

MASTERING THE CONQUERED SPACE:
RESURRECTION OF URBAN LIFE IN OTTOMAN UPPER THRACE
(14TH – 17TH C.)

A Ph.D. Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

MASTERING THE CONQUERED SPACE:
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This dissertation examines several cases of urban development in the Ottoman Balkans aiming to demonstrate the existence of an established Ottoman model for urban modification and creation of new towns. Focusing on the morphology of four towns rebuilt or established from scratch the dissertation finds a normative pattern in the methods applied by the Ottomans in reclaiming urban space in the conquered territories. The Ottoman central power and the semi-autonomous border raider commanders in the Balkans applied a program for changing of the inherited spatial in order in the Byzantino-Slavic cities in the Balkans through a conscious attempt for shifting of the existing urban core away of the fortified parts. The concept for changing of the spatial order through architectural patronage has followed a long evolutionary path and certainly predates the Ottoman state. The T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviyes* used in the Ottoman urban program as colonizers of urban space constitute the important novelty that came into being in Ottoman Bithynia and was subsequently transferred to the Balkans.

Keywords: Ottoman Balkans, urbanism, urban morphology, architectural patronage, historical demography, Filibe (Plovdiv), Tatar Pazarcık (Pazardzık), Karlova, Konuş

ÖZET

FETHEDİLEN MEKÂNIN EFENDİSİ OLMAK: OSMANLI YUKARI TRAKYASI'NDA KENTSEL YAŞAMIN YENİDEN DOĞUŞU (14.-17. YY.)

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Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Halil İnalçık

Nisan 2013

Bu tez Osmanlı Balkanları'ndaki çeşitli kentsel gelişim örneklerini inceleyerek, kentsel değişim ve yeni şehirlerin tesisi bağlamında belirli bir Osmanlı modelinin mevcut olduğunu ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışma, yeniden kurulan veya baştan inşa edilen dört kentin morfolojisi üzerine odaklanarak, Osmanlılar'ın fethedilen bölgelerdeki kentsel alanın düzenlenmesinde kullandıkları yöntemlerde belli bir normatif örüntü olduğu sonucuna varır. Osmanlı merkezî yönetimi ve Balkanlar'daki yarı-özerk akıncı uc beyleri, mevcut kent merkezlerini müstahkem bölgelerden dışarıya taşımak için bilinçli bir girişimde bulunarak, Balkanlar'daki Bizans-Slav şehirlerinin tevârüs etmiş mevcut mekânsal düzenini değiştirmek için belli bir plan izlemişlerdir. Mekânsal düzenin mimarî hâmilik yoluyla değişimi konusu uzun bir evrimsel yol izler ve şüphesiz Osmanlı devletinden daha eskidir. Osmanlı kent planında mekânsal düzenin kolonizatörleri olarak kullanılan T-biçimli ve çok işlevli imaret/zaviyeler, Osmanlı Bitinyası'nda ortaya çıkmış ve sonrasında da Balkanlar'a aktarılmış önemli bir yeniliktir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı Balkanları, kentleşme, kentsel morfoloji, mimarî hâmilik, tarihsel demografi, Filibe (Plovdiv), Tatar Pazarcık (Pazardzik), Karlova, Konuş.

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This project results from a long journey (maybe even too long) that had very uneven and often uneasy path. This adventure could have not been possible without the help and assistance of a number of individuals and institutions who at different stages of my research generously offered expertise, support, and encouragement. With the risk of inadvertently leaving someone out, I would like to thank those to whom I owe a great deal of gratitude.

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together, were a real eye-opener for me. The little I know about Ottoman architecture I wholly owe to Machiel Kiel – a great friend and a truly amazing scholar!

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My research could not have been completed without the support, help and advice of numerous friends. Erdem Çıpa deserves my heartfelt appreciation for always readily critically commenting on my drafts and for being a wonderful friend who spared no effort in helping me in more ways than one. During my years in Ankara I had the privilege to enjoy the sincere friendship and support of Mustafa Nakeeb, Oktay Özel,

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Needless to say all inevitable shortcomings and any faults that remain in this study are entirely my own.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Reference works:

EI² – *Encyclopedia of Islam (Second Edition)* CD ROM

TDVİA – *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*

İA – *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*

Archives & Institutions:

BOA – Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (İstanbul)

DAI – Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (İstanbul)

İBK, M.C. – İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Kütüphanesi (Atatürk Kitaplığı), Mu'allim Cevdet Yazmaları (İstanbul)

TKGM – Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyud-u Kadime Arşivi (Ankara)

Sofia – Narodna biblioteka "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiy", Orientalski otdel (Sofia)

State Archive Plovdiv – Dăržavna Agentsia Arhivi, Tsentralen Dăržaven Arhiv, Plovdiv

VGMA – Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (Ankara)

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Titles in Cyrillic script (Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian) are transliterated in Latin characters as follows:

<i>Symbols</i>	<i>Cyrillic letters</i>
ž	ж
z	з
y	й
h	х
ts	ц
ch	ч
sh	ш
sht	шт
ǎ	ъ
yu	ю
ya	я
yi	ы

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Turko-Balkan city or Arabo-Ottoman city? Ottoman city vs. Balkan city: continuity and change in the urban development in the Balkans

The towns and cities in the Ottoman realm and various aspects of urban life have long attracted scholarly attention. A growing number of fine studies examined the demography, the architecture, the spatial order and urban morphology of the cities controlled by the Ottoman dynasty thus adding valuable details to our general understanding of the urban development in the Empire. Modern historiography traditionally makes a division between the cities in the Arabic-speaking parts of the Ottoman state and those in the “core provinces”, i.e. Anatolia and Rumelia (Asia Minor and the Balkans).¹ Even this discrimination, however, as general as it is, is questioned in

¹ The cities of the Mashriq and the Maghreb that focused mainly the attention of the French school of the past were on their own a subject of ongoing scholarly debate. The concept of the “Islamic city” in the early French tradition was criticized in a growing number of modern publications. Ira Lapidus. *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); André Raymond. “Islamic

recent studies which voiced for a revision of the traditionalist division between the urban centers spread over the vast territory of three continents that was unified and held by the Ottomans for several centuries. Indicating that the classification was solely based on ethno-cultural grounds, Pierre Pinon, who derived evidence from the architectural typologies, housing and the urban fabric, argued that the real division between the cities in the Ottoman Empire must not be seen as a clear-cut split between the Arab and the core provinces, but that there existed a rather loose line that divided the ‘Turko-Balkan’ and ‘Arabo-Ottoman’ worlds and their cities respectively.² The dividing line, in Pinon’s view, crosses Anatolia, approximately linking Antalya with Erzurum, thus contrasting the Arabo-Ottoman part (where Seljuq architecture is present, but more notably where “the Byzantine substratum was early covered over by Arab and Seljuq conquests”) to the Turko-Balkan part (roughly from Bithynia to the western Balkans) in which “the Byzantine dominance persisted the longest”.³ Halil İnalcık’s pioneering studies on Istanbul stressed on the existence of a strong Islamic tradition in organizing the urban

City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views.” *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21:6 (1994): 3-18; Eugen Wirth. *Die orientalische Stadt im islamischen Vorderasien und Nordafrika: städtische Bausubstanz und räumliche Ordnung, Wirtschaftsleben und soziale Organisation* (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 2002); Gilles Veinstein. “La ville ottomane.” in Mohamed Naciri and André Raymond (eds.), *Sciences sociales et phénomènes urbains dans le monde arabe: actes du colloque de l’Association de Liaison entre les Centres de recherches et documentations sur le monde arabe (ALMA), Casablanca, 30 novembre-2 décembre 1994* (Casablanca: Fondation du Roi Abdul-Aziz Al-Saoud pour les études islamiques et les sciences humaines, 1997), 105-114. Overview of the discussion to date in the Introduction “Was there an Ottoman City?.” in Ethem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, Bruce Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City Between East and West, Aleppo, İzmir, İstanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1-16.

² Pierre Pinon. “Essai de définition morphologique de la ville ottomane des XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles.” in Verena Han, Marina Adamović (eds.), *La culture urbaine des Balkans, 3, La ville des Balkans depuis la fin du Moyen Age jusqu’au début du XX^e siècle* (Paris–Belgrade: Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts, Institut des Études Balkaniques, 1991), 147–155; idem. “Essai de typologie des tissus urbains des villes ottomanes d’Anatolie et des Balkans,” in *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: a Supra-National Heritage* (Istanbul: YEM Yayın 2000), 174-188; idem. “Ottoman cities of the Balkans.” in Salma K. Jayyusi et al. (eds.), *The City in the Islamic World*, vol. 1 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), 146-147.

³ Pinon, “Ottoman cities of the Balkans”, 147.

space and voiced for a more balanced approach that reconcile the “over-idealized interpretation of Islamic social institutions” and “totally ignoring the determining role of Islamic norms”.⁴

The argument that the existence of earlier Arabo-Seljuqid or Byzantine bases defined the division between the Ottoman cities with regard to their architectural and spatial development seems quite valid and it was also adopted by other historians who wrote recently on the urban development in the Ottoman Empire.⁵ Nevertheless, the historiography dealing with the Ottoman city to date has not advanced enough to allow a well-developed debate on the subject. Instead, as it was justly pointed in the introductory sentence of Veinstein’s contribution to the debate, “the present state of our knowledge, dealing with Ottoman town consists primarily of pondering the very notion of ‘Ottoman town’, not only in terms of contents, but also of application”.⁶

General studies on the transition of the Byzantino-Slavic urban centers in the Balkans after they fell into the hands of the Ottoman rulers and their subsequent development and transformation in the emerging Muslim empire are extremely scarce. The national Balkan historiographies argued mostly over the continuity of local urban tradition as opposed to the novelties brought by the Ottomans. Scholars who contributed to the discussion on the nature of the ‘Balkan city’ or the ‘Ottoman city in the Balkans’,

⁴ Halil İnalçık. “İstanbul: an Islamic City.” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 1-23; idem. “Fatih, Fetih ve İstanbul’un Yeniden İnşası.” *Dünya Kenti İstanbul. İstanbul World City* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 22-37; idem. “The Ottoman Survey of 1455 and the Conquest of İstanbul.” *550. Yılında Fetih ve İstanbul/The Conquest and İstanbul in the 550th Anniversary* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 1-14;

⁵ Gilles Veinstein. “The Ottoman Town (Fifteenth-Eighteenth Centuries).” in Jayyusi et al. (eds.), *The City in the Islamic World*, 216. Similar view is also supported by Fatma Acun. “A Portrait of the Ottoman Cities.” *Muslim World* 92:3-4 (2002): 255-286.

⁶ Veinstein. “The Ottoman Town”, 205.

perhaps most often lead by national sentiment, were inclined to overemphasize all aspects of the thesis of their preference, turning a blind eye to the argumentation that contradicted it.

It is perhaps accurate to state that the debate over the nature of the ‘Balkan city’ was triggered in the 1950s by the Turkish historian Ömer Lütfi Barkan. He accentuated on the decisive role played by the Ottoman rulers in remodeling of the urban centers in the European possessions of the Empire. In Barkan’s view in the post-conquest years, as a result of purposeful state policy and the implementation of sultans’ will, who “had at their disposal all of the Empire’s resources”, the development of urban life in the Balkans was significantly shifted.⁷ The central role of the Ottoman state in the revitalization and even re-creation of the cities in the Balkans on the one hand was implemented through conscious efforts for remodeling the inherited spatial order by constructing a large communal mosque, equipped with a multitude of other buildings that rendered social services to the locals and by clearly defining a new market area (*çarşı*). On the other hand, in Barkan’s view, the central power was also responsible for providing settlers to the thus modified cities by encouraging or often even by orchestrating a mass immigration of Anatolian Turks into the Balkan urban centers. Applying this policy in a systematic manner the Ottoman central authority secured the rapid development of all cities lying on the strategic or commercial routes in the Balkans. Thus, the population of all important cities in the region turned predominantly Muslim

⁷ Ömer Lütfi Barkan. “Quelques observations sur l’organisation économique et sociale des villes Ottomanes des XVI et XVII siècles.” *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l’histoire comparative des institutions*, vol. 7, *La Ville 2: Institutions économiques et sociales* (Bruxelles: De Boeck Université, 1955), 291

and therefore Turkish.⁸ Emphasizing the decisive role of the sultans in the urban development and the creation of new towns in the Ottoman Balkans, Barkan neglected the importance of other dominant figures (such as the *akıncı uc beyis*) in the process and completely overruled the spontaneous emergence of new towns.⁹ Moreover, the impact and the importance of conversion to Islam of local Christian population in Barkan's thesis was brought to a minimum. This theme was later developed even further by the Turkish nationalist historiography claiming that all Muslims residing in the cities in the Balkans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were virtually all ethnic Turks.¹⁰

In the second half of the twentieth century Barkan's thesis that portrayed a drastic discontinuity of urban life in the Ottoman Balkans was criticized by the Bulgarian Marxist-nationalist historiography. Nikolai Todorov developed a diametrically different hypothesis that insisted on the large degree of continuity between the medieval Byzantino-Slavic and Ottoman urban tradition.¹¹ Minimizing, if not disregarding, the role of Anatolian Turkish settlers in the Balkan cities, Todorov emphasized the role of religious conversion as the main factor that explains the apparent overwhelming Muslim majority in some of the larger cities. Moreover, in this author's view, the masses of Turkish settlers that appeared in the Balkans in the fifteenth and

⁸ Barkan, "Quelques observations sur l'organisation économique et sociale", 290, 294; idem. "Quelques remarques sur la constitution sociale et démographique des villes balkaniques au cours des XV^e et XVI^e siècles." *Istanbul à la jonction des cultures balkaniques, méditerranéennes, slaves et orientales, aux XVI^e-XIX^e siècles* (Bucarest: Association Internationale d' Études du Sud-Est Européen, 1977), 279-301.

⁹ "il ne s'agit généralement pas de formations spontanées, mais de produits de la volonté des Empereurs". Barkan, "Quelques observations sur l'organisation économique et sociale", 291.

¹⁰ İlhan Şahin, Feridun Emecen, and Yusuf Halaçoğlu. "Turkish Settlements in Rumelia (Bulgaria) in the 15th and 16th centuries: Town and Village Population." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4:2 (1989): 23-40. İlhan Şahin. "XV. ve XVI. Yüz Yılda Sofya-Filiba-Eski Zağra ve Tatar Pazarı'nın Nüfus ve İskân Durumu." *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 48 (1987): 249-256.

¹¹ Nikolai Todorov. "Po niakoi vāprosi na balkanskiya grad prez XV-XVII v." *Istoricheski Pregled* 1 (1962): 32-58.

sixteenth centuries were almost exclusively semi-nomadic Turkomans (*Yürüks*) who had no connection to the urban life in the Ottoman Balkans.¹² In his capital work on the ‘Balkan city’, that still remains the only monographic study on this topic, Todorov fully developed his argumentation for continuity of local urban tradition pointing to the existence of a multitude of towns and cities in the Balkans in which the Christian population had a significant majority over the Muslims. The cities in which the Muslims prevailed, largely a result of conversion to Islam in his mind-frame, were those located on the strategically important spots in which the Ottoman authorities wished to establish stronger control and thus securing unconditional loyalty by enforcing the Muslim element.¹³ This view was adopted by the Bulgarian historiography and turned into a standard frame-work within which was interpreted the additional data presented in a number of later studies.¹⁴ In spite of the unquestionable merits of the research conducted by the Balkan historians in the past decades, which offered abundant data for many towns in Ottoman Rumelia, they did not step too far out of the Barkan-Todorov discourse, which appears to have been fueled more by nationalistic emotions rather than genuine academic controversy.¹⁵

¹² Nikolai Todorov. *Balkanskiyat grad XV-XIX v.: sotsialno-ikonomichesko i demografsko razvitie* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1972), 45-46.

¹³ Todorov, *Balkanskiyat grad*, 49-59.

¹⁴ Petar Koledarov. “Kam voprosa za razvitiето na selishtnata mreža i neynite elementi v sredishtnata i iztochnata chast na Balkanite ot VII do XVIII v.” *Izvestiya na Istituta za Istoriya* 18 (1967): 89-146; Zdravko Plyakov. “Za demografskiya oblik na balgarskiya grad prez XV - sredata na XVII vek.” *Istoricheski Pregled* 5 (1968): 29-47; Strashimir Dimitrov. “Za priemstvenostta v razvitiето na Balkanskite gradove prez XV-XVI vek,” *Balkanistika* 2 (1987): 5-17; Svetlana Ivanova. “Gradovete v balgarskite zemi prez XV vek.” in Boryana Hristova (ed.), *Balgarskiyat petnadeseti vek: sbornik s dokladi za balgarskata i obshta kulturna istoriya prez XV vek* (Sofia: Narodna Biblioteka “Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiy, 1993), 53-65.

¹⁵ Certainly more nuanced studies were also published like these of Aleksandar Stojanovski. *Gradovite na Makedonija od krajot na XIV do XVII vek: demografski proučuvanja* (Skopje: Zavod za unapreduvanje na

1.2. Models of urban development in the Ottoman Balkans

What seems apparent to an unbiased eye is the fact that in spite of building strong theoretical cases both Barkan's and Todorov's views on the development of the urban centers in the Balkans seem very limiting and rigid. As probably often happens with pioneering works of this kind, based on very limited amount of sources, the two conflicting hypotheses present generalized models of Ottoman urbanization policies and practice that involves a great deal of oversimplification. When this theoretical framework, however, is tested into practical research over individual regions of the Ottoman Balkans one inevitably faces a much more complex picture which to a great extent questions the usability of the construct proposed by Barkan or Todorov.

In a lengthy contribution that focused on the urban development of a limited part of the Ottoman Balkans (namely the territory of modern Bulgaria) the Dutch historian Machiel Kiel argued that the views of both Barkan and Todorov can be seen as "valid in a restricted number of cases", but they merely represent a "simplified version of a much richer reality".¹⁶ He concluded that there was no uniform pattern of urban development in Ottoman Bulgaria because the historical conditions and local circumstances differed from one district to the other. The best way for studying the urbanization processes of

stopanstvoto vo SRM "Samoupravna praktika", 1981) or Adem Handžić. "O formiranju nekih gradskih naselja u Bosni u XVI stoljeću," *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju* 25 (1975): 133-168 who emphasized the important role of state supported pious endowments in the process of establishing new cities in Bosnia etc.

