
Reconstructing a Town from its Court Records Rodosçuk (1546-1553)

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Table of Contents

Preface.....	7
List of Abbreviations.....	8
A Note on Transliteration.....	9
Introduction.....	10
The Ottoman Town.....	10
The “Golden Age” and Decline Theory.....	15
The Common People.....	19
Sixteenth-century Rodosçuk.....	25
Sources.....	29
Literature.....	31
PART I: The Quarters.....	33
Drawing the Portrait of the Town.....	34
Climate.....	38
Starting Points.....	41
Streams.....	57
The Market (<i>Bazaar</i>).....	62
Non-Muslim Quarters.....	64
PART II: The Inhabitants.....	69
Chapter I: The Centre at the Harbour.....	72
a. The Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter.....	73
b. The Cami-i Cedid Quarter.....	87
c. The Abdi Hoca Quarter.....	98
d. The Dizdarzade or Dizdaroğlu Quarter.....	105
e. Conclusion I: What is a quarter? A Redefinition of the quarter in an Ottoman town.....	110
Chapter II: The Centre at the Market.....	114
a. The Orta Cami (Kürkçü Sinan or Kürkçüoğlu) Quarter.....	114
b. The Cami-i Atik Quarter.....	116
c. The Karayazıcı Quarter.....	141
d. The Ibrahim Bey Quarter.....	147
e. The Hacı Isa Quarter.....	149
f. The Papa Yorgi Frengi Quarter.....	154
g. The Papa Hartofilakos Quarter.....	159
h. Conclusion II: How does a new neighbourhood appear?.....	161

CHAPTER III: Outskirts of the Town	164
a. The Nişancı Canpaşaoğlu Quarter	165
b. The Cennet Hatun Quarter	175
c. The Yunus Bey Quarter	178
d. The Şeyh Memi Quarter	180
e. The Hacı Musa Quarter	180
f. The Nebioğlu Quarter	184
g. The Çaklı Ramazan Quarter	187
h. The Papa Piskopos Quarter	188
i. The Sebgi Hoca bin Şah Veli Quarter	191
j. Other Quarters	192
k. Conclusion III: Which class plays which role in the formation of the town?	195
Conclusion.....	197
Appendices	201
Bibliography.....	209

Preface

This work is a product of a dream that began in Munich City Museum (*Münchner Stadtmuseum*), where visitors have the opportunity to take a computer-simulated journey back to centuries long passed. Through painstakingly detailed research, historians have reconstructed the history of Munich and created a virtual tour of the centre of the city, making the streets, squares and government buildings visible again. When I visited this museum, I had just started reading through the earliest dated *qadı* court records of the Mediterranean town of Rodosçuk. Inspired by my “virtual” tour of Munich, I decided to implement a similar project for the town of Rodosçuk in the middle of the 16th century.

After a large amount of preparatory work, only using the court records I was finally able to sketch a simple preliminary draft-map of the boundaries of Rodosçuk as they existed some 450 years ago. Then I visited the site of Rodosçuk, which is now the city of Tekirdağ, in order to verify the map I had drawn. I had successfully sketched the image of the town, which I had never visited, and this increased my enthusiasm for the project.

After more research, using a present-day map of the city as a background, I produced an even more detailed map showing the location of the different quarters of 16th-century Rodosçuk. This map was the outcome of a “data-base study” method. The first part of my thesis, describes this new approach to the study of Ottoman towns, which I refer to as the “neighborhood data-base method”. In the second part of my thesis, I illustrate how this method can contribute to our understanding of urban life in the Ottoman lands by bringing the historian closer to the role of people in the formation of a town.

List of Abbreviations

<i>CIEPO</i>	Comite International des Etudes Preottomanes et Ottomanes
<i>EI¹</i>	Encyclopedia of Islam, first edition
<i>EI²</i>	Encyclopedia of Islam, second edition
<i>İA¹</i>	İslam Ansiklopedisi (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı)
<i>İA²</i>	İslam Ansiklopedisi (Diyanet Vakfı)
<i>ICUIT</i>	The Proceedings of International Conference on Urbanism in Islam
<i>İFM</i>	İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası
<i>IJMES</i>	International Journal of Middle East Studies
<i>JESHO</i>	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
<i>PLP</i>	Prosographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
<i>RŞS</i>	Rodosçuk Şeriye Sicilleri (Rodosçuk Qadı Court Records)
<i>TT</i>	Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi
<i>TTK</i>	Türk Tarih Kurumu
<i>TV</i>	Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı
<i>VA</i>	Waqflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi

A Note on Transliteration

I used the Modern Turkish forms of the words as much as possible except for some Ottoman Turkish words and Arabic words which are not used in Modern Turkish. In that case I followed the *IJMES* system of transliteration. I italicized all foreign words except for people's names and place names. However, when I was unable to find the original names, I wrote them in italics to show how the qadı heard and recorded these names in Ottoman Turkish. I used some words commonly used in English in their most common and simple forms (e.g. waqf, instead of vakıf, dervish instead of derviş).

Introduction

The Ottoman Town

Early explanations about an archetype of the “Ottoman/Islamic city or town”, in which inhabitants were not able to develop urban political autonomy and thus, changed the town’s rigid structure, lost their validity after the 1980s. The fact that this archetype was largely based on interpretations provided without adequate evidence, led to critical studies that gave a voice to the local people. However, although these new studies concerning the Ottoman town made use of many different approaches and debates, such as critiques of the decline paradigm, the Annales School, the world system theory,¹ and a questioning of state-centered explanations, the strong role of the central state in the formation of towns was still emphasized. Yet claims about state omnipotence are premature. Many cities in the Ottoman Empire have not been thoroughly studied, and there is still a scarcity of knowledge about these cities and their inhabitants.

A few years ago, Eldem, Goffman and Masters pointed out that this lack of knowledge can be compensated for with a new approach to Ottoman court records that would give voice to local inhabitants. For example Peirce’s study, yielded “portraits of beliefs, actions, and social roles of men, women, and children, guildsmen, tradesmen, and apprentices, Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Ottoman Anatolian cities” by “the resourceful use of kadı court

¹ For a general review see Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, “Introduction, Was there an Ottoman City?”, *The Ottoman City between East and West, Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.10-11; Mehmet Öz, “Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Anadolu Kentleri”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, III/6 (2005): 57-88.

records”.² Inspired by the micro studies of Peirce, Behar and later Hülya Canbakal, this study proposes a new method –the “neighborhood data-base method”– which allows scholars to reconstruct a settlement by examining real-estate transactions from court records in order to understand the roles of the various classes among the inhabitants in the formation of an Ottoman town. In this way, scanning the class distribution and functional allocation in a town, quarter by quarter, the method gives a voice to the life stories of the town’s inhabitants: their family relations, their housing choices, their everyday lives and their neighbors.

In other words, this method makes the inhabitants of a town the subject instead of the object of urban history. As mentioned above, early approaches to the Ottoman city were generally based on macro-studies and state-centered explanations; they took the central state and the pious foundations (*waqf*) and guilds -as if they were the state’s administrative apparatuses- as the subject of urban history instead of the actual people of the town.³ The sources employed by these early approaches were the property deeds (*Tapu Tahrir*) registers and documents of pious foundations (*waqf*) belonging to the sultan (*Selatin Waqfs*) and the high-administrative elite (*vüzerâ* and *ağayan waqfs*). In this type of historiography, it is assumed that the local powers and inhabitants of a city could not, independently of the central state, develop the policies necessary to change the structure of the city. This assumed lack of participation by the inhabitants of a city in the decision-making process is sometimes formulated as the lack of “civil society”. According to this theory, this “lack of civil society” in Ottoman towns would have been caused by the city quarters being isolated from one another due to religious-ethnic and functional differences. Accordingly, in each quarter there would have been only one religious group and people of the same profession would have lived together as a community, separate from other professional groups. This isolation would

² Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, “Introduction”, p. 11.

³ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişafı Bakımından: Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına ait Araştırmalar", *İFM*, 23/ 1-2, (Ekim 1962-Şubat 1963): 239-296.

have made unity between local political powers impossible and, in turn, caused a lack of urban political autonomy.

It was assumed that these were the basic characteristics of *all* Ottoman/Islamic cities. Thus, a prototype of the “Islamic city” was constructed encompassing all times and all geographies where people who chose Islam as their religion dwelled.⁴ This superficial prototype was, however, insufficient to illustrate the characteristics of *every* city - not to mention the circumstance that the natural differences between cities in the Middle East, Africa, Anatolia, the Balkans, Iran and Inner Asia were not taken into consideration at all. Moreover, the changes that cities went through over time were also often overlooked or underestimated.

Recent studies have unearthed that each city has characteristics that do not fit this “Islamic city” prototype, because local sources reveal that every city had individual traits.⁵ Lately, researchers have, therefore, concentrated on the differences between cities which had previously been seen as copies of the Islamic city model. Critiques of the archetype of the Ottoman town were a contribution of the society-centered, smaller-scale or micro-studies undertaken after the 1980’s. Emphasizing the roles of tax-farming and the guilds in local administration, these studies demonstrated that it is not possible to understand urban history only by analyzing the role of the central city.

For example, Ergenç stated that administrative systems like the tax-farming (*İltizam*) and “*mukataa*” in the Ottoman State, which transferred revenues to the centre, promoted regional autonomy or created a decentralizing effect by strengthening the hands of the local elite.⁶ This elite, comprising rich merchants, old and experienced tradesmen, learned men,

⁴ Abu-Lughod, “What is Islamic about a city? Some Comparative Reflections”, in *Proceedings of International Conference on Urbanism in Islam*, Vol.1, Tokyo: The Middle Eastern Culture Centre, 1989. 193-217.

⁵ Behar, *A Neighbourhood in Ottoman Istanbul, Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 1-27.

Ergenç, “Some Notes on the Administration Units of the Ottoman Cities”, *ICUIT*, (Tokyo: The Middle Eastern Culture Centre, 1989): 429-431. The *Timar* system, he quotes, “conferr[ed] revenue sources in certain areas to a

religious leaders, and retired military men, were the representatives of the inhabitants before the government, and they played an important role in the administration of the towns.⁷

The sources used for these studies were the pious foundation (*waqf*) documents belonging not only to the sultan (*Selatin Waqfs*) and the high-administrative elite (*vüzerâ* and *ağayan waqfs*), but also to the local notables, and, additionally, the *qadı* court records. On the basis of these sources, it becomes clear that local administrators, *waqf* founders, and guild administrators, who were assumed to have acted as representatives of the local interest, played a role in the formation of a city. Accordingly, the notables of a city could make political decisions on behalf of the inhabitants. To sum up, it was both the central state and the local notables who played a role in the formation of the city.

Moreover, a few scholars have shown that religious, ethnic and functional divisions within quarters were not as absolute as had previously been assumed, and the assumption that “Islamic cities” were composed of isolated units or quarters was fallacious.⁸ For example, Behar’s micro-study on the Kasap İlyas quarter in Istanbul shows that the assumed rigidity in the composition of the quarters dependent on ethno-religious and economic factors did not exist.⁹ Unlike the examples of Aleppo and Cairo, which even had gates between quarters with different religious and ethno-religious groups were not so isolated from one another in all Ottoman cities. Thus, even quarters consisting of mixed religious groups existed in Ottoman cities in Anatolia and the Balkans. There were seldom gates between the quarters and when there were, they were not always to isolate the religious groups from each other but for other

group of military and civilian men and [gave] them competence for the collection of revenues.” Thus, the difficulties in transferring the revenues to the central treasury were eliminated. *İltizam*: “the job of collecting revenues, the amounts of which were fixed by law,..., which did not fit the *timar* system.” “A *mültezim* like any *timar* holder, was an official who had authority to control inhabitants who were involved in activities subject to tax. For instance, a *muhtesib*, besides collecting the *ihtisab* dues, was responsible for putting trade life and activity in order. *Zaims*, *subaşı*, *muhzır*s, and *ases-başı*s had the same responsibilities.”

⁷ Ergenç, “Some Notes”, p. 432.

⁸ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrindeki “Mahalle”nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, IV (1984): 69-78; “Some Notes”, pp. 429-431; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Men of Modest Substance: House owners and house property in seventeenth century Ankara and Kayseri*, (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁹ Behar, *Kasap İlyas*, pp. 7-10

purposes.

For example, in Ankara, Ergenç states that these gates were used for protection.¹⁰ In fact, in Rodosçuk there were no gates between the quarters even for protection. Moreover, the borders and demographic composition of quarters as the basic unit of a city were not as well-defined as had been assumed, so the quarters could not have been isolated from each other. Behar showed that the borders of the quarters in Istanbul changed over time,¹¹ this also occurred in Rodosçuk. The above-mentioned scholars pointed out the ways in which various Ottoman cities did not fit into the archetype of the Ottoman/Islamic city. It seems that smaller-scale and micro-studies concerning society at the quarter level are fruitful and can clarify certain aspects of Ottoman urban history.¹² However, even though a few studies of this type have been undertaken on some of the larger cities of the Ottoman Empire, there remains much work to be done in the field.

Today few defenders of the idea of a static Islamic city remain, but most critics continue to use some of the basic terms developed against the background of these assumptions. Thus, it is imperative that this early approach be analyzed to understand the criticism that has been leveled at it. In the previous scholarship, there were two factors that intersected to make the inhabitants of a town the objects, and the state the subject, in the formation of a town: First, the orientalist discourse, which analyzes differences between “east” and “west” to explain the under-development, which shaped the periodization of the Ottoman history by defining a “decline period” as the outcome of a static society. This type of urban history designated the inhabitants of towns and cities as the objects of history, whereas

¹⁰ Özer Ergenç, "Osmanlı Şehrindeki Yönetim Kurumlarının Niteliği Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler", ed. Osman Okyar and Halil İnalçık, *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi, 1071-1920* (Ankara, 1980): 1265-74, p. 105.

¹¹ Behar, *Kasap İlyas*.

¹² Scholars like Leslie Peirce and Tülay Artan have also produced in-depth micro-studies which supply opportunities for comparison with other towns or cities. Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus", (Ph.D. Dissertation., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989); Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales, Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003).

the central state was the actual subject. The second factor that went hand in hand with this idea in building an image of a static society is the lack of knowledge about social classes, mostly due to a gap in the sources used to understand life in the Ottoman Empire. Both these factors, hand in hand with the Turkish nationalist historiography, contributed to the prevalence of state-centered explanations for the formation of a town and excluded the role of the common people.

Therefore, the decline theory's contribution to the understanding of a static society in the so-called "Golden Age" of the Ottoman State will be the first topic of discussion in this paper. Then, the changes in the understanding of Ottoman urban life brought about by the study of common people in Ottoman cities will be outlined. In this way, the relationship between problems caused by the static-society theory in the historiography of Ottoman urban life and the reason for using the "neighborhood data-base method" will be examined.

The "Golden Age" and Decline Theory

The majority of the scholars who have criticized the idea of a static "Islamic/Ottoman" city have identified similar sets of ideas that paved the way for the construction of this prototype in earlier scholarship. The under-development discourse, as the hegemonic ideology of the last century or two, contributed in various ways to the assumption of the monotype of the Ottoman city. For example, Abu-Lughod has related this with "the colonial project of distancing, objectifying and dehumanizing peoples who were to be treated as "lesser".¹³ Faroqhi has agreed and added that, taking the type of institutions that exist in the "West" as the absolute condition for the indices of "development" was another reason for the emergence

¹³ Janet Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco*, (1980). See also her "The Legitimacy of Comparisons in Comparative Urban Studies: A Theoretical Position and an Application to North African Cities", *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, 11 (1975), "The Islamic City--Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance", *IJMES*, 19 (1987): 155-76.

of this monotype, which in addition was invented on the basis of insufficient historical data regarding only a few cities.¹⁴ Behar has analyzed these archetypal explanations as the heart of decline theory.¹⁵ Masters, Eldem and Goffman point out another reason which operates hand in hand with Euro-centrism in the construction of this “Islamic city” prototype, namely modern nationalism. In contemporary historiography in Arabic-speaking nation-states, the Arab world is separated from the Ottoman empire. As a result, the Arab city was taken as the normative type of “Islamic city”.¹⁶

In one way or another, the under-development discourse that is a product of the conditions of the last two centuries played an important role in shaping the decline paradigm. The debate concerning the reasons for underdevelopment, often stigmatized the historiography of the under-developed nation-states. Various structures in the histories of these societies have been held responsible for "decline" being the *raison d'être* of under-development. These structures are accused of being the reason for a static traditional state and society, having blocked the way to change and modernization, and development. Thus, "decline" was explained as a consequence of "charismatic leadership or a patrimonial state"¹⁷, "non-existence of private property or a monetary economy", "corruption"¹⁸, "monopoly of the

¹⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi points out the difference of Evliya Çelebi's accounts describing the originality of each city's character, in contrast to European travel accounts that overlook these differences. Thus, it was not only insufficient studies on primary sources that misled the early scholars, but also European travel accounts. The towns in Anatolia were not like Ausburg or Nürnberg. The difference in architecture, generally one- or two storey houses in Anatolia, instead of the multi-storey houses of Northern Europe, was described as under-development in European travel accounts. Suraiya Faroqhi, "Kentte Yaşamak: Kent Bilinci ve Ev Kültürü", *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam, Ortaçağ'dan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, translated by Elif Kılıç, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1997): 164-181, pp. 164,165, 180, 181; see also her *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia, 1520-1650*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

¹⁵ Cem Behar, *Kasap İlyas*, pp. 7-10.

¹⁶ Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, "Introduction", pp. 7-8.

¹⁷ Halil İnalçık, "Sultanizm Üzerine Yorumlar: Max Weber'in Osmanlı Siyasal Sistemi Tiplemesi", *Toplum ve Ekonomi*, 7, (1994).

¹⁸ Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State. Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, (Albany: State University of New York 1991). For critics on assumptions of "charismatic leadership" see pp. 4-7; for "corruption" see p. 8; for "monetary economy" see pp. 11-15; for "private property" see pp. 16 and 46. For another critique on the view of the Ottoman state and society as static, see, Janet L. Abu Lughod, *Before European hegemony: the world system A.D. 1250-1350*, (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Halil Berktaş, *Kabileden Feodalizme*, (İstanbul: Kaynak, 1989); Cornell Fleischer and Suraiya Faroqhi, "Preface", *Formation of the Modern State. Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, written by Rifa'at

guilds on economic activity as an apparatus of the state"¹⁹ or "an archetype of the Islamic city tradition."²⁰

The challenges to the idea of the "decline" of the Ottoman state aroused an interest in the so-called "golden age", because the assumptions of decline theory not only directly concern the period after the seventeenth century, but also overshadow the studies of the sixteenth-century Ottoman state. This is because "decline" as a term defines a more prosperous time prior to that which is in decline. Thus, though decline theory concerns the seventeenth and later centuries, it defines, as a reference point, the sixteenth century as the heyday of the Ottoman state. However, what was, this "golden age"? How much of it, if any, did the common people experience? From one point of view, this study is a re-reading of the so-called "golden age" by examining the individual experiences of the common people who did not necessarily see themselves as the primary actors of history.

There is a relationship between previous studies' lack of an examination of the role of the common people in Ottoman urban life and their hegemonic ways of writing about and periodizing Ottoman history in the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520-66) as the "Golden Age" and the following period as the "decline".²¹ This periodization depended on a macro-level, state-centered analysis, which predefined people not as actors of history, but as passive objects of state policies implemented through its institutions. As a result, the "oriental despotism" paradigm was constructed, defining the Ottoman state as controlling the whole society through its institutions, such as guilds and pious foundations (*waqf*), and its administrative systems like tax-farming (*iltizam*) and fief-holding (*timar*). This analysis prevented a comparative historical analysis, because it defined not people, but the "unique" state

'Ali Abou-El-Haj, (Albany: State University of New York 1991).

¹⁹ Halil İnalçık, "Capital Formation in the Ottoman Empire", *The Journal of Economic History*, XXIX/1 (1969): 97-140.

²⁰ Cem Behar, *Kasap İlyas*, pp. 7-10. Özer Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Donemi Kent Tarihçiliğine Katkı, XVI. Yüzyılda Ankara ve Konya* (Ankara: Ankara Enstitüsü Vakfı, 1995).

²¹ Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj's book is a milestone in this critique. Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*.

institutions of the Ottoman state, as the actors of history. Thus, in this paradigm, people, cities, economies, social structures and state institutions were not comparable with each other, because the theme of history was the institutions that are assumed to be unique, instead of the lives of people.

Since the 1980s, distancing themselves from state-centered analysis, scholars have challenged the “uniqueness”, “oriental despotism”, “decline”, “the golden age” and “oriental or Islamic city” paradigms from various perspectives.²² For example, Kafadar showed that calling the reign of Süleyman I the “Golden Age” was anachronic.²³ Abou-el-Hajj, Salzman and Goffman showed the importance of comparative history and the problems of seeing the Ottoman state and its institutions as unique.²⁴ Kunt and Woodhead showed that the administrative system was not monolytic, even during the Suleyman era, and that the policies of the state had also changed throughout the era.²⁵ They pointed out that the 17th and 18th centuries could not be characterized as a decline period, because the society, the state and the economy were not static, as had been assumed to be the reason for decline.²⁶ Since these

²² See both Suraiya Faroqhi, “Introduction”, *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqhi, (London: Frank Cass, 1992); Halil Berktaş, “The Search for the Peasant in Western and Turkish History/Historiography”, *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil Berktaş and Suraiya Faroqhi, (London: Frank Cass, 1992); Suraiya Faroqhi, “Introduction”, *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House, Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003). A chronological reading of these introductions by Suraiya Faroqhi, shows the path that Ottoman studies have taken over time.

²³ Cemal Kafadar, “The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymânic Era”, *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, ed. Halil İnalçık, Cemal Kafadar, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), 37-48, p. 40.; Linda Darling, “Introduction, The Myth of Decline”, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy—Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660*, (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

²⁴ Abou-El-Hajj, *Formation of the Modern State*. See also Suraiya Faroqhi and Cornell Fleischer, “Preface”, *Formation of the Modern State*; Ariel Salzman, “Toward a Comparative History of the Ottoman state, 1450-1850”, *Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of CIEPO*, (Prague, 1996): 351-366; Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

²⁵ Metin Kunt, “16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Politikaları ve Sorunları, Giriş”, *Kanuni ve Çağı- Yeniçağda Osmanlı Dünyası*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, translated by Semet Yalçın, (İstanbul: TV, 2002); Christine Woodhead, “İdeal Sultan, İdeal Devlet, Giriş”, *Kanuni ve Çağı- Yeniçağda Osmanlı Dünyası*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, translated by Semet Yalçın, (İstanbul: TV, 2002).

²⁶ The idea that the Ottoman Empire under Süleyman was assumed to be perfectly centralized and the decentralization was therefore a factor in the decline was also criticized. This picture was, however, fallacious, because it based on the Balkans, Anatolia, and other areas overseen by the Ottoman Empire, for example, Syria and Egypt, which were first integrated in the 17th century. Suraiya Faroqhi, “16. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Siyaset ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Değişim”, *Kanuni ve Çağı- Yeniçağda Osmanlı Dünyası*, ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, translated by Semet Yalçın, (İstanbul: TV, 2002): 92-114, p. 94.

challenges appeared, new histories have been written which portray or attempt to portray the common people as the actors or subjects of history, instead of being the passive objects of state structures.

The Common People

Academic interest in the common people appeared hand in hand with the above-mentioned critiques about this periodization and its assumptions. In the past two decades, Ottomanists have begun to give more importance to short-term changes, individuals and small groups as a reaction to the state-centred historiography of the 1960's or 1970's. For example, Singer (1989) focused on the lives of peasants in her dissertation. This was an important step in the development of peasant studies of the Ottoman era.²⁷ Further studies appeared; for example, Inalcık examined villages and peasants in eighteenth-century Eyüp, and Özel implemented a case study on settlement patterns and population changes in rural Anatolia.²⁸ Moreover, Lowry examined the lives of the Christian peasants of Limnos in the fifteenth century.²⁹ In addition, Faroqhi contributed to the study of the common people, with her study of, *Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands, 1480-1820*, which examines “the men of modest substance” in Ankara and Kayseri and some outlaws in Çorum.³⁰ Kafadar extracted very

²⁷ Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration Around Sixteenth-century Jerusalem*, (Cambridge, 1994).

²⁸ Halil İnalcık “Eyüp Sicillerinde Toprak, Köy ve Köylü”, *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*, ed. Tülay Artan, (İstanbul: TV, 1998):1-23, pp.9-14; Oktay Özel, “Changes in the Settlement Patterns, Population and Society in Rural Anatolia: A Case Study of Amasya (1576-1642)”, (Ph. D. diss., University of Manchester, 1993).

²⁹ Heath W. Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos*, (Istanbul, 2002).

³⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Stories of Ottoman Men and Women; Making a Living in the Ottoman Lands, 1480-1820*, (İstanbul: Isis Press, 1995); *Men of Modest Substance*; “The Life and Death of Outlaws in Çorum”, *Coping with the State, Political Conflict and Crime in the Ottoman Empire*, (Istanbul, 1995): 145-162; “Eyüp Kadı Sicillerine Yansıdığı Şekliyle 18. Yüzyıl "Büyük İstanbul'una Göç”, *18. Yüzyıl Kadı Sicilleri Işığında Eyüp'te Sosyal Yaşam*, ed. Tülay Artan, , (İstanbul: TV, 1998):33-48; *The Stories of Ottoman Men and Women, Establishing Status, Establishing Control*, (İstanbul: Eren, 2002).

useful data about the life of a Muslim merchant who died in Venice in 1575.³¹ This study not only supplied details of merchant life in the sixteenth century, but it also challenged prejudices about the reluctance of Muslims to participate in trade, since it showed that many Muslim merchants took part in trade activities in the Mediterranean. The above-mentioned studies also made the history of the common people a theme in Ottoman studies and paved the way for new approaches to the roles of the common people and the state in the history of the Ottoman lands.

The type of sources used to understand Ottoman urban life and the methods of evaluation determine the class or institution defined as having a role in the formation of a town. The sources of the studies for the construction of the decline paradigm, were, for example, the writings of the Ottoman elite or documents produced by state institutions. These studies are criticized for not making a critical reading or taking into account which classes' interests were represented in these texts.³² Likewise, the documents previously used in the study of urban history, which produced the archetype of the Ottoman town as a static entity, were generally *waqf* documents and *Tapu Tahrir* registers. The first concern the waqfs and their functions, and do not give much information about the inhabitants; the second are the tax-registers listing the taxable households in a city or town quarter by quarter, giving only a static picture of the inhabitants.

Contrary to many other sources, which mostly determine a limited administrative elite as the actors of history, court records provide some clues about the everyday lives of the common people. This is due to the fact that the judicial and notary activities which constitute court records arise from the state's need to control individuals, and/or from individuals' needs to make themselves feel secure through notarization or the law. Court records concern various

³¹ Cemal Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 10, *Raiyyet Rusumu, Essays presented to Halil Inalcik.*, (1986): 191-218.

³² See on "*nasihatname* literature", Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, pp. 20-27.

topics such as debts, surety, credit transactions, estate settlements and claims on estates, inheritance agreements about the market and economy, pious foundations, marriage, divorce, proxy, property transfers, rent, loans, and criminal acts (assault, theft, murder, rape, cursing, trespassing, adultery and drinking wine).³³ As a result, they are very valuable sources from which to approach the everyday lives of people - slaves, gypsies, Jews, Christians, Muslims- and their relationships; thus, many scholars who have given a voice to the inhabitants of the towns have based their work on *qadı* court records.³⁴

In addition to these sources, the method used for their evaluation has an important effect on the outcome. In the opinion of this author, the micro-studies on *qadı* court records performed in the last decade are very important contributions to the study of urban history, because obtaining information about the common people requires in-depth studies.

Yvonne J. Seng, for example, added depth to the knowledge by pointing out the importance of court records in studying the everyday lives of people under Süleyman I. Although his military campaigns and state policies are praised in the literature, there is nothing known about the everyday lives of the common people of the era.³⁵ Moreover, Seng conducted a very fine micro-study on the estate records of Üsküdar in order to gather clues about everyday life in the town in the period from 1521 to 1524.³⁶ She showed how an understanding of everyday life can be gained by looking at the property of people. Thus, using “death as a door to their life” she examined estate records, which listed the possessions of the deceased, in order to understand the person’s life. It is also worth mentioning Fekete's early

³³ For the importance of critical textual analysis and the limits of the knowledge that can be gained from these texts. See Boğaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire, Legal Practice and Dispute Resolution in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652-1744)*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003).

³⁴ Andre Raymond and Abdul-Karim Rafeq, Philip Khoury, for example, criticize the “top down” approach of Hourani who placed the notables at the centre of the discussions of Ottoman Arab cities, basing his assumptions on city biographies and chronicles, which carry the hegemonic ideology of the Ottoman elite today. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, “Introduction”, pp. 5 and 9.

³⁵ Yvonne J. Seng, “The *Şer’iye Sicilleri* of the İstanbul *Müftülüğü* as a Source for the Study of Everyday Life”, *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 16, (April 1991): 307-324.

³⁶ Yvonne J. Seng, “The Üsküdar Estates (*Tereke*) As Records of Everyday Life in an Ottoman Town, 1521-1524” (Ph. D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1991).

article (1959) on the inheritance list of a local notable in Budin, the first study on estate records, as a source of inspiration.³⁷ Seng, however, further developed Fekete's method and applied it in-depth to the inhabitants of Üsküdar.

Recently, Canbakal added a study of the relationships between the elite and the common people to the literature on the Ottoman cities, in which urban interests had been seen as a unity represented by urban notables. Canbakal points out that this understanding of the natural unity of local interests had its roots in nationalist narratives. As a result of this "unified" understanding, urban monographers had a bipolar view of the political arena: the rural notable in opposition to or acting together with the central state. Canbakal expands this view by adding the historiography of the relationship between notables and common people as a hegemonic class, "not as intermediaries between the townspeople and the state or as patrons of the local population". This introduction of class analysis to urban monographies provides tools for viewing the social hierarchy, vertical interests and domination relationships in rural society.³⁸ Canbakal is correct in the view that it is very important to take the roles of all the classes into consideration in order to understand the formation of a city.

It is clear that, when the pre modern era is considered, there is a difference in the sense of the term "class" from the modern useage of the word. In the pre modern era, there are other factors that play determinant role, as much as the economy, in shaping the social hierarchy and Canbakal is correct in her statement that "no other sociological term captures social inequality and domination better than class" and using this term in a cautious way helps in the understanding of Ottoman historiography, in which nationalistic history writing, which sees the society as a monolithic entity, dominates and over shadows the differences in society.³⁹

³⁷ Ludwig Fekete, "XVI. Yüzyıl Bir Taşra Efendisi'nin Evi", *Belleten*, XXIX/115-116, (1965): 615-638. See also Yavuz Cezar, "Bir Ayanın Muhallefatı", *Belleten*, 41 (1977): 41-78.

³⁸ S. Hülya Canbakal, "'Ayntab at the End of the Seventeenth-Century: A Study of Notables and Urban Politics'", (PhD thesis History and Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1999), pp. 9-11.

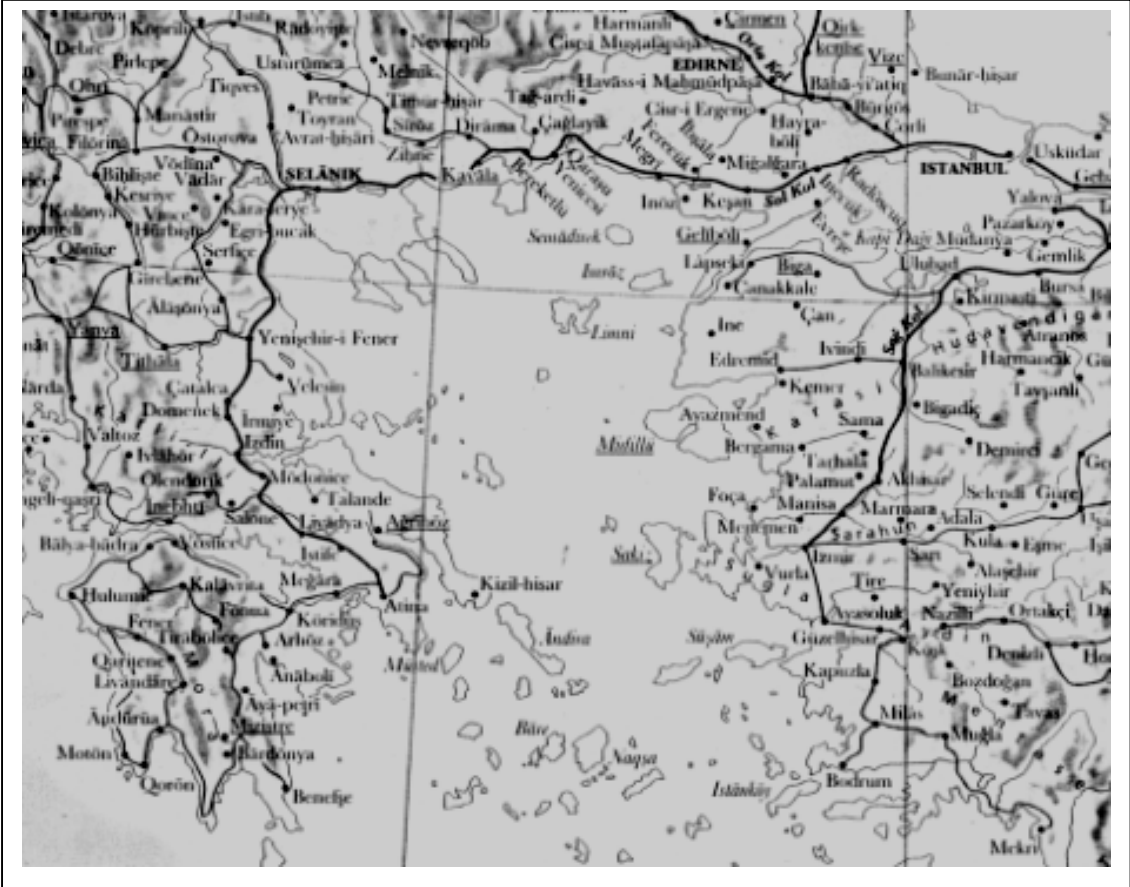
³⁹ Canbakal, "'Ayntab at the End of the Seventeenth-Century'", pp. 9-11.

This thesis will use *qadı* court records and the “neighborhood data-base method” in order to analyze the roles of each social class in changing the structure of a city. To distinguish “groups whose social and economic interests are necessarily antagonistic to one another because of their differing relationships to resources, power, and the fruits of labor”,⁴⁰ this paper will offer data to increase the understanding of the roles of each class in changing the structure of the town of Rodosçuk. It is not possible to understand a city only by looking at its administration. The role played by the different classes in designating the characteristics of the quarters or in production and trade, which changes considerably over time in the port town of Rodosçuk that will be under scrutiny in this study, must all be considered when analyzing the town’s formation. This means enlarging our view and in order to do this, the following questions must be asked: What were the roles of inhabitants in the formation of the city? How did their roles differ depending on class and status? In other words, how were the roles of the rich, the poor, the middle class, Muslims, non-Muslims, converts, rich immigrants, and poor immigrants differentiated from one another in the formation of the town Rodosçuk?

This questioning of the roles of each class in the formation of urban structures will be done step by step. In the first chapter, the definition of a *mahalle* (quarter) will be questioned, and in the second chapter, the formation of quarters will be examined before evaluating the roles that each class plays in the town. The neighborhood data-base method, which allows a class analysis, was chosen because the way a town, its parts and its development are defined determine what is said about those who create it.

⁴⁰ Canbakal, “Ayntab at the End of the Seventeenth-Century”, pp.11. Cross referans William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp.7.

Map 1: Rodosçuk and its hinterland



Sixteenth-century Rodosçuk

Rodosçuk, modern day Tekirdağ was a small port town of the Ottoman state on the European coast of the Marmara Sea (see Map 1). Like many pre-industrial settlements⁴¹ built on a river delta, its position on the Ergene River supplied this old port town with fertile plains in its hinterland. Thus, both in the Roman⁴² and Ottoman Empires, the town was a valuable port for the supply of grain to Istanbul (Constantinople), the capital city.⁴³

As the breadbasket of the Roman Empire, Rodosçuk was strategically important. In 1204, when the Crusaders conquered Constantinople, Venice took control of the town, because from there it was possible to maintain economic control of the East Roman capital. After the retreat of the crusaders, the Ottomans succeeded the Venetians for a short time. After having changed hands several times between the East Roman Empire, Venice and the Ottomans, after the conquest of Çorlu in 1357 and then Edirne in 1361, Rodosçuk became part of the Ottoman state, together with the whole of Thrace.

Under Ottoman control, the fortunes of Rodosçuk were tied to those of Istanbul.⁴⁴ The town was first used as a base during the Ottoman conquests of Thrace and Constantinople. After the conquest of Constantinople, Fatih Sultan Mehmed established imarets⁴⁵ to provide funding for his new capital, with its new name of Istanbul. The revenues of various settlements were allocated to this *waqf*. Rodosçuk was among the settlements which supplied the *Imaret* of Fatih Mehmet (r.1451-1481) in Istanbul with its tax revenues.

⁴¹ Klaus Kreiser, *Der Osmanische Staat 1300-1922*, (München: Oldenburg, 2001), p. 10.

⁴² For the role of Rodosçuk in grain trade before the Ottoman occupation, see Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries", *The Economic History of Byzantium From the Seventh Through the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou, 3 Vols., I, (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002): 311-376. She writes: "The best wheat of the empire (East Roman Empire), according to Pegolotti, was the wheat of Rhaidestos, that is to say, of the Thracian hinterland.", pp. 326-7.

⁴³ Stefanos Yerasimos, *İstanbul: İmparatorluklar Başkenti*, (İstanbul: TV, 2000).

⁴⁴ Here "Constantinople" is used for the Roman period and "Istanbul" for the Ottoman era.

⁴⁵ Ömer Lütfi Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihli*, (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970).

In the pre-Modern era, the food supply was relatively instable because of the lack of agricultural techniques, so climate changes had an even greater effect than they do today. A deficiency in supplying a settlement was interpreted as a sign of bad administration or punishment by God due to the sins of the administrators. As a result, pre-modern states, especially the Mediterranean states, which were often threatened with famine, paid ample attention to food supply.⁴⁶

As in other pre-Modern Mediterranean lands, in the Ottoman state, the supply of food to the capital was under state control.⁴⁷ High officials were charged with supplying the capital with enough food.⁴⁸ To this end, the Ottoman state controlled trade, and the grain trade had priority because it formed the basic nourishment of the people.⁴⁹ The Ottoman state supported the cereals trade through Rodosçuk since the straits of Gelibolu (Çanakkkale, or the Dardanelles,) were an important geographical control point. The state policy of directing the Thracian grain trade through Rodosçuk result in an evident increase in trade volume in Rodosçuk's small harbor. Moreover, the spring floods of the Meriç River made it hard to transport grain and other products, for example, lamb, cotton, rice from Felibe, iron from Samakov and salt from Inöz⁵⁰ over the long land route called Orta Kol from the Balkans through Çorlu to Istanbul.⁵¹ It was faster and cheaper⁵² to take the shorter land route called

⁴⁶ Fernand Braudel, *Akdeniz ve Akdeniz Dünyası*, translated by Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay, 2 Vols, (İstanbul: Eren, 1989), pp. 384-7.

⁴⁷ Lütfi Güçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler*, (İstanbul: Sermet Matbaası, 1964); "XVIII. Yüzyıl Ortalarında İstanbul'un İaşesi İçin Lüzümlü Hububatın Temini Meselesi", *İFMİ*, XI, 1-4 (Ekim 1949-Temmuz 1950): 397-416; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir Kazasının Sosyal ve İktisâdî Yapısı*, (İzmir: İzmir Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı, 2000), p. 46 ; Suraiya Faroqhi, "16. Yüzyıl", p.102.

⁴⁸ İlber Ortaylı, "16. Yüzyılda Rodosçuk (Via Aegnetia'nın Marmara Uzantısı)", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İktisadi ve Sosyal Değişim Makaleler I*, (Ankara, 2000): 85-93, p. 86; Suraiya Faroqhi, "İstanbul'un İaşesi ve Tekirdağ-Rodosçuk Limanı (16. ve 17. yüzyıllar)", *ODTÜ Gelişme Dergisi Özel Sayısı*, (1979-1980): 139-154, pp. 139-140.

⁴⁹ The scarcity of fertile lands in the Ottoman Empire, as in other Mediterranean states of the 16th century, and the Mediterranean climate, which brings drought in the summer, made the danger of famine always felt. Güçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Hububat Meselesi*, pp. 5, 7, 10. For other economic, military and fiscal reasons for this control in the Ottoman state, see also pp. 38-41. For an example of the control of the grain trade in Venice by the Grain Trade Office, see Braudel, *Akdeniz ve Akdeniz Dünyası*, p. 219.

⁵⁰ Ortaylı, "16. Yüzyılda Rodosçuk", pp. 88-90; Faroqhi, "İstanbul'un İaşesi", p. 143.

⁵¹ Suraiya Faroqhi, "İstanbul'un İaşesi", pp.140, 142, 149.

“Sol Kol”, which ended at Rodosçuk, and transport the goods the rest of the way by sea.

There were also other factors affecting Rodosçuk’s prominence among the other small ports in the area. In the 16th-century Mediterranean world, there was an increase in population, and as a result, towns expanded their territory. Moreover, on the western European coast of the Mediterranean there was a crisis in agricultural production, which with the increasing population had a stronger impact and because it was the basic source of nourishment, grain, local fairs expanded and Rodosçuk was represented in these burgeoning Thessalian fairs.⁵³

The increase in trade provided economic growth in the region the progress of which can be followed in the increasing waqf activities in Rodosçuk. For example, the increase in tax revenues of the *Imaret* of Mehmet II (Fatih) is striking: between 1528 and 1540-41, the income of the *waqf* from Rodosçuk rose from 67,720 *akçes* to 121,542 *akçes*, a rate increase of 79%.⁵⁴ The town also attracted other *waqfs*. For example, Süleyman’s grand vizier, Rüstem Paşa, famous for his business acumen and took part in the booming grain trade, transporting grain by ship to Venice in 1551,⁵⁵ invested money in Rodosçuk. Rüstem Paşa’s *waqf* had charitable foundations along with his economic investments in Rodosçuk; the mosque carrying his name (also called the New Mosque) gave its name to a central quarter. In the same way, there were also a few quarters for example, Cennet Hatun and Canpaşaoğlu, newly named after *waqf* founders who invested money in Rodosçuk alongside their charitable activities.

Scholars examining the *Tahrir* books, *Mühimme* registers and court records have

⁵² For a comparison of land and sea transport prices in 16th century Ottoman lands, see Lütfi Güçer, *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Hububat Meselesi*, pp. 29, 33.

⁵³ İ Metin Kunt, “Derviş Mehmed Paşa, vezir and entrepreneur: a study of Ottoman political-economic theory and practice”, *Turcica* IX/1 (1977): 197-214; Suraiya Faroqhi, “The Early History of Balkan Fairs”, *Südoest-Forschungen* XXXVII (1978): 50-68, pp. 57,62.

⁵⁴ M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar*, (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 313.

⁵⁵ Fernand Braudel, *Akdeniz ve Akdeniz Dünyası*, p. 399.

indicated that this regional growth continuing throughout the century and giving momentum to sectors such as oil and candle production.⁵⁶ Moreover, this economic growth stimulated migration to the town from its hinterland and from other cities, especially from those in the Balkans and this brought about noticable demographic growth.

Based on the *Tapu Tahrir* registers, in the year 1528 there were five Muslim and seven non-Muslim quarters in Rodosçuk, and parallel to this, 177 Muslim and 279 non-Muslim taxed households (*hane*). Only twelve years later, by 1541 there was a 43% increase to 343 Muslim and 310 non-Muslim taxed households and twelve Muslim and twelve non-Muslim quarters. At the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, the total number of taxed households increased by over 26%, from 653 to 823 in the 1540-41 period. Thus, from 1528 to the end of the century, the number of taxed households in Rodosçuk had dramatically increased by over 80% (See Table 1, Appendices).⁵⁷

According to the *Tapu Tahrir* registers, it is possible to estimate the population of a town based on the number of its taxed households. To calculate the population, if five is taken as multiplier, as done by most historians, and if 10% of the sum is added as untaxed inhabitants, as Barkan suggests, it is possible to assume that the population of Rodosçuk in 1528 was about 2,508, in 1540-41 it was about 3,591 and it grew to 4,526 at about the end of that century.⁵⁸ According to this data, it is possible to conclude that the population was approximately 3,700 in 1549.⁵⁹ Compared with the population of other contemporary towns and cities, it is possible to say that Rodosçuk was a prosperous town and its population

⁵⁶ Ortaylı, “16. Yüzyılda Rodosçuk”; Faroqi, “İstanbul’un İaşesi”, pp. 140–1, 150.

⁵⁷ Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, p. 313.

⁵⁸ Here five is taken the average household, like many scholars, in order to compare Rodosçuk with other towns. Cem Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun ve Türkiye’nin Nüfusu 1500–1927*, 2 Vols, Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistikleri Enstitüsü, (Ankara: 1996), II, pp. 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, 18.

⁵⁹ When the seasonal population change is taken into consideration, these numbers, however, do not reflect the true population of the town. When the grain was harvested and transfered to the town, ships filled the harbour and seasonal workers, passengers and fugitives joined the permanent inhabitants, the population expanded. Then later shrank. Ortaylı points out that the economic, political and judicial relations between Rodosçuk and its villages were more intensive than that of many other towns. Ortaylı, “16. Yüzyılda Rodosçuk”, pp. 87, 91.

increase of 80% was parallel to that of Istanbul, which had a 75% increase.⁶⁰

This large population increase dependent on migration attracted the attention of both Faroqhi and Ortaylı. The latter pointed out that numerous real-estate transactions in court records were a sign of the high amount of migrants and temporary residents.⁶¹ These numerous real-estate transaction entries made it possible in this present study to partly map the town as it was in the middle of the 16th century. After establishing the location of the quarters, this paper will describe the population structure of each quarter by examining some samples of its inhabitants in order to understand the changes that occurred in the town due to the migration and economic growth in the year 1549.

Sources

The main sources of this thesis are the first three books of the Rodosçuk court records,⁶² which cover approximately five years (1546-1552). Rodosçuk was chosen from the numerous towns and cities, because it had a colorful population.⁶³ Secondly it was more interesting to write the story of a town, rather than that of a big central city, for the majority of people life in the Ottoman lands was rural and semi-rural. The third reason was that Rodosçuk's court records, preserved in the National Library in Ankara, are among the few that date from quite an early period, namely the mid-sixteenth century.

Some other archive materials can also be used as supplementary sources. First, the *waqf* registers are of utmost importance, because Rodosçuk belonged to the *Waqf* of Sultan Mehmed Han and there were also some *waqfs* of the notables. The *Waqf* records contain data

⁶⁰ Compare with Behar, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu*, p.5; Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda İzmir*, pp. 31-2.

⁶¹ Ortaylı, "16. Yüzyılda Rodosçuk", p. 91.

⁶²RŞS Numbers 1510, RŞS 1511 and 1512.

⁶³ İlber Ortaylı noted the interesting content of Rodosçuk's court records. Ortaylı, "16. Yüzyılda Rodosçuk", p. 85.

about the economic production and settlement structure in a town.⁶⁴ As a second source, the *Mühimme* registers reflect the imperial viewpoint as these documents highlight the demands of the capital. However, Rodosçuk was first mentioned in the *Mühimme* Registers on 24th January, 1557 (23 *Rebiyülevvel*, 964). Consequently, it was impossible to use them directly, and therefore these registers only have a supplementary role in this study. The *Tapu Tahrir* registers are also helpful because there are three books, one from 1528, another from the years 1540 to 1541 and the third from the end of that century. In these books, taxable households are listed quarter by quarter, so these records make it possible to compare the quarters as they existed before, and after the middle of the 16th century.

Even though Rodosçuk was not a large and well known place and there are no illustrative travel accounts about the town from the 16th century, two travel accounts from later centuries have proved to be helpful. The first account is by Evliya Çelebi, but gives only brief descriptions of the town however, second by Kelemen Mikes is more detailed. Mikes was the assistant to a very important visitor to the town, the Prince of Hungary, Rákóczi II, after being defeated by Austria, the prince was forced to leave his homeland. He first went to Poland, then to England and France; his final stop, where he died, was Rodosçuk. Mikes, who accompanied the prince and his son during all of their travels, recorded his impressions of the town in his letters. Although the records cover the impressions of about forty years in the first half of the eighteenth century, they still are of utmost importance for this study for they contain very detailed descriptions of everyday life in Rodosçuk, its climate, its plant cover and the physical appearance of the town itself.⁶⁵ Selective use of the information given by Mikes has assisted me in understanding the geographical conditions of Rodosçuk and their effect on the everyday lives of the inhabitants.

⁶⁴ Mehmet Serez, *Tekirdağ ve Çevresi Vakfiyeleri*, (Tekirdağ: Tekirdağ Valiliği Yayınları, 1993).

⁶⁵ Kelemen Mikes, *Briefe aus der Türkei*, (Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig: Insel Verlag 1999).

Literature

With its rich historical remnants, Rodosçuk first attracted archeologists and art historians. Since the beginning of the twentieth century local historians have also studied the historical background of these remnants. Mehmet Tevfik's (Hayrabolulu Caferzade) two early books were groundbreaking.⁶⁶ The first detailed research on the history of Tekirdağ, however, dates to 1949. In this monograph, Hikmet Çevik used various archive materials such as court records, *waqf* registers and *Mühimme* registers. He gave detailed information about Evliya Çelebi and Kelemen Mikes' accounts about the town. Moreover, his profound knowledge concerning the vicinity of Tekirdağ is worth mentioning.⁶⁷ After the monograph, he also wrote several articles for local newspapers and periodicals which are worth mentioning,⁶⁸ one of which was based on the *waqf* registers, Çevik used them to follow changes in place names.⁶⁹ This work interested many local historians who wanted to document and preserve the history of the place names in the town of Tekirdağ which had changed rapidly over 20th the century. Serez published a book about the *waqfs* in the vicinity of today's Tekirdağ.⁷⁰ In addition, Oy wrote an article about place names, and later an informative book about the names of the quarters in Tekirdağ.⁷¹ His second book is a bibliography of Tekirdağ,⁷² which

⁶⁶ Mehmet Tevfik Hayrabolulu Caferzade, *Denizde Seyahat*, (İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası 1322 (1906)).

