the village can be dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

12. Sevinç

Historic or Common Name(s): Sevinç, Sevinç Oğlu Yeri, Sevinç Yeri, Sevündük, Sündük

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 41' 19.92" mE / 39° 46' 41.29" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 41' 19.92" mE / 39° 46' 41.29" mN
NE: 30° 41' 34.98" mE / 39° 46' 03.14" mN
SW: 30° 41' 16.51" mE / 39° 46' 48.27" mN
SE: 30° 41' 35.73" mE / 39° 46' 52.77" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 10 km east of Eskişehir, on the way to Alpu.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 782m./8m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeologically): Ottoman pottery was found in the village around the Kırık Minare, the minaret of a collapsed mosque dated to 1884. Some sherds identified as Early Ottoman Pottery (Figure 61), such as Early Ottoman Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Red Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware. Therefore, the village is dated to Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): The village was recorded in the *vakfiye* of *Caca oğlu Nur El-Din* of 1272 as Sündek, Sündük or Sevindik (Cacaoğlu Vakfiyesi 1989: 127, see index of Arabic text: 250). In 1530, the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* recorded it in *Nahiye-i Karaca Şehir* as *Karye-i Sevinç* with 27 hane, 36 ortakçı, 9 mücerred, 2 pir, 1 muhassıl (TD 438, s. 225)

13. Sarı Kavak

Historic or Common Name(s): Saru Kavak, Sarıkavak

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 01' 17.00" mE / 39° 10' 58.95" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 01' 10.29" mE / 39° 10' 59.56" mN
NE: 30° 01' 17.75" mE / 39° 11' 00.70" mN
SW: 30° 01' 13.18" mE / 39° 10' 53.55" mN
SE: 30° 01' 22.52" mE / 39° 10' 55.06" mN
- **Site Location:** Sarıkavak is a very small village located southeast of Eskişehir city, close to the Eskişehir-Konya highway.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 1031m./5m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware and Early Ottoman Red Ware were found on the surface of the site. Therefore, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): The village was recorded in the *vakfiye* of *Cacaoğlu Nur El-Din* of 1272 as Saru Kavak (Cacaoğlu Vakfiyesi 1989: 127). In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village was identified in *Evkaf-ı Liva Sultanönü* as *Karye-i Sarı Kavak* with 29 *hane*, 7 *mücerred*, 1 *pir-i fani*, 1 *muhassıl* (TD 438, s. 143).

14. Gündüzler

Historic or Common Name(s): Gündüzler, Barak Mevkii

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 47' 33.38" mN / 39° 53' 36.03" mE
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 47' 31.88" mN / 39° 53' 39.40" mE
NE: 30° 47' 37.01" mN / 39° 53' 39.29" mE
SW: 30° 47' 31.51" mN / 39° 53' 35.37" mE
SE: 30° 47' 35.66" mN / 39° 53' 35.28" mE
- **Site Location:** It is located northwest of Gündüzler village, and called Barak Mevkii. The site is next to the Gündüzler Restaurant in the village. It is a flat settlement.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 907m./10m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeologically): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware and Early Ottoman Red Ware were found on the surface of the site (Figure 62). The grave of Gündüzalp (Figure 63), brother of Osman Gazi

according to Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri, is in the Gündüzler village. Because of pottery and the grave of Gündüzalp, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): According to villagers, their ancestors left Barak Mevkii because of “sinek” (flies) and malaria. They moved to modern Gündüzler village. In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village was donated to *Ahi İdrisi Zaviyesi*, and had 25 hane, 7 mücerred, 1 sahib-i berat (TD 438, s. 144).

15. Beyazaltın

Historic or Common Name(s): Beyazaltın, Sepetçi, Asilbey, Beylice

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 49' 33.31" mE / 39° 55' 03.57" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 49' 32.04" mE / 39° 55' 04.72" mN
NE: 30° 49' 35.35" mE / 39° 55' 04.66" mN
SW: 30° 49' 31.73" mE / 39° 55' 02.97" mN
SE: 30° 49' 35.62" mE / 39° 55' 02.97" mN
- **Site Location:** The site is located northwest of modern Beyazaltın village. It is a flat settlement.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 925m./5m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeologically): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Fine Red Slip Ware with fluted decoration and Storage Jars were found on the surface of the site (Figure 64). Because of this pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): According to villagers, their ancestors left Asil Bey Mevkii, and moved to modern Beyazaltın village. The village was called Sepetçi until the 1960s, but it was called as Beylice in the past. Because of meerschaum mines, the village was renamed Beyazaltın. In *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village was recorded as Karye-i Beylice having 9 *hane*, 24 *kesimci*, 1 *imam*, 1 *pir*.

16. Būğdüz

Historic or Common Name(s): Būğdüz

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 31° 05' 03.18" mE / 39° 51' 09.37" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 31° 05' 54.52" mE / 39° 51' 14.70" mN
NE: 31° 05' 11.38" mE / 39° 51' 15.55" mN
SW: 31° 04' 53.73" mE / 39° 51' 01.56" mN
SE: 31° 05' 09.37" mE / 39° 51' 01.06" mN
- **Site Location:** It is located in the northeast of Alpu.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 861m./26m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeologically): No archaeological data was found in the village because of modern construction. A Seljukid Mosque (Figure 65), dated to 1284, the village dates the village itself to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): In *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, there is only *Cemaat-i Būğdüz* with 160 *hane* (TD 438, s. 237). No information about the village is recorded.

17. Kavacık

Historic or Common Name(s): Kavacık Mevkii

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 58' 15.99" mE / 39° 51' 57.96" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 58' 14.02" mE / 39° 51' 59.18" mN
NE: 30° 58' 20.44" mE / 39° 51' 59.62" mN
SW: 30° 58' 15.60" mE / 39° 51' 55.59" mN
SE: 30° 58' 22.15" mE / 39° 51' 55.55" mN
- **Site Location:** It is located northwest of Çukurhisar, next to a military area for airforce on the way to Alpu from Eskişehir. It is a flat settlement.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 808m./2m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeologically): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Fine Red Slip Ware and Storage Jars were found on the surface of the site (Figure 66). Because of this pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): According to villagers, their ancestors left Kavacık Mevkii because of “sinek” (flies) and malaria. They moved to Özdenk, Dereköy and Taycılar village. In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village was recorded as *Karye-i Kavacık*. It is listed after information about Sevinç and Çavlum. Because the survey site is close to modern Çavlum village, the site named Kavacık Mevkii by modern villagers must be *Karye-i Kavacık* in the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri*.

Karye-i Kavacık had 8 hane, 10 ortakçı, 7 mücerred, 4 pir, 3 togancı, 1 imam, 1 mu'arîf (TD 438, s. 229).

18. Çavlum

Historic or Common Name(s): Çavlum, Çaylum, Çavluca

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 43' 36.62" mE / 39° 48' 17.38" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 43' 32.60" mE / 39° 48' 20.76" mN
NE: 30° 43' 45.29" mE / 39° 48' 21.90" mN
SW: 30° 43' 31.28" mE / 39° 48' 12.59" mN
SE: 30° 43' 44.21" mE / 39° 48' 12.34" mN
- **Site Location:** It is located 15 km east of Eskişehir city, on the way to Alpu.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 784m./7m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeologically): A. Nejat Bilgen excavated a Bronze Age burial area in Çavlum village (Bilgen 2005), but no archaeological data for the Ottoman period was found in this excavation. According to Altınsapan, *Hadika (Sadıka) Zaviyesi* in Çavlum village is dated to the 14th century (Altınsapan 1999: 25).

Occupation (historical data): According to the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village had 5 *hane*, 11 *ortakçı*, 1 *mücerred*, 2 *pir*, 1 *muhassıl* (TD 438, s. 225). A *çiftlik* in the village was dedicated to a *zaviye* by Murad I. The last information about a *zaviye* was recorded in Süleyman I (Doğru 1991: 50; Kamil Kepeci 3358, s. 12). Modern Çavlum was founded by emigrants from the Balkans and Crimea in 19th

century. Therefore, the first Çavlum must have been abandoned in the 16th or 17th centuries.

19. Yassihöyük

Historic or Common Name(s): Yassihöyük

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 39' 18.34" mE / 39° 46' 23.57" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 39' 11.62" mE / 39° 46' 29.44" mN
NE: 30° 39' 25.12" mE / 39° 46' 30.36" mN
SW: 30° 39' 14.35" mE / 39° 46' 16.82" mN
SE: 30° 39' 27.73" mE / 39° 46' 17.94" mN
- **Site Location:** It is located 10 km east of Eskişehir, on the way to Alpu.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 798m./10m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data dated to the Ottoman period was found in the village and höyük.

Occupation (historical data): Ertuğrul is said to have come to Yassihöyük. In Evkaf-ı Liva Sultanönü, the village was donated to *Evkaf-ı merhum Beyazid-i Hüdevendigar* (Beyazıd II). In this listing, the village had 93 *hane*, 6 *mücerred*, 1 *pir* (TD 438, s. 143). Because of the narrative about Ertuğrul in Yassihöyük, the village is dated to Early Ottoman Period.

20. Eskisekipınar

Historic or Common Name(s): Cumhuriyet Village, Eskisekipınar, Eskisekiören, Sekiviran

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 37' 30.20" mE / 39° 51' 02.70" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 37' 27.73" mE / 39° 51' 03.91" mN
NE: 30° 37' 32.52" mE / 39° 51' 03.66" mN
SW: 30° 37' 28.73" mE / 39° 51' 01.40" mN
SE: 30° 37' 30.94" mE / 39° 51' 01.50" mN
- **Site Location:** It is north of Eskişehir and Cumhuriyet Village on the way to Mihalgazi. It is a flat settlement.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 1049m./28m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeologically): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site (Figure 67). Therefore, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): According to villagers, their ancestors left Eskisekipınar, and founded modern Cumhuriyet village in the Early Republican Period. In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village was recorded as *Karye-i Sekiviran*, and had 9 hane, 3 mücerred (TD 438, s. 227).

21. Gökçekısık

Historic or Common Name(s): Gökçekısık

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 23' 36.21" mE / 39° 39' 10.76" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 23' 35.31" mE / 39° 39' 11.73" mN
 NE: 30° 23' 39.12" mE / 39° 39' 10.13" mN
 SW: 30° 23' 34.59" mE / 39° 39' 11.15" mN
 SE: 30° 23' 37.69" mE / 39° 39' 08.91" mN
- **Site Location:** The site is located east of modern Gökçekısık on the way to Sivrihisar from Eskişehir.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 830m./5m./Southeasterly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware, and Early Ottoman Fine Red Slip Ware with fluted decoration, Slip Painted Ware with green glaze were found on the surface of the site (Figure 68). The *Arap Dede Türbesi* (Figure 69) is dated to the 14th- 16th centuries on the basis of plan and construction technique (Altınsapan 2010: 34). Because of the pottery and türbe, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): Karye-i Gökçekısık was recorded as *Sipahi yeri* in the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530; *Yaya yeri* in the *Sultanönü Sancağı Yaya İcmali* of 1466 and 1520; *Müsellem yeri* in the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1521 and 1596 (Doğru 1990: 32; TD 438, s. 226; MM, nr. 8, 38a, MM, nr. 64, 3a; TD 112, s. 91; MM, nr. 247, 50). In 1530, the village had 18 *hane*, 4 *mücerred*, 1 *imam* (TD 438, s. 226). Modern Gökçekısık was founded in the 19th century by the Balkan and Crimean emigrants. Therefore, old Gökçekısık must have been abandoned in the 16th or 17th centuries.

22. Yörükçırka

Historic or Common Name(s): Yörükçırka, Yürükan Budak

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 24' 48.91" mE / 39° 37' 05.74" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 24' 41.69" mE / 39° 37' 09.62" mN
NE: 30° 24' 49.65" mE / 39° 37' 10.84" mN
SW: 30° 24' 50.07" mE / 39° 37' 55.58" mN
SE: 30° 24' 58.01" mE / 39° 37' 56.88" mN
- **Site Location:** The site is located south of Eskişehir on the way to Sivrihisar.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 863m./3m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeologically): The village has three türbes called *Ali İhsan Dede Türbesi*, *Arap Tekke Türbesi* and *Mürved Dede Türbesi* (Figure 70). The dating of these three türbes is problematic because of modern restorations, and a lack of *kitabe* (inscription) and *vakfiye* (Altınsapan 2010: 47-57). Neither was archaeological data for the Ottoman period found in the area. However, the toponymy of the village and its central role for the area's Alevi population suggest that it is dated to Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village had 4 sipahizade, 2 nöker-i mirliva (TD 438, s. 229).

23. Avdan

Historic or Common Name(s): Avdan

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 29' 56.23" mE / 39° 39' 44.12" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 29' 54.52" mE / 39° 39' 45.06" mN
NE: 30° 29' 57.87" mE / 39° 39' 45.19" mN
SW: 30° 29' 54.57" mE / 39° 39' 42.27" mN
SE: 30° 29' 57.70" mE / 39° 39' 42.39" mN
- **Site Location:** The site is located east of modern Avdan village.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 1053m./3m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site (Figure 71). The village's *Hüsdem Baba Türbesi* is difficult to date because it lacks *kitabe* and *vakfiye*. However, pottery dates the village to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteris* of 1521 and 1546, the village had 2 *çiftlik*s (Doğru 1990: 162; TD 112, s. 133; TD 247, s. 166). In 1530, the village had 11 *hane*, 2 *mücerred*, 1 *imam* (TD 438, s. 229).

24. Mayıslar

Historic or Common Name(s): Mayıslar, Bozanlu

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 40' 13.06" mE / 40° 02' 21.29" mN

- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 40' 11.34" mE / 40° 02' 22.16" mN
NE: 30° 40' 16.63" mE / 40° 02' 22.06" mN
SW: 30° 40' 11.37" mE / 40° 02' 19.09" mN
SE: 30° 40' 16.80" mE / 40° 02' 19.00" mN
- **Site Location:** The site is located east of modern Mayıslar village, 5 km east of Sarıcakaya.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 235m./7m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site (Figure 72). In the garden of the mosque, there is a font or basin for holy water from a church in the village. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): According to villagers, the old name of the village was Bozanlı or Bozanlu. According to the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village had 6 *hane*, 1 *mücerred*, 1 *malül*, 1 *sipahizade* (TD 438, s. 231).

25. Kapıkaya

Historic or Common Name(s): Kapıkaya, Kapukaya

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 41' 52.73" mE / 40° 04' 00.36" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 41' 51.58" mE / 40° 04' 00.82" mN
NE: 30° 41' 53.43" mE / 40° 04' 00.84" mN
SW: 30° 41' 51.74" mE / 40° 03' 59.17" mN

SE: 30° 41' 59.31" mE / 40° 03' 59.31" mN

- **Site Location:** It is located north of modern Kapıkaya village.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 315m./2m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, and Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site (Figure 73). Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): The village was not recorded in *Defter*s of the Ottoman period.

26. Atalan

Historic or Common Name(s): Atalan, Atalanı

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 32' 40.77" mE / 39° 57' 39.99" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 32' 34.23" mE / 39° 57' 45.76" mN
NE: 30° 32' 43.82" mE / 39° 57' 45.72" mN
SW: 30° 32' 32.65" mE / 39° 57' 33.40" mN
SE: 30° 32' 44.33" mE / 39° 57' 32.87" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 22 km north of Eskişehir.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 1174m./4m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): The present village is located on top of the previous settlement, therefore it is impossible to find any archaeological evidence

because of modern construction. The *Atalan Türbesi* (Figure 74), dated to the 14th century on the basis of plan and construction technique (Altınsapan 2010: 27), places the village in the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village was recorded as *Karye-i Atalanı*, and had 7 *hane*, 1 *mücerred* (TD 438, s. 229)

27. Eşenkara

Historic or Common Name(s):

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 25' 48.04" mE / 39° 42' 09.57" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 25' 40.78" mE / 39° 42' 11.21" mN
NE: 30° 25' 49.19" mE / 39° 42' 11.70" mN
SW: 30° 25' 45.24" mE / 39° 42' 09.01" mN
SE: 30° 25' 53.47" mE / 39° 42' 06.67" mN
- **Site Location:** It is located in just south of Karacahisar, on the way to Sivrihisar.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 844m./15m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, and Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In 1455, the village with 2 *çiftlik*s was recorded for *Vakf-ı zaviye-i Şeyh Şehabeddin Sühreverdi* (Ahmed Refik 1924). In this recording, vakıf was defined as *Vakf-ı Kadim*. According to Doğru, Eşenkaraca village must have been founded in the Seljukid Period (Doğru 1990: 3). The village was not recorded in later *Defters* in the Ottoman period.

28. Küre

Historic or Common Name(s): Küre

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 09' 20.14" mE / 40° 05' 16.07" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 09' 18.38" mE / 40° 05' 17.52" mN
NE: 30° 09' 21.56" mE / 40° 05' 17.54" mN
SW: 30° 09' 18.43" mE / 40° 05' 15.42" mN
SE: 30° 09' 22.08" mE / 40° 05' 15.33" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 12 km north of Söğüt.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 366m./11m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the village because of modern constructions. In the southwest of the village, the *Dursun Fakih Türbesi* (Figure 75) is located on top of the Türbe Tepe. In the square of the village, there is a mosque founded by Orhan Gazi (Ayverdi 1966: 186). Both buildings are dated to 14th century on the basis of their plan and construction technique. Because of türbe and mosque, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In *Sultanönü Sancağı Yaya İcmali Defteri* of 1520, Büyük Küre and Küçük Küre (today both village is united and called as Küre) was recorded as *Küreci* (miner) and therefore, both village was exempted (*muaf ve müselleme*) from the avârız-ı divaniye (cash taxes levied by central government) after paying 2500 *akçe* to *Hüdavendigâr Vakfı* as *ber vech-i maktu* (unchanging amount in every year) (Doğru 1990: 12; MM 64, s. 170a). In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village was recorded again as “*muaf ve müselleme*” (TD 438, s. 216).

29. Pelitözü

Historic or Common Name(s): İnce Pelit, Yoğunca Pelit, Pelidbükü, Pelitözü

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 29° 57' 41.50" mE / 40° 10' 39.00" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 29° 57' 39.35" mE / 40° 10' 43.12" mN
NE: 29° 57' 53.55" mE / 40° 10' 45.36" mN
SW: 29° 57' 34.20" mE / 40° 10' 30.68" mN
SE: 29° 57' 53.32" mE / 40° 10' 37.77" mN

Site Location: The village is located 2 km north of Bilecik.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 601m./35m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the village because of modern and dense industrial constructions.

Occupation (historical data): According to the *Evkaf-ı Nahiye-i Söğüt, Şeyh Selman* in *Karye-i İnce Pelit* had a donated *çiftlik* by Osman for his zaviye (Yinanç

1988: 61). According to Yinanç, Sheikh Selman was an ulema from the Period of Osman (Yinanç 1988: 57). In the Period of Orhan, an area in Yoğunca Pelit was donated for imam of Söğüt Mosque (Yinanç 1988: 65). In *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, the village was recorded as Pelidbükü, and had 1 *hane* in A. In C recording, the village had 11 *hanes*, 11 *mücerred* (Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri 1988: 288). Because of historical data, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

30. Çakırpınar

Historic or Common Name(s): Çakır Bınar, Çakırpınar

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 29° 54' 39.54" mE / 40° 08' 57.50" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 29° 54' 35.36" mE / 40° 09' 01.43" mN
NE: 29° 54' 36.33" mE / 40° 09' 02.16" mN
SW: 29° 54' 34.87" mE / 40° 08' 53.66" mN
SE: 29° 54' 44.96" mE / 40° 08' 55.26" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 6 km south of Bilecik.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 814m./15m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the village.

Occupation (historical data): In Ottoman chronicles, *tekvur* of Bilecik organized his wedding in Çakır Bınarı (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 101; Neşri 1995: 97-103). According to Neşri, Osman's uncle Tundar (Dündar) was buried in Çakırpınar (Neşri 1995: 95). In the village, there is a grave in the hill located east of village, called

Kocamezar. This mezar should be grave of Dündar mentioned in the chronicles. Because of historical data, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

31. Kayabalı

Historic or Common Name(s): Erât, Kayabalı, Ortakyayla Mevkii

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 17' 32.81" mE / 40° 06' 34.76" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 17' 31.76" mE / 40° 06' 35.71" mN
NE: 30° 17' 35.34" mE / 40° 06' 35.83" mN
SW: 30° 17' 33.69" mE / 40° 06' 31.61" mN
SE: 30° 17' 34.95" mE / 40° 06' 33.90" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 28 km north of Söğüt.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 385m./3m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site (Figure 76). Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): The village was not recorded in *Defters* of the Ottoman period.

32. Samrı

Historic or Common Name(s): Samrı

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 19' 27.39" mE / 40° 02' 33.09" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 19' 22.79" mE / 40° 02' 35.40" mN
 NE: 30° 19' 33.27" mE / 40° 02' 35.45" mN
 SW: 30° 19' 29.92" mE / 40° 02' 19.63" mN
 SE: 30° 19' 31.22" mE / 40° 02' 30.20" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 10 km east of Söğüt.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 495m./5m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the village because of modern constructions. However, according to villagers, the village was found by Samsa Çavuş in the end of 13th century.

Occupation (historical data): The village was not recorded in *Defters* of the Ottoman period.

33. Kızılsaray

Historic or Common Name(s): Kızılsaray

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 10' 43.13" mE / 39° 59' 12.44" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 10' 39.76" mE / 39° 59' 17.55" mN
 NE: 30° 10' 38.93" mE / 39° 59' 09.48" mN
 SW: 30° 10' 47.16" mE / 39° 59' 16.10" mN
 SE: 30° 10' 45.75" mE / 39° 59' 09.52" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 6 km north of Söğüt.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 936m./7m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): A *çiftlik* in the village was donated by Orhan in *Evkaf-ı Nahiye-i Söğüd* (Yinanç 1988: 61). 2 çiftliks was donated by Murad I, also (Yinanç 1988: 59, 62). In the *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, the village had 5 *hanes*, 1 *mücerred* in A and B recordings. In the C recording, the village was recorded with *Karye-i Yuva*; both villages were 18 *hanes*, 8 *mücerred* (*Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri* 1988: 288).

34. Gökçeviran

Historic or Common Name(s): Gökçeviran, Başköy, Gökçeviran Mevkii

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 00' 06.03" mE / 40° 04' 41.42" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 00' 04.24" mE / 40° 04' 45.51" mN
NE: 30° 00' 09.63" mE / 40° 04' 45.60" mN
SW: 30° 00' 05.75" mE / 40° 04' 36.99" mN
SE: 30° 00' 09.24" mE / 40° 04' 36.84" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 12 km south of Bilecik.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 636m./12m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): According to the *Evkaf-ı Nahiye-i Söğüt, İsa Sofu* in *Karye-i Gökçeviran* was exempt from taxes from the Period of Osman (Yinanç 1988: 63). In *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, the village had 4 *hanes*, 1 *mücerred* in A. In B, the village had 7 *hanes*, 6 *mücerred*. In C recording, the village had 9 *hanes*, 9 *mücerred* (Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri 1988: 288).

35. Şarabhane

Historic or Common Name(s): Şarabhane, Zemzemiye, Demircihöyük

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 16' 24.83" mE / 39° 52' 15.03" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 16' 18.82" mE / 39° 52' 15.34" mN
NE: 30° 16' 28.75" mE / 39° 52' 17.81" mN
SW: 30° 16' 20.28" mE / 39° 52' 12.56" mN
SE: 30° 16' 29.59" mE / 39° 52' 14.42" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 25 km south of Söğüt, and 25 km east of Eskişehir.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 927m./8m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the

surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In Ruhi chronicle, the village was conquered by Gündüz Alp, father of Ertuğrul, before Söğüt (Ruhi 1992: 376). According to the *Evkaf-ı Nahiye-i Söğüt*, a çiftlik in *Karye-i Şarabhane* was donated by Beyazıt I (Yinanç 1988: 63). In *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, the village had 17 *hanes*, 4 *mücerred* in A. In B, the village had 20 *hanes*, 4 *mücerred*. In C recording, the village had 46 *hanes*, 34 *mücerred* (Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri 1988: 288).

36. İnhisar

Historic or Common Name(s): İnhisar

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 23' 07.66" mE / 40° 02' 58.39" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 22' 58.52" mE / 40° 03' 02.75" mN
NE: 30° 23' 09.45" mE / 40° 03' 07.80" mN
SW: 30° 23' 05.13" mE / 40° 02' 50.75" mN
SE: 30° 23' 15.87" mE / 40° 02' 52.37" mN
- **Site Location:** İnhisar is a very small town in Bilecik Province, located southeast of the province.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 220m./13m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the town.

Occupation (historical data): In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, the village had 15 *hane*, 2 *mücerred*, 2 *sipahizade*, 2 *pir* (TD 438, s. 224).

37. Harmanköy

Historic or Common Name(s): Harmankaya, Harmanköy

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 25' 11.21" mE / 40° 07' 48.50" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 25' 02.02" mE / 40° 07' 50.24" mN
NE: 30° 25' 08.63" mE / 40° 07' 44.99" mN
SW: 30° 25' 12.78" mE / 40° 07' 51.53" mN
SE: 30° 25' 17.16" mE / 40° 07' 45.26" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 20 km north of İnhisar.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 617m./10m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): When E.H. Ayverdi visited the village, he recorded a round wall base related with a Byzantine fortress (Ayverdi 1966: 150), but any remains of the fortress can be seen today. *Mihal Gazi Türbesi* is located southwest of the village, but it was constructed in the Republican Period.

Occupation (historical data): Aşıkpaşazade wrote that *Köse Mihal* was from *Harman Kaya* (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 99-100, Bab 10). Similarly, Neşri, İbn-i Kemal and Lütfi Paşa described *Köse Mihal* as tekvur of *Harman-Kaya* (Neşri 1995: 77, 89; İbn-i Kemal 1991: 75; Lütfi Paşa 2001: 154). Ruhi wrote that *Beg* of *Hirmen Kaya* was *Mihal Gazi* (Ruhi 1992: 381). In *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, the

village was recorded as *Karye-i Harmankaya* (Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri 1988: 313).

38. Çukurhisar

Historic or Common Name(s): Çukurhisar

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 19' 06.36" mE / 39° 49' 46.56" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 19' 19.00" mE / 39° 49' 49.46" mN
NE: 30° 19' 09.69" mE / 39° 49' 49.34" mN
SW: 30° 19' 00.33" mE / 39° 49' 40.69" mN
SE: 30° 19' 15.94" mE / 39° 49' 40.67" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located west of Eskişehir, on the way to Söğüt and Bozüyük.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 833m./5m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530 the village had 21 *hane*, 2 *mücerred*, 1 *hatip*, 1 *imam* (TD 438, s. 235).

39. İnönü

Historic or Common Name(s): İnönü

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 08' 29.10" mE / 39° 48' 51.01" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 08' 21.15" mE / 39° 48' 56.46" mN
NE: 30° 08' 37.48" mE / 39° 48' 54.48" mN
SW: 30° 08' 18.31" mE / 39° 48' 50.02" mN
SE: 30° 08' 34.81" mE / 39° 48' 46.81" mN
- **Site Location:** İnönü is a town and district located eastern part of Eskişehir Province, and 36 km away from Eskişehir.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 843m./30m./Westerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the town because of modern constructions. The Alaaddin Mosque dated to 14th century on the basis of its plan and construction technique places the town to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): Aşıkpaşazade wrote that Osman gave *İn Öni* to his son Orhan (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 105, Bab 16). Neşri wrote that Osman was *yâren* (very good friend) with the *Beg of İn-Öni*, and this beğ was regent (*nâib*) of Seljukid Sultan *Ala üd-Din* (Neşri 1995: 73). Osman visited the *Beg of İn-Öni* often, also (Neşri 1995: 77). In *Oruç Tarihi*, Osman gave *Sancak of Karahisar* called as *İnönü* to his son Orhan (Oruç 2013: 14). Similarly, in Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle and Ruhi, Osman gave *Sancak of Karacahisar* including *İn-öni* to his son Orhan (Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 10; Ruhi 1992: 381). In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, *Kaza-i İnönü* had 30 *hane*, 21 *nefer* (TD 438, s. 233).

40. Kanlıtaş

Historic or Common Name(s): Kanlıtaş, Kanlıkavak, Karacaali(?)

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 05' 41.75" mE / 39° 48' 50.16" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 05' 34.05" mE / 39° 48' 49.80" mN
NE: 30° 05' 43.14" mE / 39° 48' 51.45" mN
SW: 30° 05' 37.13" mE / 39° 48' 46.86" mN
SE: 30° 05' 44.39" mE / 39° 48' 49.73" mN
- **Site Location:** It is located east of Aşağı Kuzfindık Köyü.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 938m./3m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware, Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware, Miletus Ware, and Monochrome Painted Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the site is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): Unknown site in historical documents. Modern Aşağı Kuzfindık village was founded by Balkan emigrants in 19th century, and named by them also. Kuzfindık or similar names were not found in defters.

41. Bozüyük

Historic or Common Name(s): Bozüyük

Location: Bozüyük is one of the most important industrial towns in Turkey. The town has been crowded with immigrants to work in the factories. As a result of this,

the older town disappeared because of modern constructions, and therefore, it is impossible to define UTM corners of the old town.

UTM Zone/Datum: 36 33

- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 02' 08.25" mE / 39° 54' 25.52" mN (the center square of the town)
- **UTM Corners:** NW: (unavailable)
NE: (unavailable)
SW: (unavailable)
SE: (unavailable)
- **Site Location:** Bozüyük is a town and district located south of Bilecik Province. It is 45 km away from Eskişehir and 32 km away from Bilecik.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 751m./20m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeological data): As mentioned before, old town disappeared because of modern constructions. The *Kumral Abdal Türbesi* is located south of the town, dated to 14th century on the basis of its plan and construction technique. The original building of *Hamza Bey (Karadona) Türbesi* has been destroyed by restoration. These türbes place the town to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In Ottoman chronicles, Osman gave a village, most probably *Karye-i Bozüyük* or *Karye-i Kumral Baba*, to *Kumral Dede* as a *şükran* (gratitude, eulogia) after Sheikh Ede Bali told the good news (*muştulamak*) about his dream as a meaning of the foundation of his *beylik* and his grandsons's success in the future (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 95, Bâb 4; Neşri 1992: 83; İbn-Kemal 1991: 88, 92). In this narrative, *Kumral Dede* wanted certificate of evidence to show in the future to

prove that this village was given to him by Osman. Then, Osman said that he was illiterate, and gave his sword remaining from his family and ancestors and his stoup to him as evidence that Kumral Dede would have been shown in the future. In Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri's chronicles written in the period of Beyazid II, they wrote that this sword and stoup were kept by grandsons of Kumral Dede as evidence that the village was their own (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 96, Bâb 4; Neşri 1992: 83). In *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, *Karye-i Bozüyük* and *Karye-i Kumral Baba* recorded as two villages. *Kumral Abdal Türbesi* or *Yediler Tekkesi* is located in just south of modern Bozüyük. In the survey around Türbe, no archaeological data was found. In this recording, *Karye-i Bozüyük* had 3 *mahalle* with 56 *hane* and *Karye-i Kumral Baba* had 43 *hane*, 2 *mücerred*, 3 *pir-i fani* (TD 438, s. 145).

Hamza is defined by local people as messenger of Ertuğrul, and he was called as *Kara Hamza* or *Karadona* because of his dark skin. According to local people, when *Hamza* carried a message to Ertuğrul, he was killed in Kızıl Tepe in modern Alibeydüzü village of Bozüyük by Byzantine soldiers.

42. Dodurga

Historic or Common Name(s): Dodurga, Todurga

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 29° 54' 41.86" mE / 39° 48' 12.94" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 29° 54' 40.60" mE / 39° 48' 14.44" mN
NE: 29° 54' 40.16" mE / 39° 48' 09.50" mN
SW: 29° 54' 48.28" mE / 39° 48' 15.67" mN

SE: 29° 54' 49.32" mE / 39° 48' 11.15" mN

- **Site Location:** The Dodurga Kazası is located 20 km south of Bozüyük.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 1132m./20m./Easterly

Occupation (archaeologically): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware and Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): In *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, *Karye-i Todurga* had 22 *hane*, 6 *mücerred*, 1 *imam*, 3 *sipahizade* (TD 438, s. 234).

43. Kandilli

Historic or Common Name(s): Kandilli

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 02' 28.41" mE / 39° 49' 37.91" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 02' 07.58" mE / 39° 49' 36.05" mN
NE: 30° 02' 43.31" mE / 39° 49' 41.74" mN
SW: 30° 02' 10.04" mE / 39° 49' 26.24" mN
SE: 30° 02' 42.76" mE / 39° 49' 26.74" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 13km south of Bozüyük.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 874m./15m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): The *Savcı Bey Türbesi*, dated to 14th century on the basis of its plan and construction technique places the village to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): *Savcı Bey* was called as *Saru Yatı*, also. In Aşıkpaşazade chronicle, *Ertuğrul* had three sons, *Osman*, *Gündüz* and *Saru Yatı* (*Savcı*) (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 93, Bab 2). *Savcı* or *Saru Yatı* was martyred in *Domaniç Beli*, and was buried in Söğüt next to his father *Ertuğrul* (Aşıkpaşazade 1949, 96, Bab 5). Neşri, Ibn-i Kemal and Hadîdî wrote the same story (Neşri 1995: 71,81,85; Ibn-i Kemal 1991: 60, 102-3; Hadîdî 1991: 25, 38). Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle, Oruç and Lütfi Paşa wrote that only *Saru Yatı* or *Savcı* was one of the three sons of *Ertuğrul* (Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 10; Oruç 2013: 9; Lütfi Paşa 2001: 154). The *Savcı Bey Türbesi* and narratives in chronicles about *Kandillü Çam* places the village to Early Ottoman Period.

44. Günyarık

Historic or Common Name(s): Günyarık

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 30° 06' 03.86" mE / 39° 56' 45.54" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 30° 06' 59.92" mE / 39° 56' 47.07" mN
NE: 30° 06' 09.76" mE / 39° 56' 45.73" mN
SW: 30° 06' 59.99" mE / 39° 56' 44.72" mN
SE: 30° 06' 10.76" mE / 39° 56' 42.74" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 9 km northeast of Bozüyük.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 957m./7m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware and Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In the *Evkâf-ı Ertuğrul Gâzi*, the village was donated to *Ertuğrul Gazi Vakfı* written again in 1706 (Erdoğan 1990: 109). In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, *Karye-i Günyarık* had 10 *hane*, 2 *mücerred* (TD 438, s. 234).

45. Pazaryeri

Historic or Common Name(s): Armeno Kastron, Ermeni Beli, Ermeni Derbendi, Ermeni Pazarı, Pazarcık, Pazarlucuk, Pazarlu Yeri, Pazaryeri

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 29° 54' 10.93" mE / 39° 59' 43.83" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 29° 54' 00.14" mE / 39° 59' 49.99" mN
NE: 29° 54' 30.92" mE / 39° 59' 49.62" mN
SW: 29° 54' 03.15" mE / 39° 59' 34.36" mN
SE: 29° 54' 29.24" mE / 39° 59' 33.13" mN
- **Site Location:** Pazaryeri is a town and district in Bilecik Province, located 30km south of Bilecik.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 806m./30m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): No archaeological data was found in the village because of modern constructions.

Occupation (historical data): In Aşıkpaşazade and Neşri, *Ermeni Beli* was given to Ertuğrul by Sultan Alâaddin for *kışlak* (winter quarters) (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 93, Bâb 2; Neşri 1995: 65). Osman I fought *İnegöl Kafiri* in *Ermeni Beli* (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 94, Bâb 3; Neşri 1995: 81). In Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle, it was written only that *Ermeni Beli* (*Ermenek Tağı* in the chronicle) was given to Ertuğrul for *kışlak* (Anonymous Ottoman Chronicle 2000: 10). In *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, the town was recorded as *Nefs-i Ermeni-Bazarı*, and had 96 *hane*, 58 *mücerred* (Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri 1988: 161).

46. Dereköy

Historic or Common Name(s): Yukarı Köyler Mevkii, Dereköy

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 29° 51' 07.78" mE / 39° 59' 11.46" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 29° 51' 05.08" mE / 39° 59' 14.60" mN
NE: 29° 51' 15.38" mE / 39° 59' 14.15" mN
SW: 29° 51' 01.34" mE / 39° 59' 57.94" mN
SE: 29° 51' 08.38" mE / 39° 59' 57.82" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 7km west of Pazaryeri.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 813m./25m./Northerly

Occupation (archaeological data): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware and Early

Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (historical data): In the *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* of 1530, *Karye-i Dere* had 18 *hane*, 4 *mücerred*, 1 *imam*, 2 *togancı* (TD 438, s. 234).

47. Ahmetler

Historic or Common Name(s): Ahmetler

Location:

- **UTM Zone/Datum:** 36 33
- **UTM Location Site Datum:** 29° 57' 00.85" mE / 40° 01' 22.60" mN
- **UTM Corners:** NW: 29° 56' 55.97" mE / 40° 01' 24.21" mN
NE: 29° 57' 11.48" mE / 40° 01' 28.84" mN
SW: 29° 57' 00.51" mE / 40° 01' 15.55" mN
SE: 29° 57' 11.90" mE / 40° 01' 24.21" mN
- **Site Location:** The village is located 4km northwest of Pazaryeri.

Elevation/Slope/Aspect: 769m./25m./Southerly

Occupation (archaeologically): Sherds of Early Ottoman Cooking Ware, Early Ottoman Buff Coarse Ware, Early Ottoman Coarse Red Slip Ware and Early Ottoman Cream Slip Ware were found on the surface of the site. Because of pottery, the village is dated to the Early Ottoman Period.

Occupation (by historical data): In *Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri*, *Karye-i Ahmedler* had 2 *hane*, 1 *mücerred* (*Hüdavendigâr Livası Tahrir Defterleri* 1988: 174).

CHAPTER VI

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The interaction of people with a landscape has shaped cultural identities throughout the history of humanity. The manipulation and exploitation of a landscape provides the economic infrastructure and affects social systems. In this context, settlement on the landscape plays a crucial role in grasping natural and cultural environments of socio-economic patterning. The settlement is located hierarchically in the landscape. Therefore, hierarchically ordered settlements and their settlement patterns based on social and economic impacts indicate cultural and social ecology in the landscape. Settlement patterns, according to Price, “may be taken as the material isomorphs of the entire mode of production in its broadest sense, and one of the core features of social and political organization” (Price 1978: 165).

Settlement patterns mean an analysis of the distribution of settlements on a landscape through spatial relationships conditioned by socio-economical features and

molded by the environment. In this analysis, statistical formulas founded by geographers are applied to a settlement distribution. After geography, analysis of a settlement pattern is applied to archaeological studies more than other social sciences. In this context, North American archaeologists, such as Willey and Trigger, played a pioneering role to develop settlement patterns in historical and archaeological studies. According to Willey who used settlement patterns for the first time in archaeology, a settlement pattern is “a strategic starting point for the functional interpretation of archaeological cultures” that reflect “the natural environment, the level of technology on which the builders operated, and various institutions of social interactions and control with the culture maintained” (Willey 1956: 1). The settlements on the landscape are located and distributed by the decisions of people on the basis of practical, economic, political and social considerations.

Trigger defined settlement patterns as a product of the interaction between technology and environment, and it reflects the adaptation of a society and its technology to its environment (Trigger 1968: 54). His definition molded an ecological determinism and a cultural ecological-centric discourse. In this definition, he determined three general levels and determinants thought to be critical for settlement pattern studies by other scholars (Fagan 1991: 387; Ammerman 1981; Knapp 1997: 7). These levels are individual *building* or *structure*, the manner in which these structures are arranged within single *communities*, and the manner in which these communities are distributed over the *landscape* (Trigger 1968).