¹⁶ Machiel Kiel. "Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: the Place of Turkish Architecture in the Process." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4:2 (1989): 81-83. This study was published as a book in Turkish translation *Bulgaristan'da Osmanlı Dönemi Kentsel Gelişmesi ve Mimari Anıtlar* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000).

the Ottoman-time Balkans in Kiel's view is examining it province by province thus acknowledging the diverse circumstances of local history, which shaped the development of the cities there.¹⁷ He therefore suggested that "with a bit of unavoidable simplification, the towns of Ottoman Bulgaria may be divided into five groups according to the way they emerged".¹⁸

Sharing Kiel's conviction that the models of urban development in the Ottoman Balkans can be best observed through a systematic study on different regions I suggest below a modified and extended version of his selection of urbanization models that in all probability can serve as a framework for the development of Ottoman cities not only for the territory of modern Bulgaria, but it can also be applied, with all due skepticism, to the entire Balkan Peninsula under Ottoman rule.

1. *Cities that were fully developed urban centers in the pre-Ottoman period, which after the conquest had mixed population, thus continuity went alongside modification.* The earliest Muslim settlers appeared soon after the conquest, but the Christian population remained in majority, or at least there was a sizable Christian community in the entire Ottoman period. Although the urban space was slightly modified through the construction of some Islamic buildings (or converting existing ones) the degree of continuity of the inherited Byzantino-Slavic urban fabric clearly

¹⁷ Kiel, "Urban Development", 83. Testing Kiel's view on the urban development in Bulgaria I extended his argumentation farther pointing that studying even much smaller territory (Upper Thrace) demonstrates a great diversity of urban models. Grigor Boykov. "Balkan City or Ottoman City? A Study on the Models of Urban Development in Ottoman Upper Thrace (15th – 17th c.)." in Halit Eren and Sadık Ünay (eds.), *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on the Islamic Civilisation in the Balkans, 1-5 November 2005, Bucharest, Romania* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2010), 69-86.

¹⁸ Kiel, "Urban Development", 83.

prevailed. This group fits well in Todorov's thesis: Silistra¹⁹, Niğbolu (mod. Nikopol)²⁰, Tărnovo²¹, Lofça (mod. Lovech)²², Vidin²³, Varna²⁴ and the smaller Black Sea coast towns like Misivri (mod. Nesebăr), Süzebolu (mod. Sozopol), Ahıyolu (mod. Pomorie)²⁵, etc.

2. *Cities that emerged at the foot of pre-Ottoman castles.* They had mixed population and their development was promoted by the construction of some important Ottoman public buildings. This group lays at the "edge" of Todorov's thesis, since continuity and change went alongside: Prevadi (mod. Provadiya)²⁶, Aydos (mod. Aytos),

¹⁹ Strashimir Dimitrov. *Istoriya na Dobrudža*, vol. 3 (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1988), 15-39; Machiel Kiel. "Silistra" in *TDVIA*; Stefka Pärveva. "Bălgari na služba v osmanskata armiya: voenni i voennopomoshtni zadälženiya na graskoto naselenie v Nikopol i Silistra prez XVII vek" in Elena Grozdanova et al. (eds.), *Konflikti i kontrasti 'zad kadăr' v bălgarskoto obshtestvo prez XV-XVIII vek* (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2003), 226-254.

²⁰ Rumen Kovachev. *Opis na Nikopolskiya sandžak ot 80-te godini na XV vek* (Sofia: Narodna Biblioteka "Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiy", 1997); idem. "Nikopol Sancak at the Beginning of the 16th Century according to the Istanbul Ottoman Archive." In Meral Bayrak et al. (eds.), *Uluslararası Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri Sempozyumu 11-13 Mayıs 2005. Bildiriler Kitabı* (Eskişehir: Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2005), 65-76; Krasimira Mutafova. "Nikopol v osmanskite registri ot XVI v." in *Bălgariya, zemya na blaženi* "... in memoriam professoris Iordani Andreevi (Veliko Tărnovo: Ivis, 2010), 514-534; Stefka Pärveva. "Demografskiyat oblik na gr. Nikopol prez 1693 g." in *300 godini Chiprovsko văstaniye: prinos kăm istoriyata na bălgarite prez XVII v.* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1988), 25-41.

²¹ Krasimira Mutafova. *Staroprestolnyat Tărnov v osmanoturskata knižnina* (Veliko Tărnovo: Faber, 2002).

²² Machiel Kiel. "Lofça" in *TDVIA*.

²³ Vera Mutafchieva. "Vidin i Vidinsko prez XV-XVI vek. Predgovor." in Dušanka Bojanić-Lukač. *Vidin i Vidinskiyat sandžak prez XV-XVI vek* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1975), 5-49. Bistra Cvetkova. "Za etnicheskia i demografski oblik na Vidin prez XVI v." *Izvestiya na etnografskia institut s muzey 7* (1964): 11-24; Kiel, "Urban Development", 101-105.

²⁴ Svetlana Ivanova. "Varna during the Late Middle Ages - Regional versus National History." *Etudes Balkaniques 2* (2004): 109-143.

²⁵ Elena Grozdanova and Stefan Andreev. "Die Städte an der bulgarischen Schwarzmeerküste (Ende des 15. bis zum 18. Jh.)" *Bulgarian Historical Review 2* (1987): 15-33.

²⁶ Machiel Kiel. "Pravadi" in *TDVIA*. idem "The heart of Bulgaria: population and settlement history of the districts of Provadija, Novi Pazar and Shoumen from the late-Middle Ages till the end of the Ottoman period." in Bayrak, *Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri Sempozyumu*, 15-38.

Karınabad (mod. Karnobat)²⁷, Ruşcuk (mod. Ruse)²⁸, Ziştovi (mod. Svishtov)²⁹, İvraca (mod. Vratsa), Samokov³⁰ etc.

3. *Byzantino-Bulgarian cities that have been entirely repopulated and recreated by the Ottomans.* They had predominantly Muslim population and their space was completely remodeled in accordance with the ‘Ottoman tradition’. This group fits well in the thesis of Barkan and represents cities with insignificant continuity in their urban development: Sofia³¹, Filibe (mod. Plovdiv)³², Eski Zağra (mod. Stara Zagora)³³, Yambol³⁴, Şumnu (mod. Shumen)³⁵, Köstendil³⁶, etc. The development of these cities

²⁷ Machiel Kiel. “The Vakıfname of Rakkas Sinan Beg in Karnobat (Karın-abad) and the Ottoman Colonization of Bulgarian Thrace (14th-15th Century).” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 1 (1980): 15-31. Elena Grozdanova. “Karnobat i Karnobatskia kray prez XV-XVIII v. in Delcho Todorov (ed.), *Istoriya i kultura na Karnobatskiya kray* vol. 3 (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1993), 5-28; Kiel, *Urban Development*, 92-93.

²⁸ Teodora Bakardjieva. “Ruse and the Ruse Region in the Context of Demographic Processes in the Lower Danube Region.” in Bayrak, *Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri Sempozyumu*, 39-48; Teodora Bakardjieva and Stoyan Yordanov. *Ruse: prostranstvo i istoriya (kraya na XIV v. – 70-te godini na XIX v.). Gradoustroystvo, infrastruktura, obekti* (Ruse: Avangardprint, 2001); Rumen Kovachev. “Novi svedeniya za Ruse i selishtata v Rusensko ot Istanbulskia osmanski arhiv (XVI i XVII v.)” in Evgeni Radoshev, Zara Kostova and Valeri Stoyanov (eds.), *Studia in Honorem Professoris Verae Mutafchieva* (Sofia: Amicitia, 2001), 225-240; Kiel, “Urban Development”, 102-105.

²⁹ Machiel Kiel. “Svishtov i rayonät prez XV-XIX vek. Poselishtna istoriya, istoricheska demografiya i posleditsite ot voynite v edna ravninna oblast na Dunavska Bălgariya.” in Rossitsa Gradeva (ed.), *Sădbata na myusulmanskite obshtnosti na Balkanite*, vol. 7 (Sofia: IMIR, 2001), 547-570. Mariyana Drumeva. “Demografsko-ikonomichekiyat oblik na Svishtov do nachaloto na Bălgarskoto Văzraždane.” *Dialog* 4 (2010): 45-78.

³⁰ Rumen Kovachev. *Samokov i samokovskata kaza prez XVI vek, spored opisi ot Istanbulskia osmanski arhiv* (Sofia: Narodna Biblioteka “Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiy”, 2001); Machiel Kiel. “Samakov” in *TDVIA*.

³¹ Svetlana Ivanova. “Sofia” in *EF*. Kiel, “Urban Development”, 116-121.

³² For detailed bibliography on Filibe (Plovdiv) see Chapter Two.

³³ Boykov, “Balkan City or Ottoman City”, 74-75; Kiel, “Urban Development”, 91-92.

³⁴ Kiel, “Urban Development”, 89-91.

³⁵ Machiel Kiel. “Şumnu” in *TDVIA*; Nikolay Antov. *Imperial Expansion, Colonization, and Conversion to Islam in the Islamic World’s ‘Wilds West’: the Formation of the Muslim Community in Ottoman Deliorman (N. E. Bulgaria), 15th – 16th cc.* (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2011), 310-330.

³⁶ Machiel Kiel. “Ottoman Kyustendil in the 15th and 16th Centuries. Ottoman Administrative Documents from the Turkish Archives versus Myths and Assumptions in the Work of Jordan Ivanov.” *Izvestiya na Istoricheskiya Muzey - Kyustendil* 5 (1993): 141-169.

and the drastic change of their urban structure was either a result of the purposeful state policy or due to the architectural patronage of high ranking Ottoman dignitaries.

4. *Ottoman cities that have been created ex nihilo either by the Ottoman sultans or by other prominent figures who may have been executing the will of the central power, but also may have been attempting to promote their own estates (power-bases) not necessarily in accordance with the will of the central authority.* This group also corresponds to Barkan's thesis with the only notable difference that he attributed the emergence of all towns to the will of the sultans. The importance of the towns created by the mighty border commanders (the *akıncı uc beyis*), who often did not act in agreement with the central power clearly deserve explicit attention: İhtiman³⁷, Plevne (mod. Pleven)³⁸, Hezargrad (mod. Razgrad)³⁹, Tatar Pazarcık (mod. Pazardžik)⁴⁰, Cisr-i Mustafa Paşa (mod. Svilengrad), Harmanlı (mod. Harmanli)⁴¹, Hasköy (mod. Haskovo)⁴², Karlova (mod. Karlovo)⁴³, Kazanlık⁴⁴ and Yenice-i Zağra (mod. Nova Zagora)⁴⁵, etc.

³⁷ Machiel Kiel. "İhtiman" in *TDVİA*, vol. 21; idem. "Four Provincial Imarets in the Balkans and the Sources About Them" in Nina Ergin, Christoph Neumann and A. Singer (eds.), *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 2007), 97-120; Rumen Kovachev. "Opisi za istoriyata na grad Ihtiman ot XVI-XVII vek." in Svetlana Ivanova (ed.), *Etnicheski i kulturni prostranstva na Balkanite. Chast I: Minaloto – istoricheski rakursi* (Sofia: Universitetsko Izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 2008), 226-243.

³⁸ Machiel Kiel. "Plevna" in *EF*; Kiel, "Urban Development", 108-112. Rumen Kovachev. "Novi osmanoturski opisi za selishtata i naselenieto v Plevensko prez pãrvata polovina na XVI vek." in Mihail Grãncharov (ed.), *730 godini grad Pleven i myastoto mu v natsionalnata istoriya i kultura* (Pleven: Regionalen Istoricheski Muzey, 2002), 99-139.

³⁹ Machiel Kiel. "Hrazgrad-Hezargrad-Razgrad: The Vicissitudes of a Turkish Town in Bulgaria (Historical, Demographical, Economic and Art Historical Notes)." *Turcica* 21-23 (1991): 495-562. Antov, Ottoman Deliorman, 282-309.

⁴⁰ For detailed bibliography on Tatar Pazarcık (Pazardžik) see Chapter Three.

⁴¹ Nedyalko Dimov (ed.), *Istoriya na grad Harmanli ot drevnostta do 1989 g.* (Sofia: Zlaten zmey, 2010), 51-75.

⁴² Sıddık Çalık. *Çirmen Sancağı Örneğinde Balkanlar'da Osmanlı Düzeni (15.-16. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara: Bosna-Hersek Dostları Vakfı, 2005), 79-83, 166-167; Şahin-Emecen-Halaçođlu. "Turkish Settlements in

5. *Pre-Ottoman Byzantine or Bulgarian towns that remained almost unaffected by Turkish colonization or religious conversion.* They preserved almost exclusively their Christian population and the Islamic architecture had insignificant impact on their development: İstanimaka (mod. Asenovgrad)⁴⁶, Mehomiye (mod. Razlog)⁴⁷, etc.

6. *New towns that developed to a great degree spontaneously, emerging from villages.* Some of them growing very quickly, others expanding slowly in a long-lasting process. They had mostly Muslim population, but very modest presence of Islamic architecture: Hacıoğlu Pazarı (mod. Dobrich)⁴⁸, Osman Pazarı (mod. Omurtag)⁴⁹, Eski Cuma' (mod. Tărgovishte)⁵⁰, Yeni Pazarı (mod. Novi Pazar), Selvi (mod. Sevlievo)⁵¹, Yenice-i Çırpan (mod. Chirpan)⁵², Dupniçe (mod. Dupnitsa)⁵³, etc.

7. *Towns that developed mostly spontaneously in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emerging from Bulgarian villages due to a*

Rumelia”, 38-40; 491. Yusuf Halaçoğlu. “XVI. Asırda Çirmen Sancağı’nın Sosyal ve Demografik Tarihi.” in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi Ankara: 22-26 Eylül 1986, Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. 4 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 1795-1801; Ivan Dobrev. *Haskovo v minaloto: Srednovekovie i Văzraždane, dokumentalni statii* (Haskovo: u.p., 1992).

⁴³ For detailed bibliography on Karlova (Karlovo) see Chapter Five.

⁴⁴ Machiel Kiel. “Kazanlık” in *TDVİA*, vol. 25; Çalık, Çirmen Sancağı, 83-85, 1667-168.

⁴⁵ Çalık, Çirmen Sancağı, 85-87.

⁴⁶ Grigor Boykov. Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace: A Case Study on Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık, and İstanimaka (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara, 2004), 90-100.

⁴⁷ Grigor Boykov. “Sădbata na Razložkata kotlovina v usloviyata na osmanska vlast.” in Alexander Grebenarov et al. (eds.), *Razlog, istoriya, traditsii, pamet* (Blagoevgrad: Irin-Pirin, 2009), 53-78.

⁴⁸ Strashimir Dimitrov et al. (eds.), *Istoriya na grad Tolbuhin* (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1968).

⁴⁹ Krasimira Mutafova, Mariya Kalitsin and Stefan Andreev. *Izvori za istoriyata na grad Omurtag. Tom 1: Osmanski dokumenti XV-XVIII v.* (Veliko Tărnovo: Faber, 2009).

⁵⁰ Machiel Kiel. Eski Cuma (Tărgovište)” in *TDVİA*; idem. “Urban Development”, 112-114; Antov, Ottoman Deliorman, 342-350.

⁵¹ Machiel Kiel. “La diffusion de l’Islam dans les campagnes bulgares à l’époque ottomane (XVe-XIXe s): colonisation et conversion.” *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 66:1 (1992): 39-53.

⁵² Çalık, Çirmen Sancağı, 87-88, 170-172.

⁵³ Hristo Matanov. *Văznikvane i oblik na Kyustendilski sandžak* (Sofia: IF-94, 2000), 110-136; Kiel, “Urban Development”, 123-125.

favorable taxation regime and the concentration of certain crafts and industries there: Dryanovo, Gabrovo⁵⁴, Tryavna⁵⁵, Elena, Kotel, Teteven⁵⁶, Zlatitsa⁵⁷, Koprivshtitsa, Panagyurishte, Kalofer, etc.

8. The last group can probably unite the *towns from the medieval Bulgarian period, which in Ottoman times declined and were reduced to villages, or even disappeared: Çernovi (Cherven – a seat of Orthodox metropolitan in pre-Ottoman times)⁵⁸, Kaliakra and Karvuna (important towns of the north Black Sea coast in the late Middle Ages, capitals of the so-called despotate of Dobrudža)⁵⁹, Rahova (important medieval port town on the Danube, sacked by the crusader army in 1396), etc.*

The eight groups mentioned above, marking the main trends of urban development in Ottoman Bulgaria, are certainly far from being exhaustive and only designate the processes at a very large scale. Indicating the specificities of the transition of the individual towns from Bulgarian/Byzantine to Ottoman power each of the groups can be expanded with a multitude of sub-divisions that will represent better the development of the cities in Bulgaria under Ottoman rule. When the specificities of the

⁵⁴ Rumen Kovachev. "Naselenieto na Gabrovo ot sredata na XV do kraya na XVII v. Demografski aspekti i imenna sistema." *Istoricheski Pregled* 2 (1991): 52-63.

⁵⁵ Machiel Kiel. "Zur Gründung und Frühgeschichte der Stadt Trjavna in Bulgarien. Unbenützte osmanische administrative Quellen aus den Archiven von Istanbul, Ankara und Sofia über Gründung und Entwicklung Trjavnas 1565-1702. Ein Beitrag zur Entmythologisierung der Geschichte Bulgariens." *Münchener Zeitschrift für Balkankunde* 7-8 (1991): 191-218.

⁵⁶ Bistra Cvetkova. "Teteven i tetevensko prez osmanskoto vladichestvo." in Ivan Undžiev (ed.), *Teteven* (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1977), 26-41.

⁵⁷ Machiel Kiel. "Īzladi/Zlatitsa: Population Changes, Colonisation and Islamisation in a Bulgarian Mountain Canton, 15th-19th centuries." in Radushev, *Studia in Honorem Professoris Verae Mutafčieva*, 175-187.

⁵⁸ Antov, Ottoman Deliorman, 331-342; Stoyan Yordanov. "Arheologicheski svidetelstva za grad Cherven ot osmanskia period." *Izvestiya na Regionalniya Istoricheski Muzey – Ruse* 9 (2005): 124-131; idem. "Episkopskata rezidentsia v Cherven prez rannia osmanski period." *Arheologia* 47 (2006): 78-88.