⁶⁷ This is an important contribution, even though I do not agree with his deductions about the location of the early settlement. He thought that the old settlement was in Barbaros and that the Ottomans first settled in the place where Tekirdağ is today. His deduction depends on the fact that today there is no remnant of a castle from pre-Ottoman periods in Tekirdağ; but there is one in Barbaros. In my research on the court records, however, I found some records about the sale of old castle stones in the town. Hikmet Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi Araştırmaları*, (İstanbul, 1949); *Tekirdağ Yörükleri*, (İstanbul, 1971), pp. 7-10.

⁶⁸ Hikmet Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi Araştırmaları*; *Tekirdağ Yörükleri*; "Tekirdağ İli Yer Adları ve Rodosçuk Sicilleri", *Şafak*, 285-292, 30.3.1964-24.4.1964; "Kâtip Çelebi'nin Cihannüma'sında Tekirdağ İli", *Şafak*, 291-292, 20.4.1964-27.4.1964; *Tekirdağ Müzesine Doğru*, (İstanbul: Ekin Basımevi, 1966); "Tekirdağ İlinde Tatarlar ve Giraylar", *Şafak*, 567, Tekirdağ 1966; "Tekirdağ Coğrafyası Araştırmaları", *Yeni İnan*, 3520-3563, Tekirdağ 24.2.1967-1.8.1967.

⁶⁹ Aydın Oy, "Eski Vakfiyelere göre Tekirdağ'da yer adları", *Yeni İnan*, 2631-45, 23.3.-10.4. 1962; Hasan Adnan Önelçin, "Tekirdağ'da Sokak ve Mevki Adları", *Yeni İnan*, (Tekirdağ: 17.3.1964).

⁷⁰ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*.

⁷¹ Aydın Oy, *Tekirdağ İli Yer Adları, I. Merkez İlçesinin Toponimisi*, (İstanbul: Tekirdağ Halkevi Yayınları, Ekin Basımevi, 1964).

gives good information about local publications which also examine archive material, such as *waqf* records, court records or *salnames*.⁷³ A more recent monograph was authored by another local historian, Mauridh, who left the city during the Greek-Turkish population exchange in 1923. This book contains a map showing the historical location of some of the sanctuaries (especially the non-Muslim ones) and a good collection of pictures.⁷⁴

Studies on Tekirdağ other than these local historians' research and the "Tekirdağ" sections in encyclopedias are few;⁷⁵ however, Rodosçuk has attracted two Ottomanists; Faroqhi and Ortaylı. The former's early article on Rodosçuk⁷⁶ concentrated on the economic importance of the town for Ottoman trade, by examining the *Mühimme* and *Tahrir* registers. The latest study on the city is Ortaylı's article,⁷⁷ which takes *Mühimme* registers and court records of the sixteenth century as its sources. This study also concentrates on the role of the town in the trade activity of the Ottoman state. Ortaylı mentioned some of the court records as providing clues about economic growth in the town and its reflections on social life. These court records, which contain valuable data about various aspects of social life, deserve to be studied in greater depth.

⁷² Aydın Oy, *Tekirdağ Bibliyografyası*, (Tekirdağ: Tekirdağ Valiliği Yayınları, 1993).

⁷³ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*; Fahir Taner, "Rodosçuk Mahkeme-i Şer'iyye Sicilleri", *Yeni İnan*, 3890, (Tekirdağ: 20.3.1970); Osman Yalçın, *Tekirdağ*, (İstanbul: Özyürek Matbaası, 1960); Lâtif Bağman, "Salname Yaprakları Arasında Tekirdağ", *Yeni İnan*, 5074-5099, (Tekirdağ: 28.7.1975-26.8.1975); Yalçın, Osman, *Tekirdağ*, (İstanbul, 1981).

⁷⁴ Δημητρη Α. Μαυριδη, *Απο την Κωνσταντινουπολη στη Ραιδεστο, σε αναζητηση της νεοελληνικης Ταυτοτητας*, (Εαυθη, 2003). (Dhnhtrh A. Mauridh, *From Konstantinopolis to Raideostos, a search for the Greek Identity*, (Xanthi, 2003)).

⁷⁵ Besim Darkot, "Tekirdağ", İA¹, MEB, (İstanbul, 1974); F. Babinger- (M. Bazin), "Tekirdağ", *EF²*; "Tekirdağ", *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*; Ahmet Kabaklı "Tekirdağ", *Tercüman Gazetesi*, 317, 28.8.1962.

⁷⁶ Faroqhi, "İstanbul'un İfaesi".

⁷⁷ Ortaylı, "16. Yüzyılda Rodosçuk".

PART I: The Quarters

To understand a town, it is very important to know the location of its parts. Until now, knowledge of 16th-century Ottoman towns has generally come from *waqf* records. In these sources, however, location descriptions are not always included; therefore, scholars have only been able to determine the location of a few historical landmarks. In order to compensate for this missing information data from later centuries has been examined and the shape of the towns today can offer clues to the earlier settlement. However, drawing upon later sources may be inaccurate because some of these historical landmarks have been rebuilt or relocated over the centuries. Moreover, many other factors, such as river courses, seashores and human activity, dramatically changed the face of a town over the centuries. *Qadı* court records supply direct contemporary knowledge from the 16th century regarding the location of individual houses and important buildings in Rodosçuk. Thus, reconstructing the town from these records is the best way to lift the shadow that later centuries have cast over the understanding of the 16th century town.

When supported with geographical and historical data, *qadı* court records can help establish the physical structure of a settlement. For this purpose, court records dealing with real-estate transactions can be useful because they generally include a notice describing exactly where the property in consideration was located. Although there are some difficulties with this type of reconstruction, by evaluating the court records of Rodosçuk from the years between 1546 and 1552, a fairly good picture can be drawn of the town, because, as a result of the high volume of immigration during those years, there were numerous records dealing with real-estate transactions.

Drawing the Portrait of the Town

The location of real estate given in court records is defined by giving the names of the neighbours, buildings, streets and geographic boundaries like the sea or creeks that border the property. It is possible to formulate these descriptions as for example: A is defined with B, C, D, and E on its four sides; and F is defined by C, H, G, and I.⁷⁸ It is possible to formulate these descriptions as follows in fictional extract from a court record: The location of A (Hüseyin's house) is defined with B (Ali's house), C (street), D (river), and E (Süleyman's house) on its four sides. Another entry in the court records, however, might be written as F (Yakup's house), which is defined by C (street), H, G, and I.



All that needs to be done then is to match the sides and draw a map according to the points of intersection, putting C over C, then see what the outcome is.

There are, however, a few problems with this method: First, location descriptions define the precise location of the real estate for the contemporary inhabitants of the town. But since the contemporary inhabitants naturally had much concrete knowledge concerning the make-up of the town therefore, the entries in the court records do not reveal as much about the location of, for example, a piece of real-estate belonging to “Nasuh Bey” or “Çavuş Hüseyin”, as they did to the inhabitants living at that time who would actually know these people and

⁷⁸ There may, of course, be more or fewer sides mentioned in the records.

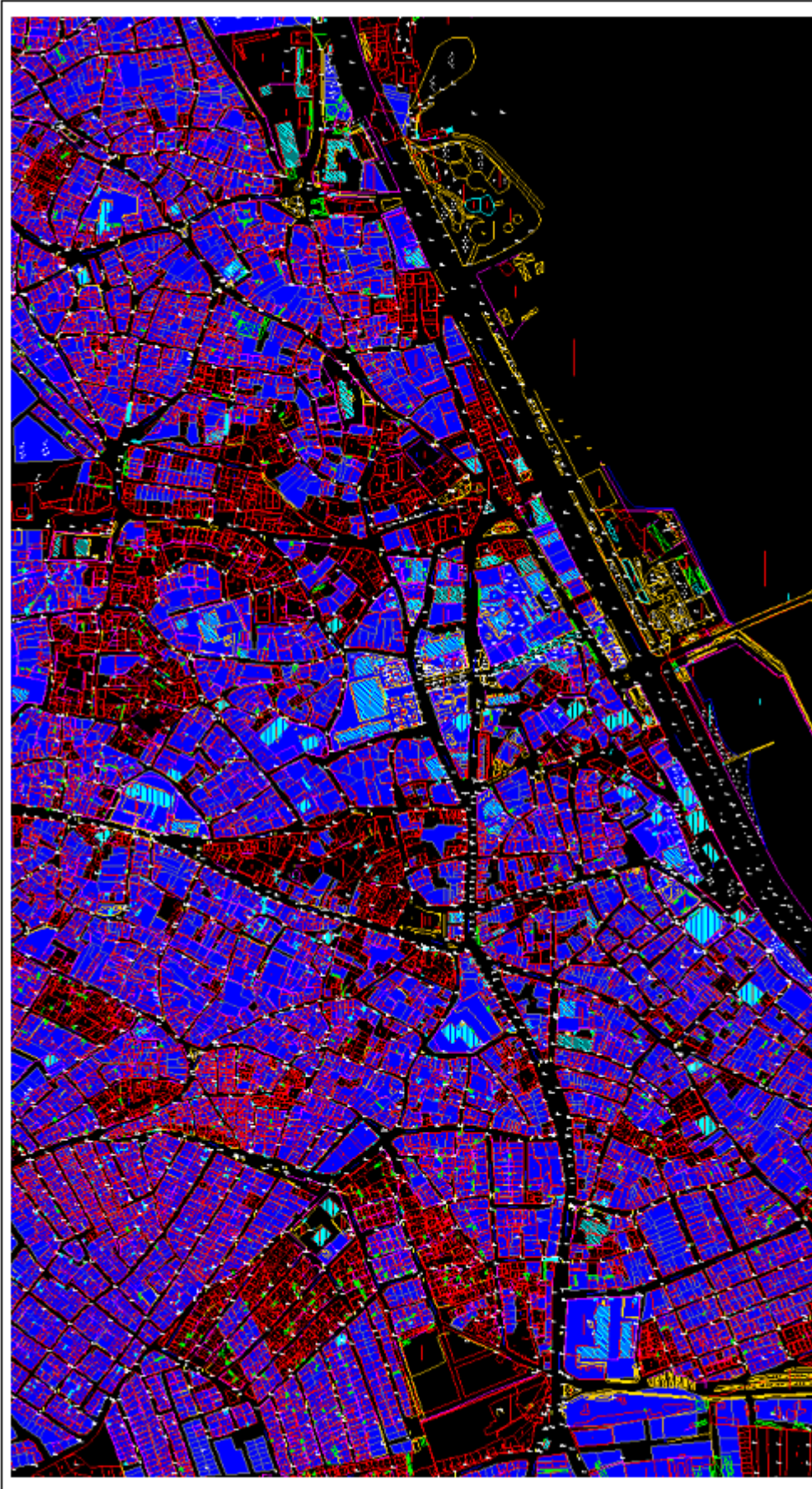
thus, the information given was self-evident to the contemporary townspeople but not to the researchers of today.

Moreover, these descriptions give the names of neighbours without mentioning on which side, of the house to be identified, that they lived. In the course of this study, there were some cases where for example, not only the C's, but also B and H were identical. In this situation, it was impossible to include both of these pieces on the map at the same time. One reason for this problem is that the entries in the record were not accurate and different descriptions of the same house have shown that there was no fixed format for the property descriptions. For example, one time the description starts from the north, continuing to the south, east, and west; the next time it can give the order of the neighbours starting from the east and moving round to the north, west, and south. As a result, it is not always possible to match the pieces as though they were pieces of a puzzle and get a picture of the town at that time showing the location of each inhabitant. This means that if each definition is taken as a puzzle piece, this piece has changeable intersection points; that is, points B, C, D, and E are not fixed, but movable.

Another problem with this method is that data about property locations often changed over time; thus, the locations of A, B, C, D and E also changed. For example, if the only data available gives the location of A in quarter 1, and other data show that one of its neighbours, B, was in quarter 2, it is not possible to conclude that quarters 1 and 2 border each other, because it is possible that B originally lived in quarter 1 and moved to quarter 2 at a later date. This means that each piece of the puzzle is a piece of a different picture taken at different times from the same place.

This makes this puzzle more complex. However, if attention is paid to the possible problems and if the points of intersection are cautiously defined, it is possible to extract information about the neighbours of some of the town's inhabitants and the intersection points of some of

its quarters. This can show what the town looked like in 1549, if it is supported with geographical and other historical data. In the following pages, the small pieces of the whole picture will first be deciphered, and then these pieces will be combined and placed over the current map of the town (see Map 1). This reconstruction of the town of Rodosçuk in the 16th century will begin with the relevant geographical and historical data.



Map II: A map of Tekirdağ today

Climate

To reconstruct the earlier picture of a settlement, first, it is necessary to obtain some geographical data about its location. The climate, the sea level, the location of the river beds, the soil type, and erosion must all be taken into consideration as background for the whole picture. For example, studies show that a change in the global climate caused the sea level to rise in the 16th century.⁷⁹ Considering the effects of this phenomenon on a coastal town like Rodosçuk, it is easy to imagine how the coastline of Rodosçuk at that time was quite different from today.

Despite the difficulties⁸⁰ in establishing the exact weather in a specific year in pre-modern times, scientists have combined all the findings at hand, stemming from explorations of ice cores, tree rings, and volcanic eruptions, with historical accounts of weather and data about changes in the harvest.⁸¹ Unfortunately, these studies have concentrated primarily on northern and central Europe and these findings cannot be applied directly to Rodosçuk. This is because other climatologists have shown that regional climatic changes differed in intensity from each other, and assuming a global trend for the mid-sixteenth century is not possible.⁸² However, climatologists have offered some general ideas relevant to this study concerning the weather in the 16th century. Therefore, to understand the climate in 16th-century Rodosçuk it is necessary to combine the research done by climatologists with a limited number of historical accounts⁸³ and with the data gleaned from court records concerning plant cover and

⁷⁹ Brian Fagan, *The Little Ice Age, How Climate Made History 1300-1850*, (New York: Basic Books, 2000), p.63; Rudolf Brázdil and Oldřich Kotyza, , "Introduction", *History of Weather and Climate In the Czech Lands*, edited by Brázdil, Rudolf - Kotyza, Oldřich, (Brno : Masaryk University, 2000) vol. I, pp.26.

⁸⁰ Jean M. Grove, "The Onset of the Little Ice Age", in ed. P. D. Jones, A.E.J. Ogilvie, T. D. Davies and K. R. Briffa, *History and Climate Memories of the Future?*, (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2001), 153-185; Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*, p.xiii.

⁸¹ Fagan, *Der Osmanische Stat*, p. 51; *History of Weather*, I, p. 21.

⁸² *History of Weather*, I, pp.23-5.

⁸³ Regarding the scarcity of historical accounts about climate in Ottoman historical writings see Kreiser, *Der*

agricultural production.

The period between 1300 and 1850 is called the "Little Ice Age" by many climate experts.⁸⁴ This, however, was not a period of a deep freeze or a direct shift to a colder climate all over the world, as the name suggests. Instead, "the Little Ice Age was a continuing zigzag of climatic shifts."⁸⁵ There were cycles of intensely cold winters and easterly winds, years of heavy spring and early summer rains, mild winters and frequent Atlantic storms, periods of drought and summer heat waves. The Little Ice Age first cooled down the climate in the North Atlantic in about the year 1200, causing an increase in stormy weather in the North Atlantic and the North Sea. This cold weather affected Europe between 1315 and 1319, causing thousands to perish in a continent-wide famine. By 1400, the weather was stormier and more unpredictable all over Europe. The Little Ice Age brought decades of cold weather even into the late 16th century, and a period of much cooler conditions over much of the world was seen between the late 17th and mid 19th centuries.⁸⁶

Taking this data into account, it can be concluded that, by the mid 16th century, the cooling effects of the Little Ice Age would not have been very evident in the Marmara region. The unpredictable weather and storms, however, probably did affect the region to some extent, and central Europe even more so, this in turn, influenced Mediterranean trade in certain years.⁸⁷ Brian Fagan explains that, "a modern European transported to the height of the Little Ice Age would not find the climate very different, even if the winters were sometimes colder than today and the summers very warm on occasion, too."⁸⁸ Indeed, according to the accounts by Kelemen Mikes, except for some colder winters and warmer summers, the

Osmanische Staat, p. 9. Fortunately, however, there are very detailed accounts from Kelemen Mikes spanning forty years. Although these accounts date from more than a hundred fifty years later (1718-1752), they give some idea about the contemporary climate in Rodosçuk.

⁸⁴ "Other authorities restrict the term 'Little Ice Age' to a period of much cooler conditions over much of the world between the late seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries." Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*, p. 49.

⁸⁵ Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*, pp.xiii, 50.

⁸⁶ Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*, pp. xvi, 50.

⁸⁷ Braudel, *Akdeniz Dünyası*, pp.384-7.

⁸⁸ Fagan, *The Little Ice Age*, p.48.

weather was almost the same in the first half of the 18th century as it is today.⁸⁹ Therefore, if Fagan comes to this conclusion even for the height of the Little Ice Age and if, according to the accounts by Mikes, the weather in Tekirdağ was not much different at the height of the Little Ice Age than it is today, it can be assumed that in the mid-16th century, the climate in the Marmara region was probably not very different from today.

The plant cover of a town and its agricultural products provide the most reliable clues about its climate,⁹⁰ clues scattered in the court records indicate that the plant cover and agricultural production of Rodosçuk were similar to the present. It can be understood from real-estate and property records that there were persimmons, mulberries, oaks and poplars in the gardens.⁹¹ From these records, and also from those concerning trade activity and taxes, wheat, grapes, cotton and barley were the main agricultural products, differing from today only in quantity.⁹²

These crops require the same mixed-Mediterranean climate which can be summarized as follows: Warm, dry summers and tepid, rainy winters, muted by the Black Sea climate, which lessened the dryness in the summers and sometimes brought snow in the winter.⁹³ Perhaps, in sixteenth-century Rodosçuk, occasional colder winters or warmer summers caused instability in agricultural production in certain years.

Although the climate was very similar to that of today, because of the climatic changes that occurred in the 16th century, the sea level was a few meters higher than it is today. For example, when Rüstem Paşa's trustee bought houses and land for his famous mosque complex, some of these pieces of land and houses were very close to the sea. Today, however,

⁸⁹ Özlem Sert, "Kelemen Mikes'in Mektuplarına Göre 1716-1758 Yılları Mevsim Takvimi", : *Kebikeç, Dosya: Tarım Tarihi*, 23 (2007): 79-83.

⁹⁰ Huricihan İslamoğlu and Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crop Patterns as Agricultural Production Trends in Sixteenth Century Anatolia", in *Review*, II/3, (1979): 401-436.

⁹¹ For the court records which give some clues about plant cover and agricultural production in the town see RŞS 1510, 152a-6, RŞS 1511, 7a-1, 22b-8, 23b-8, 26a-8, 27b-1, 70a-2, 70a-5, 80a-1, 88a-2.

⁹² Evliya Çelebi informs us of plentiful fruit and a good sort of wheat (deve dişi buğdayı). Today in the Ergene plain, the main difference in agricultural production is the production of sunflowers, used for oil production which was not planted in the area during the sixteenth century. Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 140.

⁹³ Soustal, *Thrakien*, p. 57.

also due to the artificial infilling on the coastline in the last century, the Mosque is about two hundred meters from the coast. Moreover, the exact locations of the river beds were probably quite different, because due to spring floods, the location of creek beds and small rivers tended to change.⁹⁴ Also, with the expansion and reconstruction of various quarters of Rodosçuk, creeks were further redirected and sometimes they even disappeared completely. Taking all this into account, it is safe to conclude that the topography of the town was quite different from today, which gives further support for the reconstruction of the old face of Rodosçuk or rather, one of its old faces, by examining the court records.

Starting Points

To construct a picture of the town in the 16th century, one starting point is to combine estimates concerning the topography of the town with data about the remnants of its public architecture. First, the remains of some sanctuaries and *waqf* documents concerning others which are no longer standing give reliable clues about the locations of some quarters. Second, several large houses of local notables together with their gardens and vineyards are adjacent to multiple quarters; thus, they are neighbours to various pieces of real estate in different quarters. The data about these large houses are very important in obtaining information about adjacent quarters. Third, documents concerning other landmarks such as fountains, caravanserais and the town walls, supply important historical information. This can be combined with the existing data in order to create a better picture of the town. Starting with the remnants of the religious buildings, it is possible to determine the locations of the quarters, because they usually took their names from the sanctuaries.⁹⁵ Since there is more data about

⁹⁴ It is known, for example, for Enez port that it had not yet been filled with sand and stones by the Meriç River in the 16th-17th centuries. Faroqhi, "İstanbul'un İaşesi", p.141; Kemal Göçmen, "Enez Limanının Değişen Öneminde Meriç Deltasının Etkileri", Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi, 2-3 (1973-74): 253-266.

⁹⁵ Ayverdi points out this aspect also for the quarters of İstanbul, even though there are some exceptions. Ekrem

mosques and mesjids than churches and synagogues in Ottoman archives, it is easier to start with mosques and Muslim quarters.

Although it was not completed in 1549, the Rüstem Paşa Mosque⁹⁶ is a good starting point for this study. Among the real-estate transactions in the court records of Rodosçuk, there are eight documents dated in the summer of 1552 which contain valuable information concerning this mosque.⁹⁷ The transactions mentioned were completed during the construction or just before the completion of the mosque, which was built in H. 960 (1552-3) according to its inscription.⁹⁸ These documents concern seven houses and two pieces of land that Seydi Ali Bey, the trustee of Rüstem Paşa, bought for Rüstem Paşa's waqf complex. The information regarding their location shows that these houses were on the coast, near the mosque (Yeni Cami or Cami-i Cedid), *medrese* (a theological school attached to a mosque), *hamam* (public bath),⁹⁹ a cemetery and Çavuş Hüseyin Bey's house in the Çavuş Hüseyin Bey quarter (see Table C1, Appendices).¹⁰⁰ This information alone is a good enough starting point to establish the location of a few quarters in the town.

Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih devri sonlarında İstanbul mahalleleri, şehrin iskani ve nüfusu*, (Ankara: Doğuş, 1958), pp. 3-4.

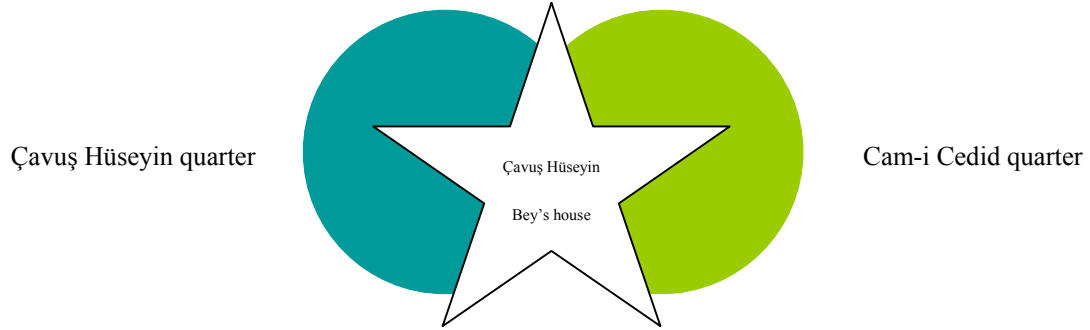
⁹⁶ For the *waqf* documents of Rüstem Paşa Mosque, see Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 98.

⁹⁷ RŞS 1511: 125a-3, 125a-4, 125a-5, 125b-2, 125b-3, RŞS 1512: 47b-2, 47b-4, 51b-5.

⁹⁸ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi* p. 66; Mehmet Tuncel, Babaeski, *Kırklareli, Tekirdağ Camileri*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basım Evi, 1974), p. 31. There is a second inscription stating that the mosque was repaired in H.1257 (1841-2).

⁹⁹ In a *waqf* document from December 1557, a *hamam*, forty-five cellars, eight *debbağhane*, a caravanserai in the town, its two shops and ten shops near this caravanserai are described as belonging to the *waqf*. Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, pp 71-2, p. 137.

¹⁰⁰ RŞS 1510: 142a-1.



To sum up, first, the quarter surrounding Rüstem Paşa's Mosque was called Yeni Cami or Cami-i Cedid, which means "new mosque", referring to Rüstem Paşa's great mosque. Çavuş Hüseyin's house, which is mentioned in the locative descriptions of some of the houses bought by Rüstem Paşa's trustee and some other houses in the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter,¹⁰¹ was within the borders of the Yeni Cami and Çavuş Hüseyin quarters. Real estate transactions from various dates also support this claim. The document concerning Çavuş Hüseyin's servant, Kasım bin Abdullah, who sold his house in Cami-i Cedid next to Çavuş Hüseyin's house, and the location of *Bazarcı* Ali bin Evin's house also indicates that the Cami-i Cedid and Çavuş Hüseyin quarters were adjacent¹⁰² (see Table C1, in Appendix).

Second, these documents can also help to find the exact location of Çavuş Hüseyin quarter, which has remained obscure up to today. The *waqf* documents studied previously did not indicate the location of this quarter. Oy points out that there is no hint of its actual

¹⁰¹ RŞS 1511: 9a-9, RŞS 1512: 5a-6, 125b-2.

¹⁰² RŞS 1511: 109b-9, 102a-2,6, 102b-1, RŞS 1512: 23a-3.

location, although it is one of the oldest quarters of the town.¹⁰³ Based on a *waqf* document concerning a certain Hüseyin Paşa, it is possible that this quarter might have been in the place called “Selvili” today.¹⁰⁴ In addition, there are two other *waqfs* mentioned in these documents: the *waqf* of “Leb-i Derya Hüseyin Çavuş Mescid-i Şerifi”¹⁰⁵ and the *waqf* of “Hüseyin Bey bin Abdullah Emin’ül Matbah’is-Sultani.”¹⁰⁶ This means that there were at least two Hüseyins who had mosques: one is Hüseyin Paşa, whose mosque was in the place called “Selvili” today, and the other was Hüseyin Çavuş, who had the *waqf* named “Leb-i Derya Hüseyin Çavuş Mescid-i Şerifi”. The first Hüseyin Paşa was probably not the same man as Hüseyin Çavuş; it was instead the Çavuş Hüseyin whose *waqf*’s name is associated with the quarter’s location on the coast.¹⁰⁷ As a result, it is possible to conclude that the Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter was in the vicinity of Rüstem Paşa’s *waqf* complex on the coast.

It is also possible to deduce that the Çavuş Hüseyin and Hacı Isa quarters were adjacent to each other. This is because a parcel of land in the Hacı Isa quarter which was sold to Yeniçeri Bali Bey bin Abdullah was next to Çavuş Hüseyin’s house, which was mentioned as being located in Çavuş Hüseyin quarter (see Table C2, in Appendix).¹⁰⁸ Moreover, Ibrahim Bey bin Hacı Isa’s vineyard in Hacı Isa quarter was next to Çavuş Hüseyin’s house and a creek.¹⁰⁹ Also next to Çavuş Hüseyin’s house were the caravanserai and public bath (*hamam*) of Çavuş Hüseyin’s *waqf* and a creek that flowed through Hacı Isa quarter into the sea in the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter. According to *waqf* documents, Hacı Isa Mosque was located near today’s Süleyman Paşa Primary School¹¹⁰ and the street next to this school is still called Hacı

¹⁰³ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, pp. 22, 72.

¹⁰⁴ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁵ VA 725, VA 569.

¹⁰⁶ Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları*, pp. 76-77, VA 424 .

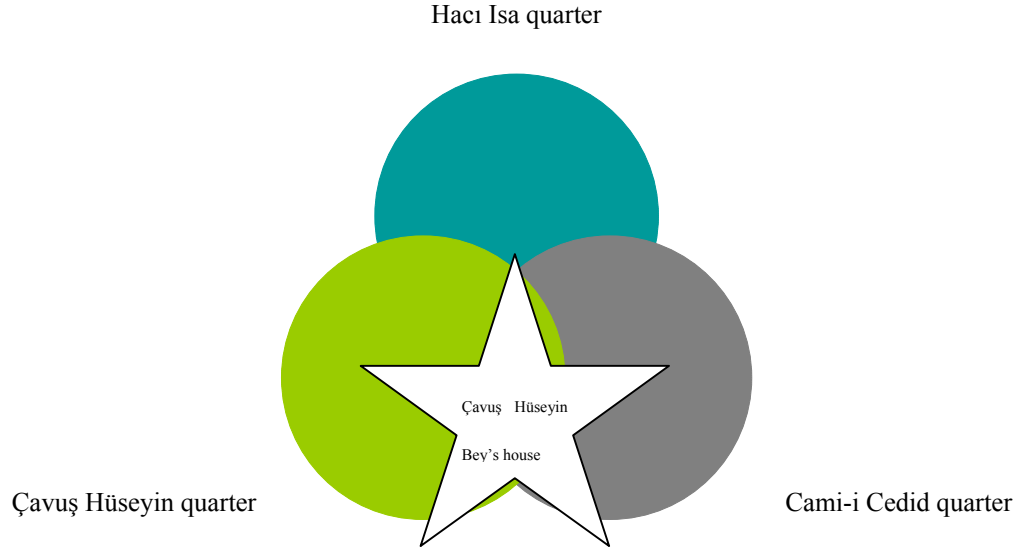
¹⁰⁷ “Leb-i derya”, which means word-for-word “lip of the sea”, is a metaphor for “seashore”.

¹⁰⁸ RŞS 1511:88a-2.

¹⁰⁹ RŞS 1512: 27a-4.

¹¹⁰ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri* , p. 118.

Isa Sokağı.¹¹¹ Thus, from this point, the Hacı Isa quarter extended to the Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter, where it was also adjacent to Yeni Cami quarter.



It is not possible, however, to establish more precisely the location of the Çavuş Hüseyin Mosque on the basis of the *waqf* documents concerning the sanctuary there. This is due to the fact that, to clarify the location of Leb-i Derya Hüseyin Çavuş Mescid-i Şerifi, there are neither ruins nor any other *waqf* document. Records of real –estate transactions also give no clue about the location of this sanctuary; they do help, however, to determine the borders that this quarter shared with other quarters.

According to some documents, Scribe Yahşi bin Mustafa bought a house located on the corner between Çavuş Hüseyin's house and Atmacacıbaşı Gazanfer Ağa's house in the Cami-i Cedid quarter.¹¹² A few days later, a document was registered regarding Yahşi bin Mustafa selling a house in the Cami-i Atik quarter to Hızır Çelebi bin Patrik(?) for 6,600

¹¹¹ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 39.

¹¹² RŞS 1510: 44b-1.

akçes. This house was located on the same street as Gazanfer Ağa's house and was also next to Ahmed's house.¹¹³ A few months later, a third document again mentions Scribe Yahşi, and also Gazanfer Ağa, as the neighbors of Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah, who had given his two-floor wooden house to his ex-wife Hacı Hatun bint-i Abdullah¹¹⁴ (see Table C2, Appendices).

It seems, then, that Scribe Yahşi sold his house in Cami-i Atik for 6,600 *akçes* and moved to nearby house costing 3,400 *akçes*, in the Cami-i Cedid quarter. This shows, on the one hand, Scribe Yahşi's grasp of the market situation in that he foresaw that real estate prices in Cami-i Cedid would increase. On the other hand, this data gives clues about the neighboring quarters. The Cami-i Atik and Cam-i Cedid quarters joined where Atmacacıbaşı Gazanfer Ağa's house was located. Moreover, because Çavuş Hüseyin Bey's house was on the other side of the house of Scribe Yahşi, it is possible to say that Gazanfer Ağa's house was also very near to the Çavuş Hüseyin Bey quarter. It was very near the intersection point of Cami-i Atik with the Çavuş Hüseyin and Cami-i Cedid quarters.

It is not exactly clear in which quarter Gazanfer Ağa's house was located, because it is mentioned as a neighbour to houses in both the Cami-i Cedid and Cami-i Atik quarters. However, a document mentioning a wooden house bought by Gazanfer Ağa for 44 florin, this building was next to Gazanfer Ağa's own house and in the same street as the houses of Haydar Bey, and Toma, gives the impression that Gazanfer Ağa's house may have been in Cami-i Atik quarter.¹¹⁵

According to the *waqf* documents, the Cami-i Atik mosque was in the same location in the 16th century as the current mosque which was built near the customs house in H.1246 (1830-31) by Zahir Nazırı Tekirdağlı Ahmet Ağa. However, this mosque has had predecessors. On examining the *waqf* document of Zahir Nazırı Ahmet Ağa, previous scholars assumed that

¹¹³ RŞS 1510: 60b-3.

¹¹⁴ RŞS 1510: 158a-1,167b-1,2, 168a-1,2, 1511:99b-4,102a-6, 114b-4,115b-8, 131a-5,6,7.

¹¹⁵ RŞS 1511:56b-1.

the Eski Cami was built by Can Paşa.¹¹⁶ However, this is probably not the case, because the *waqf* of Can Paşa is a *mescid waqf* in another quarter.¹¹⁷ Based on the “Merhum Hekim Şirvani’nin Cam-i Atik Vakf”, it is possible to assume that the Cami-i Atik may have been built by Hekim Şirvani. There are, however, two documents in the Vakıflar (pious foundations) archive that cast doubt on this assumption and give a partial answer to this question. The first is “Cami-i Atik Vakfından Mehmet Hekim Şirvani”;¹¹⁸ and the second is “Hekim Şirvani ve Hızır Bey ve Şeyh Mehmet Cami-i Atik Vakfı”.¹¹⁹ According to these documents, it seems that, over many years, various people provided funding for this mosque. On the other hand, another quarter named after the son of Hekim Şirvani, Hacı Mehmed, is mentioned in a *waqf* document concerning Hasan Paşa from the year 1691. According to this document of Hacı Mehmed bin İbrahim-ül Hekim Şirvani, dated H. 897 (M. 1491-2), there was a mosque, a public bath (*hamam*) and some other real –estate belonging to Hacı Mehmed’s *waqf*. After examining these documents, local historians Serez and Oy came to the conclusion that this mosque and the quarter named after it were in today’s Çiftlikönü quarter.¹²⁰ No Hacı Mehmed quarter, however, is mentioned in the court documents from 1546 to 1552. It is not clear whether there was a Hacı Mehmed quarter or whether it was the same as Cami-i Atik. Moreover, because Hacı Mehmed is a frequently used name, it is hard to answer this question. However, it can be stated that there was a Cami-i Atik in the location where, today, another mosque with the same name still exists, and the quarter named after this mosque was in this area.

Matching the two diagrams above, showing the houses of Çavuş Hüseyin Bey and Gazanfer Ağa at the intersection points of the quarters, it is possible to deduce that the Çavuş

¹¹⁶ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 109; Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 22; Tuncel, *Tekirdağ Camileri*, p. 36; Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarih,i* p. 7.

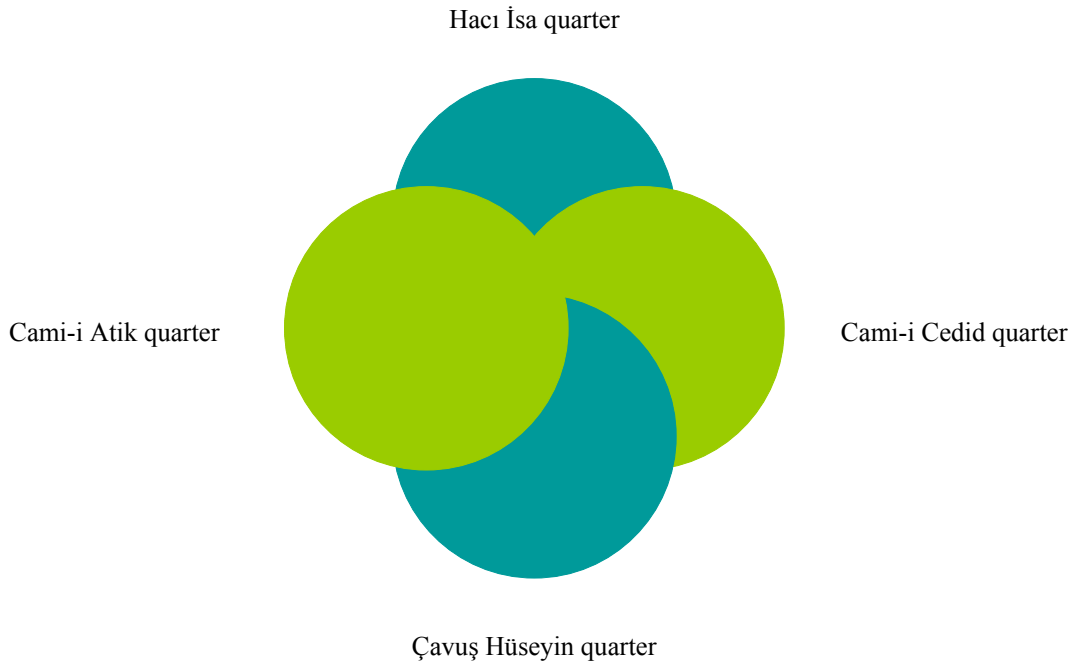
¹¹⁷ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 120.

¹¹⁸ VA 403, VA 292.

¹¹⁹ VA 725, VA 538.

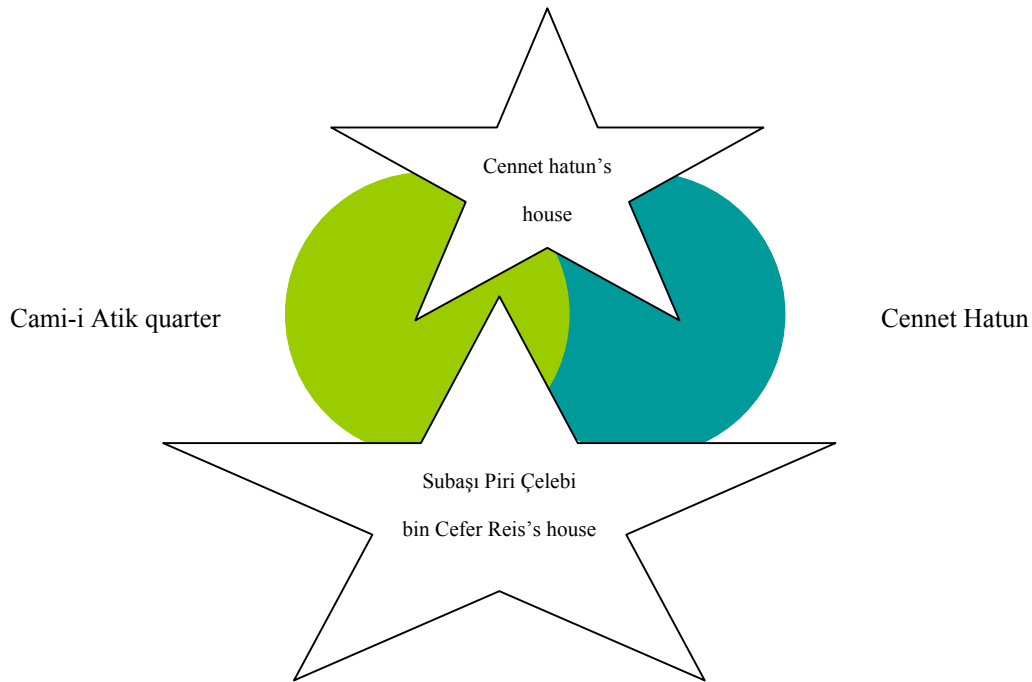
¹²⁰ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, pp.86–7; Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 72; M.Tayyip Gökbilgin, *Rumeli’de Yörükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-i Fatihan*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1957), pp. 257–8.

Hüseyin Quarter was surrounded by the Cami-i Cedit, the Hacı İsa and Cami-i Atik. Adding the data about the location of these mosques to this deduction, the location of these four quarters should be as follows:



To develop a fuller picture of the town, the other neighbors of these quarters must be found. The court records assist in locating the adjacent quarters (see Table C3, Appendices); for example, in the Cami-i Atik neighborhood, when Şah Veli bin Iskender Reis sold his wooden, two storey house to his daughter Gülsüm, the location of the house described in the sales record was as follows: on one side was Tataroğlu's house (Mustafa bin Tatar); on the

other three sides were Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis's, Ali Reis's and Selver's houses.¹²¹ Later, the aforementioned Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis bought a house from Hasan Bali bin Sadık Reis in the Cami-i Atik quarter, in the immediate vicinity of his own house.¹²² So it is clear that *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis's house was on the border of Cami-i Atik; perhaps it was even in that quarter. On the other hand, the same house was also on the border of the Cennet Hatun quarter, because Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis bought another two-floor wooden house near his own house, which was in Cennet Hatun.¹²³ Since Cennet Hatun's house, which was in the Cennet Hatun quarter, was mentioned among the neighbors of certain houses, it is possible to conclude that the borders of Cami-i Atik and Cennet Hatun met where *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi's house was located.



Cennet Hatun bint-i Kemal passed away in September 1549, and after her death, her only heir, her daughter Enzile bint-i Hacı Nebi, together with the officers of the *waqf* made

¹²¹ RŞS 1510: 116b-1.

¹²² RŞS 1511: 96b-4, RŞS 1512, 5b-5.

¹²³ RŞS 1511: 118b-10, RŞS 1512: 7b-2.

some arrangements concerning her inheritance and her *waqf*.¹²⁴ According to these documents, there was a Cennet Hatun Mescidi and a quarter with the same name. However, based on the *waqf* document of Zahir Nazırı Ahmed Ağa, some think that there was a mosque named after her in the place where the Ellinci Yıl Middle School is located today, and that this mosque was built for her in 1616-7.¹²⁵ The date of the mosque is incorrect, because as mentioned above, there was already a Cennet Hatun Mescidi and a quarter with that name when Cennet Hatun passed away in September 1549. The location is also in question, because according to court records, Cennet Hatun and Cami-i Atik were adjacent. If it is assumed that the quarters were in the vicinity of the mosques from which they took their names, there cannot have been any point of intersection between Cami-i Atik and Cennet Hatun, because there must have been other quarters in between. As a result, this author believes that this assumption about the location of Cennet Hatun quarter must be questioned.

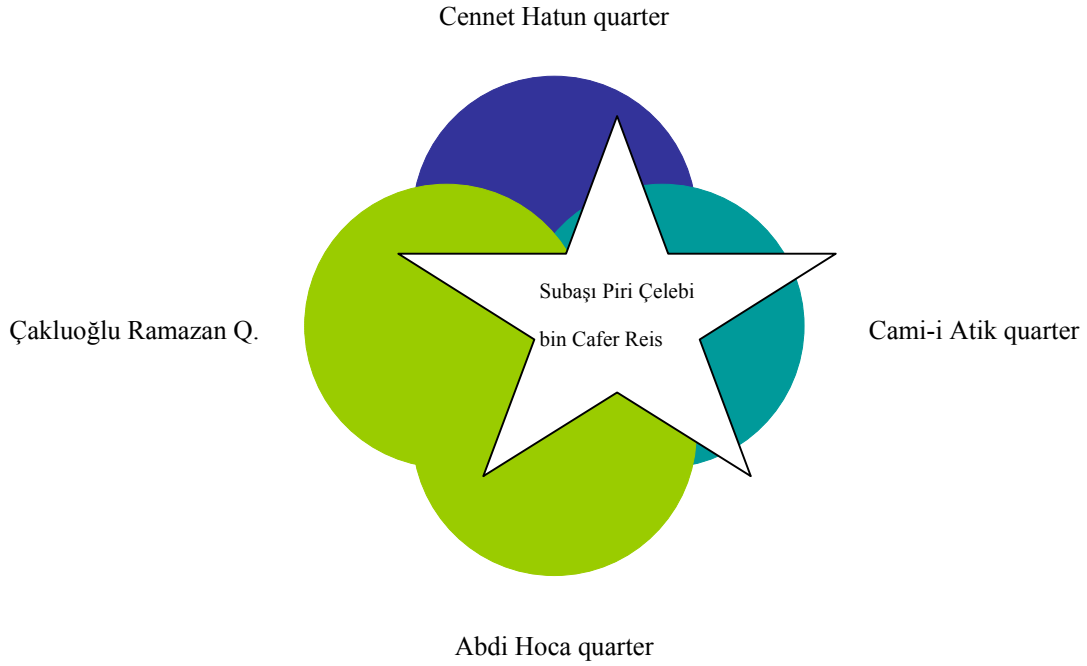
Examining records of real –estate transactions, the borders with other quarters can be found (see Table C3, Appendices). Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis’s house, which was between Cami-i Atik and Cennet Hatun, was also within the borders of Çakluoğlu Ramazan. When Ömer bin Musa from this quarter passed away, his house was sold. In the document referring to this transaction, the location of his house is described as being just next to Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis’s house.¹²⁶ According to this document, the borders of Cami-i Atik and Çakluoğlu Ramazan, probably also met where Subaşı Piri Çelebi’s house was. Moreover, the house that Osman bin Mustafa sold to tailor Kara bin Bekir in Abdi Hoca was next to the courtyard of Subaşı Piri Çelebi’s house.¹²⁷ Thus, the Abdi Hoca quarter also bordered Cami-i Atik.

¹²⁴ RŞS 1510: 156a-5, 156a-6.

¹²⁵ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 77; Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 70; Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 107.

¹²⁶ RŞS 1512: 28b-5.

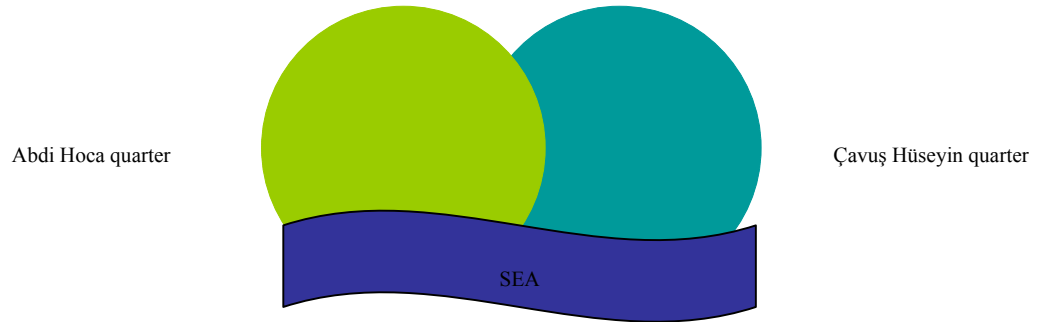
¹²⁷ RŞS 1510: 130b-1.



There are other data about the Abdi Hoca quarter, two pieces of land from this quarter bought on various dates by Çavuş Hüseyin Bey's servant, Kasım bin Abdullah, were both on the coast.¹²⁸ As a result, it can be surmised that the Abdi Hoca quarter was also on the coast. The house in this quarter that Fatma bint-i Hüseyin sold to Seydi Ali Çavuş was next to Çavuş Hüseyin's vineyard.¹²⁹ Therefore, both quarters on the coast bordered each other and the Cami-i Atik quarter.

¹²⁸ RŞS 1511: 76b-3, 1511: 6b-5.

¹²⁹ RŞS 1511: 125b-1.



Court records also provide information about the Karayazıcı quarter, about which previous researchers knew nothing more than the information in the document belonging to the pious foundation (*waqfname*) of Zahir Nazırı Ahmed Efendi, which tells of a Hasan Efendi Mosque in this quarter.¹³⁰ In two estate records in the court records, the name of this quarter was recorded as Mahalle-i Karayazıcı Ali¹³¹ (the quarter of Karayazıcı Ali). This shows that Karayazıcı (Black Scribe), the founder of the mosque of the quarter, was called Ali. Moreover, another document mentions a former *qadı* called Kara Çelebi Efendi.¹³² It is possible that Karayazıcı was the same person as this *qadı*; this needs, however, to be clarified. Perhaps further research can give more clues as to this person's identity.

In addition, there is one court record that sheds light on the formerly obscure identity of Canpaşaoğlu.¹³³ In this record, the quarter's name is given as Nişancı Canpaşaoğlu.¹³⁴ Thus, it is logical to conclude that Canpaşaoğlu was once a state marksman (*nişancı*). Court records give information about this person, but they do not provide detailed locations for the quarter and the mosque. Serez mentions that some *waqf* documents state that the Canpaşa

¹³⁰ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 110; Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, pp.53, 72.

¹³¹ RŞS 1510:163a-3, 1511: 23a-1.

¹³² RŞS 1511: 13b-5.

¹³³ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 70.

¹³⁴ RŞS 1510: 153b-2.

Mosque was repaired by Hacı Yusuf Efendi, and after it had burnt down, it was rebuilt by Zahir Nazırı Ahmet Ağa in H.1246 (1830-1).¹³⁵ He assumes that this quarter was located in the same place as today's Postahane Bayırı.¹³⁶ Oy, however, wrote that it was in the place of the present Aydoğdu Quarter.¹³⁷ Serez's idea seems more plausible however, it needs to be clarified through further research.

Remnants of the Town Walls

There have been contradictory claims about the existence of town walls in Rodosçuk; some local historians have claimed that there were no walls around the town and others claim walls did exist. Mauridh suggests that the city walls were near St George's Church.¹³⁸ Evliya Çelebi mentions town walls that the Emevis conquered during the Siege of Istanbul, and other town walls that seventy men conquered in Orhan Gazi's time. However, he also says that there were no town walls in his time.¹³⁹ Although these seem to be contradictory arguments, indeed, they are not. The stones of the town walls were sold, and they fell into ruin in the middle of the sixteenth century which is why Evliya Çelebi did not see town walls. Some see the existence of a street with the name Istanbul Kapı as evidence of town walls, and mention that inhabitants of the town had seen stones from the walls at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁴⁰ Until these stones are located and proved to be authentic, this cannot be accepted as reliable evidence. From the Court records there appears to sufficient important evidence to support the existence of the town walls. For example, in October 1548, Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis rented a piece of land in Papa Sunadinos quarter. According to an entry, this piece of land was near the town wall.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, pp. 103-104.

¹³⁶ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 120.

¹³⁷ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 7

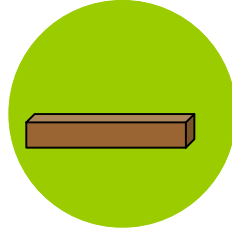
¹³⁸ *Μαυριδη, Απο την Κωνσταντινουπολη*, pp. 29, 31.

¹³⁹ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, pp. 137-8.

¹⁴⁰ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 35.

¹⁴¹ RŞS 1510: 83b-2.

Papa Sunadinos Q.