In this context, buildings reflect a society’s subsistence culture and its adaptation to climate and environment. In addition, they indicate social and economic articulations and hierarchical differences in a social group by wealth and

rank. Political and religious institutions are becoming visible by buildings on socio-cultural and environmental landscapes. Thus, the buildings are conditioned by the domestic strategy of a society conducted by production, distribution and reproduction.

At the second level, communities are associated with their interaction with locational and ecological factors shaped by environment. The interaction between human subsistence strategies and landscape environment shapes social relations, values, orientations and distinctions in a community. In addition, communities are conditioned by specialized production and also trade.

At the third level, the landscape or region is based on nature and the availability of natural resources. Nature and its resources affect economic and political factors in the society. Thus, security and defense are constructed by centralized or dispersed economic and political organizations in the landscape. This construction reflects trade, wealth, ideological and religious institutions and demography.

According to Knapp, settlement patterns “could provide information on demographic, religious, and social trends” and be related to a hierarchy of these levels (Knapp 1997: 6). Trigger’s three levels and their hierarchy, “activity areas within structures, the structures themselves, associated activity areas around structures, communities, and the distribution of communities across landscape” (Knapp 1997: 6) are adopted in the post-processual archaeological perspective through a different interpretation of archaeological data constructed by ethnoarchaeology and landscape archaeological context. In this context, Ammerman who offered the main criticism to settlement archaeology as defined by Willey and

Trigger, suggested that each level of building, community, or region can be interpreted in terms of its own organizational principles, not in a hierarchical schema (Ammerman 1981).

In historical studies, models of settlement patterns are applied to mainly rural settlements studied in the historical documents. The first application of settlement patterns in historical geographical studies was done by the German geographer Meitzen in 1895 and produced a classification of settlement and associated agricultural and field-system types in France and Germany (Meitzen 1963; Butlin 1993: 192). Meitzen studies were based on an assumption related with ethnic and racial origins. According to him, after the fall of the Roman Empire, early medieval settlements of the Celts were characterized by dispersed individual farmsteads, Germanic or Teutonic settlement patterns by irregular shaped nuclear settlements and Slavic settlements by regular-shaped round and elongated street-villages (Butlin 1993: 192). After his racial classification, French historian and geographer Demongeon suggested another classification in 1928 against Meitzen's assumption of a close correlation of a phenomenon with ethnic or racial origins (Demongeon 1927). His studies were influenced directly by the geographical context of Annales School's historiography, and he became a founding member of this school with Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch. According to Demongeon, settlements were classified into two types, "agglomerated" and "dispersed". He subdivided the agglomerated settlements into three: the village with open-field systems; the village with contiguous fields such as forest and marsh villages; and the villages with dissociated fields as in the Mediterranean (Demongeon 1927; Butlin 1993: 192). The dispersed settlements were subdivided by him into four: settlements with areas of primary dispersion; intercalated or interspersed settlements between areas of earlier

village settlement; settlements with areas of secondary dispersion from former nucleated villages as in Mediterranean; and primary dispersed settlements of comparatively recent origin as in the USA in the 19th century (Butlin 1993: 192). In 1939, he restudied his classification, and produced another classification (Demongeon 1939). In this classification, the agglomerated settlements were subdivided into two: linear and long. In this agglomerated settlement pattern, the classification was based on the relations of villages' trade functions and expansion along a main road. The new subdivision of dispersed settlements was into linear, nebular, hamlet, and totally scattered types (Butlin 1993: 192). His 1939 classification played a pioneering role in settlement patterns of historical studies for years.

Apart from Annales School, the German school in history has also been particularly active in this field after WWII. But, some effect of the Annales School can be noted in the major study of settlement pattern studies by Schwarz (Schwarz 1959), especially in the analysis of dispersed and agglomerated settlement patterns. Nevertheless, especially after the second half of 1970s, German scholars determined local and regional settlement patterns and forms in Central Europe, and their distinctions with other regions. Thus, Meitzen's racial oriented classification was redefined by the war-child generation in Germany without racial assumption. In these studies, the chronology of settlement modifications in the German speaking world in Europe was based on a division between "older" settlements founded before Merovingian period of 8th century and "younger" settlements after it. Uhlig and Lienau suggested some key terms for German settlement forms; *Drubbel*, meaning an early hamlet form of settlement, characterized a small number of farms with long strip holdings in an open field, and *Gewanndorf*, meaning an open-field village,

usually with a large number of farms in an open field (Uhlig & Lienau 1972). In this period, German scholars identified the settlements, especially in the colonized regions east of River Elbe in a period between 12th and 14th centuries, as *Strassendorf*, meaning the street-village as a common form in the colonized regions, and characterized by the peasant farmsteads equally spaced along a road or track and the cropped land, often cleared from forest, and as *Waldhufendorf*, meaning the linear forest village (Fehn, Brandt, Denecke & Irsigler 1988; Nitz 1975; Uhlig & Lienau 1972). *Waldhufendorf* was associated with the extension of the German law of land layout after colonization in the East.

The English historians working on historical geography generally focused on the major changes in settlement patterns related with plague, warfare and economic decline. In the 1950s, Evans' studies on peasant settlements in Ireland have been influential on English scholars (Evans 1951; 1957; 1959; 1973). In this context, the studies of Beresford and Hurst on the village of Wharham Percy in Yorkshire played a crucial role in understanding the context of deserted villages in England (Beresford & Hurst 1971). In the same tradition, Roberts studied the evolution of English villages in his extensive studies, and analyzed the settlements through a morphological context and the effect of changes in social and economic bases (Roberts 1987). On the other hand, Jones has studied the settlement patterns extensively in Wales and England in the Dark Ages (Jones 1961; 1971; 1973; 1976; 1989). He paid attention to longer-term effects on the settlement patterns through multiple-estate structures based on hamlets and villages being bound to a chief central authority as a lord's court. In this context, Jones Hughes' works on landlord settlements in 19th century are another important contribution to this field (Jones Hughes 1965; 1981).

In the Ottoman studies, the state ownership of land (*miri*) and *çift-hane* system played a crucial role in determining agrarian system (İnalçık 1994: 155). In 1959, İnalçık published his influential article about the first settlement pattern studies on Ottoman rural landscape and its field system (İnalçık 1959). In this article, he discussed *çift-hane* system, named by him, based on a married peasant (*hane*) and their farm land (*çiftlik*) workable by a pair (*çift* in Turkish) of oxen. According to him, “the *çift-hane* unit basically was combination of three elements: fields forming a certain unit workable by a team of oxen and used to grow grain, the family household which provided labor, and a team of oxen as traction power” (İnalçık 1994: 146; İnalçık 1959). This system was the fundamental institution for understanding not only the Ottoman rural landscape and its settlement patterns, but also the Ottoman agrarian-fiscal system based on *çift-tax* (*çift-resmi*).

After İnalçık, Hütteroth, a German historical geographer, examined settlement patterns and its connections with socio-economic structures in Ottoman rural areas through data from Ottoman *defters* (Hütteroth 1968; 1974; Hütteroth & Abdulfattah 1977; 1978). He studied the cases through a “settlement situation” context determined by movements of transhumant groups and nomads, villagers and squatters. He suggested that settlement patterns of villages in the rural landscape depended on village formation in settlement history and socio-economic structures of villages (Hütteroth 1974: 44). In this context, land distribution and the “settlement situation” of a village in settlement history was based on İnalçık’s *çift-hane* system. The decisive factor in settlement patterns in his studies, especially in Inner Anatolia, was characterized by *hane* with an indivisible *çiftlik* and its distribution and situation in the landscape. In his historical geographical studies in the Southern Levant with Abdulfattah, he studied *mushaa* system (Hütteroth & Abdulfattah 1977; 1978)

meaning “the division of state-owned lands into regular compounds of field strips, with periodic re-divisions to give fair allotments of settlers” (İnalçık 1994: 156). It indicates a fundamental difference between core central lands characterized by the *çift-hane* and *tapu* system and peripheral provinces in the Eastern borders of the Ottoman Empire. Even though he analyzed villages and their land-use in the rural landscape, he didn't propose any model of settlement patterns through settlement distributions and their interrelations with landscape by analytical approach. In 1987, Norman N. Lewis wrote his classical book on nomads and settlers in Syria and Jordan from the beginning of 19th century to 1980 (Lewis 1987). He combines geographical, historical and ethnographical materials to understand modifications of land-use and socio-economic structures in Syria and Jordan.

6.1 LANDSCAPE

The environmental studies conducted by some archaeobotanical projects in Lake Abant, Lake Melen, Lake Demiryurt and Lake Yeniçağa provided some very important evidence that might be used in any attempt at reconstructing the medieval environment of the research area. Beug, Walter and Firbras took sediment cores from Lake Yeniçağa in Gerede in 1957 (Beug 1967). In the early 1990s, the sediment core samples were taken by Bottema, Woldring and Aytuğ in Lake Abant, Lake Melen and Lake Demiryurt (Bottema, Woldring & Aytuğ 1993). Lake Yeniçağa samples are inadequate for describing the medieval period because datings of peat samples gave information only until 300 AD. (Beug 1967: 351). On the other hand, Lake Abant, Lake Melen and Lake Demiryurt yielded sediments suitable for the medieval environment in North-western Anatolia. According to pollen analysis in these lakes, especially in Lake Abant, the sediments indicate two different environmental periods. In the first period from ca 500 AD until ca 1000 AD, the pollen analysis

shows the levels of pines, hazels (*Corylus*), sedges (*Cyperaceae*), grasses (*Gramineae*), ribwort plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*), and cereals (*Cerealina*) in Lakes Abant and Melen (Bottema *et al.* 1993). The pollen spectrum indicates relatively intensive cereal cultivation, but a large amount of steppe plants such as grasses and ribwort plantains support the presence of open landscapes that were probably not so intensively grazed by livestock. On the other hand, pine pollen is dominant. Therefore, the forests seem to have spatially expanded in the region (Izdebski 2012: 55). According to Izdebski, “herding and field cultivation became drastically reduced and the steppe plants suddenly started producing much larger amounts of pollen in terms of absolute numbers” in the 8th and 9th centuries (Izdebski 2012: 56). The expansion of forests and steppe plants means a radical population decrease in the region. Archaeological evidence in Pessinus supports this opinion because the city lost its importance in the 7th century because of Persian plunder, and it fell to the Arabs in 9th century (Vermeulen 2003: 384-5). Coins dating back to the period between mid-7th century and mid-10th century have been found neither on the acropolis nor in the lower city (Devreker & Waelkens 1984: 32; Vermeulen 2003: 385). Other important Byzantine cities in the vicinity, Ancyra and Amorium both fell to the Arabs in 9th century (Lightfoot 1998: 66). Persian and Arab raids first caused population decrease in the North-western Anatolia. As a result of this, herding and field cultivation data in pollen analysis drastically reduced, and abandoned areas were occupied by steppe plants and forests.

In the second period, pollen analysis from Lake Abant indicates a collapse sequence in agriculture, and a decrease in the proportion of ribwort plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*) accompanied by a notable peak in important components of steppe vegetation, grasses (*Gramineae*) and *Artemisia* in early 11th century (1153-

1033 cal BP) (Izdebski 2012: 59). According to Izdebski, “these *Gramineae-Artemisia* trends are negatively correlated with changes in *Cerealia* (cereals) pollen. Afterwards, the percentage values of these steppe indicators decrease as well to yield place to *Pinus* (pine), accompanied by some growth in the presence of *Cyperaceae* (sedges) (863-809 cal BP). This sequence can be easily interpreted as the agricultural collapse which led to an expansion of steppe vegetation on pastures, fields and orchards; thereafter, these areas were colonized by pine” (Izdebski 2012: 59). The environmental change in the region in 11th century was caused by an unstable situation for the Byzantine population because of battles between Turkish newcomers, Crusaders and Byzantine Empire. Thus, Byzantine villages and towns were abandoned, and the agriculture collapsed. The Byzantine settlement type was transformed to small defense fortifications of *tekvurs*. Semi-nomadic Turkish newcomers in the region became the main population group. Pachymeres’ and Gregoras’ accounts support the abandonment of the Byzantine population in the region and a big population movement from here to Byzantine land in the north (Pachymeres 1984, I: 291-3; Gregoras 1973, I: 137).

On the Lake Abant and Lake Melen diagrams, the percentage values of cereals (*Cerealia*), grapevines (*Vitis*) and hazel (*Corylus*) increased in the region between 809 cal BP and 509 cal BP dated to 12th and 14th centuries (Bottema *et al.* 1993: 65-6). The modification in *Cerealia* and *Vitis* pollens in the diagrams can be interpreted as the development of agriculture in the region. On the other hand, grasses (*Gramineae*) and ribwort plantain (*Plantago lanceolata*) are recorded in the diagram, also. But, *Pinus* (pine) pollens are still dominant in the diagram. The renewed expansion of cereals and vine pollens means economic revival and agricultural renewal in the region because of a stable socio-political situation

founded by the Early Ottomans. On the other hand, the presence of *Cerealia* and *Vitis* pollens in the diagrams indicates that the Early Ottoman phenomenon cannot be explained in only a nomadic context.

In the Eskişehir Plain, Porsuk Creek and its brooks play a crucial role in understanding its landscape reconstruction. Today, Porsuk Creek passes the Eskişehir Plain in an easterly direction, and unites with Kunduzlar, Kargın, Ilıcasu, Mollaoğlu, Sarısu, Keskin-Muttalıp Brooks and Pürtek Creek in its direction. It approaches the Sangarius River in Yassıhöyük, Gordion. This hydrological pattern is controlled by dams and channels today, but it caused marshy lands and wetlands in the plain until the mid-19th century. Marshy lands and wetlands in the Eskişehir Plain were drained by the Ottoman government to provide areas for settlements founded for emigrants from Russia and the Balkans at the end of the 19th century. According to Mordtmann, Eskişehir Plain was covered by marshy lands, and some villages were settled in the “islands” in marshy lands to protect themselves from bandits (Mordtmann 1925: 363). Humann and Puchstain quoted the same situation when they visited Karahöyük in Eskişehir (Humann & Puchstain 1890: 15-6). In the 13th and 14th centuries, the plain most probably should have been covered by marshy lands and wetlands also, and was exposed to floods of Porsuk Creek. According to oral tradition in the villages in the plain visited during our research, some Early Ottoman villages were abandoned because of flies (*sinek*) meaning that malaria arose from marshy lands and wetlands. German travelers in the 19th century, Humann and Puchstain quoted that malaria was the main health problem in the Eskişehir Plain because of marshy lands (Humann & Puchstain 1890: 17).

On the northern border of our research area, the Sangarius River flows in the narrow valley between the Bozdağ-Sündiken Mountains and the Köroğlu Mountains.

As Porsuk Creek, the Sangarius River in this area was controlled by dams and channels to halt floods today. But floods of the Sangarius River were very common in the past, and shaped settlement patterns and landscape in this valley (Erinç & Tunçdilek 1952: 193). Pachymeres wrote that “the river [Sangarius] rose in flood and divided; it spread out...” (Pachymeres 1984, IV: 362). Because of this account, in the 13th and 14th centuries, the valley was flooded by the Sangarius River, and it determined the settlement distribution and strategy in the landscape of the valley.

Another important hydrological feature in the research area is the hot water springs. The Arab traveler Ali bin el-Herevî visited Eskişehir in 1172, and wrote that “Sultan Üyüğü is located on the borderland of infidels, and called Av-Germ (*ılıca*) by Muslims, and al-Thirma (*thermae*) by Greeks. The hot springs are incomparable, and patients come there to heal” (Turan 2011: 232). The hot water spring of Eskişehir city is on the right shore of Porsuk Creek, inside an area of 8 hectares. In the Travel Book of Evliya Çelebi, he described hot springs in Eskişehir city also, but according to him, the buildings of Eskişehir hot springs were not as well-constructed as Bursa.

Today, the climate in the research area is a terrestrial climate characterized by a quite high temperature difference between night and day, changing between 12 C° and 29 C°. The annual average temperature is 10.9 C°. January is the coldest month of the year with an average temperature of -2 C°, and the second half of July and the first half of August is the hottest period of the year with a temperature change between a low of 15 C°, and 40 C°. The annual average precipitation is 378.9 kg/m³. In the summer, drought is very characteristic. According to climatic history studies in Anatolia, Nar Crater Lake, also called Acıgöl, in Niğde has one of the best-resolved late Holocene climate records. Dryland lakes collect information about changes of

precipitation/evaporation balanced by adjustments in water level and salinity, and these changes are recorded by a number of sedimentary and geomorphological indicators. This information provides for a reconstruction of hydro-climatic variability on decadal-centennial timescales (Roberts *et al.* 2012: 25). In this context, Nar Crater Lake's continuously-varved sediments provide a well-dated proxy-climate sequence for the last 1720 years, with an annual to decadal sample resolution (Jones *et al.* 2006; Roberts *et al.* 2012: 27). The sediments indicate drier climatic conditions from 1400 to 1960 AD, and a wetter climate between 1000 and 1400 AD and after 1960. Other lower-resolution lake records come from Lake Van having a centennial-resolution isotope sequence (Wick *et al.* 2003). Both lake records indicate similar overall trends for the last 1100 years. After comparing both data, a radical shift to drier hydro-climatic conditions occurred in a period between 1350 and 1400 AD in Anatolia, following a generally wetter climate. At a period between 1200 and 1300 AD, wetter climate reached the peak in Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean region. Dead Sea level fluctuation records support Lake Nar and Lake Van's records (Bookman *et al.* 2004; Migowski *et al.* 2006; Enzel *et al.* 2006). According to these records, the climate in research area in the 13th and 14th century is wetter than today. On the other hand, Pachymeres' account about Sangarius River in March 1302 is a supporting narrative to these hydro-climatic records from the lakes. According to him, Sangarius River suddenly changed its course, and didn't flow under famous Pentegephyra Bridge in Sakarya constructed by Justinian (Pachymeres 1984, IV, 362). Generally, a river shifts its bed after a continuous wetter climate or a sudden hard downpour rain. Therefore, both hydro-climate records from the lakes and Pachymeres' account show that the climate in the 13th and 14th century is one of the

wettest climates in history of the region, and is not a drier and terrestrial climatic trend as today.

According to above information, the landscape of the research area in the 13th and 14th century could be described as follows. Bozdağ-Sündiken Mountain Chain surrounded the Eskişehir Plain in the north and expanded to Bilecik, and had a great abundance and proximity of woodlands characterized by pine and squat oak trees. The small valleys of these mountainous and forestry area must have been covered with cereal fields and orchards because of the presence of *Cerealia* and *Vitis* pollens in the diagram of Lake Abant and Lake Melen. The open landscape in this mountainous area, characterized by *Gramineae* (grasses) and *Plantago lanceolata* (ribwort plantain) pollens, provided an area for husbandry for a transhumant Early Ottoman population. Deforestation wasn't seen in this area. The water drainage of the Sangarius River and Porsuk Creek must have been more rapid than today because of a wetter climate in the 13th and 14th centuries. Porsuk Creek and its branches flowed in the Eskişehir Plain as meanders, and formed marshy lands and wetlands in the plain. Some settlements were founded in the "islands" formed by meanders in the marshy lands. The Sangarius River flooded often, and must have flowed in today's bed. Eskişehir Plain was not suitable for agriculture and animal husbandry because of marshy lands, but the İnönü region was well-known for horse and cattle breeding. Hot spring hamams were one of the main economic activities in Eskişehir town. Iron mining was important and the main economy in Küre. The landscape was shaped by villages and small towns, and didn't have any settlement described as a city. Therefore, the region was out of the Seljukid trade route system.

6. 2. Population

The reconstruction of settlement patterns partially depend on population estimates. Population has recently been investigated systematically in the factors based on population growth and decline determined by social institutions and human welfare (Nam 1968: 63). The population estimate contributes to the understanding of political and social structures in any society. According to Malthus who first shaped the intellectual discourse of population theories in 1798, population depends on food, or other resource limitations as controls on population growth (Malthus 1992). The writers in the 19th century such as Marx and Spencer dealt in the greatest detail with the suggested relationship between population change and the human condition.

In Ottoman studies, the first method of calculating the population of an Ottoman settlement through the number of *hanes* registered in *defters* was that of Barkan (Barkan 1941). Barkan used a multiplier of five for each *hane* and added an estimated 10% for *askeri* and religious groups as people who were tax exempt (Barkan 1941: 12). For this calculation, Lowry criticized Barkan because it didn't have any correction factor for *bives* (widows) (Lowry 1981: 154). As a follower of Barkan, Cook suggested the multiplier of 4.5 for *hanes* (Cook 1972: 85; 90; 98). McGowan has adapted the multiplier of 3 for *nefers* on the basis of social and family structure in Ottoman society before the industrialization period (McGowan 1969: 157-8). Faroqhi and Erder wrote that "another set of techniques relies on our knowledge of the interrelationship of population growth rates and the changing age composition of population. Once growth rates and plausible range in mortality and fertility have been set, if the time period of comparison is sufficiently long, and one can admit as assumption of little or no migration, it is possible to produce a range of estimates that will show general lines of development, plausible if not

mathematically sensitive. These multipliers are confined to a range between 2.72 and 4.31 depending on the assumption about the rate of natural increase” (Faroqhi & Erder 1979: 334). At last, Koç accepted a multiplier of 4 for *hanes* and 3 for *nefers* (Koç 2013: 177; 186). In these methods, topography and settlement size in the landscape are not considered, and recording procedures based on mainly tax-paying adult males are problematic. Generally omitting women, children and tax-exempt groups limit to the calculation of the population. Another problem is that some villages found in other sources and archaeological surveys could have been missed in recording of *defters*, such as İtburnu village in this research. Therefore, in this study, data coming from *defters* will be used with the occupation area of settlements proposed by the archaeological survey.

In population studies in archaeology, settlement size is often used by scholars to estimate population. However, with multi-period settlements such as hoyuk or tell sites, it is very difficult to determine which parts of the settlement were inhabited in different periods (Portugali 1982; Joffe 1993: 13-14). In this study, one of the characteristics of Ottoman settlements is a single-period site located mostly as a flat settlement. Therefore, hoyuk centered survey strategies conducted by archaeologists in the region haven't determined any Ottoman sites in their researches (Efe 1990a; 1990b; 1991; 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996; 1997; 2000; Sivas 2003; Sivas & Sivas 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2004c; 2005; 2007). Consequently, in population estimates in this study, settlement size can correlate with population.

Demographer R. Narroll proposed a famous equation for population estimates in archaeological studies, based on data derived from an examination of 18 modern cultures (Narroll 1962). According to him, the population of an archaeological site is equal to one tenth of the total floor area in square meters. A similar equation based

on total settlement size and on amount of floor space constructed by individuals in a permanent settlement has also been suggested by Cherry, Whitelaw, and Wiessner (Cherry 1979: 42-3; Whitelaw 1983; Wiessner 1974).

Ethnographical and architectural studies on rural architecture in Anatolia demonstrated that modern density might average 1 house per 200-m square (Eldem 1968; Kuban 1970; 1975; Alpöge 1971; Peters 1972; Fersan 1980; Deniz 1992; Harmanşah 2009). On the other hand, the area of streets, open spaces, dumps and the others called non-house occupations made up one quarter of the entire occupation area in the modern sites. In this context, the population estimates for an Ottoman rural settlement should be formulated through settlement size determined by archaeological survey, which is reduced by $\frac{1}{4}$ for non-house occupation, allowing 1 house per 200-m square and 5 people per house. As an example, the Ottoman settlement determined in Sevinç village in Eskişehir is 0.53 hectares (5300 m²). Reducing this $\frac{1}{4}$, the houses' occupation area is 0.397h (3970 m²). After allowing 1 house per 200-m square, the number of houses is 20 ($3970 / 200 = 19.8$). In the end, 100 people are living in these 20 houses ($20 \times 5 = 100$). The population estimates for each village and towns in research area can be seen in Appendix 3. However, population estimates for pre-modern periods are usually no more than guesses.

6.3. Settlement Hierarchy and Models

Settlement hierarchy based on the rank order of settlement by size is one of the determinants in the settlement pattern studies. Generally, a larger settlement is thought of as dominant or as the administrative center within a settlement system. Consequently, the hierarchical phenomenon in settlement patterns can help with understanding the determination of socio-economic and political systems in societies.

In the research area, any settlement defined as a “city” is not determined, therefore application of some models such as Central Place Theory is not meaningful (Paynter 1982: 134; Rosman 1973, 1976; Skinner 1977). The utility of Central Place Theory and these models for studying pre-modern and pre-industrial periods has received some considerable criticism by some scholars because the behavioral processes commonly used to generate these models incorporate the social relations of industrial capitalist societies (Adams 1975; Adams and Nissen 1972; Rosman 1973, 1976; Skinner 1977). On the other hand, the application of Rank Size Analysis is also problematic because of the “lower limb” effect of using sites below 1.0 ha for Rank Size Index calculation (Johnson 1980; 1987). In the research area, there are a number of sites below 1.0-ha. Therefore, Central Place Theory and Rank Size Analysis will not be applied to collected data in this research.

The first model for interpreting settlement patterns is the interaction model or the gravity model in this research. The interactions of fields of influence indicate the hierarchy in the settlement system of a region. The boundary zone between settlements and the discovery of the limits of the fields of influence of settlements are of considerable importance in the reconstruction of the settlement patterns. This model is based on the Newtonian theory of gravitation (Haggett 1966: 35) and applied to the social and cultural aspects of regional studies in social sciences (Crumley 1979; Hodder and Orton 1976: 187-95; Hodder 1978). According to Crumley, the model enables a prediction of degree of activity between settlements and indicates zones of economic and social boundaries (Crumley 1979). In the application of this model, the population size of sites has been taken as the mass element in Newton’s Law (Evans & Fitzgerald 1972: 100). Therefore, the service capacity for a surrounding catchment area of two settlements with a given population

size is determined. According to Evans and FitzGerald, “the gravity model for measuring the interaction between centers is an ideal medium for local field research, and can provide a suitable framework for individual research in the field” (Evans & FitzGerald 1972: 100). In gravity model application, “larger centers are more attractive than small ones, and therefore larger centers are able to maintain their boundaries at greater distances” (Durham *et al.* 1989: 261). According to Iannone, “within gravity model applications both the distances between centers and the construction volumes of individual sites are employed to calculate the position of borders” (Iannone 2006: 206).

The model suggests that the movement between two settlements is proportional to the products of their populations and inversely proportional to the square of the distance separating them (Evans & Fitzgerald 1972: 97; Haggett 1966: 35; Hodder & Orton 1976: 187-95; Butzer 1982: 215-6). The formulation is

$$M_{ij} = P_i P_j / (d_{ij})^2$$

Where M_{ij} is the interaction between two settlements i and j , of population P_i and P_j respectively, and d_{ij} is the distance between them.

The interaction breaking point between two settlements is formulated by W.J. Reilly of the University of Texas as *Law of Retail Gravitation* (Reilly 1929). His formulation is

$$d_{jk} = d_{ij} / 1 + (P_i / P_j)^{1/2}$$

Where d_{jk} is the distance between j site and interaction breaking point.

The gravity model is an improvement on the basic Thiessen Polygon approach (Iannone 2006: 206). The Thiessen polygon model itself is simply based on drawing a right-angle border halfway between two centers (Iannone 2006: 206).

Thiessen polygons have received considerable attention in the archaeological studies to reconstruct the boundaries of a center and its area of influence (Hodder & Orton 1976: 187). According to Paynter, “a number of characteristics of these polygons are useful in discriminating between various point patterns, though none have been extensively studied.” (Paynter 1982: 90) In this research, Thiessen polygons will be employed to demarcate Early Ottoman centers’ territorial borders determined by the results from gravity model application.

The Nearest Neighbor Analysis as statistical knowledge is another application to point out the distances between each settlement and the closest settlement to it, and which then compares these to discern any regularity in spacing and actual pattern of settlement with a theoretical random pattern. It is directly also useful for understanding spatial processes (Paynter 1982: 88). In the settlement studies, the most important determinant for the location of a settlement is the nearest neighbor distance. In this research, it is seen that the problem between Eđriöz village and Keskin village is based on the occupation of Keskin in the land of Eđriöz and the problematic location of the nearest neighbor distance. In archaeology, this analysis is appropriate for most archaeological data (Hodder & Orton 1976: 38). This analysis will be carried out to test the application of the gravity model.

When the gravity model is applied to the research area, 9 independent service centers are identified. 4 large settlements, above 3-ha, that are Sultanöyüđü/Eskişehir, Karacahisar, Bozüyük/Kumral Baba and Söğüt, 3 medium settlements between 2 and 3-ha, Bilecik, Pazaryeri and Yassihöyük, and 2 small service centers, that are Büğdüz and Mayıslar. 9 villages located around Eskişehir and in the Sündiken Mountains depended on Eskişehir as a service center. According to Ottoman chronicles, the villages in the Sündiken Mountains, such as İtburnu and Beştaş (Keskin), were mentioned in the important moments of Osman, and played very crucial roles in the narratives of Ottoman State foundation. Therefore, the dependence of these villages on Sultanönü, Eskişehir in settlement hierarchy

indicates that Sultanöyüğü as the largest settlement in the region was the main service center. This situation was also supported by the chronicles, with the stories of main market of Sultanöyüğü founded by Osman (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 99, Bâb 9) and of a smithy for horseshoes visited by Orhan (Aşıkpaşazade 1949: 108, Bâb 21). Therefore, Sultanöyüğü was the economic and industrial service center of the region. Interestingly, according to the gravity model, Yassihöyük played service center role in the Plain with dependent 6 villages. That Sultanöyüğü didn't have any relevance with the Plain in the settlement pattern can be explained through the geographical problem of the Plain characterized as the marshy ground. This problem made the Plain insignificant for Ottomans in a socio-economic context. Therefore, the villages in the Plain weren't mentioned at any time in the chronicles. However, Büğdüz having the oldest Seljukid mosque in the region had an independent catchment area in the Plain. According to Ottoman documents, Büğdüz was recorded as *Cemaat-i Büğdüz* (Büğdüz Tribe), not as a settlement (TD 438, S. 237). In *Divânü Lüğati't-Türk*, Büğdüz was described as one of the 24 Oghuz tribes, under the Üç Oklar sect (*Divânü Lüğati't-Türk* 2006: 56). 160 hanes of the Büğdüz tribe in 1530 dated *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* could have been members of this tribe located in the eastern part of the Eskişehir Plain as transhumants, and Büğdüz was a service center of this tribe. This distant location of Büğdüz must have contributed to its peculiar position as an independent small settlement.

Karacahisar was the service center for 8 villages with 2 concentrated areas: 4 villages located in the south of Karacahisar and 4 villages in the northwest. The southern area of Karacahisar has different topographical features from other areas in the research region, characterized by small hills and small fertile agricultural areas. Therefore, this area could have been an agricultural area in Early Ottoman Period. On the other hand, Karacahisar and İnönü were fortification settlements. Karacahisar was located on the top of a hill and had a water problem. Therefore, it was not suitable to settle normally, but it controlled the ways coming from Germiyan because

of its perfect location. İnönü was in the same situation. According to chronicles, the Germiyans were the main enemies of the Ottomans in the first period until Çavdar Tatars' attack to Karacahisar. Therefore, Karacahisar and İnönü could have been used generally as defense against Germiyans in the period of Osman. After Germiyans ceased to be a threat to Ottomans, they gradually lost their importance. In the end, Karacahisar was left, and its residents moved to an area in the lower part of the hill by ferman of Mehmed II because of a water problem in the fortification (İnalçık 2006: 9-10).

Seven villages depended on Söğüt as a service center. Three villages were located around the Sangarius River, and 4 villages around Söğüt. Küre village, one of the 4 villages around Söğüt, was characterized by its iron mine industry. According to historical documents, metallurgical production of Küre caused its specialized economic phenomenon and identified it as a very strategic settlement for Early Ottomans (MM 64, s. 170a; TD 438, s. 216). Therefore, this iron production contributed to the Ottomans' military success against Byzantium. On the other hand, marble sources and a gold mine in Söğüt could have been other important economical contributions for Early Ottomans, even though no evidence of these resources was mentioned in the historical documents. Because of the highland features of the region, the settlements were founded in the small valleys covered by hills and mountains. The road between Söğüt and Sultanöyüğü/Eskişehir should have been different from today's road. Although today's road passes by way of Şaraphane village, modern Zemzemiye, to Söğüt, the road used in the Early Ottoman Period should have travelled through Beştaş/Keskin, İtburnu, Ortaca and Atalan to Söğüt. According to chronicles, Osman visited İtburnu and Beştaş when he travelled to the north or to Eskişehir (Aşıkpaşazade 1947: 100). On the other hand, all these villages had *zaviyes* to protect the road and to serve travelers.

Another 3 villages depended on Söğüt, and 2 villages, Mayıslar and Kapıkaya, in the north of the research area were located in the Sangarius River

Valley. In these villages, only Mayıslar was exposed to floods of the Sangarius River directly. Other villages located in the small valleys covered by hills and mountains were close to Sangarius, but this topography protected them against floods of the River. Therefore, Lindner's hypothesis based on floods of the Sangarius River as a trigger of Ottoman expansion to Bithynia (Lindner 2007: 102-16) is problematic because Ottoman settlement patterns in the region indicate that the Sangarius River Valley was not a settlement destination for Ottomans generally. As a result of this, the floods of the Sangarius didn't trigger Ottoman expansion to Bithynia.

Three villages depended on Bozüyük, 2 villages on Ermeni Beli (modern Pazaryeri) and 2 villages on Bilecik. These 3 settlements as service centers didn't have the characteristics of a main center as other service centers in the region. In this context, these 3 settlements didn't influence the economic and social system in the region directly. However, Bilecik and its fortification having a strategic importance for militaristic activities played a crucial role for the Early Ottomans in their expansion to Bithynia. The topographical characteristics of these 3 settlements restrained their growth, and their small catchment areas with their dependent settlements didn't have a dominant central context. Therefore, after expanding to Bithynia, these settlements lost their service center characteristics gradually.

In the application of Nearest Neighbor Analysis to the research data in this project, the results of the analysis indicate that the settlements were distributed non-randomly in the region. This non-random pattern in the settlement distribution supports application of the gravity model in the research. As mentioned before, this analysis was to be carried out to test the application of the gravity model. Nearest neighbor measurements are used to detect the randomness or non-randomness of the distribution in the settlement pattern (Whallon 1974: 18). Random distribution is based on each spatial unit in the area having equal opportunity in distance. However non-random distribution is characterized by clustered and non-uniform patterns in the area. Gravity model application in this research indicates 9 independent service

centers distributed with a clustered characteristic. Therefore, the non-random settlement pattern in the result of Nearest Neighbor Analysis supports the results of the gravity model.

All of these observations on population, landscape, settlement pattern, and settlement size relationship suggested that settlements concentrated in the mountainous region, and the number of settlements located in the Eskişehir Plain was only 12. This settlement distribution indicates that inconvenient topography in the plain played crucial role in settlement strategy. Even though, at first, a mountainous settlement strategy is thought to be problematic regarding Early Ottomans in a nomadic pattern (Lindner 1983), topography and sedimentations from the lakes to reconstruct landscape supports consideration of transhumant and agricultural patterns for Early Ottoman society. Nomadic identification of Early Ottoman society is completely problematic because the topography is limited for the extensive area that nomads needed for their economy based on husbandry. On the other hand, sedimentations from the lakes indicate intensive forest area in the mountains and cereal agricultural activities in the 3th and 14th centuries in the region. Therefore, Early Ottoman society can be described as a society based on synergy between transhumant and agricultural phenomena. Another important result from the settlement pattern studies for Early Ottomans in the region is that settlements had a rural characteristic, not any urban one. There wasn't any urban center in the region. Villages and small towns characterized the settlement types of Early Ottomans in the region.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study concerns the formation of the Early Ottoman state. What can the historical-archaeological record of the Eskişehir/Söğüt region reveal? When did a pastoral-transhumant polity become a state? The landscape, revealing agricultural and pastoral structures, is a vital component of the answer, especially given the paucity and unreliability of the written sources. This study is based upon an archaeological survey in the Eskişehir/Söğüt region. In this fieldwork, pottery and architectural evidence is used to determine Early Ottoman settlements. The methodology of historical archaeology, especially documentary archaeological approach has been applied. Thus, this archaeological perspective is the main contribution to scholarly discussion of the foundation of the Ottoman state.

Geographically, the Eskişehir/Söğüt region in the 13th and 14th centuries represented a territory from the marshy land of the Eskişehir Plain to the mountainous regions of Söğüt and Bilecik areas. Within this micro-region, the mountainous ecotone is a broad expanse of woodlands characterized by pine and

squat oak trees. The great abundance and proximity of the woodlands in this region limited both the expansion and distribution of the settlements and the economic activities based on husbandry and agriculture. Likewise, the marshy lands of the Eskişehir Plain restricted human activities, also. As a result of these geographical limitations, the settlements distribute non-randomly and locate themselves in the small valleys in the mountainous regions. The archaeological survey in this research indicates a settlement concentration in the mountainous region and a limited settlement strategy in the Eskişehir Plain. On the other hand, the settlements had a rural pastoralist characteristic. The Early Ottoman pastoralist strategies were based on a network functioning in the routinized spatial and temporal patterns of local seasonal migrations between settlements and grasslands in the Domaniç Mountain and the Türkmen Mountain. But these local seasonal migrations were not extended and instead reshaped their routines because of the limited pasturage areas. As a result of this rural pastoralist characteristic, an urban settlement pattern is not seen in the survey. The main settlement types were characterized by villages and small towns for the Early Ottoman period in this region.

The restricted and problematic topography and the pastoralist system determined the cultural, political and economic landscapes. The phenomenon of frontier in this region evolved to encompass the transitional characteristics between pastoralist and imperial realms, and shaped by semi-independent movements against the Sultan in Konya. The frontier (*uç*) cultural phenomenon characterized the formation of fighting groups around gazi-alp leaders. According to İnalçık, Osman I was a gazi-alp leader in Early Ottoman society (İnalçık 2007), and “in most cases, such fighting companies took their names from the leaders” (İnalçık 2002: 54). These gazi-alp leaders either refused to pay tribute or sent a small amount to indicate their

loyalty to the Seljukid central government in Konya (İnalçık 2002: 54). Therefore, the frontier society in the Seljukid Anatolia was characterized as semi-independent, even in some points as completely independent against the sultan in Konya. In this context, the alp-erens, sufi dervishes who spiritually supported the gazi-alp leaders, especially Babais, were militant dervishes at times rising against the sultan (İnalçık 2002: 56). According to İnalçık, the frontier region was a place of refuge for political dissenters and heterodox people in Seljukid Anatolia (İnalçık 2002: 54). The worldview of these people was shaped by a warrior character with an eclectic folk culture based on heterodox orders, a mystical and epic literature. This worldview was completely different from the central government of the Anatolian Seljukid Sultanate's view in Konya. As an example to support this, the contemporary historian Michael the Syrian writes that the emirs of Kılıç Arslan II, who guided and helped Manuel I to escape from Seljukid to Byzantine lands peacefully after the peace treaty following his defeat at the battle of Myriokephalon, described the Turkmens in the frontier region who attacked the Byzantine Army as it withdrew as "unbelievers and savages" and "the people who didn't obey the Seljukid Sultan" (Michel le Syrien, III: 372).