⁵⁹ Georgi Atanasov. *Dobrudžanskoto despotstvo: kām politicheskata, tžakovnata, stopanskata i kulturnata istoriya na Dobrudža prez XIV vek* (Veliko Tärново: Faber, 2009) and the rich bibliography included in this study.

entire Balkan Peninsula are taken into account the picture of the development of the Ottoman cities in the region turns even more diverse, but with a few notable supplements (towns under special regulations like the mining centers, the Dalmatian cities, etc.) the framework presented above can certainly be applied in the attempts of drawing a more general picture of the appearance of the Balkan city in Ottoman times. Undoubtedly, this is by far not an easy task since as rightfully pointed by Edhem, Goffman, and Masters many studies on cities in the Ottoman Balkans have been published, but they are often using different techniques and most notably they are written in virtually all local languages.⁶⁰

1.3. “Ottomanizing” the space: was there an Ottoman program for remodeling the cities?

As important as it is, the fact that the development of the cities in the Ottoman Balkans varied from an uninterrupted continuity of the existing Byzantino-Slavic infrastructure to a complete modification and recreation of the urban centers, however, does not cast much light on the question of how the Ottomans changed the space of the existing cities that they chose to modify. Was there a repetitive pattern that can be regarded as a program or a system for ‘Ottomanizing’ the cities that they mastered? In case Ottoman program for modifying the space of some of the conquered cities indeed

⁶⁰ Eldem, Goffman, Masters, *The Ottoman City Between East and West*, 8, note 16.

existed what was the driving force that inspired the change? Was it always the will of the almighty Ottoman rulers, as suggested by Barkan, or there were other important factors and players too? Lastly, was the program for changing the spatial order of the pre-Ottoman cities also employed when the Ottomans came to create cities on their own? Answering these questions, may it be partially, is of primary importance for this study, since it deals with the urban development of settlements that have been either completely recreated or were established *ex nihilo* in the Ottoman period.

Evidently the way in which the Ottomans built their cities, or remodeled the inherited ones was not static, but it was a rather complex system that changed with time and was naturally influenced by a number of factors. Nevertheless, the scholarship to date seems to agree on the fact that in Ottomans' perception the Turko-Balkan cities of their realm (or at least the larger and important centers) must have had a big congregational Friday mosque (in majority of the cases a sultanic establishment) and a clearly defined market area (*çarşı*). As much as this opinion seems valid it appears that it only reflects a later stage of the development of the Ottoman urbanizing concept. In its nascent period, i.e. when the Ottomans took possession of the first larger Byzantine urban centers in Bithynia and made their first steps on Balkan soil, they sought to propagate their supremacy over the city through the construction of a different type of building, a T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviye* (for want of a better term) placed out of the confines of the walled parts of these cities.

The multifunctional buildings that had a floor plan of reversed "T" were variously referred to in their dedicatory inscriptions, endowment deeds, and other

contemporary sources by terms such as *imaret*, *zaviye*, or *tekke* sometimes used interchangeably even in a single source. Entrusted to sheikhs, they combined in a single structure an elevated oratory in an either vaulted or a domed open space (*eyvan*), a domed central hall, and two to four side-rooms/guestrooms (*tabhanes*) that were equipped with fire places, shelves for storing personal belongings, etc. The *tabhanes* that served as temporary lodging facilities were usually accessed through the central hall or specially designed vestibule, but also in a multitude of cases doors opening at the lateral facades provided direct access from outside. The domed central hall and the adjacent prayer *eyvan* laid on the same axis, but were purposely divided in elevation. In most cases the oratory stood about a meter higher from the ground level and was accessed through several steps. Special niches, meant to hold the shoes of the worshippers (*pabuçluks*) that were placed near the stairs, clearly indicate that the only part of these buildings that was originally carpeted and therefore used for prayers was actually the elevated *eyvan* while the rest of the space must have been used for other purposes.⁶¹

The exact functions of these building are still debated in scholarly works but one may fairly safely assume that on the one hand, they provided ritual space while on the other, offered shelter to important travelers and esteemed itinerant dervishes such as

⁶¹ On the spatial arrangement and architectural layout of these buildings, referred to differently in the related scholarship as “T-type mosques”, “eyvan mosques (cross axial mosques)”, “mosques with zaviyes”, “Bursa-type mosques”, etc. see Aptullah Kuran. *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 71-135; Semavi Eyice. “İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-içtimai Müessesesi Zâviyeler ve Zâviyeli-camiler.” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23: 1-2 (1962-963): 3-80; Sedat Emir. *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok-işlevli Yapılar: Kentsel Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zâviyeler*, vols. 1-2 (Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994); Doğan Kuban. *Osmanlı Mimarisi* (Istanbul: Yem Yayın, 2007), 75-122. For an up-do-date survey of the standing T-shaped buildings and a detailed discussion of the existing literature see Zeynep Oğuz. *Multi-functional Buildings of T-type in Ottoman Context: a Network of Identity and Territorialization*. (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2006).

Otman Baba for example. In many instances they also functioned as convents of influential Anatolian and Rumelian mystics. Recent studies argued that in some cases the T-shaped multifunctional buildings were used as housing by the mighty border commanders (such as Evrenos Bey) and were only subsequently transformed into charitable institutions (*imarets*) that distributed food to poor and clearly defined clientele.

It is difficult to trace the building type that was the exact architectural predecessor of the T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviyes* of the Ottomans. Recent scholarship maintains that the older view, according to which the T-shaped buildings originated from the four-*eyvan* Turkic *medreses* in Central Asia⁶², falls short in explaining the phenomenon and points that the persistent element of these buildings is comprised of two spaces of different elevation that makes the parallel with the dervish lodges (*hankâhs*) of the Ilkhanid period Anatolia more plausible.⁶³ In any case this type of buildings emerged together with the Ottoman state and their construction was almost exclusively restricted to the Ottoman realm.⁶⁴ In Sedat Emir's view the T-shaped multifunctional buildings followed an evolutionary development from the Anatolian Sufi convents and also served as "urban colonizers".⁶⁵

The fact that after the Mongol invasion in Anatolia in the mid-thirteenth century the centralized authority of the Seljuk sultans was replaced with that of the local aristocratic elites, who acted to a great extent as independent rulers and accordingly

⁶² Eyice, "Zâviyeler ve Zâviyeli-camiler", 14-17; Kuran, *The Mosque*, 72-77.

⁶³ Emir, *Çok-işlevli Yapılar*, vol. 1, 15-16; Oğuz, *Multi-functional Buildings of T-type*, 18-20.

⁶⁴ The spread of this type of buildings in the Anatolian principalities is likely to be after an Ottoman influence: Germiyanoglu Yakub Çelebi in Kütahya (1411), Candaroğlu/İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey in Kastamonu (1454); Uzun Hasan in Malatya (second half of the 15th c.), etc. Eyice, "Zâviyeler ve Zâviyeli-camiler", 32-51; Oğuz, *Multi-functional Buildings of T-type*, 14-16.

⁶⁵ Emir, *Çok-işlevli Yapılar*, vol. 1, 15.

sought representation, makes Emir's hypothesis about the role of the T-shaped buildings in remodeling urban landscape quite viable. Howard Crane and Ethel Sara Wolper argued that the dramatic changes in political power of the mid-thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Anatolia resulted in a significant shift in patronage patterns, in which powerful local *emirs* replaced the sultans as principal sponsors of architecture.⁶⁶ Moreover, not only the central authority gave way to the local elites as principal patrons of architecture in the cities of Central and Eastern Asia Minor, but also the types of the supported institutions changed drastically. Rather than building fortifications, mosques, or caravanserais, the local lords focused their patronage on *medreses*, tombs of Sufi saints, and – most notably – dervish lodges.⁶⁷ It appears that the local *emirs* sought to transform the hierarchy of city space and to modify the existing spatial order through a conscious attempt to shift the urban core away from the old Seljuk centre.⁶⁸ The instrument of this urban transformation was the patronage of dervish lodges built near city gates or market areas. They seem to have manifested the newly established alliance between the local rulers and the itinerant Anatolian dervishes, who had enormous influence over the local Turcoman population alienated from the Sunni practices promoted by the Seljuk central power.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Howard Crane. "Notes on Saldjûq Architectural Patronage in Thirteenth Century Anatolia." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36: 1 (1993): 1-57; Ethel Sara Wolper. *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

⁶⁷ Ethel Sara Wolper. "Politics of Patronage: Political Change and the Construction of Dervish Lodges in Sivas." *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 39-47.

⁶⁸ Wolper, "Politics of Patronage", 41-43.

⁶⁹ Wolper, "Politics of Patronage", 40-41.

The first Ottoman rulers, essentially no different than any local Anatolian *emir* of that time, inherited the established tradition in seeking representation through architectural patronage that aimed at changing the existing spatial order of the cities.⁷⁰ The notable difference between Osman Gazi (1299-1324) and his son Orhan (1324-1362) and the rest of the local rulers of Anatolia was the fact that the Ottoman state emerged at the edge of the then Muslim world and its territorial expansion was only directed toward Byzantium. Consequently the Byzantine cities that fell in Ottoman hands completely lacked the Seljuk base of their eastern counterparts therefore the rulers from the emerging dynasty of Osman seized cities built in accordance with different urban tradition and spatial order. The Ottomans had to introduce the first Islamic symbols into previously entirely Christian environment of the Bithynian cities revived during the Laskarids rule of the Nicaean Empire. It seems that it was in this very early formative period that the Ottoman rulers proved skilled enough in establishing a compromising existential mode between the two seemingly confronting sides under the rulership of the house of Osman. These were the frontier elite warriors, who embraced *gaza* (holy war against the infidels and misbelievers) as their leading ideology, the *ahi* brotherhoods, and the wandering dervishes, who dominated the spiritual life of the Turcoman subjects that roughly made the Muslim strata in the then Ottoman society on the one hand and the

⁷⁰ For recent overview of the architectural changes that took place in the post-Seljuk Anatolian principalities (*beyliks*) see Howard Crane. "Art and Architecture." in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume I: Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 266-277.

local non-Muslim population of the conquered towns and cities of Asia Minor on the other.⁷¹

It was in this early stage that the Ottomans adopted a distinct way for remodeling the Byzantine cities, which shifted the hierarchy of space and embodied a statement of permanency of the ruling dynasty. A repetitive pattern that can be observed in most urban centers reshaped by the Ottomans provides a firm ground in portraying the efforts of the rulers of the Ottoman state in this direction as a purposeful program in which the multifunctional T-shaped buildings played a key role. On the one hand, the conquerors installed themselves within the walled parts of the Byzantine cities, where in the majority of the cases a cathedral church was converted to a Friday mosque, thus not only providing the Muslim congregation with a place for worship, but also displaying the triumph of Islam. Soon after this act several smaller mosques (*mahalle mescids*) and a bathhouse (*hamam*), needed for the ritual ablutions, were also established in the walled parts of the larger cities. These changes, however, as drastic as they may seem at a first glance, did not have a significant impact over the inherited spatial order. The important difference, on the other hand, was made with the erection of a multifunctional T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* the construction of which in the majority of the cases has begun simultaneously or shortly after the conquest of the city. These buildings, as a rule, were placed outside the confines of the Byzantine citadel and were built in close relation to other buildings such as soup kitchens (*imarets*), baths, *medreses*, etc. and were even

⁷¹ Certainly the picture of the border society in the early Ottoman state is by far more complex. See Cemal Kafadar. *Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

often fenced by a protective wall. The location where the first Ottoman buildings that ‘colonized’ the space beyond the protected parts of the city was always selected with utmost care. Organically integrated in city’s topography the complexes of the T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* extended the Ottoman presence to previously unoccupied areas and set the direction for expansion of the Muslim city. Ideally these complexes were meant to shift the focus of economic life in the city. Supplemented by commercial infrastructure the quarters that emerged around the earliest T-shaped buildings were often subsequently transformed into new urban core and main market district (*çarşı*) of the expanding Muslim city. The erection of a large imperial mosque (*Ulu Cami*) on this spot sanctioned the completion of the process of transformation and the materialization of a fully developed Ottoman model for a new commercial core in the remodeled city. Once the central part was established new complexes of T-shaped buildings defined the outer boundaries of the Ottoman city. Depending on the city’s magnitude one or up to a dozen of T-shaped buildings, placed at the important road arteries, surrounded the new urban core. Extending the Ottoman architectural presence to outlying uninhabited areas the T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* became the key mechanism for encouraging urban growth in the preferred direction. Moreover, they must have also played the role of a dignified preview of the city for those coming in, therefore whenever their patrons were the rulers they were lavishly decorated imposing structures. While the patronage of *Ulu Camis*, which marked the new urban core in a sound display of the triumph of Islam over Christian lands remained reserved for the Ottoman rulers, the construction of T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* was by no means only a sultanic prerogative. On the contrary, the

tradition of the early sultans in establishing bridgeheads in a predominantly Christian environment through the erection of T-shaped multifunctional buildings was adopted by the people who constituted the driving force of the Ottoman advance in the Balkans, the border raider commanders, and implemented in the zones under their influence.

Looking for practical examples in support of the framework that was set forth above, one must simply follow the Ottoman advance in Western Asia Minor and the Balkans and trace in chronological order the erection of the principal Ottoman buildings in the conquered cities. Examining the structures that focused the patronage of the sultans and other grandees in consecutive sequence, regardless whether they are standing or are now lost, reveals quite clearly the Ottoman program for remodeling the inherited urban space. After the conquest of Bursa in 1326⁷², for instance, Orhan converted the Byzantine monastery of St. Elias, located inside the castle (today's Tophane), and laid his father's body in a baptistery there (later to become known as *Gümüşlü Kümbet*). He also constructed a royal residence for himself, a small mosque and a bath in the approximate vicinity of the *saray* (1337) as about the same time several other *mahalle mescids* were erected within the walled city.⁷³ Once settled within the stronghold of Bursa, Orhan commissioned a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* (completed in 1339-1340) along

⁷² On the lengthy blockade and conquest of Bursa see Halil İnalcık. "Osmanlı Beyliğini Kurucusu Osman Beg." *Bellekten* 71:261 (2007): 479-537; idem. "Osmanlı Sultanı Orhan (1324-1362): Avrupa'da Yerleşme." *Bellekten* 73:266 (2009): 77-107. Cf. Heath Lowry. *Ottoman Bursa in travel accounts* (Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana: Ottoman & Modern Turkish Studies Publications, 2003).

⁷³ Albert Gabriel. *Une capitale turque Brousse-Bursa* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958), 23-51; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimârisinin İlk Devri, 630-805 (1230-1402)* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası), 58-89. The mosque of Orhan is likely to have been replaced by the Şehadet Cami, built by Murad I. Orhan's much debated dedicatory inscription sits above the entrance of this mosque, but due to the nineteenth-century restoration today the mosque preserved little from the original look of Murad I's structure. See Heath Lowry. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press), 33-44 for detailed bibliography and discussion to date. For a brief survey of early Ottoman architecture in Bursa see Crane, "Art and Architecture", 276-277.

with several other service buildings on empty, flat terrain only a few hundred meters east of the elevated citadel (today's Taşkapı district).⁷⁴ Contrary to Gabriel's argument that the growing Muslim population of Bursa must have caused the construction of Orhan's complex, it was rather the T-shaped multifunctional building that gathered settlers for a new Muslim urban core.⁷⁵ It seems apparent that Orhan aimed at establishing a new Muslim institution on previously unoccupied and, what at the time must have appeared, isolated location. The protective wall, which fenced the complex of Orhan, clearly attests to this fact.

The program of Orhan for expanding the boundaries of Ottoman Bursa outside the citadel apparently was very successful. Orhan's successor Murad I and his tutor Lala Şahin contributed for the consolidation of the new market district and erected commercial infrastructure of primary importance for its development: the *Kapan hanı* and the so-called *Bezir hanı*, which is no longer extant.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the final mark on the urban landscape that truly elevated the area east of the citadel as Bursa's new commercial core came into sight only seven decades after the Ottomans seized the city. Celebrating the triumph of Islam over the crusading army lead by king Sigismund (1387-1437) at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396, Bayezid I (1389-1402) commissioned the

⁷⁴ Apart from the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, Orhan's complex included a *medrese* demolished in the nineteenth century to create space for the city hall in Bursa, an *imaret*, which stood until the 1950s, the so-called Bey Hanı, and a *hamam* whose male section survived and is known today as Aynalı Çarşı. The complex was sacked by the Karamanid Emir Mehmed Beg in 1413 and repaired/rebuilt by Bayezid Paşa, the vizier of Mehmed I (1413-1421), in 1417. Emir, Çok-işlevli Yapılar, vol. 2, 18-50. Gabriel, Une capitale turque, 43.

⁷⁵ Gabriel, Une capitale turque, 43. For further details on Bursa's spatial, demographic and economic development see the fine study of Özer Ergenç. *XVI. XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa: Yerleşimi, Yönetimi, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Durumu Üzerine Bir Araştırma* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006).

⁷⁶ *Bezir hanı*, built by Lala Şahin Paşa in the second half of the fourteenth century stood until the early 1900s when damaged by a great fire in the commercial district it was demolished.

enormous *Ulu Cami'* of Bursa. The monumentality of this imperial mosque clearly indicates not only the increasing importance of the most significant urban center of the Ottomans at that time, but it also embodied the claim of the dynasty for permanent rulership over the lands that formerly belonged to Christendom.⁷⁷

The efforts to promote the new urban core did not undermine the tendency of expanding the space of Bursa. Once more the T-shaped multifunctional buildings and their complexes were used by the Ottoman rulers as colonizers that stretched the territory of the city. In 1365-1366 Orhan's son Murad I commissioned such a complex located about two kilometers west of the citadel of Bursa in the then rather isolated and remote suburb of Çekirge. Three decades later his successor Bayezid I also completed a complex centered on a T-shape *imaret/zaviye*, thus setting the northeastern boundaries of the city. Standing east of the stream Gökdere, one and a half kilometers distant from the center, at the time of its construction the so-called Yıldırım complex must have appeared as distant and isolated as the one of his father in Çekirge. After the turbulent decade following Bayezid I's defeat at the battle of Ankara (1402) Mehmed I manifested the consolidation of his rulership by becoming a patron of one of the richest T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* complexes (in regard of decoration or ornamentation) that was ever constructed by the Ottomans (1419-1421). The magnificent Yeşil complex, centered on a massive T-shaped building with two *tabhanes* on each side, was also placed at a considerable distance from the urban core of Bursa and the very new at that time great

⁷⁷ Further details on the spatial arrangement of Bursa in the first centuries of Ottoman rule in Aptullah Kuran. "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul." *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 114-131; Oya Pancaroğlu. "Architecture, Landscape, and Patronage in Bursa: The Making of an Ottoman Capital City." *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20:1 (1995): 40-55.

mosque. More than a kilometer southeast of *Ulu Cami'*, the complex of Mehmed I was certainly built on an empty spot on the eastern bank of the Gökdere.