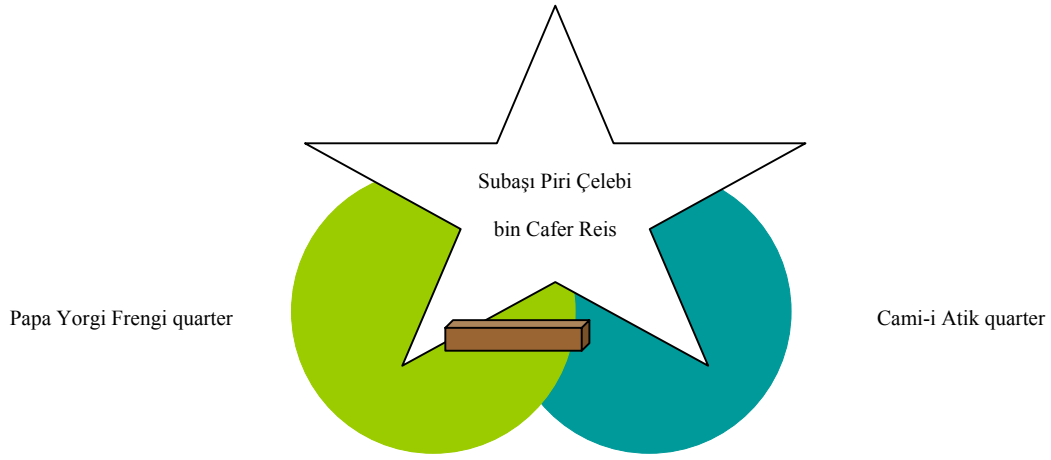
The town walls passing through the quarter.

Further evidence about the remains of Rodosçuk's town walls appears in the court records of about four hundred and fifty years ago and gives some clues as to their location. First, there are documents describing the location of some property with reference to the town walls, as in the example given above; second, other documents tell of the stones from the walls were sold to various townspeople probably to construct or repair other buildings; moreover, other documents state that some parts of the town walls were rented out.

Moreover, according to a document dated February 1549, there was a case between Piri Çelebi and a man named Dimitris Varsakis¹⁴² concerning a piece of the town walls' land, thus, a part of the town wall was near Piri Çelebi's House and Dimitris Varsak's house.¹⁴³ It is known that the quarters of Cami-i Atik, Cennet Hatun, Çakluoğlu Ramazan and Abdi Hoca shared a border near Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis' house. Accordingly, Dimitris' house was probably at the intersection point of Papa Yorgi Frengi and Cami-i Atik quarters, near Piri Çelebi's house and the ruins of the town walls.

¹⁴² PLP, Βαρσακης, p. 258.

¹⁴³ RŞS 1510: 104b-3.



In September 1549 in the Yunus Bey quarter, Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis sold an old town wall stone to Ilyas Hoca for the Sultan Mehmed *Waqf*.¹⁴⁴ Thus, the town walls must also have passed through this quarter.

According to local historians, Yunus Bey Mescidi was in the Tavanlı Çeşme Bayırı quarter, opposite Kara Bayır,¹⁴⁵ at the end of today's Yunus Bey Street, which begins opposite the *halkevi* and passes by the left side of the Hükümet Konağı towards the north.¹⁴⁶ Thus, the Yunus Bey quarter probably surrounded this mosque.

In the summer of 1550, another agent (*amil*) of the Sultan Mehmed *Waqf*, Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis sold some town wall stones, to Gazanfer Ağa, from the Papa Hartofilako

¹⁴⁴ RŞS 1510: 148b-6.

¹⁴⁵ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁶ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 42.

quarter,¹⁴⁷ Gazanfer Ağa probably used these stones for another building, because in October 1550, Gazanfer Ağa bin Abdullah's servant, Mehmed bin Ahmed, bought more stones, from beside Isa Dayı's house in the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter, from Mustafa bin Canpaşa—the *nişancı* and *amil* of the Sultan Mehmed *Waqf*.¹⁴⁸ Based on these documents, it can be understood that the city walls went through the Çavuş Hüseyin and the Papa Hartofilako quarters.

Moreover, a piece of land near the town wall in Hasan bin Mehmed's vineyard in the Abdi Hoca quarter was rented in March, 1553 according to the records.¹⁴⁹ Thus, the town walls also went through this quarter. Thus, the records can identify that there were remnants of the town wall in Abdi Hoca, Çavuş Hüseyin, Papa Hartofilako, Yunus Bey, Cami-i Atik, Papa Yorgi Frengi, and Papa Sunadinos quarters.

In certain court records information is also given about the areas outside the town walls. The settlement started to expand beyond the walls in the middle of the 16th century and such quarters as Hacı Musa, Nebioğlu and Şeyh Memi were located outside the old town walls were like many other towns of pre-modern times, vineyards and small holdings surrounded the whole settlement; moreover, they also infused the town itself.¹⁵⁰ As mentioned above, the Hartofilako quarter was at the border of the town where the vineyards started and a creek flowed. As court records also show, there were many vineyards,¹⁵¹ cotton plantations,¹⁵² wheat fields¹⁵³ and small holdings surrounding the town.¹⁵⁴ Many of these vineyards and smallholdings which followed the oxen road belonged to the so-called Rodosçuk Farm of the

¹⁴⁷ RŞS 1511:50a-3.

¹⁴⁸ RŞS 1511:50b-1.

¹⁴⁹ It is possible that the date was written wrong. Although other records after and before this one are dated as 1552, in this record it is March 1553. Another possibility is that it was registered later. RŞS 1512: 17a-2.

¹⁵⁰ Cengiz Orhonlu, "Şehir Mimarları", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, II, (1981): 1-30, p. 3; cross-ref. Hamit Sadi Selen, "XVI ncı ve XVIIinci yüzyıllarda Anadolu'nun köy ve Küçük şehir hayatı", *III. Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi, 1943*, (Ankara: TTK, 1948): 390-398.

¹⁵¹ RŞS 1510 : 2a-1, 2b-1, 2b-3, 1b-6, 2b-6, 2b-8, 3a-1, 44a-1, 50a-5, 51a-2, 152a-6, 154a-7; 1511: 4a-10, 7a-2, 7b-2, 25a-8, 99a-1,2, 100a-4, 113a-5, 123a-8, 124a-?, 125b-7; 1512: 6a-3,

¹⁵² RŞS 1510 : 51a-2, 1511: 23b-8, 26a-8, 70a-1

¹⁵³ RŞS 1511: 58b-9, 1512: 38b-1.

¹⁵⁴ RŞS 1511: 45a-1,

Streams

In Rodosçuk, there were some streams emptying into the sea. Following these through the quarters can also help to clarify the location of other quarters and to fit together the pieces of the whole picture. However, changes in the paths of the streams were very frequent, thus, in the space of only a hundred years, many changes took place, in fact, according to local historians, some stream were filled in and became streets. For example, the Ördekli Dere (Ordekli stream) flowed where Ördekli Dere Street is located today¹⁵⁶ and there was a stream in the location of today's Muratlı Street.¹⁵⁷ Moreover, the Cehennem Dere had such a steep slope and was so terrifying that it took the name "Hell Stream". As time passed, this river bed became filled with wastes, and its slope was no longer steep.¹⁵⁸ These changes show that it is impossible to understand the mid-sixteenth-century locations of these streams by looking at their present positions, thus using court records is the reliable course of action. According to the records, for example, Musa bin Ali's house in the Abdi Hoca quarter¹⁵⁹ and Ibrahim bin Hacı Isa's vineyard next to Çavuş Hüseyin's house in the Hacı Isa quarter¹⁶⁰ were near a stream. Moreover, Piri Hoca bin Bazarlu,¹⁶¹ Feraşad,¹⁶² Canfeda bin Ibrahim,¹⁶³ and Ali bin Veli¹⁶⁴ all had houses next to a stream in the Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli quarter. These court documents prove that there were creeks passing through Abdi Hoca, Hacı Isa and Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli quarters. Other documents do not give the locations of streams so clearly. For

¹⁵⁵ RŞS 1511: 17b-5.

¹⁵⁶ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, pp. 39,44-45.

¹⁵⁷ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁸ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 33.

¹⁵⁹ RŞS 1511: 75a-6.

¹⁶⁰ RŞS 1512: 27a-4.

¹⁶¹ RŞS 1510: 56b-5.

¹⁶² RŞS 1510: 65a-6.

¹⁶³ RŞS 1510: 2a-4, 115b-6, 7.

¹⁶⁴ RŞS 1510: 154b-6.

example, Emir bin Silivri Mehmed's vineyard in Karayazıcı quarter, which extended to the fountain in the market place, was near a stream.¹⁶⁵ However, here, it is only possible to say that there was a stream somewhere near the market place.

According to another document, Cennet bint-i Mehmed from Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli quarter bought a vineyard near a stream¹⁶⁶ next to Manol the goldsmith's house, which from other documented information concerning, Goldsmith Manol bin Mihal, was located in the Papa Hartofilako quarter.¹⁶⁷ It is possible that the Şah Veli and Papa Hartofilako quarters bordered each other, but this is not definitively proven by this document, because Hüseyin Bey bin Abdullah¹⁶⁸ and Habibe bint-i Mehmet¹⁶⁹ from Şeyh Memi also bought a vineyard near a stream next to Goldsmith Manol's house. Moreover, in the first document, it was stated that the vineyard was on Rodosçuk's border. However, it is possible to safely conclude that there was a stream which reached the borders of the town in the Papa Hartofilako quarter.

It is clear that some streams passed through the Papa Hartofilako, Abdi Hoca, Hacı Isa and Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli Quarters. It is, however, not clear which streams passed through which quarters, to clarify this, it is necessary to find which quarters were located on the coast.

According to the documents concerning the Rüstem Paşa Mosque mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the Cami-i Cedid and Çavuş Hüseyin Bey quarters were adjacent and both were on the coast. Furthermore the Abdi Hoca and Çavuş Hüseyin quarters shared a border on the coast.

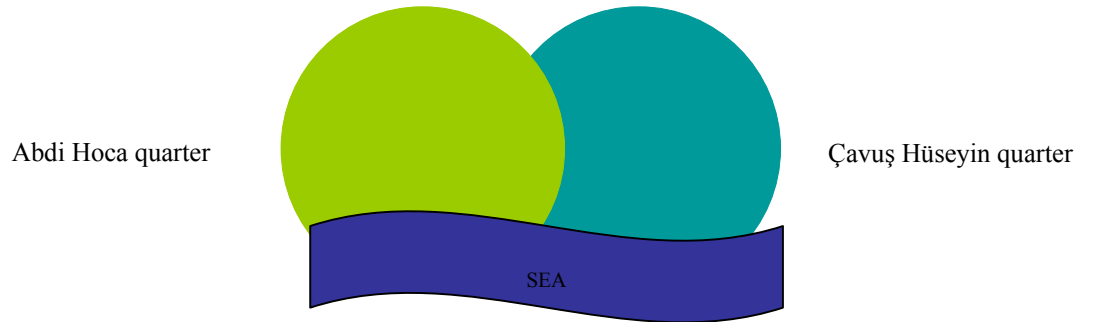
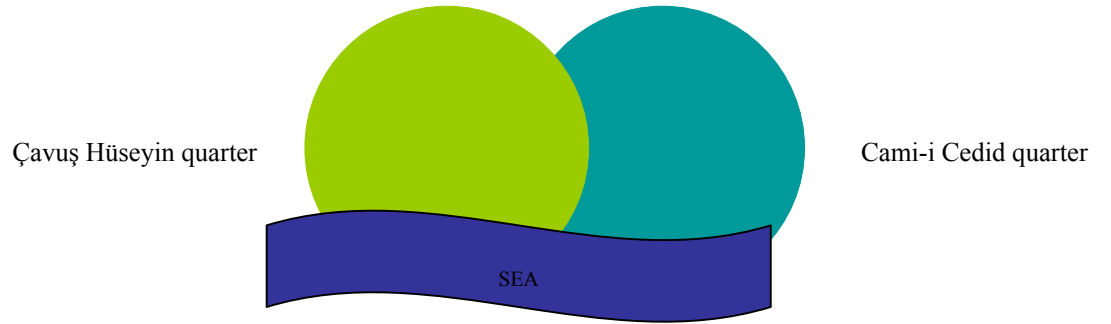
¹⁶⁵ RŞS 1511: 88a-11.

¹⁶⁶ RŞS 1512: 61b-4, 5.

¹⁶⁷ RŞS 1510: 109a-7, 1511: 82a-4, 102a-1,

¹⁶⁸ RŞS 1511: 100a-4.

¹⁶⁹ RŞS 1512: 80a-7, 80b-9.



These two areas of land intersect with each other. Adding the information that all these quarters share borders with the Cami-i Atik quarter, another piece of the can be deciphered .

A court record implies that the Papa Piskopos quarter was also probably on the

coast.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, in the Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli quarter, Güllü bint-i Ali's house was also on the coast.¹⁷¹ Therefore, the quarters of Abdi Hoca, Cami-i Cedid, Çavuş Hüseyin, Papa Piskopos and Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli were all located in the immediate vicinity of the sea. Therefore, assuming that some streams passed through the Papa Hartofilako, Abdi Hoca, Hacı İsa and Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli quarters, it can be concluded that streams emptied into the sea from the Abdi Hoca, Cami-i Cedid, Çavuş Hüseyin and Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli quarters.

It has been shown that Cami-i Cedid, Çavuş Hüseyin and Abdi Hoca were on the coast, and that the Cami-i Cedid and Abdi Hoca quarters bordered the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter. Since, it is impossible for all three to be adjacent to each other; the Cami-i Cedid and Abdi Hoca quarters must be on either side of the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter. Cami-i Cedid was on the right, so Abdi Hoca must be on the left. According to certain documents, the same creek may have passed through Cami-i Cedid and Çavuş Hüseyin, but it could not possibly be the same as the one in the Abdi Hoca quarter.

The Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli quarter probably bordered Cami-i Cedid, because local historians agree that the Hoca Veli Mescidi was a two storey wooden *mescid* on the right side of today's Postahane Caddesi that collapsed in the 1912 earthquake.¹⁷² The same stream may have passed through the Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli and Cami-i Cedid quarters. Consequently, it is clear that there were at least two streams emptying into the sea on the coast of Rodosçuk.

While all this information establishes the location of a few quarters in the middle of 16th-century Rodosçuk, it leaves the location of many other quarters unknown. Some of the data provided by local historians based on *waqf* documents can be used to fill this gap. For example, the court records used in this study were not able to clarify the location of the Dizdaroğlu, Nebizade, Hacı Musa and İbrahim Bey quarters. Both Serez and Çevik assume

¹⁷⁰ RŞS 1511: 115a-1.

¹⁷¹ RŞS 1510: 135a-4.

¹⁷² Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 76; Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 44; Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 119.

that the Dizdarzade Mescid was over the hill towards the old post office on today's Dizdarzade Gönül Sokak in the Turgut Reis quarter,¹⁷³ and that it was destroyed in the 1912 earthquake.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, Serez gives information about the *waqf* of Dizdarzade Mehmed Bey *camii şerifi*.¹⁷⁵

There are also some *waqfs* of the Nebizade Mescidi.¹⁷⁶ On the basis of a document of the *waqf* of Şeyh Kutub Ibrahim Efendi Tekkesi (dervish lodge), which mentions the dervish lodge's location as being in Nebizade quarter, local historians assume that the quarter surrounded this *tekke*. This Halveti dervish lodge (*tekke*), which was also called Pazar Tekke and which no longer exists, was in the next street up from today's Tuğlacılar Lisesi (high school).¹⁷⁷ Today's Nebizade Street may have a relationship to this quarter, because it is also very near to this dervish lodge (*tekke*), which took the place of Nebizade's Mescid.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, local historians mention a Hacı Musa Efendi Mescidi in today's Acısu Bayırı (in old Zafer quarter).¹⁷⁹ This quarter was near the Araba Pazarı (Chart Market), because the Araba Pazarı Şadırvanı of Şabanzade *Waqf* was in front of today's Atatürk İlk okul (primary school).¹⁸⁰ The Ibrahim Bey Camii, which does not exist today, was rebuilt by Defterdar Ağası Salih Ağa, because when Evliya Çelebi visited the town, it stood behind the place of today's city hall (*belediye*).¹⁸¹ According to the *waqf* documents, local historians agree that the Ibrahim Paşa quarter was also near the mosque behind city hall, between Yunus Bey Street and the Verem Savaş (Tuberculosis) dispensary.¹⁸²

¹⁷³ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 43.

¹⁷⁴ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 77.

¹⁷⁵ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 119.

¹⁷⁶ VA 401, VA 611, VA 403, VA 596, VA 405, VA 613.

¹⁷⁷ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 116.

¹⁷⁸ Aydın Oy points that he could not find a reason why this street is called Nebizade Street. Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, pp. 57-8. But, he does mention that Nebizade Quarter was in today's Eski Cami Quarter. Oy, 1964, p. 22.

¹⁷⁹ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, pp. 53, 69 and 72.

¹⁸⁰ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 100.

¹⁸¹ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, pp. 75, 84; Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 40.

¹⁸² Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, pp. 117, 119, 124.

The Market (*Bazaar*)

There was also a Kürkçüoğlu Mosque and a quarter surrounding it. The Kürkçüoğlu quarter and mosque are only mentioned once in the court records considered in this study: Ibrahim Bey had a cellar that he donated to the *mesjid* that he had built in Kürkçüoğlu Quarter. According to this document, the cellar was on the coast on the road to Isa Bey's *waqf*.¹⁸³ According to a *waqf* document, the name of this *waqf* was Kürkçü Sinan Bey Cami-i Vasat vakfi.¹⁸⁴ There is also a document in the Edirne book which gives the name of the *waqf* as the Orta Cami Kürkçü Sinan Bey vakfi.¹⁸⁵ So this mosque was also called Orta Cami. Another *waqf* document mentions a Sirozi / (Serezli) el-Hac Mustafa Ağa vakfi in Orta Cami quarter.¹⁸⁶ This means that the quarter around this mosque was called Orta Cami. According to court records, the *waqf* of Kürkçü Sinan was near Hızır bin Osman's shop in the Hacı Isa quarter.¹⁸⁷ Kürkçü Sinan's house was near Elif bint-i Ramazan's house in the same quarter.¹⁸⁸ The mosque built by Kürkçü Sinan fell into ruin, but was rebuilt in H.1271 (1854-5).¹⁸⁹ It is probable that the market (*bazaar*) was in the Kürkçü Sinan quarter near this Orta (Kürkçü Sinan) Mosque, because the shops were generally in the Cami-i Atik and Hacı Isa quarters. For example, some shops that Gazafer Ağa bought in the *bazaar* were in the Cami-i Atik¹⁹⁰ and Hacı Isa quarters.¹⁹¹ The vineyard that he acquired near the creek was next to the Pazar fountain (suk-u çeşme).¹⁹² Evliya Çelebi mentions the Rüstem Paşa Mosque as being the most popular in the *bazaar*.¹⁹³ Given all this information, it can be assumed that the Orta Cami

¹⁸³ RŞS 1510: 121b-4.

¹⁸⁴ VA 545, VA 725.

¹⁸⁵ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 125.

¹⁸⁶ Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, p. 123.

¹⁸⁷ RŞS 1510: 8b-4, 9a-1, 72a-1.

¹⁸⁸ RŞS 1511: 124a-4.

¹⁸⁹ Tuncel, *Tekirdağ Camileri*, p. 39; Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, pp. 73-74.

¹⁹⁰ RŞS 1510: 149b-6, 1511: 88b-3, 1512: 27b-1.

¹⁹¹ RŞS 1511: 81a-1.

¹⁹² RŞS 1511: 88a-11.

¹⁹³ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 138.

quarter was the exact location of the *bazaar* which was at the intersection of the Cami-i Atik, Cami-i Cedid and Hacı Isa quarters. As time passed, the *bazaar* expanded towards the quarters of Cami-i Cedid, Cami-i Atik and Hacı Isa so that some shops were within their borders, and later, in Evliya's time, Rüstem Paşa Mosque was then just inside the expanded *bazaar*.

However, all the studies, including the present on, have been unable to locate of many quarters. For example, local historians mention that there is no data about Hoca Bayezid, who gave his name to one of the oldest quarters of the town.¹⁹⁴ In the court records that are handled here, only once is a Hoca Bayezid quarter mentioned.¹⁹⁵ Perhaps the *waqf* document of Hacı Yusuf Ağa, who renovated the Hoca Bayezid Mosque, may give some clue about this quarter.¹⁹⁶ The *waqf* document of Hacı Ayşe Hatun bint-i Hacı Mahmut Ağa's *waqf*, which was in Hoca Bayezid, may also give some clues about its location.¹⁹⁷

There are other quarters about which there is very little information, so it is impossible to determine their location.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, according to the *waqf* book of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, which dates to H.947 (1540-1)¹⁹⁹ there were twelve Muslim quarters: Mahalle-i Cami, Mahalle-i Nebi Reis, Mahalle-i Hacı Mehmed, Mahalle-i Hacı Hızır, Mahalle-i İskele, Mahalle-i Dizdarzade, Mahalle-i Şeyh, Mahalle-i Cami-i Cedid, Mahalle-i Kemal Bey, Mahalle-i Nesimi Hoca, Mahalle-i Kapucu Mehmed Bey, and Mahalle-i Şeyh Veli. Of these,

¹⁹⁴ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 72.

¹⁹⁵ RŞS 1510: 119b-1.

¹⁹⁶ VA 725, VA 542.

¹⁹⁷ VA 725, VA 555.

¹⁹⁸ Hacı Mustafa, RŞS 1510: 32b4, 32b-5, 1511: 52a-3; Kemal Bey, RŞS 1511: 35a-5, 68b-6, 94b-5; Gazi Reis, RŞS 1510: 133b-5, 134a-2; Hacı Hızır, RŞS 1510: 72b-2, 73a-1, 135a-1, 142a-1, 1511: 7a-11, 15a-7, 37a-1, 39b-4, 127b-7; Piri Oğlu, RŞS 1511: 67b-8; Şemseddin Sofçu, RŞS 1510: 53a-1, 55a-5, 131a-7, 133b-6, RŞS 1511: 15a-2, 64a-1, 72b-4, 76b-6, 101a-7, 127b-8, 1512: 56a-4, 58b-4, 95a-2; Yukarıca İmam, (This quarter must be the same as the Çavuş Hüseyin Bey Quarter, because according to documents which mention this quarter, Çavuş Bey's Mesjid was in this Quarter. See RŞS 1510: 130b-7. The next available document which mentions this quarter concerns Sadık bin Yunus, who lived there) RŞS 1511: 33a-4; Hacı Hasan, 1510: 89a-3, 133a-1, 1511: 44a-4, 52a-2, 56a-2, 97b-6, 105a-1, 105a-3, 105a-4, 1512: 6b-6, 20a-7, 60b-7, 72b-8, 91b-2; Hoca Bayezid, RŞS 1510: 119b-1; Mahmud Hoca, RŞS 1511: 116a-3; Yeldeğirmeni, RŞS 1510: 157a-4; Yakub Hoca, RŞS 1511: 11a-1; Hacı Ömer, RŞS 1511: 78b-1; RŞS Hacı Dede, RŞS 1511: 69a-7; Ali Çelebi Quarters, RŞS 1511: 76b-7.

¹⁹⁹ TT 210.

only the Kemal Bey and Hacı Hızır Bey quarters were mentioned in the court records, but the data was so sparse that it was not possible to establish their location. On the other hand, there is no Kapucu Mehmed Bey quarter in the court records. On the other hand, some quarters, for example, Hacı Mustafa, Hacı Dede, Ali Çelebi, and Şemseddin Sofcu that were mentioned in court records, do not exist on this list. There is only a decade's difference between the two lists. Such a great difference in quarter names cannot be explained only by a change in the town. The reason for this difference lies more in the fact that a quarter could be named either after the founder of the *mesjid waqf*, its *mesjid*'s date of construction or location, or the quarter's old name. Moreover, there were probably other quarters- especially on the periphery- that were not officially named; perhaps a *mesjid* did not exist there. It is possible that the inhabitants of these quarters were not mentioned in the court records and/or tax registers of the Fatih Mehmed Waqf.

Non-Muslim Quarters

Compared with the mosques, it is harder to obtain information about non-Muslim places of worship or religious buildings because there are not as many *waqf* registers and there are far fewer records of real-estate transactions or other records concerning non-Muslims among the court records.

However, eighteen non-Muslim quarters are mentioned in the court records; but, only the following thirteen are legible: Papa Piskopos, Papa Hartofilako, Papa Yorgi Frengi, Papa Gümüş, Papa Sunadinos, Papa Dimitris, Papa Kali, Papa Mihal, Papa Duka, Papa Kamarinos, Papa Nefrengi, Semiz Papaz, and Papa Ganotis. Most of these are Greek names and local historians mention, Greek quarters such as Papa Nikolaki, Papa Vasil, Papa Ikonoz, Papa

Zaharya, Papa Iktamus, and Papa Yorgi,²⁰⁰ and indicate one part of today's Yavuz²⁰¹ and Saadet quarters²⁰² as the location where the Greeks used to live. They also mention Greek churches like the Hiligos-Kato Panaiya Church near today's Orduevi, the oldest church, St. Marie-Panaiya, and the Aya Yorgi Church, Metropolithane.²⁰³

There is far more information about the Greeks living in the town in the middle of the sixteenth century. As mentioned above, according to court records, there were city wall remnants in non-Muslim quarters such as Papa Hartofilako, Papa Yorgi Frengi, and Papa Sunadinos, and in Muslim quarters such as Abdi Hoca, Çavuş Hüseyin, Yunus Bey and Cami-i Atik. The data obtained from the court records concerning the city walls show that Mauridh and others were correct in the location of the west door.²⁰⁴

As proved above, the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter shared a border with Cami-i Atik in a place near Piri Çelebi's house, where the Cami-i Atik, Cennet Hatun, Çakluoğlu Ramazan and Abdi Hoca quarters were also adjacent to each other. As mentioned above, there was a creek in the Papa Hartofilako quarter. Moreover, this neighborhood extended to the borders of the town in those times.

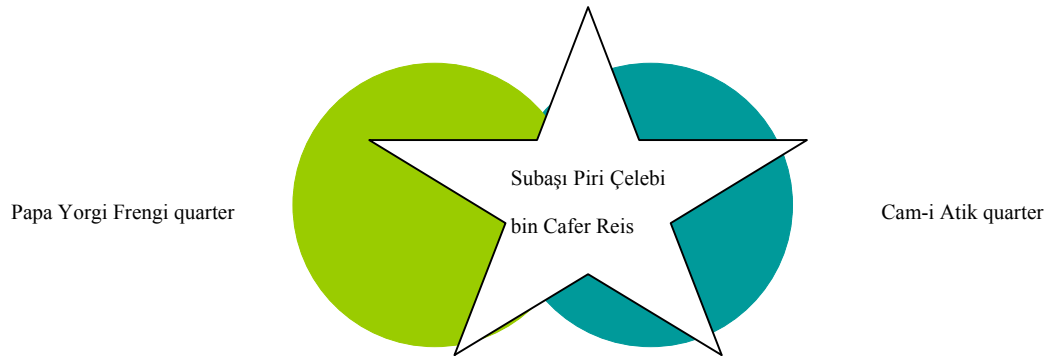
²⁰⁰ Münir Satkın, *Tekirdağ Eski Ahşap Evleri*, (Tekirdağ: 1996), p. 20.

²⁰¹ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 46.

²⁰² Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 19.

²⁰³ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, pp. 80-81.

²⁰⁴ Mauridh, *From Konstantinopolis*, in passim.



According to a court record, Nasuh Bey bin Abdullah's house in the Isa Hoca quarter was next to Papa Hartofilako's house;²⁰⁵ thus, the Papa Hartofilako quarter had a border with Hacı Isa. Papa Hartofilako probably lived, like his son after his father's death, in Papa Hartofilako quarter.²⁰⁶ A non-Muslim from the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter sold a house and a garden to Papa Hartofilako bin Papa Piskopos. The house was next to Papa Hartofilako's garden and the garden was next to Papa Hartofilako's house, which was probably at the intersection point of Papa Hartofilakos quarter with the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter.²⁰⁷

As mentioned above, Papa Piskopos was on the coast.²⁰⁸ On the basis of these documents it can be assumed that Papa Hartofilako and Papa Yorgi Frengi were neighbouring quarters.

²⁰⁵ RŞS 1510: 43b-3.

²⁰⁶ RŞS 1511: 80b-1.

²⁰⁷ RŞS 1511: 70a-5.

²⁰⁸ RŞS 1511: 115a-1.

It is, however, impossible only on the basis of court records to determine the location of most of the Greek quarters, such as Papa Dimitris, Papa Kali, Papa Mihal, Papa Duka, Papa Kamarinos, Papa Nefrengi, Semiz Papaz, and Papa Ganotis. Moreover, according to these records, there was also a quarter in which Gypsies dwelt, however, there is little data which can help find the location of this quarter.²⁰⁹

Jews lived in the mixed quarters of Hacı Musa Mescidi and Nebioğlu. Mektep Sokağı²¹⁰ and Selamağa Sokağı²¹¹ were the locations that the local historians point out as the places where the Jews dwelt. There was also a wooden synagogue on the coast which was built in 1836,²¹² but it was impossible to discover the location of any synagogue existing in the 16th century.

During the history of Rodosçuk, there were many quarters in which Armenians lived, for example, the Kirkor, Nevruz, Yeğen, Dilan, Silingir, Filibozoğlu, Çullu, Batmaz, Tarçun, Arsen, Varterez, and Tarakçı quarters.²¹³ Kelemen Mikes gives details about everyday life in the Armenian quarter in which he lived.²¹⁴ Evliya Çelebi mentions that most churches in the town belonged to the Armenians and local historians mention at least five Armenian churches in later years: St. Takavor Church, in the garden of today's İnönü School,²¹⁵ St. Perguitch Church in today's Vali Konağı, St. Croix Haç Church, in the garden of today's Hacı Ilbey

²⁰⁹ In the 1940s, Gypsies lived in the place which is called Sepetçi Sokağı, because making baskets was one of their ways of making a living. This data, however, does not give sufficient information about the location of the Quarter in which Gypsies dwelt in the middle of the 16th century. Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 69.

²¹⁰ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 36.

²¹¹ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 36.

²¹² Çevik thinks that there were not many Jews in the town before 1836, the construction date of this synagogue: Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p.82. Likewise, he claims that there were not many churches in the town, either. He probably made these assumptions because he mistakenly believed that the town had been established in Ottoman times. For the same reason, he also assumes that there were no city walls. As shown in this chapter the city walls did exist and quite a few non-Muslim religious sites existed in the sixteenth century. However Çevik asserts that all these churches and synagogues were built after the *Tanzimat*. See Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, pp. 80-81. This assumption seems to derive from a nationalistic view and somewhat reduce the validity of Çevik's ideas in his book.

²¹³ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 46.

²¹⁴ Keleman Mikes, *Briefe*.

²¹⁵ Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 15.

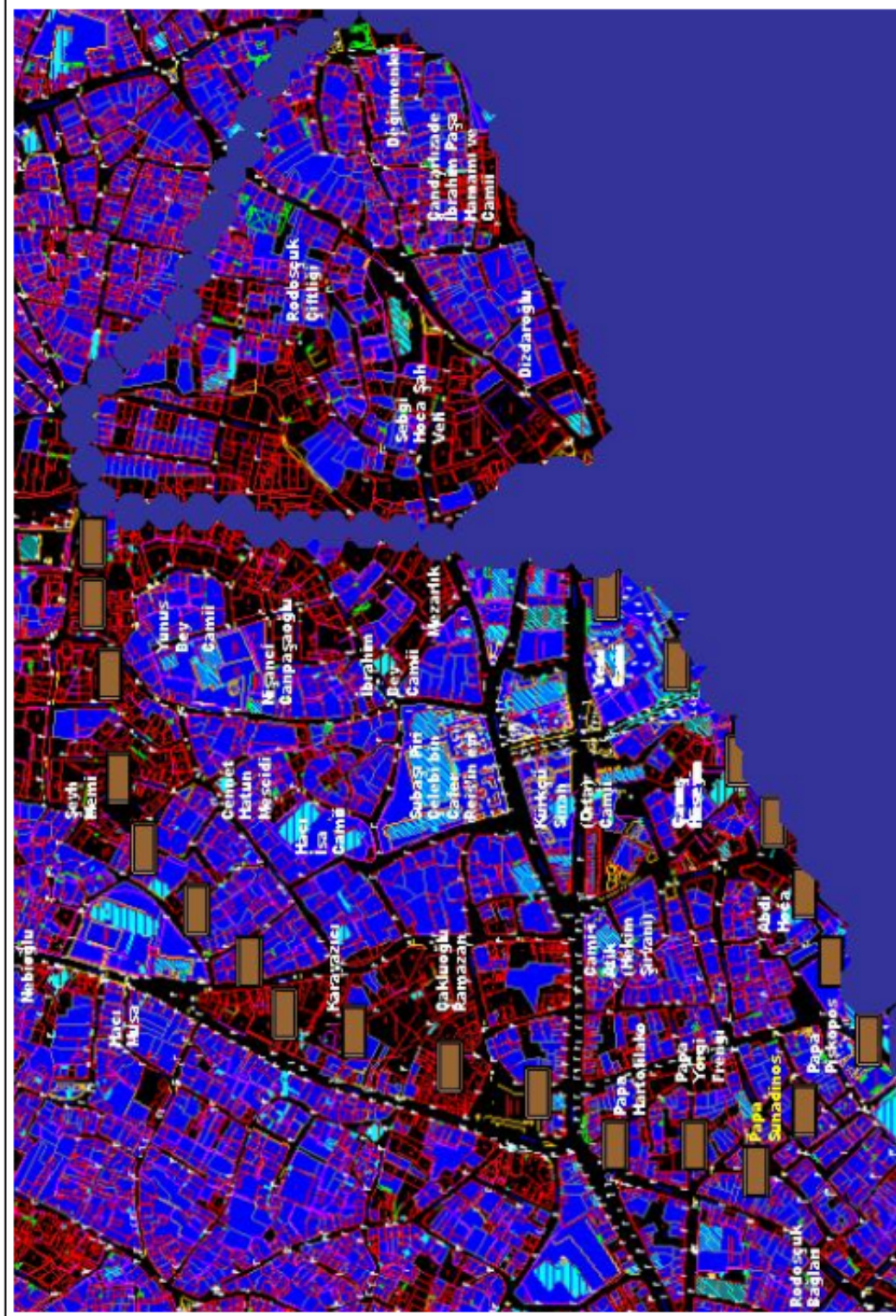
School, and an Armenian Protestant Church on the road to Şarap Fabrikası²¹⁶. Moreover, today's Vakıf Müdürlüğü was the church *waqf* of the Armenians,²¹⁷ and there was an Armenian cemetery in upper Çiftlikönünü. However, no written record exists before the 17th century regarding the Armenian quarters. There are also no court records between 1546 and 1552 that mention an Armenian quarter. In fact, only a few records give information about Armenians.²¹⁸ It is tempting to conclude that the Armenian settlement probably came into being after the mid-16th century; however, further studies on court records must be implemented before a definitive conclusion can be made.

Up to this point, the locations of some quarters in Rodosçuk in the mid-16th century have been described, small pieces of the whole picture have been constructed these pieces have been combined and placed over the current map of the town. (See the Map). However, in order to fully understand this map there remain questions such as; how was the population distributed within the quarters? What were the functions of these quarters? How did such a distribution come into existence and such a map appear? In Part 2 these issues will be discussed.

²¹⁶ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi* , pp. 80-81.

²¹⁷ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi* , p. 92.

²¹⁸ 1511: 98a-2,3; 1512: 74b-5, 75a-1,2,3,4,5,6, 76a-4; 1512: 75a-4.



Map III: A map showing the quarters and the town wall of mid-sixteenth century Rodosçuk, taking the map of today's Tekirdağ as a background.

PART II: The Inhabitants

In order to truly complete the map of Rodosçuk it is necessary find out more about the lives of the inhabitants, who embroidered the canvas of the town map. Comparing the list showing real estate transactions with other data in the court records mentioning the quarters in which individuals dwelt, revealed some peculiarities about the population distribution in the quarters: First, there was an obvious difference in house-prices between the centre and the periphery of the town. The average house price in centre quarters was much higher than that in the periphery quarters (See Table Q1, Appendices and Map 3).

Even if all the price entries are not representative one-to-one of all the houses in these quarters, this difference in house price reflected the economic situation of the inhabitants in general. That is, the poor generally dwelled on the outskirts and the rich in the centre. This disparity between the centre and the periphery was not only apparent from the average house prices and class distribution, but also in types of their economic activities. Wage labourers and tax-farmers working in jobs related to trade activity in the harbour and soldiers, as security forces at the harbour, generally dwelled in quarters near the harbour, whereas in the quarters near the market, there were artisans, tradesmen, merchants and tax farmers. Unskilled labourers generally dwelled on the periphery where accomodation was cheaper, or they rented rooms, whereas the rich chose to live in the centre where the infrastructure facilitated a higher standard of living and the house prices were higher. Thus, the type of economic activity in which the inhabitants were engaged also affected the population distribution among the quarters.

The third factor that differentiated the population distribution was migration. The poor migrated to the periphery and the rich to the centre and the town grew. Very rich local residents and immigrants contributed to the infrastructure development by building mosques

at the edge of the centre nearer to the poorer regions. They founded pious foundations for these mosques or mesjids. In doing so, the mosques bore the name of the benefactor, which in turn automatically gave the benefactor's name to the quarter. It is possible to follow the growth stimulated by migration through the quarter names.

Although there are exceptions in each quarter, by synthesizing these three aspects—class, profession and migration—, it is possible to make a general classification of the quarters into three regions: the centre at the harbour, the centre at the market, and the periphery. This part of the study will, through the court records, give further information on the lives of the people who lived in the three areas. Thus, adding more detail to the map created in part 1.

Chapter I: The Centre at the Harbour

It has not been possible to establish the exact location of the harbour. However, all available data show that it was probably located in Çavuş Hüseyin quarter, which the ships passed before entering the lagoon.²¹⁹ There were four quarters surrounding the harbour that were directly integrated into the economic activities at the harbour: Çavuş Hüseyin, Cami-i Cedid, Abdi Hoca and Dizdaroğlu and these are categorized as the central area surrounding the harbour.

The average house price here was much higher than on the periphery of the town. In the Abdi Hoca quarter it was 3,887 *akçes*; in the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter, 2,900, in the Cami-i Cedid quarter, 3,416, and in the Dizdaroğlu (Dizdarzade) quarter, 2,566; these were above average of 2,000 *akçes* for the whole town,. All these price entries, however, are not adequate for a comparison among the quarters at the harbour centre, because they are not representative of the price of the individual houses in these quarters.

In almost all the quarters surrounding the harbour, there were some wage labourers and slaves who worked in the harbour and lived in cheaper houses. Moreover, the work available varied over the year for example in the maritime season starting at *newruz*²²⁰ and ending in November,²²¹ trade activities increased, with ships discharging or loading cargo or making a stop in the harbour and this resulted in immigration to the quarters of the harbour. Both these temporary residents and the very poor are not represented in the picture drawn by the average house prices.

²¹⁹ At the beginning of April 1551, Şahmeran bint-i Behlul bought a large warehouse near the harbour, which was next to her own house, Köse Ali's house and both these houses were in the Dizdaroğlu quarter. This means that the harbour intersected with Dizdarzade quarter. RŞS 1511 : 73a-2.

²²⁰ *Newruz* is the first spring day for the Celali Calender, corresponding to 9th day of March in the Gregorian calendar.

²²¹ Lütü Güçer, *Hububat Meselesi*, p. 34.

a. The Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter

This quarter was located above the harbour between the Abdi Hoca and Cami-i Cedid quarters, taking its name from the *mesjid* named after its founder, Çavuş Hüseyin. The *mesjid waqf* of Çavuş Hüseyin had many rooms for workers and warehouses along the seashore. It is tempting to conclude, therefore, that the founder saw himself as a representative of the centre and took part in the commercial activity of the harbour as did other upper echelon Ottoman officials, including Rüstem Paşa, Atmacacı Başî Gazanfer Ağa, Hekim Şîrvani and İbrahim Paşa.²²² However, as Çavuş Hüseyin was already dead by the mid-sixteenth century, it is impossible to document the economic enterprises he undertook from the court records examined for this work. However, they do provide information about some of the inhabitants of the quarter including tax-farmers (*mültezims*), artisans, tradesmen and military personnel.

Seydi Ağa bin Kemal

One of the tax-farmers among the inhabitants of this quarter was Seydi Ağa bin Kemal (*beyt-ül malcı*),²²³ who held the revenues of Sultan Mehmed's *waqf* which resulted from the appropriation of the estates of those who died without descendents. As a result of high mobility, the number of people without relatives present in the town at time of their deaths was quite high. Due to poor communication of pre-Modern times, relatives often received little or no information about any deaths in the family. Sometimes they found out much later; and relatives who had not been present at the time of death had later to claim their inheritance. As a result, Seydi Ağa appeared very often before the *qadı* to confiscate estates or solve

²²² VA 725, VA 569.

²²³ *Beyt-ül malcı* was an agent of the state responsible for the revenues of the state in the town. He collected heirless or supposedly heirless property.

problems linked to such property. Although the documents dealing with Seydi Ağa do not give a picture of the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter, nor do they give direct information about Seydi Ağa himself. They do explain, the type of people that Seydi Ağa encountered in his work. Moreover, these documents give a picture of the people who migrated to the town without their relatives, and these migrants played a very important role in the shaping of this quarter and the town in general.

At the beginning of July 1547, Seydi Ağa came to the qadı court as relatives demanded their share from the deceased Kara Kasım's estate and Seydi Ağa gave them 810 *akçes*. The total value of Kara Kasım's assets equaled about 810 *akçes*, which tells us that he was probably a middle-class man. There is no mention of what took him to the Yaylak of Çarşulu, where he died. He was probably there, as were some of the other inhabitants of Rodosçuk who spent the summer in mountain pastures, not only to seek relief from the unendurably hot days, but also to avoid diseases like plague in the town.²²⁴ He may well have been engaged in stock-raising and/or trading animals since these people were likely to migrate to the town without relatives. Similarly, sailors and oarsmen were engaged in seasonal work and would come to the town alone. A sailor called Kostas died as he entered the town during the maritime season, and Seydi Ağa confiscated his assets. At the end of October 1547, Seydi Ağa sued Kostas' partner in order to confiscate the deceased's share of the ship and the capital. This non-Muslim sailor, however, proved with witnesses that the ship and the capital belonged to his father, so Seydi Ağa handed over the 2,200 *akçes* that he had confiscated.²²⁵

In June 1548, Seydi Ağa confiscated the estate of Hüseyin bin Abdullah²²⁶ who was an oarsman of the *serai*. His estate gives some clues about his life; his most valuable belonging was an ornamented sword worth 300 *akçes*, which made up about half the value of the whole

²²⁴ Kelemen Mikes, *Briefe*.

²²⁵ RŞS 1510: 32a-4; 32a-5.

²²⁶ RŞS 1510: 167a-1.

estate. This shows that he was not an ordinary oarsman; he probably had a military or palace rank, but there is no way of being more specific. His second most valuable asset was an inkpot, worth 126 *akçes*. Perhaps as an oarsman of the *serai* he used it to record the articles that he brought to the *serai*, or the number of slaves who were taken to work as oarsmen for the *serai*. Among his clothes, he possessed two head scarves, one of which was valued at 88 and the other at 68 *akçes*, these items together with his yellow boots worth 18 *akçes*, were the most valuable articles of clothing. His valuable scarves show his important status among the other oarsmen and other men employed as the oarsman of the *serai*, whereas his boots show his active life under difficult sea conditions.

In mid-March 1548, Niko veled-i Gin demanded the portion of his father's estate that Seydi Ağa had confiscated. The amount that was confiscated was 270 *akçes*, and Niko agreed to take 200 *akçes*²²⁷ which means that Seydi Ağa took a cut of 25.9% (70 *akçes*) from the 270.

It seems that both the relatives of Kara Kasım and Gin were able to obtain some information regarding the deaths and confiscations. The sum of money confiscated from Gin's belongings is much less than that from Kara Kasım's estate. Moreover, the place where Gin passed away is not mentioned in the record. Perhaps Gin was a wage-labourer in the town or at the harbour.

Thus, it seems that Seydi Ağa did not consult the *qadı* for each estate confiscation of a person who died without known relatives. Only when there were some problems with the confiscation did he pay a visit to the *qadı* court therefore there were people who migrated to Rodosçuk and passed away alone, and no one applied to the *qadı* for their estates. Either the relatives did not receive information about their deaths, or the deceased left little behind. The court records are silent about these poor migrants.

It was not only the relatives, but also the creditors who brought suits relating to

²²⁷ RŞS 1510: 51b-3.

the deceased. For example, when Hasan Bali passed away Seydi Ağa confiscated his estate and Hasan Bali's family collected some money. Hasan Bali's business partner, Andiryā, did not, however, accept these transactions, because he also had a claim on this estate. In mid-March 1548, Andiryā veled-i Sino/Suno(?) brought a suit against the agent of the relatives of his partner Hasan Bali in order to receive his share, which was one hundred and one sheep out of a total five hundred seven, according to their partnership contract. Producing Mehmed bin Abdullah (probably a convert) and Garib bin Atmaca as witnesses, Andiryā proved his claim.²²⁸ Then, Seydi Ağa demanded 1,250 *akçes* from Hasan Bali's agent, Mehmed Bey.²²⁹ As stated above since 200 sheep when he died belonged to Hasan Bali when he died,²³⁰ he most likely was engaged in trading animals or raising livestock and was probably one of the bigger dealers who ordered animals from smaller dealers.

These documents about Hasan Bali show that his business partner was a non-Muslim and moreover, one of Andiryā's witnesses was a Muslim, and the other a convert. Documents which indicate working relationships between Muslims and non Muslims are not rare in the Rodosçuk court records. In the following pages, show that personal relations between converts and non-Muslims and among the converts were very much in evidence.

At the end of April 1548, an oarsman, Derviş bin Abdullah, brought a document from the *qadı* of Istanbul regarding his witnesses, and sued Seydi Ağa to claim his share from Hüseyin bin Abdullah's estate, which Seydi Ağa had confiscated.²³¹ There is no document regarding Hüseyin's occupation and the total value of his estate, but it seems likely that both Derviş bin Abdullah and Hüseyin bin Abdullah were converts. Just like Hüseyin bin Abdullah, most of the people who passed away alone were converts and/or immigrants. It seems that the proportion of converts among the immigrants of Rodosçuk was quite high.

²²⁸ RŞS 1510: 52b-4.

²²⁹ RŞS 1510: 52b-5.

²³⁰ Documents do not reveal where he passed away, however he probably died in the town.

²³¹ RŞS 1510: 59b-4.

In mid-July 1548, Seydi Ağa came to the *qadı* court to demand from Kasım bin Abdullah his due regarding the deceased Somuncu Yorgi.²³² Kasım bin Abdullah and Somuncu Yorgi's business transaction gives more evidence of the relationships between converts and non-Muslims. At the beginning of September 1548 when Yannis of Fahreddünlü Village passed away, Seydi Ağa demanded back from Manol the money that Yannis had lent to Manol.²³³

Another man who was engaged in stock-raising and who passed away in Rodosçuk was Kara Yorgi from Karabazarganlı Village. At the time of his death, Kara Yorgi was in prison however, it is not possible to learn why Kara Yorgi was imprisoned. According to a document, dated the beginning of December, 1548, Seydi Ağa confiscated the seventy-four sheep from the estate of the deceased prisoner Kara Yorgi.²³⁴ Conditions in prison were not good, so like Kara Yorgi, other prisoners passed away while incarcerated, some leaving behind relatives, others a long distance away from their families.²³⁵ Some prisoners tried to break out from the prison. For example, in June 1548, Seydi Ağa was in the *qadı* court to register slaves who had run away. According to this document, the neighbours of Seydi Ağa saw them break out of their chains, break the lock of the prison and flee.²³⁶ This also shows that the prison was probably somewhere near to Seydi Ağa's own house.

In February 1549, Seydi Ağa confiscated Tailor Little Yannis' estate from the Papa Yanni quarter. Seydi Ağa sold Yannis' house to Yannis' neighbour Mihal Sarioğlu for three hundred *akçes*.²³⁷ He sold Yannis' vineyard, which was next to a stream, the road and

²³² RŞS 1510: 71b-1.

²³³ RŞS 1510: 79a-7.

It was not possible to learn more about either Yannis or Manol from the court records.

²³⁴ RŞS 1510: 93b-2.

²³⁵ There are two documents stating that Seydi Ağa was engaged in taking the money that Todori bin Mihal owed to a non-Muslim prisoner, Dimo bin Yorgi.. RŞS 1510: 23a-5, 23a-6.

²³⁶ RŞS 1510: 65b-5.

²³⁷ RŞS 1510: 102b-4

Goldsmith Mihal's vineyard, for 750 *akçes* to Yorgi veled-i Istamo.²³⁸ He also confiscated Yannis' field next to the cattle road and next to Kostas' and Todore's fields.²³⁹ For a while, this field stood empty. Then, in April 1549, it was let for 150 *akçes* per year to Dimitris.²⁴⁰ These fields and vineyards show that although as tailor, Little Yannis was also engaged in agriculture, like many other inhabitants of the town. It is not clear why Yannis had no relatives at the time of death, perhaps they too were dead or had not received news of his death.

After February 1549, it is not possible to find Seydi Ağa acting as *beyt-ül malcı*; this state agency probably changed hands.²⁴¹ There is information on Seydi Ağa's personal transactions. For example, a document which was recorded on 16 July, 1548, declares that Kasım bin Abdullah owed 1,300 *akçes* to Seydi Ağa.²⁴² According to another document, recorded on 18 December, 1548, Ali bin Mehmed from Yağcı Village acted as a guarantor for 800 *akçes* of Kasım bin Abdullah's debt to Seydi Ağa.²⁴³ Recorded in mid-February 1549 another document states that Kasım bin Abdullah re-paid 1,200 *akçes* which he owed for sheep to Seydi Ağa.²⁴⁴ It is possible that this payment was for the sheep that had been sold in July 1548. There may also have been some transactions between them that were not reflected in the court records. Therefore, it seems possible that Seydi Ağa also was engaged in trading animals at the same time as his job as *beyt-ül malcı*, or he sold sheep from the estates of people who passed away without relatives, just as he did when Kara Yorgi passed away in prison. Moreover, a few records mention Seydi Ağa being paid debts in the name of other men. These records do not, however, explain much about these men and why Seydi Ağa

²³⁸ RŞS 1510: 105a-4.

²³⁹ RŞS 1510: 105b-1, 105b-2.

²⁴⁰ RŞS 1510: 111a-1.

²⁴¹ So that it was Subaşı Piri Çelebi who sold the above-mentioned pasture in April, 1549. RŞS 1510: 111a-1.

²⁴² RŞS 1510: 71b-2.

²⁴³ RŞS 1510: 94a-9.