On the other side of the border, in Bithynia, the frontier Byzantine society exhibited the same phenomena as the frontier Turkmen society. Firstly, according to Pachymeres and Gregoras, most of the Byzantine population in the Eskişehir/Söğüt region left because of socio-economic problems in the Byzantine Empire and of the unabating Turkmen raids. In Bithynia, before the Ottoman conquest, the *akritai* as smallholding soldiers were installed in the frontier zones of Byzantine Nicean State. However, in the period of Michael VIII Palaiologos, this organization was perceived as a threat to the central government of the Byzantine Empire in Constantinople and

its sovereignty because of their attachment to the Laskarid dynasty and the Arsenite schism. In this period, Byzantine Anatolia, or Bithynia, became the center of opposition to Constantinople and Michael VIII's sovereignty because of his policy of the reunion of the churches under Rome. As a result of this, the defense of the Byzantine Anatolia, especially the Sangarios River Valley, was affected by the problems as regard the economic and social structures in the region. The region was heavily taxed to support the reconstruction of Constantinople and the expenses of the defense in the European Byzantine lands. Therefore, the region became alienated from Constantinople. Subsequently, after the revolt of the *akritai* against Michael VIII, the organization was abolished and turned into campaign troops in the regular Byzantine army (Bartusis 1992: 304). "Demoralization caused by the chronic lateness of their pay, and increased Turkish pressure forced numbers of them to make a separate peace with the Turks" (Bartusis 1992: 304). Thus, Bithynia fell out of Byzantine control, and the *akritai* organization, named as *tekfurs* in Ottoman chronicles, depended on the Seljukid Sultanate in Konya. As Pachymeres said, "...they were required to do, gave up the hopeless task and went over to the Turks day by day, regarding them as better masters than the Emperor. The trickle of defectors became a flood, and the Turks employed them as guides and allies to lead them the other way and to ravage the land of those who remained loyal to the Emperor, at first by way of raiding parties, but soon as permanent settlers taking over the land" (Pachymeres 1984, I: 291-3, as translated into English by Nicol 1996: 83).

In the economic landscape, the region was based on a rural and pastoralist self-sustaining economic structure. The villages and small towns in this economic context as self-sustaining economic units are traced to the absence of commerce and consequently of commercial groups and of urban centers in the region. The urban

centers were not only major centers of settlement but political centers and centers of production and exchange as well. The consequent ruralization and localization of the Early Ottoman pastoralist economy and the inconvenient topography of the region restricted the Early Ottomans to connect with the Seljukid Anatolian trade system. The other Turkish beyliks in Anatolia controlled some trade routes and the strategic urban centers in this system. The nearest urban center connected to the Seljukid Anatolian trade system was Bursa for the early Ottomans. Therefore, the conquest of Bursa and İznik in Bithynia meant survival for the early Ottomans as a state against other political actors. Thus, the early Ottomans gained an economic opportunity from the trade system with Bursa, and as an urban center, it must have supported them in setting up a state and its institutions. But why did the powerful beyliks other than the Ottomans not expand to Bithynia? The Germiyanids were mostly interested in expanding into the last Byzantine lands in the Meander Valley to control the very strategic east-west trade route in Anatolia. As part of this expansion, Yakub besieged Philadelphia (modern Alaşehir) in 1303 (Muntaner 1921: 494; Pachymeres 1984, IV: 468). According to Muntaner and Pachymeres, the Catalans were hired by Andronikos II in August 1304 against the Germiyanids in Philadelphia. The Catalans defeated the Germiyanids, and stopped the Germiyanids' expansion in Western Anatolia (Muntaner 1921: 494-7; Pachymeres 1984, IV: 476-8). The Philadelphia defeat gravely weakened the Germiyanids, and historical sources fall silent on this subject. Obviously, the Germiyanids were not interested in expansion into Bithynia. Another powerful *beylik* in the region, the Jandarids, were interested in controlling their Black Sea trade and protecting their settlements on the coast of the Black Sea against Byzantine and Genoese attacks. In this period, a third powerful beylik, the Karasid, was taken up with Byzantine and Catalan attacks in the Dardanelles.

Moreover, in this period, the Karasids were interested in expanding toward Pergamon, a strategic settlement for control of Phocaea and its alum trade. Thus, these three powerful Turkish beyliks in the region concentrated on holding the strategic settlements for the trade routes and protecting their settlements in these routes against Byzantine, Catalan and Genoese attacks. It was therefore easy for the Ottomans to expand into Bithynia.

In conclusion, the geographical limitations on economic opportunity and urbanization in the Eskişehir/Söğüt region in the 13th and 14th centuries stopped the early Ottomans from founding a state polity in this region. The environmental, ethno-historical, and archaeological particulars of the study zone suggest that early Ottoman society was engaged as transhumant pastoralists and villagers, and their lifestyle generally was characterized by short range transhumant migrations across a dynamic social landscape. The economic strategy and the political engagements went ahead in domestic and self-sustaining polities without participation in the inter-regional trade of the Seljukid Anatolian economic world. In this context, Bursa was a crucial urban center, because it enabled participation in the local and global context of Seljukid Anatolia. The victory of early Ottomans in the battle of Bapheus thus allowed them to conquer Bursa and it played a very important role in the general Ottoman history. As İnalçık said, the victory in the battle of Bapheus, 12 July 1302, can be accepted as the date of the formation of the Ottoman dynasty, and accordingly of the Ottoman State (İnalçık 1993: 97-8; İnalçık 2002: 53; İnalçık 2007: 514). As a result of this, the Ottoman State was constructed with its institutions and structures dedicated to display Ottoman royal power in Bursa. It contributed to their understanding of formal change from a rural, domestic and pastoralist perspective to an urban and global one. Thus, the Early Ottoman system was transformed from the

proto-state polity in the Eskişehir/Söğüt region, and its character altered with the conquest of Bursa, to start a new history for the Ottomans.

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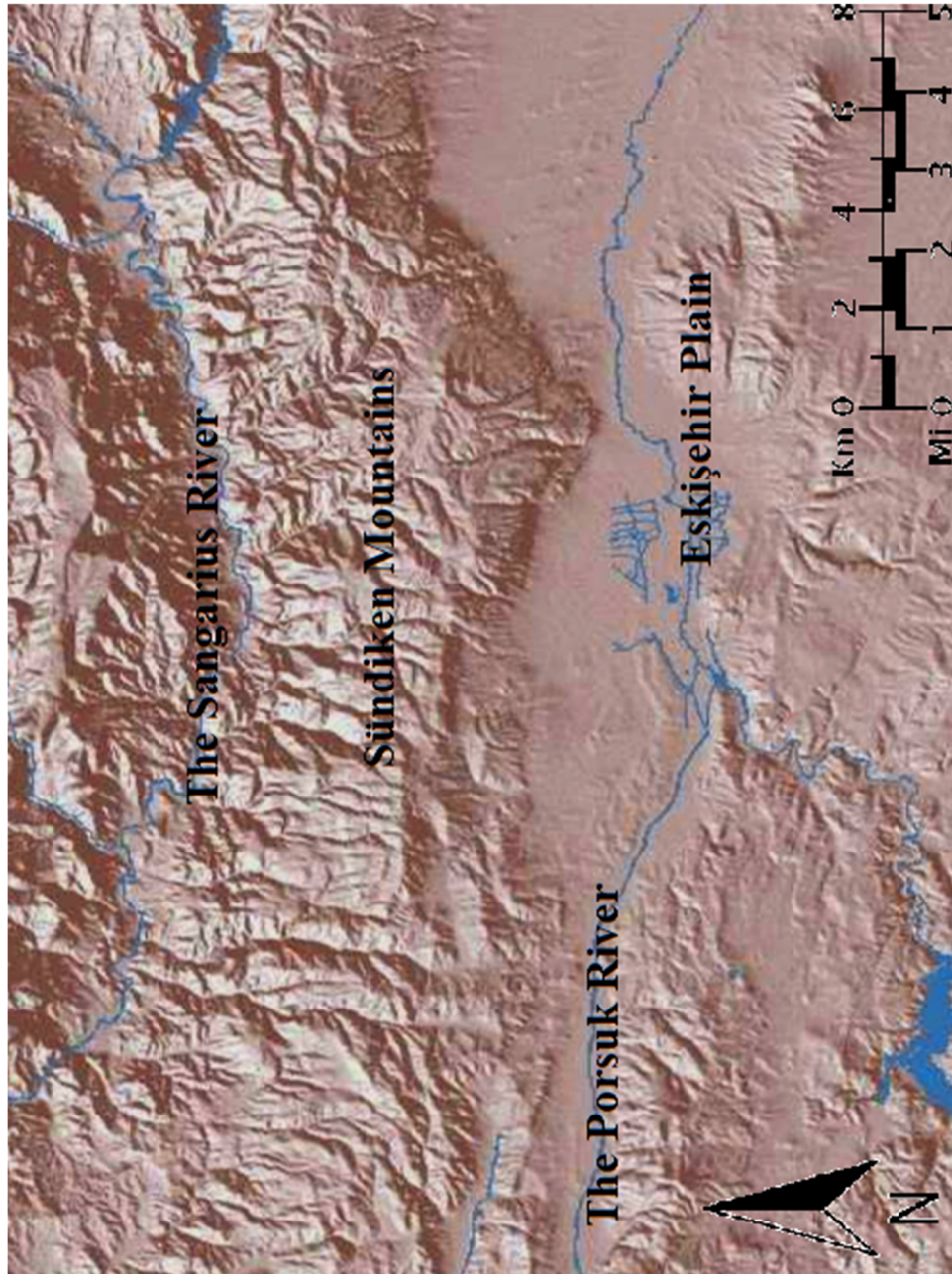
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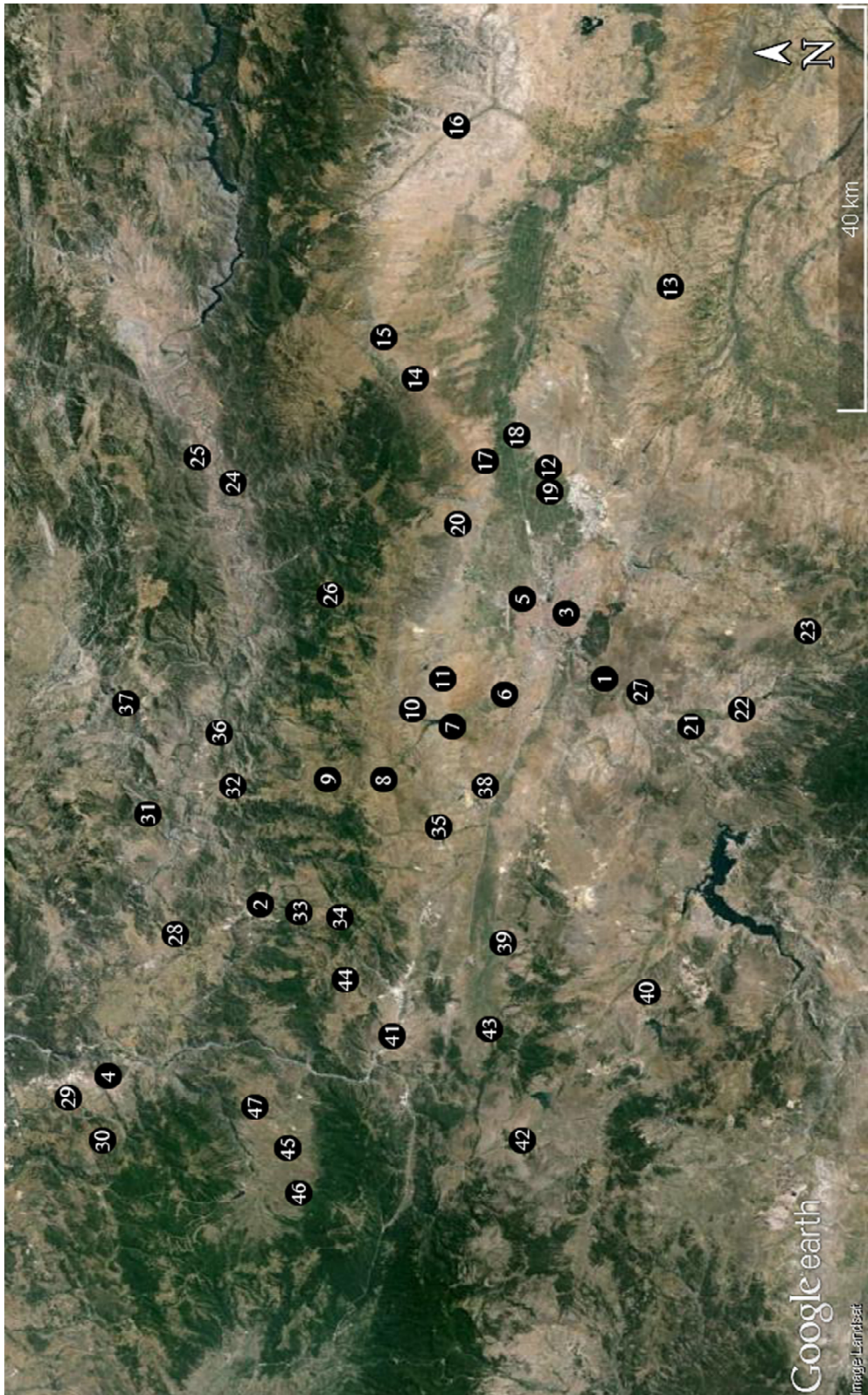
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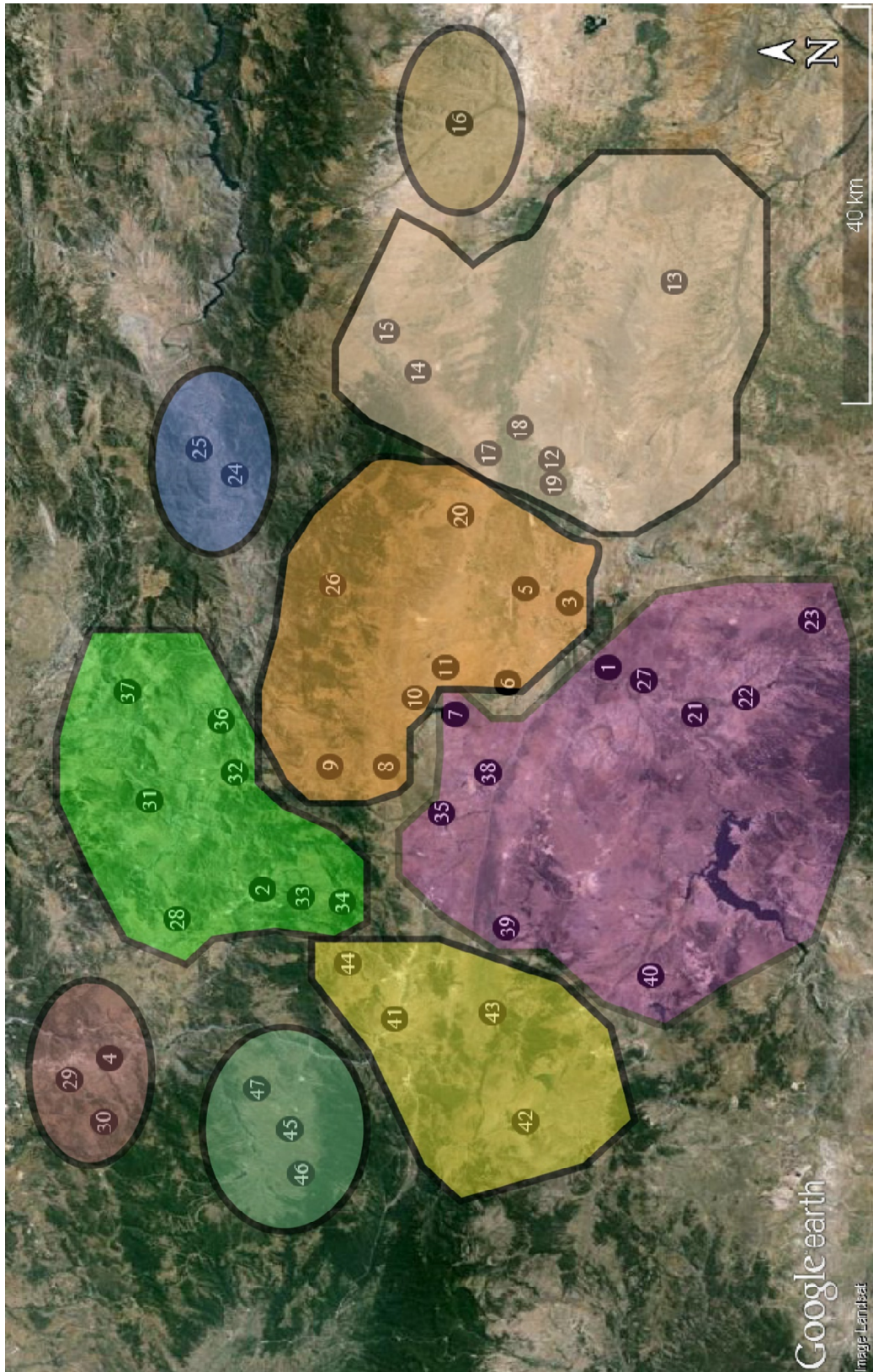
Map 2

Physical Map of Research Area



Map 3

Satellite Map of Settlement Distribution



Map 4

Map of Service Centers

No	Settlement	Deter.	Location	Occu.	Pop.	Elev.	Slo.	As.
1	Karacahisar	B/S/HD	1km SE Esk.	3.2h	400	1004m	8m	E
2	Söğüt	B/HD	Söğüt	3.2h	600	675m	20m	N
3	Sultanöyüğü/Eskişehir	B/HD	Eskişehir	4.5h	860	810m	35m	N
4	Bilecik	B/S/HD	Bilecik	2.8h	535	411m	50m	W
5	Şarhöyük	HD	1km N Esk.	0.72h	135	811m	3m	N
6	Söğütönü(Aşağı/Yukarı)	HD	3km E Esk.	0.66h	125	818m	5m	SW
7	Keskin (Beştaş)	B/HD	6km E Esk.	0.9h	168	995m	5m	S
8	Uludere (İtburnu)	B/HD	9km NW Esk.	0.7h	131	1048m	31m	S
9	Ortaca	B/HD	11km NW Esk	0.4h	75	1038m	26m	N
10	Eğriöz	HD	8km NW Esk.	0.26h	50	871m	2m	S
11	Alınca	HD	2km W Esk.	0.5h	94	925m	22m	S
12	Sevinç	S/HD	10km E Esk.	0.53h	100	782m	8m	S
13	Sarı Kavak	S/HD	15km SE Esk.	0.66h	125	1031m	5m	S
14	Gündüzler	S/HD	16km NE Esk.	0.4h	75	907m	10m	S
15	Beyazaltın (Asil Bey)	S/HD	18km NE Esk.	0.24h	45	925m	5m	S
16	Büğdüz	B/HD	25km E Esk.	0.7h	131	861m	26m	S
17	Kavacık	S/HD	17km E Esk.	0.21h	40	808m	2m	S
18	Çavlum	HD	15km E Esk.	0.5 h	93	784m	7m	N
19	Yassihöyük	HD	10km E Esk.	2h	375	798m	10m	N
20	Eskisekipınar	S/HD	6km N Esk.	0.24h	45	1049m	28m	S
21	Gökçekısıık	B/S/HD	Gökçekısıık	0.48h	90	830m	5m	S
22	Yörük kırka	B	Yörük kırka	0.5h	93	863m	3m	S
23	Avdan	B/S/HD	1km E village	0.29h	55	1053m	3m	N
24	Mayıslar	S/HD	5km E Sar.	0.16h	30	235m	7m	N
25	Kapıkaya	S	2km N village	0.12h	23	315m	2m	S
26	Atalan	B/HD	22km N Esk.	0.19h	35	1174m	4m	S
27	Eşenkara	S/HD	10km S Esk.	0.2h	38	844m	15m	S
28	Küre	B/HD	12km N Söğüt	1h	187	366m	11m	S
29	Pelitözü	H	2km N Bilecik	0.29h	55	601m	35m	S
30	Çakırpınar	H	6km S Bilecik	0.2h	38	814m	15m	N
31	Kayabalı	S	28km N Söğüt	0.12h	23	385m	3m	N
32	Samrı	OH	10km E Söğüt	0.2h	38	495m	5m	N
33	Kızılsaray	S/HD	6km S Söğüt	0.48h	90	936m	7m	N
34	Gökçeviran	S/HD	12km S Bil.	0.24h	45	636m	12m	S
35	Şarabhane	S/HD	25km E Esk.	0.45h	85	927m	8m	S
36	İnhisar	H	15km SE Bil.	0.4h	75	220m	13m	S
37	Harmanköy	B/HD	20km N inh.	0.7h	131	617m	10m	S
38	Çukurhisar	S/HD	10km W Esk.	0.56h	105	833m	5m	S
39	İnönü	B/HD	36km E Esk.	0.8h	150	843m	30m	W
40	Kanlıtaş	S	26km E Esk.	0.5h	93	750m	10m	S
41	Bozüyük	B/HD	45km W Esk.	0.15h	280	751m	20m	S
42	Dodurga	S/HD	20km S Boz.	0.58h	110	1132m	20m	E
43	Kandilli	B	13km S Boz.	0.2h	38	874m	15m	N

44	Günyarık	S	9km NE Boz.	0.26h	50	957m	7m	N
45	Pazaryeri (Ermeni Beli)	HD	Pazaryeri	2.5h	480	806m	30m	N
46	Dereköy	S/HD	7km W Paz.	0.48h	90	813m	25m	N
47	Ahmetler	HD	4km NW Paz.	0.12h	23	769m	25m	S

Deter. : Determination → **B: Building, S: Site, HD: Historical Document,**

OH: Oral History

Occu.: Occupation → **Esk.: Eskişehir, Sar.: Sarıcakaya, Bil.: Bilecik,**

İnh.: İnhisar, Boz.: Bozüyük, Paz.: Pazaryeri

Pop.: Population

Elev.: Elevation

Slo.: Slope

As.: Aspect

Table 1

Settlement List

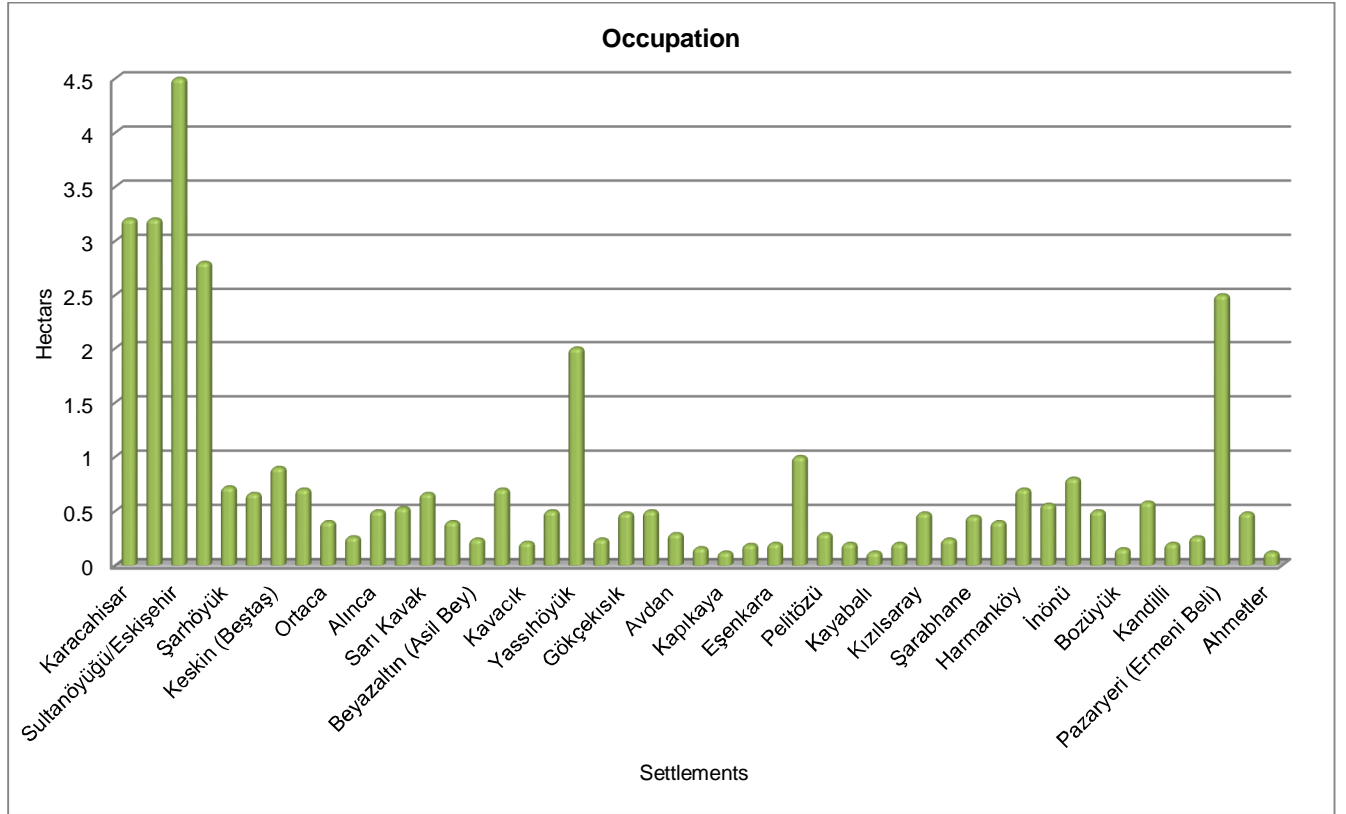


Table 2

Settlement Size Graph

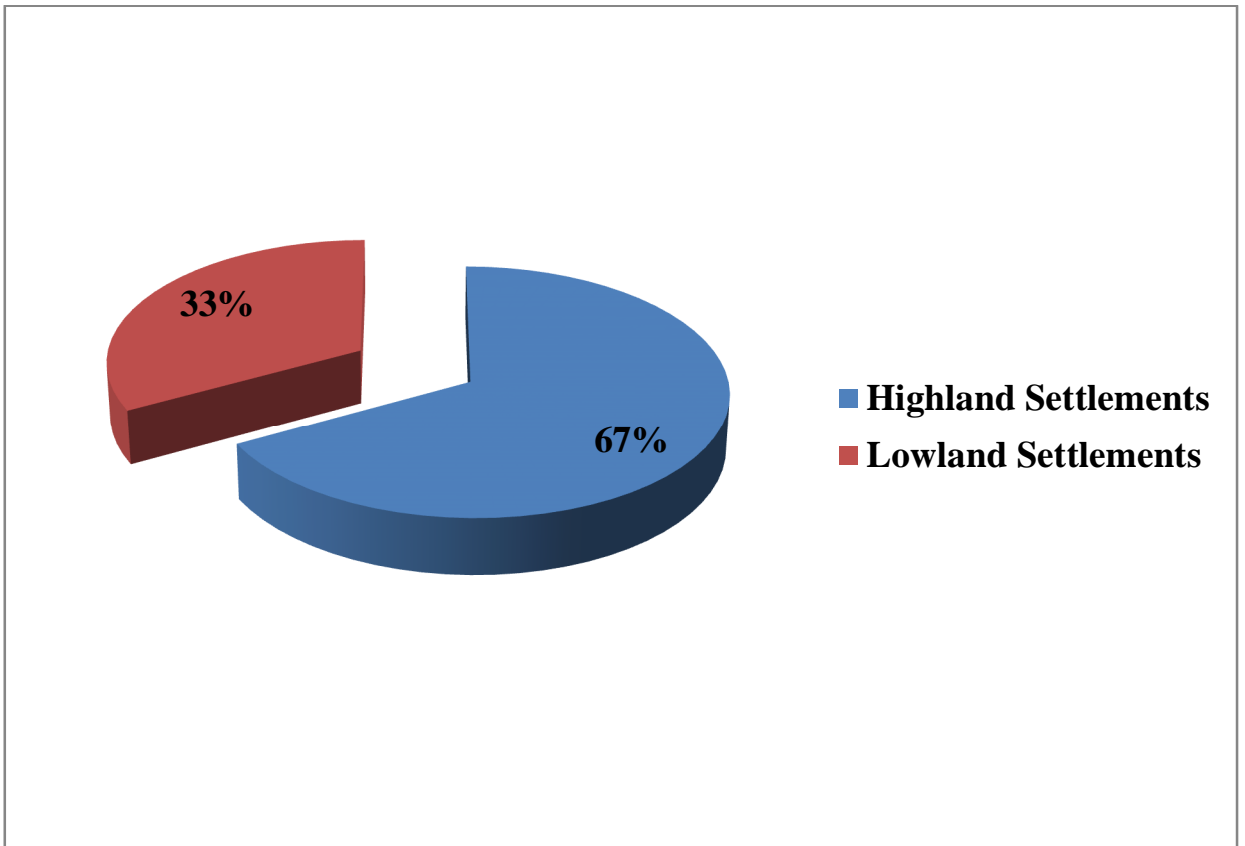


Table 3

Graph of Rates in Settlement Location

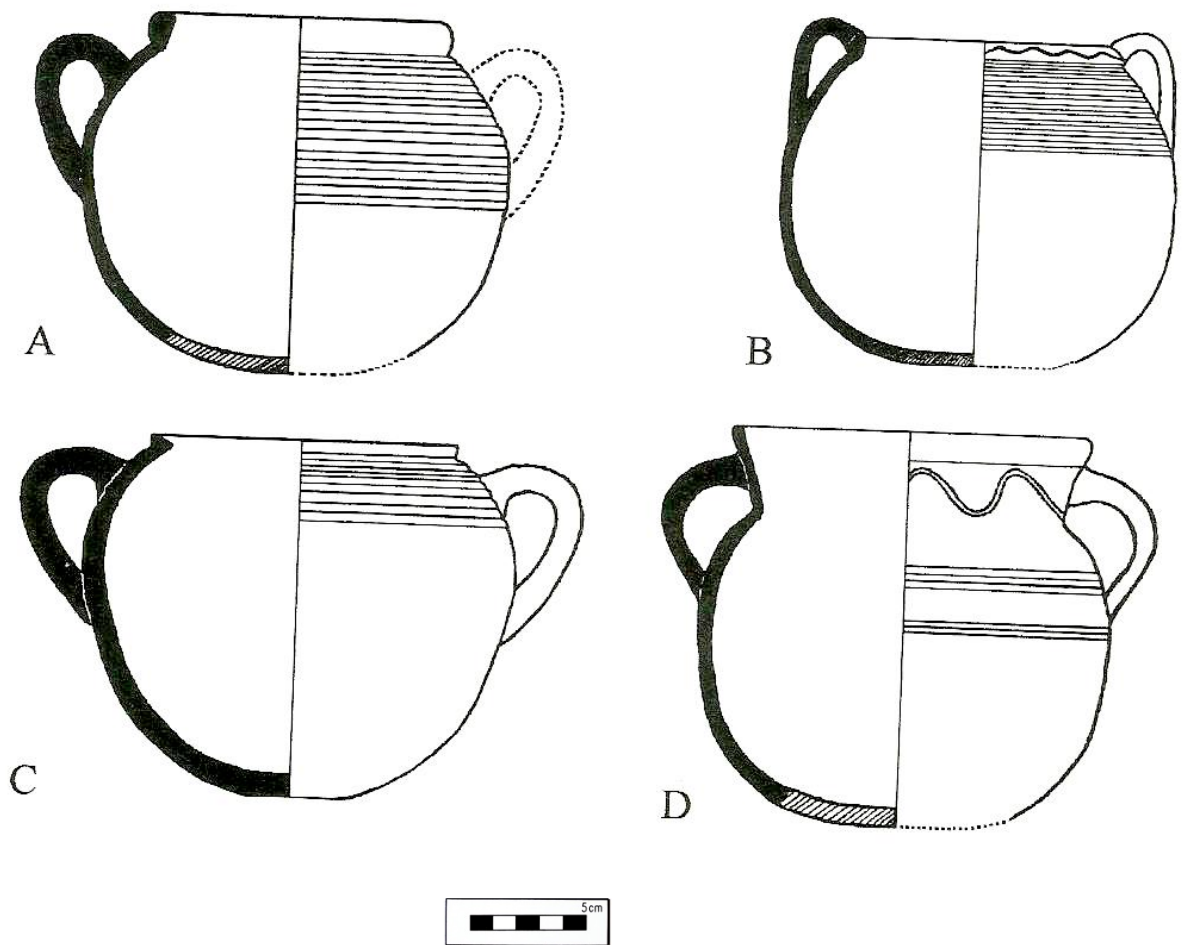
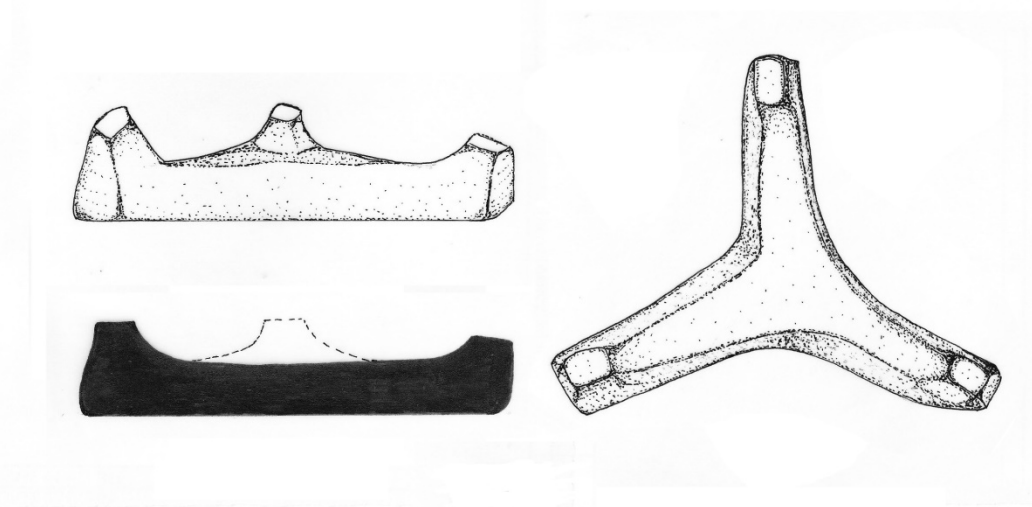
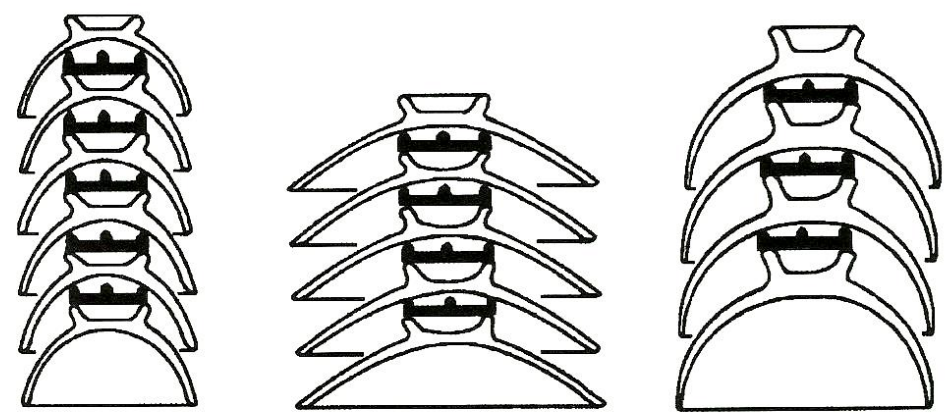


Figure 1

Late Byzantine Coarse Ware
(after Stillwell MacKay 2003)



a



b

Figure 2

Outline Shapes of Tripods used for Firing

a: From Kinet Höyük, drawn by Neslihan Yılmaz. Courtesy of M.H. Gates

b: (after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1986)

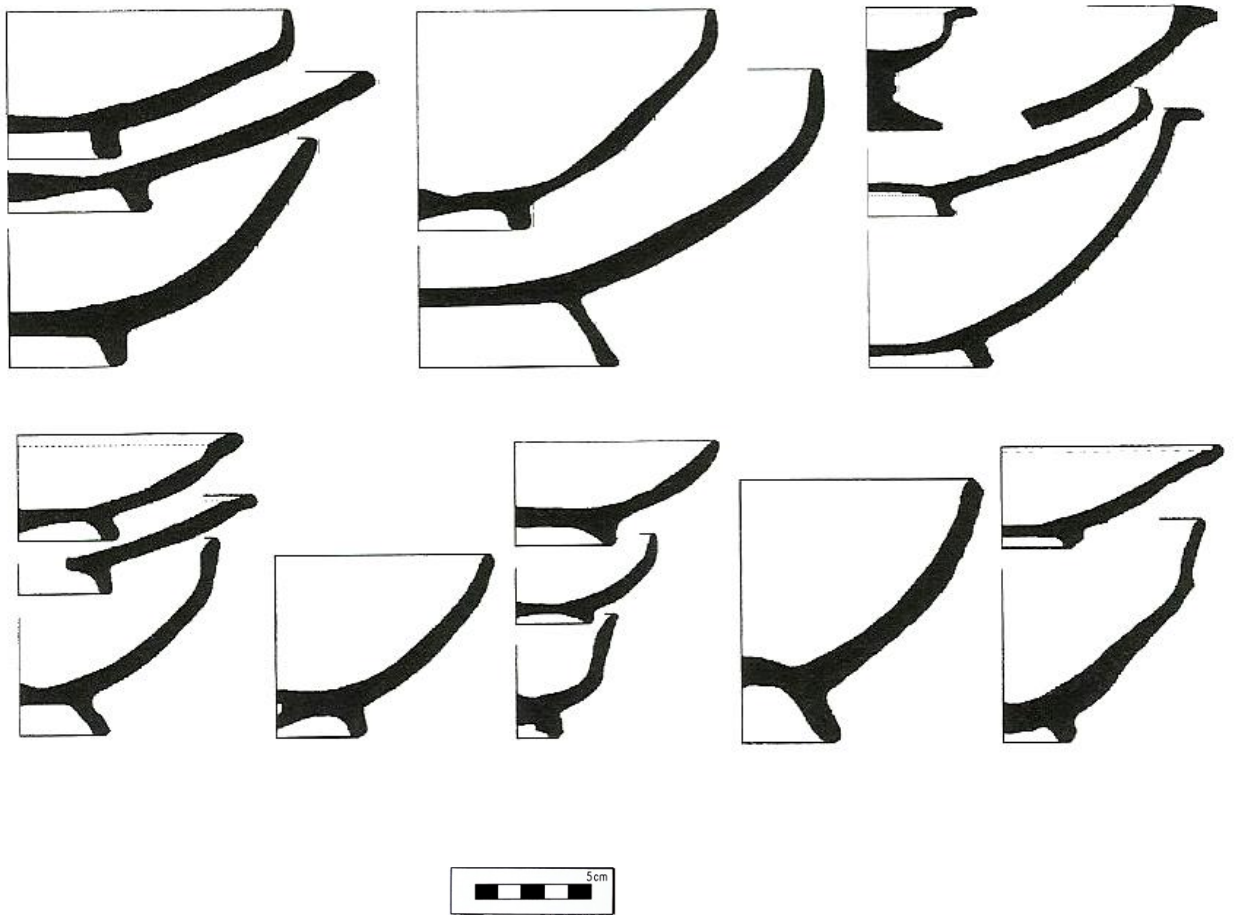


Figure 3

Green and Brown Painted Ware

(after Morgan 1942)