The latest T-shaped building in Bursa, subject to royal patronage, was Murad II's complex, located west of the citadel, more than one and a half kilometers distant from the city center. It was built between 1424 and 1428 and just like the complex of his father it must have been meant to celebrate the triumph of Murad II over the pretenders for the throne. Tracing the rest of the T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* in Bursa, built by Ottoman dignitaries such as Timurtaş Paşa (1404), Baba İshak/Ebu İshak Kazeruni (restored by Mehmed II in 1479, but certainly much earlier establishment), and Hamza Bey (1461), one can clearly envisage a well pronounced circle with the great mosque of Bayezid I and the urban core in its center and a multitude of complexes centered on T-shaped buildings placed in the periphery.⁷⁸

Bursa's development was by all means exceptional, because it focused the attention and architectural patronage of virtually all Ottoman sultans prior to the conquest of Constantinople. Nevertheless, the pattern of Bursa's spatial development can also be observed in many other localities, which certainly bespeaks of an established system (or more precisely of a system in a process of developing) used by the Ottomans for remodeling the space of the conquered cities. When Nicaea (İznik) fell into Ottoman hands in 1331⁷⁹, apart from converting the church of St. Sophia that was located in the core of the city immediately after the conquest, Orhan ordered the construction of a T-

⁷⁸ See Oğuz, *Multi-functional Buildings of T-type*, 112-115 for a complete list of T-shaped buildings and the plans of Bursa included in Gabriel.

⁷⁹ Halil İnalçık. "The struggle between Osman Gazi and the Byzantines for Nicaea." in Işıl Akbaygil et al (eds.), *İznik throughout history* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2003), 59-83.

shaped *imaret/zaviye* outside the fortified Byzantine city, next to the Yenişehir Gate on the road toward Bursa. Oktay Aslanapa, who excavated the now ruined *imaret* and bath of Orhan in an olive-tree forest near Yenişehir Gate, claims that the complex was commissioned by Orhan even prior to the conquest of İznik⁸⁰. This view, also shared by other respectful scholars, seems to conflict the available sources. On the one hand, the unearthed dedicatory plate of the *imaret* provides the date 1335, i.e. four years after the conquest, on the other - the narrative tradition also seems to agree with this fact.⁸¹ According to the chronicler Aşıkpaşazade, when Orhan seized the city he converted the Great church into a Friday mosque, a monastery was made a *medrese* and at the exit of Yenişehir gate he commissioned an *imaret*, which was entrusted to Hacı Hasan, a disciple of sheikh Ede Bali.⁸² When the building of the *imaret* was completed, Orhan served the first meal with his own hands on the night of its opening, which clearly indicates the great significance of the earliest Ottoman establishment in İznik.⁸³

Placing the T-shaped building outside the fortified city demonstrates the aspiration of Orhan to leave a visible imprint on the urban landscape, just as he will do

⁸⁰ Oktay Aslanapa. "İznik'te Sultan Orhan İmâret Câmii Kazısı 1963-1964." *Sanat Tarihi Yılığ* (1964-1965): 16-31; idem. "Turkish Architecture at Iznik." in Akbaygil, *Iznik throughout history*, 223-226.

⁸¹ The dedicatory inscription was found broken into pieces in the course of the excavations as parts of it are missing. Nevertheless, the date Şevval 735 A.H. (1335) can be undoubtedly deduced. Abdülhamit Tüfekçioğlu. *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Yazı* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001), 19-22.

⁸² According to the narrative tradition Ede Bali, a prominent figure from Vefa'i-Baba'i mystical order was a father-in-law of Orhan's father Osman Gazi. Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 128-129.

⁸³ *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi. Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. Ed. by Ali Bey (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Amire, 1332/1916), 42-43: "He [Orhan Gazi] established an *imaret* (soup kitchen) at the edge of the Yenişehir Gate [...] When the doors of the *imaret* were first opened and its first food prepared, it was distributed by the blessed hands of Orhan Gazi himself. He served as the *imaret's* apprentice on the opening evening." Translation quoted after Heath Lowry. "The 'Soup Muslims' of the Balkans: Was There a 'Western' and 'Eastern' Ottoman Empire." in Donald Quataert and Baki Tezcan (eds.), *Beyond Dominant Paradigms in Ottoman and the Middle Eastern/North African Studies: A Tribute to Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj. Special issue of Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 36 (2010), 102-104.

four years later in his capital Bursa.⁸⁴ What makes İznik quite different from Bursa is the enormous size of the fortified city. It seems that Ottomans never managed to provide enough settlers for the large territory of the Hellenistic city, enclosed by a double wall.⁸⁵ In spite of this fact it seems that the Ottoman method for colonizing the space was still implemented. The only notable difference was that in this case the Ottomans had to colonize the empty space lying between the walls of the sizable city and the converted cathedral of St. Sophia that naturally fulfilled the role of the main congregational mosque in the urban core.⁸⁶ It was Orhan's son Murad I who commissioned the next T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* near the eastern gate of the city. Commemorating his royal mother Murad I's spectacular Nilüfer *imareti* in İznik was completed in May 1388.⁸⁷ About that time the son of Murad I, Yakub Çelebi also completed a T-shaped multifunctional building that was placed at the southern edge of the city.⁸⁸ The location of these buildings shows that in the second half of the fourteenth century the largest part of the city remained unoccupied, therefore expansion beyond the city walls was not only

⁸⁴ Two more T-shaped buildings in the region are associated with Orhan. He commissioned a *zaviye* for Postinpuş Baba (prior to 1348) near the town of Yenişehir and an *imaret* in the town of Bilecik (most likely 1330s), seized earlier by his father Osman Gazi. Both of the buildings had extramural location. For details see Oğuz, Multi-functional Buildings of T-type, 21-23. On the functions of some of these early Ottoman establishments in the region see Heath Lowry. "Random Musings on the Origins of Ottoman Charity: From Mekece to Bursa, İznik and Beyond." in Nina Ergin, Christoph Neumann and Amy Singer (eds.), *Feeding People, Feeding Power. Imares in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 2007), 69-79.

⁸⁵ Heath Lowry. "Ottoman İznik (Nicaea): Through the Eyes of Travelers & as Recorded in Administrative Documents, 1331-1923." in idem. *Defterology Revisited: Studies on the 15th & 16th Century Ottoman Society* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 2008), 109-209.

⁸⁶ İznik is not unique in this respect. A century later when the Ottomans established control over the second largest city of the medieval Balkans, Thessaloniki (Selânik), they faced a very similar spatial issue. However, unlike İznik that never regained its population, Selânik was a densely populated metropolis throughout the Ottoman period and the inherited urban fabric was organically integrated by the Ottomans. Alexandra Yerolympos. *Urban Transformations in the Balkans (1820-1920): Aspects of Balkan Town Planning and the Remaking of Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996).

⁸⁷ Franz Teaschner. "Das Nilufer-'Imaret in Iznik und seine Bauinschrift". *Islam* 20 (1932): 127-137.

⁸⁸ Yakub Çelebi was killed by his brother Bayezid I on the battlefield of Kosovo, therefore the building must have been commissioned prior to 1389.

unnecessary, but also unthinkable. Orhan's *imaret* placed outside the city walls, as ambitious as it was, appears to have stayed somewhat too distant and it is probably not by mischance that it is the only T-shaped building in İznik that is not standing today. The *imaret/zaviyes* of Murad I and his son Yakub, together with a number of neighborhood mosques (some of them magnificent buildings patronized by Ottoman grandees such as the Çandarlıs, others of more modest nature like Hacı Özbek's) transformed the architectural order of İznik keeping a close tie with the inherited urban fabric.

Turning to the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans one can notice that the same repetitive pattern was implemented by the new masters on the European soil too. Very little is known about the changes that took place in Adrianople (Edirne) immediately after Murad I took possession of it in 1361.⁸⁹ Moreover, all the buildings he commissioned had an unfortunate fate and did not make it to the present day. Nevertheless, one can assert that like his father in İznik, Murad I converted a large church located in the walled part of the city into the mosque of Aya Sofya, thus displaying the triumph of Islam and providing the Muslim community with a Friday mosque. Promulgating Edirne as his capital, Murad I ordered the construction of a royal palace and a number of service buildings, which in fact must have been the first Ottoman establishments outside the walls of the old Byzantine Adrianople. However,

⁸⁹ The date of the conquest of Adrianople is debated, but the present work sides with Halil İnalçık. "The Conquest of Edirne (1361)." *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1971): 185-210. For other opinions, arguing for a later date of the fall of Adrianople into Ottoman hands, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr. "La conquête d'Andrianople par les Turcs: La pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomans." *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1965): 439-461; Elizabeth Zachariadou. "The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks" *Studi Veneziani* 22 (1970): 211-217; Aleksandır Burmov. "Türkler Edirne'yi ne Vakit Aldılar." *Bellesten* 13 (1949): 79-106.

neither the converted church of St. Sofia, photographed in the nineteenth century,⁹⁰ nor Murad I's palace, pulled down in the sixteenth century in order to clear out space for the construction of the magnificent Selimiye mosque, are extant today.⁹¹ At the turn of the fourteenth century Murad I's successor Bayezid I in a 'Bursa manner' placed a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* at a considerable distance from the walled parts thus stretching the Ottoman presence beyond Edirne's natural border – the Tunca River.⁹² Sultan Bayezid I's Edirne edifice certainly lacked the grandeur of his Bursa complex, built a few years earlier, but it set an important trend. More accurately this building rather transferred to European soil the Ottoman system for colonizing the urban space that was established in Anatolia in the preceding decades. In the course of the next forty years four more T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*-centered complexes commissioned respectively by Gazi Mihal (1421),⁹³ the *beylerbeyi* Yusuf Paşa (1429),⁹⁴ Sultan Murad II (1435)⁹⁵, and Mezid Bey (1441)⁹⁶ appeared at the outskirts of Edirne. Placed at the periphery of the city these buildings encircled the newly established Ottoman city while a new commercial core

⁹⁰ The Byzantine church of St. Sophia stood within the walled part of Edirne until the early twentieth century. For a recent study on this building and a reprint of the 1888 photograph taken by Gh. Léchine, Russian consul in the city, see Robert Ousterhout and Charalambos Bakirtzis. *The Byzantine monuments of the Evros/Meriç River Valley* (Thessaloniki: European Center for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments, 2007), 167-71.

⁹¹ Abdurrahman Hibrî. *Enisü'l-müsâmîrin: Edirne tarihi, 1360-1650*. Ed. Ratip Kazancıgil. (Edirne: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Yayınları, 1996), 14; Ayverdi, Osmanlı Mimârîsinin İlk Devri, 295.

⁹² Aptullah Kuran. "Edirne'de Yıldırım Camii." *Belleten* 27:111 (1964): 419-438; Ayverdi, Osmanlı mimârîsinin ilk devri, 484-494; Oktay Aslanapa. *Edirne'de Osmanlı Devri Abideleri* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1949), 2-6.

⁹³ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimârîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 806-855 (1403-1451)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1989²), 386-93; Kuran, The mosque, 86-87.

⁹⁴ Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 377-381; Kuran, The mosque, 89-90.

⁹⁵ Suheyl Ünver. "Edirne Mevlevihanesi Tarihine Giriş." in Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz (eds.), *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998), 623-627; Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 405-415; Kuran, The mosque, 124-125.

⁹⁶ Ratip Kazancıgil. *Edirne imaretleri* (İstanbul: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Yayınları, 1991), 45-49; Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 397-400; Kuran, The mosque, 126-127.

was also set out of the fortified Byzantine town. The growing importance of Edirne as a capital of the Ottoman state appealed for the construction of an imperial great mosque. It was commissioned by Bayezid I's sons in the first decade of the fifteenth century and thus imitating Bursa's development the commercial district of Edirne shifted to a new location outside the walled town.⁹⁷

Edirne's "Ottomanization" greatly resembles the transformation of Bursa in the fourteenth century. A new urban core emerged around an imperial mosque and several commercial buildings, while a number of T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* patronized by the rulers or high ranking dignitaries surrounded the city thus marking its outer boundaries. Two decades after Eski Cami' was completed Murad II commissioned a new imperial mosque in the central part of the city, the so-called Üç Şerefeli mosque, which not only elevated Edirne's magnitude, but also experimented with forms and revolutionized the design and construction techniques of the great imperial mosques of the Ottomans.⁹⁸

The function of the T-shaped buildings as the earliest 'colonizers' of the space beyond the walled parts of the towns seized by the Ottomans was adopted and widely used by the mighty *akıncı* commanders in the Balkans. These dynasties of elite warriors not only constituted the driving force of the Ottoman conquest in the region, but they also ruled and administered the territories under their control semi-autonomously. Recognizing the leadership of the house of Osman, the lords of the marches have naturally adopted the method of remodeling the urban order established by the ruling

⁹⁷ Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 150-162; Kuran, The mosque, 154-158.

⁹⁸ Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 422-62; Godfrey Goodwin. A History of the *Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003²), 97-102.

dynasty and implemented it in their own domains. For instance the leader of the Ottoman advance along the Aegean coast of Thrace and Macedonia, Gazi Evrenos Bey, commissioned and built a T-shaped multifunctional building soon after he seized the city of Gümülcine (mod. Komotini). The building located below the Byzantine citadel that is in fact the oldest standing Ottoman monument in the Balkans in all probability was used as a residence by Evrenos Bey prior he relocated his powerbase westward and the building begun its service as an *imaret*.⁹⁹ Likewise, the first Muslim buildings in Ottoman Üsküb (mod. Skopje), the capital of the modern state of Macedonia, were commissioned by the conqueror and actual master of the city – Paşa Yiğit Bey. Placing his buildings below the pre-Ottoman citadel Paşa Yiğit instigated a development of the Muslim city that replicated at a smaller scale the transformation of Bursa. The complex that reclaimed the territory lying beyond the citadel soon turned into a new commercial district, while the descendants of the conqueror commissioned new T-shaped buildings that stretched the boundaries of the Muslim city.¹⁰⁰

In Balkan context the T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* were used not only as colonizers of the space of the cities, transformed by the Ottoman rulers or the semi-independent

⁹⁹ Machiel Kiel. “The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans: the Imaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gümülcine (Komotini) and the Evrenos Bey Khan in the Village of Ilıca/Loutra in Greek Thrace (1370-1390).” *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 12 (1983): 117-138; Heath Lowry. *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: the Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2008), 41-47.

¹⁰⁰ On the building of Paşa Yiğit, also known as Meddah Baba Cami’, and his nearby bath and other service buildings, none of which remained standing today, see Lidiya Kumbaracı-Bogoyeviç. *Üsküp’te Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri* (İstanbul: ENKA, 2008), 168-171; Mustafa Özer. *Üsküp’te Türk Mimarisi (XIV.-XIX. yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006), 187-188; Gliša Elezović. *Turski spomenici u Skoplju* (Beograd: Rodoljub, 1927), 4-9. For an argument that the earliest establishment in Skopje was indeed a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* see Grigor Boykov. “Reshaping Urban Space in the Ottoman Balkans: a Study on the Architectural Development of Edirne, Plovdiv, and Skopje (14th – 15th centuries).” in Maximilian Hartmuth (ed.), *Centres and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture: Rediscovering a Balkan Heritage* (Sarajevo: Cultural Heritage Without Borders, 2011), 41-45.

lords of the marches, but also turned into a key element of the border lords' program for establishing new towns. The powerbase of the descendants of Köse Mihal, the town of İhtiman in Central Bulgaria, for instance, came into being thanks to the construction of a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* and a number of other service buildings commissioned by Mahmud Bey at the turn of the fourteenth century.¹⁰¹ Half a century later when İshakoğlu İsa Bey built for himself a powerbase at the Bosnian *uc* (border zone), modern Sarajevo, he applied the already established system for urban planning by placing a communal mosque and commercial infrastructure at the point which had to become a new urban core while the outer boundaries of the settlement were designated with a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*.¹⁰²

Examining the way in which some of the cities in the Ottoman realm were transformed one can detect a repetitive pattern that is common enough to be regarded as an established system of remodeling the urban space. Most often the space beyond the fortified town seized by the Ottomans was firstly colonized by a complex centered on T-shaped multifunctional buildings. Later, the growing city space reclaimed this complex

¹⁰¹ On the development of the town of İhtiman built anew a few kilometers from the abandoned medieval stronghold of Shtipone see Kiel, "İhtiman" in *TDVİA*; Semavi Eyice. "Sofya Yakınında İhtiman'da Gazi Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey İmâret-Camii." *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 2 (1975): 49-61.

¹⁰² Vladislav Skarić. "Postanak Sarajeva i njegov teritorijalni razvitak u 15. i 16. vjeku." *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 41:2 (1929): 41-55; Hazim Šabanović. "Postanak i razvoj Sarajeva." *Radovi naučnog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 13:5 (1960): 71-89; Behija Zlatar. *Zlatno Doba Sarajeva (XVI. Stoljeće)* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1996), 25-38. İsa Bey's original buildings were destroyed during the Austrian assault on the city, but the endowment deed of his *zaviye* strongly suggests that it was a T-shaped multifunctional building. It must have had three wings, including also a courtyard, and a stable and had to provide services to the poor Muslims (*fukarai'l-muslimin*), theology students (*talebetu'l-'ilm*), decedents of the Prophet (*sadat*), warriors of the faith (*guzat*) and the travelers (*enbai'l-sebil*). See Hazim Šabanović. "Dvije najstarije vakufname u Bosni." *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 2 (1951): 7-29; Mehmed Mujezinović. "Musafirhana i tekija Isa-Bega Ishakovića u Sarajevu." *Naše Starine* 3 (1956): 245-52; Ines Aščerić. "Neke napomene o problemima iz historije Isa-Begove tekije." *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 52-53 (2002-2003): 339-350.

incorporating it into the newly formed urban core, the commercial district (*çarşı*), while new T-shaped buildings extended the Ottoman presence and urban boundaries to father previously unoccupied locations. It is likely that this system, which manifested itself under the Ottomans, comes as a result of longer evolutionary path which began with the dissolution of the centralized Seljuk rule in Anatolia. Adopted and developed by the early Ottoman rulers, the method for remodeling the spatial order of the Anatolian cities under Ottoman rule was transferred to the Balkans and further elaborated by the central authority and the powerful raider commanders alike. Moreover, it seems that in many instances when new towns were created *ex nihilo* the Ottomans applied the same system in which a communal mosque (either patronized by the sultan or another grandee) and a number of commercial buildings designated the urban center while one or multiple T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* placed on the main road arteries marked the outskirts of the town and encouraged its development in a thus determined direction.