²⁴⁴ RŞS 1510: 103b-5.

received payments in this way.²⁴⁵

From the records it is known that Seydi Ağa, a well-to-do state agent owned slaves. In February 1548, the oil producer Haydar Bey bin Abdullah, among the (deceased) Süleyman Paşa's men, brought a case against Seydi Ağa, claiming that a slave in Seydi Ağa's possession belonged to him.²⁴⁶ Moreover, in June 1548, Seydi Ağa was in the *qadı* court to register slaves who had run away and as mentioned previously, the neighbours of Seydi Ağa saw these slaves break free from their chains, break the lock of the prison and flee.²⁴⁷

In September 1547 Seydi Ağa sold his house in the Çavuş Hüseyin Bey quarter for 7,000 *akçes* to Balaban Reis.²⁴⁸ and after selling his house he seems to have moved to the Dizdaroğlu quarter since in a document dated February 1551, he was recorded among the residents there.²⁴⁹ We do not know for certain if Seydi Ağa had originally chosen to dwell in the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter because of his occupation, which was, as we have seen, concerned with people who passed away without relatives living nearby. Many immigrants and converts lived in Çavuş Hüseyin, turning it into a quarter with high mobility, where the number of people dying without relatives living nearby was also considerable.

There are not many documents regarding Seydi Ağa's family however, he had a son called Memi. At the beginning of January 1552, Memi bin Seydi Ağa from the Dizdarzade quarter took over the *hamam* that the grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah from the Cami-i Cedid quarter had given up.²⁵⁰

To sum up, even though the documents described above do not give a good picture of

²⁴⁵ For example, there are two documents about two non-Muslim herdsmen, who once gave credit to other people and from whom Seydi Ağa attempted to recoup the money. Not much is said about these men or their relationship with Seydi Ağa. RŞS 1510: 19b-7, 35a-5. For example, in August 1548, he took back Mahmud's 400 *akçes* due to the sale of bonito (Palamut, a type of fish) from Karya(?) Bin Mehmed. RŞS 1510: 75b-1. During the same time, he took an animal which was sold to Seferşah for 150 *akçes*. RŞS 1510: 78a-8. In October 1548, Seydi Ağa demanded the 500 *akçes* that Yorgi owed to Yannis. RŞS 1510: 83a-7.

²⁴⁶ RŞS 1510: 45b-6.

²⁴⁷ RŞS 1510: 65b-5.

It is not possible to learn more about Seydi Ağa's slaves.

²⁴⁸ RŞS 1510: 23b-8

²⁴⁹ RŞS 1512: 38a-3.

²⁵⁰ RŞS 1511: 131a-5,6,7.

Seydi Ağa's life, his family and his slaves, they do give an interesting picture of the temporary inhabitants and immigrants in the town and of the residents of Çavuş Hüseyin in particular. The documents show that, sailors, oarsmen and those who traded animals or who were engaged in stock raising were among the local population. The Çavuş Hüseyin quarter also had a high amount of immigration, and converts had an important place among the immigrants. In fact, most of the converts who were represented in court records between 1546 and 1552 lived in Çavuş Hüseyin quarter (24). Other quarters with a high proportion of converts were Hacı Yunus Bey quarter, with the highest number of women converts (19); Cami-i Atik quarter (18), which was a well-to-do quarter most of whose converts were soldiers (*yeniçeri*) followed by Hacı Isa quarter (12 tax-farmers), and Nebioğlu quarter (12).

Nasuh Bey bin Abdullah and his slaves Hüsniye, Iskender, Yusuf and Fatma

One of the converts in the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter was Nasuh Bey bin Abdullah. Because of his charities, Nasuh bin Abdullah's name was mentioned in the court records a few times after his death. He was among the rich men who helped their slaves by setting them free. In fifteenth-century Bursa, there was a fashionable charitable activity among the rich: they would set their slaves free after some years of service.²⁵¹ Nasuh Bey bin Abdullah was not so amenable as to giving up his rights over his slaves during his lifetime, but he was good enough to grant them their freedom after his death, which was seldom seen among the rich inhabitants of Rodosçuk. All in all, it is possible to say that Nasuh Bey's slaves were fortunate since they gained their freedom legitimately, rather than those who risked brutal punishment by

²⁵¹ Halil Salihlioglu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the late 15th and early 16th Centuries", *Turcica*, XVII, (1985): 43-112 ; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek, Pazarlamak, Yaşamak*, translated by Gül Çağalı Güven and Özgür Türesay, (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), pp. 224-225, 233.

escaping from prison as in the earlier example given in this text.²⁵²

In January 1548, Hacı Mustafa bin Abdullah was given proxy by Nasuh Bey to in the case of Nasuh Bey's death, to set free his four slaves, and to give sixty *akçes* to the imam of Cami-i Atik Mosque for his mother, who lived in the Hacı Isa quarter.²⁵³ According to these documents, the four slaves were defined as follows: Hüsniye, from Europe, was tall, dark and had eyebrows grown together (*çatık kaşlı*). Iskender, from Russia, was tall, blond, blue-eyed and also single-browed. Yusuf, from Europe, was tall, dark, and had black eyes and was single-browed. Fatma, from Russia, was tall, blond, blue-eyed and her eyebrows were clearly separated (*açık kaşlı*).²⁵⁴ This wording alone, which was the usual way to define slaves, is enough to show the status of the slaves in Ottoman society. Free people were defined by their names and titles, whereas slaves were defined as commodities using the names given them by their owners²⁵⁵ and their physical descriptions. The descriptions of slaves in the court records show how the wording removes the humanity of a wo/man and makes her/him a commodity, despite this person's given name.

In April 1549, Hüsniye came to court to claim her freedom. She explained that two years previously, Nasuh Bey had said that she would be free forty days after his death,²⁵⁶ and her witnesses corroborated this. In the next record, she also proved with witnesses that she had had a child by Nasuh Bey²⁵⁷ which according to Islamic law, means she gained the right to freedom once her owner had accepted the child as his own.²⁵⁸ Such women were called *Ümm-ül veled*, and this meant that they could no longer be sold and were automatically freed on the death of their owner.

²⁵² See the memoirs of a slave about the violent punishments against fugitives in Michael Heberer von Bretten, *Aegyptica Servitus*, (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1967), passim.

²⁵³ RŞS 1510: 43b-3.

²⁵⁴ RŞS 1510: 118a-8.

²⁵⁵ What happened when a wo/man wanted to use the name that s/he had used until her/his enslavement?

²⁵⁶ RŞS 1510: 118a-6.

²⁵⁷ RŞS 1510: 118a-7.

²⁵⁸ Gökçen Art, *Şeyhülislam Fetvalarında Kadın ve Cinsellik*, (İstanbul: Çiviyazıları, 1996), pp. 22 ; J. E. Tucker, *In the House of Law, Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*, (London: University of California Press, 1998), p. 171.

In the same month, the testimony of the same witnesses proved that Nasuh Bey's slave Iskender had also been set free.²⁵⁹ It is not possible to follow the lives of these slaves through the court records. There are, however, a few records about their owner, Nasuh Bey who was probably a rich man because he was able to afford four slaves.²⁶⁰ Although it is not possible to determine Nasuh Bey's occupation, there is some information about a barley field which he used during his lifetime. This place was left empty for a while after his death. Then the tax-farmer (*mültezim*) Başmakçı Sinan let this field to Ömer bin Ahmed for six *akçes* per year and 30 *akçes* tax.²⁶¹ In April 1549, Nasuh Bey's wife Gül Hatun bint-i Abdullah turned to the *qadı* court to claim her dowry (*mehr*) from the estate of her husband.²⁶² In January 1550, she applied once more to claim her share, which was 1,145 *akçes*.²⁶³

The document about Gül Hatun's dowry also mentions her as an inhabitant of the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter, which shows that she did not move to another quarter after her husband's death. In addition, she was also a convert like her husband as was the deceased's brother Mustafa bin Abdullah.

Moreover, it is possible to learn that Nasuh Bey's mother lived in Hacı Isa quarter which also was characterized by a high number of residents who were converts. . The Hacı Isa quarter was a mixed quarter, comprising ; both Muslim and Non-Muslims . Nasuh Bey's house was very near his mother's house; it was next to Başmakçı Seferşah bin İlyas's house.²⁶⁴ Therefore, Nasuh Bey's house was on the border of the Hacı Isa and Çavuş Hüseyin quarters.²⁶⁵ Nasuh Bey's mother's house, on the other hand, was next to the shops owned by

²⁵⁹ RŞS 1510: 118b-1.

²⁶⁰ There was also a man called Nasuh bin Abdullah, who was not the same man as Nasuh Bey because this man, who worked as a trustee of the *qadı* court (*emin-i mahkeme*), was recorded among the witnesses in May 1549. At that time Nasuh Bey had already been dead for a month. RŞS 1510: 127b-5.

²⁶¹ RŞS 1510: 122b-4.

²⁶² RŞS 1510: 118b-2.

²⁶³ RŞS 1510: 1511:58b-5.

²⁶⁴ RŞS 1510: 140b-4.

²⁶⁵ There were also other houses on the border of Çavuş Hüseyin and Hacı Isa quarters. RŞS 1511:88a-2.

Seydi Ahmed and Papa Hartofilako in the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter.²⁶⁶ This shows the close living space relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims.

It was very often true that the same family members resided in the same quarter, but it was not the rule. Family members could be found resident both in the Hacı Isa and Çavuş Hüseyin quarters. It is possible to conclude that if necessary family relations were conducted across the borders of quarters.

In addition the documents tell us a few things about Nasuh Bey's relationships with his friends, neighbours and acquaintances. For example, during his lifetime Nasuh Bey appointed Hacı Mustafa bin Abdullah his proxy for his endowments.²⁶⁷ Then, he assigned his brother Mustafa bin Abdullah to oversee Cafer bin Abdullah, to whom he gave 3,000 *akçes* for his endowments.²⁶⁸ Moreover, it seems that Nasuh Bey also had contacts with a few other converts and non-Muslims. It is also possible to follow these relations through the legal cases in which he participated as a witness (*şühud-ül hal*): For example, at the end of June 1547, when Fatma Hatun converted to Islam, he was among the witnesses.²⁶⁹ On the same day, he was also recorded among the witnesses in the record about Yorgi bin Istani's tax problems.²⁷⁰

Later, in mid-October 1547, a complaint was brought by one of the police chief's (*subaşı*) servants, Isa, against three non-Muslim men who were walking in the middle of town at midnight. The youths defended themselves, saying that they had been chatting in Istamo's house and were trying to return home when they were arrested. Walking around in the middle of the night was forbidden, since those who did so were seen as a threat to the social order. Perhaps these three young men hoped not to be noticed when they were outside after curfew, however, it is not possible to know more about them and their intentions. Perhaps Nasuh Bey was an acquaintance of one of them, but for some reason and was recorded among the

²⁶⁶ RŞS 1510:43b-3.

²⁶⁷ RŞS 1510: 118b-4 , 118b-5.

²⁶⁸ RŞS 1512: 56b-3, 57a-1, 68a-1, 68a-2.

²⁶⁹ RŞS 1510: 15a-2.

²⁷⁰ RŞS 1510: 15a-4 .

witnesses for the record of the case.²⁷¹

Intrestingly, on the same day Nasuh Bey was at the *qadı('s)* court for another purpose, being recorded as the witness in Cafer bin Abdullah *er-recul's* (a title used for a high-ranking man) complaint about Iskender Subaşı bin Abdullah. The policeman Iskender and Cafer were also both converts like Nasuh Bey. Moreover, all three were of high status: Iskender as a policeman, Cafer as the title "*er-recul*" infers, and Nasuh Bey also, as the title "*Bey*" infers. There is, however, very little information available to clarify the relationships between these three men, who had a few things in common.²⁷²

During this time period and probably on the same day, Nasuh Bey was once again recorded among the witnesses in yet another record of a case about Yannis' 1,000-*akçe* debt to another non-Muslim.²⁷³ The next month, in mid-November 1547, Nasuh Bey's name is found among the "just" witnesses (*şuhud-ül adilün*) in the document relating the conflict between the inhabitants of the Naib and Kumbağı villages about land use.²⁷⁴

The only Muslim for whom Nasuh Bey testified was Emine bint-i Dede Bali. At the end of December 1547, Nasuh Bey was not only recorded among the witnesses, he was also recorded among the men who testified that Hüseyin Bey ibn-i Yusuf stood proxy for Emine.²⁷⁵ The fact that Nasuh Bey was recorded as a "just witness" in such an important case shows that he also had high status before the *qadı* court.²⁷⁶ This was perhaps why he was often invited to the court by converts and non-Muslims, who were probably his acquaintances. Later, on 22 June, 1548, Nasuh Bey was recorded among the witnesses in the document about Todore veled-i Hersek's 730-*akçe* debt to Isa bin Mehmed.²⁷⁷

Since Nasuh Bey was very often present in the *qadı* court, he may have been included

²⁷¹ RŞS 1510: 31a-8.

²⁷² RŞS 1510: 31b-1.

²⁷³ RŞS 1510: 31b-8.

²⁷⁴ RŞS 1510: 35b-3.

²⁷⁵ RŞS 1510: 38b-2.

²⁷⁶ Canbakal, "Ayntab", in *passim*.

²⁷⁷ RŞS 1510: 68a-9.

in many records related to people that he did not actually know merely because he was in the court at the time. For example, in the cases about three non-Muslims walking the streets of Rodosçuk after curfew, his existence among the witnesses may have been such a coincidence. However, there was probably at least some contact between Nasuh Bey and the other people mentioned in these documents. Although it is not possible to know Nasuh Bey's exact connection with all these people, there had to be a reason that took Nasuh Bey to the *qadi* court in order to be there among the witnesses.

The fact that all the cases described above concerned non-Muslims and converts shows Nasuh Bey's close connections to these groups. It is often observed that other converts had similar relations and also had close connections to other converts in order to support each other in the new places where they were trying to make a living. Conversion as a social process built bridges between non-Muslims and Muslims, and also allowed converts to become firmly-established in the place to which they had moved.

Now, turning to the other converts living in the Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter and I will attempt to understand why they chose to live there. Along with migration, the other social movement that changed the face of the town was conversion. A good number of the converts in Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter were men with military jobs. The reason that most converts chose occupations pertaining to the military was probably due to the high status of soldiers in society and the economic attractiveness of the military professions. Conversion to Islam was not only a movement between religions; it was also a movement upwards among the classes. Some converts used the privileged status of becoming a Muslim to gain advantage in their professions or to choose an more advantageous occupation.²⁷⁸

For converts, Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter was attractive not only because of economic

²⁷⁸ There were probably also some among these *yeniçeris*, who were recruited through the *devşirme*. However, it is possible to deduce that some of those *yeniçeris* were from Rodosçuk and they maintained their ties with their non-Muslim families.

opportunities for people from various classes but also because of the mix of inhabitants. The people living on the left-hand side of the town among Greek quarters like Papa Hartofilako, Papa Yorgi Frengi, Papa Piskopos and Papa Sunadinos, for example, chose to move to Muslim quarters after their conversion and there is no record mentioning converts to Islam in these quarters. They probably tried to distance themselves from their old religious communities, possibly because a part of the old community probably would not welcome converts to Islam. I think the Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter, which did not have direct contact with these other quarters, and was a cosmopolitan quarter with immigrants, probably provided converts with more comfortable conditions in which to reside.

The distance that converts put between their old communities and their new residences, however, did not mean that they completely severed all their ties. Despite having possibly cut their connections with their former religious communities, they maintained their personal and family relations. There were some contacts between converts who moved to Muslim quarters and their relatives and acquaintances that lived in non-Muslim quarters. For example, three people in Papa Yorgi Frengi, one in Papa Gümüş, one in Papa Hartofilako and one in Papa Piskopos quarter, maintained their relations with their converted relatives.

For example, Yeniçeri Hasan bin Abdullah from the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter inherited a waterside mansion (*derya yalısı*) from his father Lazaris from Papa Piskopos quarter.²⁷⁹ In another case dating February 1549, Velu(?) veled-i Argurublu (?) sold his vineyard on the road to Yağcı village for 1,100 *akçes*²⁸⁰ and his house in Papa Hartofilako quarter for 1,000 *akçes*²⁸¹ to his son Yeniçeri Mehmed bin Abdullah, who was a convert. It is not possible to determine in which quarter this Mehmed bin Abdullah had resided, as there were at least fifteen Mehmed bin Abdullahs in various quarters.²⁸² The above mentioned inheritances

²⁷⁹ RŞS 1511: 42a-5.

²⁸⁰ RŞS 1510: 104b-6.

²⁸¹ RŞS 1510: 104b-5.

²⁸² RŞS 1511: 42a-5, 133a-1.

among the converts and their non-Muslim families not only show continuity in their relations, but also they imply that the Sunni version of Shari law, which would not allow an inheritance between the converts and their families, was not always applied.

Moreover, converts also did not break their economic or personal ties. Thus, converts quite often provided surety for non-Muslims. For example, Receb bin Abdullah from the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter provided surety for Istamo Nikola from the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter.²⁸³ Some converts lent money to non-Muslims. For example, Yeniçeri Hasan bin Abdullah from the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter asked Arimi bint-i Yorgi Nikola from the Papa Yorgi Frengi Quarter for the money that he had lent to her husband, Apostol.²⁸⁴ A *yeniçeri*, Sinan bin Abdullah, filed a charge against Dimitris veled-i Mihal claiming that he had used his vineyard on the road to Nasretlü village. Dimitris stated that he had bought the vineyard from Sinan's father; Sinan on the other hand claimed that his father had sold the vineyard to him. Some people from the Christian community, among them the tax-farmer for tax issues (*yük amili*) Kostas bin Tiranos from the Papa Piskopos Quarter, bore witness for the *yeniçeri*, Sinan bin Abdullah, and Sinan took the vineyard.²⁸⁵

All these examples show the active relations between converts and non-Muslims, which are strong hints for the existence of “bridges” between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Thus, conversion was a process of bridging communities in the Ottoman town of Rodosçuk.

b. The Cami-i Cedid Quarter

The quarter on the right-hand side of the harbour was named after the big, new

²⁸³ RŞS 1510: 134a-4.

²⁸⁴ RŞS 1511: 61b-2, 101a-6.

²⁸⁵ RŞS 1510: 100b-2,3,4,5.

mosque that Vezier Rüstem Paşa built in the middle of the 16th century. The mosque was still under construction during the period covered in this research; thus, from then on it was usually called the Yeni Cami or Cami-i Cedid (new mosque) instead of the Rüstem Paşa Mosque.

The expansion of the market in this direction had already started in those days. It is probable that Rüstem Paşa saw this development and therefore, chose to build his *waqf* complex in this part of the town. Rüstem Paşa's investments in the town increased over time. Only three years later, as the Grand Vizier and husband to Süleyman I's daughter, he was granted the freehold property of the Rodosçuk fair grounds.²⁸⁶ This *waqf* complex, in turn, with all its supplementary economic investigations accelerated this development. Evliya Çelebi explains that in the middle of the 18th century, standing in the middle of the market Rüstem Paşa's Mosque was the most popular mosque in the market.²⁸⁷ . This shows the economic sophistication of Rüstem Paşa.²⁸⁸

The *waqf* complex of Rüstem Paşa was not only comprised a mosque and an economic investments, there was also a *medrese* (religious school), which was a very important intellectual centre in the town, however, since there is no documentation about the activities of this *medrese*, it is not possible to determine if it was completed by 1549.

In those days, although the mosque was not yet at the centre of the market and only some shops of the market had expanded into the quarter, the connection between the Yeni Cami Quarter and the market was significantly better than that of the other quarters in the harbour area. These active relationships with the market, was reflected in house prices, the average house price in the quarter was 3,416 *akçes*. Also, the inhabitants of the quarter were generally those who could afford to pay these high prices, such as tax-farmers (*mültezim*),

²⁸⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi "16. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Siyaset", p.100; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Balkan Affairs", p.62.

²⁸⁷ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 140.

²⁸⁸ See for example Busbecq's letters. Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, *Türk Mektupları*, translated by Derin Türkömer, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2005).

tradesmen, grocers and artisans such as bakers and pastrami²⁸⁹ makers.

Katip Yahşi bin Mustafa

One of these tax-farmers was Katip Yahşi bin Mustafa, who, in the summer of 1538, bought a house costing 3,400 *akçes* in the Cami-i Cedid quarter. In February 1548, he came to the *qadı* to register the deed²⁹⁰ of this wooden house was wooden with clay roof tiles. This house was on the corner just next to Çavuş Hüseyin Bey's house, which was located in the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter. This means that Katip Yahşi's house was on the border of the Çavuş Hüseyin and Cami-i Cedid quarters. On the other side of his house was the house of Atmacacıbaşı Gazanfer Ağa, who was a member of the high administrative elite based in Istanbul and a *waqf* founder in Rodosçuk. A few months later, at the beginning of May 1548, Katip Yahşi sold his two houses, bordered by Ahmed's and Gazanfer Ağa's houses, for 8,000 *akçes* to Hızır Çelebi bin Patrik.²⁹¹ According to the contract, he exchanged these houses for the 6,600-*akçe* credit that he had taken from Hızır Çelebi and Hızır was required to pay him the remaining money, 1,400 *akçes* one year later. Even though he sold his houses in this quarter, however, he was still mentioned among the inhabitants of Cami-i Cedid quarter in April 1551. Thus, it can be inferred that he dwelled in this quarter between 1538 and 1551.

Katip Yahşi, who had some education, often attended court hearings as a witness.²⁹² Only rarely did his own business take Yahşi to the *qadı*(*'s*) court and therefore, the court records provide little information about him. At the end of January 1549, he came before the *qadı* to obtain a record of his 100-*akçe* debt to Hacı Mustafa for the purchase of cloth.²⁹³ However, according to the suit that the trustee of Yeğenzade Ahmed Çelebi Waqf, Ibrahim

²⁸⁹ Beef that has been smoked/dried in the sun after being treated with spices.

²⁹⁰ RŞS 1510: 44b-1.

²⁹¹ RŞS 1510: 60b-3.

²⁹² RŞS 1510: 8a-4, 10a-1, 15b-1, 120a-1, 126a-2, 132b-2.

²⁹³ RŞS 1510: 101b-9.

bin Ilyas, brought against Yahşi in April 1551, he had rented the *waqf*'s warehouses at the harbour for 1,000 *akçes* per year for three years. There were, however, 1,000 *akçes* unaccounted for.²⁹⁴ Katip Yahşi explained that the camels of the Sultan were stabled in the warehouses, however, the camels had destroyed the walls of the warehouses and after a month the warehouses stank so badly that it was impossible to let them to anyone for storing grain. As a result, the warehouses stood empty for a year and the revenue of the *waqf* showed a deficit of 1,000 *akçes*.

Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah

There were also other tax-farmers among the inhabitants of the quarter. For example, one of Katip Yahşi's neighbours, Ahmed bin Abdullah not only worked as a grocer, he also rented the quarter's *hamam*. It is possible to obtain information about the features of his house from a document dating to the beginning of September 1549 informing that Ahmed gave his house, which was next to Katip Yahşi and Gazanfer Ağa's houses, to his wife Hace bint-i Abdullah. In return, Hace donated her bride price (*mehr*) of 4,000 *akçes*. According to this document, it was a two-storey wooden house with a furnace, a cellar and a warehouse.²⁹⁵ This means that both Hace bint-i Abdullah and Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah were among the well-to-do inhabitants of the quarter. Moreover, they were probably both converts, like Nasuh Bey bin Abdullah and his wife Gül Hatun bint-i Abdullah. In both cases, it is not possible to learn whether they chosen to marry converts like themselves or had converted together after marriage.

As with Nasuh Bey bin Abdullah, mentioned above, converts and non-Muslims took an important place among Grocer Ahmed's contacts. It is also possible to follow Ahmed's

²⁹⁴ RŞS 1511:77a-4.

²⁹⁵ RŞS 1510: 158a-1.

relations with other tax-farmers who were among the town's elite. For example, in mid-May 1548, Ahmed acted as guarantor for a large amount of money, 51,000 *akçes*, that Hacı Cumhur and Nazır bin Ali paid to take over the revenues of heirless property accruing to the state (*beyt-ül mal*) and pious foundations (*mevkufat*).²⁹⁶ Hacı Cumhur Arap bin Hasan was also a tax-farmer, and one of the elite of Abdi Hoca quarter more details concerning his life will be given below Grocer Ahmed also acted as guarantor for his neighbour Kasım bin Abdullah, a convert, and, as the agent of Çavuş Hüseyin Waqf, was among the elite of the town.²⁹⁷ In mid-August 1551, Ahmed bin Abdullah and Sarı Ali bin Evin guaranteed 10,000 *akçes* of Kasım bin Abdullah's 15,000-*akçe* debt to Çavuş Hüseyin Bey.²⁹⁸

Grocer Ahmed not only acted as guarantor for the elite, though, at the end of October 1551, he also acted as guarantor for Todori bin Nikola and Dimo bin Todori, who were the herdsmen for the animals of the inhabitants of the town.²⁹⁹ During this same period, Ahmed bin Abdullah brought a lawsuit against another Kasım bin Abdullah, from the Musa Hoca Quarter, and his deceased partner Hasan bin Abdullah's children's guardian, Emine bint-i Hasan. Ahmed demanded the 3,750 *akçes* that he had extended as credit to the partners, Kasım and the now-deceased Hasan. Kasım conceded that his partner had received a 3,750-*akçe* loan from Ahmed with his acceptance; however, he declared that Hasan had discharged 600 *akçes* of the debt thus leaving a balance owing of 3,150-*akçe*.³⁰⁰ The conclusion that can be drawn is that these two converts were partners and received credit from another convert.

It seems that the grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah also was the tenant of a *hamam* during these years, since according to a document, dated at the beginning of January 1552, he

²⁹⁶ RŞS 1510: 167b-1, 167b-2, 168a-1, 2.

²⁹⁷ There were numerous men who had the same name, Kasım bin Abdullah. This makes it almost impossible to differentiate this individual from other Kasım bin Abdullahs.

²⁹⁸ RŞS 1511: 102a-6, 102b-1, 109b-9.

²⁹⁹ RŞS 1511: 114b-3, 114b-4.

³⁰⁰ RŞS 1511: 115b-8.

relinquished the *hamam* of the quarter's mosque, which he had rented for 17,000 *akçes*.³⁰¹ He probably possessed some firewood that was used to heat the hamam since just after giving up the *hamam*, he sold firewood to Memi bin Seydi Ağa from the Dizdarzade Quarter, who rented the *hamam* and who was the above-mentioned Seydi Ağa bin Kemal's son. Grocer Ahmed's relationships with Hacı Cumhur bin Hasan, (whose life will be presented in the following chapter) from the Abdi Hoca quarter, his neighbour Kasım bin Abdullah, and Seydi Ağa bin Kemal's son from Dizdarzade quarter³⁰² shows that a tradesman who was a tax-farmer had personal relationships with people who were also tax-farmers and tradesmen like himself, as neighbours or those living in nearby quarters.

Grocer Ali bin Evin

Like Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah, it is also possible to follow the footsteps of another grocer in the quarter, which was probably a quarter preferred by grocers because of its location next to the market. The documents regarding his contacts provide clues about the economic relationships of the grocer rather than recounting details about his private life. In the first pages of the first *qadı* record book (Nr. 1510), it is only possible to follow Grocer Ali bin Evin when he came as a witness to the court. At the end of February 1547, he was among the witnesses when Hacı bint-i Boyacı Ali went to the *qadı* court to collect her share of her deceased husband Mehmed's estate.³⁰³ On the same date, he was also recorded among the witnesses in the document recording Boyacı Memi bin Seydi's debt to the deceased (*müteveffa*) Veli.³⁰⁴

Approximately two months later, in mid-May 1547, he once again appeared among the

³⁰¹ RŞS 1511: 131a-5, 6, 7.

³⁰² Seydi Ağa was first the inhabitant of Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter and then moved to the Dizdarzade Quarter. Therefore, for the story of his life, see the *Çavuş Hüseyin Quarter*.

³⁰³ RŞS 1510: 2b-2.

³⁰⁴ RŞS 1510: 2b-7.

witnesses in five different documents. All these entries concerned non-Muslims. The first document is about Yanni bin Baker Nikola, Nikola bin Yanni and İstani bin Andirya guaranteeing Orto bin Goven.³⁰⁵ The second concerns Olano(?) bin Goven acting as guarantor for the shepherd Niro bin Mikilef(?).³⁰⁶ The third document is about Kostas bin Tranos guaranteeing the baker Yannis and Nikolas bin Yannis when the *subaşı* (police chief) Kölemen demanded it.³⁰⁷ The fourth document concerns Hacı Ali bin Lütüfi guaranteeing Yorgi bin Yannis.³⁰⁸ The last one is about Nikola bin Yorgis's debt to Yanni on the demand of *subaşı* Kölemen.³⁰⁹ As can be seen, all these documents involve non-Muslims.

In mid-October 1547, Grocer Ali bin Evin paid another visit to the *qadı* court as a witness. This document concerns the 800-*akçe* debt of a man called Karlu(?) to a woman who was represented by her agent, Teyfur. In this document, next to Grocer Ali bin Evin's name, recorded among the witnesses, there is a note "the known Jew".³¹⁰ It is likely, therefore, that one or more people among the witnesses and/or the parties of to this process were Jews.

A few days later, at the end of October, Grocer Ali bin Evin was recorded among the witnesses in the record concerning Emine bint-i Hızır's debt to Ali bin Sinan Reis.³¹¹ At the beginning of January 1548, he was recorded among the witnesses in the document about Tatar bin Tayyip's debt to Divane Ali bin Mehmed.³¹² Up to this point, it is possible to follow the grocer Ali bin Evin participating as a witness in hearings of Greeks, Jews and Muslims.

In the following pages of the court book, it is possible to find some documents directly related to Grocer Ali bin Evin himself. In April 1548, he loaned 118 *akçes* to Recep bin

³⁰⁵ RŞS 1510: 4a-3.

³⁰⁶ RŞS 1510: 4a-4.

³⁰⁷ RŞS 1510: 4a-5.

³⁰⁸ RŞS 1510: 5a-5.

³⁰⁹ RŞS 1510: 5a-6.

³¹⁰ RŞS 1510: 30b-5.

³¹¹ RŞS 1510: 33a-3.

³¹² RŞS 1510: 40b-4, 40b-5.

Davud.³¹³ In mid-June 1548, he was among five men acting as guarantors for Kasap Mustafa.³¹⁴ A few days later in the same month, he guaranteed Sinan bin Yakub for 6,000 *akçes* rent of the revenues (*mukataa*) of some villages with İsbuyut veled-i Kuminu and Olaca veled-i Yorgi.³¹⁵ Thus, he had contact with butcher Mustafa, Sinan bin Yakup and Recep bin Davud and according to these names it implies that Ali bin Evin had direct contact with Muslims, Jews and Greeks.³¹⁶

These documents bring up a question about Ali bin Evin: Was he also a Jew or a Greek? If neither, what was his connection to these people? The record dating back to mid-August 1548 mentions him as among three men described as “just “Muslims” (*Adil müslüman*), whose ideas were taken about the conversion of a slave and the slave’s denial of the conversion later.³¹⁷ This document makes it clear that he was a Muslim.

It is possible to follow this Muslim grocer’s relations in a few other documents. In January 1549, he stood as witness to the oil producer Yannis in the document about Hasan and Kasım’s 500-*akçe* debt to Yannis.³¹⁸ In mid-March 1549, he was recorded among the witnesses in the document about the rent contract between the agent of the Fatih Mehmed *Waqf*, Cafer Reis, and Memi bin Ali, Kulman and Recep, who as partners were holding some fixed assets of the *waqf* for 40,000 *akçes*.³¹⁹ On the same day, he was among the witnesses when Recep bin Davud appeared before the *qadı* to renounce his claim against Piri Çelebi.³²⁰ Why Ali bin Evin was there on that day is not clear. Thus, we see that grocer Ali bin Evin was a Muslim grocer who had active relations with Muslims, Greeks and Jews in the town. This implies that the religious communities were not as separated nor as isolated from each other

³¹³ RŞS 1510: 56a-4.

³¹⁴ RŞS 1510: 65b-6.

³¹⁵ RŞS 1510: 68a-8.

³¹⁶ It is very difficult to determine the religion and ethnic origin of people, because it is generally not mentioned in the documents. Especially for Jews, who generally have the same names as Muslims, it is not always possible to clarify the matter, although the names are sometimes spelled differently.

³¹⁷ RŞS 1510: 75b-10.

³¹⁸ RŞS 1510: 102b-1.

³¹⁹ RŞS 1510: 107b-1.

³²⁰ RŞS 1510: 107b-3.

as some “Islamic city” theories have assumed.

Şirmerd bin Abdullah

Converts like Kasım bin Abdullah and Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah living in the Cami-i Cedid quarter, were better off than other converts in the town. This does not mean, however, that this higher status protected them from difficulties in adaptation to the new community that they had entered. There are a few documents showing that some converts had problems fitting into daily Muslim life. As new Muslims, they were probably under the suspicious eyes of the “established” Muslims, who were perhaps not so happy to see new people becoming first-class citizens like themselves under the *şer’i* law.

For example, in June 1552, the inhabitants of the Cami-i Cedid quarter lodged a complaint against Şirmerd bin Abdullah, alleging that he did not perform the *namaz*.³²¹ In pre-modern times religion was not a private matter, but it was in the public domain; thus, the inhabitants were aware of who performed the *namaz* and who did not. It is likely in those days; people often performed their *namaz* in public places like mosques and *mesjids*, instead of in their own homes. Another aspect of Muslim life to which the converts had some difficulties adapting themselves was giving up drinking wine. According to the documents in the first book (Nr. 1510) of the Rodosçuk court records, almost half of the men appearing before the *qadı* due to complaints against them for drinking wine were converts. Thus, there were some social adaptation problems of the converts to the Muslim community, which may be the reason why they needed to support each other.

³²¹ RŞS 1512: 40b-2.

The Woman Slave named Sarunaz

Except for Şirmerd bin Abdullah, all the inhabitants discussed above were among the elite of the town. There were, however, slaves³²² of these well-to-do elite members who also lived in the same quarter either in their owners' houses or chamber-like apartments (*odalar*) near their work place. The social status gap between the slaves and their wealthy owners sometimes caused conflicts in the Cami-i Cedid Quarter; and so did the slaves' lack of legal and economic rights. At the end of January 1549, Hacı Isa made a complaint against Abdi bin Kansu and his mother Selçuk, stating that they had provoked his slave Sarunaz to steal some jewellery and 400 *akçes* from his house.³²³ On the same day, Seydi bin Mahmud and Şaban bin Isa acted as guarantor for Abdi bin Kansu, probably against this claim.³²⁴ Other documents mentioning Abdi bin Kansu as a witness for other cases do not explain how this problem was ultimately solved.³²⁵

It was not possible to find any documentation about the female slave, Sarunaz, and her punishment and from this some important conclusions about the status of slave women and the interpretation of *şer'i* laws. This lack of reference to any punishment by the *şer'i* court shows that she was considered as a commodity; it was her owner who should punish her. Thus the outcome for Sarunaz was dependent on her owner. Actually, according to *şer'i* law, she should have been punished, but her punishment should have been half that of a free woman.³²⁶ This means that the humanity of a slave was partly recognized; after all the *Kur'an*, which gives self-determination and the will of the human being a very important role in the responsibility for her/his own acts, accepts slaves as half-responsible. Slavery was accepted as the reality of the day, but the owners were expected to treat their slaves with kindness and

³²² Ehud R. Toledano, *Osmanlı Köle Ticareti*, (İstanbul: TV, 1994).

³²³ RŞS 1510: 101b-7.

³²⁴ RŞS 1510: 101b-4.

³²⁵ RŞS 1510: 112a-2 .

³²⁶ *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Açıklamalı Meali*, (Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1997).

good will.³²⁷

Other than this absence of information from the court records about her punishment, the only thing that defines her in the wording of the documents is the name given to her by her owner, “Sarunaz”. What were her ideas about being called “Sarunaz”? Did she accept this name without thinking of the name that she had been previously given until her enslavement? Did she insist, for example, “My name is Mary!”? Were there any owners who used their slaves’ given names? Up to now, I have not seen a slave who used her/his given first name. They were brought into the Islamic world and their Christian given names were left behind. What about Muslim slaves? Did their owners change their names, too?

There are also other questions coming into mind in the case of Sarunaz. “Sarunaz” was not a name that was used for free women. This was perhaps because of the meaning of “Sarunaz”, which means “the blonde coquette”. Was this slave woman blonde and reluctant or coquettish toward her owner? How did people name their slaves? All in all, this information about the enslaved Sarunaz raises many questions about the lives of slaves in Ottoman society.

This type of problem was not unique to this quarter. The gap between the rich free people and their slaves paved the way for such conflicts in the town. For example, in September 1549, Hacı Ali bin Bayramlı brought a lawsuit against Aşer(?) bin Patrik(?), who had persuaded his slave Ferhan to steal 200 *akçes* and some property from his house, promising a sexual relationship with a woman in return.³²⁸ Sexual intercourse with their male owners was compulsory for slave women, whereas sexual intercourse was one of the unobtainable things in a male slave’s life; except when their owners permitted a marriage to another slave. This means that both male and female slaves sexual lives were controlled by

³²⁷ *Kur’an-ı Kerim*.

³²⁸ RŞS 1510: 157a-4.

their owners. Under these conditions, it seems that the promise of sexual intercourse with a woman or with a special woman was attractive for the slave, Ferhan. This raises a question about what Abdi bin Kansu and his mother Selçuk promised to the female slave Sarunaz to persuade her to commit the crime? In the discourse of the court records, both Ferhan and Sarunaz were persuaded and deceived by these people. In the wording of the *qadi* court, rather than receiving slaves as actors of history or as individuals hoping to better themselves, slaves were defined as easily deceivable human beings. This legal, social and economic inequality was re-constructed and interpreted from the wording of the court records.³²⁹ These implementations widened the gap between the slaves and their owners, producing conditions conducive to conflict.

c. The Abdi Hoca Quarter

This quarter, which was named after the founder of the pious foundation of the mosque in the quarter, was located on the left-hand side of the harbour. There were some warehouses in the quarter and the fortress of old Rodosto, which surrounds the old town center, also passed through this quarter. The highest average house price of 3,887 *akçes* was found in Abdi Hoca Mescidi Quarter; this, however, does not mean that this quarter was better off than the other quarters at the harbour. The house prices varied between 700 and 5,650 *akçes* for a one-door house. Moreover, there were only four houses in this quarter which were recorded in the *qadi* court. This shows that the average house price is not representative of the whole quarter and that the inhabitants did not use the court very often.

In general, court records show that representation in the court was positively correlated with class and education, so that higher classes were more often represented than lower

³²⁹ Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales*, pp. 167.

classes, and educated people were more highly represented than under-educated people. Thus, the low proportion of representation could be due to the fact that the inhabitants of the Abdi Hoca quarter were of a relatively modest status. In addition, there was a creek passing thorough this quarter, which makes living on the coast more difficult because of spring floods, the swamp in the summer and the diseases that this inevitably caused. Therefore, these few high prices do not represent the totality of houses in this quarter and it is fallacious to say that this quarter was better off than the other quarters at the harbour when the research base is so narrow. Among the inhabitants, soldiers were in the majority. Also a tailor, who probably repaired old clothes and worn out sails, lived in this quarter. There were some tax-farmers who appear to have been the elite of the quarter, and who were more highly represented in the *qadi* court.

Hacı Cumhur bin Hasan and the slave named Arap Cumhur

One of these elite was, Hacı Cumhur Arap bin Hasan, who lived in a house at the coast, near the fortress of old Rodosto and the vineyard of Çavuş Hüseyin's servant Kasım bin Abdullah from the Cami-i Cedid Quarter.³³⁰ This means that between Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah's house and Hacı Cumhur's house there was only one house, Kasım bin Abdullah's house. As a result, both Kasım bin Abdullah and Hacı Cumhur were Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah's neighbours, who were both tax-farmers and for whom Grocer Ahmed acted as guarantor. This means that neighbors had relationships which crossed quarter boundaries.

This raises the question as to whether these three neighbours used the same mosque, or did Hacı Cumhur use the Abdi Hoca Mosque and Grocer Ahmed and Kasım use the Rüstem Paşa (Cami-i Cedid) Mosque? Evliya Çelebi explained that the Rüstem Paşa Mosque was the

³³⁰ RŞS 1511: 76b-3, RŞS 1512: 7b-3, 17a-2.

most popular place for prayer.³³¹ It is possible that these three neighbours, who had close relationships with each other, also prayed in the newly-built Rüstem Paşa Mosque since there was no rule that the inhabitants of a quarter had to pray in the local mosque.

The location of Hacı Cumhur's house indicates a peculiarity in the town's make up. This house at the centre of the town was located next to a vineyard and this situation shows that, like many other pre-industrial towns, houses in Rodosçuk were interspersed with gardens and vineyards.³³² Pre-modern or pre-industrial towns were dependent on a hinterland that fed the town with agricultural products³³³ and thus, a town would have had very close relations with its hinterland. On the one hand, there were temporary inhabitants of the town who came from its agricultural hinterland to work at the harbour or to take part in trade activities or to work in transport. On the other hand, the agricultural activities were carried in the hinterland and in the town. Moreover, domestic animals were taken up for pasture at dawn and brought back at sunset by herdsmen on the street called "cattle road". As a result of these agricultural activities and stock-raising that penetrated to the center of the town, a vineyard might be situated next to Hacı Cumhur's house in the very centre, near the harbour. Here it is important to stress that almost all the inhabitants of the town took part in agricultural production along with crafts or trade. Hacı Cumhur's economic activities, which can be followed through a few court records, provide a good example.

In May 1548, the *qadı* Mevlana Muhiddin registered³³⁴ Hacı Cumhur as partner tax-farmer with Nazır bin Ali from the Hacı Yunus Bey quarter.³³⁵ As partners, they oversaw the administration of the revenues (*mukataa*, tax-source to be farmed out) of the items/areas of Rodosçuk belonging to the state (*beyt-ül mal*) and pious foundations (*mevkufat*). Hacı Cumhur

³³¹ Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, p. 140.

³³² Seng, "The Üsküdar Estates"; Xavier de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris, 1968), p.223.

³³³ Braudel, *Akdeniz*.

³³⁴ RŞS 1510: 167b-1, 167b-2, 167b-3, 168a-1, 168a-2, 168a-3, 168b-2.

³³⁵ RŞS 1510: 7b-4, 8a-2, 8a-3, 13a-2. RŞS 1511, 18a-6.

became the trustee (*emin*) for three *akçes* per day and Nazır became the scribe (*katip*), also for three *akçes* per day. As mentioned previously, the value of the tax-farm amounted to 51,000 *akçes*, a large amount of money and some people among the elite of the town, for example, Tur Hoca bin Nasuh from Hacı Isa Quarter and his neighbour from Cami-i Cedid Quarter, Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah, acted as guarantors.³³⁶

After this assignment, it is possible to follow the activities of the two tax-farmers, Hacı Cumhur and Nazır. It is, however, important to discuss their work in some detail to understand their position in the town administration. Pre-modern states were technically unable to directly control and administer, as there was not enough cash available to pay a salaried bureaucracy, and a number of solutions were created to cope with this problem. The Ottoman state implemented a tax-farming system, which was called *iltizam*, delegating the job of collecting state revenues to agents, or tax-farmers. The second system developed by the Ottoman state was *tımar* in this system the agricultural revenues of some lands were given to military personnel in exchange for military service.

So Cumhur and Nazır oversaw the administration of the tax-revenues of the lands in the Rodosçuk hinterland and became tax-farmers. For example, Sevindik Ocağı in Nasretlü village, Mahmud's Çiftlik in Küçük Kara Evli village, Bıyık Ali, Urulmuş, Behlul and Timurcalı Ocağıs in Dayıncık(?) village, and Gökçek Ocağı in Gökçeli village were some of the land that they controlled and taxed.³³⁷ (See Map I for Rodosçuk hinterland).³³⁸ Hacı Cumhur's duty was not only to draw up rent contracts with tax-farmers, but also to check that military service was performed by people who had been assigned with land revenues for this purpose. For example, at the end of April and beginning of May in 1549, he confiscated the yield of Hüsameddin Çiftliği in Karabazarganlı village because a number of local *müselleme*

³³⁶ RŞS 1510: 167b-1,167b-2, 168a-1,2, 168a-3.

³³⁷ RŞS 1510: 167b-4, 167b-5, 167b-6, 168a-4,168a-6, 168a-7, 168b-1, 168b-4, 168b-5.

³³⁸ Although this map does not show the old settlement in Rodosçuk's hinterland, some villages have the same names. It is, however, possible that they were not in the same places in the 16th century. The settlement in Rodosçuk's hinterland needs illumination.

(peasant soldiers) did not perform their military service in exchange for tax exemptions, they enjoyed.³³⁹

In these lands belonging to the state, the estates of those who died without relatives belonged to the state, and collecting these properties was also Hacı Cumhur's duty. At the beginning of October 1548, Hacı Cumhur confiscated the estate of a man called Cafer, who had been killed in Karaoğlu(?) village by Hızır, a slave of Teslime Hatun.³⁴⁰ It is possible to say that Cumhur's job helped to weave strong ties between Rodosçuk and its hinterland.³⁴¹

Along with these duties as tax-farmer or agent (*amil*), Hacı Cumhur was also active in agricultural production, as court records also contain information about his vineyard on the borders of the town next to those of Ramazan bin Demirci and Hamal Ilyas bin Abdullah.³⁴² Taking all of these activities into consideration, it is evident that in the early modern era people did not specialize in one job or sphere of economic activity. Rather they were involved in various activities and did not cut their ties with, or become alienated from agriculture, the most basic economic activity of the era;. It is possible to follow this behaviour in the life stories of other tax-farmers, who generally lived in the town centre.

Returning to the life of Hacı Cumhur the court records tell of a rich and powerful agent, a man who had good relations with other rich and powerful men in the town.³⁴³ As a result of this high status, in some of these records he was mentioned as being among the "just Muslims" (*adil müslüman*) who were consulted when a dilemma occurred in the *qadı* court as the aforementioned Grocer Ali bin Evin from Cami-i Cedid Quarter.

³³⁹ RŞS 1510: 168b-3, 168b-6, 169a-1.

³⁴⁰ RŞS 1510: 168a-5.

³⁴¹ For the emphasis of the ties of Syrian cities to their hinterlands in contrast to Lapidus' assumption of dichotomous urban and rural societies of Islamic city see André Raymond, *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th-18th Centuries*, (New York, 1984).

³⁴² RŞS 1510: 44a-1. In January 1548 a grocer Cumhur, sold thirty-five apples for one *akçe*, although the set market price was one *akçe* for twenty apples. It is not clear whether this Cumhur, who sold the apples cheaper than the set market price, was the same person with Hacı Cumhur. It seems possible, because there is not any other Cumhur that is mentioned in the records except for a slave Cumhur. So he was perhaps also a grocer. See RŞS 1510: 41a-3.

³⁴³ RŞS 1510: 108a-7, 122b-2, 3.

The court record entries dealing with Hacı Cumhur also provide clues about other inhabitants of the town: the slaves. In actual fact, although the slaves themselves could not afford to live in luxurious houses, some were “fortunate” and lived in rich houses in quarters near the centre instead of living in rooms or stores at the harbour under difficult conditions. In February 1549, Hacı Cumhur claimed the ownership of a slave called Arab Cumhur. Turning back the pages of the *qadı* record book, it seems that through his claim Hacı Cumhur tried to help his namesake gain his freedom. In November 1548, some months previously Abdi Bin Musa from Edirne had claimed that Arab Cumhur was his slave, despite the freedom certificate which Arab Cumhur possessed. Against this claim, Hacı Cumhur guaranteed Arab Cumhur for a month.³⁴⁴ In return, two inhabitants, Mustafa bin Hacı Ömer and Sancakdar Hüseyin acted as guarantor for Abdi bin Musa.³⁴⁵ For two months the documents say nothing about this disagreement between Abdi bin Musa and Hacı Cumhur. Then in February 1549, Yeniçeri Ibrahim claimed ownership of Arab Cumhur. In turn, Hacı Cumhur counter-claimed that he had bought Arab Cumhur from Abdi bin Musa for 1,024 *akçes*. It seems that in the first lawsuit, the *qadı* ruled against Hacı Cumhur and Yeniçeri Ibrahim won the case with the evidence from Yusuf Yeniçeri from Çorlu and Mustafa bin Emirza.³⁴⁶

The slave, Arab Cumhur, finally accepted that he was Yeniçeri Ibrahim’s slave and gave up his struggle for freedom.³⁴⁷ Despite his prestige as a “just Muslim”, his power as an agent /tax-farmer (*mültezim*) and his wealth, Hacı Cumhur could not help Arab Cumhur gain his freedom. It seems that a slave needed inordinate amounts of good fortune to to achieve manumission. A slave from Russia called Hurşid from the Cami-i Atik Quarter did have the good fortune to gain her freedom, and her story is given below.

³⁴⁴ RŞS 1510: 91b-5.

³⁴⁵ RŞS 1510: 91b-6.

³⁴⁶ RŞS 1510: 103a-3.

³⁴⁷ RŞS 1510: 103a-2. Although this document comes before 103a-3 above, there was a confusion in the order of documents. Probably Arab Cumhur accepted this defeat after Hacı Cumhur’s defeat.

Kara Makbul and Mercan

As was the case in all the quarters near the harbour, there was also prostitution in Abdi Hoca Quarter. In May 1549, towards the end of spring during the poor sea conditions and more ships took shelter in the harbour, complaints about prostitution involving a man called Kara Makbul, began to appear. From the inhabitants in the quarter, Gazi Reis, Ferhad bin Bekir, the aforementioned Hacı Cumhur, Hacı Resul bin Hasan, Temna(?) bin Hasan and Memi bin Hızır came to the *qadı* and complained that prostitutes and sailors often came to Kara Makbul's house, drank wine and made trouble.³⁴⁸ Moreover, in an adjacent document, Budak bin Mehmed and Gökçe bin Alişah were caught with a woman called Mercan in Kara Makbul's house.³⁴⁹ After that incident, these men had to find someone as sureties for themselves and some did.³⁵⁰

The prostitution in Abdi Hoca Quarter disturbed some of the inhabitants but others might have indirectly benefited, for example, by selling food to the male visitors, and thus, might have tolerated the prostitution and illegal sex despite the serious penalties of the *şer'i* law.³⁵¹ In Abdi Hoca quarter, however, there were a good number of well-to-do inhabitants who did not need such supplementary incomes.

The witness list gives a picture of some of the inhabitants of the quarter, for example, tax-farmers like former Subaşı Memi bin Ali and the aforementioned Hacı Cumhur, and moreover, Hacı Ruşen, Hacı Cafer, Hacı Resul bin Hasan, Hacı Bali bin Terbiye, who were probably merchants, a captain who resided near the shore, Gazi Reis, his neighbour Kuyucu Mehmed Bey, and other military personnel Ferhad Yeniçeri bin Bekir, Kasım Yeniçeri, İbrahim Yeniçeri, Sipahioğlanı Süleyman bin Abdullah, and his neighbours Memi bin Helvacı

³⁴⁸ RŞS 1510: 122b-2.