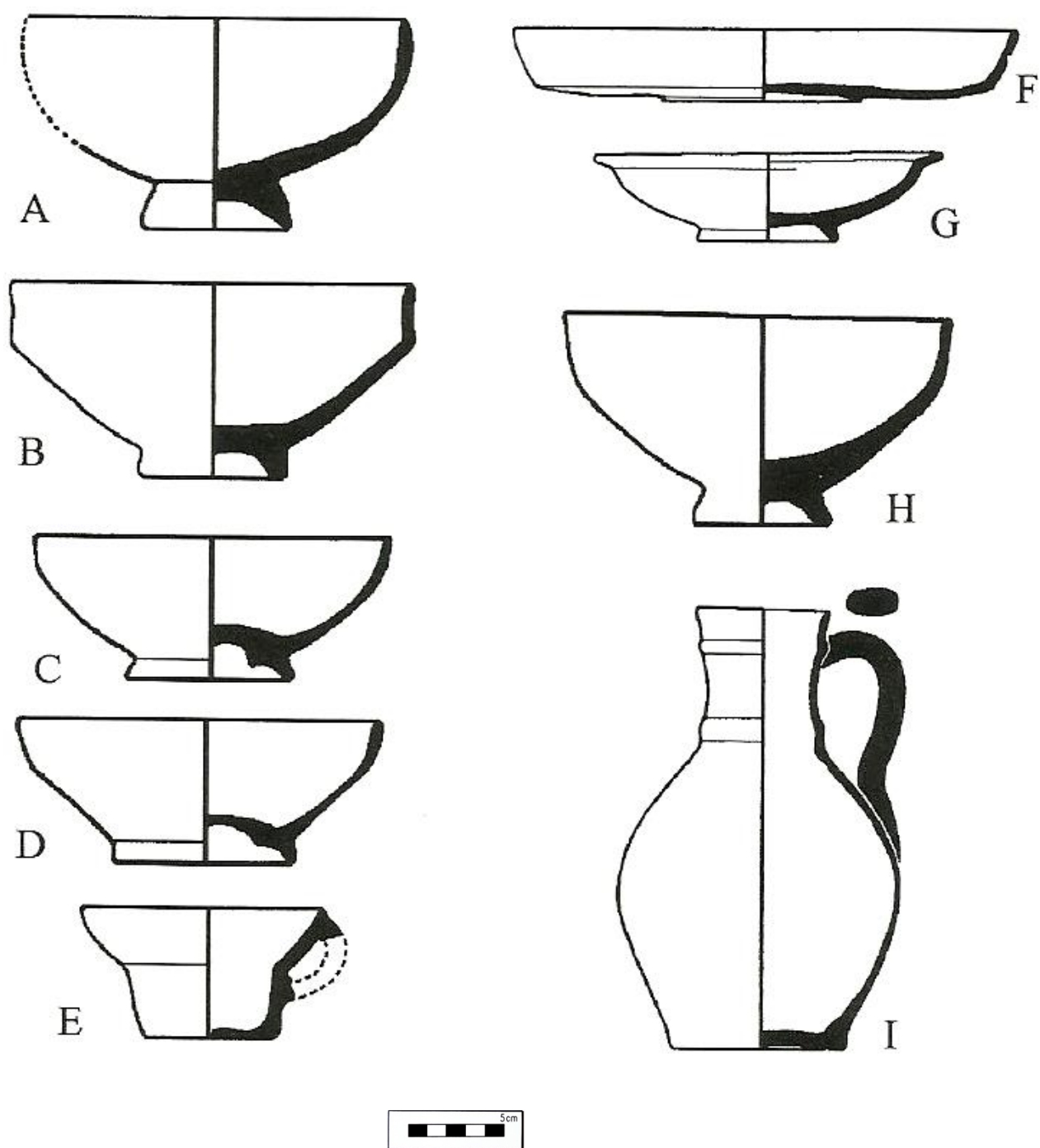


Figure 4

Late Byzantine Coloured Sgraffito Ware

(after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996)

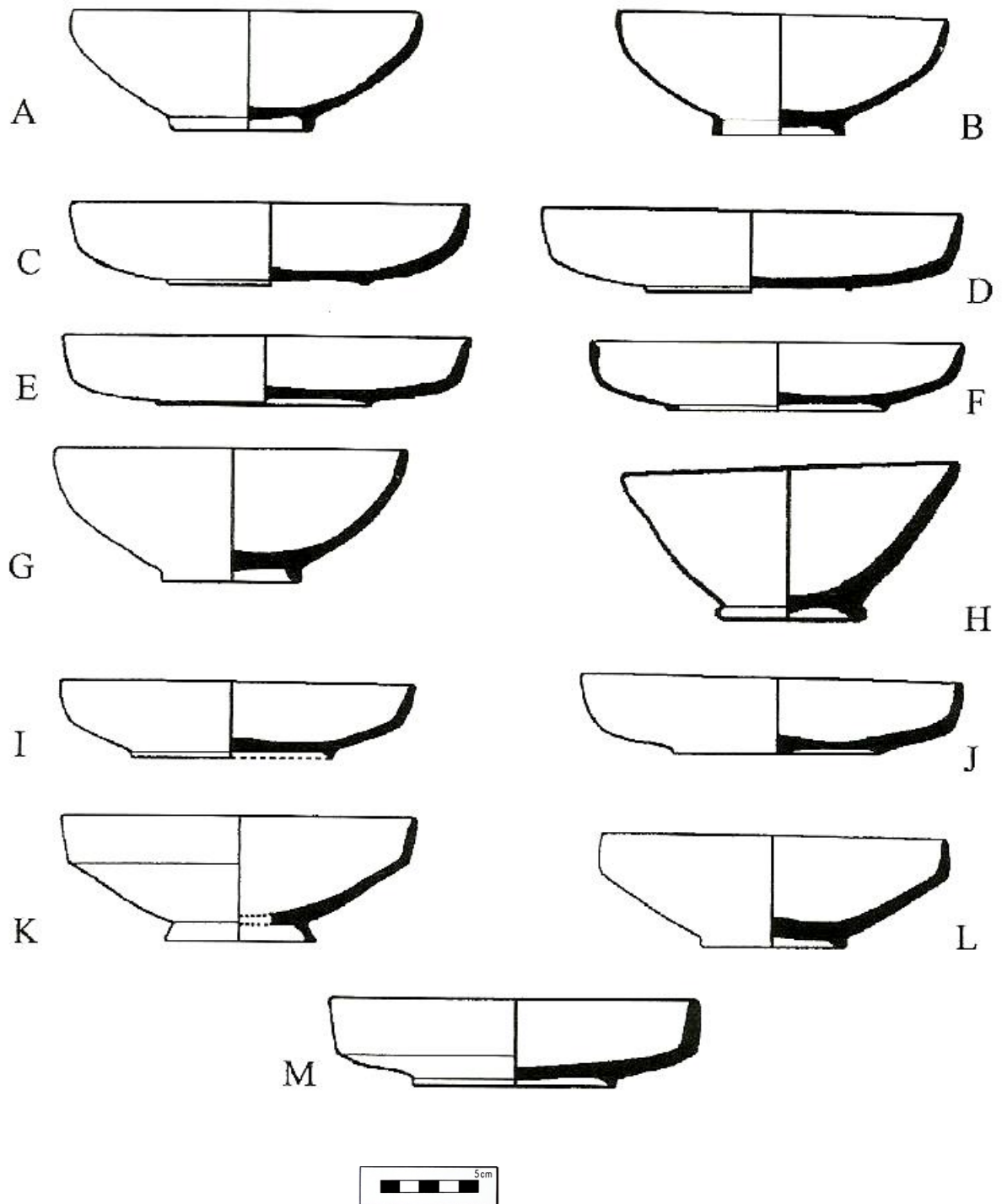


Figure 5

Fine Sgraffito Ware

(after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996)

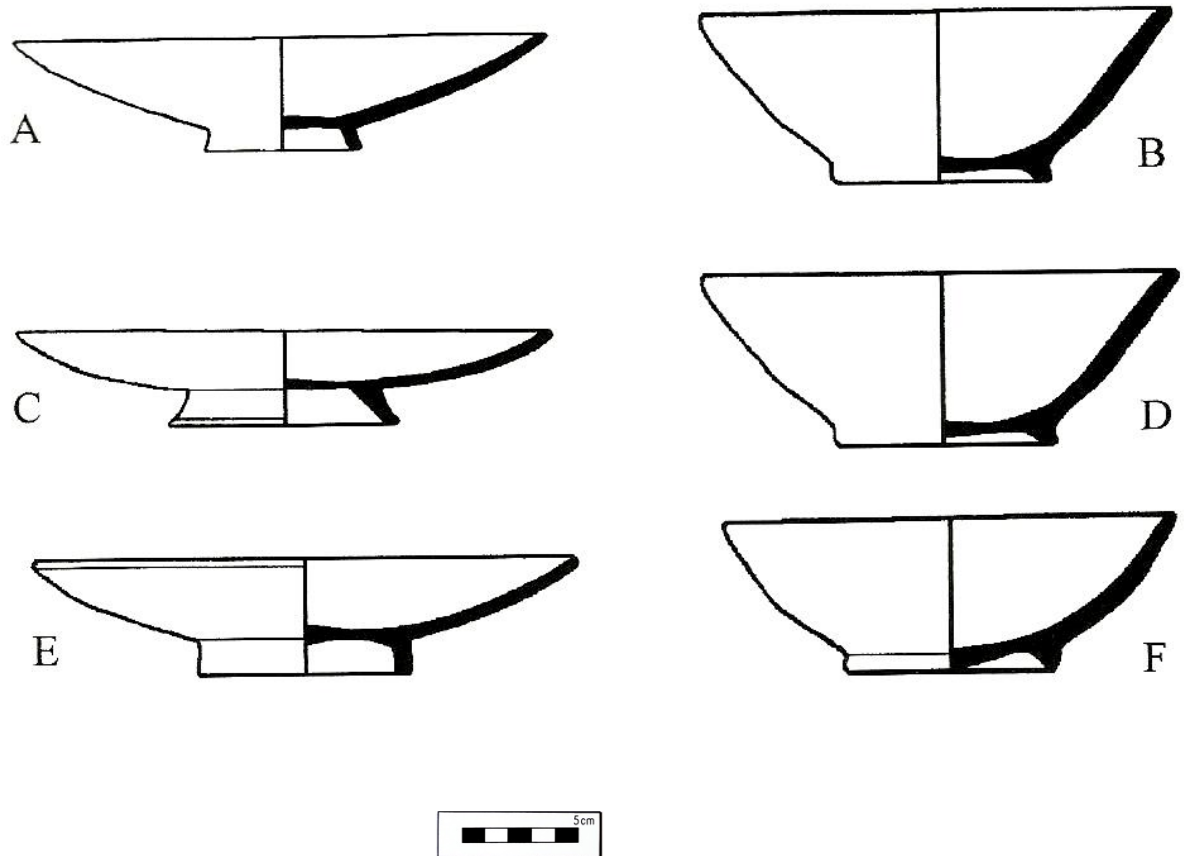


Figure 6

Incised Sgraffito Ware

(after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996)

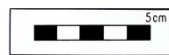
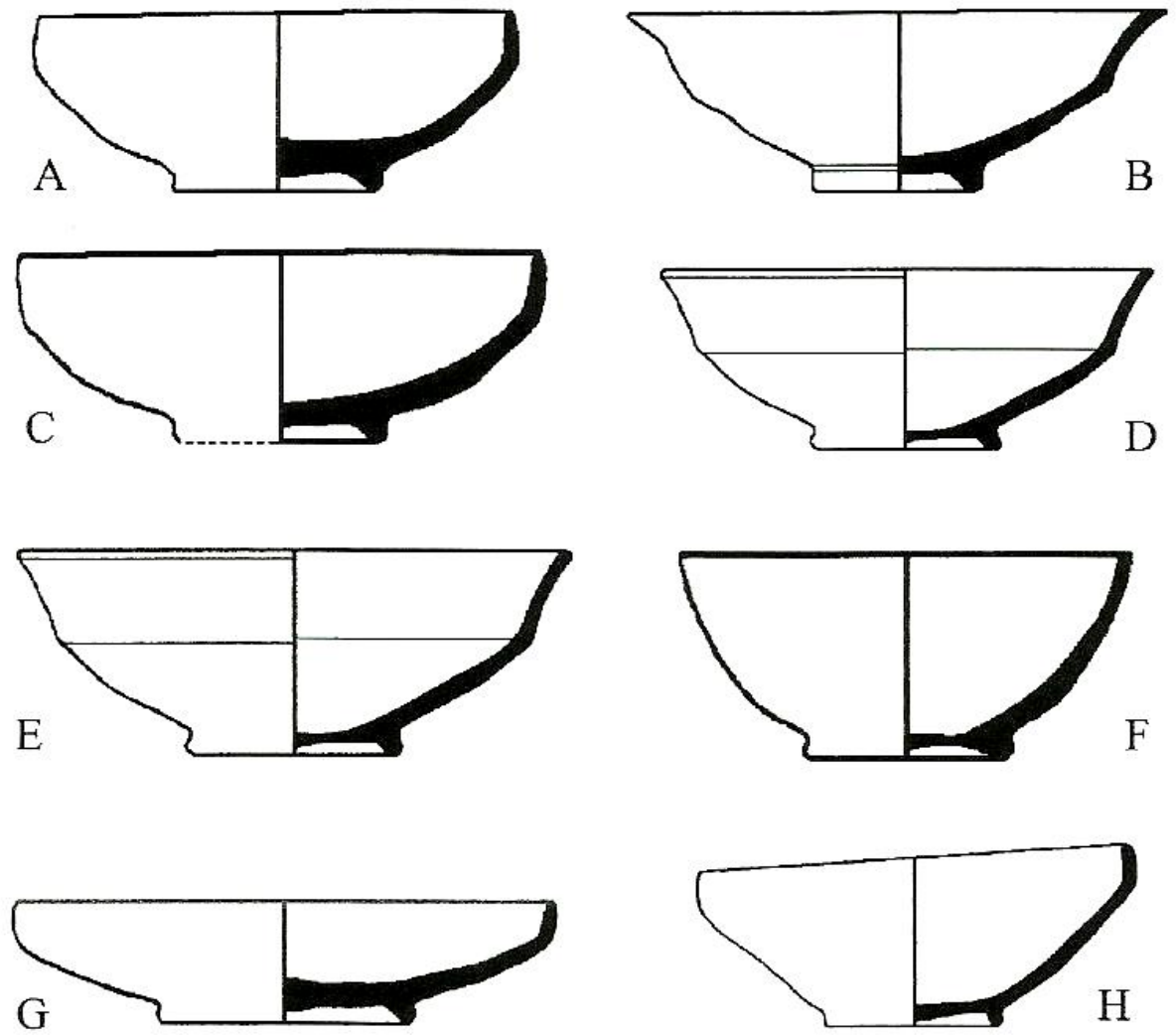
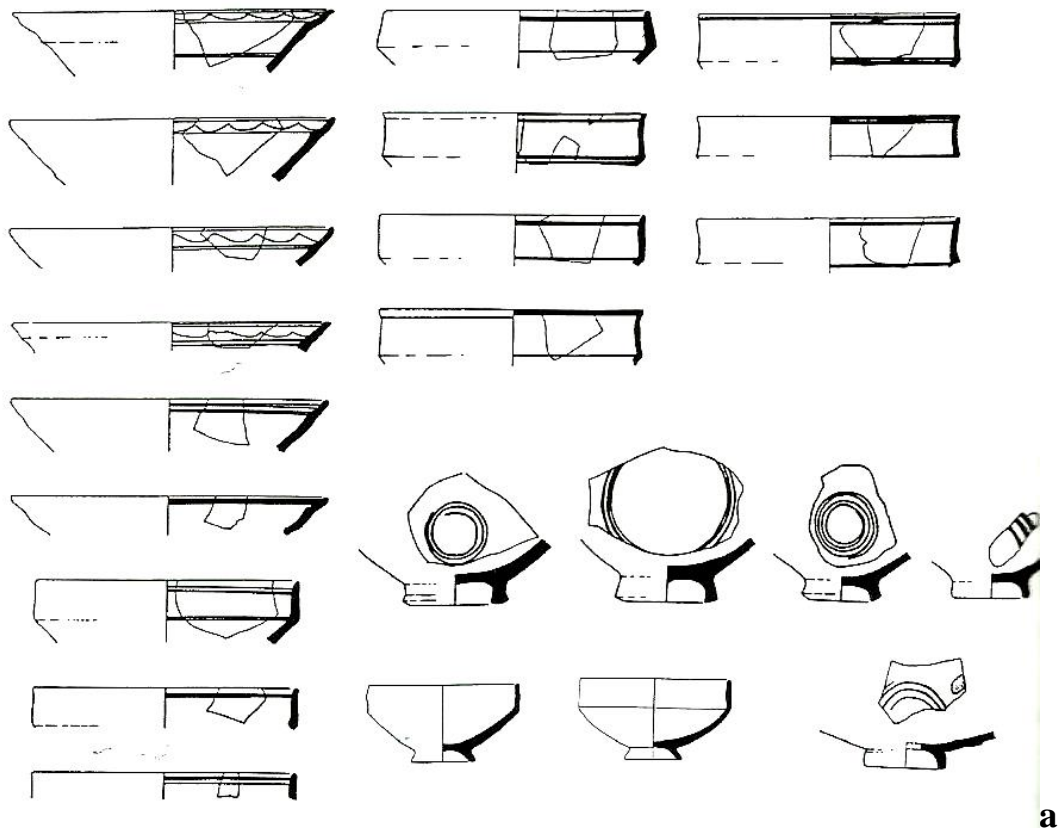


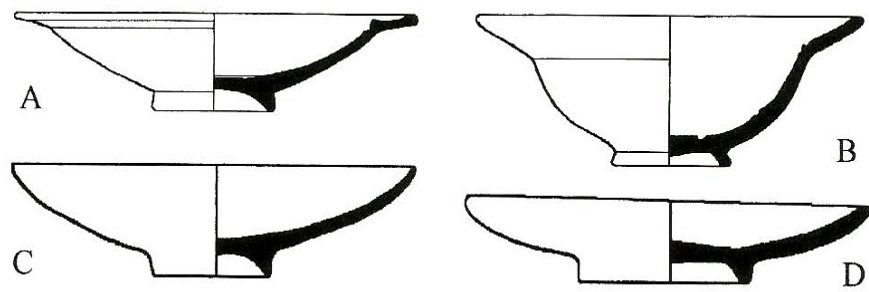
Figure 7

Painted Sgraffito Ware

(after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996)



a



b

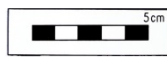


Figure 8

Zeuxippus Ware

(a: after Armstrong 1991; b: after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996)

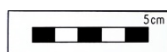
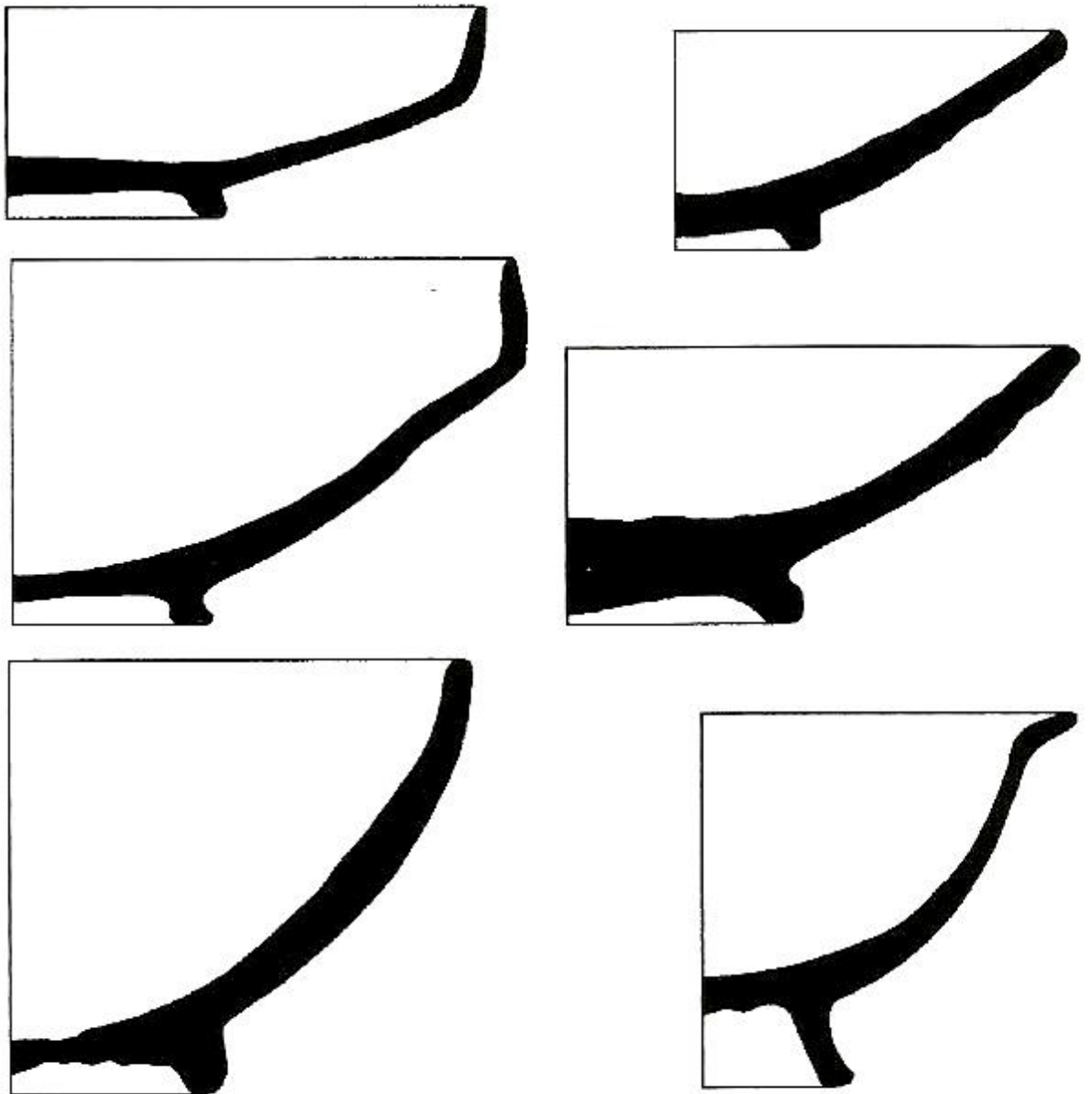


Figure 9

Late Byzantine Slip Painted Ware

(after Morgan 1942)

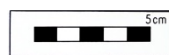
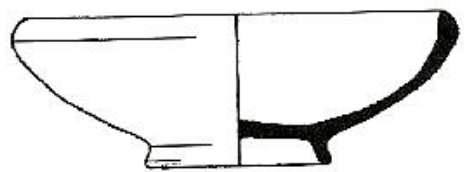
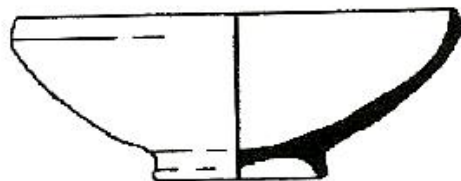
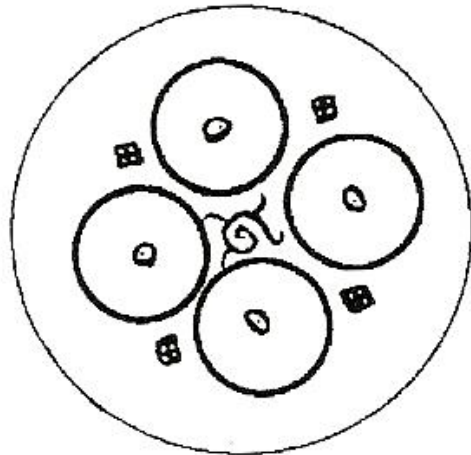
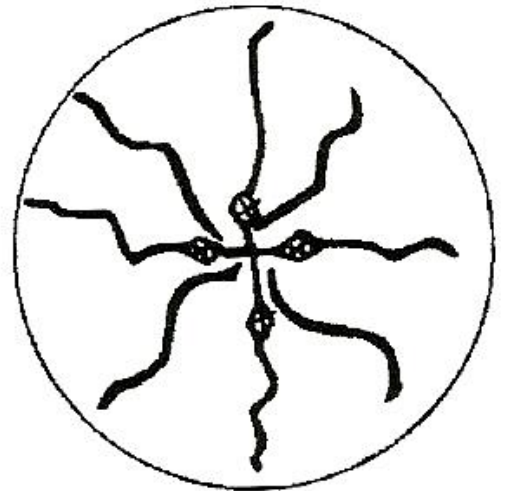
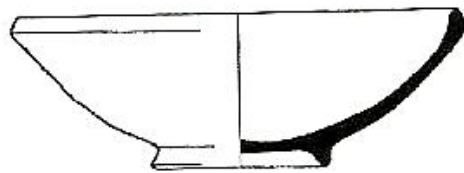


Figure 10

Aegean Ware

(after Armstrong 1996)

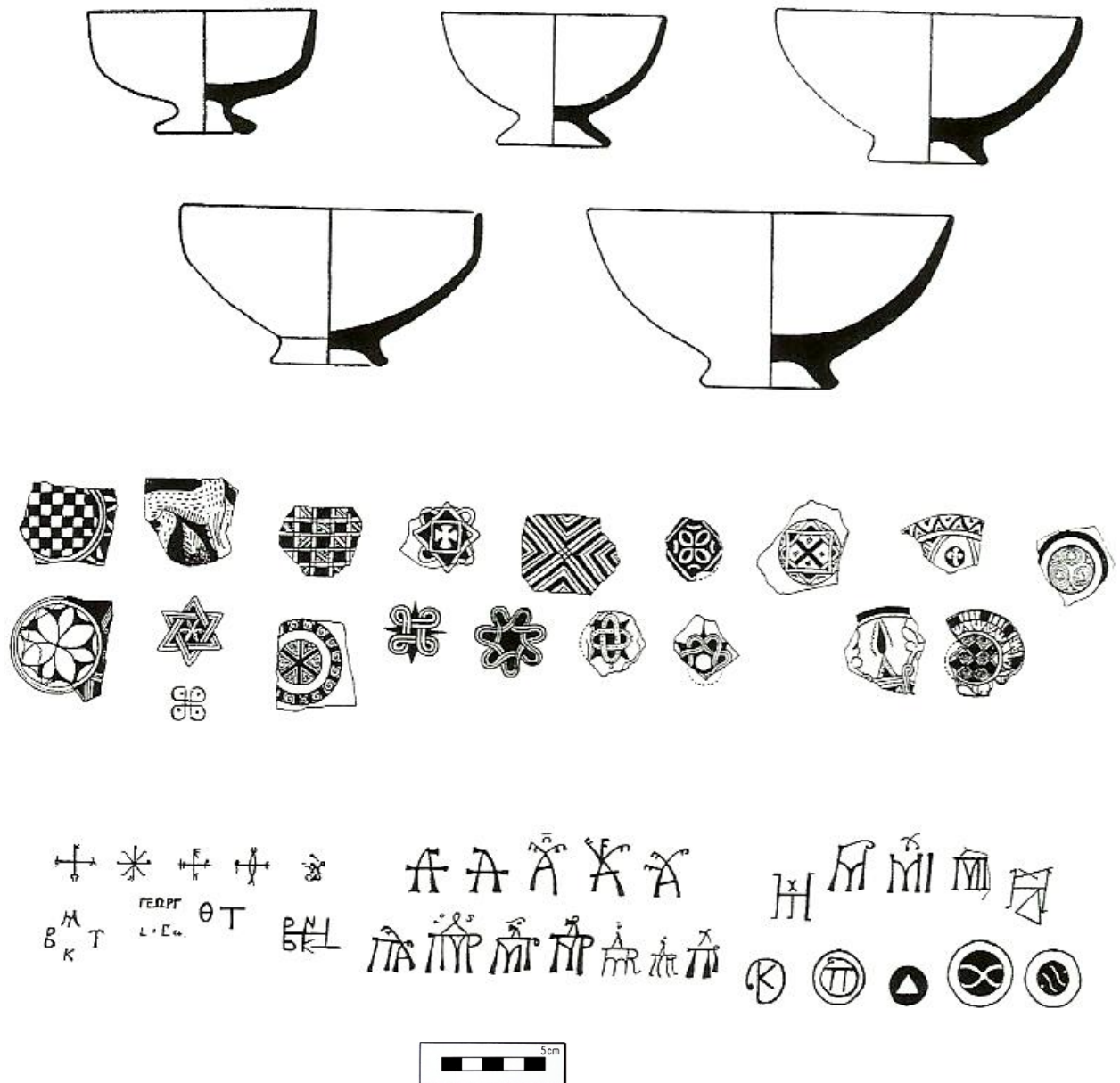


Figure 11

Elaborate Incised Ware

(a: after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1999; b: after Talbot Rice 1930)

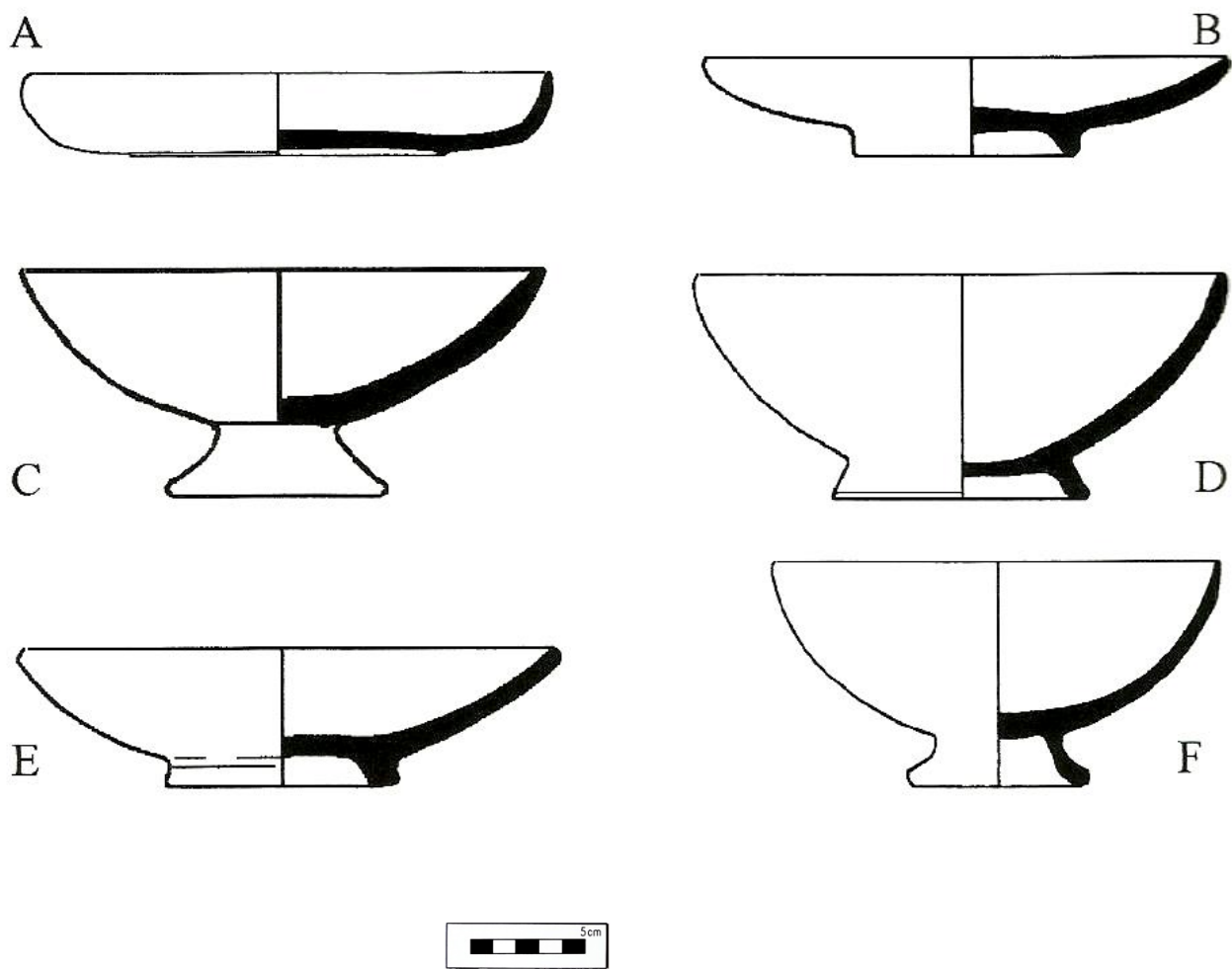


Figure 12

Champleve Ware

(after Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996)

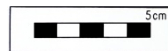
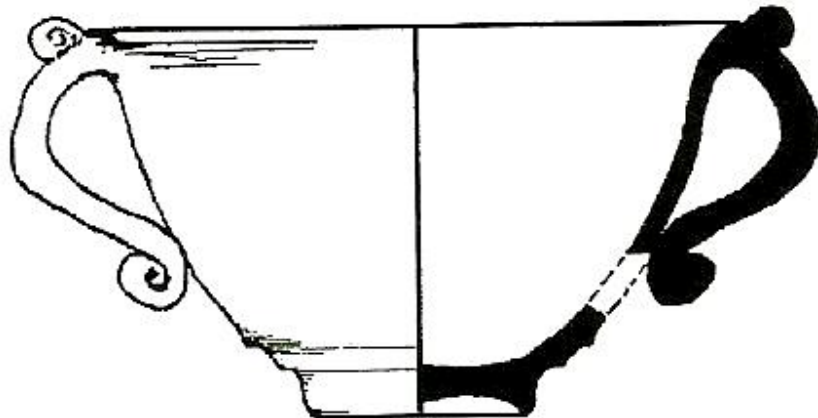
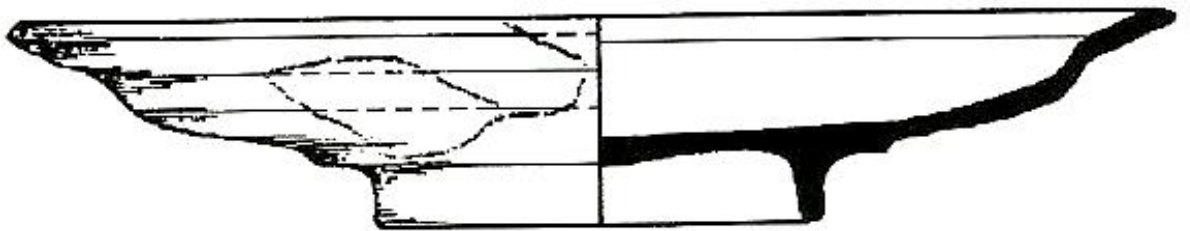
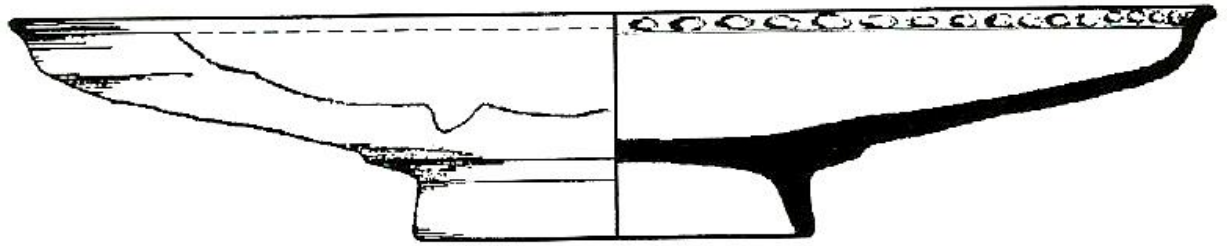


Figure 13

Late Byzantine Turquoise Glazed Ware

(after Peschlow 1977/78)