1.3. Methodology and scopes of the study

This study focuses on the time of transition from the medieval Byzantino-Bulgarian domination of the region of Upper Thrace (roughly modern central Bulgaria) to Ottoman rule, thus covering the period from the mid-fourteenth to the early seventeenth century, when modification of examined the urban centers was largely

completed. More specifically the chief interest of this research concentrates on the methods applied by the Ottomans in mastering and modifying the space of the urban centers in the chosen region and the subsequent development of the cities that were either conquered or established by the Ottomans. Examining in detail the history of several settlements in a relatively small territory (about 3 000 sq km) the present study aims at demonstrating the great diversity of local circumstances that to a great degree predetermined the approach of the Ottoman rulers. The region in question was devastated and to a large degree depopulated in the period before the Ottoman conquest, therefore it offers excellent opportunity for studying the methods of urban transformation and the revitalization of the unoccupied territories applied by Ottomans.

All four settlements studied in this dissertation clearly belong to the type of the development that had insignificant continuity of the inherited Christian base, which makes them close to the thesis of Barkan, examined above. The largest and most important among them was the natural center of the region for centuries, the city of Philippopolis. The large Roman metropolis suffered the devastating barbaric incursions in the early medieval period and the constant struggle for control between Bulgaria and Byzantium in the late middle ages, which reduced the once magnificent city to the confines of its stronghold. After the conquest the Ottomans, i.e. the central authority and the high ranking officials, rebuilt Filibe in a systematic manner and provided enough settlers to elevate the city as one of the largest and most important urban centers in the European domains of the Empire. In this respect the development of Filibe can fit well

into group three (Byzantino-Bulgarian cities that have been entirely repopulated and reshaped by the Ottomans) of the typology offered above.

The rest of the settlements the development of which is examined in close detail in this study were all created from scratch in the Ottoman period. In general they all fall into group four (Ottoman cities created *ex nihilo* in the Ottoman period) of the suggested typology, but also showed significant variations in their emergence, development and current state. Tatar Pazarcık was the most successful Ottoman establishment in Upper Thrace. It owed its formation and promotion however not to the will and support of the sultans, but to the creative energy of the mighty border lords (*akıncı uc beyis*) of the Balkans. Established at the turn of the fourteenth century as a small colony of Crimean Tatars the emerging settlement was promoted by several dynasties of raider commanders who patronized architecture and probably also encouraged migration. On the one hand, the strategic location and growing importance of the town, and the deepening conflict between the periphery forces and the consolidating centralism on the other, inspired the Süleymanic-age central administration to take restrictive measures in securing closer sultanic control over the development of the town. The shift in power supremacy dominating the development of the town also determined a shift in architectural patronage, as the Ottoman officials supported by the central power came to replace the influential border lords in architectural benefaction and therefore became the leading factor directing the spatial development of Tatar Pazarcık.

While Tatar Pazarcık was an example of the ultimate Ottoman success the third case study presented here examines the story of a complete failure of an attempt for

creating a new town. In contrast with Tatar Pazarcık, supported by several established families of border lords, the vanished town of Konaş was a result of the efforts of a single individual. Minnetođlu Mehmed Bey, himself a highly influential figure in the Ottoman fifteenth-century border society, attempted to promote a new urban center in his family domain. Unlike his fellow-*akıncı* commanders, however, he lacked the necessary resources and failed in securing the vitally needed support for his enterprise on behalf of the other dynasties. Despite being a complete failure the attempt of Mehmed Bey to create and promote a new urban settlement on his own is worthy of studying since it offers an excellent base for closer observations on the Ottoman society of that time and adds important details about the way in which more successful establishments of the periphery forces (İhtiman, Plevne, Yenice-i Vardar, Yenişehir, etc.) came into being.

The last case of urban development examined in this dissertation deals with the emergence of the town of Karlova that dominated the valley of the Göpsu River (mod. Stryama) throughout the Ottoman period. Like Konaş, this town also seems to have been established by a single individual in an ambition to develop his hereditary estate. The chief difference between the two, however, consists of the existence of a strong pre-Ottoman tradition that was skillfully used by Karlođlu Ali Bey in order to develop the town. Created from scratch, the town of Karlova and his founder enjoyed the advantage of an established medieval tradition in governing the region of Göpsa, which was inherited in Ottoman times. In this respect the town can be seen also as a shift of the traditional seat of power in the area to a new location, thus its development can be fit in

group four, i.e. newly created towns, but also it bears most of the distinctive features of type two, which unifies the settlements that developed in Ottoman times near medieval Bulgarian or Byzantine castles.

The present study aims to demonstrate the diversity of the development of the urban centers in Ottoman Upper Thrace that were either remodeled or created *ex nihilo* by applying a rarely used approach. Unlike most of the publications to date that focused on one of the aspects of urban life in the Balkans, such as demography, architecture, economy, institutions, social life, etc. this dissertation focuses on a much wider range of themes. Based on a large variety of narrative and documentary sources, the study combines observations on the topography, urban fabric, demographic fluctuations, architecture and spatial development of the cities in question. Examining all these aspects of urban history in conjunction with empire-wide or local social peculiarities, the study attempts to provide a comprehensive picture of the transformation and adoption of the conquered space in accordance with the Ottoman urbanizing program. May it be not entirely innovative, this approach can offer an adequate presentation of the large variety of factors that influenced the development of the cities in the region under study. Moreover, if adapted and applied at a larger scale it can supply a much needed methodology for studying the cities of the Balkans under Ottoman rule.

The main difficulty in applying this method arises from the scarcity of information on the urban morphology in this early period. All reliable city plans that can serve for observations on the development of the street networks and the spatial structure date only from the second half of the nineteenth century therefore whenever possible the

data that they contain was used retrospectively. Moreover, a great deal of the Ottoman architecture, which not only played a significant social role in the period of question, but also set the important landmarks on the urban landscape, has vanished in the time of the Balkan national states. Partially this notable lack of information was compensated by the extant visual materials, but still data for a good number of important public buildings that set forth the urban appearance was virtually ‘dug up’ from the documentary and narrative sources. Frequently using the methods of ‘archival/documentary archeology’ in revealing the location and the importance of long vanished buildings appeared to be the only clue for understanding the development of the urban centers, examined in this dissertation.

In contrast with the shortage of primary sources on the architectural and spatial development of the studied cities one is confronted with defeating masses of archival documents, produced by the central Ottoman administration. Navigating through these varying in nature and typology sources is uneasy task, especially when examined in conjunction with the data from the diverse European and Ottoman narrative texts. Nevertheless, they constitute the primary source of information for this study as their contents is explored to the best of the author’s capabilities. This said, in regard of the complicated paleography of the documentary sources and the elaborate language often used by the authors of the narratives, mistakes and wrong conclusions, based on misread and misunderstood passages are possible, if not unavoidable.

CHAPTER II

OTTOMAN FILIBE: REBUILDING THE METROPOLIS OF UPPER THRACE

2.1. The conquest of Filibe and its aftermath

Situated on the medieval highway that crossed diagonally the Balkans, the Roman *Via Militaris*, the Byzantino-Bulgarian city of Philippopolis surrendered to the forces of Lala Şahin Paşa in the first half of the 1360s only a few years after the Ottomans took possession of Adrianople (Ott. Edirne) in 1361.¹⁰³ The earliest raids toward the principal centers of Upper Thrace - Philippopolis and Vereya - begun

¹⁰³ Halil İnalçık. "The Conquest of Edirne (1361)." *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1971): 185-210. For other opinions, arguing for a later date of the fall of Adrianople into Ottoman hands, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr. "La conquête d'Andrianople par les Turcs: La pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomans." *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1965): 439-461; Elizabeth Zachariadou. "The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks" *Studi Veneziani* 22 (1970): 211-217. Aleksandır Burmov. "Türkler Edirne'yi ne Vakit Aldılar." *Belleten* 13 (1949): 79-106.

immediately after the Ottoman conquest of Edirne, but Lala Şahin managed to establish full control over these cities only a couple of years later.¹⁰⁴ Although the narrative sources at hand disagree on the exact date of the Ottoman conquest of Philippopolis the widely accepted date for the fall of the city, taken after a short siege, is 1364.¹⁰⁵

The most detailed and probably the most reliable account of the Ottoman conquest of the town was incorporated by İdris-i Bitlisi in his *Heşt Bihişt* (Eight Heavens), but in the related bibliography it is better known after Hoca Sadeddin's more accessible later version of it.¹⁰⁶ The narrative of İdris interpolates an account according to which prior relocating to Anatolia Murad I (1362-1389) ordered the Rumelian Beys to further the Ottoman advance in Europe assigning to Lala Şahin the conquest of Filibe.¹⁰⁷ The Christian commander of the garrison at Philippopolis, in all probability a Bulgarian nobleman, retreated to the stronghold without confronting the Muslim forces and after a short siege he delivered the city to Lala Şahin. In exchange for the surrender the Christian commander negotiated safe passage for him and his family to the lands of the

¹⁰⁴ Halil İncalcık. "Polunya (*Appolunia*) – Tanrı-Yıkdığı Osmanlı Rumeli Fetihleri Kronolojisinde Düzeltilmeler (1345-1371)." in Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ (ed.) *Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 2006), 46.

¹⁰⁵ Halil İncalcık. "Murad I" in *TDVİA*. Further details and discussion of the bibliography to date in Grigor Boykov. *Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace: A Case Study on Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık, and İstanımaka* (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara, 2004), 29-37.

¹⁰⁶ I am indebted to Prof. H. İncalcık who pointed to me the connection and provided me with his notes from the unpublished original work of İdris, written in Persian. A translation into Ottoman Turkish of İdris-i Bitlisi's text was recently made available by Mehmed Karataş, Selim Kaya and Yaşar Baş (eds.), *İdris-i Bitlisi. Heşt Bihişt*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Bitilis Eğitim ve Tanıtma Vakfı Yayınları, 2008), 312-313. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. *Tac-üt-Tevârih*, vol. 1 ([İstanbul]: Tabhane-yi Âmire, 1279/1863), 76-77.

¹⁰⁷ Hoca Sadeddin, 76, unjustifiably complimented the account of İdris adding the conquest of the already taken town of Zagra (Eski Zağra) among the tasks given to Lala Şahin by Murad I prior to his departure for Anatolia.

Serbian despot (the ruler of Serres Jovan Uglješa Mrnjavčević, d. 1371) as well as guarantees for the life and property of the residents of the Thracian metropolis.¹⁰⁸

The lifeless resistance of the city to the forces of Lala Şahin must be attributed to the fact that in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Philippopolis was conquered so many times that its residents and defenders were already accustomed to surrender to any larger detachment that appeared before its walls. In this period the city changed hands no less than fifteen times as some of the takeovers were accompanied by long lasting sieges and violent devastations.¹⁰⁹ When the Ottomans seized the city, which they renamed to Filibe, its appearance was a mere shadow of the once magnificent Roman and early medieval urban center. Archaeological evidence shows that the waves of destructive invasions had reduced the pre-Ottoman Philippopolis to the confines of its stronghold, built on the top of three interconnected volcanic hills (Plan 1). Its outer walls, streets and residential parts laid for many years in total disrepair as the territory below the citadel was most likely uninhabited.¹¹⁰ Ottoman archival documents

¹⁰⁸ İdris-i Bitlisi, 312. The date A.H. 760/1358-1359 for the conquest of Filibe provided by the editors of *Heşt Bihişt* is undoubtedly a mistake either of the eighteenth-century translator Abdülhakî Sa'adî or of the editors. The correct date must read A.H. 765/1363-1364 as it becomes apparent from the next account of İdris. Granting safe conduit and guarantees for the local population's property (*ahd ü eman*) was a method widely used by the Ottomans in their expansion in the Balkans. See Halil İnalçık. "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica* [2] 3 (1954): 103-129.

¹⁰⁹ After the reemergence of the Danubian Bulgarian kingdom in 1185 Philippopolis and its environs became a bitterly contested territory claimed by Bulgarians, Byzantines, Crusaders etc. who raided and pillaged the area multiple times. Peter Soustal. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Thrakien (Thrake, Rodope und Haimimontos)* (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 399-404. Boykov, *Demographic Features*, 21-26.

¹¹⁰ For a recent overview of the bibliography and results from excavations of pre-Ottoman Philippopolis see Ani Dancheva-Vasileva. *Plovdiv prez srednovekovieto (IV-XIV vek)* (Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo "Prof. Marin Drinov", 2009), 143-190 and 214-237; Kamen Stanev. "Philipopol ot nachaloto na VII do nachaloto na IX vek." *Minalo* 2 (2011): 20-36. In the course of 2011 eight excavation sites explored different parts of the outer Roman and early Byzantine Philippopolis. None of them found material that can be dated post-thirteenth century. I am grateful to Elena Bozhinova and Kamen Stanev who allowed me to visit these sites and were kind enough to share the information with me.

from the fifteenth century seem to corroborate the archaeological data. One century after the Ottomans took possession of Filibe, its Christian quarters were still limited to the citadel and to the areas lying immediately below the fortified parts, leaving the flat open plain to the new Muslim settlers.¹¹¹ (Fig. 1-5)

The narrative sources relating the conquest of the city contain no information on the exact number of the first Muslims who settled in Filibe after its capture, but İdris asserts that Lala Şahin left a garrison singled out from among his entrusted people as he himself led the rest of the Ottoman forces back to Edirne. Later, according to the chronicler, Murad I granted the city and the region of Filibe as a prebend to Lala Şahin and asked him to return there and revive the depressed city.¹¹²

Relocating to Filibe, thus transferring the Ottoman Rumelian seat of power there, the *beylerbeyi* of Rumili Lala Şahin Paşa must have subdued the smaller strongholds in the belonging area in the course of next few years.¹¹³ The raids along the *Via Militaris* and northward of Filibe certainly requested better and safer infrastructure for crossing the wild waters of the river Maritsa (Ott. Meriç). Building a bridge over the biggest river crossing Upper Thrace, which allowed his retinues to raid the area and return without any difficulties, must have been among the first steps undertaken by Lala Şahin in his attempts to revive the old medieval urban center. İdris relates that Lala Şahin spent a

¹¹¹ Grigor Boykov. "Etno-religiozniyat oblik na osmanskia grad Filibe – kraya na XV – nachaloto na XVI vek" in: Evgeniy Radoshev and Stefka Fetvadžieva (eds.), *Balkanski identichnosti*, Vol. 3 (Sofia: Institut za izsledvane na integratsiata, 2003), 137-138; Machiel Kiel. "Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: the Place of Turkish Architecture in the Process." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4:2 (1989): 87-89.

¹¹² İdris-i Bitlisi, 312.

¹¹³ On Şahin son of Abdülmuin, the tutor (*lala*) of Murad I and his appointment as the first *beylerbeyi* of Rumili see İnalçık, "Murad I"; Victor Ménage. "Beglerbegi" in *EF*²; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1947), 572-573.

large sum in gold for the construction of the long and wide wooden bridge over the Maritsa and that for its maintenance and repairs in the future he bestowed from his own slaves and appointed a superintendent (*nazır-i emin*) to secure its proper usage.¹¹⁴ (Figs. 6-7) Three decades later the bridge must have been carried away by the spring waters of the river Maritsa, as in 1389 ahead of the Ottoman vanguard Çandarlı Ali Paşa was detained in Filibe by the overflowing river, which allowed no crossing for two whole months.¹¹⁵ The bridge over the Maritsa was repaired quickly afterward, because the main body of the army marching toward Kosovo was assembled under Murad I's command near Filibe and crossed the river without any troubles.¹¹⁶ It seems that due to its high strategic importance the maintenance of the wooden bridge in Filibe was taken up by the Ottoman central power, because in later occasions when it was damaged by the wild spring waters the expenses for its repair were covered by the central treasury.¹¹⁷ Moreover, in the course of the sixteenth or seventeenth century the residents of a village named *Arnavud-i zir* (mod. Dolnoslav, near Asenovgrad) were assigned the task of regular supply of materials and maintenance of the bridge in Filibe for which they were

¹¹⁴ İdris-i Bitlisî, 312-313. For further details on the bridge Cevdet Çulpan. *Türk Taş Köprüleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2002²), 96-97.

¹¹⁵ Mehmed Neşri. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ. Neşri Tarihi*. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen (eds.) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957), 259.

¹¹⁶ İdris and Hoca Sadeddin present an account that slightly differs from the more detailed and reliable *Kosovanâme* incorporated in Neşri's chronicle. According to İdris/Sadeddin it was Murad who was detained for several days by the high waters of the Maritsa. İdris-i Bitlisî, 387-388; Hoca Sadeddin, 115.

¹¹⁷ İBK, M.C. O. 91, ff. 261^r-262^a contains an accounting record of a repair of the bridge done in 1486. Under the supervision of the *kadı* İshak Çelebi the *emins* of the state *mukata'a* of the rice fields surrounding Filibe provided the necessary money for the repair. The register of important financial matters (*maliye ahkâm*) BOA, MAD 2775, f. 429 contains an order dating 11 January 1566 that notified the local *kadı* of Filibe about the great strategic importance of the bridge to the Ottoman army and instructed him to assemble all materials needed for the repair of the bridge.

tax-exempted from extraordinary levies (*avarız-i divaniye*) and delivered the rest of their taxes as a lump sum (*maktu*).¹¹⁸

2.2. Reviving the medieval town: Lala Şahin Paşa's contribution

The wooden bridge over the river Maritsa is the only edifice of Lala Şahin in Filibe that thanks to the Ottoman narratives is certainly identifiable. Nevertheless, the circumstantial evidence assembled below strongly suggests that he also became a patron of the earliest Ottoman public buildings in the city. Considering similar cases such as Bursa and İznik, captured by sultan Orhan; Gümülcine (Komotini), conquered and controlled by Evrenos Bey; or Üsküb (Skopje), dominated by Paşa Yiğit Bey and his descendents, discussed above, one can fairly safely assume that Lala Şahin and a tiny group of his closest companions installed themselves among the Christians in the fortified town, while the greater part of the Muslim newcomers settled outside the walls of Filibe. Extending this analogy even farther, one would expect that soon after the

¹¹⁸ The village was established in the 1520s by Christian Albanians who settled southeast of Filibe at the foot of the Rhodopes. BOA, MAD 519, f. 102 contains a record about the arrival of the first five Albanian settlers. On migration of the Albanians in the sixteenth century toward the eastern parts of the Balkans see Boyan Guzelev. *Albantsi v iztochnite Balkani* (Sofia: IMIR, 2004). Pages 98-99 contain brief information on the village of interest. In the mid-sixteenth century the village was endowed to the large pious foundation of Süleymaniye, See Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu. *Süleymaniye Vakfiyesi* (Ankara: Resimli Posta Matbaası, 1962), 65. A rare example of eighteenth-century *tahrir* registration specifies that the residents of the village paid their dues (the poll-tax, tithes, *ispençe*) as a lump sum (*ber vech-i maktu*) in exchange of providing wood materials (*döşeme tahtaları*) for the repairs of the bridge in Filibe. Moreover, seventy three individuals from the village served as permanent maintenance workers (*köprücüler*). The text specifies that this is an old arrangement that was copied in the new census. TKGM, Vakf-i Cedid 123, f. 8^a, dating 11 October 1713.

conquest Lala Şahin has commissioned a T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviye* together with a public bath, located below the citadel of the old city, this being a clearly observable trend common to the spatial development of most of the newly conquered Ottoman urban centers.