³⁴⁹ RŞS 1510: 122b-3.

³⁵⁰ RŞS 1510: 108a-7, 122b-5.

³⁵¹ Özlem Sert "Rodosçuk Kentinde Yasak Aşkılar (1546-1549); Şer'iyeye Sicillerinden Zina Metinlerini Okumak" forthcoming study.

and Ismail bin Abdullah, Hasan bin Abdullah, Fatma bint-i Mehmed, who complained that her husband Sinan Bey bin Abdullah had denigrated her (*rencide etmiş*) and Pabuççu Osman.³⁵² In comparison to the Cami-i Cedid Quarter, in the Abdi Hoca Quarter, there were fewer tax-farmers and more military personnel and this may explain the existence of prostitutes.

d. The Dizdarzade or Dizdaroğlu Quarter

There was an inlet in the place where today's Ördekli Brook flows into the sea. The Dizdaroğlu quarter was on the right-hand side of this particular inlet opposite the Cami-i Cedid quarter. The quarter was named after the patron of the Dizdaroğlu Mosque. The *waqf* of Dizdaroğlu, which gave its name to both the quarter mosque and the quarter itself, also had some warehouses in the quarter.³⁵³

Small ships were probably able to dock in the inlet, and it was possible to carry raw material in these ships. Moreover, Dizdaroğlu Quarter was also on the Istanbul road. The connections of the quarter were very convenient for trade and industrial production and as a result, there were many oil pressing facilities and warehouses in the quarter.³⁵⁴ In addition to those working in these places there were also livestock dealers, and soldiers among the inhabitants.

Şahmaran bint-i Behlul and her Husband Oil-Producer Hasan Bali

At the beginning of February 1551, the life of a woman named Şahmeran changed when her husband Hasan Bali an oil producer, died. His estate of 61,242 *akçes*, was a very

³⁵² RŞS 1510: 33b-2, 101b-3, 122b-2, 122b-3, 122b-5, 144b-3, RŞS 1511: 6b-5, 98b-5, 100b-5 RŞS 1512: 13a-2, 26a-2, 61a-3.

³⁵³ RŞS 1511: 7a-2.

³⁵⁴ RŞS 1511: 7a-2.

large amount for an estate, and the entries in the records provide clues about the life of a rich oil producer.³⁵⁵ After his big house, costing 5,800 *akçes*, the most valuable items in his estate record were items relating to his oil production activities: oil, raw material such as seeds, and animals that he owned. In addition, he owned a half-share (5,000 *akçes*) of an oil production factory and half-share (1,000 *akçes*) of a sesame-oil production factory (*şiruganhane*), three warehouses valued at 6,000 *akçes* and two shops valued at 2,400 *akçes*. He also had possessed raw material which he used to produce oil, and cotton seeds worth 2,000 *akçes*. There were fifteen oil pots valued at 375 *akçes*, and five copper buckets in value of 500 *akçes*. He had five animals, which probably turned the wheel of a grinder, which had cost 500 *akçes*. Furthermore, he also had a stock of oil to the value of 100 *akçes*. These items in his estate show that he was a very active producer, whose working capital made up the larger part of his wealth.

Hasan Bali's business was probably going well since he had 3,000 *akçes* in cash and numerous debtors when he passed away. The long list of debtors to Hasan Bali shows not only his profitable and busy trade activities; it also gives hints about his trade relations. Mahmud Bey had a debt of 2,000 *akçes*, Sarı Sufi had two receipts making a total debt of 290 *akçes*, Isa Bali, 600 *akçes*, oil producer Dimitri, 500 *akçes*, the junkman Veli, 200 *akçes*, the cooper Papaz, 61 *akçes*, and some non-Muslims had a 940-*akçe* debt to Hasan Bali. He also gave a 160-*akçe* loan to a man called Sadık, to an Arab, he loaned 100 *akçes*, and to another man, 180 *akçes*. Therefore, he had active economic relations both with Muslims and non-Muslims, as did the grocer Ali bin Evin from the Cami-i Cedid quarter.

Hasan Bali's economic activity was not limited to oil production and trade. As he owned 559 mature sheep, each costing 33 *akçes* totaling to 17,447 *akçes*, and some pulp to the

³⁵⁵There are two entries about this estate. Many items are identical in both records. The first, which was recorded on page 66 of book 1511, is more detailed, and the second, which was recorded at the end of RŞS 1511 on page 143, differs in some details. For this thesis the first longer entry was used. See RŞS 1511: 66b-3, RŞS 1511: 143b-1.

value of 60 *akçes*, he probably was also engaged in the animal trade, which was the second most common occupation among the well-to-do inhabitants of the quarter. The occupations of oil production and animal trade were related to each other. What remained of the seeds after the production of oil was good fodder for the animals. The cotton harvest was in October, and after using the cotton, the oil producers purchased cotton seeds, extracted the oil and used the pulp as fodder for their animals in the winter. The location of the quarter near the harbour was not only suitable for oil production and trade; but also for buying and selling animals. Moreover, the location of the quarter was also suitable for finding fresh fodder, when needed, as the area between the two streams passing through the town (see the Map) was well-irrigated. Among the landholdings of Hasan Bali, there was a small farm valued at 600 *akçes*, a pasture valued at 300 *akçes* and a large pasture worth 4,000 *akçes* some of these were possibly used to raise livestock. In addition to raising livestock he owned two vineyards valued at 800 *akçes*. It appears that in those times, a man could afford to participate in oil production, animal trade or/and stock-raising and agriculture at the same time. It seems that many pre-modern economic activities did not require a high degree of specialization or professionalization; as a result, the separation of professions was not as pronounced as in modern times.

Other items in Hasan Bali's estate provide only a few insights about his lifestyle. There was some grain valued at 300 *akçes*, which was probably consumed at home. However, there is very little data about Hasan Bali's clothing or the furniture in his house. The only two items that show this rich old man probably lived in accordance with his wealth were a valuable head covering, costing 50 *akçes*, which he probably put on for special days and a good horse, valued at 1,200 *akçes*, a symbol of high status in those days.

Hasan Bali had a big family: his wife, Şahmeran, two sons, Ahmed and Köse, and three daughters, Cihan, Nisa and Ayşe. His wife, Şahmeran, received 7,604 *akçes*, two

warehouses valued at 4,000 *akçes* and 1,046 *akçes*. All three daughters received the same share from Hasan Bali's estate: a pasture, a room and a warehouse costing 2,000 *akçes* and another warehouse costing 1,000 *akçes* and 4,064 *akçes* cash, which makes a sum of 7,064 *akçes* each. Hasan Bali's sons, however, received more than the daughters, but contrary to Islamic inheritance law their shares were not equal. Köse was assigned 8,073 *akçes*, two shops costing 2,400 *akçes*, and a vineyard costing 500 *akçes*.³⁵⁶ Ahmed's share was considerably greater: he received 14,127 *akçes*, half of the oil production factory valued at 5,000 *akçes* and half of the sesame oil production factory valued 1,000 *akçes*.³⁵⁷ It would appear that Ahmed took over his father's job which means he was probably the elder son, and was able to do this job, in contrast to Köse, who acquired only shops and a vineyard, which could be let. Hasan Bali probably had a partner, because he had only the half-share of two different oil production factories in his estate. In the following pages, I will show that it is possible to establish the identity of his partner, if we follow his wife, Şahmeran, through the entries of the *qadı* court.

At the beginning of April 1551, only a month after her husband's death, Şahmeran bint-i Behlul invested most of the money that she had inherited, in a large warehouse with four rooms near the harbour, from İbrahim bin Köse Ali.³⁵⁸ This warehouse which cost 6,500 *akçes* was next to her house and those of, İbrahim's father Köse Ali and Mahmud Bey, which means that Şahmeran lived on the left side of the Dizdarzade Quarter, near the harbour. This higher location protected the houses from the spring floods and made it more suitable to live. Thus, the accommodation was more expensive and the inhabitants were wealthier than the other parts of the quarter.

Following the relationship between Şahmeran and İbrahim, they had another

³⁵⁶ It is not clear if the value of the shops and vineyard was included in the 8,073.

³⁵⁷ It is not clear if the oil production shares were included in 14,127 *akçes*. Moreover, another sum is given as 14,167 *akçes*. There was probably a scribal error.

³⁵⁸ RŞS 1511: 73a-2.

connection with each other. First, this was not the first item of real estate that Ibrahim had sold. One year earlier, at the beginning of May 1550, Ibrahim went before the *qadı* and brought a lawsuit against an armed retainer of a high ranking state official, Mehmed bin Abdullah, claiming that he had beaten up his son, Mustafa.³⁵⁹ Perhaps he needed some money to bring this case before the *qadı* or he needed money for his son's medical treatment, so he sold a warehouse next to Dizdarzade's oil production factory for 1,000 *akçes* and also his share of the two oil production factories (*bezirhane* and *şirruganhane*), which he owned in partnership with his brother Hasan Bali, to his father Köse Ali for 5,100 *akçes*.³⁶⁰ This entry gives some answers to the questions raised about Şahmeran, Hasan Bali and Ibrahim, it was a family business. First, Hasan Bali's partner was his own brother Ibrahim, until İbrahim sold the factory to his father.. Second, Ibrahim had preferred to sell his factory once more to a member of the family, his brother's wife, Şahmeran. These real estate transactions, however, did not help to alleviate his economic woes, so at the end of that summer, at the beginning of September 1551, he borrowed 2,000 *akçes* from his father Köse Ali.³⁶¹ It is interesting to note that these people used the *qadı* court to register their inner-family transactions; perhaps they did not trust Ibrahim during the times of his protracted economic difficulties.³⁶² It is not possible to follow the other relationships in this family in the first three books of the court registers, perhaps relevant information can be found in the later registers. As things stand there is little information regarding wage-labourers, the oil trade, or prices.

³⁵⁹ RŞS 1511: 15b-7.

³⁶⁰ RŞS 1511: 15b-4.

³⁶¹ RŞS 1511: 104a-4.

³⁶² Nelly Hanna, *Making big money in 1600: the life and times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1998).

e. Conclusion I: What is a quarter? A Redefinition of the quarter in an Ottoman town

The economic activities in the harbour played a significant role in the formation of the quarters of the central area surrounding the harbour. Çavuş Hüseyin and Cami-i Cedid quarters were contiguous to the harbour and near the market, making up the nucleus of this area, whereas Abdi Hoca and Dizdarzade quarters were at opposing ends of the area and specialized in supplementary economic activities. The typical inhabitants of Abdi Hoca quarter were soldiers and wage-labourers, and in Dizdarzade quarter lived oil producers and wage-labourers. There was very little data about these people and quarters in comparison to the more affluent inhabitants of the more centrally located Çavuş Hüseyin and Cami-i Cedid quarters. As a result, in this chapter it was only possible to discuss the personal inter-relations of some tax-farmers and tradesmen with each other and their economic interactions. In economic activities, there was no iron-clad frontier between various ethno-religious groups: Muslims and non-Muslims had active economic relations with each other. Moreover, conversion to Islam which was very common, also established ties between communities. Another aspect that these documents also shed light on is the disparity between slaves and their well-to-do owners and the conflicts arising from these inequalities.

It is important to explain the formation of the town by examining individual stories instead of quarter borders. Through an examination of the socio-economic relations based on neighborhoods, kinship and social class (converts, immigrants or notables like tax-farmers and *waqf mütevellis*) among the inhabitants of the quarters at the harbour centre, a redefinition of an “Ottoman quarter” presented.

These relationships do not point to isolated quarters; they show that events

such conversion to Islam as a social movement built bridges between non-Muslims and Muslims, and allowed converts to become firmly established in the place to which they had moved. Converts had close support networks with other converts in the new places where they were attempting to make a living.³⁶³ The economic activities between Muslims and non-Muslims also show that the communities were not separated from each other. Moreover, it seems that the notables of the town who controlled state and *waqf* agencies also had personal relationships with each other. Thus, besides quarter boundaries, there were socio-economic structures shaped by class and status differences. Furthermore, although generally family members lived in the same quarter or in adjacent quarters, Some families were spread wider over more distant quarters. Not only were some families spread over the quarters, production, marketing and trade also linked the quarters and the rural periphery. With all these economic and social relations between the ruling classes, converts, immigrants and slaves among the inhabitants were so dynamic that it is impossible to support the earlier definitions of an Ottoman quarter., which was a unit of settlement where people praying at the same mosque lived with their families.³⁶⁴ This implies quarters that were isolated units from each other, because it assumes that a very important social activity of pre-modern times, praying together, was done separately in each quarter.

From the research carried out for this current work it can be seen that it is not always possible to define a quarter (*mahalle*) as a unit of settlement where people praying at the same mosque lived with their families,³⁶⁵ because this definition not only signifies the unit of settlement, but it also predifines the relationships between the people in that area. Relationships however depend on people and people are different from one another and these relationships evolve also over time and vary according to geographical location. Therefore,

³⁶³ Heath W. Lowry, *Trabzon Şehrinin İslamlaşma ve Türkleşmesi: 1461-1583*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1981), pp.123-127.

³⁶⁴ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Esnaf Örgütlerinin Fizik Yapıya Etkileri”, *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, edited by Osman Okyar and Halil İnalcık, (Ankara: 1980), p. 104.

³⁶⁵ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Esnaf“, pp.104.

prior to determining the relationships between the people living in, working in, and visiting a town, historians should only use neutral terms about the parts of the town.

This static definition of Ottoman quarter seems to be a very basic argument which lead to the assumptions of static “Ottoman cities or towns”, segmented into ethnic or religious quarters and lacking a true civil society³⁶⁶ and, in fact, the same definition has also been used by scholars who criticized this static view of the “Ottoman city”.³⁶⁷ Possibly people, especially the Ottoman elite, did define a quarter as centred around a mosque or church, but this does not mean that the historians ought to adhere to this assumption. A lack of critical thinking concerning the historical records has often caused such problems in Ottoman historiography. Many Ottomanists think that because the society or the state or a group in the society (mostly the elite who wrote the sources) defined themselves in such and such a manner, or defined themselves by using certain terms, today’s historians should also adhere to these definitions or terms. However, this approach is not acceptable to a social scientist since accepting the definitions and terms contained in primary sources means accepting the hegemonic ideology and writing history in that sense. For example, today, in the majority of countries, the state elite, who write the official documents refer to their states as democracies, however, social scientists, rightly, do not always adhere to this assumption.³⁶⁸

For 16th-century Rodosçuk, it seems better to define the Ottoman quarter as a settlement unit, which is generally named after the quarter mosque or mesjid that brought some infrastructure to the area. The borders of the quarters did not isolate the relationships of the inhabitants from each other. Different quarters had different *names*, but not isolated sets of prevailing relationships. The following chapter will discuss how a new quarter appears and

³⁶⁶ Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters, “Introduction”, pp.3-4.

³⁶⁷ Özer Ergenç, “Osmanlı Şehrinde Esnaf”, p. 105.

³⁶⁸ A similar problem concerns the use of the term ‘class’. Many Ottomanists do not use that term and believe that there was no class differentiation in the Ottoman state, because the term was not used in that sense by the authors of Ottoman documents. It is possible that the state did not define the society as differentiated through classes but this does not mean that there was no class differentiation in actual life.

the importance of this “*naming*” will appear more clearly.

Chapter II: The Centre at the Market

The market was situated on a gentle slope above the harbour, and the quarters surrounding it made up the second centre of the town. The location of this centre was not much different from the old Roman town of Rodosto, so that the centre was still almost entirely within the demolished town walls. The quarters belonging to the centre at the market were the Orta (Kürkçü Sinan) Cami, Cami-i Atik, Hacı Isa, Karayazıcı, Papa Yorgi Frengi and Papa Hartofilakos quarters. The real-estate prices here were higher than in the other parts of town.

a. The Orta Cami (Kürkçü Sinan or Kürkçüoğlu) Quarter

This quarter was named after Kürkçü Sinan, who founded the mosque there. The market (*suk-u sultani* or *bazarganlar çarşısı*³⁶⁹) was within the borders of this quarter. There are, however, almost no court records of the real-estate transactions there. The only record referring to the Kürkçüoğlu quarter concerns Ibrahim Bey, who built a *mesjid* there.³⁷⁰ This was probably the Ibrahim Bey Mesjid, in the location where the Ibrahim Bey quarter adjoined Kürkçüoğlu. Likewise, other documents only supply information about quarters adjacent to Kürkçüoğlu. According to some court records, the *Waqf* of Kürkçü Sinan, which was in the Kürkçü Sinan quarter, was near Hızır bin Osman's shop and a house in the Hacı Isa quarter.³⁷¹ Moreover, Kürkçü Sinan's house was near Elif bint-i Ramazan's house, which was also located in the Hacı Isa quarter.³⁷² Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the Kürkçüoğlu or Orta Cami quarter bordered on both the Ibrahim Bey and Hacı Isa quarters.

³⁶⁹ RŞS 1510: 55a-1.

³⁷⁰ RŞS 1510: 121b-4.

³⁷¹ RŞS 1510: 8b-4,9a-1,72a-1.

³⁷² RŞS 1511: 124a-4.

There are two main reasons for this scarcity of real-estate documents pertaining to the Orta Cami quarter and other quarters at the market centre. First, almost all the documents referring to the market concerning the shops; thus, there was a marketplace where only shops were located and no other real-estate was being bought and sold in this area. This marketplace extended its borders over time, finally reaching the quarters of Hacı Isa and Ibrahim Bey.

For example, in mid September 1548, two documents mention the building of a *bezzazistan* (a covered market for the sale of valuable goods). According to these documents, a certain Mehmed Çelebi bin Ali was involved in the construction. The first document refers to a man known as Frenk Kasım as the master builder, whereas the other claims that Yorgi veled-i Yannis as the architect of the building.³⁷³ It is possible that there were two master builders. It is not possible to further identify Frenk Kasım, Yorgi veled-i Yannis or Mehmed Çelebi bin Ali and follow their lives in the court records at hand. However, it is clear that, after the summer of 1548, a new *bezzazistan* was needed.

There was obvious growth in the area of the marketplace where the shops were concentrated and this generally took place in the area around the edges of the market. As a result, there was not as much mobility at the centre of the market as in the expanding borders, which is one reason why there were not many real-estate transaction documents in the Orta Cami quarter.

The shops referred to in real-estate transactions were generally in the Cami-i Atik and Hacı Isa quarters. For example, some of the shops in the bazaar that Gazanfer Ağa bought were in the Cami-i Atik³⁷⁴ and some in Hacı Isa.³⁷⁵ The market was at the intersection point of the Cami-i Atik, Cami-i Cedid and Hacı Isa and Ibrahim Bey quarters. Over time, the bazaar expanded towards the Cami-i Cedid, Cami-i Atik and Hacı Isa quarters, so that some shops

³⁷³ RŞS 1510: 81b-4; 82a-4.

³⁷⁴ RŞS 1512: 27b-1.

³⁷⁵ RŞS 1511: 81a-1.

were inside their borders.

Another reason for the scarcity of real-estate transaction entries regarding quarters at the marketplace was the changing borders of these quarters. Their borders were not well-defined on paper; they changed over time. When a new mosque or *mesjid* was built, the area around it was named after that religious centre. In fact, there were so many new mosques and mesjids around Orta Cami quarter it was overrun with the borders of newer quarters, such as the Cennet Hatun, Nişancı Canpaşa, Ibrahim Bey, Hacı Isa and Cami-i Cedid, causing the area of the Orta Cami quarter to shrink. The mosque itself, however, remains standing today, because it was difficult to sell *waqf* lands and the religious buildings that had been built on them, and as mentioned above, people also continued to donate money to this *waqf*.

Until the present time, Ottomanists have spoken of the role of the *waqfs* in quarter-building. However, observing the process that took place in the marketplace in Rodosçuk, it is more correct to talk about the role of *waqfs* in *quarter-naming*, not in *quarter-building*. As mentioned above, there was already a settlement named after a mosque at the centre. After the building of a new one, the surrounding area was named after this. The quarter-naming structure in Rodosçuk therefore, resembled the petals of a doubling rose. That is, the quarters were not like separate plates, only touching at their borders, but over time more and more started to overlap.

b. The Cami-i Atik Quarter

As its name suggests, Cami-i Atik (the old mosque) was one of Rodosçuk's oldest quarters. The area of this quarter did not diminish as obviously as that of Orta Cami Quarter. One reason was perhaps the fact that Cami-i Atik was surrounded on two sides by the Non-Muslim Quarters of the Papa Yorgi Frengi, Papa Hartofilakos and Papa Piskopos, and the

population pressure was not as high in these quarters as in Muslim quarters. As a result, on these two fronts there was not a very active *waqf* establishment, so the town expanded in other directions.

Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis's large house, located in this quarter, is very helpful for defining the borders of the Cami-i Atik quarter. The vast property extended to just inside the borders of the Cennet Hatun, Karayazıcı, Hacı Isa, Çakluoğlu Ramazan and Abdi Hoca quarters. In fact, the area of this house was so large that it even extended to the town walls on the other side of the quarter. Cami-i Atik quarter was most likely formerly larger than this area, and had been diminishing, under pressure from newly-established quarters like the Cennet Hatun quarter, until this large house came to form the border. All in all, because of these factors, Cami-i Atik's fortune was not exactly the same as that of Orta Cami quarter. The location of Cami-i Atik quarter just above the expansion direction of the market made this quarter one of the most preferred in the town and there is a wealth of data showing that many people were induced to settle here. As a result of this popularity, the real-estate prices here were high, yet most of its inhabitants, among whom were tradesmen, artisans, sailors, tax-farmers and members of the administrative and military elite were able to afford these prices.

Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis

Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis, whose big house, located where the governor's office (Valilik) stands today,³⁷⁶ was, as mentioned above, at the intersection points of Cami-i Atik quarter with four other quarters.

Additionally, in this quarter, this is the only house's location that can be fully established

³⁷⁶ RŞS 1510: 116b-1.

given all the data at hand. This is because he was a very important person and there are numerous entries about him in the court records. He is referred to in various ways: as the “tax-farmer of the town Rodosçuk”, “Subaşı”, “şehir subaşısı”, “muhtesib” and “za’im” “Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis”, “Subaşı Piri Çelebi”, “Subaşı Piri”, “Piri”, “Muhtesip Piri Çelebi”, etc.³⁷⁷ As a town governor who was also called “za’im”, he was the chief local representative of the executive power (the *ehl-i örf*). *At the same time, he was a provincial officer, a secular official, a vali who had various police forces under his command, a state agent, a military governor, the principal adjutant of the qadı, a public prosecutor, and a police chief. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order, security, and the punishment of offenders, and he also had to consider the public interest.*³⁷⁸ Moreover, as the market inspector (*muhtesip*) he also had municipal duties such as inspecting the market, quality-control, and setting prices. In order to understand how Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis was assigned these duties, it is necessary to examine the systems which existed at that time.

The two administrative systems used by the Ottoman state tax-farming (*iltizam*) and fief-holding (*tumar*) have been referred to in previous chapters: with examples from the lives of tax-farmers like Seydi Ağa bin Kemal from the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter, Katip Yahşi bin Mustafa and Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah from the Cami-i Cedid quarter, and Hacı Cumhur bin Hasan from the Abdi Hoca quarter were also explained. In examining Subaşı Piri Çelebi’s story, it is possible not only to follow the tax-farming system, but also to see an example of the functioning of the fief-holding (*tumar*) system, which was an exchange system in which

³⁷⁷ At times, it is hard to differentiate “Subaşı Piri Çelebi” from other Piri Çelebis, such as Piri Çelebi bin Karayazıcı Ali, who also often attended court hearings. For example, there is a note on the first page of the earliest court book (Nr.1510) mentioning that Niko was paid 60 *akçes* for his service to Piri Çelebi. It is not possible to learn more about this service and whether this Piri Çelebi was Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis or not. See RSS 1510: 1a-7.

³⁷⁸Uriel Heyd’s definition of a town *subaşı* is plausible to define Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis. “A town *subaşı* (also termed simply *za’im*), the chief local representative of the *ehl-i örf*, was the principal adjutant of the *qadı* and under his command were the various “police” forces (e.g., ‘*ases*, *yasakçı*, a Janissary unit). Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*), pp. 209, 242, 280, 295, 339.

the agricultural revenues of some lands were given to military personnel in exchange for military service, giving the pre-modern state an effective way to collect its revenues and supply itself with military power where a monetary economy was not prevalent.

Rodosçuk belonged to the *Imaret* of Sultan Mehmed Han *Waqf* in Istanbul.³⁷⁹ There was a trustee (*emin*) who was responsible for collecting the revenues of this *waqf*, and he delegated this work to deputies; who, in turn, delegated the job to the tax-farmers through their agents.

Piri Çelebi held the revenues of the whole town as its tax-farmer. It is possible to follow this chain for the revenues of the grain market. For example, at the end of November 1548, Piri Çelebi, the son of the tax-farmer Cafer Reis, handed over 720 *akçes* for three years revenues of the *Kapan-ı Dakik* (the market-place where grain was weighed and marketed; the grain market) to the Jew Avraham, who was the agent of two deputies (Şaban Reis and [first name illegible] bin Nikola) of Emin Ali Çelebi.³⁸⁰ This means that these revenues (*mukataa*) belonging to the Fatih Mehmed *Waqf* were first given to the trustee (*emin*) Ali Çelebi who then handed over these revenues to two deputies, who handed them to an agent who paid these revenues to Piri Çelebi's father Cafer Reis. From 16th of September, 1547 Cafer Reis held the administration of the grain market for 14,000 *akçes*³⁸¹. On 2 December 1548, since Cafer Reis had passed away, his son Piri Çelebi took over the appointment and became the tax-farmer for the same amount. The head baker, Dimitris veled-i Andirya,³⁸² acted as guarantor for this money for Piri Çelebi.³⁸³ For his other duties as the tax-farmer of various revenue sources, such as the "*bad-i heva*" and as the tax-farmer of the market, it is not

³⁷⁹ Gökbilgin, XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne, p.313; Barkan and Ayverdi, İstanbul Vakıfları.

³⁸⁰ RŞS 1510: 89b-1.

³⁸¹ RŞS 1510: 24b-6 .

³⁸² It is interesting that there was a non-Muslim head of bakers. For his role in the town basically as a tax-collector see the present writer's forthcoming study.

³⁸³ RŞS 1510: 92a-2. This is an interesting relationship between the head of the bakers, Dimitris veled-i Andirya, and Subaşı Piri Çelebi. It seems that they had a personal relationship, because Dimitris acted as guarantor for the 14,000 *akçes* due to Piri Çelebi.

possible to follow the actual chain through the court records. From an analysis of the transfer of duties from father to son, it is possible to understand the competencies and the job related relationships of the *subaşı* of Rodosçuk. As shown by the court records that the *subaşı* and state agent (*amil*), Piri Çelebi's father Cafer Reis, gave the tax-revenues of Bayramlı village, 83,000 *akçes*, to Ali Bali bin Dede.³⁸⁴ Only a few days later, at the end of September 1547, Piri Çelebi was recorded as the representative of his father, and he gave the tax-revenues of 105 households for three years, 18,000 *akçes*, to Pervane bin Abdullah, tax-farmer.³⁸⁵ In December 1547, it can be seen that the *amil* (state agent) was engaged in the enforcement of the wine ban for Muslims.³⁸⁶ It is possible that this was Piri Çelebi's father, Cafer Reis, who had been referred to as the “*subaşı*” and the state agent (*amil*) in September.

At the end of November 1547,³⁸⁷ took over this job from his father and for the first time, Piri Çelebi was now called “*za'im*”³⁸⁸ and “*Subaşı*”.³⁸⁹ The fact that Cafer Reis was referred to as both the “*amil*” and “*subaşı*”, and the “tax-farmer” (*mültezim*, or the holder of Rodosçuk *Mukataa*), and his son Piri Çelebi was also called the “tax-farmer of the town” and “*subaşı*”, “*za'im*” and “*şehir subaşı*” gives the impression that this post was defined as an intersection point of the *tımar* and *iltizam* systems.³⁹⁰ Thus, Piri Çelebi was not only a tax-farmer but also a fief-holder.

A *za'im* was a fief-holder to whom most of the revenues, over 20,000 *akçes*, of a

³⁸⁴ Ali Bali bin Dede was also an inhabitant of the Cami-i Atik Quarter. RŞS 1512: 31a-3.

³⁸⁵ RŞS 1510: 27a-7.

³⁸⁶ RŞS 1510: 37b-6.

³⁸⁷ At the beginning of November, as the *mütevelli* of Kürkçü Sinan *Waqf*, a Piri Çelebi, freed a non-Muslim (Pomadnoz? Veled-i Perşkef?) who was in prison for his debt of 1,000 *akçes*, after the prisoner's father Perşkef's bail of 500 *akçes* was paid (see RŞS 1510: 35b-1). This Piri Çelebi was not Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis, who was recorded as a witness in the same record. It was probably Piri Çelebi bin Mehmed, who was the trustee (*mütevelli*) of the Kürkçü Sinan *Waqf*, and who was also an inhabitant of the Cami-i Atik Quarter.

³⁸⁸ RŞS 1510: 36a-9.

³⁸⁹ RŞS 1510:36b-8.

³⁹⁰ For similar posts at the intersection point of the *iltizam* and *tımar* systems, see “*Emanet ber vech-i iltizam*” and “*zeamet mukataasi*” in Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa, Yerleşimi, Yönetimi, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Durumu Üzerine Bir Araştırma*, (Ankara: TTK, 2006), pp. 148, 158. For *subaşı*s, who held the office of tax-farmers, see Mücteba İlgürel, “*Subaşılık Müessesesi*”, *Journal of Turkish Studies / Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları*, VII (1983): 251-261, p. 257.

certain region were allotted³⁹¹ in return for sending one soldier per each 3,000 *akçes* of this revenue. Thus, Piri Çelebi probably financially supported a number of soldiers. Moreover, there were also some other *subaşı*s to whom Piri Çelebi farmed out some of his duties and the revenues from fines concerning these duties.³⁹² For example, in March 1549, Piri Çelebi took a 2,733 *akçe* share from Memi, who was among the tax-farmer *subaşı*s, together with Kulman and Recep, who took over the revenues of the fish market (*balıkhane*), control of the market (*ihtisab*), revenues from *bad-i heva*, fugitives and runaway animals in partnership for 40,000 *akçes*.³⁹³ The fact that Piri Çelebi sub-contracted to other tax-farmer *subaşı*s shows that he was not at the end of the chain.

These sub-contracted *subaşı*s had some executive power as tax-farmers that they took over from Piri Çelebi. For example, in February 1547, as *Subaşı*s of Rodosçuk, Receb bin Davud, Hamza, Ali and Ferhad posted bail for themselves as demanded by Kırkkilise Beyi Mustafa Bey.³⁹⁴ In May 1547, some non-Muslims acted as guarantors for a Jew at the *Subaşı*'s request.³⁹⁵ In the next two documents, which mention people guaranteeing a herdsman and a baker, it is *Subaşı* Kulman who requests the surety.³⁹⁶ Up to September 1547, the *subaşı*s who requested surety or who were engaged in security problems and the enforcement of the wine ban for Muslims in the town were referred to as the *Subaşı*s Kulman, Recep, and Memi. However, sometimes their names were not given and they were only referred to as “*Subaşı*” or “*subaşı*”.³⁹⁷ According to a record dated March 1549, as the deputy of Cafer Reis, Piri Çelebi received the 2,733-*akçe* due from Memi bin Ali, one of the tax-farmer *subaşı*s.³⁹⁸ The next two documents concern Memi bin Abdullah and Recep bin

³⁹¹ Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, p. 280.

³⁹² Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, p. 295.

³⁹³ RŞS 1510: 107b-1.

³⁹⁴ RŞS 1510: 2a-4.

³⁹⁵ RŞS 1510: 4a-3.

³⁹⁶ RŞS 1510: 4a-4, 4a-5.

³⁹⁷ RŞS 1510: 4a-6, 5a-1, 5a-9, 5b-7, 6b-3, 7a-6, 7b-1, 10a-6, 11a-4, 14a-3, 18b-4.

³⁹⁸ RŞS 1510: 107b-1, 107b-2, 107b-3.

Davud, who renounce their claims against Piri Çelebi for the payments from tax-farms. They had both claimed that Piri Çelebi had taken more than his due by including the ex-tax-farmers Haydar and Sinan's period with theirs. The next document is about Recep renouncing his share of the beehive tax and other revenues, and assigning this share to his partner Memi.³⁹⁹ These documents, therefore, make it clear that Memi bin Ali, Kulman and Recep bin Davud were tax-farmer *subaşı*s under Piri Çelebi to whom he gave some of his responsibilities and some tax-revenues. Moreover, it is clear that Haydar and Sinan were ex-tax-farmer *subaşı*s.

In the following pages, the numerous documents concerning Piri Çelebi are organized into two parts. In the first part, there is a summary of his duties following his acts which clearly shows how difficult it was to be a *subaşı* in the first half of the 16th century.⁴⁰⁰ In the second part, an examination is made of the bail and due records of the town's people who came into contact with Piri Çelebi because of either his job or their private interactions.

In the Ottoman administration, for each service of the state there was a tax, and the official who was charged with the duty received this tax just after rendering the service.⁴⁰¹ It is possible to follow Piri Çelebi while performing his administrative service and at the same time collecting executive (*örfi*) revenues in return. Among these *örfi* (executive) revenues, *bad-i heva* is important, and Piri Çelebi was responsible for the duties concerning these revenues.⁴⁰²

These revenues were named *bad-i heva* (literally, wind of the air) because they were collected spontaneously in times of need; they were causal and unpredictable.⁴⁰³ The fines for

³⁹⁹ RŞS 1510: 108a-2.

⁴⁰⁰ For a similar case in Antep see Leslie Peirce, "Localizing Legitimation: Bargaining through the Law in a Provincial Court", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 24, (Spring 2000): 17-49; Peirce, *Morality Tales*, pp. 327-331.

⁴⁰¹ Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, p. 141.

⁴⁰² Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, pp. 141-148.

⁴⁰³ Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, p. 337. Because *bad-i heva* fines were not constant, it was important to be certain that the *subaşı*s did not use this power at the expense of the people. Thus, the state took some preventive measures. First, there were articles in sultan law describing the field of activities of the *subaşı*s and warning that they should not try to take more from people than their due. Second, it was only the *qadı* (Islamic judge) who could sentence and make decisions about fines. Özer Ergenç, *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, p. 148; Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, pp. 176, 242.

marriage, divorce, for strays (*yava*), runaways (*kaçgun*) and for sexual offences, wine-drinking, non-attendance at public prayer, cheating in the market and similar crimes were among the *bad-i heva* revenues.⁴⁰⁴

The entries at the end of 1547, recording the first activities of Piri Çelebi as *Subaşı*, concern two divorces, in which the *bad-i heva* was imposed. The first concerned Mustafa bin Abdullah from Recep Village, who wanted to divorce his wife, Salihaşah(?) because she often met with a man called Hızır bin Abdullah in her house and they would not stop meeting although they were warned that this was forbidden.⁴⁰⁵ The second concerned Ali bin Abdullah, who divorced his wife Fatma bint-i Batine(?). In this record, Fatma renounced all the rights that she had gained by marrying and her non-Muslim acquaintances or relatives stood as guarantors for her. This shows that, in this case, the support given to a converted woman by her family or her acquaintances who were still non-Muslims continued after she divorced. Thus, the ties between non-Muslims and converts were strong not only in trade activities, but also in inter-familiar collaborations. There are no further records clarifying whether or not Fatma returned to her non-Muslim family's house after divorce.⁴⁰⁶

Piri Çelebi also held other tax revenues, for example, the deed tax (*resm-i tapu*). In February 1548, there is a record of a Piri Çelebi giving land to a tax-farmer, Imam Hüseyin Hoca. As Hüseyin Hoca had given parts of this land to Hüseyin Bey bin Abdullah, another tax-farmer, Piri Çelebi took the land back. To claim his money back from Imam Hüseyin, Hüseyin Bey bin Abdullah brought a complaint against Imam Hüseyin.⁴⁰⁷

Likewise, at the beginning of October 1548, the *qadı* recorded a few entries which referred to Piri Çelebi's activities. He rented out an empty lot near the old town walls in the Papa Sunadinis quarter to Dimitri veled-i Kara Derzi and Galak(?) veled-i Çimşgi(?). In

⁴⁰⁴ Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, p. 242.

⁴⁰⁵ RŞS 1510: 36a-6, 36a-7, 36a-8, 36a-9.

⁴⁰⁶ RŞS 1510: 36b-7, 36b-8.

⁴⁰⁷ RŞS 1510: 47a-8.

return, Piri Çelebi took a 100 *akçe* deed tax from these men.⁴⁰⁸ During the same days, he rented out another empty lot for 6 *akçes* per year, taking a 300-*akçe* deed tax, to Hacı Cumhur bin Hasan from Abdi Hoca Quarter, who was mentioned in the previous chapter.⁴⁰⁹ In another example, in October 1548, Piri Çelebi gave two fish traps near the town to Papa Hartofilako as tax-farmer and took a 150-*akçe* deed tax from the rent of each fish trap.⁴¹⁰

In the neighborhood of Piri Çelebi's house and a non-Muslim man's house, there were the remains of the old town walls. This non-Muslim was using this house without holding the deed (according to the court record); thus, in February 1549, the house was given to Piri Çelebi as the tax-farmer of the *waqf*.⁴¹¹ At the beginning of May 1549, he rented some farmland to Papa Hartofilakos⁴¹² and a pasture to Ali bin Mezid, taking a deed tax and rent from both of them.⁴¹³ In May 1549, when Hayreddin Bey, who was the tax-farmer of pasture land in partnership with Mahmud Bey, died, Piri Çelebi took a 200-*akçe* deed tax from the partner and turned over Hayreddin Bey's share to him.⁴¹⁴ In August 1549, Piri Çelebi sold some stones from the old town walls in the Yunus Bey Quarter to Ilyas for 150 *akçes*; this sum was earmarked for the *waqf*.⁴¹⁵ Finally, in July 1549, Piri Çelebi rented a field to Mihal and Stasnoz(?) to farm onions, taking a 200*akçe* deed tax and 50 *akçes* rent per year.⁴¹⁶

Another duty performed by the *subaşı* was to provide soldiers for military campaigns. At the end of February 1548, the *qadı* recorded a sultanic decree (*hükm-ü hümayun*), written at the beginning of February. This concerned a military campaign that the sultan wanted to mount at the beginning of spring (*nevruz*) and he ordered all *sipahis* of Rumeli who held

⁴⁰⁸ RŞS 1510: 83b-2.

⁴⁰⁹ RŞS 1510: 83b-8.

⁴¹⁰ RŞS 1510: 84b-2, 84b-3.

⁴¹¹ RŞS 1510: 104b-3.

⁴¹² RŞS 1510: 121b-3.

⁴¹³ RŞS 1510: 122a-3.

⁴¹⁴ RŞS 1510: 125b-5.

⁴¹⁵ RŞS 1510: 148b-6.

⁴¹⁶ RŞS 1510: 141b-2.

tumars of more than 4,000 *akçes* to participate in the campaign.⁴¹⁷ This meant that these *sipahis* had to draft *müsellems* (irregular soldiers) from the villages or districts that were required to pay taxes in kind.⁴¹⁸ These soldiers, who were the smaller fief-holders in the *tumar* system, were exempt from taxes in return for their military service. As a larger fief-holder (*za'im*), Piri Çelebi was responsible for the soldiers and following the sultanic decree, Piri Çelebi had to check whether they had completed their military service. Thus, in March 1548, Piri Çelebi demanded that two soldiers (*müsellem*) from Poladlı district (*Ocak*) do their military service.⁴¹⁹ In December 1548, another sultanic decree ordered that the *voivodas* and *subaşıs* check whether there were any deserters in the town. The officials were supposed to arrest them and inform the centre accordingly.⁴²⁰ For *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi this was yet another duty. Piri Çelebi, who held so many revenues and undertook so much work on behalf of the authorities, also tried to benefit from other tax-farmers who held revenues in the town. Thus, in September 1549, a servant of *ayakbacı emini* Cafer Çelebi Yusuf bin Ibrahim brought a suit against Piri Çelebi, claiming that it was his own right to collect the *ayakbacı* because he had paid 5,000 *akçes* for this charge. As a result, the *qadı* granted the revenues to Yunus.⁴²¹

Above, the broad administrative power that Piri Çelebi possessed in the town of Rodosçuk has been explained. In the following pages, the large number of people he dealt with will be outlined. For this, the bail and debt records, which make up the majority of the records concerning Piri Çelebi, will be used.

It is not always possible to differentiate whether the bail and debt records were concerned with Piri Çelebi's work as *subaşı* and *muhtesip* or his private interactions. For example, there are numerous security bonds recorded at the request of *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi.

⁴¹⁷ RŞS 1510: 49a-4.

⁴¹⁸ Murat Çizakça, *A Comparative Evolution of Business Partnerships, The Islamic World and Europe, with Specific Reference to the Ottoman Archives*, (New York: Brill, 1996), p. XVII.

⁴¹⁹ RŞS 1510: 51b-5.

⁴²⁰ RŞS 1510: 94a-1.

⁴²¹ RŞS 1510: 161a-9.

Most of these probably concerned his position as *subaşı*.⁴²² Thus, for example, in July 1549, Yorgi Kürekçi from the Papa Dimitris quarter, Marko Duka from the Papa Kamernos Quarter and Gin Yanni from the Papa Yorgi Quarter vouched for Küçük Yanni (bin) Mihal and Yanni (bin) Mihal, who had been imprisoned by Piri Çelebi.⁴²³ In July 1549, Palamud bin Yorgi⁴²⁴ vouched for 15 days bail for his son Dimitris,⁴²⁵ who had been handed over to Piri Çelebi because of his 500-*akçe* debt for the purchase of a black ox and his 350-*akçe* debt to Nazır for a cow Dimitris had bought.⁴²⁶ In October 1549, Abdülkerim acted as guarantor for 30 days bail for his brother, Abdürrahim bin Ibrahim, who had been imprisoned at Piri Çelebi's request.⁴²⁷ Both of these imprisoned men were probably set free after these bails.

Other bail records are short, only describing people vouching for others at Piri Çelebi's request. In the security understanding of pre-modern times, instead of technical control mechanisms of the individual, such as identity cards or credit-card numbers, responsibility for an individual was borne by other individuals, and in general, the pre-modern state tried to build communal responsibility. For example, when a person wanted to live in a quarter, they had to be vouched for by the inhabitants of that quarter. Since the person who vouched for the newcomer also had other people vouching for her/him, the responsibility was scattered among the inhabitants of the quarter; in this way, the Ottoman administration tried to build communal control mechanisms. Subaşı Piri Çelebi, the executive authority supervising this mechanism, was often recorded in the court records requesting guarantees of character.

For example, in January 1548, Piri Çelebi requested a guarantee from Kosta veled-i

⁴²² In about the 15th century, a surety bond cost 32 *akçes*, and of this sum, 8 *akçes* were paid to the *qadı* as a 'registration fee', 4 to the sultan's *harç emini*, 1 to the *ases* and 1 to the *katip*; the remaining 10 *akçes* belonged to the state. Heyd, *Ottoman Criminal Law*, p. 239.

⁴²³ RŞS 1510: 141b-1.

⁴²⁴ Actually, in the *qadı* court records for non-Muslims, "veled-i" was usually used instead of "bin" between the person's first name and the patronym, but interestingly, this was not always the case in Rodosçuk. Some scribes chose to use "bin" instead of "veled-i", so that sometimes the same person was recorded differently.

⁴²⁵ RŞS 1510: 143a-11.

⁴²⁶ RŞS 1510: 136a-4.

⁴²⁷ RŞS 1510: 163b-10.

Yanni and Yanni veled-i Nikola, and they vouched for each other.⁴²⁸ At the beginning of October 1548, some people vouched for Ali bin Koca Bali and another Ali, at Piri Çelebi's request.⁴²⁹ At the end of October 1548, Piri Çelebi requested surety from Ilbey and his son Seferşah, who were under suspicion of stealing an ox at night. Kethüda Ibrahim vouched for both of them.⁴³⁰ In the same time period, Hasan bin Abdullah vouched for Piri Ahmed bin Memi and Piri Ahmed vouched for Hubyar, as Piri Çelebi had requested surety from him.⁴³¹ The inhabitants of Osmancık village complained that Hubyar walked around at night with a big club and a knife, and had hit people and disturbed the inhabitants with his brutal behaviour.⁴³² Another example, on November 2, 1548, Hasan bin Emrullah and Hamdi bin Kasım, both from Çavuş Hüseyin quarter, and Ivaz bin Ilyas from Köse Ilyas village vouched for Hasan bin Osman.⁴³³ At the end of October 1548, Piri Çelebi requested surety for Hızır bin Mehmed,⁴³⁴ Dimo veled-i Lake and Dimo veled-i Levino.⁴³⁵ In June 1549, Mehmed bin Abdullah from Hacı Veli quarter vouched for Emirşah bin Mehmed from Sarılar village of Çorlu when Piri Çelebi requested surety, probably for some of their transactions in the town.⁴³⁶

As mentioned above, in the summer when wheat was harvested and maritime traffic increased, Piri Çelebi's workload grew; not only his security work but also his duties as the market inspector. As a result, in June, there was an increase in security bonds recorded at Piri Çelebi's request: he demanded surety from Skarlet bin Yorgi, Yorgi bin Todere,⁴³⁷ Ali,⁴³⁸

⁴²⁸ RŞS 1510: 42b-4.

⁴²⁹ RŞS 1510: 84a-5, 84a-6.

⁴³⁰ RŞS 1510: 86a-8, 86a-9.

⁴³¹ RŞS 1510: 87b-1.

⁴³² RŞS 1510: 86b-5.

⁴³³ RŞS 1510: 88a-7.

⁴³⁴ RŞS 1510: 90a-1.

⁴³⁵ RŞS 1510: 90a-2, 90a-3, 90a-4.

⁴³⁶ RŞS 1510: 130b-2.

⁴³⁷ RŞS 1510: 130b-5.

⁴³⁸ RŞS 1510: 131a-4.

Yunus bin Mahmud from Nesimi quarter,⁴³⁹ Memi bin Muharrem,⁴⁴⁰ Hoca Mihreddin bin Hacı from Nesimi Hoca quarter,⁴⁴¹ Hüseyin bin Yusuf from Cami-i Cedid quarter,⁴⁴² the Gypsy Kasım bin Abdullah⁴⁴³ and the gypsy Solak bin Pir Baba in June 1549.⁴⁴⁴ After June, the surety bonds that were recorded at Piri Çelebi's request decreased. In July 1549, Piri Çelebi demanded bail from Kosta bin Yorgi,⁴⁴⁵ Piri bin Ali from Şeyh Quarter,⁴⁴⁶ and Serapolu(?) bin Iskarlet(?).⁴⁴⁷ In August 1549, he requested surety from Sefer bin Abdullah,⁴⁴⁸ and Yakub bin Ramazan.⁴⁴⁹ In September 1549, he requested surety from a non-Muslim (? veled-i Yorgi).⁴⁵⁰

Thus, Piri Çelebi's workload changed with the seasons: increasing during the wheat harvest in June, and slowly diminishing to the end of the maritime season. His work rhythm also is apparent from debt certificates, another important part of the entries about Piri Çelebi. Some of these were connected with his work as the market inspector, dealing with credit problems among the market people. For example, at the beginning of November 1548, Isa Bali demanded 2,000 *akçes* from Yorgi veled-i Ahip(?), who had guaranteed the credit that Manol had taken from Isa. Yorgi was handed over to the market inspector,⁴⁵¹ which was Piri Çelebi himself. As another example, at the end of November 1548, Kuyumcu Mihal and his son Manol pawned their houses and vineyard to repay the 40 day 2,000 *akçe* loan that they had received from Piri Çelebi s.⁴⁵² The goldsmith Mihal and his son Manol lived in the Papa Hartofilakos quarter, in the central area near the market. Their stories will be discussed in the

⁴³⁹ RŞS 1510: 133a-2.

⁴⁴⁰ RŞS 1510: 133a-3.

⁴⁴¹ RŞS 1510: 133a-4.

⁴⁴² RŞS 1510: 133a-7.

⁴⁴³ RŞS 1510: 130b-4.

⁴⁴⁴ RŞS 1510: 132a-2.

⁴⁴⁵ RŞS 1510: 143b-4.

⁴⁴⁶ RŞS 1510: 143b-7.

⁴⁴⁷ RŞS 1510: 144a-2.

⁴⁴⁸ RŞS 1510: 145a-5.

⁴⁴⁹ RŞS 1510: 145b-1.

⁴⁵⁰ RŞS 1510: 161a-1.

⁴⁵¹ RŞS 1510: 90b-4.

⁴⁵² RŞS 1510: 92a-1.

following pages. It is possible that this credit was either related to Piri Çelebi's work as market inspector in the town or he was in business on his own account. In January 1549, Turbali was handed over to the market inspector because of his 400 *akçe* debt to Ahmed for the purchase of a horse.⁴⁵³

In June 1549, during the wheat harvest season, the number of Piri Çelebi's debt certificates increased. For example, Davud (*acemi ođlanı*) demanded payment of his 100 *akçe* debt from Atanos veled-i Niko. Because Atanos accepted that he owed the money, he was handed over to the market inspector.⁴⁵⁴ Probably for this reason, Hasan bin Yunus vouched for Atanos bin Niko at the request of the *Subaşı*.⁴⁵⁵ Another example was Todore (bin) Yorgi from the Papa Kamernos quarter being handed over to Piri Çelebi because he could not repay his 275 *akçe* debt to Ramazan bin Turbali.⁴⁵⁶ Kasım bin Mehmed, from a village of Çorlu, was handed over to Piri Çelebi because of his 200 *akçe* debt to Abidin bin Dede Bali from Kayı village: he had purchased sheep costing 1,850 *akçes*.⁴⁵⁷ At the end of June 1549, Durmuş acted as guarantor for his father's 525 *akçe* debt and gave a slave and 60 *akçes* as surety to Piri Çelebi.⁴⁵⁸

In October 1549 during the cotton harvest, there were also tradesmen coming from other places, such as Venice⁴⁵⁹ or Dubrovnik;⁴⁶⁰ in addition there were Franks of unknown origin.⁴⁶¹ Piri Çelebi was engaged in not only the disagreements between inhabitants of the town, but also those among foreign traders. In July 1549, Piri Çelebi imprisoned Paskal Yorgi, because his master Vespuçu Konstantin from Venice had a debt to the Venetian *bailo*

⁴⁵³ RŞS 1510: 98b-8.

⁴⁵⁴ RŞS 1510: 109b-2.

⁴⁵⁵ RŞS 1510: 129a-8.

⁴⁵⁶ RŞS 1510: 130b-3.