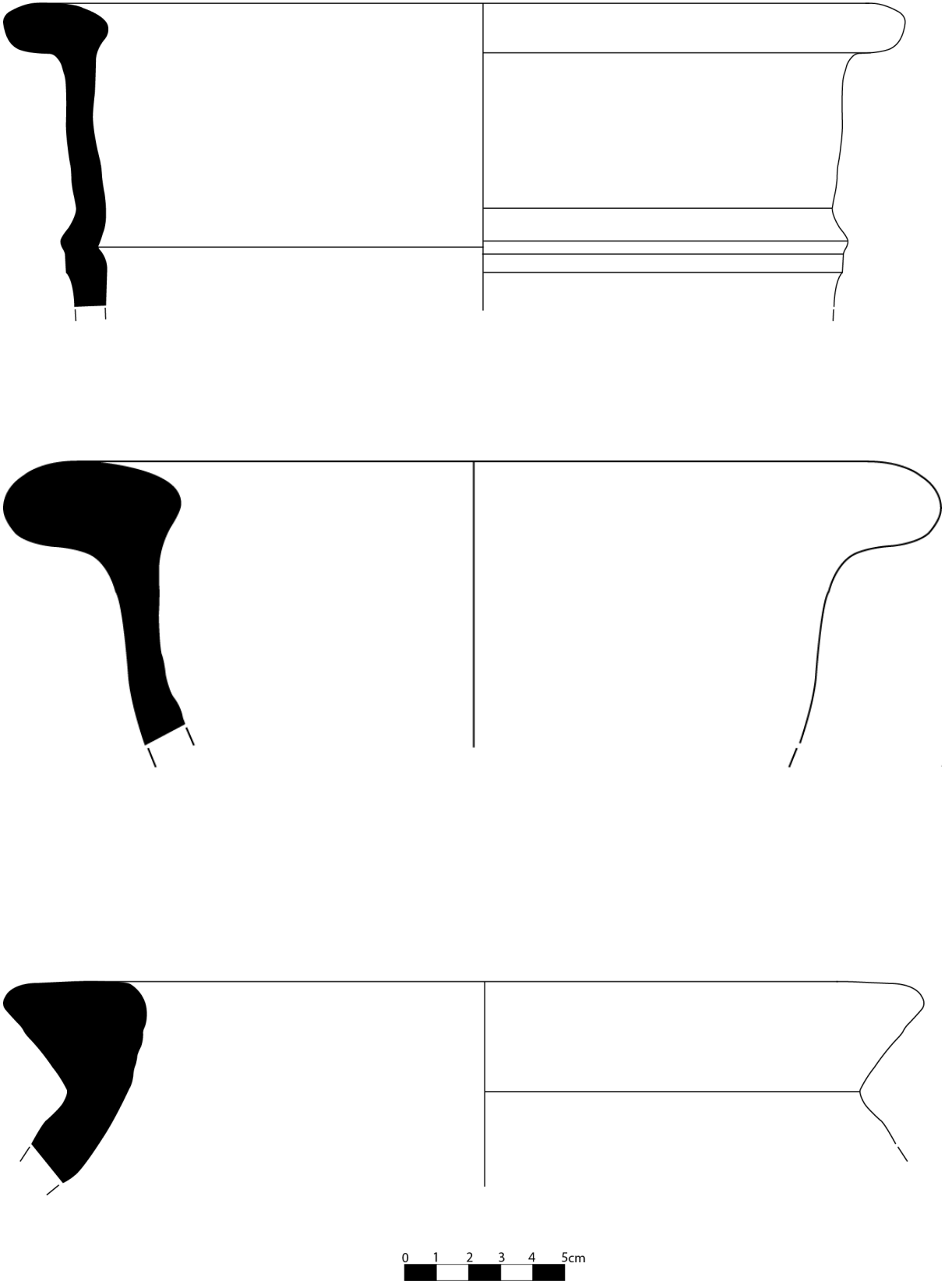


Figure 14

Late Medieval Turkish Storage Jars

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

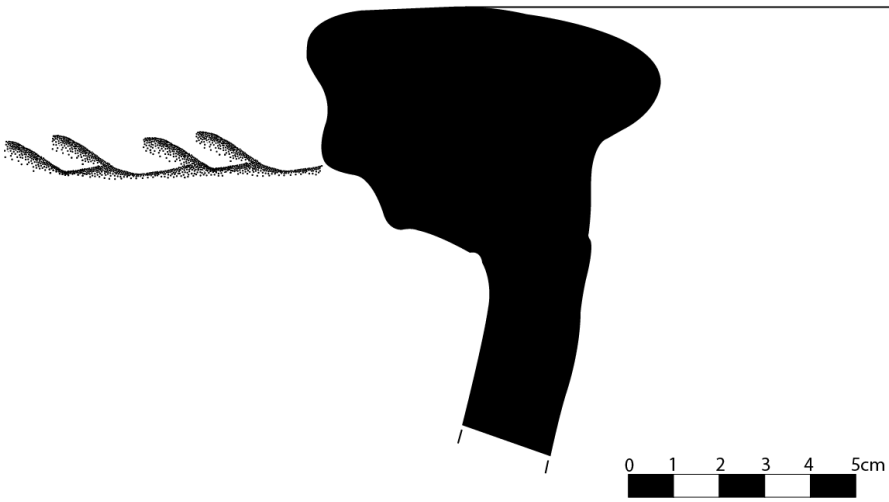


Figure 15

Late Medieval Turkish Storage Jars

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

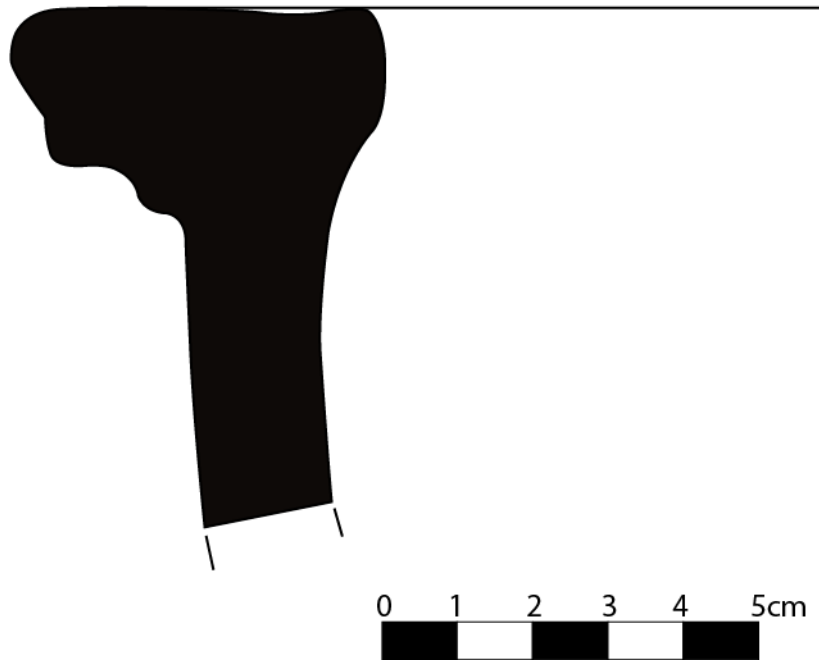
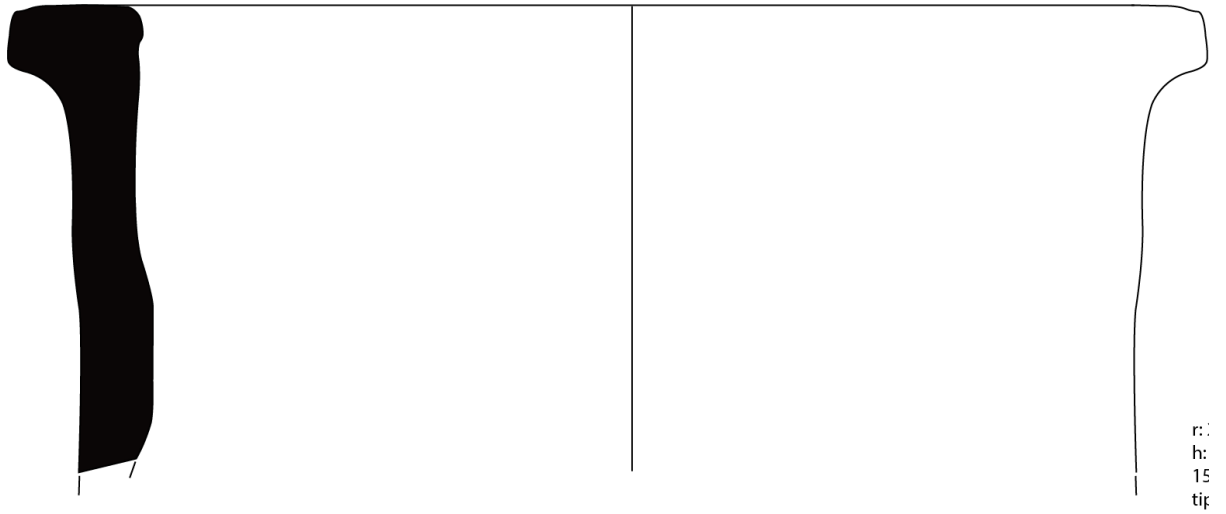


Figure 16

Late Medieval Turkish Storage Jars

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

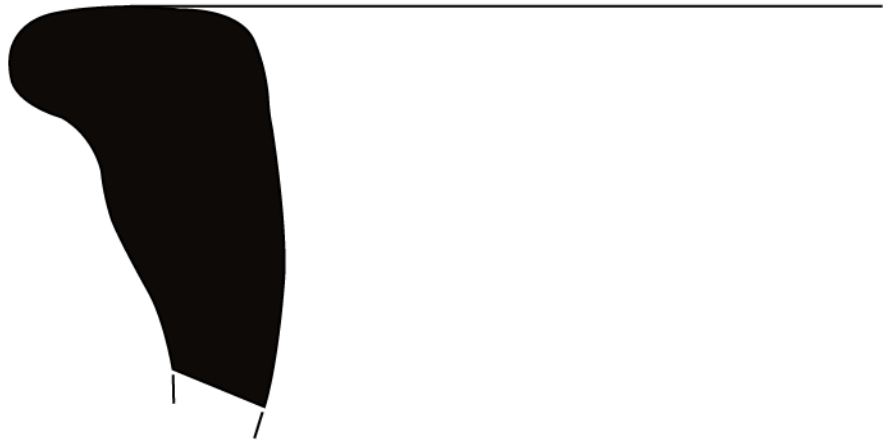
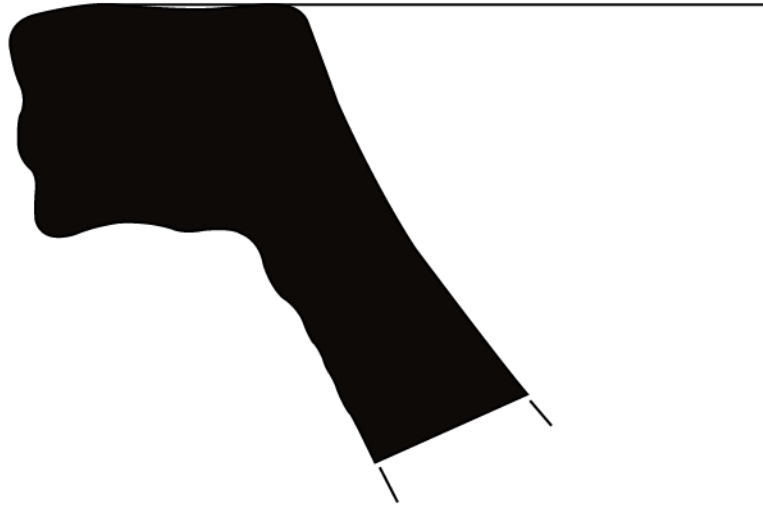


Figure 17

Late Medieval Turkish Storage Jars

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)



Figure 18

Fragments of Late Medieval Turkish Storage Jars

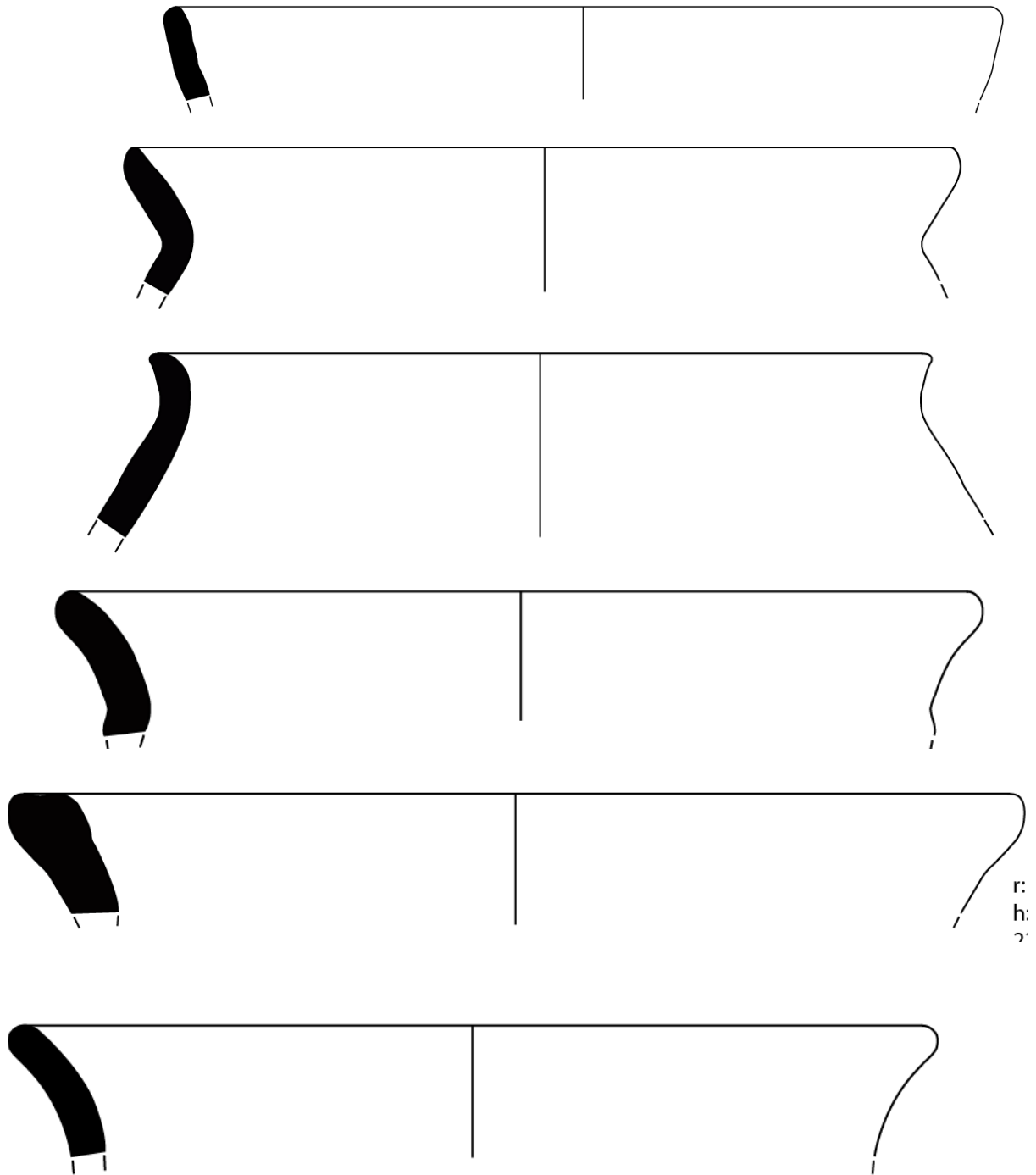


Figure 19

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

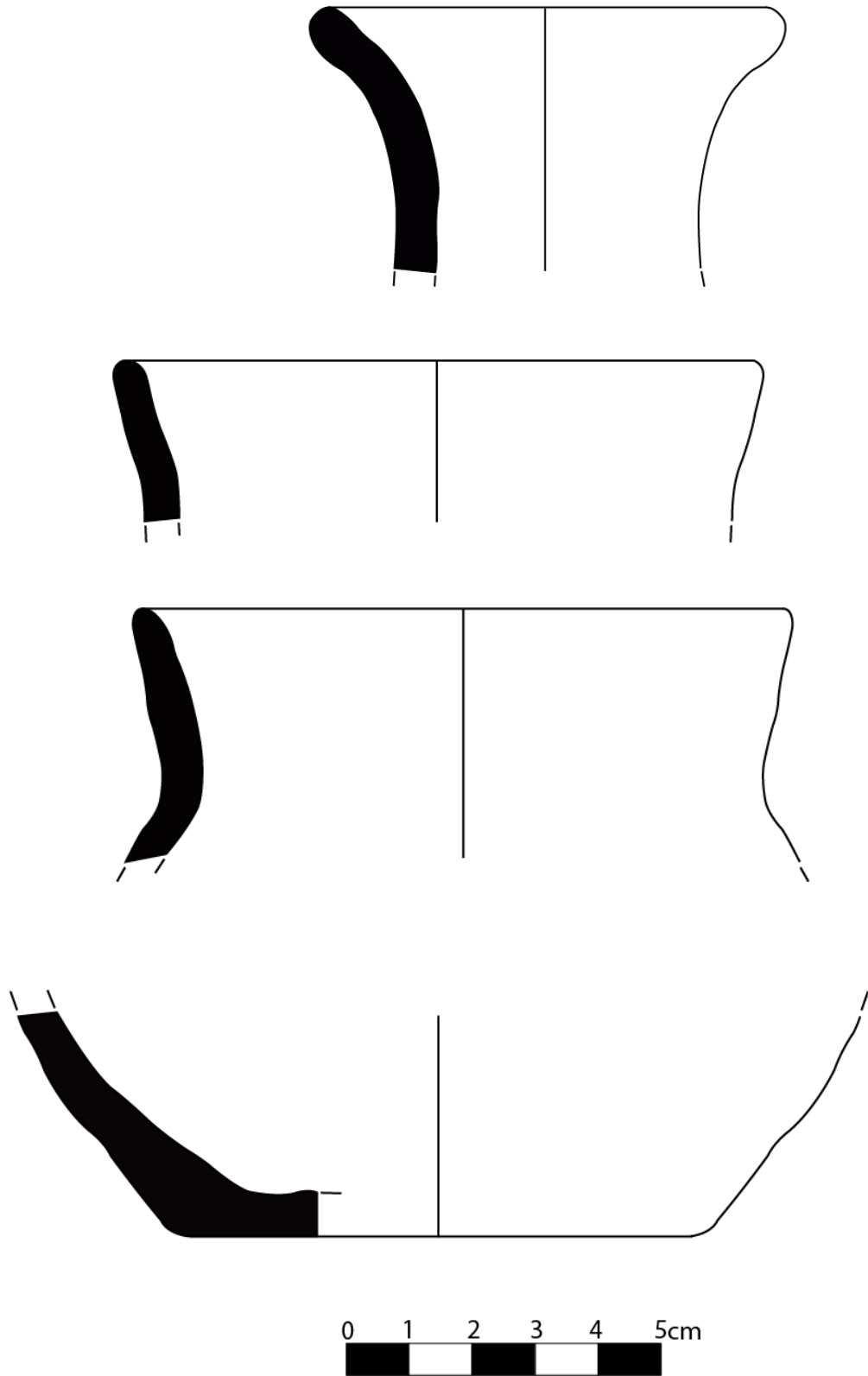


Figure 20

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

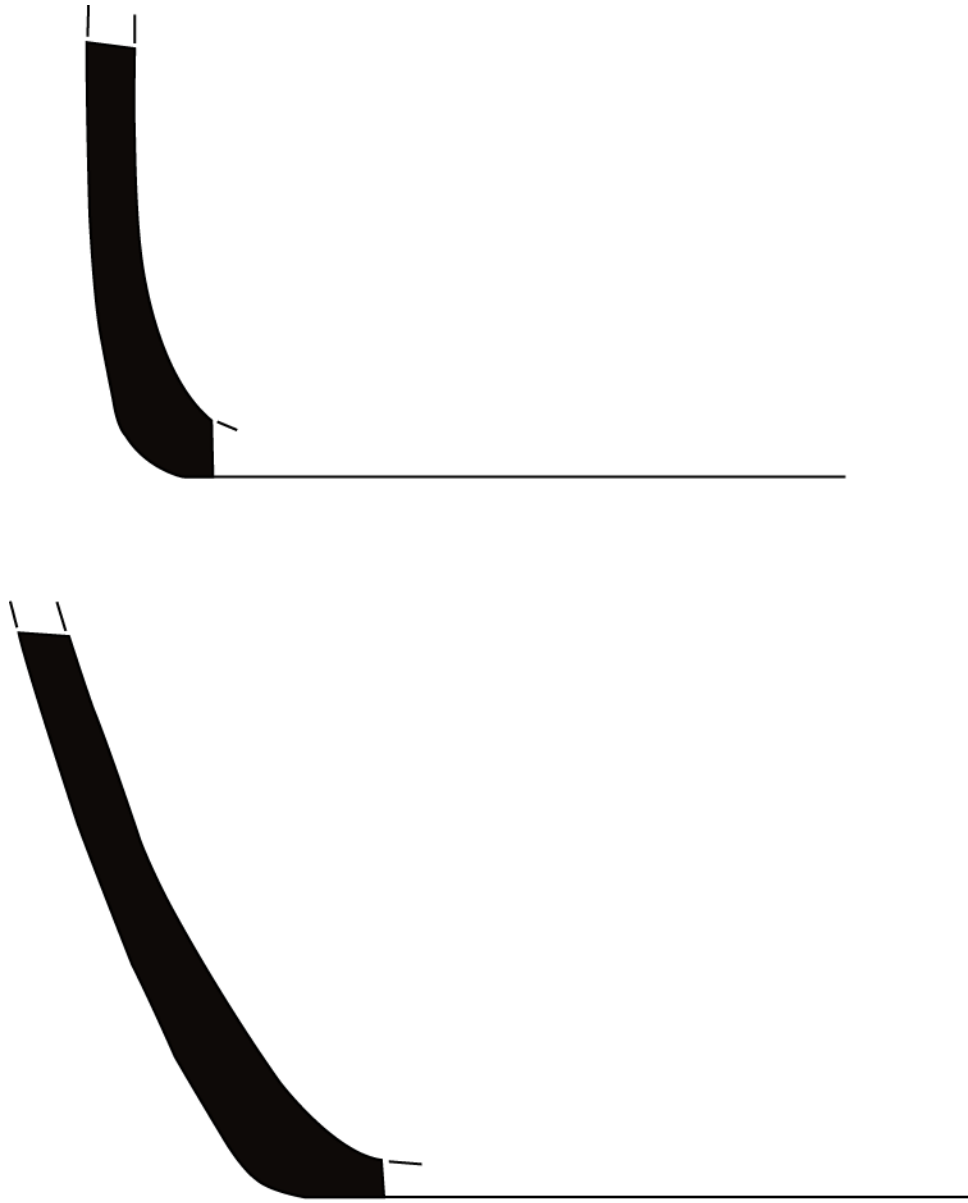


Figure 21

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

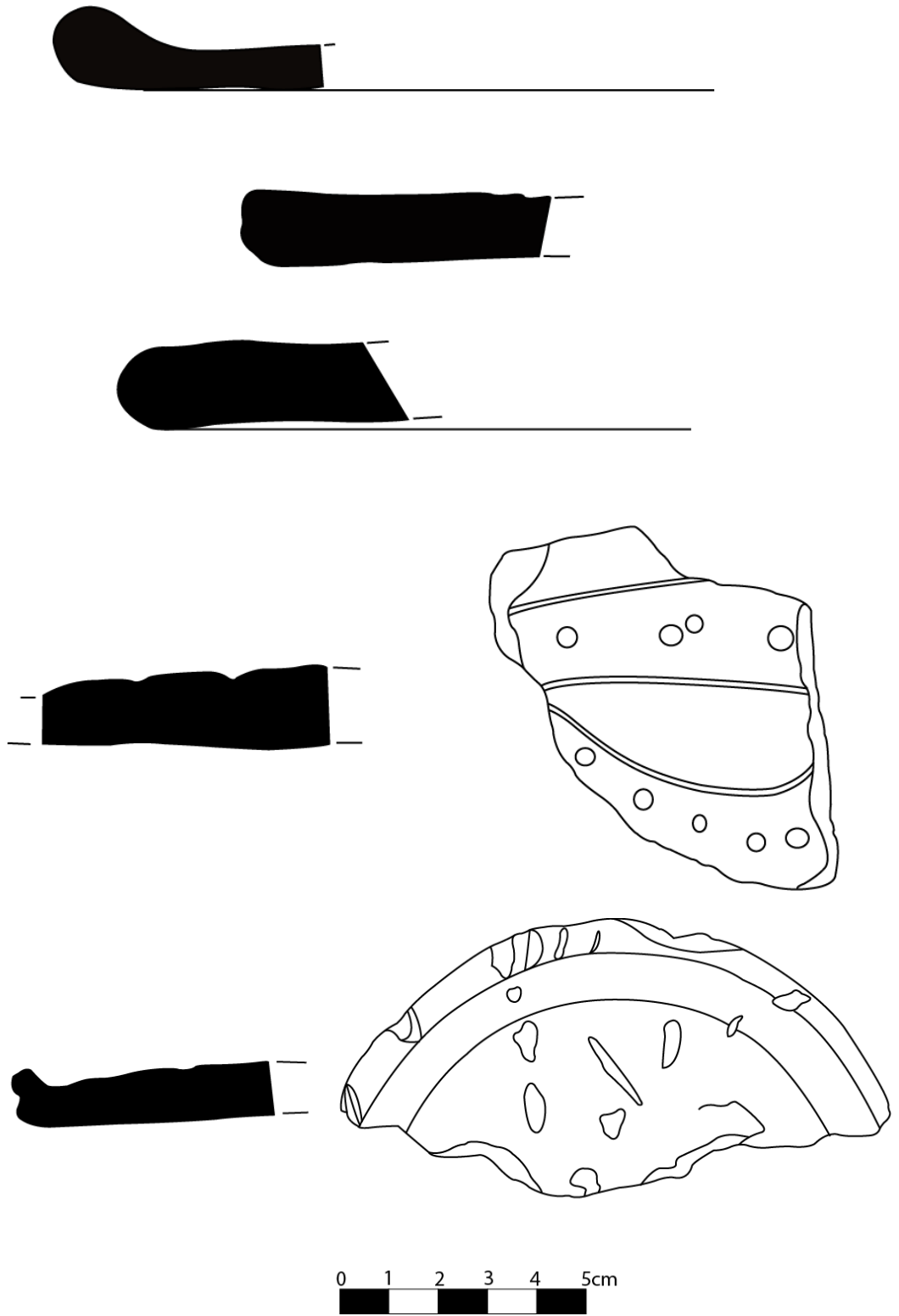


Figure 22

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

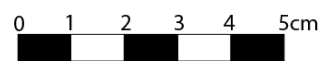
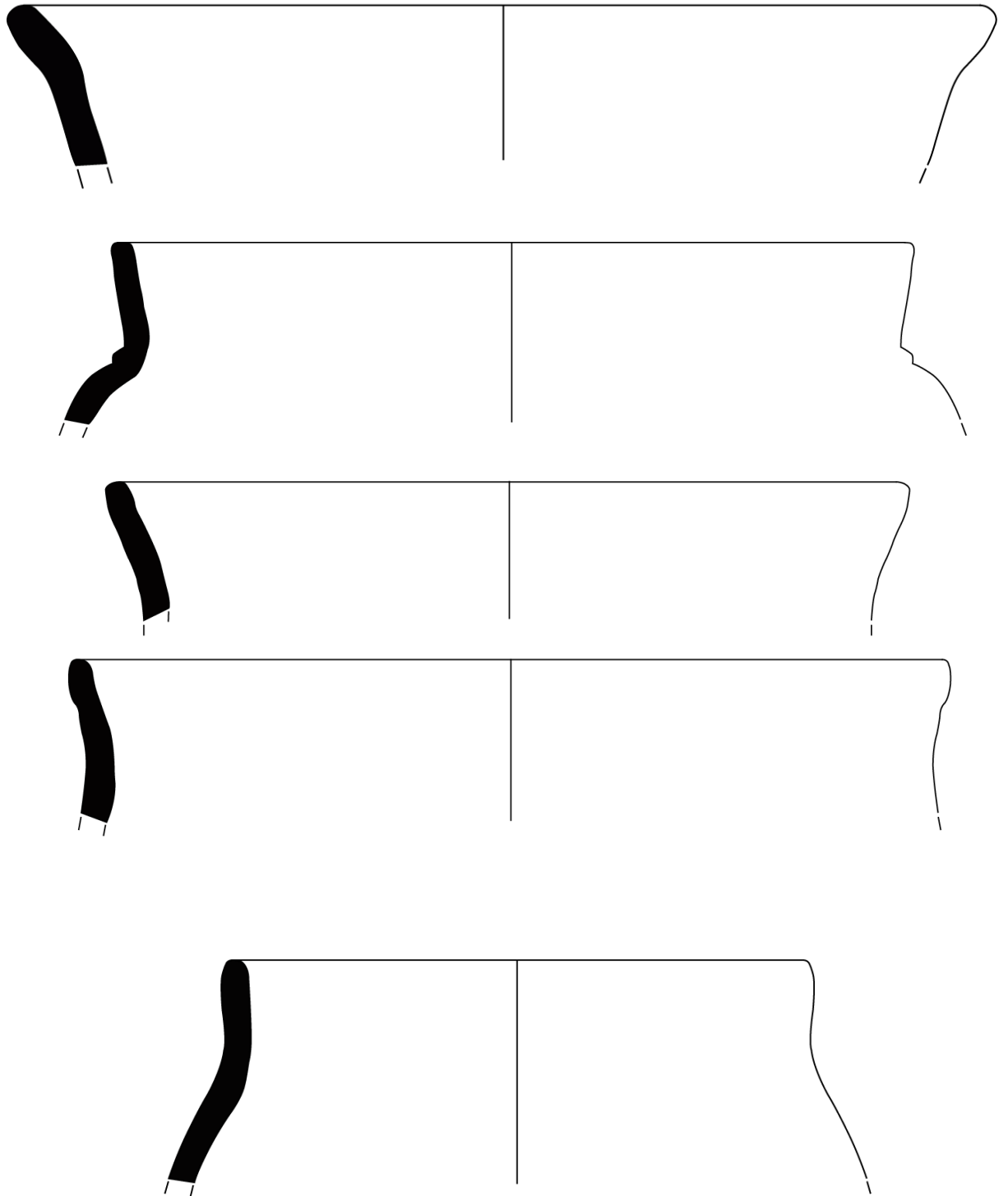


Figure 23

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

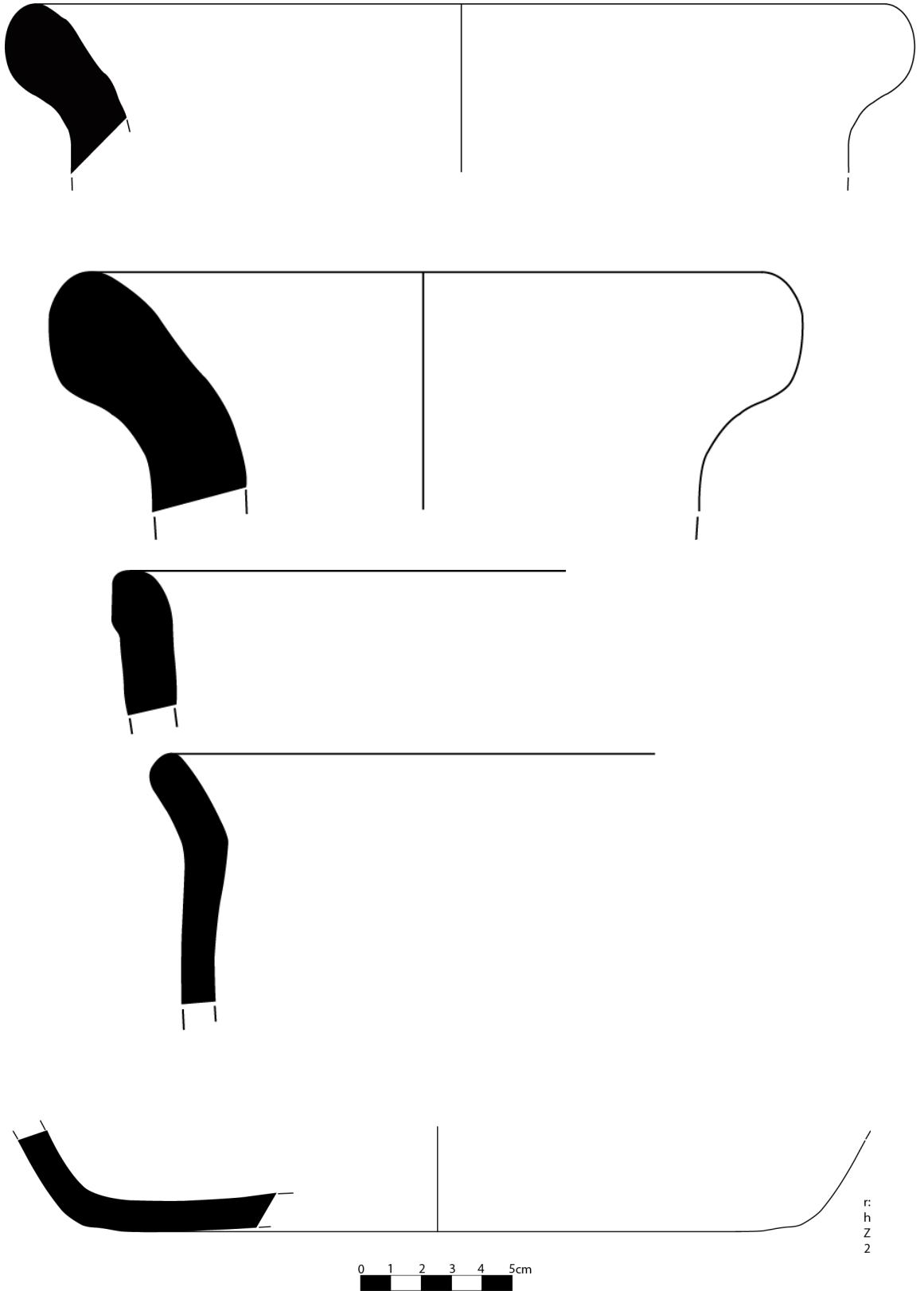


Figure 24

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

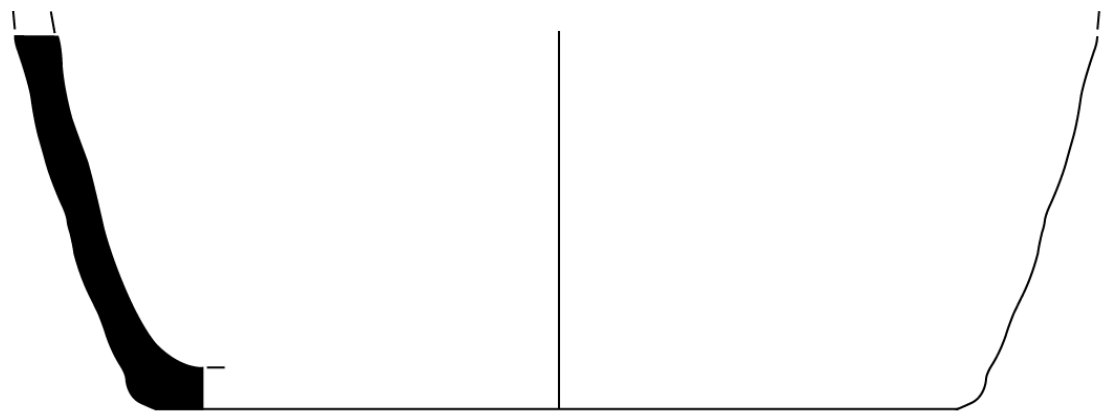
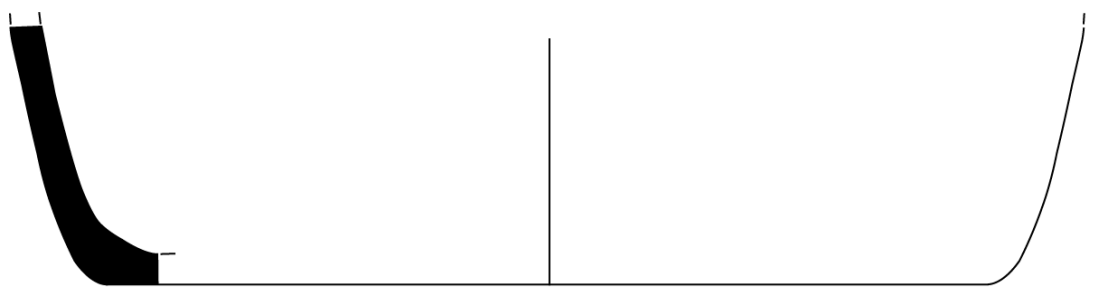
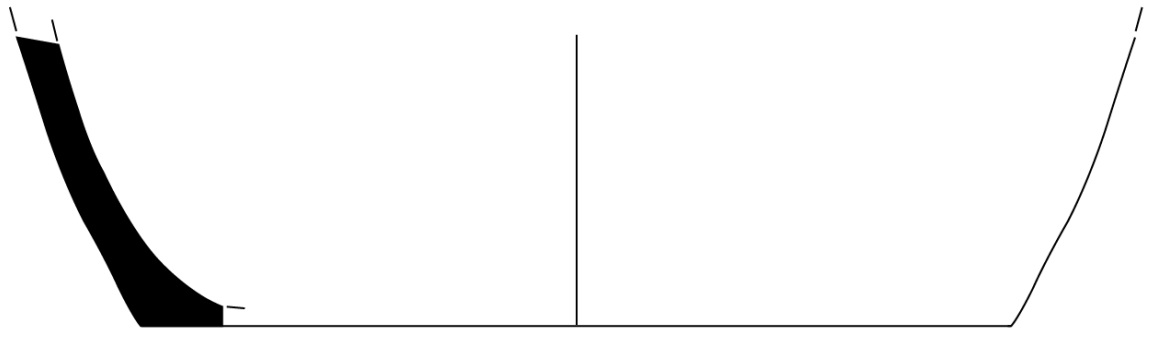