The cases examined in the introduction show that the conqueror and/or the person entrusted with the control of the newly captured city in Anatolia or in the Balkans was most often also the patron of the first Muslim buildings there. These earliest structures, built below the walled parts of the conquered city, were as a rule T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes*, the “colonizers” of the space beyond the fortified town, which in the majority of the cases were built together with a public bath as sometimes an inn for the merchants and other commercial and educational infrastructure was also added to the so-formed complex. Depending on the “method of conquest” of the pre-Ottoman urban centers, the conquerors either converted to a mosque one of the principal churches of the cities taken by force, thus displaying their unambiguous triumph over the place, or left the existing Christian infrastructure in the cities delivered without resistance almost intact.

As Filibe was not taken by assault but rather surrendered voluntarily to the Ottoman forces one can assume that none of the existing churches located within the stronghold was converted into a mosque¹¹⁹, but the architectural patronage that aimed at

¹¹⁹ While it is certain that at the eve of the Ottoman conquest the city had several churches it is not possible to establish with certainty their total number and how many of them were operational in the mid-fourteenth century. The present day Orthodox churches located within the citadel are reconstructed in the nineteenth century thus their medieval foundations are in most cases covered. Nevertheless, an Ottoman register from 1472 lists 7 priests among the Christian taxpayers of Filibe, which makes it plausible to suggest that at that time there were at least 7 Orthodox churches in the city, to which number should

reviving the city was taken out of the confines of the citadel. It plausible that soon after the Ottomans took control over the city, it was its actual conqueror and governor, Lala Şahin, who commissioned the first Muslim public buildings there. Placed outside the fortified hills the new buildings ought not only to respond to the immediate needs of the small Muslim community, but also to leave an imprint on the urban landscape, displaying the permanent intensions of the conquerors.¹²⁰

Based on the available sources however, it is hard to provide firm evidence that unambiguously proves the existence of a complex commissioned specifically by Lala Şahin. The uncertainty is due not only to the lack of any documentary evidence from this early period pointing him as a patron, but also to the disappearance of the majority of the Ottoman buildings in modern Plovdiv, which deprives researchers of the possibility for closer observation.

Nonetheless, there are some hints which, although not specifying the patronage of Lala Şahin, clearly attest the existence of Muslim public buildings outside the citadel of Filibe as early as the 1410s and thus allow such a hypothesis. The narrative of Constantine the Philosopher, also known as Kostenečki, describing the disruptive war for control over Filibe during the so-called Interregnum period in the early 1400s,

possibly be added the metropolitan church, served by the metropolitan himself, who certainly was exempted from taxation and therefore not recorded among the Christians in 1472. On the other hand, when Stephan Gerlach visited Filibe in 1578 he explicitly noted eight functioning churches in Filibe. It is realistic, therefore, to suggest that all or most of the medieval churches in the city witnessed by Gerlach, were operational at the time of the Ottoman conquest. On the history of the churches in the city see Nikola Alvadžiev. *Starinni cherkvi v Plovdiv* (Plovdiv: Letera, 2000).

¹²⁰ The idea that the Ottoman public architecture was also meant as a statement of permanency is among the main themes in Heath Lowry. *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: the Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (Istanbul : Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2008).

mentions a public bath (*hamam*) in the city, used by *emir* Süleyman for one of his numerous feasts.¹²¹ There are at least two important points that can be derived from the account of Constantine: firstly, it clearly implies the extramural location of the *hamam* used by Süleyman; secondly, it is very likely that the bath in question did not stand alone, but was part of a larger complex. Looking for an analogy in the other Ottoman cities reshaped after the conquest, it seems plausible to suggest that the bath mentioned by Constantine was in fact part of a complex centered on a T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviye* commissioned by the conqueror and ruler of the city soon after he took control over it. The fact that the bath and the rest of the buildings were located outside the walled town, as was the case in most other urban centers modified by the Ottomans, greatly supports this argument. It is therefore logical to assume that the conqueror and first governor of Filibe, Lala Şahin, a man with undeniable authority and considerable resources at his disposal, was the one who commissioned the earliest Ottoman public buildings providing for the basic needs of the Muslims in the city. Moreover, Lala Şahin proved to have been a generous patron of architecture even prior to his arrival to Filibe. In the first Ottoman capital Bursa he built a *medrese*, located in the Tophane area, very close to Şehadet mosque originally built by Orhan I¹²² and a mosque, a *zaviye* and a mausoleum for himself in the modern town of Mustafakemalpaşa (ancient

¹²¹ Konstantin dem Philosophen. *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević*. Translated and edited by Maximilian Braun (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1956), 39-40; For these particular events and the struggle for control over Filibe between Süleyman and Musa see Dimitris Kastritsis. *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-13* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 152-153; Nedim Filipović. *Princ Musa i šejh Bedreddin* (Sarajevo, "Svjetlost," 1971), 102-131.

¹²² Albert Gabriel. *Une capitale turque: Brousse, Bursa* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1958), 155-156.

Kirmasti/Kremastre).¹²³ Were the buildings in Filibe indeed commissioned by Lala Şahin, this must have happened in the period between the mid-1360s, when the city was conquered, and mid-1380s, which witnessed the presumable death of Lala Şahin.¹²⁴

The fate of these early Ottoman buildings is unclear, but there is a distinct chance that they did not survive the first decade of the fifteenth century, falling victims to the struggle between the two pretenders for the Ottoman throne, in the course of which Filibe changed hands several times and which was accompanied by severe devastation on both sides. The walls of the citadel that were heavily damaged in course of the war, in 1433 were still lying down in ruins and were never repaired afterward.¹²⁵ The buildings of Lala Şahin must have been located west from the citadel, occupying the flat terrain immediately beneath the fortifications, which was also the most likely place for assault on the stronghold. This fact greatly increases the possibility that they have been destroyed or heavily damaged during the Interregnum by the armies of either Musa or of his brother Süleyman.

Studying the available nineteenth-century photographs and the earliest modern city plans of Filibe, one can notice that at the location where Lala Şahin's buildings are

¹²³ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'mârisinin İlk Devri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1966), 190-197.

¹²⁴ The exact date of Lala Şahin's death is uncertain, but in any case he died prior to 1384, when Timurtaş Paşa appears in the sources as his successor as *beylerbeyi* of Rumili. İnalcık. "Murad I", 159; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 573. A brick-made domed baldachin in today's town of Kazanlâk (Central Bulgaria) is believed to be the burial place of Lala Şahin's intestines, while his body was transported to Anatolia and buried in the mausoleum of his complex in the town of Mustafakemalpaşa. The *vakıf* that Lala Şahin established was managed on hereditary basis by his son Mehmed Paşa and grandson Hamza Bey who are believed to have also commissioned a mosque in the town of Mustafakemalpaşa.

¹²⁵ The ruined walls of the stronghold were visited by Bertrandon de la Broquière. *Voyage d'Outremer*, Ch. Schefer (ed.) (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1842), 200.

likely to have stood indeed there was a mosque and a bit westward - a public bath too.¹²⁶ The mosque was known locally as the *Tahtakale camii*¹²⁷ and from what is observable on the available photographs it clearly dated from the fifteenth century.¹²⁸ (Figs. 8-9) The mosque was a typical *mahalle mescidi* from that period, being a square stone building with a lead-covered dome placed above octagonal drum (no. 6 on Plan 1).¹²⁹ The public bath of the same name (*Tahtakale hamamı*), that will be examined in detail below, was also a typical construction from the mid-fifteenth century, located about fifty meters westward. (no. 26 on Plan 1)

In fact, the observations made on the basis of the visual materials corroborate with the evidence from later Ottoman documentary sources which reveal that both of the buildings were indeed commissioned by the mid-fifteenth-century *beylerbeyi* of Rumili Hacı Şihabeddin Paşa.¹³⁰ Moreover, comparing the external appearance of *Tahtakale* mosque in Filibe and the so-called *Kirazlı camii* in Edirne, built by him in 1436-1437, proves a striking resemblance.¹³¹ (Figs. 10-11) The plot of land in the area where the

¹²⁶ There are two large panoramic photographs of Filibe taken by the local photographers Dimitris Cavra and Ivan Karastoyanov that date respectively to 1879 and 1892 and a number of single photographs by the same authors. Detailed list of the earliest city plans of Filibe in Dobrina Želeva-Martins and Yuliy Färgov. *Istoriya na bălgarskoto gradoustroystvo XIX-XX v.* (Sofia: Valentin Trayanov, 2009), 57-85. To this list must be added a very detailed plan of the city drawn up by the Viennese geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter. "Reise durch Rumelien im Sommer 1869." *Mitteilungen der K. und K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 14 (1871): 65-180.

¹²⁷ "Tahtakale" is a colloquial version of the Arabic "tahtü'l-ka'lâ", i.e. below the castle.

¹²⁸ This mosque stood until the early twentieth century, occupying the northern edge of the then grain market (today's corner of boulevard Tzar Boris III and Benkovski Street). Vasil Peev. *Grad Plovdiv – minalo i nastoyashte. Plovdiv v minaloto* (Plovdiv: Plovdivsko arheologicheskoto družestvo, 1941), 219.

¹²⁹ Aptullah Kuran. *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 29-47.

¹³⁰ For details on these documents and Şihabeddin's extensive architectural patronage in Filibe see the related section below.

¹³¹ The dedicatory inscription of Şihabeddin's mosque in Edirne is published by Fokke Dijkema. *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), 24-25 and Abdülhamit Tüfekçioğlu. *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Yazı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001),

buildings in Filibe were erected was certainly in possession of Şihabeddin, because he later endowed it to his pious foundation. Therefore, one can speculate that the area where the earliest Muslim community in Filibe settled was held by the acting *beylerbeyi* of Rumili, a tradition that began with Lala Şahin. Should this were indeed the case it is arguable that Şihabeddin Paşa repaired or more likely rebuilt the earliest Ottoman buildings in the city erected by his predecessor. They were most probably commissioned by Lala Şahin in the second half of the fourteenth century, but were badly damaged during the military actions in the early fifteenth century. About two decades later in a process of general renewal of Filibe Şihabeddin reshaped Lala Şahin's *imaret/zaviye* into a small communal mosque, which explains the fifteenth-century appearance of this monument on the extant photographs.¹³² The bath that according to Constantine's account *emir* Süleyman used was most likely the *Tahtakale hamamı* which, judging from its size and architectural features, must have also been completely rebuilt by Şihabeddin. The restoration of the earliest Ottoman buildings in Filibe on the other hand is a clear indication of the general revival that the depressed city was undergoing thanks to the extensive efforts on the part of sultan Murad II (1421-44 and 1446-51) and the then acting *beylerbeyi* of Rumili Şihabeddin Paşa.

232-234. On the building see Kuran, *The Mosque*, 41-42; Sedat Bayrakal. *Edirne'deki Tek Kubbeli Camiler* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001), 31-36.

¹³² The non-extant building of Lala Şahin should not have been much larger in size than the *Tahtakale* mosque that most probably replaced it. The oldest standing T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* in Bulgaria built about the same time by Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey in the town of İhtiman is very modest in size. Today from the complex of the Mihaloğlu family in İhtiman only the *hamam* and the ruinous neglected *imaret/zaviye* are extant. Semavi Eyice. "Sofya Yakınında İhtiman'da Gazi Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey İmâret-Camii." *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 2 (1975): 49-61; idem. "Gazi Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey Camii" in *TDVİA*; Machiel Kiel. "İhtiman" in *TDVİA*; Mariya Kiprovka. "Ruins of Past Glory: the Earliest Standing Ottoman Building in Bulgaria" on-line publication for the Ottoman Architectural Heritage in Bulgaria: <http://www.oahb.org/category/ihtiman/>.

2.3. Rebuilding the metropolis of Upper Thrace: the construction of Muradiye mosque

It appears that whatever the achievements of Lala Şahin in reviving the city of Filibe were, they seem to have been erased during the destructive Interregnum period. Two decades later, in 1433, when the Burgundian knight Bertrandon de la Broquière visited the city, the signs of the war were still clearly observable. The walls of the citadel were in ruins and the general impression that the account of the Burgundian leaves is that the city still did not recover from the destructions in the preceding decades.¹³³ Undoubtedly in 1430s Filibe already had a sizable Muslim community, which by that time could have been equal in number to the Christians in the city, but its presence was not visible enough since de la Broquière noted that the majority of the residents were orthodox Bulgarians.¹³⁴ He did not spot any noteworthy Ottoman building, which suggests that no such building existed by 1433, otherwise a careful observer like the Burgundian knight would have noted it.¹³⁵

It appears that de la Broquière crossed the city just prior the beginning of Murad II's ambitious project for its revival. Probably the most valuable side of the account of the Burgundian is the fact that he did not mention the large Muradiye mosque (known locally as Džumaya džamiya) in Filibe. Therefore one can fairly safely assume that in

¹³³ Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, 200.

¹³⁴ "...*et est peuplée ceste diete ville en grande partie de Vulgaires qui tiennent la loy greguesque*". Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, 200.

¹³⁵ De la Broquière was not solely a pilgrim, but was also charged with the detailed observation of Ottoman provinces with regard to a possible military action. In modern times he would certainly be labeled a spy.

1433 the mosque was not yet standing. The Muradiye is a massive, imposing structure which still dominates the urban landscape of modern Plovdiv, had it been present in 1433 it would undoubtedly have attracted de la Broquière's attention from a distance. (no. 1 on Plan 1) Moreover, as he was taken to the citadel and shown around by locals, he must have passed the mosque on the way up to the hills of the citadel. Thus, the chance that Muradiye could have remained unspotted by the Burgundian is virtually non-existent.

The construction date of the large congregational mosque Muradiye, the heart of the Ottoman Filibe, is a subject of scholarly debates. The uncertainty arises from the fact that the original dedicatory inscription (*kitabe*) above the main gate of the mosque was removed and replaced by an eighteenth-century inscription commemorating a major restoration done by sultan Abdülhamid I (1774-1789), which bears no information about the original date of construction of the mosque.¹³⁶ Moreover, contributing for the confusion of modern researchers, the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, who visited Filibe in the mid-seventeenth century, stated quite confidently that the mosque was built by “the conqueror of Edirne, gazi Hüdavendigâr sultan Murad Han [I]”.¹³⁷ This short and undoubtedly incorrect remark has inclined a number of authors to regard the Muradiye mosque in Filibe as founded by Murad I.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ The inscription commemorating the restoration completed on 5th July 1784 (27 Ş'aban 1199 A.H.) was studied and published by İbrahim Tatarlı. “Turski kultovi sgradi i nadpisi v Bălgaria.” *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia, Faculté de Lettres* 60 (1966): 605-608.

¹³⁷ Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 305 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu – Dizini, (3. Kitap)* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 217.

¹³⁸ Oktay Aslanapa. *Turkish Art and Architecture* (Ankara: Atatürk Culture Centre Publications, 2004), 195; Ayverdi, Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri, 295-303; idem. *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri. IV. Cild – Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1982), 38-41. The recent

Despite the claim of the renowned seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler the main mosque of Filibe, whose closest architectural predecessor is *Ulu Camii* in Bergama (built by Bayezid I in 1398-1399), clearly appears to have been built in the fifteenth century.¹³⁹ (Figs. 12-13) Muradiye mosque in Filibe, a typical example of the so-called *ulu cami*' (great mosque) type, is a massive rectangle (40x30 m.) with three large domes over the central nave, supported by four massive pillars, and two lateral spaces covered by three vaults on each side. The building had a five-domed portico which collapsed and was replaced, probably during the eighteenth-century restoration, by a penthouse resting on wall extensions from the sides and four stone columns which can be seen on a photograph from the 1880s. In the 1900s the portico was removed and replaced by a lower wooden structure which still occupies the front space. (Figs. 14-16)

If this massive imposing structure, seen from quite afar at that time, indeed did not exist in 1433, then its construction must have begun shortly after de la Broquière's visit, because evidence from the Ottoman documentary sources shows that by 1436 Muradiye in Filibe already existed. Contrary to the common Ottoman practice, the largest communal mosque in Ottoman Filibe did not have its own pious foundation providing for its maintenance and the salaries of the staff. Instead, the mosque in Filibe

restoration of Muradiye that took place in the period 2006-2008 was marked by a conference devoted to the architectural features and history of the building. With only one notable exception all papers in the published proceedings of the conference regard Muradiye as a fourteenth-century building commissioned by Murad I. Celaleddin Küçük and N. Mine Yar (eds.), *Filibe (Plovdiv) Cuma Camii Konferansı Bildirileri/Filibe (Plovdiv) Cuma Mosque Conference Papers* (İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, n.d). Despite the lack of any textual or architectural evidence some contributions even argued that the mosque was established by Murad I as part of a larger complex that also included a public bath, caravanserai, and a bedesten. Gönül Cantay. "Filibe Tarihi Topografyasında Hüdavendigâr Külliyesi." in Küçük and Yar, *Cuma Camii Konferansı*, 25-29.