⁴⁵⁷ RŞS 1510: 131a-8.

⁴⁵⁸ RŞS 1510: 135a-3.

⁴⁵⁹ RŞS 1510: 164b-1, 166b-2.

⁴⁶⁰ RŞS 1510: 164b-5.

⁴⁶¹ RŞS 1510: 162a-4.

Elvir, and Elvir's deputy had filed a complaint.⁴⁶²

In September 1549, Memi bin Seferşah, who was imprisoned for his 6,000 *akçe* debt to Mahmud bin Emin, paid 250 *akçes* of it, and for the rest he pawned an ox for eight days, four sacks, 2 pileless carpets (*kilim*) and an oxen cart.⁴⁶³ After that, Piri Çelebi probably set him free.

Piri Çelebi also lent money with interest and followed the usual procedures. Many creditors collected indirect interest by having their debtors sell them their houses. The debtors then rented their houses back from the creditors for about 10% of the sale price monthly for a year.⁴⁶⁴ Their real-estate stood as security for their loan. For example, on 21st January 1549, Piri Çelebi bought Ivaz bin Hızır's house with its vineyard and garden in Nebioğlu Quarter for 500 *akçes* and rented the same house back to Ivaz for 4 *akçes* per month.⁴⁶⁵ In April 1549, Humadnos veled-i Sunadinos sold his house to Piri Çelebi for 345 *akçes* and rented the same house for 4 *akçes* per month. Humadnos probably needed money, because on the same day he also sold another of his houses, which was next to this house, and a vineyard for 400 *akçes* to Yorgi veled-i Felaşnoz and Isbuyut veled-i Kuminu.⁴⁶⁶ In both of these cases, instead of the often-used 10% interest, the two houses, which were not located close to the centre, were rented back to the debtors for 4 *akçes* per month.

A further example concerned, Yorgi bin Nikola, from a village of Hayrabolu, who on 10 August 1549, declared that he had accepted a 750 *akçe* loan with interest from Piri Çelebi.⁴⁶⁷ From the same village, baker Yorgi also borrowed with interest from Piri Çelebi.⁴⁶⁸ In September 1549, Piri Çelebi demanded 1,000 *akçes* from Mustafa bin Hacı Ömer for the

⁴⁶² RŞS 1510: 140b-5, 140b-6, 141a-1.

⁴⁶³ RŞS 1510: 160a-6.

⁴⁶⁴ Ronald Jennings, "Loans and Credit in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records", *JESHO*, 16 (1973): 168-216; Haim Gerber, *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700*, (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1998), pp.128-142.

⁴⁶⁵ RŞS 1510: 101a-4.

⁴⁶⁶ RŞS 1510: 113a-1, 113a-2.

⁴⁶⁷ RŞS 1510: 147a-7.

⁴⁶⁸ RŞS 1510: 148a-1.

same reason. Mustafa defended himself, saying that he had paid the money back, but he could not prove it.⁴⁶⁹ As a result, he had to pay 1,000 *akçes* to Piri Çelebi.

In August 1549, Kulman bin Ilyas, one of the tax-farmer *subaşı*s of Piri Çelebi, declared his 900 *akçe* debt to Piri Çelebi.⁴⁷⁰ It was not only Kulman who had a credit relationship with Piri Çelebi; other tax-farmer *subaşı*s under Piri Çelebi were in the same position. For example, Piri Çelebi had a long-lasting credit relationship with Recep bin Davud, one of the *subaşı*s of the town. In October 1547, Recep bin Davud appointed his neighbour Ramazan bin Demirci as his deputy to sell his house and pay his debt to Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis, if he could not afford to pay his and his partner Kölemen's debts to Piri Çelebi by the middle of November 1547.⁴⁷¹ The next document declared, however, that he revoked the powers he had given to Ramazan, sold his house for 2,600 *akçes* to the same Ramazan, and assigned the money for his and his partner's 2,600 *akçe* debt to Piri Çelebi.⁴⁷² At the beginning of December 1547, Piri Çelebi demanded 2,600 *akçes* from Ramazan bin Demirci, which he was supposed to have paid two months earlier.⁴⁷³ At the beginning of April 1548, Piri Çelebi demanded 2,600 *akçes* from Recep, who sold his house for 1,600 *akçes* to pay his debt to Piri Çelebi.⁴⁷⁴ It is quite possible that Recep's debt was related to his payment to Piri Çelebi as the tax-farmer *subaşı*. In the next chapter, this second-rank *subaşı* and his job will be discussed in greater detail. There were also other tax-farmers who had credit relationships with Piri Çelebi such as Karagöz bin Ali who in June 1549 declared his 250 *akçe* debt to Piri Çelebi from the rent of a caravanserai.⁴⁷⁵

Most of the *bad-i heva* revenues were fees taken from criminals. Subaşı Piri Çelebi, as

⁴⁶⁹ RŞS 1510: 156a-1.

⁴⁷⁰ RŞS 1510: 152a-5.

⁴⁷¹ RŞS 1510: 30a-9, 30a-10.

⁴⁷² RŞS 1510: 30a-10.

⁴⁷³ RŞS 1510: 37a-5.

⁴⁷⁴ RŞS 1510: 57a-1.

⁴⁷⁵ RŞS 1510: 127a-6.

the police chief responsible for the town's security, collected these revenues along with his other dues. For example, in December 1547, Piri Çelebi's servant, the policeman Isa, brought a complaint against a soldier, Cafer bin Abdullah from the Garib Yiğitler Division. Isa claimed that Cafer bin Abdullah had pushed him around. An *ad hoc* community of Muslims (*ehl-i vukuf Müslüman*) agreed that Cafer bin Abdullah had not only buffeted Isa, but had also behaved cruelly against the poor people in the town.⁴⁷⁶

During the harvest season, the town became crowded with people from nearby villages and towns, and even from abroad. This increased the security-related duties of Piri Çelebi. For example, during the cotton harvest at the beginning of October 1547, some oxen belonging to people from out of town, who had probably come to Rodosçuk as transport workers or traders, got loose and went into the cotton fields. Piri Çelebi arrested the owners and informed the *qadı*.⁴⁷⁷ In this season, Piri Çelebi confiscated the property and money of Hasan and Ramazan, as they had been imprisoned on suspicion of being begging dervishes (*abdal*).⁴⁷⁸ There is no document explaining where these men lived and what they were supposed to have done aside from begging. The imprisonment of criminals and suspicious people was also among Piri Çelebi's security duties. There is no data about the majority of prisoners, court records only indicate whether a prisoner died, fled or was set free.

At times, other *subaşı*s were also engaged in policing the town. For example, in February 1548, Ramazankilled Mehmed, and because he could not afford to post bail for himself, was handed over to *Subaşı* Sinan.⁴⁷⁹ Moreover, *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi also had assistants as shown in the record dated December 1548, when the *qadı* handed over three suspects who were under suspicion (Hasan, Lütfü and Hacı Isa Bali) to one of the *Subaşı*'s men named Ali

⁴⁷⁶ RŞS 1510: 39a-1.

⁴⁷⁷ RŞS 1510: 84a-1.

⁴⁷⁸ RŞS 1510: 84a-2.

⁴⁷⁹ RŞS 1510: 47a-5.

Bali, for imprisonment.⁴⁸⁰ In mid-February 1549, Ivaz, Ali, Turbali and Hüseyin were handed over to Piri Çelebi for imprisonment.⁴⁸¹ At the beginning of March 1549, Piri Çelebi summoned eight men (Hasan, Ali, Hüseyin, Isa, Seferşah, Hüseyin bin Kasırğa(?), Turbali and Kocakarı oğlu Kalfal) who were under suspicion for the murder of Goven, and as the sultanic order commanded, he sent them to Istanbul.⁴⁸² In May 1549, he handed over the herdsman Demo to Seydi bin Ali, who was the servant of the *vaiivode* (*voyvoda*).⁴⁸³ In August 1549, Mustafa of Recep village was found in the vineyards of the town and the *subaşı* (probably a tax-farmer of Piri Çelebi) arrested him.⁴⁸⁴

During the harvest seasons (wheat in June and cotton in October), Piri Çelebi was more concerned with security problems and sanctions concerning sexual activity and wine-drinking, because these crimes went up hand in hand with the increase in the number of people migrating to the town for work. In the summer of 1549, Piri Çelebi was engaged in both security and Islamic order problems in the Nebioğlu Quarter. At about the end of June and the beginning of July 1549, the inhabitants of Nebioğlu Quarter brought a complaint against a woman called Enbiya(?) bint-i Hasluk, claiming that she practiced prostitution, and Piri Çelebi brought these people before the *qadı*.⁴⁸⁵ The next entry is about Hüseyin bin Seyid Ömer, about whom the inhabitants of Nebioğlu Quarter complained because he was often on the streets at night.⁴⁸⁶ At around the end of June and the beginning of July 1549, Piri Çelebi brought some people before the *qadı* after his investigation of a murder that took place in the Nebioğlu Quarter, just in front of Şahkulu's house.⁴⁸⁷ The *qadı* recorded that Piri Çelebi requested guarantees from Derhem(?) bin Mehmed, Doğancı Hasan bin Abdullah, Idris bin

⁴⁸⁰ RŞS 1510: 94a-2.

⁴⁸¹ This is the only document in which Piri Çelebi was referred to as “*Şehir Subaşı* Piri Çelebi” (town *subaşı*). RŞS 1510: 103b-2.

⁴⁸² RŞS 1510: 106b-7.

⁴⁸³ RŞS 1510: 123b-1.

⁴⁸⁴ RŞS 1510: 149a-6.

⁴⁸⁵ RŞS 1510: 135b-1.

⁴⁸⁶ RŞS 1510: 135b-2, 135b-3.

⁴⁸⁷ RŞS 1510: 136a-5.

Mehmed,⁴⁸⁸ and Şahkulu bin Ali from the Nebioğlu Quarter, probably because of the above-mentioned problems in the quarter. These events will be examined more thoroughly in the next chapter when discussing the Nebioğlu quarter.

In October 1549, just as in the previous October, Piri Çelebi was once again concerned with the problems of people coming from other places into the town. At this time, Piri Çelebi investigated the deaths of two cart drivers from Sofia.⁴⁸⁹ A sultanic decree to stop the activities of bandits, was announced at the end of April, and this was registered by the *qadı*⁴⁹⁰ and this may have led to an increase in the security problems that Piri Çelebi's had to deal with in the summer of 1549.

As mentioned in connection with the Nebioğlu quarter case, as the protector of security and the Islamic order, the fines for violating sexual bans and the wine ban were also among the revenues of *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi. He brought those under suspicion to the court, and after the court hearings, he implemented the *qadı*'s decisions. In December 1548, Piri Çelebi demanded that the *qadı* record the misdeeds of Mehmed bin Piri Ali, who had slept at Yunus bin Hüseyin's house and at night had sexual intercourse with Yunus's wife.⁴⁹¹ In January 1549, Piri Çelebi's servant Ali Bali was engaged in a similar case, when Şaban bin Erdoğdu was caught with Turhoca's slave.⁴⁹² Also, in May 1549, Budak bin Mehmed and Gökçe bin Alişah were caught with Mercan in Kara Makbul's house at night and Piri Çelebi brought them to be registered by the *qadı*'s court.⁴⁹³

In the summer of 1549 in this small port town, not only were illegal sex and prostitution brought to the *qadı*'s attention, but there were also people, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, who drank wine. Thus, Piri Çelebi arrested many Muslims who had drunk wine

⁴⁸⁸ RŞS 1510: 137a-3, 137b-7, 137b-8, 138a-2.

⁴⁸⁹ RŞS 1510: 162b-2.

⁴⁹⁰ RŞS 1510: 166b-2.

⁴⁹¹ RŞS 1510: 93a-1.

⁴⁹² RŞS 1510: 100a-7.

⁴⁹³ RŞS 1510: 122b-3.

even though religious law prohibited them from doing this. In June, during the wheat harvest, the town was crowded with people (generally men) from other towns, villages and lands and many new-comers were caught drinking wine. In June 1549, Piri Çelebi brought Ali bin Ismail, Şaban bin Mehmed, Hüseyin bin Mustafa,⁴⁹⁴ and Mustafa bin Abdullah⁴⁹⁵ before the *qadı* on account of this crime. A few days later, Piri Çelebi demanded that no longer should wine be sold in the bars.⁴⁹⁶ This ban, however, did not stop several Muslim men from drinking, so after this, Piri Çelebi brought thirteen other men (Mahmud bin Abdullah,⁴⁹⁷ Bazarlu bin Derviş Ali,⁴⁹⁸ Kasım bin Abdullah,⁴⁹⁹ Karaca bin Hasan,⁵⁰⁰ Mustafa bin Hızır,⁵⁰¹ Recep bin Memi,⁵⁰² Ahmed bin Ali,⁵⁰³ Alagöz bin Abdullah,⁵⁰⁴ Hüseyin bin Bayramlı,⁵⁰⁵ Hasan bin Yahşi,⁵⁰⁶ Ahmed,⁵⁰⁷ Musa bin Abdullah,⁵⁰⁸ and Piri bin Hamdi⁵⁰⁹) before the *qadı* charged as being guilty of drinking wine. Moreover, he brought in Recep bin Mehmed, because he had drunk *rakı* (arak/ an aniseed spirit).⁵¹⁰

Piri Çelebi was also concerned with disasters in the town. In the cold months, it was inevitable that wooden buildings caught fire; thus, in November 1548, when Ferhad's house burned⁵¹¹ and in January 1549, when oil-producer Ahmed bin Osman's shop burned down, the guardian of the town Piri Çelebi filed a record with the *qadı*.⁵¹²

It was also Piri Çelebi's duty to recapture strays (animals and children) as well as

⁴⁹⁴ RŞS 1510: 129b-6, 129b-7, 129b-8.

⁴⁹⁵ RŞS 1510: 130a-4.

⁴⁹⁶ RŞS 1510: 131a-5.

⁴⁹⁷ RŞS 1510: 133b-7.

⁴⁹⁸ RŞS 1510: 134a-6.

⁴⁹⁹ RŞS 1510: 134b-2.

⁵⁰⁰ RŞS 1510: 135b-5.

⁵⁰¹ RŞS 1510: 135b-6.

⁵⁰² RŞS 1510: 136b-3.

⁵⁰³ RŞS 1510: 137a-1.

⁵⁰⁴ RŞS 1510: 136b-4.

⁵⁰⁵ RŞS 1510: 137a-2.

⁵⁰⁶ RŞS 1510: 138b-6.

⁵⁰⁷ RŞS 1510: 142b-2.

⁵⁰⁸ RŞS 1510: 142b-3.

⁵⁰⁹ RŞS 1510: 142b-4.

⁵¹⁰ RŞS 1510: 139a-9.

⁵¹¹ RŞS 1510: 90b-6.

⁵¹² RŞS 1510: 99b-4.

runaway slaves. In January 1548, a slave named Mustafa from a village in Alaca Hisar was given to Cafer Reis (Piri Çelebi's deputy) for imprisonment because he could not prove during the allotted time that he was a free man, as he claimed.⁵¹³ There is no further record concerning Mustafa's fate.

These records clearly show Piri Çelebi's security services.⁵¹⁴ He did not receive a tax-revenue in return for this, but he received an imprisoned slave, who was at his disposal, and he probably used him as an unpaid labourer in his large household.

At the end of May 1549, Hacı Cafer handed an ownerless horse over to Piri Çelebi.⁵¹⁵ A few days later, in June 1549, an ownerless packhorse in the hands of Piri Çelebi was returned to its owner, Emirşah bin Mehmed from a village of Çorlu, when he proved his ownership with witnesses.⁵¹⁶ In August 1549, because Anton and Yannis could not prove that the donkey in their possession belonged to them, Piri Çelebi decided to investigate the matter.⁵¹⁷

During the wheat harvest season in June, when visitors to the town increased, there was not only an increase in Piri Çelebi's security duties but also in his duties as market inspector (*muhtesip*), controller of the grain market and official in charge of weights and measures, because he also held the tax and fee revenues of these markets as a tax-farmer. In June 1549, Piri Çelebi brought a lawsuit against Yusuf bin Abdullah and Isa bin Abdüssamed, because Yusuf had sold two sacks of flour without Piri Çelebi weighing them, and the market tax was paid to Piri Çelebi.⁵¹⁸ Another case was that of Ibrahim bin Abdullah from Cami-i Atik Quarter who was turned over to Piri Çelebi because of his 260 *akçe* debt to Mustafa bin

⁵¹³ RŞS 1510: 39a-3, 39a-4.

⁵¹⁴ Moreover, these documents show that even though Piri Çelebi took over the job from his father, the collaboration of father and son continued.

⁵¹⁵ RŞS 1510: 127b-12.

⁵¹⁶ RŞS 1510: 130b-8.

⁵¹⁷ RŞS 1510: 144b-9.

⁵¹⁸ RŞS 1510: 133a-8.

Abdullah for to here barley he had bought.⁵¹⁹ During the same month, he lodged a complaint against Iskender bin Abdullah,⁵²⁰ and Piri Çelebi's man Hüdaverdi logged a complaint about Hüsam Reis⁵²¹ because both of them had used the *Istanbul kilesi* to measure wheat.⁵²² In June 1549, Piri Çelebi made a complaint about the sailor Hüseyin (bin) Abdullah, because he sold grapes for more than the set market price.⁵²³ Piri Çelebi brought a complaint against the shepherd Yannis (bin) Dimitris, because he tried to sell his cheese at higher than the set price by giving 60 *dirhem* less cheese for 5 *akçes*.⁵²⁴

Since Piri Çelebi was in charge of controlling the quality of the products sold in the market and in July he checked the products of various bakers and found that there were some insects in baker Hızır bin Turhan's bread;⁵²⁵ baker Hamdi tried to sell a smaller loaf of bread for 1 *akçe*,⁵²⁶ and baker Dimitris' bread was under-baked.⁵²⁷

Piri Çelebi demanded even a tax from Mahmud, who brought salt from the Kavak saltpan to the port at the end of August 1549.⁵²⁸

Another of Piri Çelebi's many duties was the collection of taxes from the town's non-Muslim quarters for the *waqf* of Sultan Mehmed the Conquerer. However, these obligations were more than he could handle alone, and he shared them with some deputies. For example, in February 1548, he appointed Yorgi veled-i Nikola as his deputy (*kefere mahalleleri kethüdası*) to collect the taxes from the non-Muslim quarters in partnership with ex-deputy Isbuyut(?), who was mentioned not to be able to handle the job alone.⁵²⁹

⁵¹⁹ RŞS 1510: 134b-3.

⁵²⁰ RŞS 1510: 127b-3.

⁵²¹ RŞS 1510: 132a-3.

⁵²² *Istanbul kilesi* was more than the other *kile*. Halil İnalçık, "Introduction to Ottoman Metrology", *Studies in Ottoman social and Economic History*, (London: Variorum, 1985): 311-348.

⁵²³ RŞS 1510: 127b-6

⁵²⁴ RŞS 1510: 139a-5.

⁵²⁵ RŞS 1510: 140a-5.

⁵²⁶ RŞS 1510: 140a-6.

⁵²⁷ RŞS 1510: 142a-7, 142a-8.

⁵²⁸ RŞS 1510: 155a-7.

⁵²⁹ RŞS 1510: 45b-3. Although according to a record dating back to September 1548, Isbuyut was fired (RŞS 1510: 78b-4) in April 1549, as the deputy of Piri Çelebi he sold wine belonging to the Fatih Mehmed *waqf* for

In the context of collecting taxes from the non-Muslims, some of the taxes Piri Çelebi collected were paid in kind, including that due from grape must. For a certain period each year, he was legally the exclusive seller of this commodity, an arrangement known as *monopolya*. Thus, at the end of December 1547, Subaşı Piri declared that according to the old law (*Kanun-u Kadim*) that had been applied for a long time, he had the right to have a monopoly to market grape-must. He held the monopoly of the grape-must of non-Muslims beginning on 24th of December, 1547.⁵³⁰ December was the wine-making month in Rodosçuk. On 6 January 1549, Piri Çelebi demanded that his right to sell grape-must continue until the end of the month, and this was recorded in the *qadı* court.⁵³¹ There are a few records indicating that Piri Çelebi sold wine or grape-must, since when he granted credit to purchasers, he usually went to the *qadı* to record these arrangements. For example, in October 1549, Yorgi veled-i Felakşoz(?) declared that he had paid his 10,400 *akçe* debt for grape-must to Piri Çelebi with two of his houses in Papa Yorgi Frengi Quarter, a vineyard and a cotton field.⁵³² From these records, it is evident that the people who bought grape-must or wine from Piri Çelebi were non-Muslims.⁵³³

After lambs and calves were born in the spring, Piri Çelebi also collected taxes on flocks and herds. It was also his duty to collect the animal taxes in accordance with the sultanic decree which was recorded at the end of the oldest *qadı* book.⁵³⁴ Among the *subaşı*s working as tax-farmers under Piri Çelebi from the end of April until August 1548, Başmakçı Sinan bin Yakup⁵³⁵ entered the most records concerning the collection of sheep taxes.⁵³⁶ In the middle of April 1549, according to three court records, Piri Çelebi collected the taxes of

10,400 *akçes* (RŞS 1510: 111a-2). At the beginning of March 1550, he also sold the *örfi* tax revenues and fine revenues to Argiruplu(?) bin Dimitris for 2,000 *akçes* (RŞS 1511: 10b-3).

⁵³⁰ RŞS 1510: 38b-7.

⁵³¹ RŞS 1510: 98b-4.

⁵³² RŞS 1510: 162a-5.

⁵³³ RŞS 1510: 88b-5; RŞS 1511, 63a-3,106a-2; RŞS 1511,106b-11,135b-2

⁵³⁴ RŞS 1510: 165a-1&b-1 , 15 Sefer 955

⁵³⁵ Başmakçı Sinan also held the revenues of Yağcı Village, which was the fief of “Nişancı” as a tax farmer. RŞS 1510: 107b-6.

⁵³⁶ RŞS 1510: 59b-7, 64a-9, 64b-4, 65b-2, 66b-2, 78b-5.

Apostol veled-i İstefan's 250, İstani veled-i Andirya's 102 and İstani veled-i Yorgi's 276 sheep.⁵³⁷

Having looked at Piri Çelebi's occupation it is also interesting to explore his personal life. His neighbours were Mustafa bin Tatar⁵³⁸, Sadık Reis and his son, Hasan Bali,⁵³⁹ Şah Veli bin Iskender Reis, and his son Ali Reis. Next door to Ali Reis bin Şah Veli stood the house of Cennet Hatun bint-i Mustafa, who gave her name to a quarter next to the Cami-i Atik. Cennet Hatun's neighbour was Hoca Mirza bin Hasan. Piri Çelebi's house also shared a border with the Çaklu Ramazan quarter⁵⁴⁰ and also the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter, because the town walls next to Piri Çelebi's house extended to the border of this non-Muslim quarter.⁵⁴¹

There were some parallels between the lifestyles of Piri Çelebi and his neighbours: they also had shops in the market. For example, Hasan bin Sadık Reis had some shops at the front of the market next to Seydi bin Kestan(?)'s tannery. Next to these were the shops of Mustafa bin Tatar and Ali Hacı, who were also Piri Çelebi's neighbours. Moreover, Mustafa bin Tatar was also a tax-farmer who took over the revenues of Çukurca Village from Fatih Sultan Mehmed *Waqf* and also did some cotton trading.⁵⁴² Like Piri Çelebi and his neighbours, other members of the local elite also engaged in various activities at the same time. Almost all of them cultivated vineyards or/and fields. At the same time they traded, and sometimes they were also engaged in public service as *mültezims*. Whatever their profession, people who specialized in only one economic activity and had no working relationship with the land were rare in pre-modern times.

⁵³⁷ RŞS 1510: 115a-4, 115b-2, 115b-3.

⁵³⁸ RŞS 1510: 116b-1.

⁵³⁹ RŞS 1511: 96b-4, 108a-1

⁵⁴⁰ RŞS 1512: 28b-5

⁵⁴¹ RŞS 1510: 104b-3.

⁵⁴² RŞS 1510: 6a-2, RŞS 1512: 55a-5, 6, 62a-5, 86a-5, 116b-1, RŞS 1511: 21a-9, 75b-9.

In this wealthy quarter, a good number of the inhabitants had fathers who were ship's captains and who also lived in the quarter, just like Piri Çelebi and his father Cafer Reis. For example, the fathers of Şah Veli bin Iskender Reis and Pir Çelebi's neighbour Hasan bin Sadık Reis. Perhaps these were the captains, who had made a profit from trade as Piri Çelebi's father had done,

Like Piri Çelebi and his neighbours, other members of the local elite also engaged in various activities at the same time. Almost all of them cultivated vineyards or/and fields. At the same time they traded, and sometimes they were also engaged in public service as *mültezims*. Whatever their professions, people who specialized in only one economic activity and had no relation to the land were rare in pre-modern times.

Although there is a large amount of information from the court records about where he lived and the work he did, and that he had a son, but there is little information about his ancestors.. Inalcık referred to members of the pre-Ottoman elite who were granted *timars* in the Balkans and became *subaşı*s, converting to Islam in the 15th century; as a result, the pre-Ottoman elite were transferred into the Ottoman system.⁵⁴³ What about Piri Çelebi's grandfather, Hasan? Did he also take such a path?

⁵⁴³ Halil İnalcık, "Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna: XV. Asırda Rumeli'de Hristiyan Sipahiler ve Menşeleri", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Toplum ve Ekonomi*, (İstanbul: Eren , 1993):67-108.

c. The Karayazıcı Quarter

The name of this quarter is taken from Karayazıcı Ali,⁵⁴⁴ who was the founder of the mosque of the quarter, and was a scribe or a qadı. Among the inhabitants of this quarter there was a man named Piri Çelebi bin Karayazıcı, who was probably Karayazıcı Ali's son.⁵⁴⁵ He often visited the qadı's house, which was probably in this quarter; thus, he frequently appears in the records as a witness (*şuhud el-hal*) and there are further records concerning him.

Taken into account that Karayazıcı's son Piri Çelebi was an old man in the middle of the sixteenth century, it is possible to estimate when Karayazıcı Ali founded the mosque waqf that gave its name to the quarter. In those times old man meant someone over fifty or sixty. Therefore, if Karayazıcı Ali had his son between the age of 17 and 30, the waqf of the quarter was founded at least fifty years before the end of the fifteenth century.

The Karayazıcı quarter was located above the market. The cart road passed through the quarter before it reached the market and the harbour and the town walls ended there where later a cart market was located. This location over a hill in the center surrounded by the town walls, and over the cart road was convenient to connect the town with its periphery, for which the qadı was responsible.

Although the records mentioning the qadı, do not describe where he lived and where the court was, because all those who attended the meetings would have known its location but it is possible to conclude that the qadı's house, where the court assembled was in this quarter since, two of the qadı naibs (assistants) lived in this quarter and none of Karayazıcı Ali's assistants were mentioned as living in other quarters. Furthermore, both the former assistant

⁵⁴⁴ RŞS 1510: 163a-3, RŞS 1511:23a-1.

⁵⁴⁵ RŞS 1510: 30b-1, 43a-6, 78a-3, 105a-8, 163b-7.

of the qadı Mehmed bin Ali⁵⁴⁶ and Mevlana Fahreddin bin Ali,⁵⁴⁷ also lived in Karayazıcı quarter.

In the Karayazıcı quarter, the difference between the highest and lowest house price was not as high as in the Cami-i Cedid, Çavuş Hüseyin, Cami-i Atik, Abdi Hoca and Hacı İsa quarters. These house prices and records of many of the inhabitants of Karayazıcı can be followed through the court records and they give an impression that the disparity in income was not as high in this quarter as it was in the previously mentioned quarters. There were educated men among the inhabitants, in addition to the two naibs there were also *imams* and *müezzins*. There were also some artisans, tax-farmers and the town crier (*tellal*).

Dede Bali bin er-recul

The estate of Dede Bali bin er-recul from the Karayazıcı quarter offers some information about the life of a middle class old man. Among his belongings, furniture takes the first place. As opposed to Yunus, a middle class middle aged man from the Hacı İsa Quarter who had slightly more clothes and less furniture recorded in his estate and similarly an educated young man, Hüseyin from the Cami-i Atik whose estate contained almost no house furniture but more clothes. Dede Bali bin er-recul probably had more than one shirt (*göynek*), a valuable pair of trousers (*sitan çakşir*) and headcovering (*mor dolama*), which were not recorded because they were worn-out. His kitchen furniture shows that many people lived in his house.

His estate was apportioned to his family members, his wife, his sons Hızır Bali and İbrahim, his daughters Kamile and Ayşe, both having only half so much as their brothers.

⁵⁴⁶ RŞS 1510: 62a-7, 8, 62b-4.

⁵⁴⁷ RŞS 1511: 89b-4.

When he died he had a very young little colt, which was sold for 22 Akçes.⁵⁴⁸ It is not clear whether the deceased person was the Yeniçeri Dede Bali from this quarter⁵⁴⁹ or other Dede Bali since Dede means grandfather, this title often used for old men, furthermore Bali is a common man's name and the name occurred frequently in the court records for this quarter.

Rabiya bint-i Yakup

Rabiya bint-i Yakup's estate gives some clues about the material items of a middle class young woman.⁵⁵⁰ According to her estate recorded at 18 May 1549 in the qadı's book, most of her belongings were soft furnishings such as cushions, and bed linen including pillows, pillow cases quilts, and covers and sheets. There is no data about any embroidery on these items. From the kitchen there were only four trays and a copper bucket (and another article which is illegible in the record). Her clothes consisted of two old pairs of slippers, one old shirt, two overcoats (an old kaftan and a mintan) and a belt, however, she probably had other items of clothing that were not mentioned in her estate. She had some ornaments for her hair, including a net and a hair pin. She had some pearls and a pair of earrings.

A comparison with other estates gives more clues about Rabiya. She seems to have been a young woman, since the items in her estate were very different from Dede Bali's estate, which had furnishings such as rugs and carpets, which existed almost in every house. Rabiya did not have any kitchen furniture. She had some hair ornaments and jewellery and the soft furnishings were mostly new. Therefore, it is possible that they were pieces from her trousseau. Rabiya also had a house, valued at 1,000 *akçe*. Although this was one of the cheapest houses of Karayazıcı quarter recorded in qadis court, the fact that her parents must

⁵⁴⁸ RŞS 1511: 8a-2 .

⁵⁴⁹ RŞS 1510: 61b-2.

⁵⁵⁰ RŞS 1510: 163a-3.

have given her this house shows that her family was among the high middle class.

The details of the estates of Dede Bali and Rabiya show the differences between middle class life for the older and younger residents of the Karayazıcı quarter. Below more information is given about other inhabitants of this quarter.

Memi bin Hoca Bayezid

Hoca Bayezid's son Memi was a middle aged well-to-do denizen of Karayazıcı quarter. His father Hoca Bayezid was the neighbor of a *naib* of the qadı Mevlana Fahreddin.⁵⁵¹ In April 1549 Memi took over the administration of the revenues of Dumanlı village, belonging to the "timar" of Gazanfer Ağa. Paying 5,600 akçes for one year, he became the tax-farmer (*mültezim*) of the Dumanlı village.⁵⁵² It seems that Memi also took on the administration of a farm (*çiftlik*) in partnership with Yusuf bin Abdullah, who also lived in Karayazıcı Quarter, this is deduced from the fact that in April 1553 Yusuf brought a suit against Memi about the problems with his partner concerning the farm.⁵⁵³

It is possible to obtain some clues about Memi's family from other court records. Memi was married to Eğlence Bint-i Atmaca⁵⁵⁴ and her brother, Teyfur usta bin Atmaca, lived in the same quarter.⁵⁵⁵ Teyfur had a two room shop next to Kürkçü Sinan Waqf. When Teyfur died in December 1552, he left this shop to his daughter, Şah Huban, and his sister Eğlence.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, Memi's wife was also a well-to-do person.

There is also other information about Eğlence. Teyfur's neighbors were Yeniçeri Alagöz

⁵⁵¹ RŞS 1511: 51b-8, 58b-9, 89b-4, 112b-7.

⁵⁵² RŞS 1510: 110a-5.

⁵⁵³ RŞS 1512: 17b-2.

⁵⁵⁴ RŞS 1512: 74b-1, RŞS 1511: 87a-2, 88b-7, 95a-5.

⁵⁵⁵ RŞS 1510: 8a-2, 8a-3, 11*12b-4, 45a-4, RŞS 1512: 30b-1, 2, 3.ö., 52a-1 (miras kızı Kurt), 58a-5, 74b-1.

⁵⁵⁶ RŞS 1512: 74b-1.

bin Abdullah, Şeyh Fahreddin and Şaban bin Erdoğan.⁵⁵⁷ Memi's father Hoca Bayezid's house was also next to Şeyh Fahreddin's house, therefore, Eğlence's brother and her father-in-law lived in the same quarter. As in other quarters of Rodosçuk, sometimes family members lived near to each other. Perhaps as the son and daughter of neighbors from the same class they fell in love and married. Memi and Eğlence are examples of Muslim middle class inhabitants of this quarter, although they lived above the middle of the social hierarchy structured by Sharia law, class and social status. However, even these middle class privileged people sometimes had problems with the social hierarchy.

Şaban bin Erdoğan

The story of Şaban bin Erdoğan, the neighbor of Atmaca, Eğlence's brother is an example of falling foul of the social rules and mores. In 1549 Şaban bin Erdoğan, was accused of having illegal sexual contact with Server, Tur Hoca bin Nasuh's slave, an appeared very often before qadı through the whole year.⁵⁵⁸

There are some parallels in the relationship between Şaban and the slave, and how Eğlence and Memi met. Server lived in her owner, Tur Hoca's house, which was located in the Hacı İsa quarter. This house was very near to Şaban's house, which was located in the borders of the Karayazıcı quarter, on the road next to the houses of Yeniçeri Alagöz bin Abdullah (Teyfur's neighbor), Gülüme bint-i İsa⁵⁵⁹, Ahmed bin Bali Hoca, Abdürrahim.⁵⁶⁰ Tur Hoca's house in the Hacı İsa quarter was next to the vineyard of Ahmed bin Bali Hoca's neighbor Teyfur's house.⁵⁶¹ Thus, it is possible to conclude that, just like Eğlence and Memi, Şaban and Server lived very close to each other.

⁵⁵⁷ RŞS 1510: 45a-4, RŞS 1511 : 109b-7, RŞS 1512 : 7a-4, 51a-1.

⁵⁵⁸ RŞS 1510: 100a-7, 101a-1, 101b-2, 106a-7,8, 132b-2, 133a-5,6, 134b-6.

⁵⁵⁹ RŞS 1511: 40a-1.

⁵⁶⁰ RŞS 1511: 40a-1, 109b-7, RŞS 1512: 7a-4.

⁵⁶¹ RŞS 1512: 51a-1.

In contrast to Eglence and Memi, Server and Şaban's love was impossible due to the economic, social and legal inequalities. First of all, Server was, unable to choose her partner since she was legally a commodity of Tur Hoca. The only way to be together was that Şaban should buy her from Tur Hoca and marry her or they could also be together according to Sharia law without marriage. For this Tur Hoca had to agree to sell Server and Şaban had to be able to afford the price. Since court records show that Şaban was not as rich as Tur Hoca⁵⁶² it seems unlikely that Tur Hoca would agree to the sale. Thus, the legal route for this relationship was impossible and the court record shows that Şaban and Server had to continue their relationship illegally.

In January 1549 several people, the majority from the Hacı Isa quarter, came to the court as witnesses and accused Şaban and Server, of having an illegal relationship in Tur Hoca's house. Şaban admitted this but added the excuse that Server had called him to Tur Hoca's house.⁵⁶³ Şaban had to offer bails for himself and According to two other documents dated January 1549 Yunus bin Abdullah and Hacı Recep from Karayazıcı quarter⁵⁶⁴ and Boyacı Haydar (bin Mehmed) and Hacı Nebi⁵⁶⁵ offered to be guarantors for Şaban were recorded in the qadı's book. Through 1549 other people such as Abdi Çelebi bin Mehmed from the Cami-i Atik Quarter, once more Boyacı Hayreddin and Abdi Hoca bin Fahreddin (probably Şeyh Fahreddin's son) also stood for surety for Şaban.⁵⁶⁶ It is not clear, whether Şaban or Server was punished or that sanctions were applied after all these guarantees.

It is, however, clear that they continued their relationship, since in June 1549, Tur Hoca came to the qadı court accusing Şaban of taking Server into the grass as she was carrying water to the house and moreover, coming once more to his house to be with his

⁵⁶² RŞS 1511: 40a-1, 109b-7, RŞS 1512: 7a-4.

⁵⁶³ RŞS 1510: 100a-7; Mehmed bin Abdülkerim from Karayazıcı quarter, RŞS 1511:55a-8, 62b-5, Mustafa bin Iskender from Cami-i Cedid quarter RŞS 1511:12a-11, Mustafa bin Sinan from Hoca Musa quarter RŞS 1511:70b-1, Ahmed bin Abdürrahim from Hacı Isa quarter RŞS 1511:35b-3.

⁵⁶⁴ RŞS 1510: 101b-2.

⁵⁶⁵ RŞS 1510: 101a-1

⁵⁶⁶ RŞS 1510: 106a-7, 106a-8, 133a-5.

slave and stealing his money.⁵⁶⁷ Following these accusations, Şaban was acquitted, because Tur Hoca could not prove his claims. It is possible that Şaban's privileged middle class Muslim status, in the social hierarchy of the Ottoman society, played an important role in this result. However, also Tur Hoca was unable to find witnesses to support his accusations. Perhaps there were people who supported Şaban's relationship, even if it was against the Sharia law and wish to protect him from being punished.

d. The Ibrahim Bey Quarter

The first court record mentioning Ibrahim Bey Mosque is dated May 1549. This record shows that Ibrahim Bey donated the revenues of some cellars and shops to the *mesjid* (a small mosque) that he had built in the Kürkcüoğlu (Orta Cami) quarter.⁵⁶⁸ Until June 1550, it is not possible to find any data about an Ibrahim Bey quarter or any of the inhabitants therein. The first record that mentions the Ibrahim Bey quarter concerns Hacı Ibrahim bin Salih, from the Ibrahim Bey Mescidi quarter, vouching for Kasım bin Abdullah from Hacı Ferhad quarter of Istanbul.⁵⁶⁹ This means that there is a year between the two documents. Therefore, after this small mosque was built in the Orta Cami quarter, the area around it probably began to be called the Ibrahim Bey quarter,⁵⁷⁰ as mentioned above, new

⁵⁶⁷ RŞS 1510: 133a-6, 134b-6.

⁵⁶⁸ RŞS 1510: 121b-4.

⁵⁶⁹ RŞS 1511: 29a-7.

⁵⁷⁰ It is doubtful that Ibrahim Bey and Ibrahim Paşa were the same man. Hikmet Çevik and Aydın Oy estimate that this mosque, which is mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, stood behind today's municipality building (*belediye*). Serez thinks that Ibrahim Paşa quarter was also near this mosque, behind the municipality building, between Yunus Bey Street and the *Verem Savaş Dispanseri*. (Compare Çevik, *Tekirdağ Tarihi*, pp. 75, 84; Oy, *Tekirdağ İli*, p. 40; Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, pp. 117, 119, 124.) There are also some documents mentioning Ibrahim Paşa's endowments. These concern the revenue from the shops of the *waqf* of the mosque that Ibrahim Paşa built in Istanbul. Moreover, according to the *waqfname* of Ibrahim Paşa (Çandarlızade, Halil Paşa oğlu) dated H. 935 (1528/9) there were mills of the *waqf* over the Karasu River. There is no document mentioning an Ibrahim Paşa quarter. There are, however, contemporary records mentioning Ibrahim Bey quarter, and, on the other hand, Ibrahim Paşa's endowments. That is why it is important to question whether Ibrahim Bey quarter was *Vizier* Ibrahim Paşa's quarter or if he built the Ibrahim Bey Mosque. RŞS 1511: 18a-5, 34b-4, RŞS 1512:12a-3, 65a-2. Serez, *Tekirdağ Vakfiyeleri*, pp.84; Tayyip Gökbilgin, *Edirne*

quarters grew up in such a way, and the area that the Orta Cami quarter covered diminished. Since the İbrahim Bey was a new quarter, records concerning its inhabitants are not plentiful. There are only a few names that are mentioned after June 1550 in the *qadı* court books 1511 and 1512 as the inhabitants of the quarter. Within these few records, the names and patronyms such as “Hacı”, “Derviş”, “Sufi” and “Halife” are worth attention. For example, Hacı İbrahim bin Salih, Mustafa bin Turi, his neighbour Mahmud bin Derviş Ali, Sufi Abdi bin Salih, Mahmud Halife bin Derviş Ali, and Mahmud bin Hacı İsa. As these titles were given to those who received a religious education, these people, who lived between the two intellectual centres of the town, the Cami-i Cedid and Nişancı Canpaşa quarters, were probably educated religious people, because in pre-modern times, education meant religious education. There were also other names that did not include these words. For example, Memi bin Ali, Şaban bin İsa, Hızır bin Mahmud, Bezir İsa, Ferahşad bin Turgud, Tursun bin Abdi, Gani bin Şaban, Süleyman bin Abdullah,⁵⁷¹ Caner(?) bin Süleyman, Bekdaş bin Kasım, Hüseyin bin Kaya, Memi bin Kaya, Hızır bin Kaya, Cemile bint-i Kaya, Gül bint-i Yusuf,⁵⁷² Mehmed bin Abdullah and İsa.⁵⁷³ For most of the people listed here there is no more information, only their names.

The children of Kaya: Hüseyin, Hızır, Memi and Cemile

Documents recording the estate of a certain Kaya mention his three surviving sons Hüseyin, Memi, Hızır and his daughter, Cemile of whom only that last three children received a share of their father’s house. In keeping with Islamic law, Cemile’s share was

Paşa Livası, pp.425.

⁵⁷¹ The head of the bakers; he moved to this quarter later.

⁵⁷² Gül bint-i Yusuf gave a piece of land to her recent husband, Hasan bin Abdullah, so that he did not later demand a share from her children (probably from her ex-husband). RŞS 1512: 70b-9.

⁵⁷³ RŞS 1511: 29b-3, 61a-4, 62b-3, 75b-4, 76b-1, 90b-9, 111b-5, 129b-4, RŞS 1512: 36a-4, 58b-5, 68b-2, 68b-3, 68b-4, 68b-5, 69a-3, 70b-9, 91b-2, 95a-2.

almost half of the share of her brothers. Interestingly, the elder son, Hüseyin, had more property recorded in his estate.⁵⁷⁴ Hüseyin was a young unmarried student. He had no furniture and probably still lived in his father's house. Although his clothes were not as showy as those of a learned high-class man, other than his everyday overcoat (*aba*) he had a green *ferace* (overcoat with fur collar?)⁵⁷⁵ and a black *kaftan*, (high-necked coat) . Both the *ferace* and *kaftan* were types of coats a learned man would wear, and they were much more expensive than his everyday overcoat, the *aba*. He probably put these on when he went to study or for special days. He had a wooden inkpot, a stone to sharpen his pen, eight pieces of board on which he practiced writing, and scissors for cutting paper. This young man also had toilet-articles such as five straight razors and some combs.⁵⁷⁶ Neither his writing articles nor his toilet articles were of a large assortment like Ali Çelebi's writing articles, which were full of ornaments, and very valuable adorned clothes. In general, learned man cared for their bodies more than others. For example, a middle-class tradesman from Isa Hoca quarter, Yunus, had no toilet articles when he died. Hüseyin, however, had some, although they were not as large an assortment as Ali Çelebi's.

e. The Hacı Isa Quarter

The Hacı Isa quarter was just above the market, so that the house of Kürkçü Sinan, the founder of the Orta Cami and after which the quarter was named, was next to Elif bint-i Ramazan's house in the Hacı Isa quarter.⁵⁷⁷ The area of the market, which was within the borders of the Orta Cami quarter, expanded into the streets of the Hacı Isa quarter; thus, there were some shops on the market side of the quarter.

⁵⁷⁴ RŞS 1512: 68b-2, 68b-3, 68b-4, 68b-5.

⁵⁷⁵ An overcoat like a *kaftan*, extending to his feet, slit up to the elbows. Generally learned men wore this type of overcoat. Fekete, "Bir Taşra Efendisi'nin Evi", p. 622.

⁵⁷⁶ RŞS 1512: 68b-2.

⁵⁷⁷ RŞS 1511: 124a-4.

This expansion affected local real-estate prices: parallel to the increase in demand, prices rapidly increased. The inhabitants were generally well-to-do people including tradesmen, artisans and tax-farmers who could afford these prices.

Rice-seller Yunus bin Hasan

Next to the Hacı Isa *mesjid*, the house of Pirinççi (rice-seller) Yunus bin Hasan was located.⁵⁷⁸ When Yunus died in September 1552, his estate was recorded in the *qadı* book;⁵⁷⁹ thus, it is possible to see what this middle-class tradesman had owned:

His house, next to the Hacı Isa Mosque, together with a few pieces of kitchen furniture was left to his wife, Hatice bint-i Isa. This house and his other wooden house, were valued at 3,500 *akçes*. The wooden house was probably better than the other one. The average house price in this quarter as reflected in the court records was over 4,000 *akçes therefore*; these houses were among the cheaper houses of the quarter.

Yunus bin Hasan was neither a *Bey* (used after the first names of the administrative elite), nor a *Çelebi* (used for the educated elite); neither was he a *Hacı* (literally meaning a person who made a pilgrimage to Mecca; but it was also used, for the religious elite or for tradesmen, perhaps because they also travelled). He was a middle-class man and his wardrobe reflected this.

Yunus bin Hasan would have worn one of his four head coverings: an untidily-wound turban (*köhne çalma*), or one of his three colorful head wear (*köhne dülbend be-renk*) on his head. He had vests, two shirts (*gömlük*), two undergarments (*don*) and a pair of wide, dark-blue trousers (*laciverdi çağşır*). Over his shirt, underwear and trousers, he would have worn

⁵⁷⁸ RŞS 1512: 6b-3.

⁵⁷⁹ RŞS 1512: 56b-3, 57a-1.

one of his four coats one of his which was produced in Yanbolu (Bulgaria)⁵⁸⁰ and was twice as expensive as two of his coats. He probably wore this more expensive coat and his other red coat, even more expensive than the Yanbolu overcoat, only on special days or when he went to the market. For very special days, he had a coat with embroidered cloth at the collar, which was twice as expensive as his Yanbolu coat. He would have put his blue linen belt over his clothes. Sometimes he carried one of his two swords (valued at 10 and 40 *akçes*) and a bag.

If the number of a person's shirts and other clothes show his economic position, Yunus bin Hasan was not among the wealthiest people of the town. For example, a well-to-do educated tradesman and public servant, Ali Çelebi in Budin, had six shirts. Yunus's coats were of only one type, which was called *kebe*. Ali Çelebi, however, had forty-seven coats of eight types, each having a special name and used for different occasions, some of which were made of very expensive cloth. He also had a Yanbolu (*kebe*) overcoat called; however, as an educated man, instead of his *kebe* Ali Çelebi generally used one of his twenty-two *kaftans*.⁵⁸¹ The Rice-seller Yunus bin Hasan, however, was not an educated man who wore a *kaftan* when walked the streets of Rodosçuk, in fact, he had no *kaftans* in his wardrobe.

The furniture in Yunus bin Hasan's house also gives clues about this middle-class tradesman's life. The floor of his house was covered with various types of carpets, because as in other Ottoman houses, people took off their shoes in their houses; thus, they needed to warm the floor with carpets and other carpet-like textiles. Yunus did not have as many carpets as there were in rich people's houses. For example, Ali Çelebi of Budin had eight carpets. Yunus had enough for his middle-class house, his only carpet with a pile (*halı*) was probably placed on the floor of the living room with three red pileless carpets (*kilim*) placed in other parts of the house.

⁵⁸⁰ A *yanbolu kebesi* was a kind of coat which was produced in Yanbolu (in today's Bulgaria). This was a commonly-used type of cloth in those times. See Fekete, "Bir Türk Efendisinin Evi", p. 621.

⁵⁸¹ Fekete, "Bir Türk Efendisinin Evi", pp.621-2.

Yunus had three pieces of broadcloth (*çuha*) to cover the ground and make the house warmer in the winter. One old red-covered broadcloth was probably for daily use and for the winter, he had a piece of cotton broadcloth. There were probably some pillows and mattresses that were laid on these carpets to sleep on at night. However, there is no information about these in his estate. May be, they were too old and of too little value to be mentioned. Or these items may have belonged to his wife. Only one quilt and 3 bedsheets, two white and one red were recorded.

Among Yunus' kitchen effects, four large cauldrons, one large copper bucket, a small shallow cooking pan (*küçük sahan*), a pan (*sahan-ı şoresovan?*), a soup-pan (*tencere*), a water jug, a bowl (*kenarsız tas*), a large round copper tray (*bakır sini*), a kind of fork for cooking (*çatal-i bil*), a *çini*⁵⁸² bowl (*çini tas*), a pair of skimmers (*kevgir*), a mortar for pounding (*havan*), a hand-mill (*el değirmeni*) and a trivet used when cooking over a fire (*sac ayak*) were recorded. It appears that there enough kitchen utensils in the house to prepare meals for about ten people, also it is likely that there were other items for cooking that were not recorded here.

Yunus used candles to illuminate his house and seventy candles with candlesticks recorded in his estate. As in many other households, he kept some of his valuable belongings in chests. He had a European chest (*frenk sandığı*) and a black chest, each having the same value, 30 *akçes* some unsown cloth pieces and reserve articles were kept in these chests.

Like in many households, there was a spinning wheel in his house which his wife Hatice probably used to produce yarn for weaving. He had some tools such as an axe, a shovel, and juniper poles (*direk*) and pieces of wood. Perhaps he used these to repair his old house. As a tradesman, he had an abacus (*akçe tahtası*) for counting money. Moreover, he had 247 old sacks that he used to pack his trade articles. The last entry in his estate are eleven chickens of mixed breeds, which produced enough eggs for a big family.

⁵⁸² « Piece of earthenware decorated with opaque colored glazes and motifs that are characteristic of Turkish art (It resembles *faience* or *majolica*).” *The Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, (Istanbul: Redhouse, 2005).