Figure 25

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

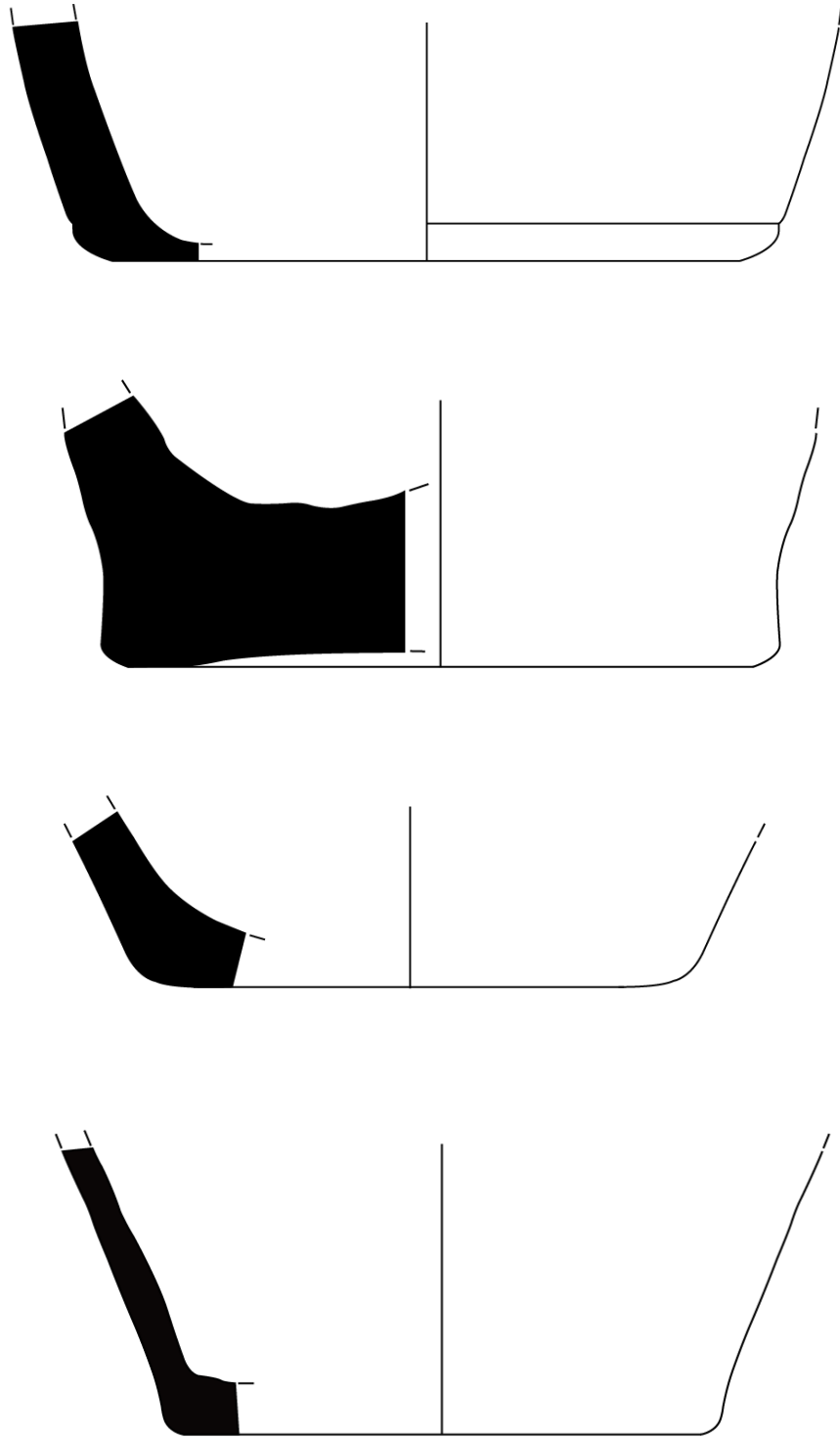


Figure 26

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

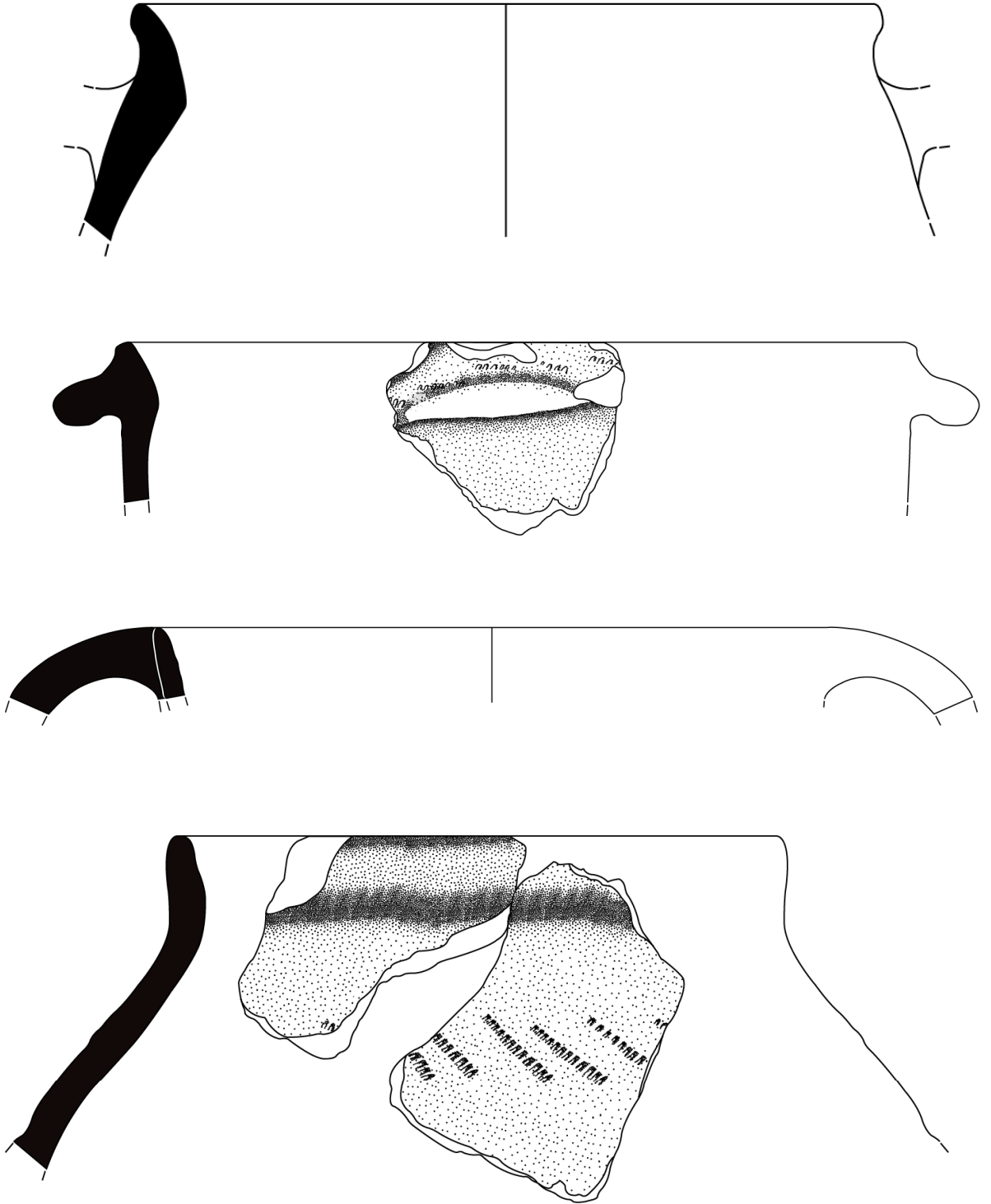


Figure 27

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

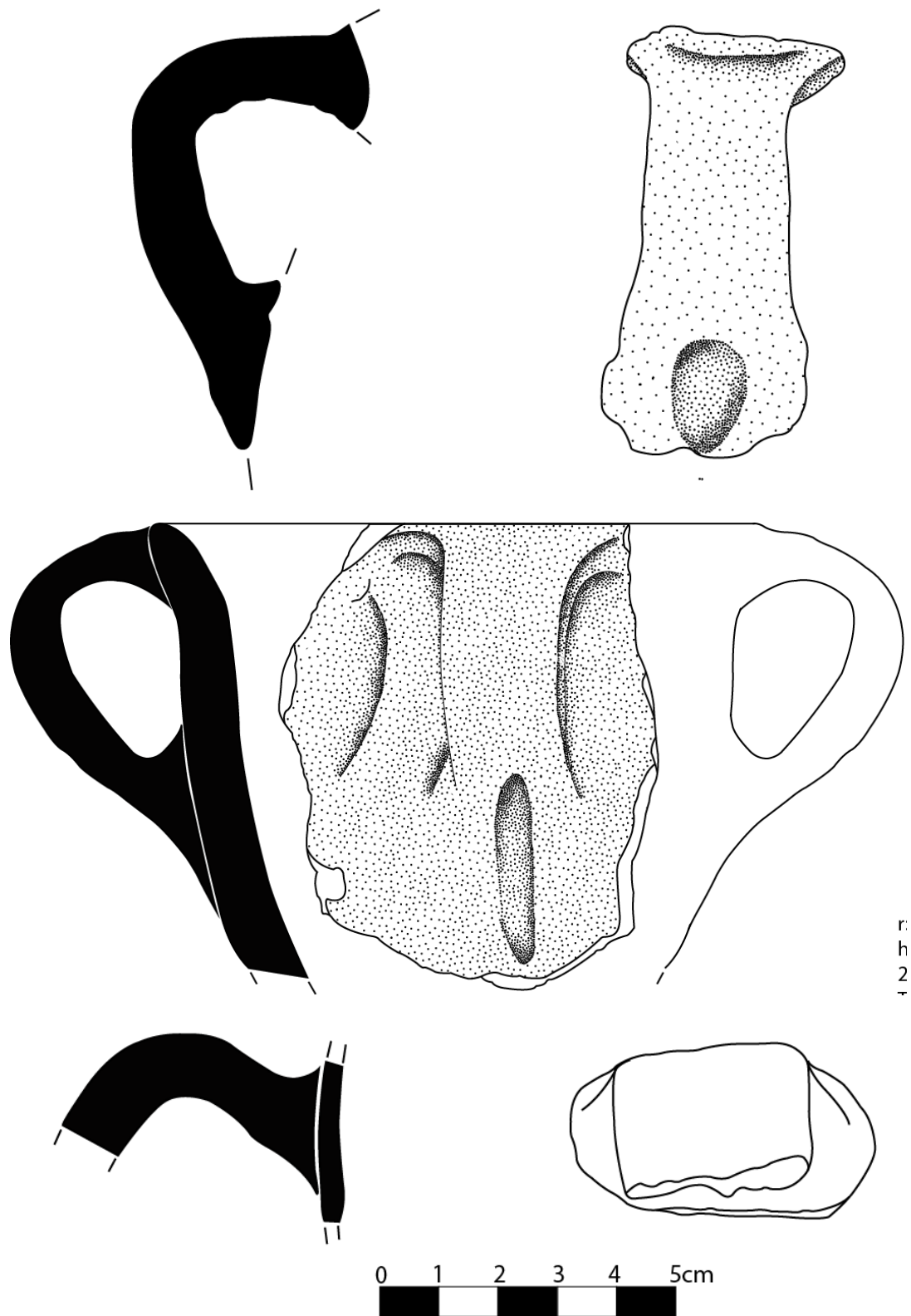


Figure 28

Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

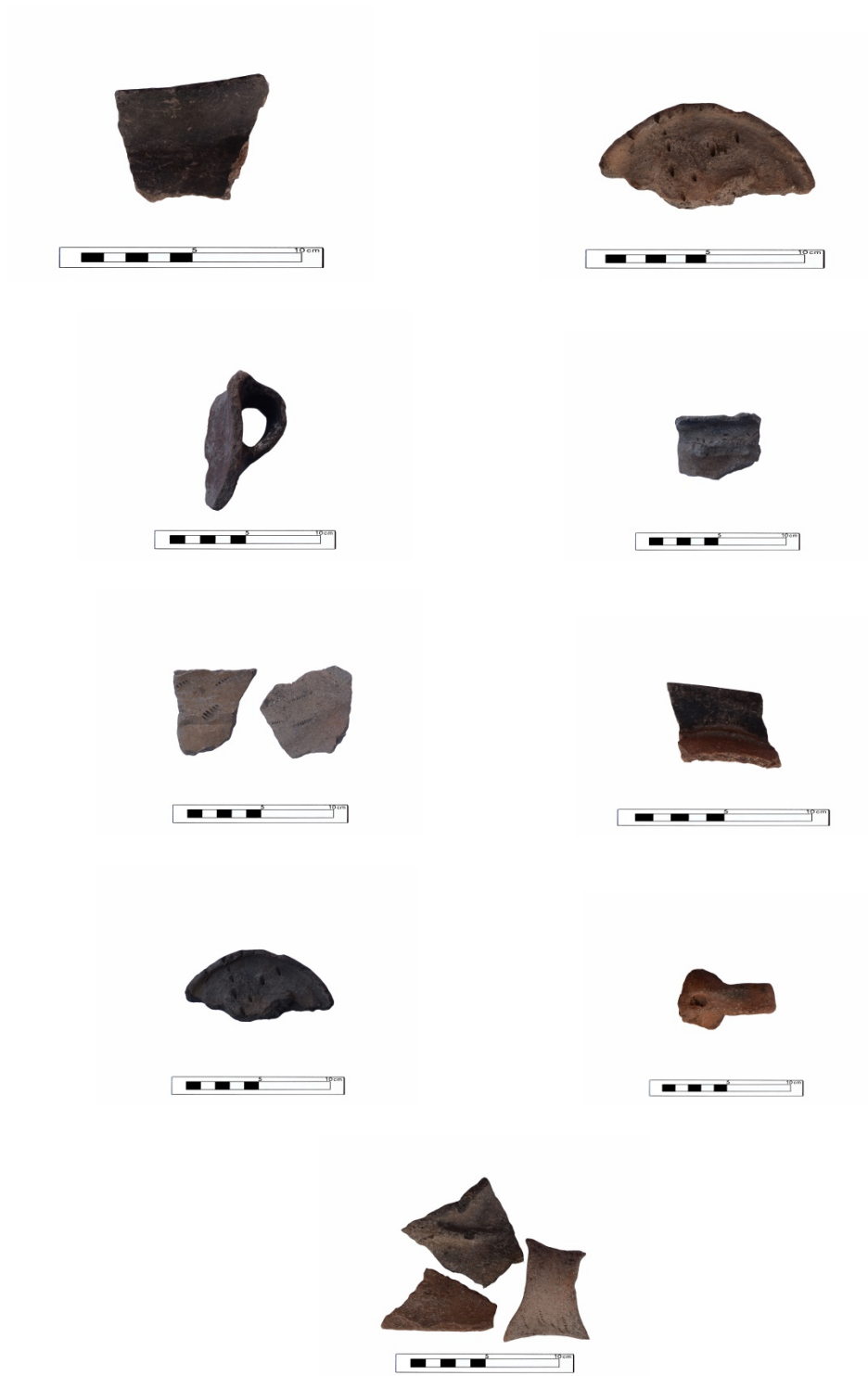


Figure 29

Fragments of Late Medieval Turkish Cooking Ware

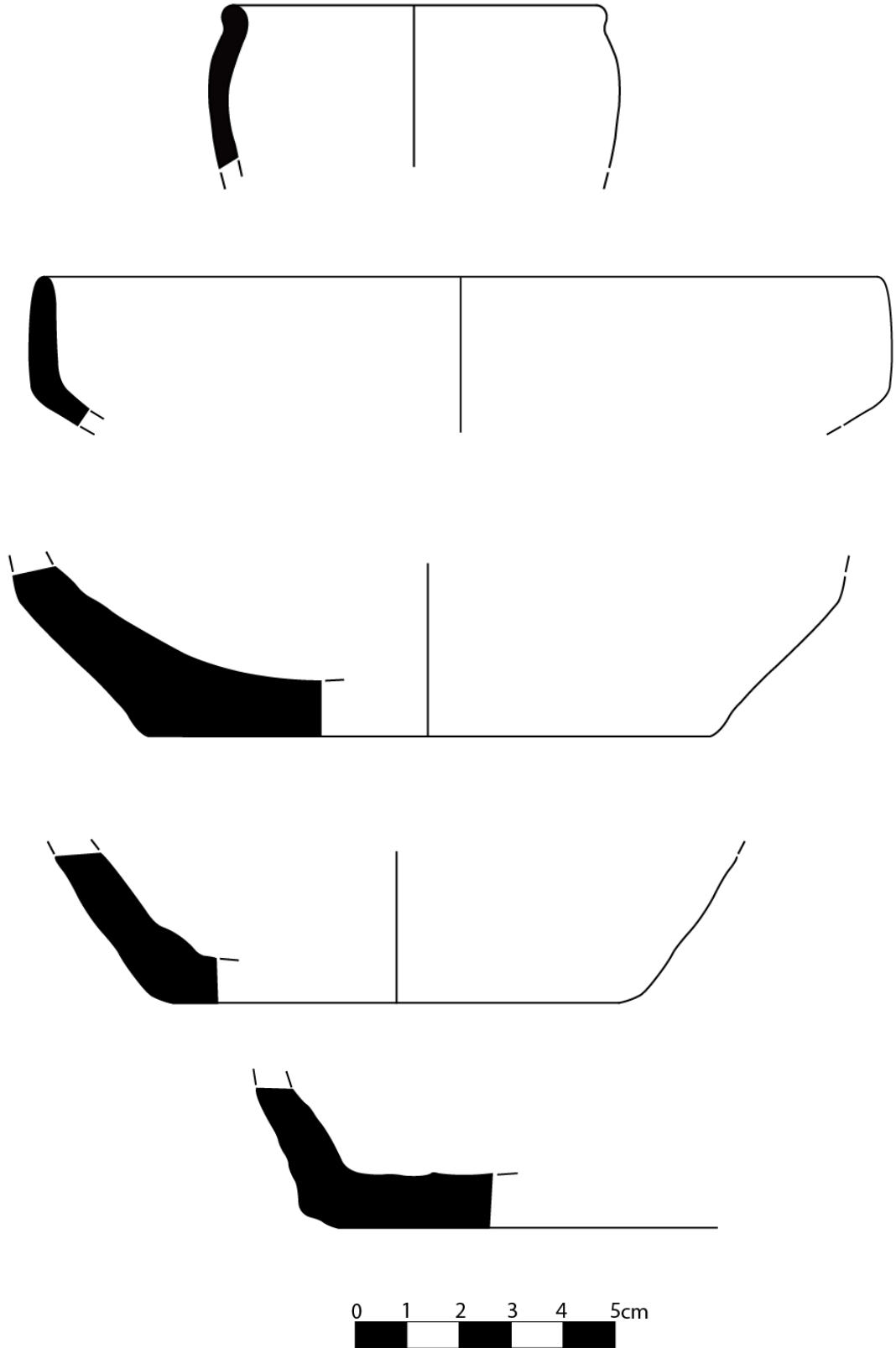


Figure 30

Late Medieval Turkish Red Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)



Figure 31

Fragments of Late Medieval Turkish Red Ware

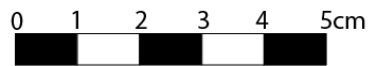
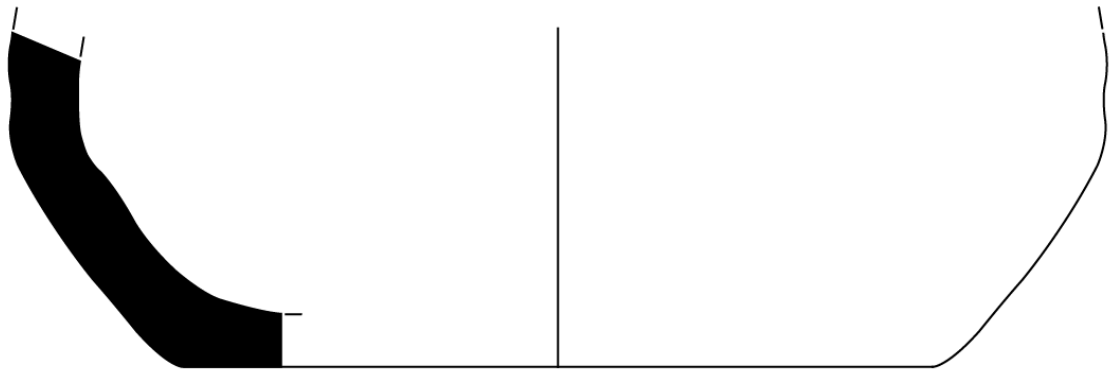
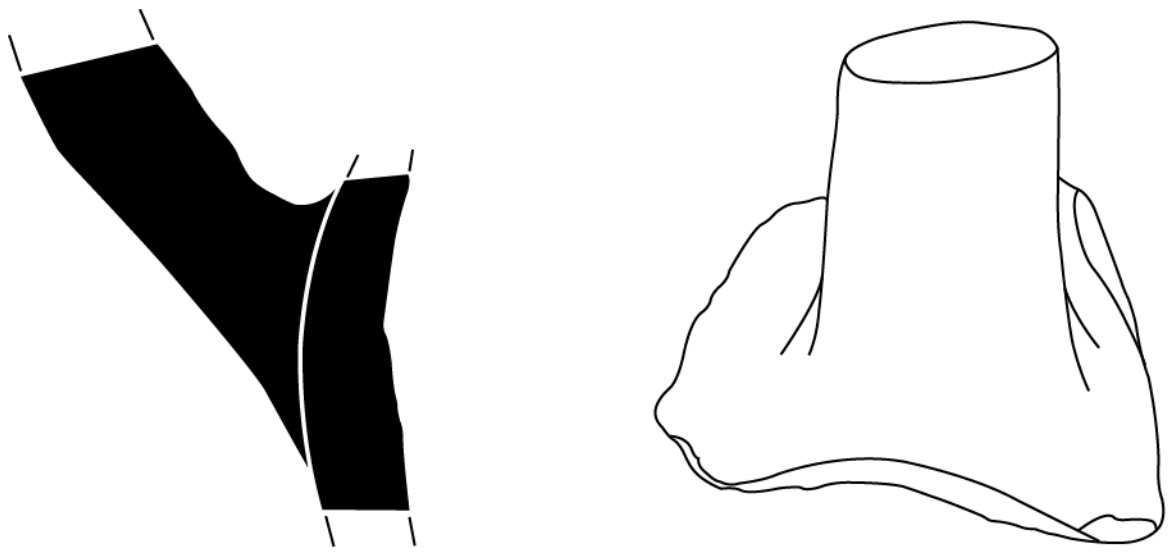


Figure 32

Late Medieval Turkish Cream Buff Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

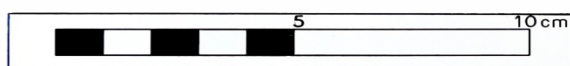
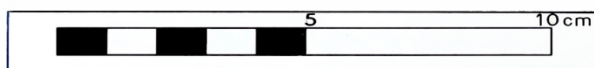


Figure 33

Fragments of Late Medieval Turkish Cream Buff Ware

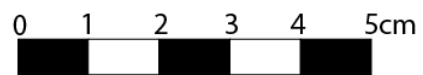
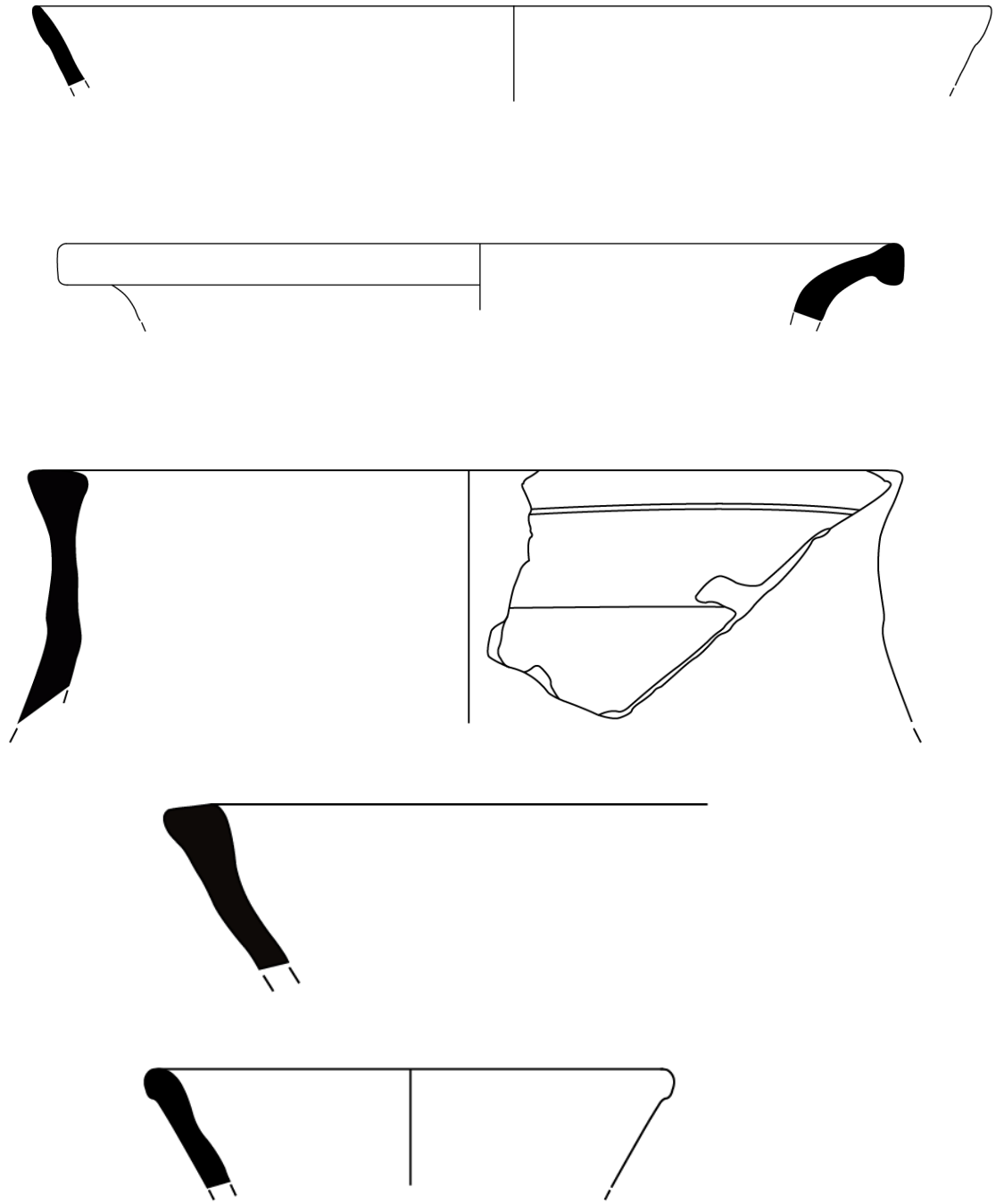


Figure 34

Late Medieval Turkish Fine Red Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

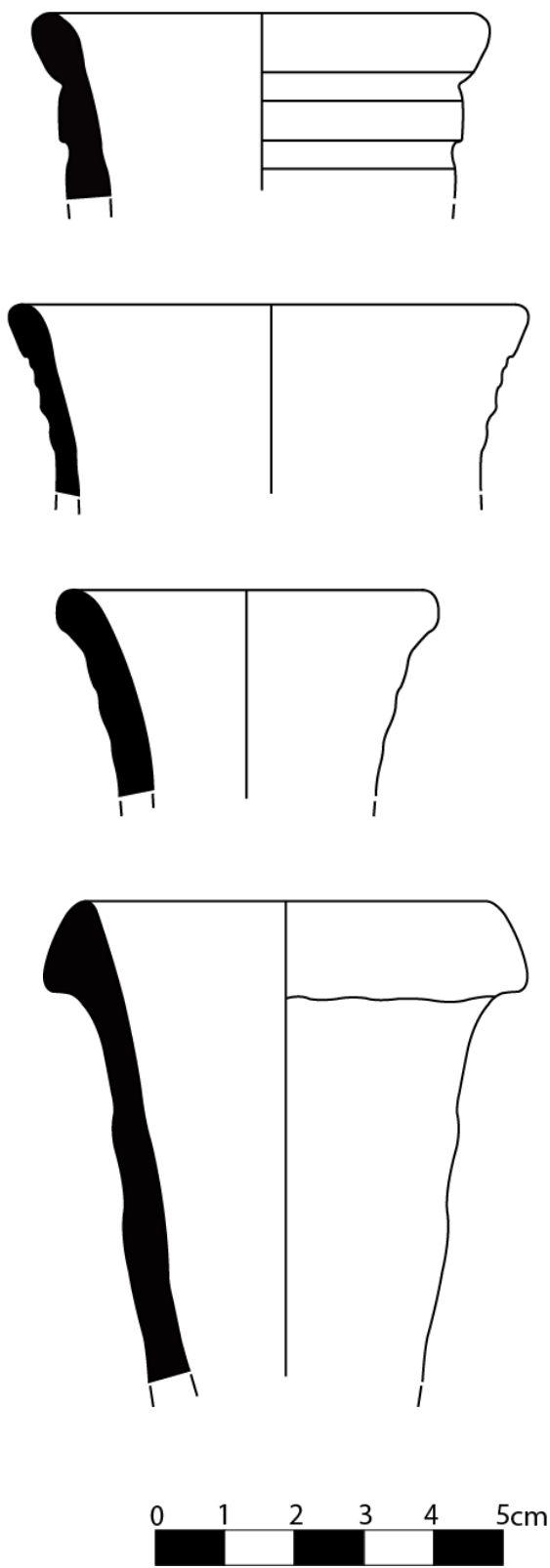


Figure 35

Late Medieval Turkish Fine Red Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

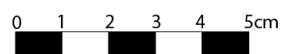
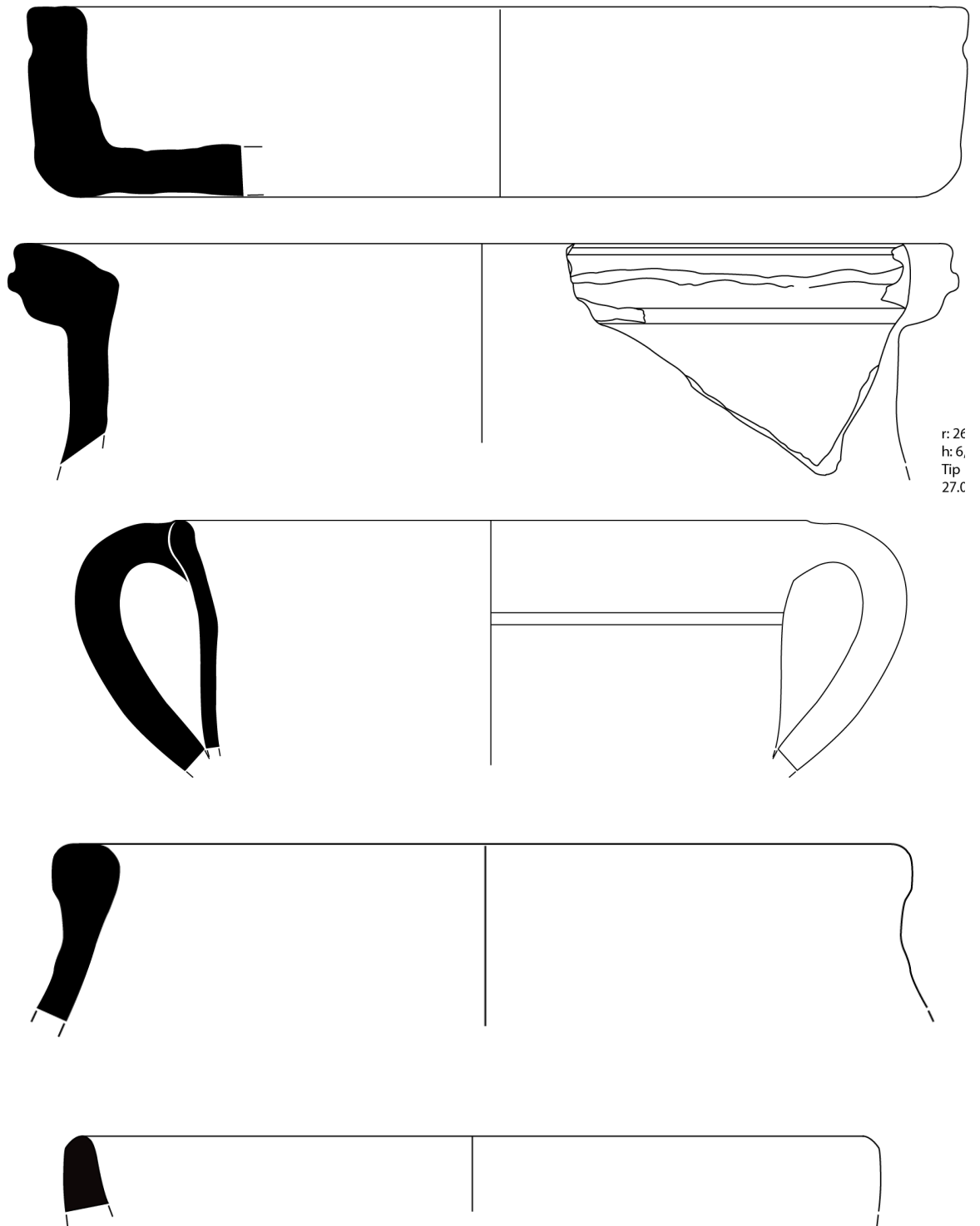


Figure 36

Late Medieval Turkish Fine Red Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

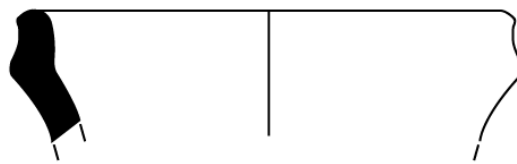
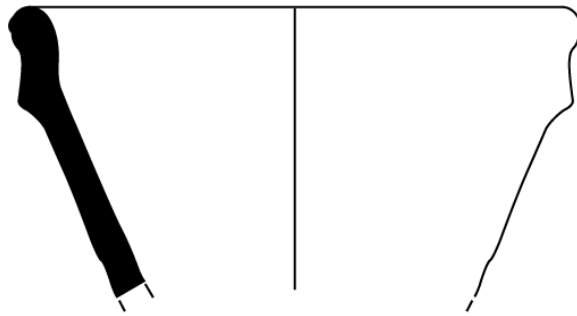
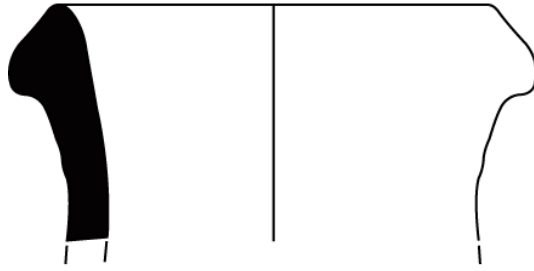
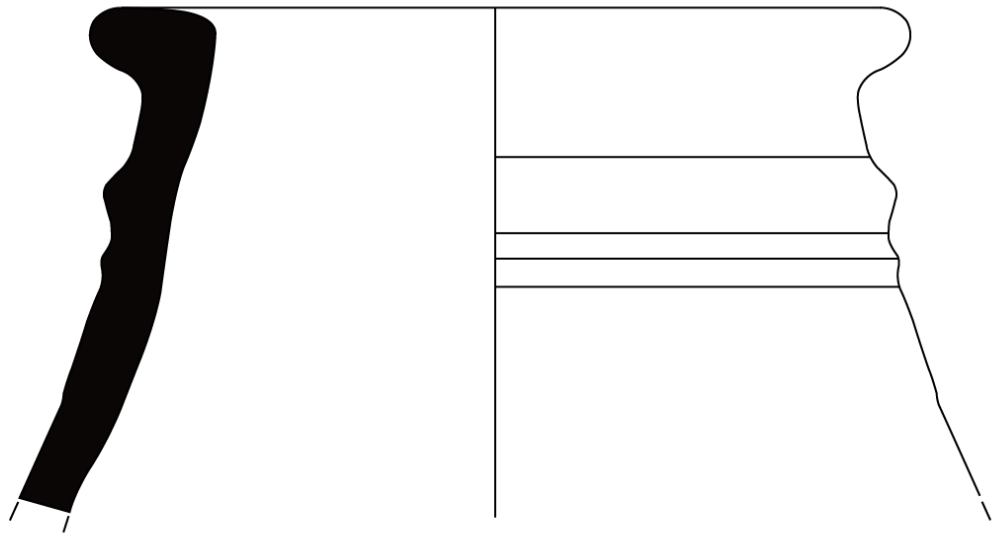


Figure 37

Late Medieval Turkish Fine Red Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

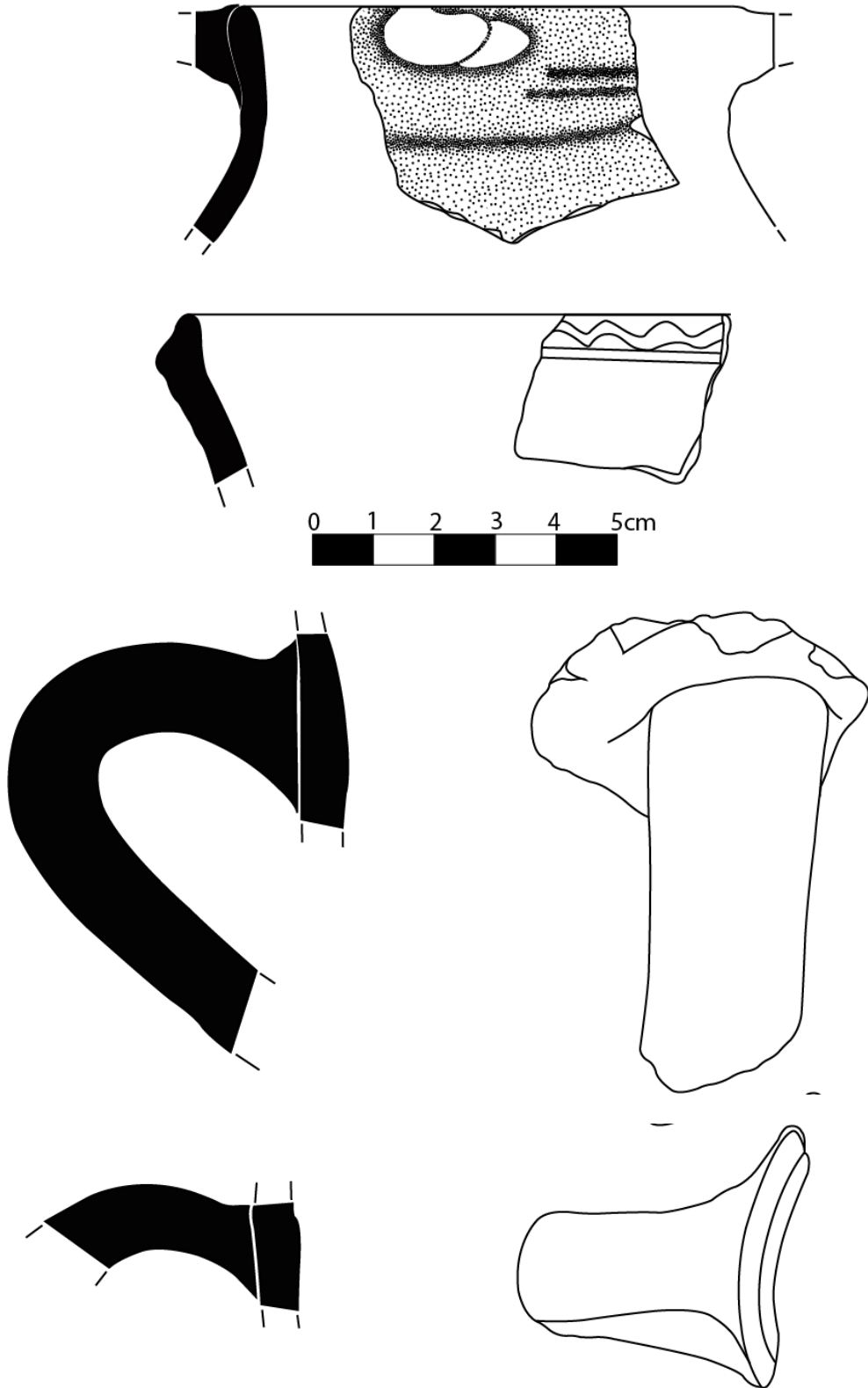


Figure 38

Late Medieval Turkish Fine Red Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

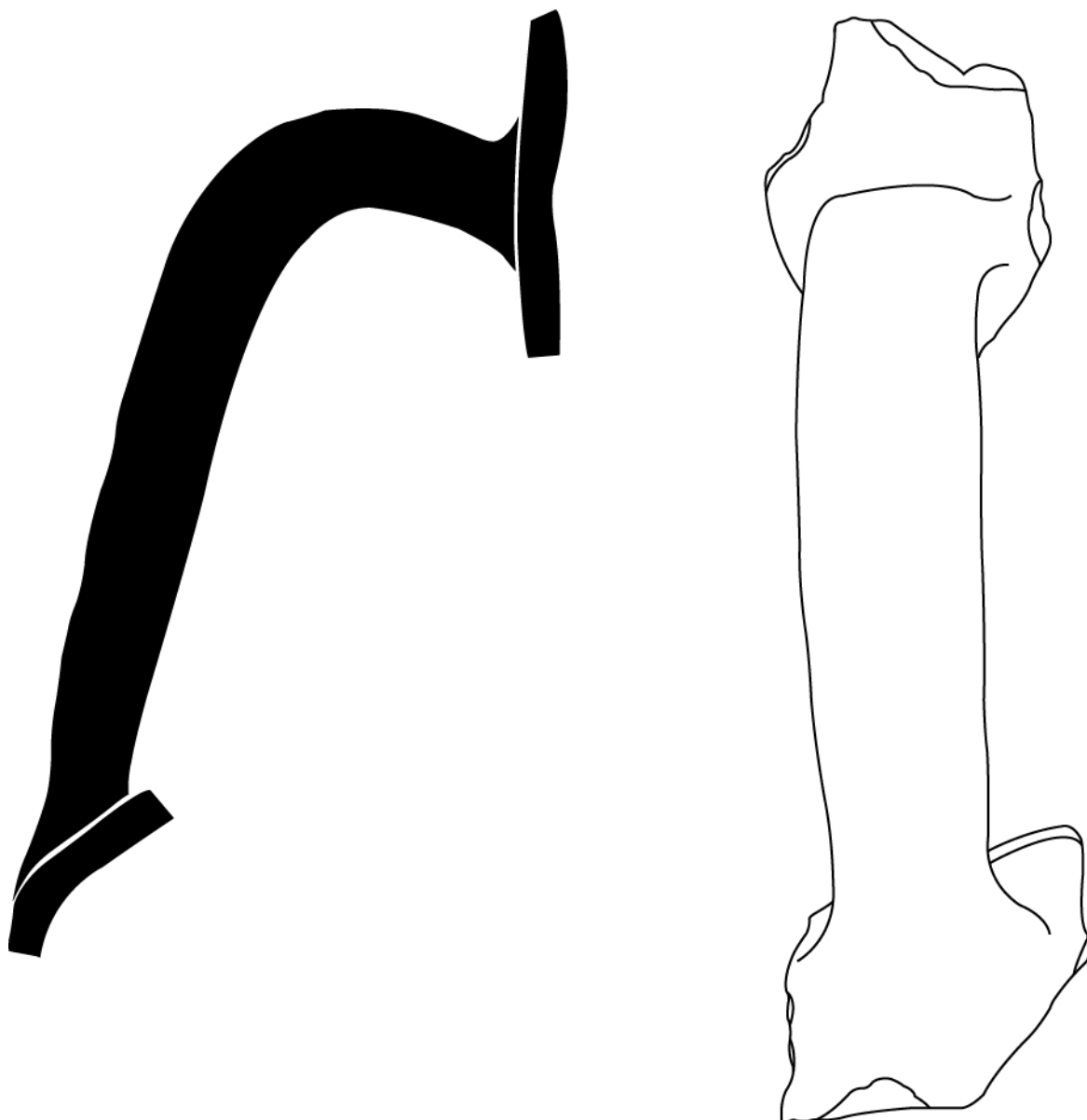


Figure 39

Late Medieval Turkish Fine Red Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalıřkan)