¹³⁹ On the mosque in Bergama see Bozkurt Ersoy. "Bergama Ulu Camii." *Arkeoloji Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 4 (1988): 57-66; Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri*, 373-378.

was supported by the large *vakıf* established by Sultan Murad II on behalf of the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* (also known as Muradiye mosque) which he built on the northeastern edge of Edirne. The extant accounting registers of the endowment of Murad II's edifice in Edirne leave no doubt about this fact and provide details on the salaries of the staff and resources spent for the maintenance of the mosque in Filibe.¹⁴⁰

According to the date encrypted in its original dedicatory inscription still *in situ* above its entrance, Muradiye in Edirne, which served as a *mevlevihane*¹⁴¹, was built in A.H. 839 (1435-1436).¹⁴² Thus, the endowment deed, of which there is no known extant copy, was most likely drawn up in 1435 or 1436. The fact that Muradiye mosque in Filibe was included in the foundation established by Murad II for the support of his complex in Edirne, undoubtedly bespeaks that it must have been built around the same time and in any case prior to 1436. The short remark by Hibri Efendi, an early

¹⁴⁰ Machiel Kiel. "The Incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire, 1353-1453." in Kate Fleet (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume I: Byzantium to Turkey, 1071-1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 176 first pointed to the *muhasabe defteri* providing these important details. In spite of being published half-a-century ago the document remained overlooked by the art and architectural historians. Ömer Barkan. "Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmâret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilânçoları" *Belgeler* 1:1-2 (1964), 372. The document published by Barkan dates from 1633 and lists 24 individuals who received salaries from the *vakıf* as employees in the great mosque in Filibe. The part of the archival collection of the Topkapı Palace which was recently made available in the Başbakanlık Arşivi contains many earlier and later *muhasabe* registers of Muradiye in Edirne which confirm the information in the document published by Barkan. For instance BOA, TSMA 3687 0014 (dating from July 14, 1589); BOA TSMA 1572 (dating from 1600-01) or BOA, TSMA 1681 (dating from 1670-71) etc.

¹⁴¹ Suheyl Ünver. "Edirne Mevlevihanesi Tarihine Giriş." in Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz (eds.), *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998), 623-627; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mimârisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 806-855 (1403-1451)* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1989²), 405-415.

¹⁴² The date A.H. 839 is recorded as a chronogram in the bottom left line of the inscription. See Dijkema, *Ottoman Inscriptions in Edirne*, 23-24; Tüfekçioğlu, *Erken Dönem Yazı*, 224-225.

seventeenth-century historian of Edirne, which explicitly attributes the old mosque in Filibe to the buildings commissioned by Murad II, adds strength to this argument.¹⁴³

As there is no doubt that Murad II commissioned the mosque in Filibe the sources at hand also allow clarifying its precise date of construction. Apparently Murad II is unlikely to have built the mosque in Filibe prior to 1425 because he was preoccupied in a costly and dangerous struggle to secure his throne.¹⁴⁴ In the second half of the 1420s Murad's patronage was focused on his complex in Bursa (Muradiye complex was built between 1424 and 1428) the construction of which required enormous financial resources.¹⁴⁵ It was only in the 1430s that Murad began to commission public buildings in Rumelia as for a very short period he built *Darü'l-hadis* (1434-1435), *Muradiye* (1435-1436), *Üç Şerefeli* (1438-1447), plus *medreses* and public baths in Edirne; *Hünkâr* (Muradiye) mosque (1436) in Üsküb (Skopje); and the complex and the long bridge that gave birth to the town of Uzunköprü (1443-1444)¹⁴⁶. The Muradiye mosque in Filibe must be regarded as part of Murad's general program of constructing large imperial mosques in the capital Edirne and also in the provincial centers such as Filibe and Üsküb. In this respect it is very likely that the mosque in Filibe was commissioned when his patronage in Rumelia was at its peak. The time-frame for the construction of the imperial mosque in Filibe can be closed between de la

¹⁴³ Abdurrahman Hibrî. *Enüsü'l-müsâmirîn – Edirne Tarihi, 1360-1650*, Ratip Kazancıgil (ed.) (Edirne: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği, 1996), 67.

¹⁴⁴ On the events of Murad II's accession and the subsequent power struggle see Halil İnalcık. "Murad II" in *TDVİA*; Colin Imber. *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1481* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1990), 91-97.

¹⁴⁵ Gabriel, *Une capitale turque*, 105-118; Kuran, *The Mosque*, 121-123. Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sutan Murad Devri, 298-326.

¹⁴⁶ Kiel, "The Incorporation of the Balkans", 179-183.

Broquière's visit to the city and the completion of Muradiye in Edirne, i.e. between 1433 and 1436.

The construction of Muradiye mosque in Filibe in the mid-1430s indicates Murrad II's intentions to bring back to life the most important urban center of Upper Thrace. The process of revitalization, which must have begun shortly after 1433, aimed at redesigning the space of the city by setting a definitive and more visible Muslim core thus becoming a token of the supremacy of the Ottoman dynasty and a statement of permanence. Build on empty land below the ruined citadel and the Christian quarters the Muradiye laid the foundations of entirely new urban center that had to attract the commercial and the social activities of the reemerging city. The square that was naturally formed around the mosque turned into a point of distribution for the main street arteries, running from north to south and joining it from the west. (see Plan 1) The careful selection of a focal point for the new Muslim center proved to be extremely successful. Muradiye not only dominated the landscape of Filibe throughout the Ottoman period, but its functionality as a focus of the economic, administrative and social activities of the city was also inherited by modern Plovdiv.

At a first glance it seems that the Ottomans postponed the construction of an imperial Friday mosque in post-conquest Filibe for quite a long time – it took about seventy years prior it became a fact. Nonetheless, comparing the spatial development and the Ottoman architectural patronage in Filibe to other cities from the pre-Ottoman era that were redesigned after the conquest one can argue that this was about the usual time-period before the construction of a large multi-domed mosque in a city. For

instance, in Bursa (conquered in 1326) it took exactly seventy years until Bayezid I commissioned the large *Ulu Cami*, which celebrated the Ottoman victory at the battle of Nicopolis (1396).¹⁴⁷ Likewise, the earliest large congregational mosque in the Ottoman European capital Edirne was completed in 1413 - more than half-a-century after the conquest of the city in 1361.¹⁴⁸ In the nearby important city of Dimetoka (Didymoteichon), also captured in 1361, the large communal mosque that dominated the urban landscape was finished only sixty years later.¹⁴⁹ The first large imperial mosque in Skopje, a city that at that time was fully comparable in scale and magnitude to Filibe, was commissioned by Murad II in 1436, i.e. close to half-a-century after the conquest.¹⁵⁰ Keeping in mind the Interregnum period that for a decade brought to Filibe severe destruction instead of architectural patronage one can fairly safely assert that the time of construction of Muradiye in the city fully corresponds to the development of the analogical urban centers in the Balkans under Ottoman rule.

¹⁴⁷ Bursa's *Ulu Cami* was not the first establishment initiated by Bayezid I in Bursa. In 1390-1395 he commissioned and built, on the outskirts of the city, a complex of buildings of which a T-shaped multifunctional building, a *medrese*, bath, and hospital are still extant. The mausoleum of Bayezid I, which is also part of this complex, was built by his son *emir* Süleyman in 1406. Kuran, *The Mosque*, 110-113.

¹⁴⁸ Eski Cami in Edirne was begun by *emir* Süleyman in 1402 and completed in 1413 by his brother Mehmed I, who added a bedesten, replica of the one in Bursa (see Kuran, *The Mosque*, 154-158. Further details on the spatial development of the first Ottoman capitals in Aptullah Kuran. "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul." *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 114-131.

¹⁴⁹ The construction of the large mosque in Dimetoka was begun by Bayzed I, but it was only completed by Mehmed I in 1420. Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sutan Murad Devri, 136-149; Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, 20-22.

¹⁵⁰ Mustafa Özer. *Üsküp'te Türk Mimarisi (XIV.-XIX. yüzyıl)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006), 44-50; Lidiya Kumbaracı-Bogojeviç. *Üsküp'te Osmanlı Mimarî Eserleri* (İstanbul: ENKA, 2008), 44-51.

2.4. Şihabeddin Paşa's term as beylerbeyi of Rumili and his architectural patronage in Filibe

The construction of Muradiye mosque concurred with the appointment to the post of Rumelian *beylerbeyi* of Şihabeddin Paşa, whose extensive patronage of architecture in Filibe not only made him the greatest benefactor of the city in Ottoman times, but also significantly contributed for the thorough reshaping of the urban space. The eunuch *el-hac* Şihabeddin, son of Abdullah, often referred to by the narrative sources as Kula (or Kavala) Şahin,¹⁵¹ after a term as *sancakbeyi* of Arvanid in the early 1430s, replaced Sinan Paşa on the post of governor and commander of all Ottoman forces in Europe in A.H. 840 (1436-1437).¹⁵² He made a name as one of the most prominent commanders in the early fifteenth-century Balkans and was a highly influential figure during the second half of Murad II's reign. In 1441 Şihabeddin conquered the important Serbian silver-mining center of Novo Brdo, but on the next year he suffered a devastating defeat in Transylvania, which caused his dismissal. In 1443 facing the threat of the crusading army lead by the young king Vladislav III (1434-1444) and Janos Hunyadi, Murad II reinstalled Şihabeddin as *beylerbeyi* of Rumili and as a second vizier in the *divan*, a position that his kept under Mehmed II too.¹⁵³ The

¹⁵¹ Şihabeddin was most likely a soubriquet (*lakab*) of Şahin while his patronymic Abdullah indicates his non-Muslim origin.

¹⁵² Halil İnalçık. *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: TTK, 1954), 84-85, *passim.*; M. Tayib Gökbilgin. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 256.

¹⁵³ İnalçık. *Fatih Devri*, 84-85.

latest documentary evidence of Şihabeddin's activity in Rumelia dates from 1455.¹⁵⁴ Soon after that date he most probably retired and died in Filibe.

Being a prolific patron of architecture, Şihabeddin must have spent his early days in Edirne, where he built the so-called *Kirazlı camii*, mentioned above and two other *mescids* that are no longer extant.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, he commissioned in Edirne a public bath, a large mansion (*saray*), and a bridge over the river Tunca, known locally as the *Sarraçhane köprüsü*.¹⁵⁶ He also built a *hamam* in the village of *Tovice Mahmud* that was bestowed together with several other villages in the region of Edirne and multiple shops in the city itself to the pious foundation created in support of his buildings in Edirne.¹⁵⁷ Şihabeddin also appears to have been actively connected with the Athonite monasteries acting as protector of the monks and the rich Christian aristocrats who took shelter there, as it is reflected in several document issued under his name.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth Zachariadou. "Another Document of Shehab al-Din Pasha concerning Mount Athos (1455)." in Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Peter Zieme (eds.), *Studia Ottomanica: Festgabe für György Hazai zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 217-222.

¹⁵⁵ The nineteenth-century Edirne scholar Badi Efendi, notes that Şihabeddin's mosque was built in a quarter named after him that was located near the *arasta* of Selimiye. Serap Küçük. Ahmed Bâdî Efendi ve Edirne Yapıları (unpublished M.A. thesis, Trakya University, Edirne, 1995), 92. The now vanished *mescids* were named *Kavaklı* and *Şihabeddin Paşa* respectively.

¹⁵⁶ The dedicatory inscription of the bridge, completed in A.H. 855 (1451-1452), indicates that Şihabeddin retained the position of *vizier* during the second term of Murad II's reign. For the text of the inscription see Dijkema, *Ottoman Inscriptions in Edirne*, 32-34; Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sutan Murad Devri, 478. Details about the bridge in Çulpan, Taş Köprüleri, 107-110. His *saray*, burned down in a janissary revolt and the *hamam* are no longer extant.

¹⁵⁷ Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 257-258. The document used by Gökbilgin is the detailed *tahrir defteri* BOA, TD 20, dating 1485-1486, ff. 59-62.

¹⁵⁸ Elizabeth Zachariadou. "The Worrysome Wealth of the Čelnik Radić." in Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (eds.), *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994), 383-397; Vančo Boškov. "Aus Athos Turcica: Eine Urkunde Şehab ed-Din Şahin Paşa's, des Wesirs und Statthalters von Rumelien; aus dem Jahre 1453." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986): 65-72; Elias Kolovos. "A *Biti* of 1439 from the Archives of the Monastery of Xeropotamou (Mount Athos)." *Hilandarski Zbornik* 11 (2004): 295-306.

In regard of Şihabeddin's successful military and administrative career during which he acted as supporter of art and architecture in the Ottoman Balkan provinces it is hardly surprising that he also appears to have been an active patron of architecture in Filibe, the city in which he must have often resided in the course of his terms as *beylerbeyi* of Rumili. The public buildings in Filibe commissioned by Şihabeddin in the mid-fifteenth century were clearly in accordance with the general program for spatial modification and revival of the city that began with the construction of Murad II's large Friday mosque in the mid-1430s.

The Muradiye in Filibe indeed defined the new center of the emerging Muslim city in the opened flat plain below the citadel, but in order that it truly turned into a new commercial core in accordance with the established Ottoman tradition, it needed to be supplemented by several other public buildings. First and foremost, the large communal mosque that had to serve the growing congregation of the busy commercial quarter as well as the city's visitors necessitated an adequate public bath. The building which served as the main public bath of the *çarşı* district throughout Ottoman period, known as *Tahtakale hamamı*, was located about fifty meters northeast of Muradiye mosque. (no. 26 on Plan 1) It was pointed above, that this bath in all probability was built atop of an older one, commissioned by the first governor of Filibe, Lala Şahin Paşa, which was razed to the ground during the Interregnum period. The *Tahtakale* bath was functioning throughout the Ottoman period and was destroyed by local municipality in the beginning of the twentieth century, thus its architecture and floor plan was never scholarly examined in detail. Nevertheless, the extant nineteenth-century photographs and

Ottoman documentary evidence strongly suggest a construction date in the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁵⁹ (Figs. 17-18) Evliya Çelebi noted that it was a “famous bath that was always crowded”¹⁶⁰ while the twentieth-century local historian Vasil Peev wrote that the bath had a spacious disrobing space and five hot domed rooms that had a capacity of about one thousand customers per one day and night.¹⁶¹

Evidence from the accounting registers of the pious foundation of Şihabeddin Paşa (*evkaf muhasebes*), demonstrate convincingly that it was him who commissioned and built this bath.¹⁶² The documents reveal that the *vakıf* was clearly in possession of the *Tahtakale hamamı* the rent of which in the first half of the seventeenth century yielded average annual revenue of about six to seven thousand *akçes*.¹⁶³ Moreover, a number of shops surrounding the bath were accruing rent to the foundation, which on the other hand regularly expended large sums for its maintenance and repair works.¹⁶⁴

While being unanimous on the fact that the patron of the bath was Şihabeddin Paşa the documentary sources contain no clue for the exact date of construction of this building. Nonetheless, its proximity to Muradiye and the fact that this was the main

¹⁵⁹ The bath was heavily damaged by a night fire that devastated the old commercial quarter in 14 June 1906 and was demolished shortly afterward. Nikola Alvadžiev. *Plovdivska hronika* (Plovdiv: Hristo G. Danov, 1971), 159. The available photographs dating from the early 1900s show tall vegetation on the roof of the bath, a sign that the bath was no longer in use.

¹⁶⁰ “*ve Tahtalkal’a hammâmi, her bâr izdihâm hamam-ı benâmdır*”, Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 217.

¹⁶¹ Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 222. The author was born in Plovdiv in 1887 and there is a good chance that he used the services of the bath. His father Kostaki Peev was the first elected post-Ottoman mayor of the city.

¹⁶² There are numerous accounting registers (*muhasebe defters*) of this pious foundation – BOA, MAD 6513 contains two registers bound together dating A.H. 1042-1044 (1633-1634); BOA MAD 749 includes five registers dating A.H. 1042-1048 (1633-1638) that were bound and mixed up together with other *vakıfs*; Sofia, PD 17/12, dating from A.H. 1049-1050 (1639-1640); BOA, MAD 15134, dating from A.H. 1050-1051 (1640-1641); BOA, TSMA 5301, dating from A.H. 3.4.1163 (12 March 1750).

¹⁶³ MAD 15134, f. 3^a; PD 17/12, f. 2^a.

¹⁶⁴ For instance in 1632 the administrator of the foundation spent 12 000 *akçes* the repair of the bath. MAD 749, f. 222.

public bath of the commercial area of Filibe strongly suggest that *Tahtakale hamamı* was built soon after the completion of the large Friday mosque. It is unlikely that Şihabeddin commissioned the bath prior his appointment to the post of Rumelian *beylerbeyi* in 1436-1437. On the contrary, it must have been after this date that he came to the city as part of his duties of governor and commander-in-chief of the Ottoman Balkan provinces. By the time of his arrival in Filibe Muradiye mosque was already completed and the necessity of an adequate public bath was most likely apparent.

At first it might seem strange that Murad II commissioned such a large sultanic mosque without the benefit of a public bath, what was otherwise the established practice, but it is noteworthy that his *Hünkâr* mosque in Üsküb (1436) that is fully comparable in scale to the mosque in Filibe was also built without a nearby *hamam* for its congregation. Moreover, the magnificent double bath near Murad II's most monumental building, the innovative *Üç Şerefeli Camii* in Edirne, was added to the complex more than one century later.¹⁶⁵ It might have been because of the extensive and highly costly architectural patronage of Murad II in the 1430s-1440s that made him give up the construction of baths near some of his mosques. In any case the *Tahtakale* bath was the much needed addition which Şihabeddin provided soon after the imperial mosque in Filibe was completed.

In regard of the fact that Şihabeddin possessed a large portion of the land in the commercial district of the town that was known as *Tahtakale* and that he built the bath located in this quarter, it is also very probable that the *Tahtakale* mosque, mentioned

¹⁶⁵ The *çifte hamamı* of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa, built by Mimar Sinan near Murad II's mosque in Edirne, was only completed in 1563. Salih Erken. "Edirne Hamamları." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 10 (1973): 415-417.

above, was also commissioned and built by him on the foundations of earlier structure, erected by Lala Şahin. The available photographs depict *Tahtakale cami'* as a small communal mosque that bears distinguishable fifteenth-century features. (Figs. 8-9 & no. 6 on Plan 1).