Pervane bin Abdullah

At the end of September 1547, Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis, as the deputy of his father, who held the tax-revenues of Rodosçuk as the *Subaşı*, assigned the tax-revenues of 105 households to Pervane bin Abdullah, as tax-farmer, for 18,000 *akçes* for three years.⁵⁸³ Pervane was a rich man not only holding these tax-revenues, but also other revenues and real-estate. In March 1551, Pervane let the Yeğenzade Kervansarai in partnership with Mahmud bin Hamza from Musa quarter.⁵⁸⁴ At the end of September 1551, Pervane gave 5 *flori* to Çavuş Hüseyin's servant Kasım bin Abdullah for the rent of a *boza* (a beverage made of slightly fermented millet) production workshop (*bozahane*) for the year 1548.⁵⁸⁵ In March 1552, Pervane took over the administration of the tax revenues of Naib village and the revenues of six mills in the village belonging to Hafza Hatun *Waqf* for 35,000 *akçes* for six years.⁵⁸⁶

There was also another Pervane bin Abdullah in the quarter, who was recorded as an oarsman for the campaign and died in Istanbul in February 1552. Kulman bin Abdullah, who was himself also a convert, vouched for the oarsman Pervane.⁵⁸⁷

As in this case, solidarity among converts or converts supporting their non-Muslim family members or friends is often clearly shown. For example, another convert in the quarter, Mehmed bin Abdullah, also had contact with his relatives in Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸³ RŞS 1510: 27a-7.

⁵⁸⁴ RŞS 1511: 71a-3.

⁵⁸⁵ RŞS 1511: 109b-9.

⁵⁸⁶ RŞS 1512: 13b-2, 14a-3.

⁵⁸⁷ RŞS 1512: 7a-2.

⁵⁸⁸ . The aforementioned Papa Hartofilako bin Papa Piskopos, who had a shop in the Hacı Isa quarter, was recorded as an inhabitant of the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter. (See RŞS 1511 : 70a-5.) Additionally, Mehmed bin Abdullah having relatives in the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter raises questions about the relationship between these two quarters. However , there is insufficient evidence and these questions will be answered by further research.

Moreover, he had some houses in Papa Yorgi quarter.⁵⁸⁹ The converts in Hacı Isa quarter were generally well-to-do. For example, Yeniçeri Bali Bey bin Abdullah, who bought the house next to Çavuş Hüseyin Bey's house, just at the intersection point of the quarter with Çavuş Hüseyin Bey quarter,⁵⁹⁰ and Hüseyin bin Abdullah, who had a house valued at 10,000 *akçes*, which was left to his brother Ahmed, who lived next door to him and his orphans. ,⁵⁹¹. Another possible convert was the mother of the convert Nasuh Bey bin Abdullah, an inhabitant of Çavuş Hüseyin quarter who freed his slaves, also lived in Hacı Isa quarter. Her house was next to Hızır bin Osman's, and next to Papa Hartofilako's shop. She was probably also a convert because Nasuh Bey donated some money to Cami-i Atik for prayers for the soul of his mother.⁵⁹²

The composition in the quarter is very interesting, and rules out debates about isolated communities and separate spaces for dwelling and economic transactions. In this quarter, for example, there was a non-Muslim called Hızır; his neighbour, Nasuh Bey's mother, was probably a convert, and next to her house was the shop of a non-Muslim. The other inhabitants of the quarter should be examined to understand if this relationship was unique to a few inhabitants. This was a mixed quarter containing the houses of Muslims, converts and non-Muslims however; it was not the only mixed quarter in town. Just above the Hacı Isa quarter were Hacı Musa and Nebizade quarters, both containing an varied population of Muslims and non-Muslims.

f. The Papa Yorgi Frengi Quarter

In general, there are far fewer records about non-Muslims and the quarters in which

⁵⁸⁹ RŞS 1511: 28b-1.

⁵⁹⁰ RŞS 1511: 88a-2.

⁵⁹¹ RŞS 1511: 44a-3.

⁵⁹² RŞS 1510: 43b-3.

they lived. One of the reasons was that, for some of their contracts, non-Muslims turned to their own representative (*kethüda*) and thus was not record in the *qadi*.

Papa Yorgi Frengi and Papa Hartofilakos quarters were very central, next to Cami-i Atik quarter. There are slightly more records concerning these centrally-located quarters than the other non-Muslim quarters, however, they are very limited. Although they show that among the inhabitants of Papa Yorgi Frengi there were farmers, oarsmen, sailors and artisans like bakers and oil-extractors, they are not sufficient to learn more about the individuals in the quarter. It is only records about estates, estate shares and debts that give some clues about the lives of individual persons.

A document concerning a disagreement about the taxing of non-Muslims gives some clues about agricultural activities and the tax imposed on agricultural production for the non-Muslim population. Actually, the tax that was taken in kind from agricultural products (*öşr*) was 10% of production for both Muslims and non-Muslims, however, there were, local differences.⁵⁹³ Sometimes the tax-collection costs (*salaria*), or a share for the local administrators, for example, for the *subaşı*, was added to these taxes. It seems that for the non-Muslims of Rodosçuk, this tax was over 10%.

According to a document dated January 1553, the trustee of Fatih Sultan Mehmed's *waqf* Ali Çelebi's deputy (*nazır*), Kemal Çelebi bin Mansur, wanted to collect taxes on the cherries produced by the non-Muslims of Rodosçuk and consequently brought a case before the *qadi*. The non-Muslims answered that, for 30 to 40 years they had paid 12.5% of their grape-must as a tax on their vineyards and 0.5% of their grape-must as tax on fruit like cherries, *zerdali* (a variety of apricot), apricots and pears that they grew in their orchards. Moreover, they also gave cottonseed as tax. The non-Muslims argued that having to pay more would be unjust and they produced witnesses from both the "just Muslims" and non-Muslim

⁵⁹³ Halil İnalçık, "Osmanlılar'da Raiyyet Rüsümü", *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Toplum ve Ekonomi*, (İstanbul: Eren, 1993): 31-65.

community. As a result, the *qadı* made a decision in their favour, stating that they could continue to pay their taxes as they had for the past 30-40 years.⁵⁹⁴ As this document reveals, taxation on agricultural production in Rodosçuk could be harsh, the administrators who took a share of these taxes tried to impose more taxes from time to time. The non-Muslims, however, protected their rights by turning to the *qadı*, who took his revenue from the centre and acted as the protector of the law without having direct tax-shares.

Yannis bin Konstantin

There were many vineyards in and around the town, where fruit trees were also cultivated and the same as today, the climate was perfect for growing cherries.. Additionally, they also grew cotton and grain in the fields. It is possible to follow the general picture of agricultural production among the inhabitants of the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter. For example, Yannis bin Konstantin's estate shows that he was mainly occupied with agriculture. According to a record dating between the end of February and beginning of March 1551, he planted some wheat and oats and he also had a vineyard.

Yannis possessed a black ox, which he probably used to plough his field. The most valuable property in his estate, however, was a share of the house that he lived in, with a value of 500 *akçes*. His vineyard was worth 200 *akçes*, and his black ox, 120 *akçes*, showing the high comparative value that animals used in agricultural production had. The sum of the whole estate including his house was 1,090 *akçes*, plus 270 *akçes* for all his grain and personal belongings.

There was nothing more than a mattress and a pillow recorded in his estate as house furnishings. It is possible that his other furnishings were too old to be worth recording, or some of the "missing" items may have belonged to his wife and were not recorded for this

⁵⁹⁴ RŞS 1512: 87a-1.

reason. There are also no clothes recorded in his estate again perhaps the farmer Yannis did not possess clothes of sufficient value to be recorded. His two brothers each took 241 *akçes* of his estate, whereas his wife took only 136 *akçes*,⁵⁹⁵ with the circumstance that his brothers took more than his wife worth mentioning. Thus, it can be seen that small- and medium sized farmers in Rodosçuk such as Yannis were not at all wealthy.

It is possible to learn a little more about the brothers of Yannis bin Konstantin. Two years earlier, at the end of March 1549, one of them, Vetac veled-i Konstantin from the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter, sold his share of the inheritance from their father to his brother, Sebastiyanoz. He took 1,000 *akçes* for half of the house in the Papa Hartofilako quarter, his share of their donkey, two black oxen and a water buffalo, and his share of the field.⁵⁹⁶ It seems that Konstantin was a farmer who lived in the Papa Hartofilkos quarter. His sons Yannis, Vetac and Sebastiyanos each took a share from their father's estate. Yannis sold his share to his brother Sebastiyanos in 1549. In the cold days of the beginning of March 1551 when Yannis died, Vetac and Sebastiyanos took the largest share from their brother's estate. The amount of each brother's share (if they received equal amounts from their fathers estate), 1,000 *akçes*, was almost the same as the value of Yannis' estate, 1,090 *akçes*. This means that Yannis was not able to produce a surplus from his agricultural activities for two years after his father Konstantin's death. This information perhaps shows why Yannis' estate was so meager on his death.

Apostol bin Istefanos

Apostol bin Istefanos often came to the *qadı* court because of his serious financial

⁵⁹⁵ RŞS 1511: 69b-6.

⁵⁹⁶ RŞS 1510 : 108a-6.

situation. In June 1548, because of his guarantee of Yorgi veled-i Istani's 5,000-*akçe* debt to Yunus for the sale of sheep, he had to hand over his house with streets on three sides and next to Manol's house in the quarter, plus his vineyard, and his other house with its cotton fields to Yunus.⁵⁹⁷ In September 1550, he rented the same house back from Yunus for eight months for 500 *akçes*.⁵⁹⁸

It seems that after paying this large amount for his 5,000 *akçe* guarantee, he had bad luck. There are two more records concerning his debts to other people. Both of these debts, which he accrued after his financial problems, were from two converts, Mustafa bin Abdullah and Yeniçeri Hasan bin Abdullah. Apostol probably turned to acquaintances who were converts after losing his houses, vineyard, his field, and, having to become a tenant in his own house. According to a record dated June 1550, he was in debt for 1,200 *akçes* to Mustafa bin Abdullah from Cami-i Atik quarter. After Mustafa charged him, they reached an agreement wherein he paid only 200 of the 1,200 *akçes*⁵⁹⁹ perhaps Mustafa saw that it would be impossible to collect the whole amount while Apostol was having financial problems.

In October 1550, the *qadı* registered that Mustafa owed 457 *akçes* to another convert, Yeniçeri Hasan bin Abdullah.⁶⁰⁰ It is not clear when Apostol died, however, another record exists, dated August 1551, concerning the debts of a deceased Apostol from the Papa Frengi quarter to two other converts; Yeniçeri Hasan bin Abdullah from the Çavuş Hüseyin quarter and Ayşe bint-i Abdullah.⁶⁰¹ It seems that Apostol died without paying his debts. From these records about Apostol's debts, he was probably engaged in agriculture, because his only belongings had been his two houses, his vineyard and his cotton field.

⁵⁹⁷ RŞS 1510: 67b-5.

⁵⁹⁸ RŞS 1511: 51a-3.

⁵⁹⁹ RŞS 1511: 31a-4, 51a-3, 4.

⁶⁰⁰ RŞS 1511: 51a-4.

⁶⁰¹ RŞS 1511: 101a-6.

g. The Papa Hartofilakos Quarter

Papa Hartofilakos quarter was located above the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter, between the Cami-i Atik and Papa Yorgi Frengi quarters. Among the inhabitants of this quarter were merchants, oarsmen and artisans, such as an oil-extractor and a goldsmith. This goldsmith and his son came before the *qadı* a few times so that it is possible to glean some clues about their lives from the court records.

Goldsmith Mihal and His Son Manol

Goldsmith Mihal and his son Manol lived in houses next to each other on the main street of the quarter. Their neighbours were Manol (veled-i) Bukroz, Yorgi veled-i Konstantin and Yanni veled-i Hristos.⁶⁰² In addition to these two houses, they had at least two vineyards.⁶⁰³ Other real-estate transactions mention one of these vineyards being on the border of Rodosçuk, near the stream.⁶⁰⁴ The first record mentioning Goldsmith Manol before the *qadı* dates to the beginning of March 1547. He came as the representative of a woman called Kurneli⁶⁰⁵ to claim a 480-*akçe* debt from Sava⁶⁰⁶ veled-i Mihal. Sava explained that he had bought copper with this money, and had handed this over to Kurneli's husband Vasil who then denied receiving the copper. The suit was recorded before witnesses Haydar bin Mustafa and Hayreddin bin Abdullah.⁶⁰⁷ From this case it is possible to deduce that Goldsmith Manol spoke enough Ottoman Turkish to represent another person;.⁶⁰⁸ A non-Muslim woman probably could not speak Ottoman as well as a middle-aged (old) artisan who was active in

⁶⁰² RŞS 1510: 92a-1.

⁶⁰³ RŞS 1510: 92a-1.

⁶⁰⁴ RŞS 1510: 3a-1, 29a-3.

⁶⁰⁵ κουνελησ, πλπ.299.

⁶⁰⁶ (Σαβασ, ΠΑΠ:172)

⁶⁰⁷ Kurneli(κουνελησ, PLP: 299) and Sava (Σαβασ, PLP:172) RŞS 1510: 3a-8.

⁶⁰⁸ Among the *qadı*'s men there was a convert named Bali bin Abdullah who may have been the *qadı*'s translator.

the market.

Whereas Manol's personal relations were basically with non-Muslims, his economic relationships were not restricted to non-Muslims. The fact that he was recorded as a witness in cases related to non-Muslims, or that he only vouched for non-Muslims, tends to indicate that he did not have close personal relations with Muslims. In February 1548, Manol was present among the witnesses in the case between Filoxenos⁶⁰⁹ veled-i Yorgi and his son Yorgi.⁶¹⁰ In March 1548 when a young man Yorgi bin Dimitris was killed, many of the inhabitants of the town came before the *qadı* to give depositions, among them Manol veled-i Goldsmith Mihal. Yorgi's father Dimitris accused some young men of killing his son; however, they insisted that Yorgi had fallen from a precipice while he was cutting wood in Uçmak Deresi (a region which had sharp precipices).⁶¹¹ At the beginning of April 1548 when Dimitris wanted to sell his house, Manol the son of the Goldsmith was present among the witnesses.⁶¹² At the end of March 1549, Manol acted as guarantor for Yovan veled-i Nikola. A few days later, he renounced this guarantorship and the *qadı* made a note above the first record.⁶¹³ On 10 August 1549, Manol was present among the witnesses when it was recorded that Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis had lent money to a non-Muslim, Yorgi bin Nikola from a village of Hayrabolu.⁶¹⁴ As mentioned in the previous chapters, *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis lived in a big house in the Cami-i Atik quarter, and as the policeman who had to apply the sanctions of the *qadı*, he often lent money with interest to other people whom he could punish if they did not pay their debts back or if they could not pay their taxes. It is probable that *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi made a lot of money from people in financial difficulties. Goldsmith Mihal and his son Manol also turned to *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi during their financial troubles.

⁶⁰⁹ The *qadı* wrote "flqşnuz", replacing "ξ" with "ş". Φιλοξενος, ΠΑΠ: 364.

⁶¹⁰ RŞS 1510: 48a-2.

⁶¹¹ RŞS 1510: 52a-5.

⁶¹² RŞS 1510: 57a-3.

⁶¹³ RŞS 1510: 109a-7.

⁶¹⁴ RŞS 1510: 147a-7.

Goldsmith Manol was not only active in the market of Rodosçuk; he also had some commercial transactions with people from Istanbul. Thus, Manol bin Dimitri from Istanbul made a convert Ismail bin Abdullah his representative to take his 300 *akçes*, one coat (*kaftan*) and four sacks back from Manol.⁶¹⁵ This debt was because of a loan that Goldsmith Manol had received from Manol bin Dimitri, who was an overcoat-seller (*kebeci*) in the flea-market (*bit pazarı*).⁶¹⁶ Goldsmith Manol accepted his debt and paid it back.⁶¹⁷

Manol not only received loans, but other people also received loans from him; for example, in February 1548 Sevastiyan veled-i Dimitri received a loan of 200 *akçes* from Manol.⁶¹⁸ However, the money that Manol borrowed was more than he earned, and this resulted in his financial problems. At the beginning of November 1548, Isa Bali demanded 2,000 *akçes* from Yorgi veled-i Ahop, who acted as guarantor for the loan that Manol took from Isa Bali.⁶¹⁹ At the end of November, to repay this money, Manol and his father Goldsmith Mihâl pawned their houses and their vineyards and borrowed 2,000 *akçes* with interest for forty days from *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis.⁶²⁰ Manol's credit relations clearly show that his financial activities were not restricted to non-Muslims.

h. Conclusion II: How does a new neighbourhood appear?

In this chapter about the quarters at the market centre, it was possible to shed some light on a very important question: How does a new neighbourhood appear? It was shown that the borders of the Orta Cami quarter diminished with the expansion of the Cennet Hatun, Nişancı Canpaşa, İbrahim Bey, Hacı İsa and Cami-I Cedid quarters. Thus, the appearance of a quarter

⁶¹⁵ RŞS 1510: 11*12a-5.

⁶¹⁶ RŞS 1510: 11*12b-1.

⁶¹⁷ RŞS 1510: 12b-4.

⁶¹⁸ RŞS 1510: 49b-5.

⁶¹⁹ RŞS 1510: 90b-4.

⁶²⁰ RŞS 1510: 92a-1.

in the town was not always a process stimulated by the building of a quarter mosque waqf, but a *quarter naming* process. The changing borders of the quarters resemble the overlapping petals of a rose, rather than geometric areas drawn out on paper.

All the expanding neighbourhoods, such as the Cennet Hatun, Nişancı Canpaşa, İbrahim Bey, Hacı İsa and Cami-i Cedid, were very newly-established quarters at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries . Among them, only the İbrahim Bey is at the market centre. The Cami-i Cedid quarter, in which the founder of the neighbourhood mosque was *Veziir* Rüstem Paşa, who was not actually an inhabitant of the town, was discussed in the first chapter.

The discussion of the role of notables in the making of a town basically concerns the waqf founders like *Veziir* Rüstem Paşa, who seized high-administrative power in the centre. This results from, on the one hand, the fact that there is more data about their larger waqfs than the smaller waqfs of the local notables. On the other hand, the emphasis on the role of waqf founders in the making of a town goes hand in hand with state-centred explanations, which concentrate on the role of the central state in this process. As a result, these waqf founders were seen as the agents of the centre. Regarding Rüstem Paşa, it was mentioned that he was both an agent of the centre and a private entrepreneur, and it was hard to distinguish between the roles of private entrepreneur and state's man in pre-modern state administration. The Nişancı Canpaşa quarter, which will be discussed in the next chapter, is also a quarter in which the founder of the local mosque was high-administrative elite from the centre. Others, such as the Cennet Hatun and Çaklıoğlu Ramazan quarters, which are also described in the following chapter, were quarters in which the founder of the neighbourhood mosque was a local notable. Here, another aspect regarding this discussion should be mentioned: as well as waqf founder notables from the centre or local waqf founder notables, other notables who were not waqf founders also played a role in the formation of the town. Although the

discussion about the role of the notables was restricted to the role of the waqf founders or the notables in the town's decision-making process, in the section on *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis, it can be seen how a person who was not a waqf founder, could affect the borders of a neighbourhood, in that his extremely large house stopped the diminishing of the area of the Cami-i Atik neighborhood, where his house was located. On the other hand, following the documents about his duties shed light on seasonal changes in the town's face: population growth at the wheat, cotton and grape harvest in June, October and December. The role of *Subaşı*, which questions the impact of the notables in the formation of a town, will be further examined in the following chapter in which the position of the poor in the town of Rodoscuk will be examined.

CHAPTER III: Outskirts of the Town

Making up the majority of the town population, the poor people lived on the outskirts of the town. There is very little data about these quarters and thus about the lives of the poor people. Here, as far as the limited entries in the documents allow, this chapter will try to explain the lives of these poor people and their roles in the formation of the town.

Population movements were evident in the quarters at the periphery. As illustrated in the previous chapter, in the centre of the town, there was economic and population growth resulting in an increasing population density in the central area and the expansion of the market area towards the surrounding quarters. In this process, the area of the Orta Cami quarter was reduced in size at the expense of the other quarters the other quarters increased in size at the expense of the Orta Cami quarter. The outcome of this process was population pressure from the centre outwards towards the periphery. Added to this was also population pressure due to immigration from rural areas. This resulted in the broadening of the borders of the town and an overall increase in population density.

After the establishment of a *mesjid* or a mosque *waqf*, which supplied the settlement with elements of an infrastructure, for example, a road and a fountain for water supply, and often the surrounding area was named after that *mesjid* or mosque. Thus, the formation of a quarter consisted of two phases, first the settlement and then the naming. It is not possible to determine the settlement process prior to the naming since it is only after an area has a name that it can be referred to in court records, written texts, and written legal texts, thus, the events in, and development of that area can be tracked through the *waqf* and court records.

In the central area the Ibrahim Bey and Karayazıcı quarters were, such newly-named quarters; the records about the Ibrahim Bey quarter start in June 1550, one year after the first record of the mosque of the same name. The fact that Karayazıcı's son Piri Çelebi lived during those times gives a clue that the Karayazıcı Mosque was built at the end of the 15th or

the beginning of the 16th century and that the quarter was named soon after. Some of the quarters on the outskirts of the town were also very newly-named, and the founders or the sons of the founders of the quarters were still alive such as the Canpaşaoğlu and Cennet Hatun quarters, located next to the Hacı İsa and İbrahim Bey quarters.

a. The Nişancı Canpaşaoğlu Quarter

This quarter took its name from Nişancı Canpaşaoğlu, the founder of the local mosque.⁶²¹ Since Mustafa bin Canpaşa, probably Nişancı's son, was still living at that time and was very active, this quarter was probably named at the end of the 15th or at the beginning of the 16th century.

The Karayazıcı and Canpaşaoğlu quarters, both having been named one generation earlier and were located on opposite sides of the market, had very different characters. The central location of the Karayazıcı quarter, positioned just above the market and above the cart road made it a suitable place for high officials, such as the *qadı*, who controlled the vicinity, and his scribes. As a result, the difference between the highest and the lowest house price in Karayazıcı quarter was not very great.

The population in the Canpaşaoğlu quarter contained a group of educated men, the dervishes who can be considered to be the unofficial intelligentsia and also many poor people. In fact, the dervishes and the poor were related to one another since the ideology of the dervishes was to live and work with the poor people of the town. Since house prices were not high in this quarter, so the Dervishes were able to establish large houses and a large *dervish* lodge complex. As a result, there a huge gap developed between the highest and lowest house prices.

⁶²¹ RŞS 1510: 153b-2.

The first court record book and the following two books yield very little information about the denizens of this newly named quarter. There is very little data about the poor, who lived in cheaper houses however, there are a few records of the educated better off men such as Derviş bin Hacı Nasuh,⁶²² Mevlana Mustafa bin Abdi,⁶²³ Mevlana Mustafa Çelebi bin Derviş,⁶²⁴ and Mustafa Çelebi bin Canpaşa.

Titles such as “Derviş”, “*Mevlana*” (a title used for highly-educated men) or “*Çelebi*” (a title used for educated young men) are significant and these men were probably related to the dervish lodge. Due to the scarcity of the entries in court records, it is only possible to track the activities of the following inhabitants of the Canpaşaoğlu quarter, Mustafa bin Canpaşa and, Hüseyin Dede bin Hamza the founder of the *dervish* lodge.

Mustafa bin Canpaşa

Nişancı Canpaşaoğlu lived in Canpaşaoğlu quarter, next door to his son Mustafa.⁶²⁵ There is no information about the *Nişancı* (the head of Ottoman chancery) Canpaşa, however, his son, who was mentioned as “Mustafa Çelebi” in the early documents, was probably an educated man like his father, since *çelebi* was generally a title used for educated young men.

Mustafa bin Canpaşa appeared very often before the *qadı*, either among witnesses⁶²⁶ or for his own business transactions. According to these documents, Mustafa was a fief holder and an important tax-farmer who had taken over the administration and revenues from large tracts of land and sub-contracted parts of this land to other tax-farmers. For example, on 1st July , 1548, Mustafa and his business partner, Hacı Sinan bin Nasuh of Cami-i Cedid quarter,

⁶²² RŞS 1512: 42a-2, 3.

⁶²³ RŞS 1512: 71a-1.

⁶²⁴ RŞS 1511: 28b-5, 85b-2, 85b-3.

⁶²⁵ RŞS 1510: 153b-2, RŞS 1511: 28b-4.

⁶²⁶ RŞS 1510: 2b-9, 11A-6, 17b-6, 18a-1, 38b-4, 43b-1, 44a-3, 45a-7, 52a-7, 53a-5, 53a-7, 56b-3, 58a-7, 60b-5, 61a-3, 62a-4, 65a-3, 67b-1, 69b-6, 70a-6, 70b-1, 71a-1, 76a-10, 90a-1, 99a-5, 100a-2, 101a-1, 101a-2, 101a-3, 101a-10, 112b-7, 113a-5, 116a-3, 116a-4, 123a-1, 124b-5, 126b-5, 127a-1, 127b-9, 129b-3, 129b-4, 152b-3, 152b-4, 154a-2, 157a-4, 158b-4, 161a-9, 161b-1.

took over the administration of the Türkmenli village of Çorlu for 140,000 *akçes* for three years.⁶²⁷ One year later, they gave Osmanlı, a hamlet (*mezra*) of this village, to the tax-farmer Mustafa bin Hacı Ömer, who had offered 8,000 *akçes* for three years (1,000 *akçes* more than Adil the previous tax-farmer,).⁶²⁸

Other documents indicate that Hacı Sinan bin Nasuh and Mustafa bin Canpaşa acted not only as business partners, but they also supported each other in other ways. For example, when Hacı Sinan became indebted for 8,000 *akçes* to his ex-wife Emine at the beginning of April 1549, Mustafa bin Canpaşa acted as his guarantor.⁶²⁹ Mustafa bin Canpaşa was also involved in other business activities, including being the revenue collector (*amil*) and tax-farmer of Banados which belonged to Sultan Mehmed *Waqf*.⁶³⁰ Also, according to a record dated July 1549, Bağcı and Turhan Villages were parts of his fief (*arpalık*).⁶³¹

Mustafa bin Canpaşa is also mentioned in connection with the sale of old stones from the town wall. In one document he was recorded as the *amil* of Rodosçuk, selling Atmacacıbaşı Gazanfer Ağa the ancient stones.⁶³² However, this may be an error since Gazanfer Ağa also bought other such stones in Rodosçuk, and it was always Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis, as the tax-farmer of Rodosçuk, who sold them.⁶³³ Moreover, the fact that on the same page of the book, another record from the same scribe mentions Piri Çelebi as the *amil* of Rodosçuk who had sold Gazanfer Ağa other ancient stones of the town walls in Papa Hartofilako quarter two months before,⁶³⁴ also support the idea that Mustafa bin

⁶²⁷ RŞS 1510: 69a-6.

⁶²⁸ RŞS 1510: 139b-3.

⁶²⁹ RŞS 1510: 110b-6, 110b-9.

⁶³⁰ RŞS 1510: 11b-3.

⁶³¹ RŞS 1510: 140a-7.

⁶³² RŞS 1511: 50b-1.

⁶³³ RŞS 1510: 148b-6.

⁶³⁴ RŞS 1511: 50a-3.

Canpaşa's name was mistakenly mentioned in the first record.⁶³⁵

Like Piri Çelebi, Mustafa bin Canpaşa was a very wealthy man. He seems to have been a very good businessman, since he bought real estate and then used these revenues very effectively and bought more real-estate. In June 1547, he bought a half-share of a bar near the houses of the gypsies, from Girhopolus(?) bin Akamatis.⁶³⁶ In October of the same year, he bought a 75% share of a very large house complex with its shop, five beehives, a cellar, a piece of land and three oxen, for 20,000 *akçes*, from Şaban bin Mustafa and his partner, a priest.⁶³⁷ Earlier, in July 1547, Mustafa had leased out three shops belonging to his own *waqf* for 1,200 *akçes* for three years to Hızır bin Cafer.⁶³⁸ On 29 June 1548, he rented out two shops in Rodosçuk market near the Gypsies to Esenli bin Bahşa(?) for 500 *akçes*.⁶³⁹ He rented a house and garden to a non-Muslim (? veled-i ?) for 1,750 *akçes*. When this man died, probably without leaving any relatives, Mustafa was not able to collect the money owing to him. In May 1549, therefore, he turned to the *qadı* to claim this money from Sanaullah Çelebi, who, as *emanet emini*, had confiscated the property of the deceased.⁶⁴⁰ In January 1549, Mustafa leased out his field on the border of Nasretlü village to Duka veled-i Mihriban(?), Leftari(?) veled-i Kosta and Yorgi veled-i (?) for 207 *akçes* for eight months.⁶⁴¹ Obviously, Mustafa had earned good money from these land leasings.

Mustafa also had the opportunity to buy property for a lower price, through the auctions of the confiscated property of those who died without heirs. Although these public auctions were ostensibly open to everyone, it was the administrative elite in the town who

⁶³⁵ Not only previous records, but also the later records mention Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis as the tax-farmer of Rodosçuk . RŞS 1511: 21a-9, 29b-4, 96b-4, 120a-7, 121b-3.

⁶³⁶ RŞS 1510: 11*12a-1. In the court book RŞS 1510, there was a page between the pages that were numbered as 11 and 12. I have numbered this skipped page as 11*12.

⁶³⁷ RŞS 1510: 28a-6.

⁶³⁸ RŞS 1510: 15b-5.

⁶³⁹ RŞS 1510: 69a-5.

⁶⁴⁰ RŞS 1510: 124a-6.

⁶⁴¹ RŞS 1510: 100a-3.

often used auctions to obtain this type of real-estate.⁶⁴²

When Laskaris veled-i Agalianos⁶⁴³ from Banados died, his valuable estate was confiscated, and in May 1549 Mustafa was able to use his position., to buy the deceased's house with its garden and courtyard for 3,600 *akçes*,⁶⁴⁴ having borrowed money with interest from the trustee (*emin*) Sanaullah.⁶⁴⁵ Thus *Emin* Sanaullah, who made this confiscation, helped Mustafa to buy this house.

Since, in September 1549, Mustafa was recorded as guarantor for Sanaullah Çelebi,⁶⁴⁶ it is possible to claim that they had a good relationship and supported each other in various business activities. It is likely that Mustafa, through this relationship obtained other items from Laskaris' estate. This included, in May 1549, Laskaris' share of a fish-trap on the border of Kumbağı Village for 600 *akçes*.⁶⁴⁷ Mustafa also bought Laskaris' shop in the market and his vegetable garden in Banados for 700 *akçes*. However, in August 1549, a non-Muslim man, produced a certificate proving that Laskaris had sold this property to him for 1,000 *akçes* before he died, sued Mustafa and took possession of the property .⁶⁴⁸ From this information it can be seen that Mustafa bin Canpaşa had attempted to buy the confiscated real estate at 30% below market value. In the middle of the sixteenth century in places such as Rodosçuk there was a slight diminishing of the ownership of property by the non-Muslims (*zimmis*). Although it is possible to explain this through the fact that some *zimmis* converted to Islam, but one should not neglect the accumulation of property in the hands of rich administrative elite of the town, such Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis, *Emin* Sanaullah and Mustafa bin Canpaşa.

These wealthy men had not only made profit by using their status but also by lending

⁶⁴² Canbakal, “Ayntab”, in passim.

⁶⁴³ Λασκαρισ PLP: 305, Αγαλιανος, PLP: 247.

⁶⁴⁴ RŞS 1510: 124b-2.

⁶⁴⁵ RŞS 1510: 124b-4.

⁶⁴⁶ RŞS 1510: 157 a-9. Just like Mustafa bin Canpaşa and *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi, *Emin* Sanaullah used his position to make more money, lending money at interest to other people. See RŞS 1510: 157b-1.

⁶⁴⁷ RŞS 1510: 125a-1.

⁶⁴⁸ RŞS 1510: 152a-3 .

money with interest. There are various records of Mustafa bin Canpaşa's money lending activities. In October 1547, when Mustafa turned to the *qadı* to claim a house in the Karayazıcı quarter which he had bought from Ali bin Bali Hoca, who explained that he had pawned the house to repay his debt to Mustafa.⁶⁴⁹ In another case, a non-Muslim man had acted as guarantor for Abdi Halife, in Rodosçuk harbour. When Abdi Halife died, the non-Muslim man had to repay the debt so in February 1548, offering his house and garden as collateral he borrowed 15,000 *akçes* with interest from Mustafa bin Canpaşaoğlu.⁶⁵⁰ Similarly, in March 1548, the *qadı* recorded that Ramazan bin Boyacı borrowed 300 *akçes* from Mustafa bin Canpaşa.⁶⁵¹ At the end of August 1548, Mihal received a loan of 150 *akçes* from Mustafa for a water buffalo.⁶⁵² In September 1548, Divane Yorgi veled-i Sunadinos obtained a 620 *akçe* loan from Mustafa.⁶⁵³ Mustafa also lent Ali Bali bin Hacı Hızır 600 *akçes* with interest but Ali could not afford to repay the loan, and he was imprisoned in July 1549.⁶⁵⁴ However, a few days later, he was set free, because Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis guaranteed his debt of 600 *akçes* to Mustafa bin Canpaşa and his 525 *akçe* debt to Kürkçü Sinan *Waqf* for three days.⁶⁵⁵ In July 1549, Keçeci (a maker and seller of felt) Haydar bin Abdullah turned to *qadı* to have a register for his 950 *akçe* debt (450 *akçes* from the rent of a shop and 500 *akçes* from money borrowed with interest) to Mustafa.⁶⁵⁶ In September 1549, the *qadı* recorded Andon bin Kara Yorgi's 460 *akçe* debt to Mustafa bin Canpaşa.⁶⁵⁷ On 23 September 1549, the *qadı* recorded Andirya veled-i Gin's debt to Mustafa bin Canpaşa.⁶⁵⁸ Mustafa also lent money to Bali before he went to war as a substitute for Memi bin

⁶⁴⁹ RŞS 1510: 29b-9.

⁶⁵⁰ RŞS 1510: 43a-7.

⁶⁵¹ RŞS 1510: 52a-4.

⁶⁵² RŞS 1510: 77a-4.

⁶⁵³ RŞS 1510: 81b-8.

⁶⁵⁴ RŞS 1510: 143a-10.

⁶⁵⁵ RŞS 1510: 144b-1.

⁶⁵⁶ RŞS 1510: 15b-3.

⁶⁵⁷ RŞS 1510: 158b-10.

⁶⁵⁸ RŞS 1510: 159a-7.

Keyvan.⁶⁵⁹

In all these transactions the number of non-Muslim debtors is significant, and was the case with *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis. Both Piri Çelebi and Mustafa collected the tax revenues of the Sultan Mehmed Waqf, of which the *cizye* (the head tax for the non-Muslims) revenues were an important part. All the records mentioned above concern Mustafa's business transactions; however, they offer little information about the spiritual side of his life. When in October 1550, a *dervish* lodge was founded next to Mustafa's house his subsequent relationship with these dervishes is an interesting topic.

Hüseyin Dede bin Hamza

According to the records, in October 1550, Hüseyin Dede bin Hamza, a *dervish* of the "Hazret-i Sultan Hacı Bektaş Ocağı (lodge)" from Denizli, built a *dervish* lodge near the houses of Hoca Bayezid and Ilyas and Mustafa bin Canpaşa's field, founded a *waqf* with the condition that none would interfere with the bareheaded, barefoot dervishes of the lodge.⁶⁶⁰ Just one year later, Hüseyin Dede bin Hamza returned and made another registration of his *waqf* with the *qadı* in which appointed Mahmud bin Ahmed from among the dervishes of the lodge as a trustee of the *waqf*.

According to this register, the location of the *dervish* lodge was near the houses of Hoca Bayezid, Mustafa bin Canpaşa, Ahmed and Mumcu Şeyh Mihreddin.⁶⁶¹ The previous document about the establishment of the lodge dated October 1550, shows that this *dervish* lodge was near Mustafa bin Canpaşa's field, therefore it can be deduced that this field was near his house thus the lodge was also near Mustafa's house. . Moreover, because other documents make it clear that Mumcu Şeyh Mihreddin's house was in Şeyh Memi quarter, this

⁶⁵⁹ RŞS 1510: 152b-5, 161a-8.

⁶⁶⁰ RŞS 1511: 51b-8.

⁶⁶¹ RŞS 1511: 112b-7.

dervish lodge was probably on the border of Şeyh Memi quarter with Canpaşaoğlu quarter. This means that this *dervish* lodge was located at the edge of Canpaşaoğlu quarter near the old town walls which passed through the Canpaşaoğlu and Şeyh Memi quarters.⁶⁶²

Hüseyin Dede bin Hamza came from Denizli, where there is a very old mystic tradition. According to Abdal Musa *Velayetnamesi*, he was very active in Denizli.⁶⁶³ Moreover, according to the *Velayetname* of Hacı Bektaş-i Veli, which was probably written at the end of the 15th century during the reign of Bayezid II,⁶⁶⁴ Hacı Bektaş often met Ahi Evren in this region.⁶⁶⁵ The same source mentions a *Bektaşî tekke* (Bostancı Baba) in Denizli.⁶⁶⁶ Hacı Bektaş-i Veli and Ahi Evren also wrote of a *dervish* called Hüseyin Abdal in Denizli.⁶⁶⁷ Furthermore, the *Waqf* records from the 16th and 17th centuries also refer to *dervish* lodges in Denizli, for example, Ahi Alaaddin, Ahi Duman, Ahi Paşa, Emirce and Hızır İlyaslık, and Sufhane. This information shows that there was an old *Bektaşî* tradition in Denizli.⁶⁶⁸

It is well-known that the *Bektaşî* beliefs found support from the Turcoman, farmers, converts and the poor. There was a conflict between the rural authorities that collected taxes from the *re'aya* (the tax-paying Ottoman subject class, as distinct from the *askeri*)⁶⁶⁹ and the

⁶⁶² Şeyh Mihreddin, who later became the prayer-reader (*müezzin*) of Cennet Hatun *Mesjid*, probably lived where Şeyh Memi quarter intersected both Cennet Hatun and Canpaşaoğlu quarters.

⁶⁶³ Abdurrahman Güzel, Abdal Musa *Velayetnamesi*, TTK, 1999, Ankara, p.15. Irène Mélikoff, *Hacı Bektaş, Efsaneden Gerçeğe*, (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2004), p.144. Moreover, Abdurrahman Güzel points out an inscription dating to 1412 on a fountain in Denizli, mentioning a Şeyh Mustafa Abdal Musa. Güzel states that it is not possible that this Abdal Musa was the same as the one who wrote the *velayetname*, that was probably his son or one of his dervishes. Güzel, p.137; Mélikoff, *Hacı Bektaş*, p.144.

⁶⁶⁴ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Vilayet-name, Menakıb-i Hünkar Hacı Bektaş-i Veli*, İstanbul: (İnkılap Yayınevi, 1990), p. XXIX, Irène Mélikoff, *Hacı Bektaş, Efsaneden Gerçeğe*, (Ankara: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2004), pp. 117-119.

⁶⁶⁵ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Vilayet-name*, pp. 49-53; Abdurrahman Güzel, *Hacı Bektaş Veli ve Makalat*, (Ankara: Akçağ, 2002), p. 32.

⁶⁶⁶ Gölpınarlı, *Vilayet-name*, pp.54-55.

⁶⁶⁷ Mélikoff, *Hacı Bektaş*, pp. 177-179, footnote 88. According to a poem sung by dervishes, there was a Hüseyin Abdal, but he was probably not the same as Hüseyin Dede. Here is part of the poem from Aşık Feyfullah Çınar, from Mélikoff's footnote 88 on the pages above: "Bir zaman dünyaya eşkıya oldum/ Yolsuz olanların boynunu vurdum/Diktim kösegiyi kereme erdim/ Aslım Şemsi Sultan Karakesici/Koç Hüseyin Abdal/ Denizliden gelir bizim aslımız/Bektaş-i Veli'ye çıkar neslimiz/Üçüncü makamdır bizim postumuz/ Aslım Şemsi Sultan Karakesici".

⁶⁶⁸ Moreover, Şeyh Bedreddin was active in the 15th century in the Denizli region. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı toplumunda zındıklar ve mühlidler: (15.-17. yüzyıllar)*, (İstanbul: TV, 1998), p.167.

⁶⁶⁹ Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare: the Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary : 1593-1606*, (Wien: VWGÖ, 1988), p.320.

qadis, who implemented the rules of the state. The stories in the *Velayetname* of Hacı Bektaş offer some information about this conflict. For example, one story is about the *qadi* of Kul'acuk, who came to inspect Gülşehri (where Hacı Bektaş lived). However, he did not make an inspection but became a *dervish*. Moreover, the story of Kayseri Beyi, who wanted to collect taxes from a tanner and could not do so because of the supernatural powers of the *dervishes*.⁶⁷⁰

This information about this Bektaşî dervish lodge in mid-sixteenth century Rodosçuk is interesting, because knowledge about the dervishes and their role in the settlement process is restricted to the developments in the 14th and 15th centuries, or those at the end of the 16th century. The “colonizing” activities of the Sufi dervishes in the newly conquered lands in the Balkans,⁶⁷¹ and the role of the Ahi dervishes, especially in the 17th century, are well-known. However, there is a gap in the knowledge about early 16th-century developments and the dervishes' actual relationship to the people. Even though this document does not give a detailed picture, it fills a gap by showing that these dervishes chose live among the poor of the town, where immigrants were in the majority.

It is worth mentioning that another group of intelligentsia, the *medrese* scholars, who were educated as civil servants like the *qadis* in these *medreses* which were a kind of Islamic college. The functioning of a *medrese* was not documented at those times, but Rüstem Paşa also constructed a large *medrese* just next to the mosque. This Rüstem Paşa *Medresesi*, which was probably not active in those days,⁶⁷² was to be the third intellectual centre in the town. Based on the information about this dervish lodge and this *medrese* in order to understand the

⁶⁷⁰ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Vilayet-name*, pp.49-53.

⁶⁷¹ Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi; XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, in passim.

⁶⁷² It was not possible to find any documentation about an active *müderriş* (teacher) in the Rüstem Paşa *Medrese*. In later years, however, this *Medrese* was very active and there are short stories of some of the *müderriş*' academic life in Şakaik-i Mu'maniye after 1573 (with Mevlana Mehmed). Şeyh-ül İslam Hüseyin Efendi (II, 755-7) of (H. 1031), Sadr el-kamil (Sadrazam ?) Seyid Mehmed bin Seyid Mehmed (II, 732-4, H. 1017), Mustafa bin Azmizade (II, 739-741, H.1003), Üveys bin Mehmed (II, 713-6, H. 1092), Mevlana Mehmed (II, 549, H.981), Mevlana Mustafa (II, 536-7, H.1012), Mevlana Hüseyin Beğsi(?) (II, 490, h. 1000), Mahmud bin (?) el-Hüseyini (II, 432, H.1073). Nev'izade Atai, *Şakaik-i Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, (İstanbul:Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), II.

urbanization process, a class analysis seems to be inevitable.

Various scholars have pointed out that urbanization and the establishment of *medreses* went hand in hand; but there were only estimations of the change in the settlement of *Bektashi* lodges being parallel to the population increase and urbanization process of the 16th century.⁶⁷³ The Bektashi lodge in Rodosçuk, established in October 1550 on the outskirts of the town, supplies some clues about the role of the *Bektashis* in the urbanization process in 16th century.

Urbanization is an accumulation process,⁶⁷⁴ which can be seen in the growing town of Rodosçuk in the mid-sixteenth century. There was, on the one hand, the development of elite in the town, and on the other, an increase in the working class comprising villagers and nomads. The intellectual centre for the elite was the Rüstem Paşa's *medrese* at the centre,⁶⁷⁵ whereas the intellectual centre for the poor people was the Bektashi *dervish* lodge in the periphery of the town. This distance in the location of the two centres is mainly dependent on the class distribution in the town. It can also be seen as evidence of the struggle between the two groups, since the *Bektashis* were generally at a geographical distance to the cities and *medreses*, at least until the accelerated urbanization process of the 16th century.⁶⁷⁶

Although it is not possible to find much documentation concerning the relationship between these *dervishes* and Mustafa bin Canpaşa, it is a fact that Mustafa bin Canpaşa was recorded as being one of the witnesses to all the records (Şuhud el-hal) concerning the Bektashi lodge. He was a rich powerful man, so it was unlikely that these *dervishes* could have built a lodge next to Mustafa bin Canpaşa's house in his quarter without his approval.

⁶⁷³ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, (Istanbul: Simurg, 2003), p.25, 71-75; Leila T.Erdener and Suraiya Faroqhi, "The development of the Anatolian urban network during the sixteenth century", *JESHO*, XXIII/III (1980): 265-303.

⁶⁷⁴ Lewis Mumford, *Tarih Boyunca Kent, Kökenleri, Geçirdiği Dönüşümler ve Geleceği*, translated by Gürol Koca and Tamer Tosun, (İstanbul: Ayrıntı 2007), pp.121-125.

⁶⁷⁵ Most medrese students of this period belonged to the elite, the medreses were the intellectual centres in which the ideology of the Ottoman elite was hegemonic.

⁶⁷⁶ Since at the same period, Bursa was also a centre for *Bektaşis* and *medreses*. Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, p.73-75.

All these facts imply a positive relation between the *dervishes* and Mustafa bin Canpaşa. It is possible that forthcoming research by the author will be able to offer more information about their relationship, this quarter, and the relationship of the *dervishes* with the intellectuals in the Rüstem Paşa *Medrese*. Despite the lack of current information concerning these dervishes and Mustafa bin Canpaşaoğlu, there are some clues about the relationship between these dervishes and the poor people in this and the other quarters around the lodge.

b. The Cennet Hatun Quarter

The Cennet Hatun quarter was located above the Hacı İsa quarter, where the town walls ended. It was named after Cennet Hatun bint-i Kemal, who died in about September 1549. Generally poor people lived in this quarter, and there is very little data about the other inhabitants, except for Cennet Hatun's next-door neighbour, Hacı Turbali bin Şaban, who had an Albanian slave named Şirin bin Abdullah, and Şaban's neighbour Süleyman Bey. Although, there is insufficient data to compare with other quarters. However, there is some interesting data concerning the founder of the quarter's *mesjid waqf*.

Cennet Hatun bint-i Kemal

When Cennet Hatun died, some of her real-estate was given to her only heir, Enzile bint-i Hacı Nebi, while other properties were donated to or sold and the proceeds given to her charitable foundation. As a result, there are records concerning the area surrounding her house, her real-estate, her relatives and her neighbours.

In September 1549, a man called Nasuh sued the representative of Cennet Hatun's niece Enzile to claim the house that Cennet Hatun had given her stating that he had witnesses,

to the transaction.⁶⁷⁷ The trustee of the *mesjid waqf* of Cennet Hatun also sued Enzile's representative to claim the money from the sale of the land that Cennet Hatun had given as a donation to the poor of the quarter and to the prayer-reader (*müezzin*) of the *mesjid*.⁶⁷⁸

Another donation was a house which she gave to Hüdaverdi bin Abdullah on condition that he became a Muslim. Before witnesses, this house was left to Hüdaverdi.⁶⁷⁹ Moreover, Cennet Hatun requested that after her death 4,000 *akçes* be donated to Hüdaverdi.⁶⁸⁰ After his conversion, when the imam of the quarter passed away at the end of February 1548, Hüdaverdi was appointed as the imam of the quarter by the inhabitants.⁶⁸¹ Hüdaverdi bin Abdullah's story tells how a non-Muslim slave could become a Muslim prayer-reader within a short span of time, if he had support from a person such as Cennet Hatun. This shows how an intellectual woman supported one of her slaves however; it is not possible to determine whether her motives were solely altruistic, since there is no data about other slaves that Cennet Hatun freed.

In September 1549, Hüdaverdi appointed Mahmud bin Piri to take his place as prayer reader for one and a half *akçes* per day, because he wanted to go on a pilgrimage.⁶⁸² At the end of September 1552,⁶⁸³ Hüdaverdi locked the door of the *mesjid* and went to Istanbul. Since the inhabitants could not open the door of the *mesjid* and pray there, they complained to the *qadı* and informed him that they wanted to appoint Şeyh Mihreddin instead of Hüdaverdi as the imam⁶⁸⁴ and the *qadı* entered this into his register. This case it is clearly shows that the inhabitants of the quarter were able to appoint or dismiss the imam of their quarter's *mesjid*. r.

⁶⁷⁷ RŞS 1510: 156a-5.

⁶⁷⁸ RŞS 1510: 156a-6.

⁶⁷⁹ RŞS 1510: 156a-7, 156b-2.

⁶⁸⁰ RŞS 1510: 156b-5.

⁶⁸¹ RŞS 1510: 48a-4.

⁶⁸² RŞS 1510: 158a-5i

⁶⁸³ There are two illegible documents recorded in the summer of 1550 about Hüdaverdi bin Abdullah. RŞS 1511: 28b-6, RŞS 1511: 32-6.

⁶⁸⁴ RŞS 1512:14b-5.

There are also similar entries in the registers concerning other quarters and other towns,⁶⁸⁵ so this was not a unique case. Taking into consideration that religion in the pre-modern life style was much more embedded into every sphere of life, this fact points to the significant autonomy of the inhabitants. In contrast to Christianity, in which the religious functionaries were much more than prayer-readers, and only the Church appointed its functionaries; the inhabitants of a quarter had the right to designate the prayer-reader in the mosque in their quarter.

It seems that some of Cennet Hatun's belongings went to her relatives, and some to her charities. Some items, however, were confiscated, for example, at the end of September 1549, Subaşı Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis confiscated one of Cennet Hatun's fields.⁶⁸⁶ In May 1550, Piri Çelebi turned to the *qadı* regarding a piece of land in the Cennet Hatun quarter, complaining that the trustee (*mütevelli*) of the Cennet Hatun *Waqf*, Cihanşah bin Mehmed, did not allow him to use this land. Cihanşah replied by showing documents, proving that Cennet Hatun had donated this land to the *waqf*. Pointing out the irregularities in this donation, Piri Çelebi asked the *qadı* if this type of donation could be accepted. The *qadı* granted the land to Piri Çelebi for the Fatih Sultan Mehmed *Waqf*⁶⁸⁷ and in June 1550, Piri Çelebi rented this piece of land to Ali Bali bin Dede.⁶⁸⁸

Although there are some records referring to this important wealthy woman, there is little detail about the woman herself.⁶⁸⁹ Her only inheritor was her sister's daughter Enzile. Later, relatives from her father's side, Mustafa and Iskender, brought a document from the *qadı* of Ilbasan to claim their share of Cennet Hatun's estate.⁶⁹⁰ This leaves unanswered questions about how she became rich, who were her parents, was she married and if so, why

⁶⁸⁵ Ergenç, *Osmanlı Klasik Dönemi; XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, in passim.

⁶⁸⁶ RŞS 1510: 160a-2.

⁶⁸⁷ RŞS 1511:26b-6.

⁶⁸⁸ RŞS 1511: 35a-2.

⁶⁸⁹ Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne*, p.313; Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları*.