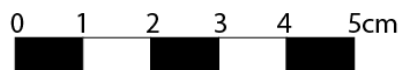
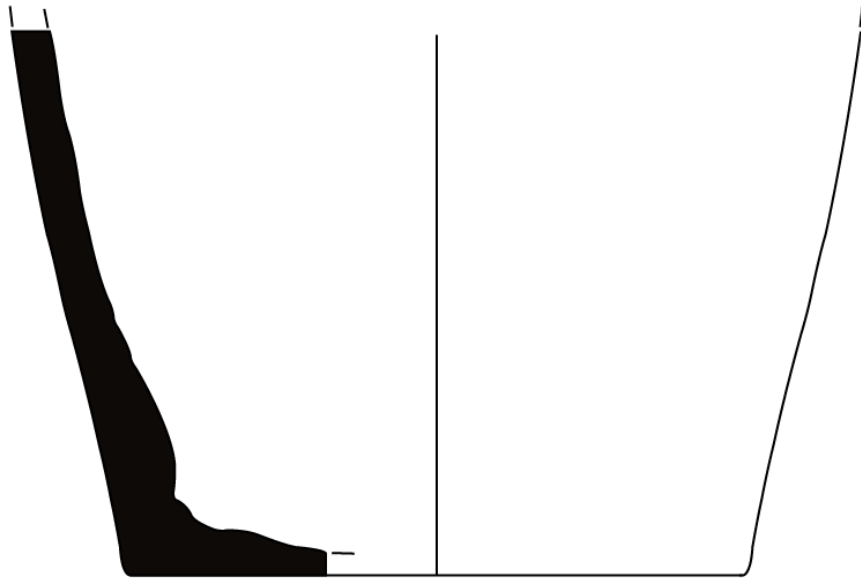
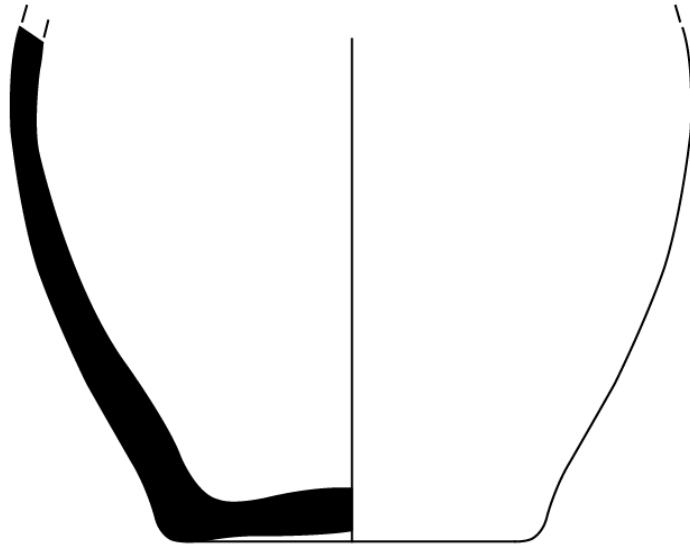
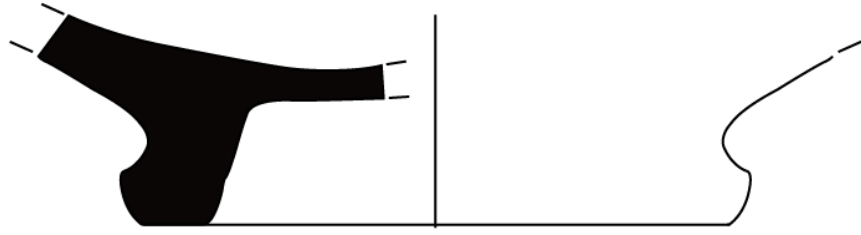


Figure 40

Late Medieval Turkish Fine Red Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)



Figure 41

Fragments of Late Medieval Turkish Fine Red Slip Ware

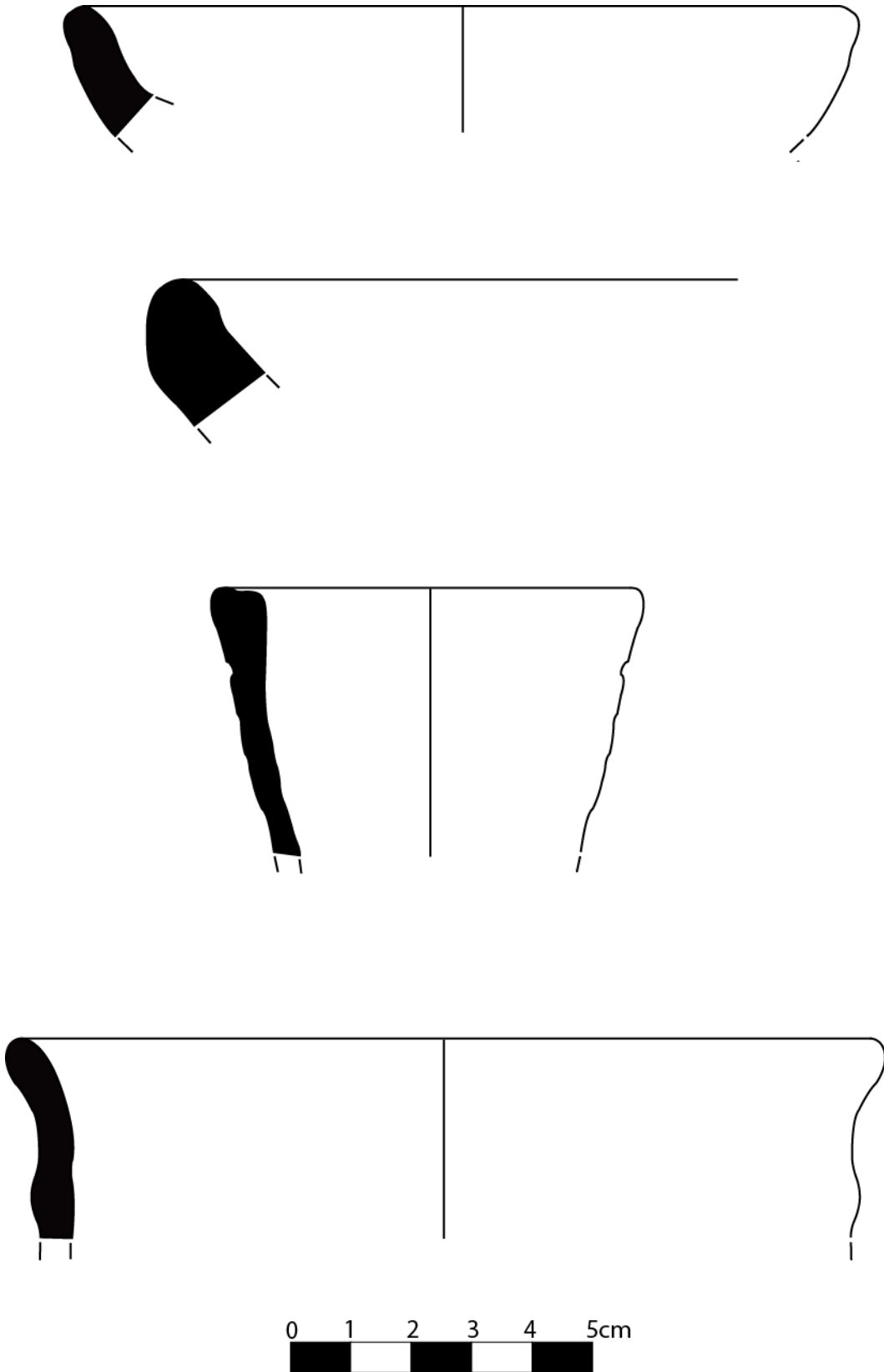
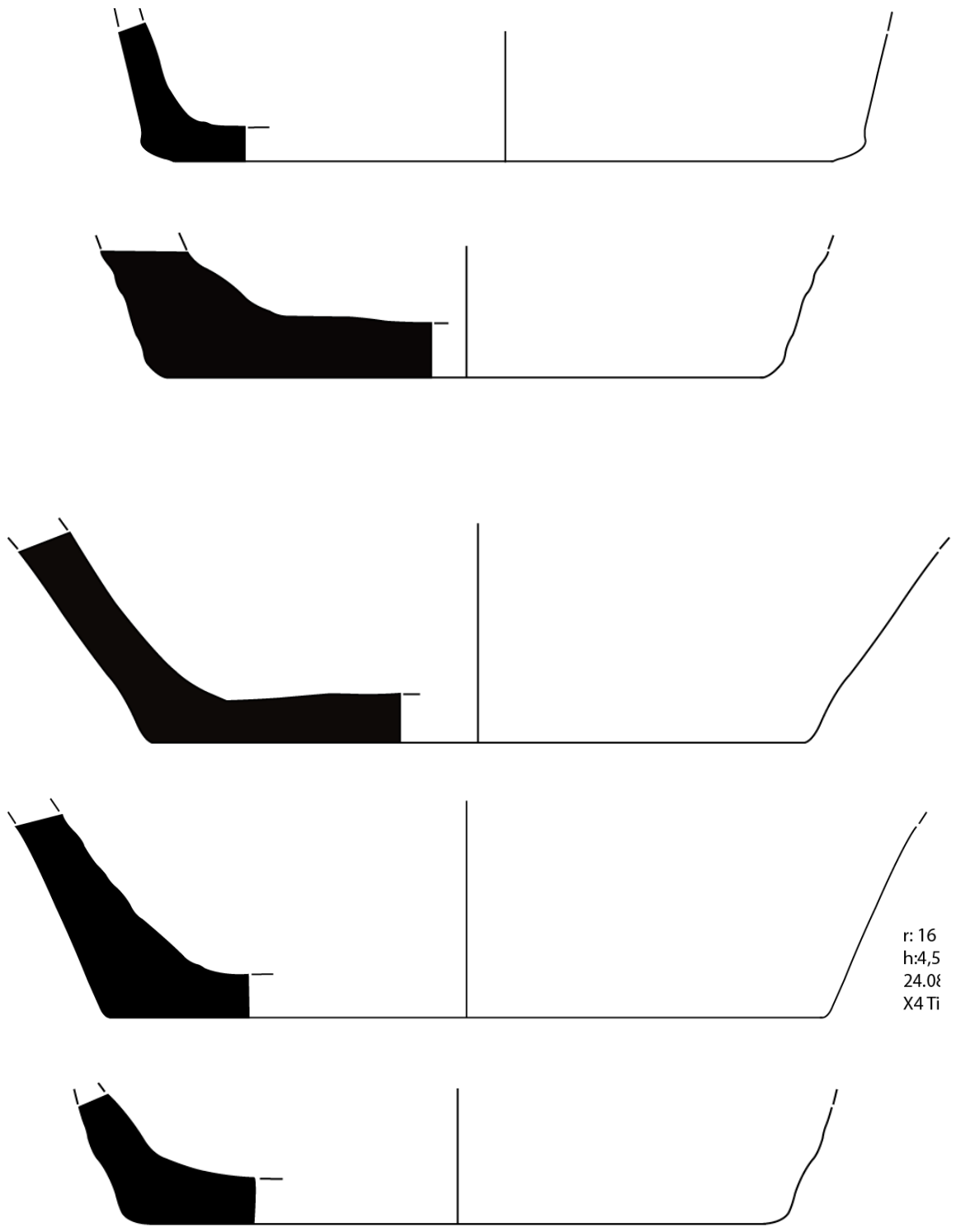


Figure 42

Late Medieval Turkish Coarse Red Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)



r: 16
h:4,5
24.0ø
X4Ti



Figure 43

Late Medieval Turkish Coarse Red Slip Ware
(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)



Figure 44

Fragments of Late Medieval Turkish Coarse Red Slip Ware

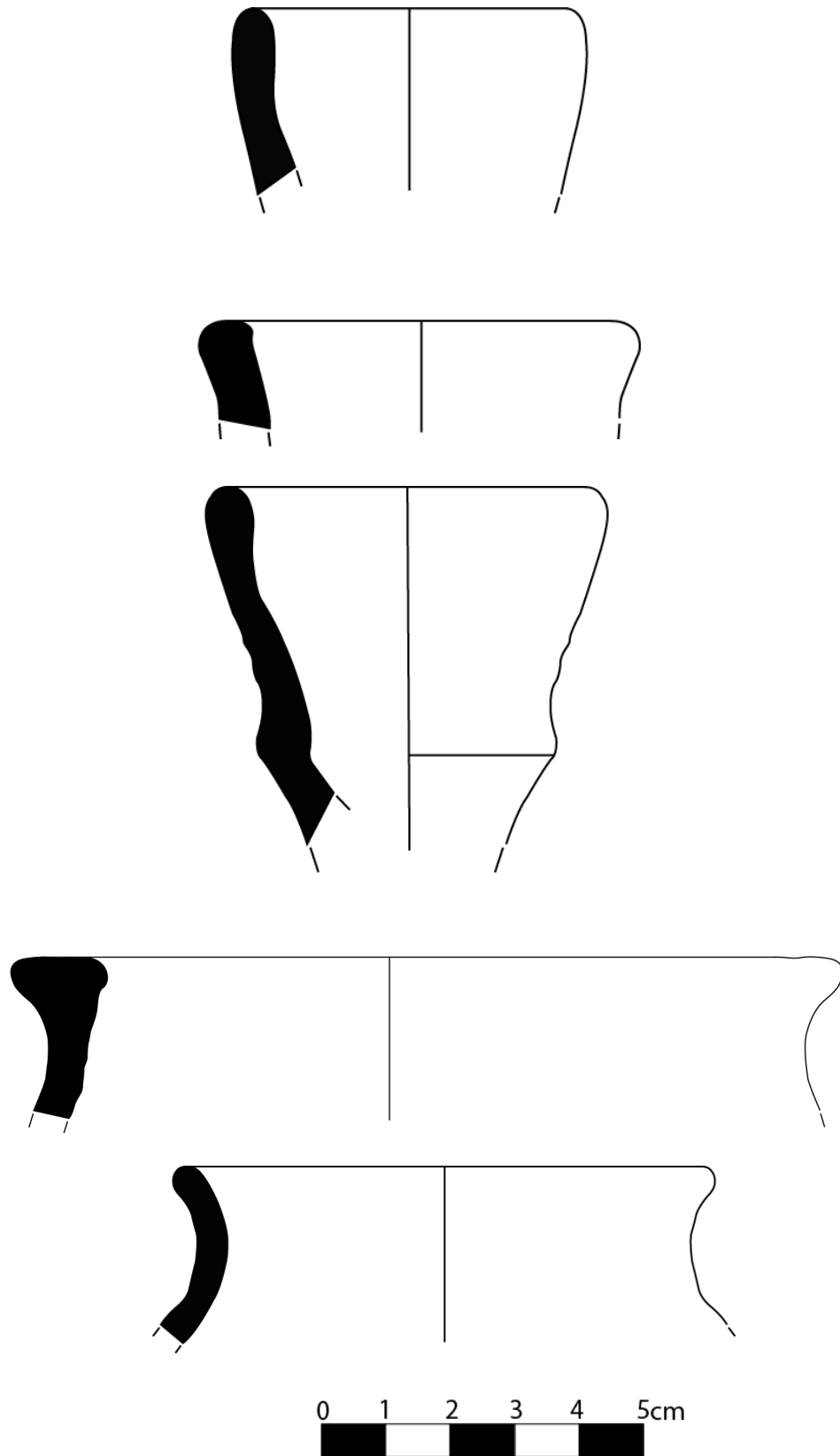


Figure 45

Late Medieval Turkish Cream Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

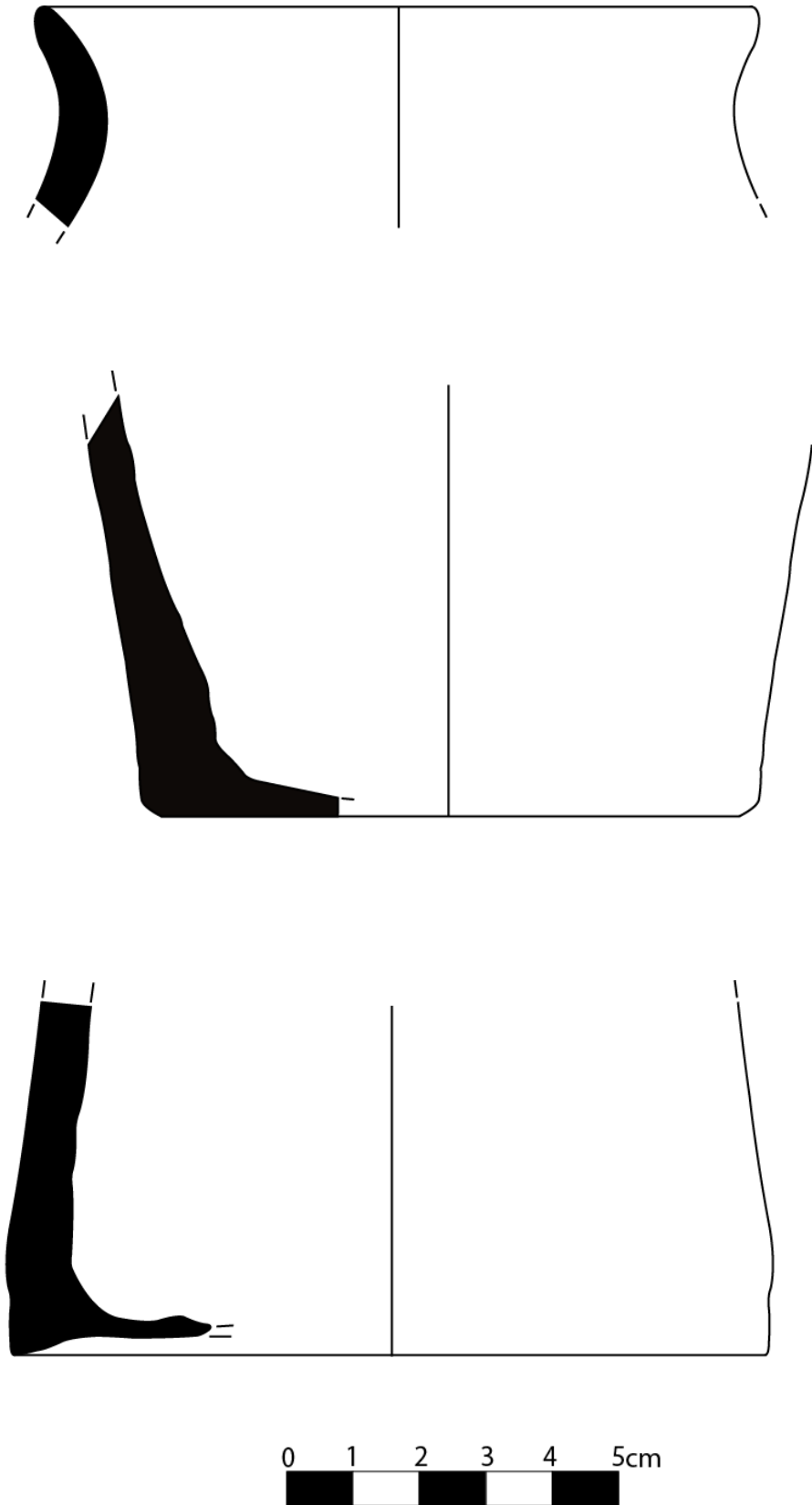


Figure 46

Late Medieval Turkish Cream Slip Ware

(from Karacahisar Excavation, drawn by S. Çalışkan)

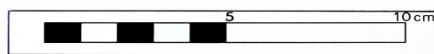
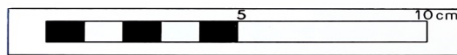


Figure 47

Fragments of Late Medieval Turkish Cream Slip Ware

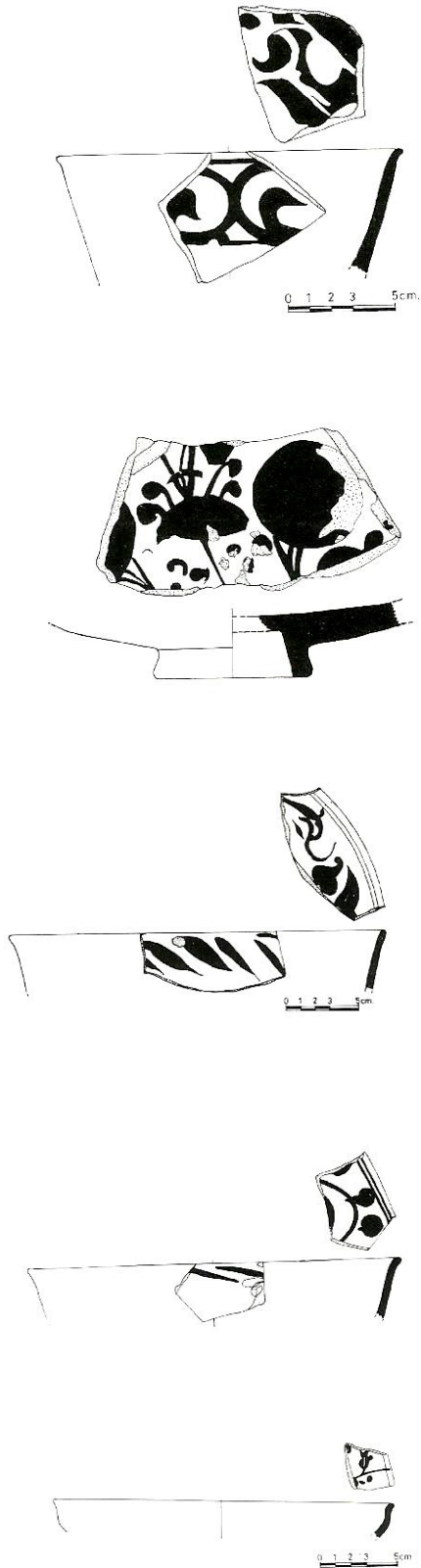


Figure 48

Turkish Slip Painted Ware

(after Fındık 2001)

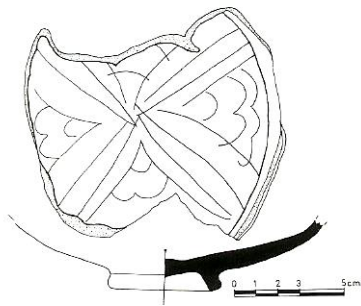
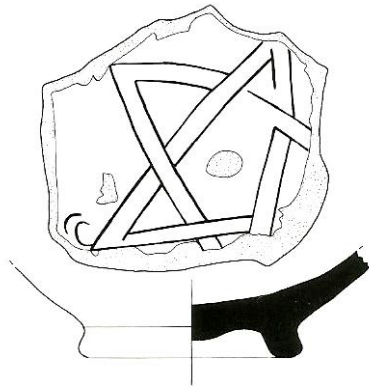
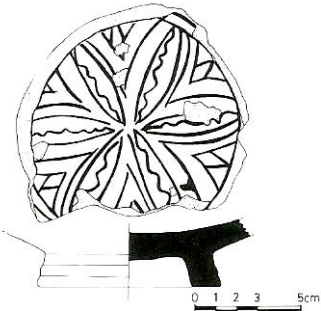
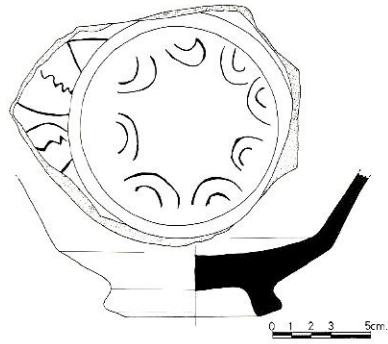


Figure 49
Turkish Sgraffito Ware
(after Findik 2001)

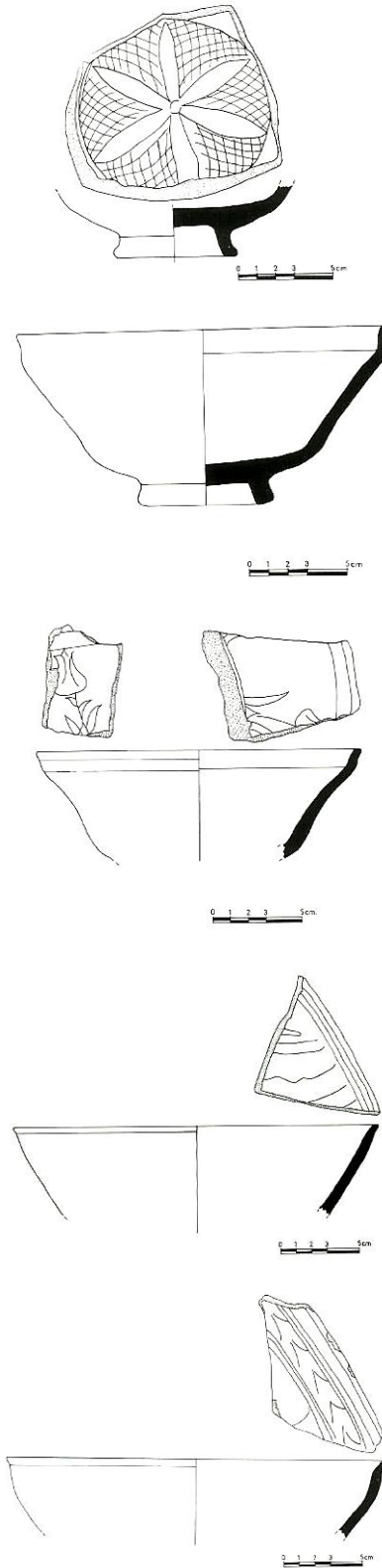


Figure 50
Turkish Sgraffito Ware
(after Fındık 2001)

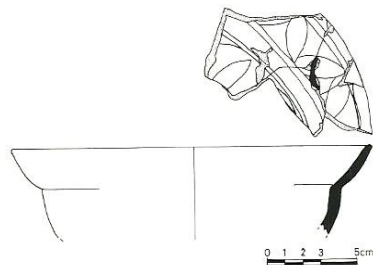
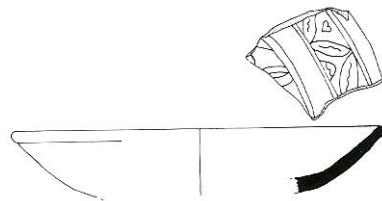
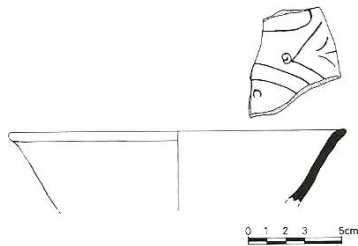
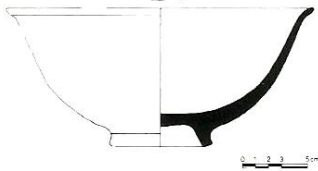
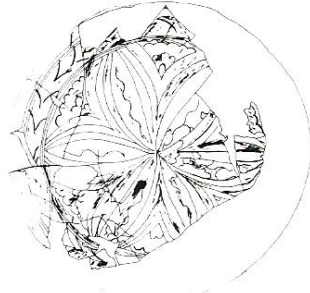
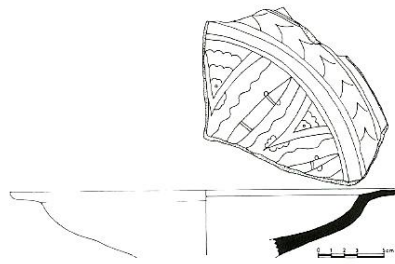


Figure 51
Turkish Sgraffito Ware
(after Fındık 2001)

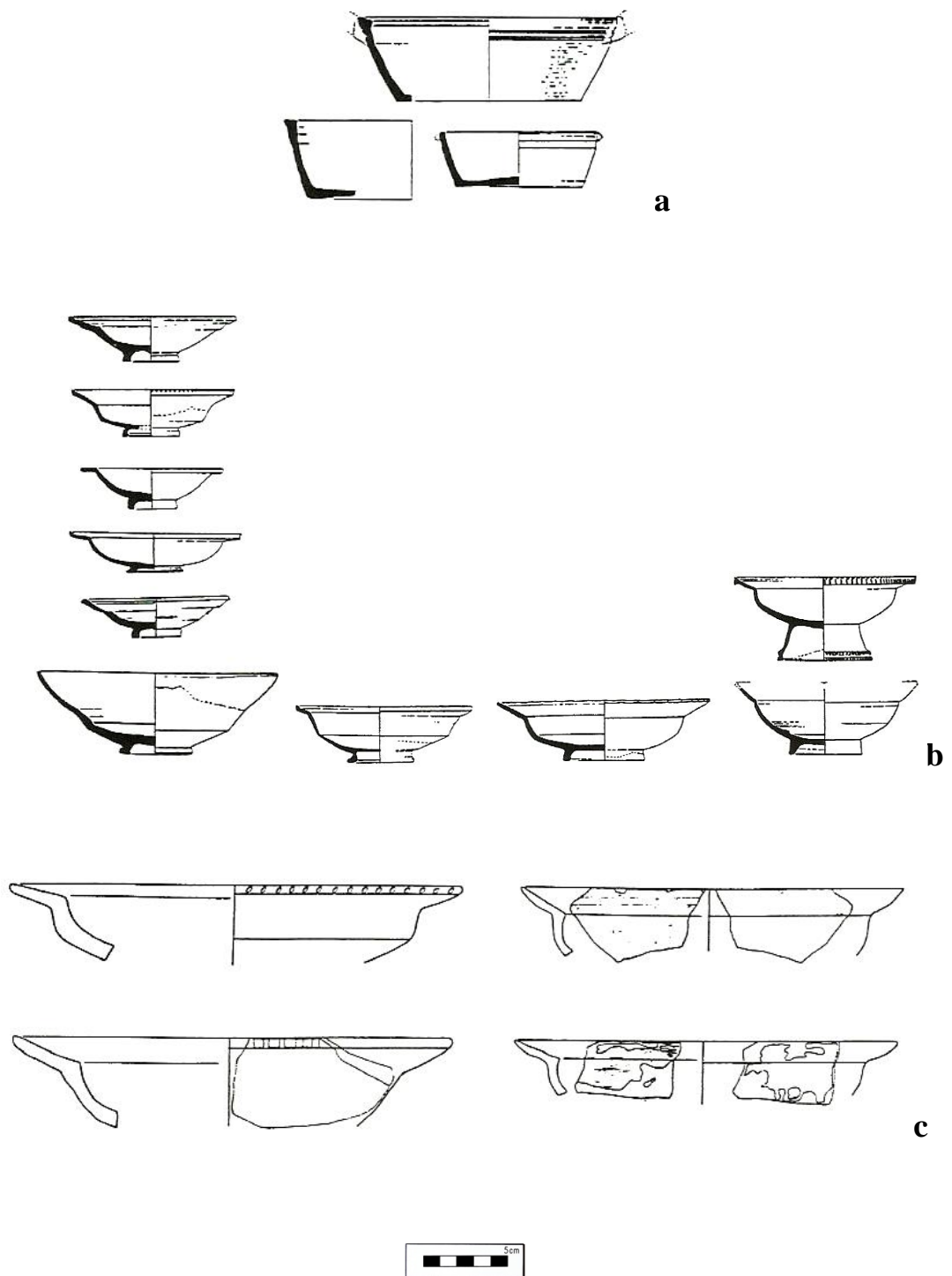


Figure 52

Turkish Monochrome Glazed Ware

(a – b: after Hayes 1992; c: after Vroom 2003)

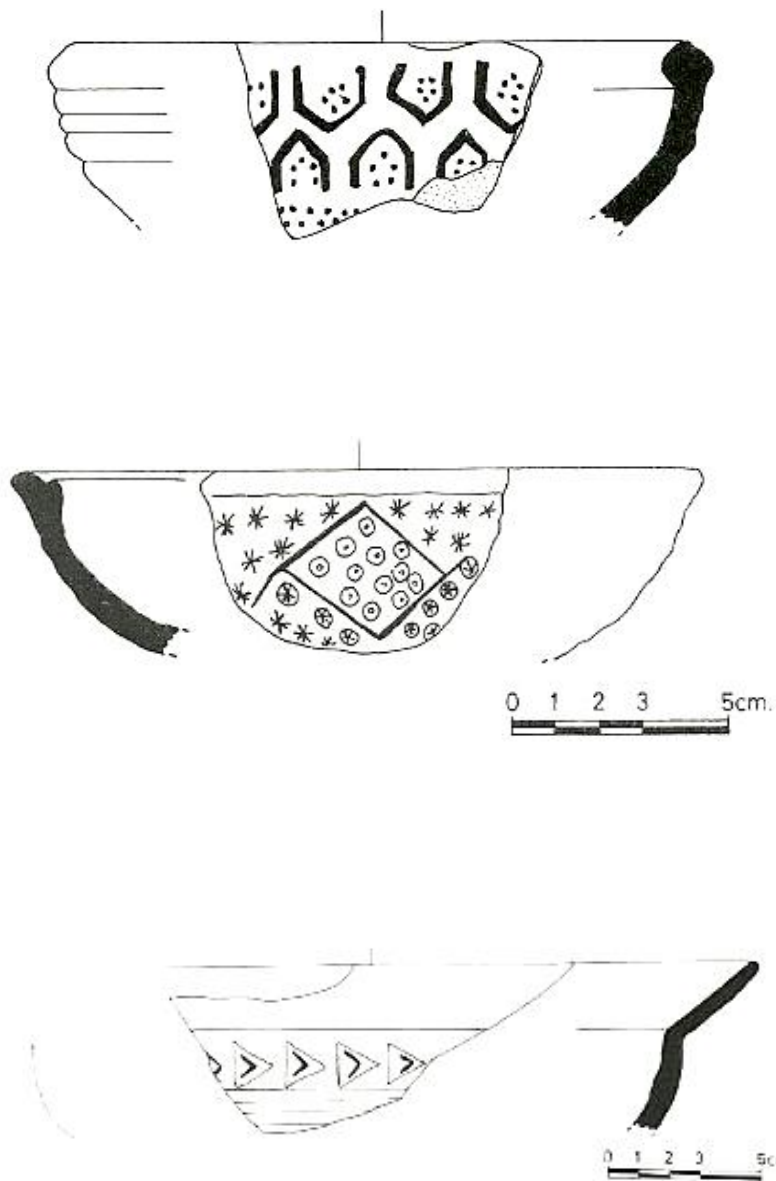


Figure 53
Turkish Stamped Ware
(after Fındık 2001)

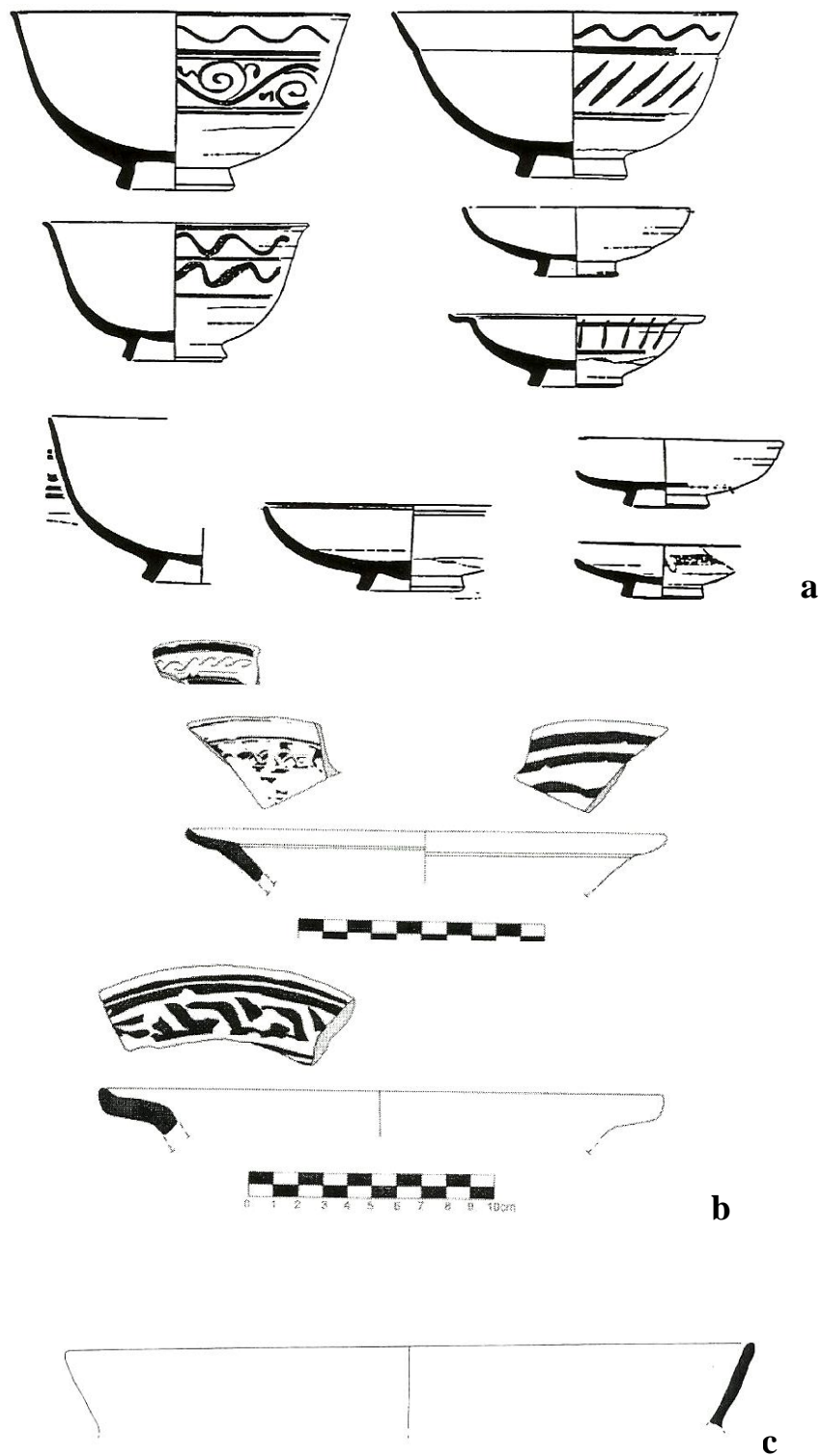
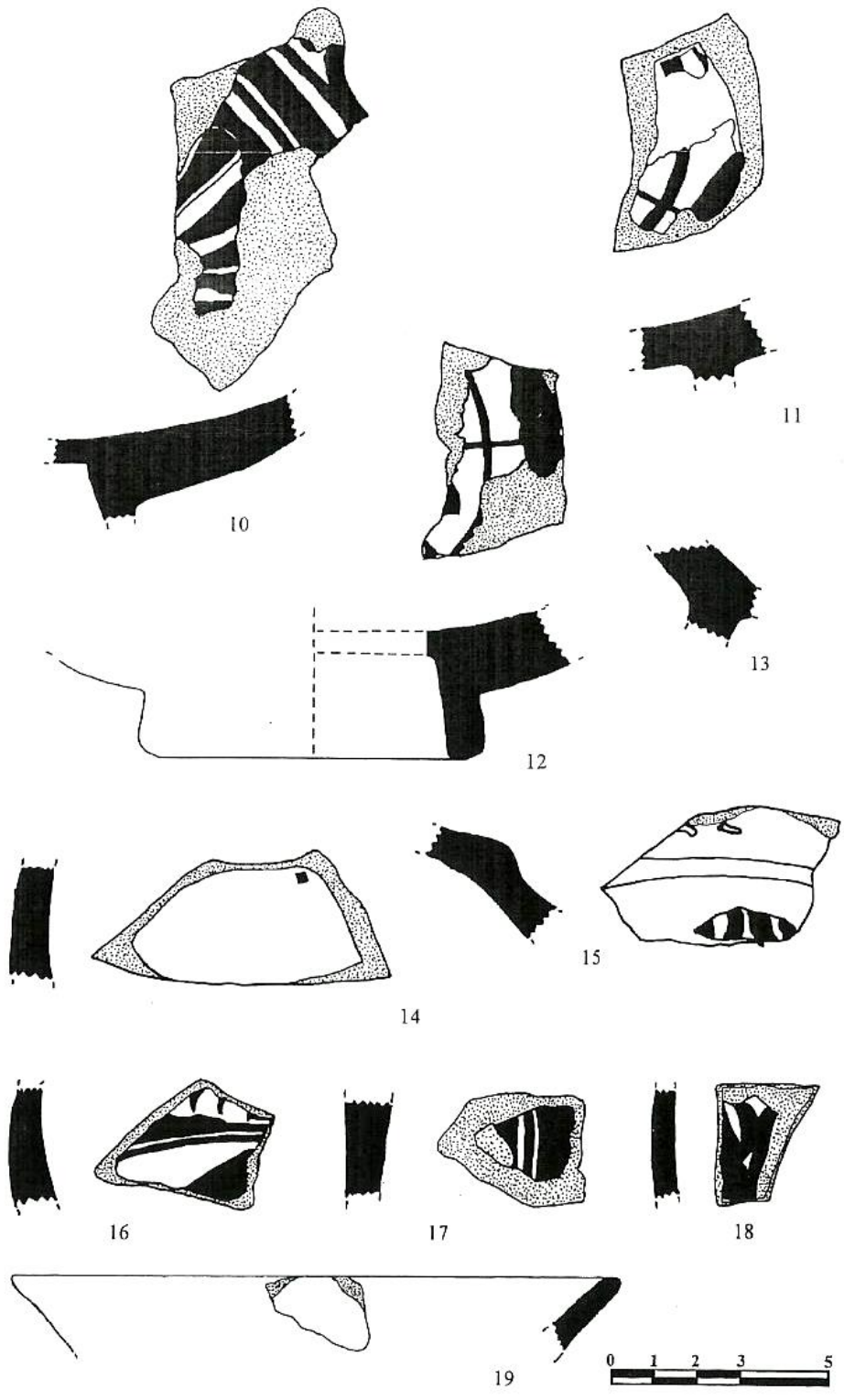


Figure 54

Miletus Ware

(a: after Hayes 1992; b: after Altınsapan *et. al.* 2007; c: after Hayes 1995)

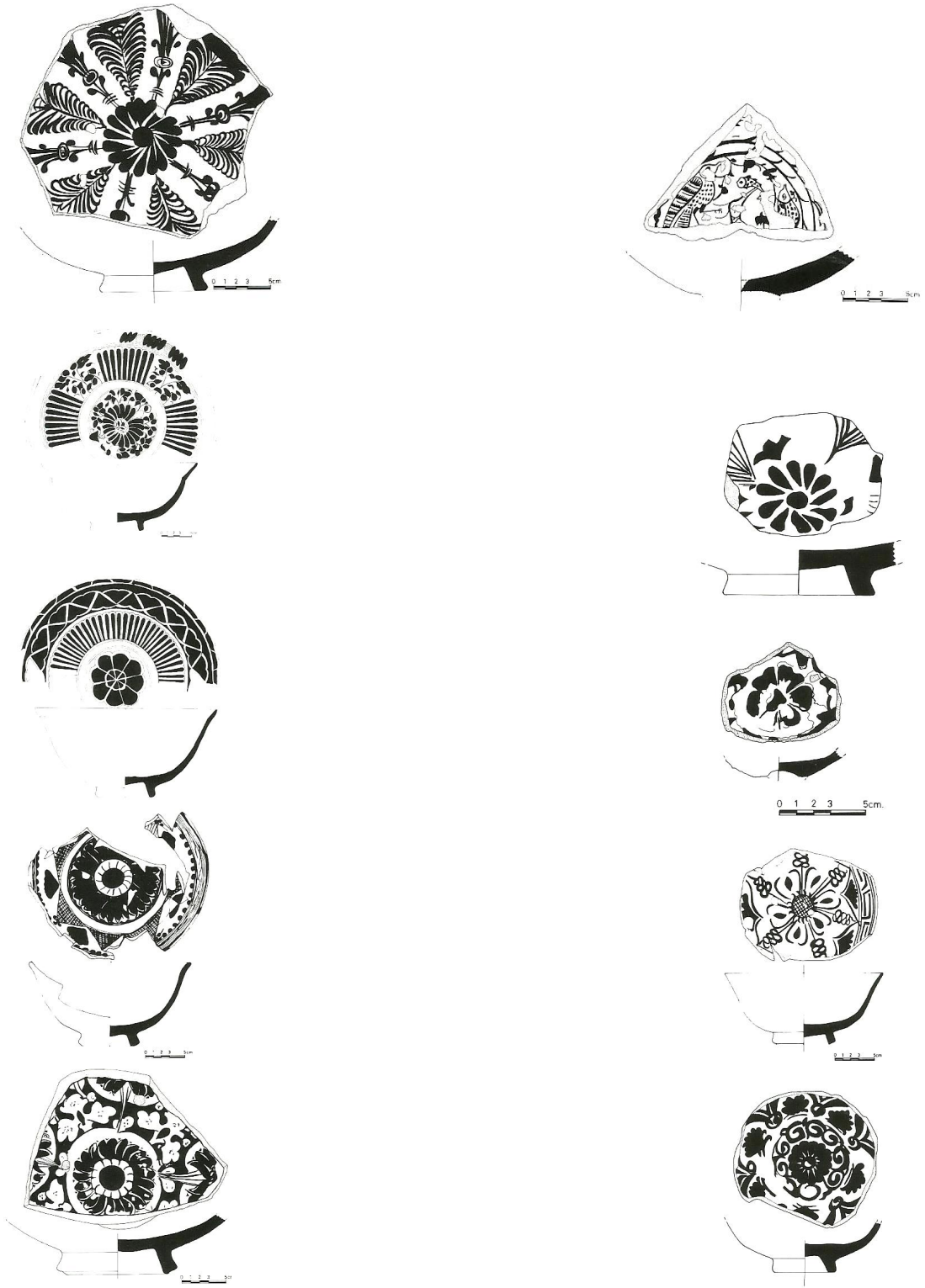


d

Figure 55

Miletus Ware

(d: after Fındık: 2003)

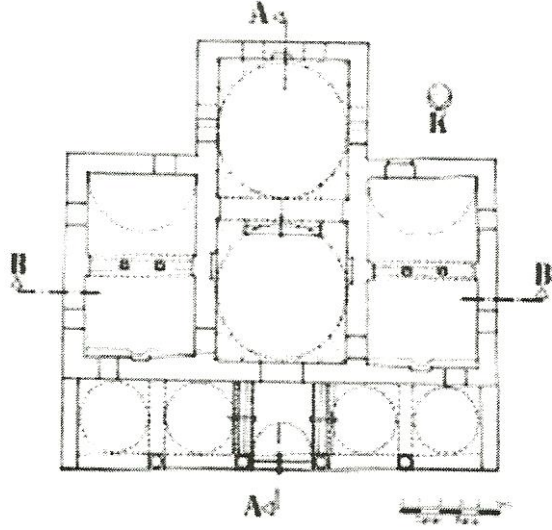


e

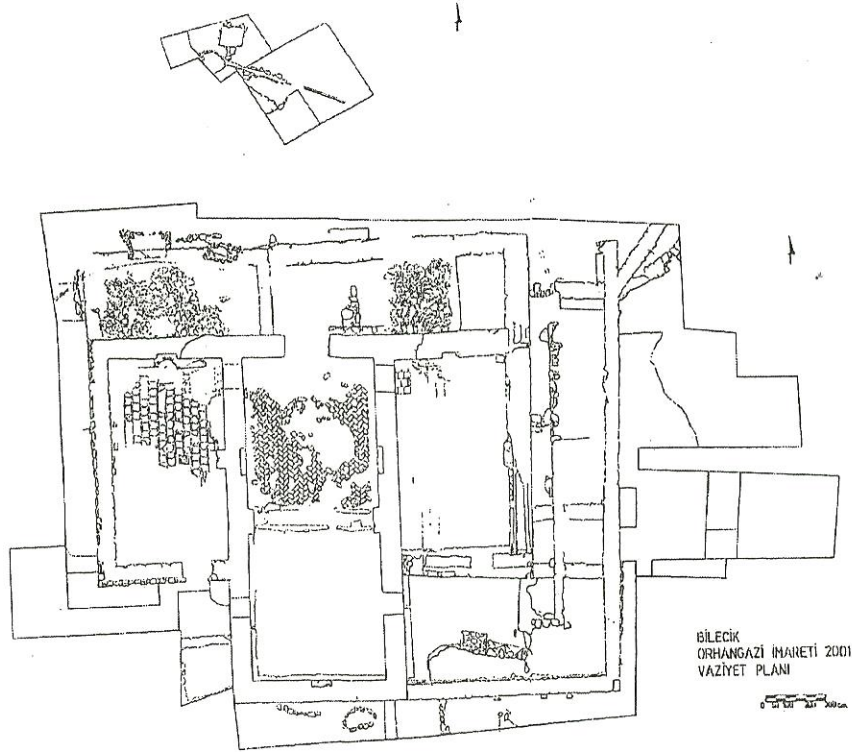
Figure 56

Miletus Ware

(e: after Findık 2001)



a



b

Figure 57

Architectural Plan of Bilecik Orhan Gazi İmarethanesi

(a: Altınsapan 2003: 87; b: Altınsapan 2003: 105)



Figure 58

Columns of Beştaş

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)

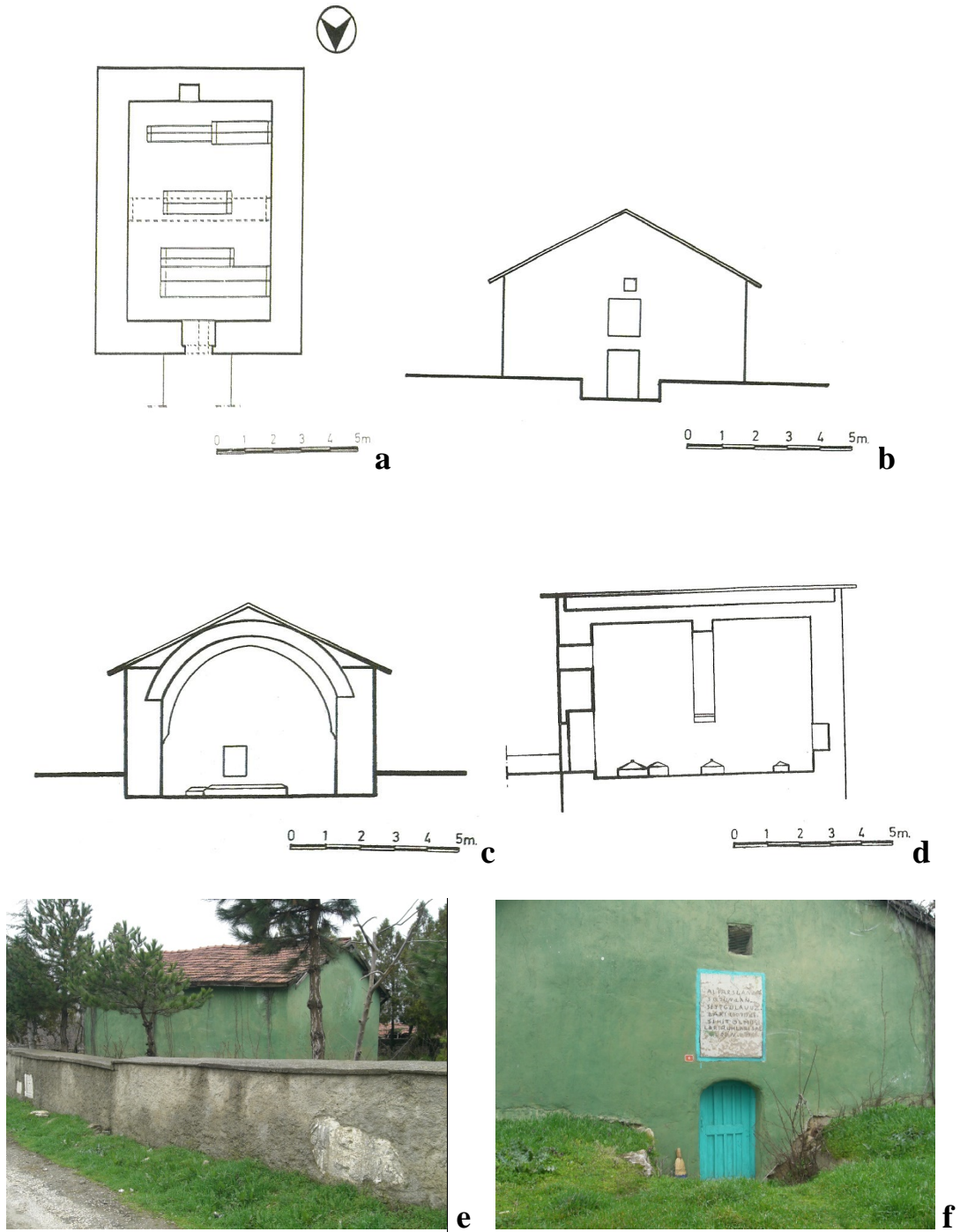


Figure 59

Uludere (İtburnu) Orta Tekke Türbesi

(a: Architectural Plan of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 42; b: Northern Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 43; c: Southern Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 43; d: Eastern Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 44; e – f: Pictures of Türbe (Photo by Fahri Dikkaya))

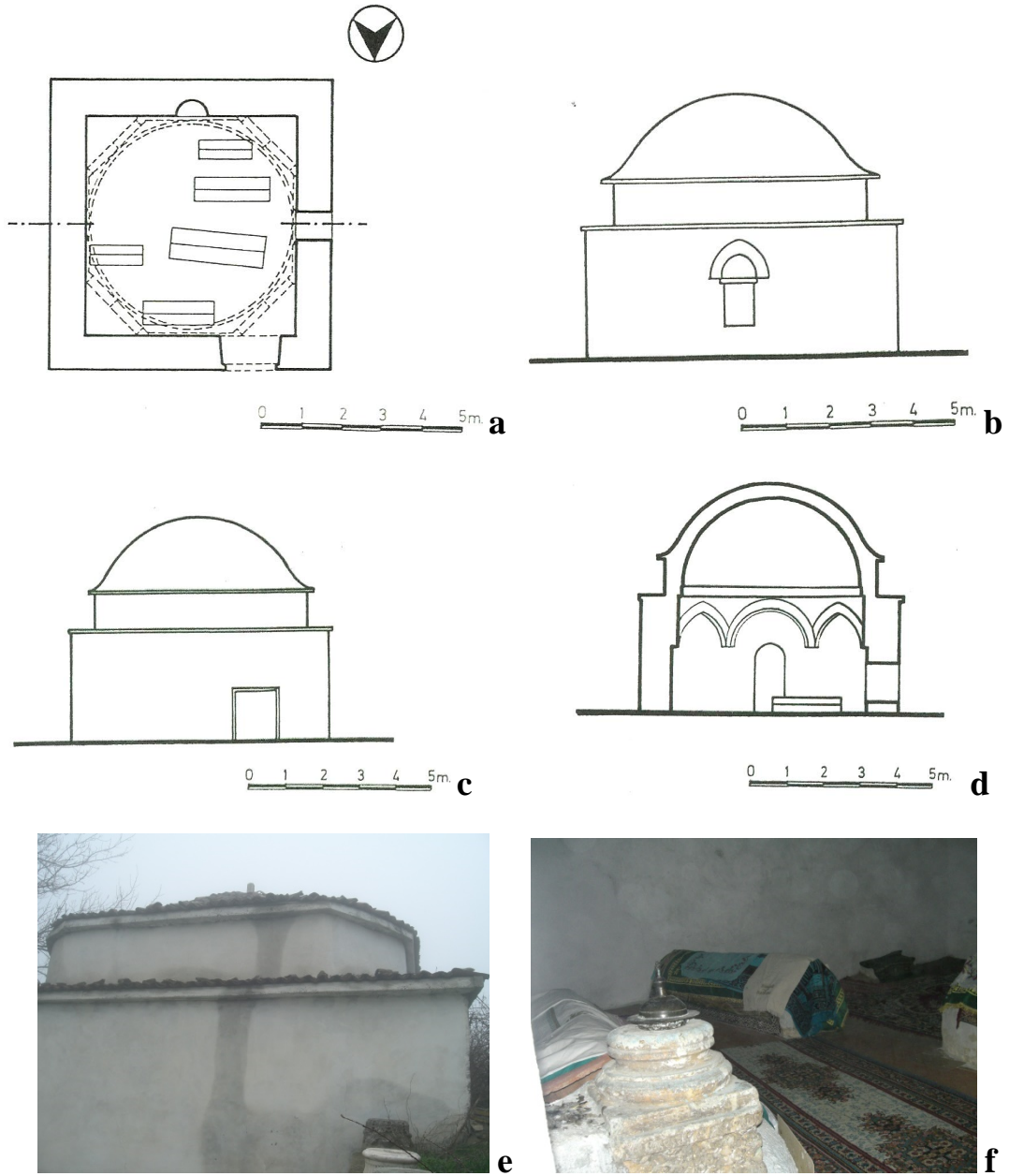


Figure 60

Ortaca Koç Takreddin Türbesi

(a: Architectural Plan of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 37;

b: Eastern Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 38;

c: Northern Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 38;

d: Southern Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 39;

e – f: Pictures of Türbe (Photo by Fahri Dikkaya))



Figure 61

Sevinç Village

(a: Ruined Minaret in Sevinç Village;

b: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)

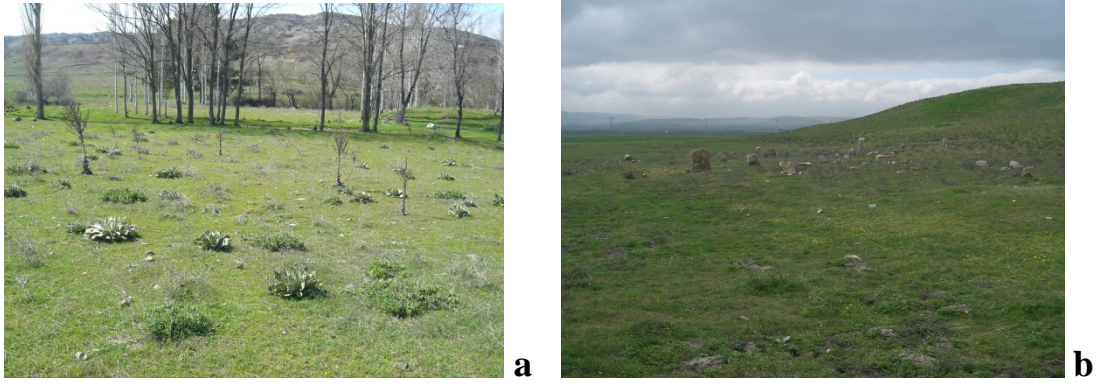


Figure 62

Gündüzler Village, Barak Mevkii

(a –b: Site; c – d – e: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)



Figure 63

Grave of Gündüz Alp in Gündüzler Village

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)

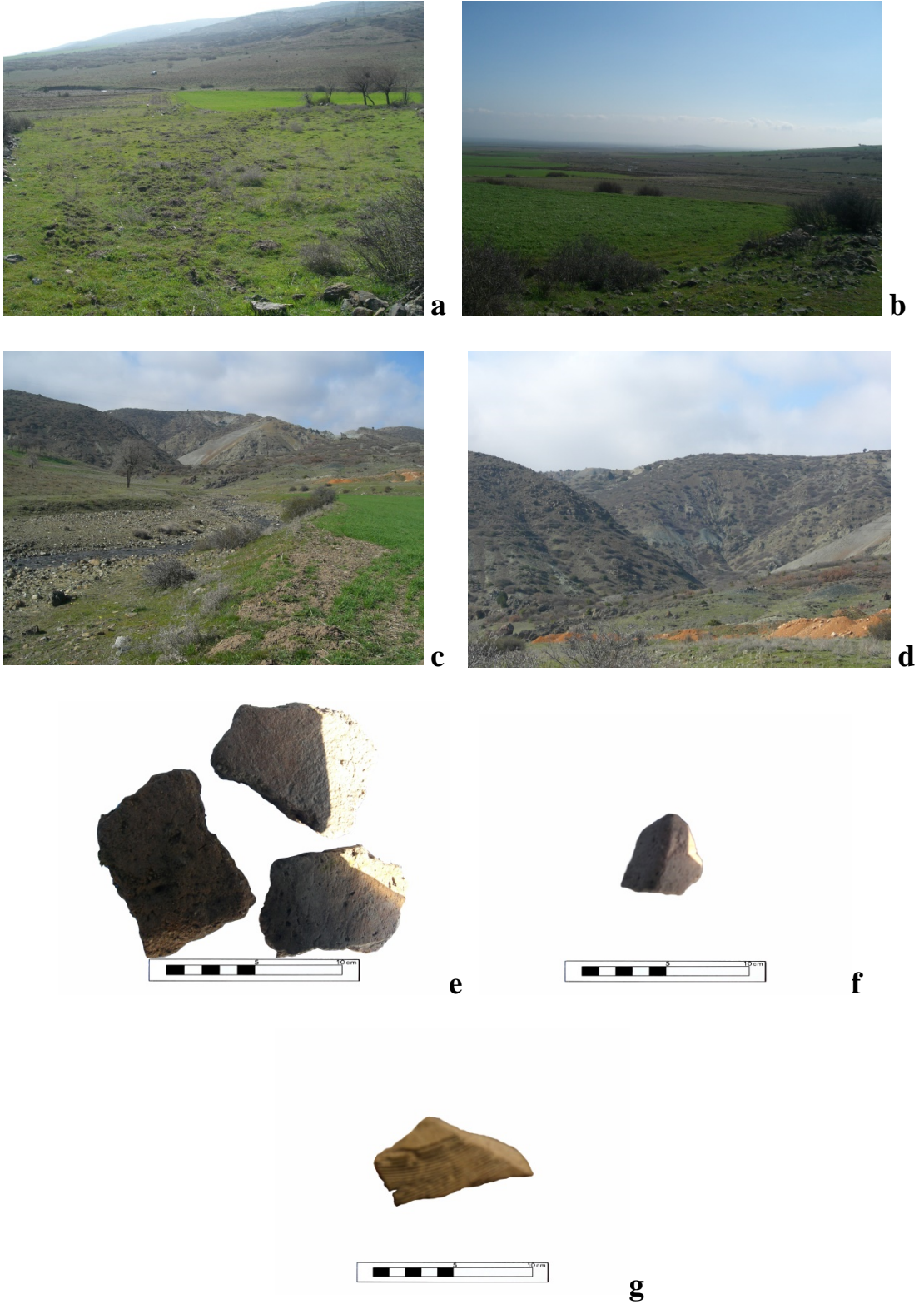


Figure 64

Beyazaltın Village, Asil bey Mevkii

(a – b – c – d: Site; e – f: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)



Figure 65

Büğdüz Selçuklu Camii

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)



a



b



c



d



e



f

Figure 66

Kavacık Mevkii

(a – b – c – d: Site; e – f: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)



Figure 67

Eskisekipınar

(a – b – c: Site; d: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)



Figure 68

Gökçekısık Village

(a – b – c – d: Site; e – f: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)

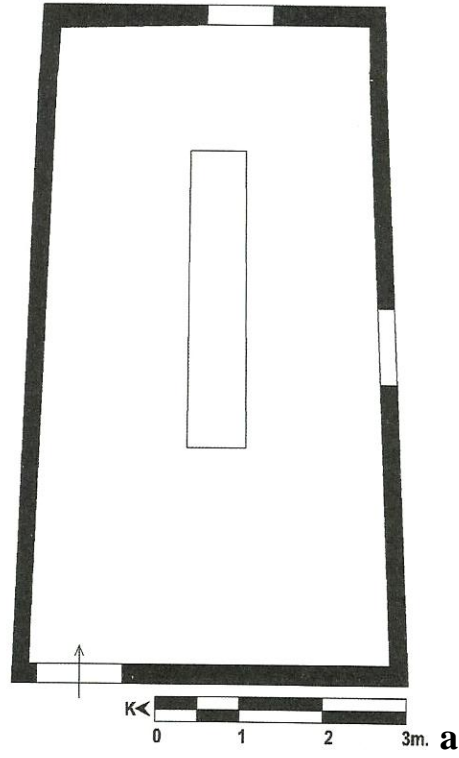


Figure 69

Gökçekısıık Arap Dede Türbesi

(a: Architectural Plan of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 52;

b: Picture of Türbe, photo by Fahri Dikkaya)

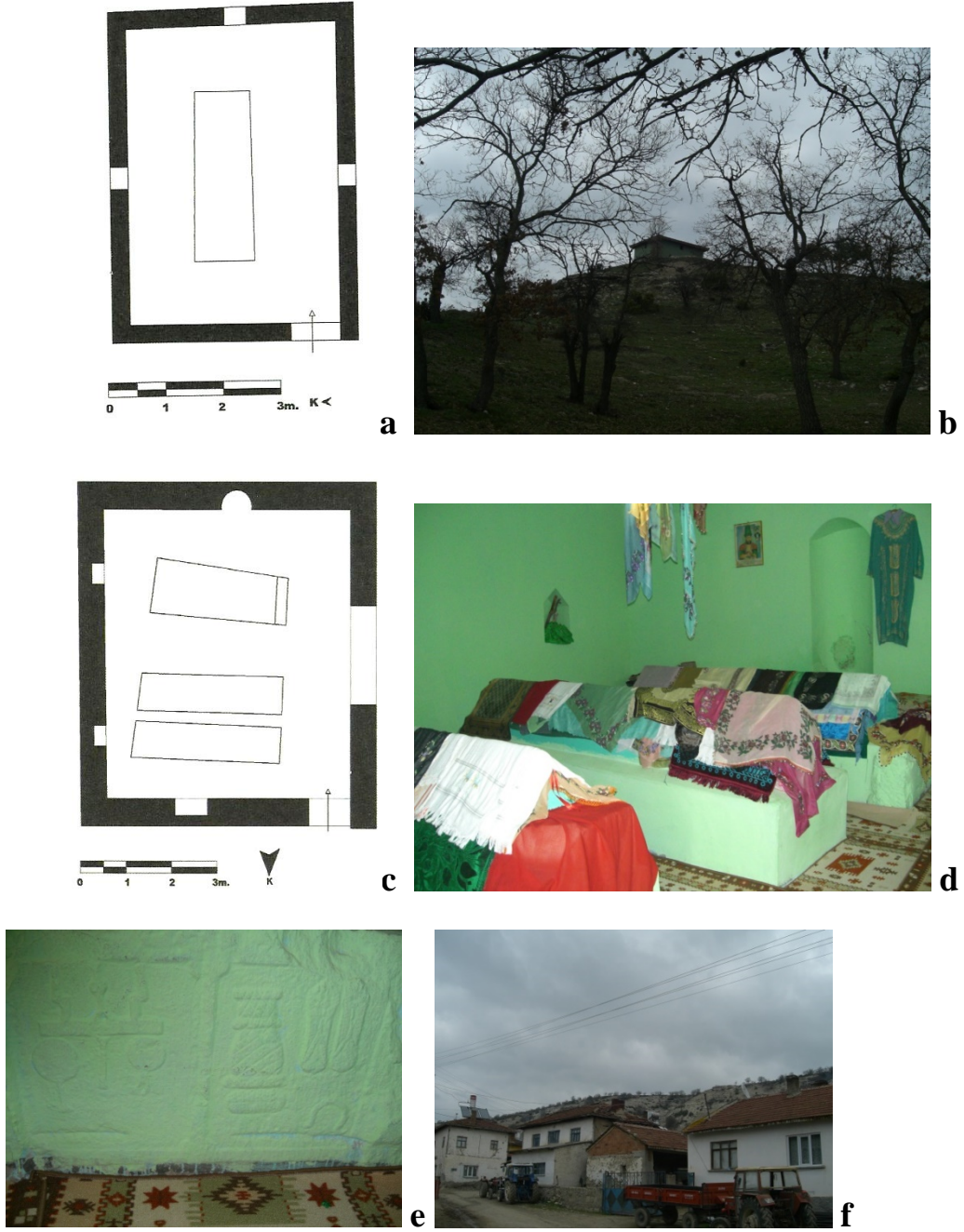


Figure 70

Yürükkırka Ali İhsan Dede Türbesi ve Mürved Dede Türbesi

(a: Architectural Plan of Ali İhsan Dede Türbesi, Altınsapan 2010: 48;

b: Picture of Ali İhsan Dede Türbesi, photo by Fahri Dikkaya;

c: Architectural Plan of Mürved Dede Türbesi, Altınsapan 2010: 54;

d – e: Pictures of Mürved Dede Türbesi, photo by Fahri Dikkaya;

f: Yürükkırka Village, photo by Fahri Dikkaya)

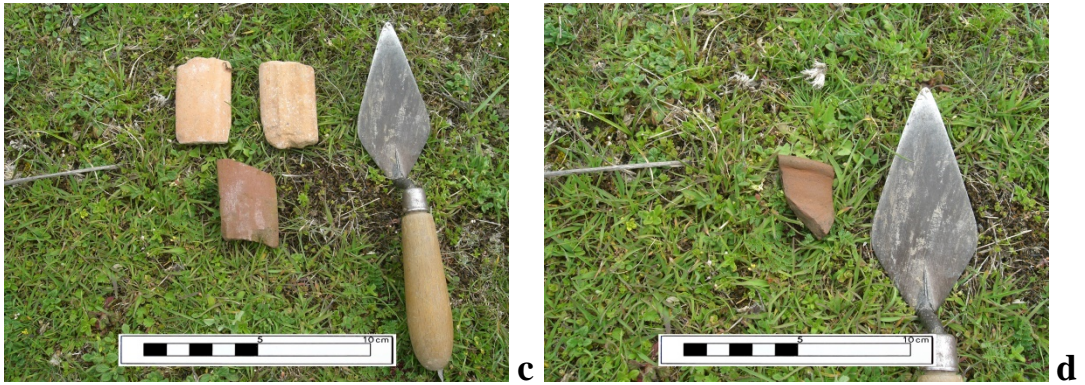
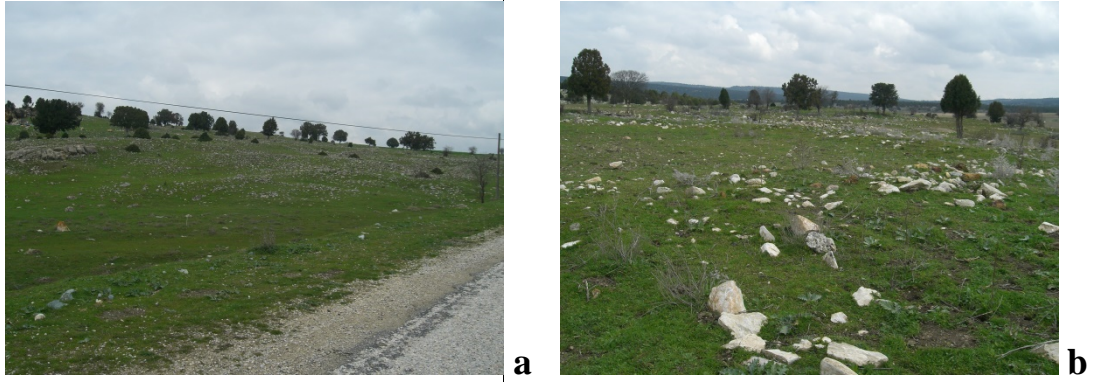


Figure 71

Avdan Village

(a – b – c: Site; d – e: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)

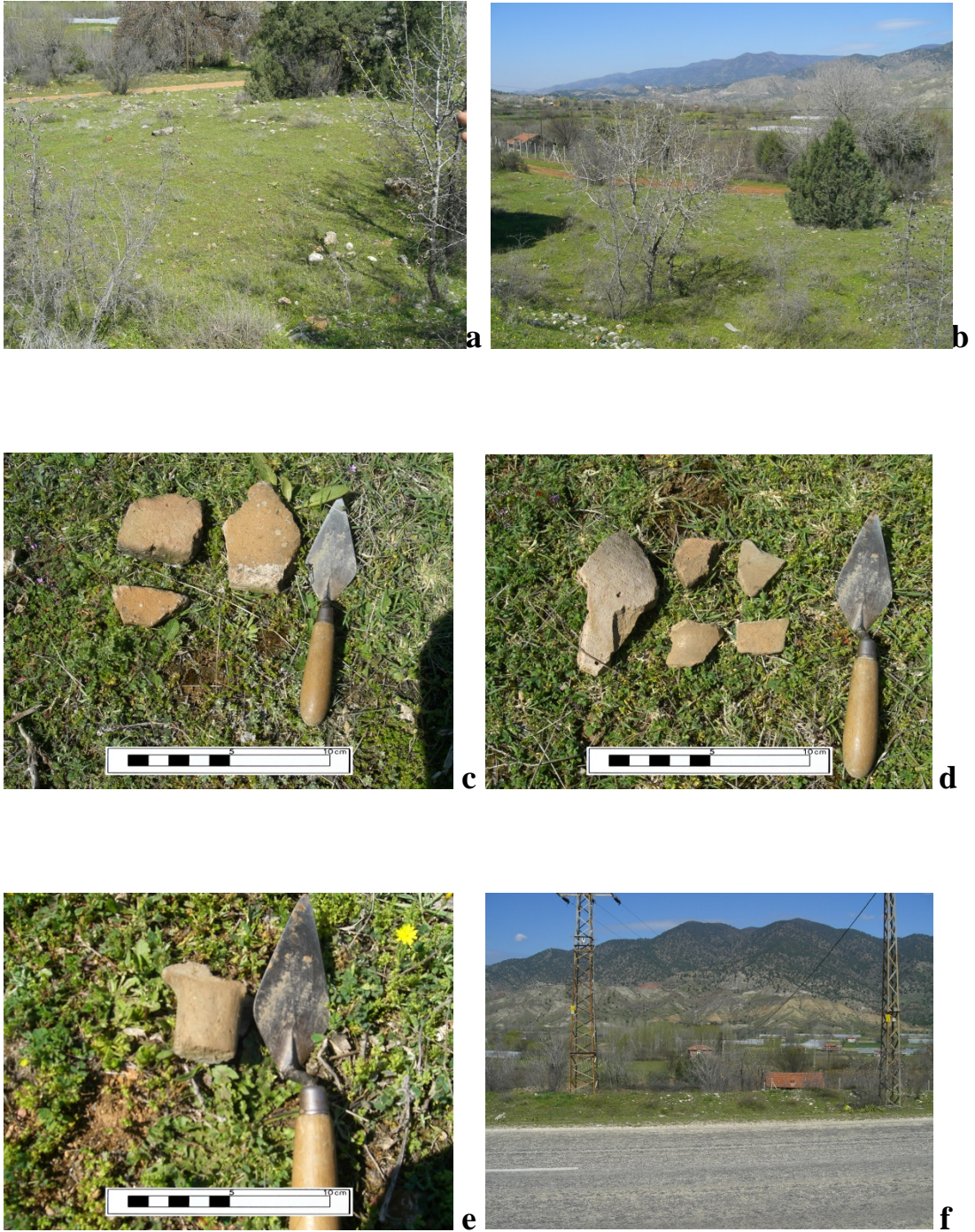


Figure 72

Mayıslar Village

(a – b – f: Site; c – d – e: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)



a



b



c



d



e



f

Figure 73

Kapıkaya Village

(a – b – c – d: Site; e – f: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)

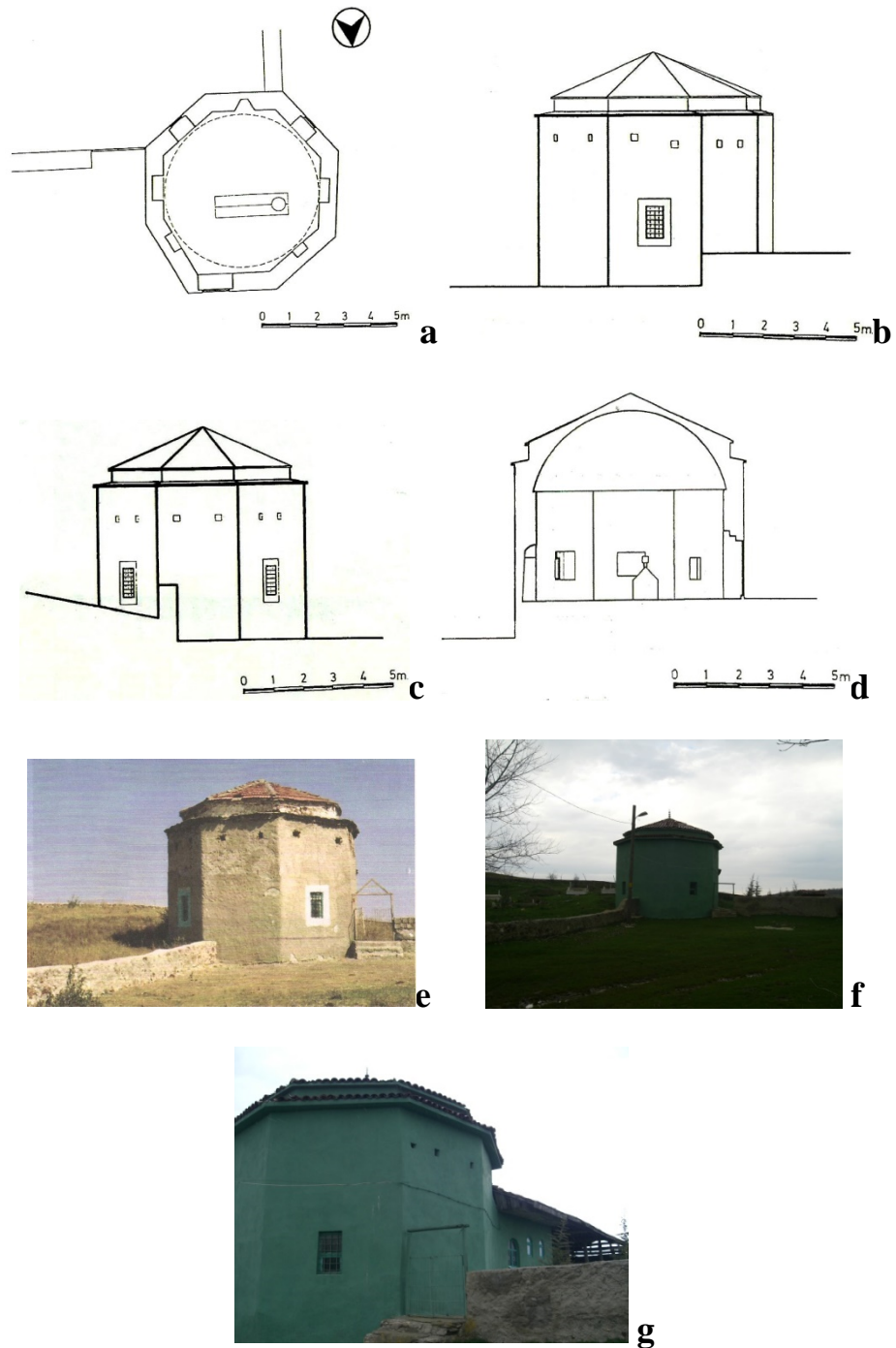


Figure 74

Atalan Tekke

(a: Architectural Plan of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 28; b: Western Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 29; c: Southern Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 29; d: Eastern Façades of Türbe, Altınsapan 2010: 30; e: Pictures of Türbe before Restoration, photo by Erol Altınsapan, 2010: 31; f– g: Pictures of Türbe, photo by Fahri Dikkaya)



a



b



c



d



e

Figure 75

Küre Village

(a: Türbe Tepe; b: Dursun Fakih Türbesi; c – e: Küre Village; d: Iron Ore in Küre)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)



a



b



c



d



e



f

Figure 76

Kayabalı Village

(a – b – c – d: Site; e – f: Fragments of Pottery founded in the survey)

(Photo by Fahri Dikkaya)