⁶⁹⁰ RŞS 1511: 24b-2, 24b-3, 24b-4, 24b-5, 33a-6.

is there nothing in the documents about her husband and children?

The information in court records concerning other quarters at the outskirts of the town was restricted with illegal acts, debts, painful events and the duties of Subaşı's servants concerning tax-collection at those quarters.

c. The Yunus Bey Quarter

This area was next to the Canpaşaoğlu quarter at the border of the old town walls. The people were poorer in this quarter and there is little data on the individual inhabitants of the quarter. Only a porter,⁶⁹¹ an oil producer,⁶⁹² an *imam*⁶⁹³ and a woman who was perhaps a prostitute are among the inhabitants whose occupations can possibly be established in the scarce documentation. However, sometimes, painful events carry some clues about the poor, who would not otherwise have found a place in the court records.

Yasemin bint-i Abdullah

The murder of Cihanşah and the events following it reveal certain information about his mother, Yasemin bint-i Abdullah, and some of the inhabitants of the quarter. At the end of September 1548, Yasemin bint-i Abdullah came to the court and declared that she had no complaint to file against the inhabitants of the Yunus Bey quarter for the murder of her son, Cihanşah, who was wounded and died in Müslime Hatun's house, because it was actually Hasan bin Osman who had killed him.⁶⁹⁴

This is really a very interesting record which brings about more questions than

⁶⁹¹ RŞS 1510: 99a-6.

⁶⁹² RŞS 1511: 96b-6.

⁶⁹³ RŞS 1511: 96a-4.

⁶⁹⁴ RŞS 1510: 82b-8.

answers about Yasemin. In the very next record, Mustafa bin Abdullah and Yunus bin Pir Merd declared that they had seen Mahmud bin Osman talking with Cihanşah in front of Müslime Hatun's door, and that there was blood on Müslime Hatun's door. In the same document, Yusuf bin Abdullah, Ibrahim bin Abdullah, Cüneyd bin Hacı Hızır, Umur bin Ali, Mustafa bin Bayram, Hüseyin bin Abdullah, Behram bin Abdullah and some other inhabitants of Yunus Bey quarter testified that Yasemin bint-i Abdullah was a prostitute and was not a "good woman" ("eyü avrat değildir").⁶⁹⁵ How did these two unrelated topics come to exist in the same document? What was the relationship between Cihanşah's death and his mother's sex life? It is not possible to know for certain whether Yasemin was a prostitute.

It is, however, well-known that for unskilled immigrant women there were few job opportunities other than embroidery, weaving, working as a maid, or even prostitution. For unskilled immigrant men work was available as porters in the harbour, labourers in the fields surrounding the town, or as apprentices with an artisan.⁶⁹⁶ In this quarter on the periphery of the town there were many unskilled immigrant workers trying to make a living using the opportunities that Rodosçuk allowed them. In the list of witnesses to the death of Yasemin's son there were a high number of converts to Islam. In fact, it is important to note that half of all the inhabitants mentioned in these records were converts.⁶⁹⁷ This means that in the Yunus Bey quarter, unskilled immigrant converts held an important place among the inhabitants.

At the end of July 1551, Ahmed Dede was appointed in place of Mustafa as the prayer reader in the Yunus Bey quarter.⁶⁹⁸ As was seen in the Cennet Hatun quarter, the appointment of the *imam* was generally by the consent and preference of the inhabitants. It is possible that after the establishment of the *Bektashi* lodge in the Canpaşaoğlu quarter on the borders of the

⁶⁹⁵ RŞS 1510: 82b-9.

⁶⁹⁶ Eyal Ginio, "Kadınlar, Yoksulluk ve 18. Yüzyıl Selânik'de Hayatta Kalma Stratejileri", *Toplum ve Bilim*, 89 (2001): 190-204, p. 194; Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek*, pp. 237-47.

⁶⁹⁷ For converts, see RŞS 1510: 82b-8, 82b-9, 145a-5; RŞS 1511: 22a-5, 22a-6, 37a-7, 59a-2, 97b-5, RŞS 1512: 3b-3, 53b-7. Others RŞS 1510: 17b-4, 82b-6, 82b-8, 82b-9, 99a-6; RŞS 1511: 18a-6, 57a-1, 96a-4, 114a-2; RŞS 1512: 1a-5, 35a-1, 53b-7, 92b-1.

⁶⁹⁸ RŞS 1511: 96a-4.

Yunus Bey and Cennet Hatun quarters, the ideals of the lodge found some supporters among the unskilled immigrant workers and converts; thus, they chose a *Bektashi* “*dede*” as their *imam*.

d. The Şeyh Memi Quarter

The candles for the Yeniçeri Ocağı and Sarai⁶⁹⁹ were produced in the Şeyh Memi quarter which was located outside the town walls next to Canpaşaoğlu and Hacı Musa quarters. This was a convenient place because there were butchers in the Hacı Musa quarter, and the leftover fat pieces were used in candle production. The representation of this quarter’s inhabitants in the court records is better than that of the Yunus Bey quarter and this is probably connected to the employment opportunities that candle production afforded and the fact that the proportion of converts among the represented inhabitants was over 20%. However, it is not possible, to track any individual inhabitants.

e. The Hacı Musa Quarter

The cart road, which brought people and goods from the town’s hinterland, was also a centre of activity like the harbour and the market. The quarters surrounding the cart road were inhabited by the workers involved in the local industries. For example, among the inhabitants of the Nebioğlu quarter there were many cart-drivers; in the Musa Hoca quarter there were many butchers; and many candle makers lived in the Şeyh Memi quarter; and in the Çakluoğlu Ramazan quarter there was a mill. These economic activities were interrelated;

⁶⁹⁹ Faroqi, “İstanbul’un İaşesi”, p. 150.

cereals transported by the carters of the Nebioğlu quarter were brought to the mills in the Çakluoğlu Ramazan quarter. The animals herded along the cart road to the town were processed by the butchers in the Hacı Musa quarter, and the leftover fat was used in candle production in the Şeyh Memi quarter.

Both the Hacı Musa and Nebioğlu quarters were on the cart road next to the Karayazıcı quarter, where the *qadı*'s court controlling the flow of goods to the market stood between the quarter and the market. The population of the Hacı Musa quarter was mixed including amongst others both Muslims and Jews. There was comparatively high number of butchers.⁷⁰⁰

However, as in the other quarters on the periphery, there is little documentation which would tell more about the lives of the majority of the inhabitants, but its location on the cart road meant this quarter, like the Nebioğlu quarter, appeared in the records of the *qadı* more often. From these records it is possible to learn a little about a butcher, for example.

Butcher Isa Bali bin Emin

This butcher often appeared before the *qadı* to register business transactions. For example, in May 1548, he bought 489 sheep from Manol bin Istefan, paying 30 *akçes* for each sheep.⁷⁰¹ In January 1549, he bought 77 sheep from Mustafa and his non-Muslim companions⁷⁰² and he sold them to the deputy of a butcher from Istanbul for 35 *akçes*⁷⁰³ In February 1549, Ali bin Hamdi from the community of Davud (a Jew) from the Avrat Hisarı Kazası the Çuka quarter reported that he was paid 2,695 *akçes* by Butcher Isa Bali for the

⁷⁰⁰ Amnon Cohen, *Jewish Life Under Islam: Jerusalem in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984) and see also his *The Guilds of the Ottoman Jerusalem* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), pp. 147-50.

⁷⁰¹ RŞS 1510: 61a-1.

⁷⁰² RŞS 1510: 98b-5.

⁷⁰³ RŞS 1510: 99a-8, 99b-1.

sheep that he had sold him.⁷⁰⁴ A few days later, Pir Mehmed bin Hacı Ramazan made Nebi bin Abdi from the Karayazıcı quarter his representative to receive 2,000 *akçes* from the sale of sheep to Butcher Isa Bali.⁷⁰⁵ In March 1549, Behramlu bin Sefer made Sinan Çelebi his representative to claim 1,050 *akçes* from the sale of sheep to Butcher Isa Bali.⁷⁰⁶ It seems that between February and March 1549, Butcher Isa Bali bought sheep from various suppliers in large amounts.

It seems that this butcher, who already had many business transactions, tried to make even more money through illegal means, since in June 1549, the *muhtesip* inspected Butcher Isa Bali's weights and found that they weighed 25 *dirhem* less than they should have.⁷⁰⁷ Similarly in May 1550, *subaşı* Piri Çelebi found that Butcher Isa Bali's scale weighed 30 *dirhem* less.⁷⁰⁸ In October 1550, Butcher Isa Bali's partner's scale weighed 100 *dirhem* less.⁷⁰⁹

Butcher Isa Bali's house was between Bayramlı bin Tatar's son Şaban's house and the house of Haydar, whose father was also a butcher.⁷¹⁰ Isa Bali's daughter, Fatma, lived near her father's house. Her neighbours were Sabire bint-i Atmaca, Bayramlu Koca, Memi bin Yunus and Eşver(?) bin Petro.⁷¹¹ Since Jews also used similar or the same names as Muslims, it is hard to determine who was actually Jewish in the quarter.

As mentioned above, İsa Bali bought sheep from the Jew Ali Bin Hamdi from the Çuka quarter of Avrat Hisarı and the people to whom Butcher Isa Bali extended credit were the non-Muslim named Çelebi (Çelebi nam kafir)⁷¹² and Dimitris bin Kostas.⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁴ RŞS 1510: 104a-5.

⁷⁰⁵ RŞS 1510: 105a-2.

⁷⁰⁶ RŞS 1510: 107a-5.

⁷⁰⁷ RŞS 1510: 129b-1.

⁷⁰⁸ RŞS 1511: 25a-3.

⁷⁰⁹ RŞS 1511: 53a-2.

⁷¹⁰ RŞS 1510: 46a-9.

⁷¹¹ RŞS 1510: 103a-1, RŞS 1511: 28a-3, 94a-3. Amongst these neighbours, as far as one can tell from his name, Eşver was probably a Jewish name but his patronym was not a Jewish name.

⁷¹² RŞS 1510: 7b-4.

⁷¹³ RŞS 1510: 11a-1.

Unfortunately, this information is limited and does not give much detail about Isa Bali's religion or other areas of his life, for example, his house, his family, his clothes, his ideas, or his friends.

Aşir bin Patrik and Nazlı bin Kasım

From the records, it is also possible to learn about some of the unwanted inhabitants of the quarter, because there were some complaints brought to the *qadı* about prostitution or illegal sex in the quarter. In May 1552, the inhabitants of the quarter turned to the *qadı* to make a complaint about Aşir bin Patrik⁷¹⁴ who was probably Jewish. They said that some “*na-mahrem*” women visited his house, and they did not want such a man in their quarter. Because Aşir could not find someone to vouch for him, he was imprisoned.⁷¹⁵

In July 1552, the inhabitants of the quarter turned once more to the *qadı* to make a complaint about another inhabitant, Nazlı bin Kasım who they said was not a “good woman”, because Hasan bin Mustafa, who was also an inhabitant of the quarter, often visited her and they drank together. After this complaint was filed, Nazlı and her husband, Ali bin Abdullah, divorced⁷¹⁶ but there is no further information about what happened to Nazlı and Hasan.

Since prostitution was a way to make a living for unskilled immigrant women and some of the immigrants in these cosmopolitan quarters strayed outside the regulations of the state and society, there were probably both prostitution and illegal sexual relations in the quarter, however, it is not possible to differentiate them from the court records since both acts were referred to as *zina* (illegal sexual relations according to Islamic law).

⁷¹⁴ Just like Eşver bin Petro's patronym, Aşir's patronym also sounds like a Christian name.

⁷¹⁵ RŞS 1511: 86a-1, 86a-4.

⁷¹⁶ RŞS 1512: 43b-3, 4, 5.

f. The Nebioğlu Quarter

This quarter was located on the cart road outside the town walls, which circumscribed the centre of town in the middle of the 16th century. While there is very little data about other quarters on the periphery, the location of Nebioğlu quarter on the cart road brought an active economic and social life to that area, so there are more records about its inhabitants. There would probably have been many cart drivers in this quarter; thus, in November 1550, when the state wanted to transfer some goods from Istanbul to Edirne, many of the cart-drivers for this task were chosen from the inhabitants of the Nebioğlu quarter.⁷¹⁷

Enbiya bint-i Hasluk

Most of the records about the inhabitants of the Nebioğlu quarter are about surety bonds or security and social order. As mentioned above, in the summer of 1549 in the wheat harvest season, when the cart road was busy with the transportation of wheat from the farmlands outside the town, Piri Çelebi had to deal with both security and Islamic order problems in the Nebioğlu quarter.

Under the Islamic law of 16th-Century Ottoman society, the imposition of a ban on certain types of sexual behaviour was an important part of social order. At about the end of June or the beginning of July 1549, the inhabitants of the Nebioğlu quarter turned to the *qadi* to complain that a woman called Enbiya(?) bint-i Hasluk, practiced prostitution.⁷¹⁸ In June, the inhabitants of the quarter complained about Hüseyin bin Seyid Ömer, who was often seen in the streets at night.⁷¹⁹ The next two entries are related with murder and the above-mentioned Enbiya bint-i Hasluk's husband, Şahkulu. According to these documents, a murder

⁷¹⁷ RŞS 1511: 55a-4.

⁷¹⁸ RŞS 1510: 135b-1.

⁷¹⁹ RŞS 1510: 135b-2, 135b-3.

happened just in front of Şahkulu's house. Around the end of June or the beginning of July 1549, Piri Çelebi brought people before the *qadı* after his investigation of the murder.⁷²⁰ Piri Çelebi requested guarantees from Derhem(?) bin Mehmed, Doğancı Hasan bin Abdullah, and Idris bin Mehmed⁷²¹ as well as from Şahkulu. It is not clear if Enbiya bint-i Hasluk and her husband were engaged in prostitution or not. It is, however, possible that some women were engaged in prostitution in this peripheral quarter, an area where people from different regions congregated particularly during the wheat harvest season.

Recep bin Davud

One of *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi's tax-farmers, Recep bin Davud, lived in this lively quarter.⁷²² As a *subaşı*, Recep came to court a few times between May and August 1547, during the wheat harvest season. In May 1547, he registered the murder of the herdsman Dimo with the *qadı*, reported to him by herdsmen Istani and Ortos.⁷²³ According to this record, at the location of the murder, Ada Stream, within the borders of the town, at night bandits attacked the three herdsmen, took their sheep and killed Dimo.⁷²⁴

At the end of May, Recep was engaged in a problem regarding Hüseyin bin Yusuf, who had not paid 740 *akçes* of the price that he owed for a slave bought from Ali bin Turgut Çeribaşı.⁷²⁵ He set Emirza bin Yusuf free, after the prisoner showed two sureties for himself.⁷²⁶ At the end of June, Recep brought Mustafa bin Abdullah before the *qadı* because he had drunk wine⁷²⁷ and in August 1547, he requested a guarantee from four gypsies,

⁷²⁰ RŞS 1510: 136a-5.

⁷²¹ RŞS 1510: 137a-3, 137b-7, 137b-8, 138a-2.

⁷²² RŞS 1510: 2a-4 , 19b-2.

⁷²³ Ortos or Orinos (Ορθος? Ορ(ε)τινος), PLP: 329.

⁷²⁴ RŞS 1510: 4a-6.

⁷²⁵ RŞS 1510: 5b-4, 6b-3, 7a-6.

⁷²⁶ RŞS 1510: 7b-1.

⁷²⁷ RŞS 1510: 10a-6.

Süleyman bin Davud, Bayezid bin Bahşayış, Hüseyin bin Hızır and Kalfal bin Solak.⁷²⁸

Recep fell into debt, and it is possible to follow his situation over time in the court records. In October 1547, Recep bin Davud declared his neighbour Ramazan bin Demirci as his deputy to sell his house and pay his debt to Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis if he could not afford to pay his and his partner Kölemen's debts by the middle of November 1547.⁷²⁹ The next document declares, however, that he rescinded his decision to make Ramazan his deputy and sold his house himself for 2,600 *akçes* to Ramazan, assigning the money for his and his partner's 2,600-*akçe* debt to Piri Çelebi.⁷³⁰ At the beginning of December 1547, Piri Çelebi demanded the 2,600 *akçes* from Ramazan bin Demirci, which Recep was supposed to have paid two months before.⁷³¹ It seems that Recep borrowed money from others to repay his debt, because in February 1548, Hacı Sinan bin Nasuh demanded the return of 1,000 *akçes* that Recep had borrowed with interest.⁷³² At the beginning of April 1548, he even became indebted to the Grocer Ali for 118 *akçes*.⁷³³ In those days, Piri Çelebi demanded the 2,600 *akçes* from Recep. In the end, Recep sold his house for 1,600 *akçes* to pay his debt to Piri Çelebi.⁷³⁴

Having fallen on bad times it is possible that Recep took a job since the records show that on 5 January 1549, a man called Recep bin Davud took over the job of watchman of the vineyards for two *akçes* from each household, although it is not clear if this is the same Recep.⁷³⁵ However, by the end of January 1549, the Çirmen Sancağı Beyi Ali made Recep bin Davud his deputy to collect the tax revenues belonging to him.⁷³⁶ In March 1549, Piri Çelebi declared that the tax-farmer *subaşı*s Recep bin Davud, Memi bin Ali and Kulman handed over

⁷²⁸ RŞS 1510: 20b-2, 20b-3.

⁷²⁹ RŞS 1510: 23b-6, 30a-9, 30a-10.

⁷³⁰ RŞS 1510: 30a-10.

⁷³¹ RŞS 1510: 37a-5.

⁷³² RŞS 1510: 47a-7.

⁷³³ RŞS 1510: 56a-4.

⁷³⁴ RŞS 1510: 57a-1.

⁷³⁵ RŞS 1510: 98b-3.

⁷³⁶ RŞS 1510: 105a-5.

the money that they owed him.⁷³⁷ After this, Recep bin Davud declared his renunciation of his claim for the tithes of the tax-farmers Haydar and Sinan against Piri Çelebi.⁷³⁸ A few days later, Recep renounced his share of the beehive tax and gave his right to collect his share of the beehive tax to his partner Memi.⁷³⁹ In May 1549, Recep bin Davud took the revenues and the administration of a Karavansarai, two cellars, and four shops as a tax-farmer.⁷⁴⁰

During the wheat harvest season, Recep was once again active. At the end of June 1549, he appeared before the *qadı* with his partner, Memi, for the confiscation of Hasan bin Vakıflu Ali's estate.⁷⁴¹ In July 1549, Recep bin Davud was once more engaged in the problems of the road to Rodoşuk. On this road, Yusuf bin İbrahim from Edirne had heard the cries of a woman and her son. As the villagers ran for help, the bandits ran away.⁷⁴² Although Recep bin Davud features frequently in the records the actual reasons why he fell into debt and how he rose again are impossible to ascertain.

g. The Çaklu Ramazan Quarter

Located next to the Nebioğlu quarter and the market was the ideal location for a mill.⁷⁴³ Hüseyin bin Çakluoğlu Ramazan lived on the border of this quarter and the Cami-i Atik quarter.⁷⁴⁴ The fact that Çakluoğlu Ramazan's son was alive in those days shows that this area was also newly-named like the Cennet Hatun, Canpaşaoğlu, and Karayazıcı quarters. Perhaps, because this area was newly named that there is little data about the inhabitants.

⁷³⁷ RŞS 1510: 107b-1.

⁷³⁸ RŞS 1510: 107b-3.

⁷³⁹ RŞS 1510: 108a-2.

⁷⁴⁰ RŞS 1510: 121b-1.

⁷⁴¹ RŞS 1510: 136a-2 .

⁷⁴² RŞS 1510: 141a-4.

⁷⁴³ RŞS 1510: 145a-3.

⁷⁴⁴ RŞS 1511: 72b-3, 109b-5, 115b-4.

Ine and Zülüf, the daughters of Hoca Bali

It is possible that there was also some prostitution or illegal sex in this quarter, as in other quarters at the periphery (the Yunus Bey, Hacı Musa and Nebioğlu quarters). In April 1552, Yusuf bin Abdullah and Nasuh bin Abdullah complained to the *qadı*, about two sisters, Ine and Zülüf, the daughters of Hoca Bali. According to this document, sailors often paid a visit to the house of these two sisters.⁷⁴⁵ However, there is nothing in the records about these sisters and the sanctions applied to them. These documents only show that there were also some converts in this quarter, because it was two converts to Islam who brought the complaint.

h. The Papa Piskopos Quarter

The walls of the old town of Rodosto, which followed the coastline, passing through the Yeni Cami, Çavuş Hüseyin and Abdi Hoca quarters, ended at the edge of the Papa Piskopos quarter and made a curve inwards, passing through the Papa Sunadinos and Papa Yorgi Frengi quarters. The average house price in this quarter, 820 *akçes*, was very low and under the town average. However, in three years, only five house sale contracts were recorded, so this average may not be very representative. Apart from the two people described below, there are few documents with which to create a picture of the inhabitants of the quarter.

⁷⁴⁵ RŞS 1512: 44b-3.

Kostas bin Tranos

The only inhabitant of this quarter who is often mentioned in the court records is Kosta bin Tiranos.⁷⁴⁶ The reason he was so often before the *qadı* was that Kostas was one of Piri Çelebi's agents who collected taxes in the non-Muslim quarters together with his partner, Haydar bin Mehmed Bey.⁷⁴⁷ Haydar and Kostas were sometimes mentioned as partners, and at other times Kostas was mentioned as being Haydar's deputy.⁷⁴⁸

Kostas also came before the *qadı* for other transactions. He was frequently a witness, especially in suits concerning non-Muslims⁷⁴⁹ and he often acted as a guarantor for non-Muslims.⁷⁵⁰ Sometimes he represented non-Muslim individuals as their deputy.⁷⁵¹ Like *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis, he lent money with interest, especially to non-Muslims.⁷⁵²

There are also documents concerning his economic transactions. For example, in February 1548, he sold a horse to Duka veled-i Yanni for 1,000 *akçes*. At this time in the Ottoman State it was forbidden for non-Muslims to own a horse; it seems, however, that in Rodosçuk at that time, a non-Muslim could sell a horse to another non-Muslim, and moreover, they could conduct this business before the *qadı*, who was responsible for such sanctions.

Kostas used some of his capital to purchase real estate. For example, in February

⁷⁴⁶ RŞS 1511: 16a-1, 50b-9, 130b-3, 135b-2; RŞS 1512: 26b-5, 64?bak, 73b-2

⁷⁴⁷ RŞS 1512: 73a-3, 81a-4.

⁷⁴⁸ RŞS 1510: 24b-2, 62b-9, 121a-7, 125b-2, 132a-1, 145b-5.

⁷⁴⁹ RŞS 1510: 11a-5, 22a-8, 31b-8, 47b-6, 47b-7, 48a-2, 100a-5, 100b-2, 109a-7, 111b-3, 112a-1, 113a-1, 122a-6, 125a-5, 141b-1, 147b-4, 154a-7, 164b-2.

⁷⁵⁰ RŞS 1510: 5b-1, 6b-6, 14b-2, 47b-8, 62a-4, 161a-11.

⁷⁵¹ RŞS 1510: 31b-5, 154a-6.

⁷⁵² RŞS 1510: 19a-1, 72b-9, 113a-3.

1548, he bought the half-share of a shop in the Papa Yorgi Frengi quarter for 500 *akçes*.⁷⁵³ A month later in March 1548, he bought a house with mulberry trees in its garden next to the Shoemaker Mihal's house on the main street in the quarter.⁷⁵⁴

Kostas bin Todori

A record about a serious event at the coast, where two women Zeynep and Arine, and their children, a small boy and a small girl were murdered, shows that life in the Papa Piskopos quarter was not always safe. In October 1551, the inhabitants of the quarter came before the *qadı* to accuse Kara Mehmed and Hasan bin Abdullah of killing the two women and their children. Kara Mehmed admitted the crime, explaining that, together with his companion, they had drunk wine in Kosta bin Todori's house and had wanted to stay overnight in Kosta's house; but Kosta did not allow them to and he and some non-muslim woman had thrown them out by throwing stones at them. After this incident, the two men walked along the coast. They saw Zeynep and Arine walking with their small children. "Because we were beaten and driven away from the place where we had drunk," said Kara Mehmed, "I killed them". He added that he did not know how he had committed this murder. His companion Hasan bin Abdullah explained he had not done anything himself. He had only heard some cries and afterwards Mehmed explained that he had killed two women and their children.⁷⁵⁵ Hasan bin Abdullah was a freed man of Osman, the *Kahya* (majordomo) of Kara Hisari. This means that in all likelihood the two men were just passing through. It was possible for Muslims to procure wine from non-Muslims, although it was forbidden.

⁷⁵³ RŞS 1510: 47a-1.

⁷⁵⁴ RŞS 1510: 51a-5.

⁷⁵⁵ RŞS 1511: 115a-1.

i. The Sebgi Hoca bin Şah Veli Quarter

The sea reached the Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli (or Hoca Veli) quarter through an inlet, where today the Ördekli stream flows into the sea. The Hoca Veli quarter was located beyond the Dizdaroğlu quarter. One fork of the Ördekli Dere drew the boundaries of the centre, leaving the Hoca Veli quarter outside and the other fork passed through the quarter. In the area between the two forks of the stream, there were the Rodosçuk Farm (Rodosçuk Çiftliği), vineyards and watermills.

Ördekli Dere not only drew the boundaries of the quarter between the centre and the agricultural area, it also influenced everyday life in the quarter. Seasonal changes in the water level brought about spring floods; as a result, swamp areas came into being. These areas, although good feeding and breeding grounds for flies, were not suitable for human habitation because of the diseases that these flies carried. This made life harder for the inhabitants and affected the house prices; thus, the average was under 1,000 *akçes*. In comparison to other quarters on the coast, except for the Papa Piskopos quarter, since houses in Sebgi Hoca Şah Veli quarter like those in the Abdi Hoca, Çavuş Hüseyin and Yeni Cami quarters were much cheaper and the inhabitants of the quarter were poorer.

There is little information about the individual inhabitants of the quarter however; one notable fact is that the number of houses belonging to women was higher than in the other quarters.⁷⁵⁶ 22% of all records mention real estate belonging to a woman. In this study and in the literature, it is clear that there was discrimination against daughters when estates were divided.⁷⁵⁷ It is known that in the early twentieth century, in some of the coastal settlements,

⁷⁵⁶ RŞS 1510: 2a-4, 7a-6, 115b-6, 115b-7, 135a-4, 144b-4, 153b-5, 154b-6, RŞS 1511 : 11b-10, 26b-8, RŞS 1512: 61b-3, 61b-4.

⁷⁵⁷ Haim Gerber, « Social and Economic Position of Women in an Ottoman City, Bursa », *IJMES*, 12 (1980): 231-244, pp. 232-233. For discrimination against daughters, crf. p. 235. For women disinherited by all sorts of devices such as gifts to male members of the family, the establishment of family *waqfs*, see A. Layish, *Women and Islamic Law in a Non-Muslim State*, (Jerusalem: 1975), pp. 290.

swamp areas were given to the daughters as their share of their father's estate, and that these women became rich after these swamps were dried out during the Republican modernization process.⁷⁵⁸ It is quite possible that a similar situation occurred over 400 years before this time. The available records, however, do not give sufficient explanation and further investigation is required.

j. Other Quarters

There were also some other quarters whose location was not possible to establish with the documents at hand. The Nesimi Hoca and Arap Hacı quarters, for example, are among such Muslim quarters. Moreover, there were also some non-Muslim quarters that were rarely mentioned in the first three court books; thus, it is impossible to find their locations, the prices of houses and the type of people that lived there. The Papa Dalyon(?)⁷⁵⁹ Papa Dimitris,⁷⁶⁰ Papa Duka,⁷⁶¹ Papa Ganotis,⁷⁶² Papa Kali,⁷⁶³ Papa Kamarinos,⁷⁶⁴ Papa Mihal,⁷⁶⁵ Papa Nefrengi,⁷⁶⁶ Papa Sunadinos,⁷⁶⁷ Papa Yanni,⁷⁶⁸ and Semiz Papaz⁷⁶⁹ quarters were among these areas. In addition, there were more non-Muslim quarters whose names have not been discovered yet.⁷⁷⁰ For example, it is quite possible that after Papa Piskopos quarter there was one more quarter on the coast; there is, however, no hint of the name of this quarter in the court records. According to the memoirs of Kelemen Mikes, later in the 18th century in this

⁷⁵⁸ For example, in Mersin this is a well-known old practice.

⁷⁵⁹ RŞS 1511: 112a-8.

⁷⁶⁰ RŞS 1510: 25a-3, 141b-1, RŞS 1511: 12a-3, 31b-4, 68b-7, 113b-6, RŞS 1512: 37b-1.

⁷⁶¹ RŞS 1510: 103a-5.

⁷⁶² RŞS 1510: 46b-1.

⁷⁶³ RŞS 1511: 69b-5.

⁷⁶⁴ RŞS 1510: 4a-2, 5a-2, 130b-3, 141b-1, RŞS 1512: 33b-1.

⁷⁶⁵ RŞS 1510: 125a-5, RŞS 1511: 26b-5, 86b-5.

⁷⁶⁶ RŞS 1511: 118a-9.

⁷⁶⁷ RŞS 1510: 83b-2. According to this document, the town walls also passed through this quarter.

⁷⁶⁸ RŞS 1510: 102b-4, RŞS 1511: 37b-2, 49a-1, 88a-3, 113a-3, RŞS 1512: 72a-13, 72b-1.

⁷⁶⁹ RŞS 1511: 37a-5.

⁷⁷⁰ RŞS 1511: 34b-3. RŞS 1511: 13a-2, 64b-2.

region there were quarters in which Armenians lived. A seventeenth-century Armenian source tells us that some of the migrants came from Kemah to Rodosçuk.⁷⁷¹

Gypsies

There was at least one quarter inhabited by gypsies since a document describing the location of a property sold to Mustafa bin Canpaşa mentions the presence of gypsies.⁷⁷² Another document concerning Mustafa bin Canpaşa's two shops being rented out, states that these shops were in the market near the gypsies,⁷⁷³ and a further document also mentions a gypsy quarter.⁷⁷⁴ Although these documents, however, do not adequately describe the location of this quarter, there seem to be two possible locations: one near the cemetery between Ibrahim Bey quarter and Şah Veli quarter, along the stream, next to the Canpaşaoğlu quarter, the other on the other side of the town between the Papa Hartofilako and Çakluoğlu Ramazan quarters.⁷⁷⁵

There is minimal information about the inhabitants of this quarter.⁷⁷⁶ The main reason for this is the fact that they had their own police (*subaşı*) and their own court. According to a document dated May 1547, there was a *Voivoda* of the gypsies called Mahmud.⁷⁷⁷ According to a Sultanlic decree sent in the same days, the Bey of the gypsy district in Kırkkilise (Çingene Sancağı Beyi of Kırkkilise), Iskender, turned to the Sultan, complaining that other *sancak beys* intervened in his work and collected taxes for themselves. The Sultan sent a decree to

⁷⁷¹ Orhonlu, "Şehir Mimarları", p. 5; cross-ref. H. D. Andreasyan, "Celalilerden kaçan Anadolu halkının geri gönderilmesi", İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan, (Ankara: 1976), pp. 45-53.

⁷⁷² RŞS 1510: 11*12a-1.

⁷⁷³ RŞS 1510: 69a-5.

⁷⁷⁴ RŞS 1510: 119a-2.

⁷⁷⁵ . This point needs clarification by further research.

⁷⁷⁶ There were probably both Muslim and non-Muslim Gypsies. Citing a decree from July 1559, Ortaylı mentions that at least one group of Gypsies was non-Muslims: Ortaylı, "16. Yüzyılda Rodosçuk", pp. 87-88, MD 3, MD 48, s.116, 8 L 966/ 15 Temmuz 1559.

⁷⁷⁷ RŞS 1510: 7a-3.

stop this intervention.⁷⁷⁸ A record dated June 1549 mentions Süleyman bin İlyas as the *subaşı* of gypsies.⁷⁷⁹ After this date, two documents mention the existence of a court for gypsies.⁷⁸⁰ As a result, transactions among the gypsies are rare in the *qadı's* court records. The only documents that deal with gypsies concern their relations with other inhabitants, and these are also rare. Thus, knowledge of these gypsies and their lives is restricted to these few records.

Un-named Settlements

It is assumed that after the newly named quarters, there were even newer settlements which did not have a name taken from a *mesjid* or a mosque. The *mesjid* or mosque was very important, not only because of the fact that in pre-modern times, religion and religious institutions had more importance for people, but also because water, as the very basic infrastructure for a settlement, was stored at these institutions.

The inhabitants of these un-named settlements were probably very poor people, and for these people there are seldom any records if they exist there is very rarely enough data to identify these people. For example, the important elements for identifying a person in the court records were his name and his father's name and/or his nickname and/or his title and/or the name of the quarter where he lived. For poor people, there was generally not much information except for their first names. For example, Cafer, who could not afford a house, lived and died in a storeroom, is one of the wage-labourers who earned about one *akçe* per day⁷⁸¹ probably working as a porter at the harbour, and about whom there is nothing except for his estate record. When Cafer died, he had nothing more than some old clothes, a pair of shoes, 17 *akçes* in cash and 166 sacks, and his belongings are recorded as being given to a

⁷⁷⁸ RŞS 1510: 10b-3.

⁷⁷⁹ RŞS 1510: 127b-9.

⁷⁸⁰ RŞS 1510: 127b-11, 136b-5.

⁷⁸¹ RŞS 1510: 139a-4.

captain, Ahmed Reis bin Hacı. There would have been numerous people like Cafer, whose lives would not have warranted more than a passing reference, if that, in the records of the *qadı* court.

k. Conclusion III: Which class plays which role in the formation of the town?

It is possible to group the quarters on the outskirts of town into six main categories: the newly-named quarters (Cennet Hatun, Canpaşaoğlu, Çakluoğlu Ramazan), quarters under the influence of *Bektashi* dervishes (Canpaşaoğlu, Şeyh Memi, Cennet Hatun, Yunus Bey), quarters near the cart road (Nebioğlu, Hacı Musa, Çakluoğlu Ramazan, Şeyh Memi), quarters in which prostitution took place as a means of making a living (Çakluoğlu Ramazan, Nebioğlu, Hacı Musa, Yunus Bey), quarters where converted inhabitants made up an important part of the population (Yunus Bey, Şeyh Memi, Çakluoğlu Ramazan), and the under-represented quarters and settlements (almost all the quarters on the outskirts and the quarters with unknown locations and un-named quarters that are not represented). These are not mutually exclusive groups because there are elements in each of the quarters that are shared and overlap.

To sum up, immigrants preferred quarters near the centre, where there was a better infrastructure to facilitate employment and provide a better standard of living. Some wealthy men and women established *waqfs* from the centre towards the outskirts to fill this demand then around these *waqfs* newly-named quarters appeared. The location of the *waqf* establishments were not random⁷⁸², the founders rather choose an area where they could reach a particular group of inhabitants. For example, the *Bektashi* ideals, which describe the transience of worldly wealth, spoke to the people, who came to the town with hopes of a

⁷⁸² Işık Tamdoğan, “Büyükleri Saymak, Küçükleri Sevmek”, *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, 1, (Bahar 2005):77-96.

better life and of rising to a higher class. These people needed hope, because there were not many opportunities to make a living in the town. For unskilled workers, who generally came from the villages, there were limited jobs. Men worked as porters at the harbour, wage-labourers in the farms around the town and in other hard labour. For women, there were even fewer opportunities, such as embroidery, weaving, working as a maid, or prostitution. About women who made a living by embroidering, weaving or working as a maid, there is no data. However, since prostitution was not legal, there is some data about the prostitution among the women in the outskirts of the town.

The poor of the town rarely appeared in the records of the *qadi* except if they had behaved in an illegal manner.⁷⁸³ As a result, knowledge of the people who lived on the outskirts of the town is limited to small-scale local administrators, a few relatives of pious foundation founders, and those who broke the law.

⁷⁸³ They also were often not considered respectable. Peirce, *Morality Tales*, p.167.

Conclusion

This study of an Ottoman town describes the changes in a settlement from the perspective of the lives of individual inhabitants as agents of history. The focus on individuals does not mean that each person consciously changed things in the town. Certainly when a person chooses a place to live it is unlikely that they think that this will have a direct effect on the town. However, since there are some factors that play a role in a person's decision making for example, people of one class or social status are likely to choose to live near other similar people, and this becomes a more collective action and affects the area in which they choose to live. Therefore, when looking at one inhabitant, this can offer an insight into other residents who share that individual's values and attitudes from this it is possible to learn about class structure, economic activities and social relationships across the whole town. Thus, individuals shape, and are shaped by the varying characteristics of the quarters in which they live.

The neighborhood data-base method is proposed in this thesis to give a deeper understanding of the way of Ottoman urban life; it expands our view by including contemporary data about the old face of the town and by increasing our knowledge about the lives of the individual inhabitants from various classes. This approach helps to review what an Ottoman town really was, how it was composed of many different areas, which grew and contracted, how a new quarter appeared and which classes took what role in the formation of the town.

This re-questioning of *the* Ottoman town did not only unearth some mysteries embedded in the previous definitions of the Ottoman quarter and its appearance, it also enlarged the view concentrated on the administration of the town, by adding the role played by the different classes in designating the characteristics of the quarters or in production and

trade.

Ottoman quarters were not isolated units; communities in different communities were linked together across the quarters, through their social class and neighbour relations, and social movements such as conversion to Islam and migration. Furthermore, this research illustrates that the area called “a quarter” was not an unchangeable unit, but changed in size; the area of quarters such as the Orta Cami quarter diminished over time; and some areas that had been a part of one quarter were included in a new quarter, as was the case with the Canpaşaoğlu, Cennet Hatun and Cami-i Cedid quarters. Thus, the appearance of a new quarter did not equal the creation of a new settlement area; it was the *naming process* of an area which brought about the recognition of the quarter whether it was new or composed of new and old districts.

People from various classes played different roles in this development: *waqf* founders both from the local society and from the administrative elite played a role in this naming process through their charities which built the local mosque and thus created the necessary infrastructure, and this in turn contributed to their fame or economic interests as entrepreneurs and/or as statesmen.⁷⁸⁴

However, it was not only *waqf* notables whose names were adopted by the quarters and played an important role in the structuring of a quarter; for example, a notable of the town who was not a *waqf* founder, *Subaşı* Piri Çelebi, played a very significant role in this naming process through the existence of his big house in the Cami-i Atik quarter; thus, the diminishing process of the centre through newly established quarters was curbed to an extent in the Cami-i Atik, in contrast to the Orta Cami quarter. This is due to the vast property belonging to the *Subaşı* protected the quarter, preventing it from being “taken over” by other quarters.

⁷⁸⁴ Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Şehircilik*, pp. 78-9.

It is, however, not possible to explain the changes in the face of a town only with the changing names of its quarters. By doing so, one overlooks both the other social classes that played a role in changing the face of a town, and characteristic differences in the make-up of the quarters. For example the ideological sympathies of the under-class played a role in where the intellectual centres were located.

However, the scarcity of knowledge provided by the court records in regard to the poor of the town is a great drawback in terms of gaining a true understanding of the role of the under-classes in the formation of an Ottoman town. This was particularly noticeable in this current study of Rodosçuk in the 16th century. It is a fact that the poor and the slaves provided the necessary work force that was needed to run the town, since one of the most important mainstays of Rodosçuk's economy was maritime trade. Both manning a ship, and loading/unloading it was highly labour-intensive. Without a large pool of unskilled poor workers and slaves, Rodosçuk's economy would not have continued to grow. Unfortunately, even a detailed reading of the sources can only provide very limited information about the slaves and the unskilled poor.

If the urban space is thought of as a large pot, in which the differences among the people from various religio-ethnic backgrounds, classes, profession, and trades produce together an urban culture, then it is impossible to believe that the history of the Ottoman urban life can be obtained only through the description of the role of the elite in decision making process. On the contrary, it is the very differences between the classes, religio-ethnic groups, trades and professions that stimulate the development of an urban culture, and this is what differentiates the urban from the rural.⁷⁸⁵

To raise this awareness, was the author's main aim in undertaking this research. Although there are limitations because of the use of court records, it is possible to create a

⁷⁸⁵ Lewis Mumford, *Tarih Boyunca Kent*, pp. 122-123.

general picture of the interrelation between the various classes and groups. Further research could be undertaken to review records each study focussin on a particular town or city and then collate this research to gain a more comprehensive overview of urban life across the whole Ottoman Empire in the 16th century.

Appendices

Year	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Total	Total Population	Tax Revenues of Mehmeds Waqf
935/1528				12 (Hane *5+0/10)	67.720 Akçe
	5	7		456	
	177	279		2508	
	128	2			
	35,4	39,8			
	939/6+	439/6+			799/6+
947/1540-1541				24	121.542 Akçe
	12	12		653	
	343	310		3591	
	28,5	25,8			
			269/6+		
The end of 16th cc-beginning of the 17th cc				823	4526
			809/6+		

Table 1

Record Nr.	Seller	Neighbours	Real Estate	Price	Recipient
1511:125a-3.	San Sufi bin Yusuf		house	4.700akçe	Seydi Ali Çavuş
		A free piece of land			
		Mosque garden			
		Hacı Ali ('s house)			
		Private street			
1511:125a-4	Hacı Derzi bin Abdullah		house	3.600akçeye	Seydi Ali Çavuş
		San Sufi's house			
		Yakub's house			
		Mehmed's house			
		Hamam(?)(Public Bath)			
1511: 125b-2	Mustafa bin Celebverdi		house	1.500akçe	Seydi Ali Çavuş
		Çavuş Hüseyin Bey's house			
		San Sufi's house			
		Yakub Hoca's house			
		Sea			
1511:125a-5	Yakub Hoca bin Hasan		house	3.000akçe	Seydi Ali Çavuş
		Mustafa Bey's house			
		Basmacı hatun's house			
		Hacı Bali('s house) and sea			
1511: 125b-3	Mehmed bin Mahmud		house	2.900akçe	Seydi Ali Çavuş
		Sea			
		Mehmed Bey's house			
		Macit Hoca's house			
		Street			
1512: 47b-4	Kasım bin Mehmed		a piece of land		for Rüstem Paşa's b
		Basmacı's house			
		Haydar's house			
		Ali bin Yusuf's house			
		Hacı's house			
1512: 47b-2	Haydar bin Abdullah		a piece of land house	500 akçe 2.000akçe	Seydi Ali Bey Seydi Ali Bey
		Medrese			
		Cam-i cedid			
		Cementary			
		Dortman(?) Mehmed's house			
1512: 51b-5	(Şah) Veli bin Evin		house	1.500akçeye	Seydi Ali Bey
		Sea			
		Ömer's house			
		Medrese			
		Medrese			
Abdi Hoca Neighbourhood					
1511:125b-1	Fatma bint-i Hüseyin		2 houses	4.200akçe	Seydi Ali Çavuş
		A free piece of land			
		Vineyard of Çavuş Hüseyin			
		Street			
		Street			
		Şahsever bin Hüseyin('s house)			

Table C1

Record Nr.	Seller	Neighbours	Real Estate	Price	Recipient
Cami-i Atik Neighbourhood					
1510: 60b-3	Yahşi bin Mustafa	Ahmed's house Gazanfer Ağa's house Street	house	6.600 Akçes	Hızır Çelebi bin Patrik
1511: 56b-1	Pir Ali bin Hacı İbrahim	Gazanfer Ağa's house street Haydar Bey's house Toma's house	A wooden house	44 Floris	Gazanfer Ağa
Cami-i Cedid neighbourhood					
1511:109b-9,102a-2,6,102b-1, 121a-4, 1512: 23a-3	Kasım bin Abdullah	Çavuş Hüseyin Bey's kervansaray and hamam cemetery Çavuş Hüseyin's house Mehmed and Iskender's house	2 houses	6.000 Akçes	Bazarcı Ali bin Ebrin
1510: 44b-1	Mustafa bin Ali	street street Çavuş Hüseyin's house Gazanfer Ağa's house	a wooden house with trees	3.400(?) Akçes	Katip(scribe) Yahşi bin Mustafa
1510: 158a-1,167b-1,2, 168a-1,2, 1511:99b-4,102a-	Grocer Ahmed bin Abdullah	two two floor houses with pantry Gazanfer Ağa's house Yahşi bin Mustafa's house street			his old wife Hacı Hatun bint-i At
Çavuş Hüseyin Neighbourhood					
1511: 9a-9	Bayram bint-i Bozacı Mustafa	Çavuş's house Suhı (bin Halil)'s house street	3 houses	2.000 akçe	Mehmed Bey bin Abdullah
1512: 5a-6	Behram(Bayram?) Bint-i Mustafa	Çavuş Hüseyin Bey's house Suhı's house street	3 houses		his daughter Kamer Hatun bint-i
Hacı İsa Neighbourhood					
1511: 88a-2	Şamil-i Veli (bin)Yusuf	Çavuş Hüseyin's house Ahmed's house his own house and Bali's house	a piece of land	400 Akçes	Yeniçeri Bali bey bin Abdullah
1512: 27a-4	İbrahim Bey bin Hacı İsa, ö	creek Çavuş Hüseyin Bey('s house) Seydi bin Kitabcı(?) Papa Livronid(?)'s vineyards	vineyard	2.900 Akçes	Mahmud bin Hacı İsa
		street Kölemen('s house) Boyacı(?) Haydar's vineyards	vineyard		Mahmud bin Hacı İsa

Table C2

Record Nr.	Seller	Neighbours	Real Estate	Price	Recipient
Abdi Hoca Neighbourhood					
1510: 130b-1, 65b-5, 1511: 76b-3	Osman bin Mustafa	Iskender subaşı's courtyard Kara Suh Piri Çelebi's courtyard	a house	700 akçe	Derzi Kara bin Bekir
Cami-i Atik Neighbourhood					
1510: 116b-1	Şah Veli bin Iskender Reis	(Mustafa bin Tatar) Tataroğlu evi Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis evi Ali Reis evi Selver evi	a wooden twofloors house	800akçe	kızı Gülsüm
1511,3b-9	Cennet Hatun bint-i Mustafa	Hoca Mirza bin Hasan's house Ali Reis bin Şahveli's house street	a house	3.000akçe	Hesam bin Çaklı
1511: 96b-4, 108a-1	Hasan Bali bin Sadık Reis	his father Sadık Reis's house Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis's house Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis's house street	a house with a piece of land	1.000 akçe	Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis
1512, 5b-5		his father Sadık Reis's house Hüdaverdi bin Reyhan's house his sister Nima(?) Hatun's house door	a house a piece of land	300 akçe 300akçe	Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis
			4 shops 3 of the shops	1,600 akçe	Mustafa Çelebi bin Canpaş
		Ali Hacı's shop Mahumud Bey bin Abdullah el-salacı(?) Mustafa bin Tatar's shop street	the 4th shop		
		the begininig of the market? (Çarıyı başına) Mahumud Bey bin Abdullah's shop Seydi bin Kestan(?)'s leather production shop??(tabbaghane)			

Table C3-1

Cennet Hatun Neighbourhood					
1510: 156a-5,6,7, 156b-2,5, 158a-	Cennet Hatun bint-i Kemal	Süleyman Bey's house	a two floored house with the half share of its stable		Eruzile Hatun bint-i Hacı
		Hacı Turri's house			
		Ibrahim's land			
		street			
	Cennet Hatun bint-i Kemal	Ibrahim Bey's house	a piece of land at her courtyard		
		Nazır's house			
		Tusban(?)'s house			
			a house in her courtyard		Hüdaverdi bin Abdullah
			her fields		
	Cennet Hatun bint-i Kemal	Nazır's house	a piece of land		
		Ibrahim Bey's house			
		Hacı Turbali bin Şaban's house			
		Nasuh's house			
	Cennet Hatun bint-i Kemal	Hacı Turri's house	a piece of free land	4000 akçe	Ali Bali bin Dede
		Nazır's house			
		Nur Kadın's house			
		Süleyman Bey's house			
		Cennet Hatun's house			
1510: 163a-1	Yusuf bin Şayin and his brother Mustafa	Cennet Hatun's house	a house	1.000akçe	Nur Hatun bint-i (?)
		Nur Hatun's house			
		Ibrahim Bey's house			
1511,36a-4	Ali Bali bin Dede Bali	Hacı Turri's house	a piece of land	4.500akçeye	Mustafa Çelebi bin Piri Çe
		Nazır's house			
		Nur Kadın's house			
		Süleyman Bey's house			
1511: 118b-10, 1512: 7b-2	Nasuh bin Şayin(?) from Nasrtehi Village	street	a two-floors wooden house	1.200 akçe	Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis
		Süleyman Bey's house wall			
		Iskender bin Abdullak's house			
		Piri Çelebi bin Cafer Reis's house			

Table C3-2

Table Q1

Neighbourhoods	Hacı İsa	Abdi Hoca	Cami-i Cedid	Papa Yorgi Frengi	Çavuş Hüseyin	Cami-i Atik
House Pirces	6000	5000	1500	1723	2000	3000
	3300	700	3400	550	4700	6600
	10000	5650	6000	1000	3600	800
	1000	4200	6600	400	1500	3000
	2500		1000	10400	3000	3000
	2600		2000	4700	2900	300
				3000	2000	2406
				2300	1500	
					1000	
					1000	
					7000	
					2200	
					1400	
					5000	
					2500	
					7000	
					2000	
Total	25400	15548	20496	24000	52200	19103
Nr. Of houses	6	4	6	8	18	7
Average	4233,333	3887,5	3416,666	3000	2900	2.729
Diff. between max. & min.	9000	4950	5600	10000	6000	6300

Dizdaroğlu	Mustafa bin Canpaşaoğlu	İbrahim Bey	Karayazıcı	Çaklıoğlu Ramazan	Şeyh Memi	Papa Hartofilako	Hacı Musa
3200	2000	2000	1150	700	2600	1600	2000
2500	2000		2100	2850	600	700	250
2000	5600		1650	1050	4800(3)	1000	
	1100		2200	650	500	1580	
	1000		1300		1006	440	
	1000		1800		400	2000	
	525		1400			1200	
	1600		1600				
	420		1000				
7700	15249	2000	14200	5250	9906	8520	2250
3	9	1	9	4	8	7	2
2566,666	1693	2000	1577	1312,5	1238,25	1217,142	1125
1200	5180		1200	2150	2200	1560	1750

Cennet Hatun	Papa Gümüş	Nebioğlu	Sevgi Hoca Şah Veli	Papa Piskopos	Hesini Hoca	Hacı Yunus
1000	1100	700	1000	1500	600	550
1200		1300	550	400	750	
		500	550	1100	1000	
		1310	1300	500		
		600	1000	600		
		1500	1400			
2200	1100	5910	5796	4100	2350	550
2	1	6	6	5	3	1
1100	1100	985	966	820	783,333	550
200		1000	850	1100	400	

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