It appears that Şihabeddin's architectural patronage in Filibe of the 1430s aimed at reviving the area where the first Muslims in the city settled thus restoring the architectural legacy of his predecessor Lala Şahin Paşa. Nevertheless, the completion of the core of Filibe that imitated at a smaller scale the development of the first Ottoman capitals Bursa and Edirne needed two more types of commercial buildings – a large inn or *kervansaray* for the travelers and merchants and a covered market (*bedesten*) that had to accommodate the valuable goods. The local historiographic tradition attributes the construction of these two building also to Şihabeddin Paşa, but there is no documentary or other reliable evidence that supports this claim. The accounting registers of Şihabeddin's pious foundation contain no information about these buildings therefore in all probability they must have been commissioned by another prominent figure that currently cannot be identified.¹⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the architectural features of the *bedesten* and possibly of the *kervansaray* too indicate construction in the fifteenth century, very likely soon after Murad II completed his mosque.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶ The magnificent *kervansaray* and the *bedesten* suffered from the strong earthquake of 1928. In the early 1930s the local municipality reached a decision for their destruction. In spite of this unfortunate decision the buildings were documented and exact building plans are now available. When studied together with the numerous photographs they provide fairly good idea about these monuments. (Figs 19-27)

¹⁶⁷ A register of 1489 (BOA, TD 26, f. 64) provides the name of a Filibe resident who was occupied in the *kervansaray* that strongly suggests that the massive building was completed earlier. Grigor Boykov and Mariya Kiprovska. "The Ottoman Philippopolis (Filibe) during the Second Half of the 15th c." *Bulgarian*

The large lead-covered *kervansaray* (known locally as *Kurşun han*) was a massive two-storied building that roughly had a square plan. The structure enclosed a wide courtyard in the middle of which there was a big fountain for the travelers and their pack animals. (no. 32 on Plan 1) The rooms, equipped with fireplaces that accommodated the visitors were distributed on the upper floor, while the cells on the ground floor were reserved for the goods and the animals of the travelers.¹⁶⁸ The only nail-studded gate made of thick oak planks opened at the northwestern corner of the building thus allowing direct access to the long market street (*Uzun çarşı*), which constituted the main axis of the city stretching up northward of Muradiye to the bank of the Maritsa River.¹⁶⁹

The *bedesten* was built northeast of Muradiye mosque only a few meters south of the *Tahtakale hamamı*. (no. 33 on Plan 1) It was a massive rectangular building with six domes that occupied an area of five hundred square meters. Two massive pillars divided the internal space of the *bedesten* into six equal in size spaces, where according to Evliya Çelebi all valuable goods were kept.¹⁷⁰ The building had four gates, one on each side, as the main entrance facing the *Uzun çarşı* was accessed through three smaller

Historical Review 3-4 (2000): 128. In private discussions Prof. Machiel Kiel insisted that the architectural features of the great *kervansaray* in Filibe point to a much later date of construction, possibly in the seventeenth century. Despite the lack of any documentary evidence the *kervansaray* seems a logical addition to the development of the commercial core of Filibe in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, in light of new evidence this thesis may be revised.

¹⁶⁸ Margarita Harbova. *Gradoustroystvo i arhitektura po bălgarskite zemi prez XV-XVIII vek* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1991), 155-157.

¹⁶⁹ The original heavy gate of the *kervansaray* is housed at the local Ethnographic museum.

¹⁷⁰ "... ve bir kârgîr binâ-yı kavî kapuları silsileli ma'mûr dur. Cemî'i diyârın zî-kıymet tuhefleri anda bî-kıymet bulunur", Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 217.

streets that joined at this point.¹⁷¹ The closest architectural parallel of the building is the massive six-domed bedesten built in 1450s by Mehmed II in Thessaloniki, which reaffirms the hypothesis that the covered market in Filibe must have been commissioned in the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁷²

The architectural patronage of Şihabeddin in the late 1430s aimed at reviving the oldest Muslim parts of the city and developing its newly settled commercial core. While the Muradiye and the surrounding buildings shaped the new center of Filibe, Şihabeddin's much larger contribution to the urban landscape was placed about half a kilometer north of the Muradiye on the banks of the river Maritsa and marked the edge of the Muslim town. The complex built by Şihabeddin Paşa consisted of a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, today known locally as “imaret džamiya”, a public bath, a medrese, an inn and a mausoleum of the patron. They were built near the river, occupying both sides of the road, which crossing the bridge of Lala Şahin ran southward towards Muradiye and the central part of the town. Undoubtedly, the choice of location was not fortuitous, but was rather meant to mark the end of the Ottoman town on the one hand and to serve as a foretaste of it for those coming in on the other. A traveler on the *Via Militaris* road

¹⁷¹ Hristo Peev. “Golemiyat bezisten v Plovdiv.” *Godishnik na narodniya arheologicheski muzey Plovdiv* 1 (1948): 204-207. Halil İnalçık. “The Hub of the City: the Bedestan of Istanbul.” *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1980): 1-17. Overview on the Ottoman bedestens in modern Bulgaria in Mehmet Tunçel. “Türk Mimarîsi’nde Bulgaristan’daki Bedesten Binaları.” in Azize Aktaş Yasa and Zeynep Zafer (eds.), *Balkanlar’da Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarîsi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri (17-19 Mayıs 2000, Şumnu - Bulgaristan)* (Ankara: Atatürk Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2001), 725-762. Harbova. *Gradoustroystvo i arhitektura*, 183-186.

¹⁷² On the bedesten in Thessaloniki see Pelagia Astrinidou. “Bedesten, Thessaloniki, Greece.” in Slobodan Ćurčić and Evangelia Hadjistryphonos (eds.), *Secular Medieval Architecture in the Balkans 1300-1500 and its Preservation* (Thessaloniki : Aimos, 1997), 286-289; Lilia Sambanopoulou. “Bedesten” in Esri Brouskari (ed.), *Ottoman Architecture in Greece* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture – Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities, 2008), 246-247.

coming from the west would have inevitably been confronted by the main T-shaped building, which faced the bridge, thus displaying the Ottoman presence at a distance.

In contrast to all buildings mentioned above, the date of completion of Şihabeddin's T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* in Filibe and the rest of the buildings in the complex can be established with a great degree of certainty thanks to the dedicatory inscription (*kitabe*) that was once placed above its entrance. In the course of the restoration of the building during the 1970s the inscription was removed and disappeared ever since.¹⁷³ Recently the original inscription was rediscovered broken into pieces and it is currently placed on display near the entrance of the building.¹⁷⁴ (Fig. 28) Nevertheless, the *kitabe* was satisfactorily studied and its translation was published in several scholarly works.¹⁷⁵

The text of the plate indicates that the T-shaped building, referred to in the inscription as an elevated *imaret* (*el-'imareti'-'aliye*), was built by the acting *beylerbeyi*

¹⁷³ In 1977 Machiel Kiel found the inscription lying on a pile of old tombstones inside the building. I am very indebted to Prof. Kiel who kindly offered me his unpublished notes and studies on the Ottoman monuments in Filibe (hereafter Kiel. Filibe notes and studies). These travel notes constitute on their own a historical source of great value since in the 1970s Prof. Kiel had the chance to document buildings that were demolished afterwards thus in many cases he was the only scholar who examined some of the no longer extant Ottoman monuments in the Balkans.

¹⁷⁴ The *kitabe* was discovered by Elena Chardakliyska who spotted it under the pile of Ottoman tombstones behind the building. It is likely that the missing pieces of the plate are still buried under the heavy tombstones. Some of these tombstones were studied by Kiel in the 1970s, but the originals disappeared afterwards. Behind Şihabeddin's building presently there are no less than fifty Ottoman tombstones, piled on top of each other, that still await scholarly attention. My own observations show that in the past ten years about one quarter of the Ottoman tombstones piled behind the building disappeared. Removing the more elaborate examples of the tombstones the thieves allowed the rediscovering of the original dedicatory plate.

¹⁷⁵ Bogdan Filov. "Zapazvaneto na imaret-džamiya v Plovdiv." *Izvestiya na bălgarskoto arheologicheskoto društvo* 2 (1911): 258; Gliša Elezović. *Turski spomenici*, vol. 1, part 1 (Belgrade: Zora, 1940), 1112-1138; Tatarlı, "Turski kultovi sgradi", 593-600; Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sutan Murad Devri, 483.

of Rumili *el-hac* Şihabeddin Paşa during the reign of sultan Murad II.¹⁷⁶ The date in which the building was completed is encrypted in a chronogram at the bottom line that gives the year A.H. 848 (29 April 1444 – 17 April 1445).¹⁷⁷ The claims made by Elezović and Tatarlı that this building was commissioned by Şihabeddin in order to commemorate the Ottoman victory at the battle of Varna (10 November 1444) in which he played a decisive role do not seem to hold ground. The information of the *kitabe* provides the Hijri year 848 that indeed makes this assumption possible, but it also clearly indicates Murad II as the reigning Ottoman sultan. Murad, however, abdicated in favor of his son Mehmed II in late June or early August 1444 therefore Şihabeddin's complex was certainly finished prior the battle of Varna.¹⁷⁸ The construction of the buildings of Şihabeddin near the bridge of Lala Şahin in Filibe must have begun about a year earlier, probably when he was reappointed as *beylerbeyi* of Rumili and completed in the period April – July 1444.

The T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* of Şihabeddin is among the largest and the most monumental buildings of this type in the Ottoman Balkans. (no. 9 on Plan 1) A five-bay porch supported by square pillars precedes the main entrance of the building that was done completely in cloisonné masonry. The main hall of the *imaret/zaviye*, roughly a square of 8.65 – 9.90 m, is covered by the resting on Turkish triangles large dome that has an oculus, crowned with a lantern. (Fig. 29) The domed oratory lying on the main axis of the building is elevated eight steps from the ground as six niches for shoes

¹⁷⁶ The title *emirü'l-ümera* (the *emir* of the *emirs*) clearly indicates the fact that he was the acting *beylerbeyi*.

¹⁷⁷ Elezović. *Turski spomenici*, 1113; Tatarlı, “Turski kultovi sgradi”, 596-597.

¹⁷⁸ İnalçık. *Fatih Devri*, 55-65; İnalçık, “Murad II”, 168.

(*pabuçluk*) occupy both sides of the stairs. (Fig. 30) The niches clearly indicate that the elevated *eyvan* used for prayers was the only carpeted part of the building, while the rest of it was paved with hexagonal bricks. Originally the side-rooms (*tabhanes*) could not be accessed directly from the central hall, but they were attained through narrow vaulted vestibules on each side of the main gate. The two lateral rooms that accommodated important travelers and dervishes were equipped with fire places and niches for personal belongings that are still *in situ*. The eastern *tabhane* was also attainable from the outside by a door opened at the lateral facade. In the sixteenth century, when the building was converted to a communal mosque, the walls separating the side-rooms and the central hall were removed thus opening wider space for the congregation. The minaret that is accessed through the western vestibule is likely to have been an integral part of the original architectural design.¹⁷⁹ This building is one of the very few standing Ottoman monuments in modern Plovdiv. A stone inscription placed above the gate commemorates a repair done in 1814-1815 by sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839). It was possibly in the course of this restoration that the original domed portico was covered with a simpler roof.¹⁸⁰ (Fig. 31)

Northeast of the T-shaped building there was a two-storied frame-built building that hosted the kitchens (*aşevi*) of the *imaret* and the refectory where food was distributed free of charge to those employed in the complex, travelers and poor.¹⁸¹ (no.

¹⁷⁹ Ayverdi, Çelebi ve II. Sutan Murad Devri, 480-485.

¹⁸⁰ The text of this inscription is published by Osman Keskiöglü. "Bulgaristan'da Türk Vakıfları ve Bâli Efendi'nin Vakıf Paralar Hakkında Bir Mektubu." *Vakıflar Dergesi* 9 (1971): 85-86.

¹⁸¹ The *imarets* in the Ottoman Empire had a clearly defined clientele that was served in the public soup kitchens. The groups who benefited from its services were specified in the stipulations of the endowment deed. In principle the staff of the complex, the students and their instructors, the *ulema*, wandering

35 on Plan 1) The upper floor had several rooms that accommodated visitors or those in service of the complex.¹⁸² The kitchens had very large and tall chimney the proportions of which greatly reminded of a tower. The imposing chimney of the *aşevi* stood until the late nineteenth century as it can be seen on the extant photographs from this period. (Fig. 32)

North of the *imaret*'s kitchens Şihabeddin commissioned and built a large *medrese* that had twelve student cells in two parallel rows. (no. 34 on Plan 1) The building was accessed through an imposing gate on its western side while a large lead-covered *eyvan* enclosed the structure from the east. This monumental Muslim college, built completely in cloisonné masonry is likely to have been the largest *medrese* in today's Bulgaria.¹⁸³ According to the Ottoman educational hierarchy the college of Şihabeddin was established as *otuzlu medresesi*, but turning into an important provincial center of education during the Süleymanic period it was promoted to *kırklı*, i.e. the daily salaries of the instructors (*müderri*s) in the college were thirty and forty *akçes*

dervishes, the *gazis*, city's poor Muslims and non-Muslims were offered food free of charge in the *imarets* in Anatolia and the Balkans. Ömer Lütfi Balkan. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmâret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tazına âit Araştırmalar." *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23 (1962-1963): 239-296; Amy Singer. *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: an Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002); idem. "Serving Up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35:3 (2005): 481-500; In a recent contribution Lowry discusses the functions and clients of the *imarets*, arguing that they differed according to the time period and region in the Ottoman Empire. Heath Lowry. "The 'Soup Muslims' of the Balkans: Was There a 'Western' and 'Eastern' Ottoman Empire." in Donald Quataert and Baki Tezcan (eds.), *Beyond Dominant Paradigms in Ottoman and the Middle Eastern/North African Studies: A Tribute to Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj. Special issue of Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 36 (2010), 97-133.

¹⁸² Food was distributed to Muslims and Christians alike until 1878. After this date the *imaret* gradually declined and the building fell in disrepair. Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 226.

¹⁸³ The other *medrese* in Bulgaria that had twelve cells was that of Haraççı Kara Mehmed in Köstendil. Orlin Säbev. *Osmanskite uchilishta v bălgarskite zemi XV-XVIII v.* (Sofia: Lubomădrie-Hronika, 2001), 127.

respectively.¹⁸⁴ The data from a seventeenth-century accounting register of the pious foundation of Şihabeddin shows that in 1636-1637 the college had nine students who were entitled to a daily stipend of one *akçe*. The salary of the instructors in the seventeenth century had risen to sixty *akçes* as did supposedly the prestige of the *medrese* too.¹⁸⁵

The college functioned until 1878 when it seems to have been abandoned. Its magnificent building stood for another half-a-century in a pitiful state of decay. In the 1920s Otto Rudloff photographed it and included some of these photographs in his article on the old architecture of Plovdiv.¹⁸⁶ The building was most likely damaged by the earthquake of 1928 and soon after it was completely demolished. (Figs. 33-34)

A large *hamam* was placed opposite the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* on the western side of the main road that cut through the complex, dividing it into two seemingly equal parts. (no. 28 on Plan 1) The bath for a reason was locally known as *Hünkâr hamamı* (Sultan's bath), but it undoubtedly was part of Şihabeddin's endowment of 1444. (Figs. 35-36) Accounting register of his foundation dating from 1640-1641, for instance, shows that the bath by the bridge (*hamam-i cısr*), that is *Hünkâr hamamı* in question, was property of the *vakıf* that rented it to a private individual, receiving an annual rent of ten

¹⁸⁴ For details and a list of some of the important instructors at this college see Câhid Baltacı. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri: Teşkilât, Tarih* (İstanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1976), 141-143; Sâbev. *Osmanskite uchilishta*, 222.

¹⁸⁵ BOA, MAD 749, f. 124.

¹⁸⁶ Gertrude Rudloff-Hille and Otto Rudloff. "Grad Plovdiv i negovite sgradi." *Izvestiya na bălgarskiya arheologicheski institut* 8 (1934): 379-425. Only a small part of the photographs taken by Rudloff were later included in the published article. The German Archaeological in Istanbul (DAI) is in possession of full set of the photographs taken by Rudloff. I would like to express my gratitude to the staff of the photo library of the institute who greatly assisted me.

thousand *akçes*.¹⁸⁷ In the course of the same financial year the administrator of the foundation approved a repair work of the bath that amounted to 2 861 *akçes*.¹⁸⁸ The *hamam* operated throughout the Ottoman period rendering services to the travelers who stopped at the nearby inn, the residents of the quarter, the students and instructors at the *medrese*, and those employed in the complex.

Toward the second half of the nineteenth century the *vakıf* apparently neglected the bath as in 1878 it was in need of a serious restoration. Because of the lack of a parliament building the authorities of Eastern Rumelia decided to repair and use the *hamam* for the needs of the local assembly until a proper building is constructed. Thus ironically enough on 22 October 1879 the sessions of the assembly of Eastern Rumelia were opened in the renovated bath of Şihabeddin Paşa. The building served as local parliament until 1885 when Eastern Rumelia and Kingdom of Bulgaria united so the Rumelian assembly dissolved.¹⁸⁹ After this date the bath was used as a depot for archival documentation of the local law-court, but left without maintenance it fell into disrepair. In 1923 the magnificent building of *Hünkâr hamamı* that greatly reminded both in scale and appearance of Şihabeddin's other bath, the *Tahtakale* bath in the *çarşı* area, was demolished.¹⁹⁰ Otto Rudloff, resident of Plovdiv at that time, witnessed the process of its demolition and photographed it.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ BOA, MAD 15134, f. 3.

¹⁸⁸ BOA, MAD 15134, f. 7.

¹⁸⁹ The building for the local assembly, completed in the same year, was given to the local historical museum and library.

¹⁹⁰ Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 222.

¹⁹¹ Two photographs showing the demolition of the bath are available in DAI in Istanbul. One of them is presented here as Fig. 37.

The complex of Şihabeddin included also a large *han* that was built on the western side of the road, north of the public bath. Located very close to the bridge over the river Maritsa that inn was frequented by merchants and travelers. In later period the inn of Şihabeddin was known as *panayır han* that possibly bespeaks of a regular seasonal market taking place near it. Nevertheless, very little is known about its architectural features, since being a relatively lower structure it remained hidden on all late nineteenth and early twentieth century photographs.

The date of Şihabeddin Paşa's death is unknown but he most likely died in Filibe after 1455. His body was laid in the mausoleum built beside the western flank of the gallery of the T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviye*. It is a small domed octagonal building, built in very pleasant cloisonné masonry. The grave of Şihabeddin currently has two tombstones which have only decorative elements bearing no inscription. The same tombstones also flanked the grave in the 1920s, when they were photographed by Rudloff, but in spite of their fifteenth-century appearance it is difficult to tell whether these are indeed the original stones or later additions. It seems unlikely that the tombstone of a prominent figure like Şihabeddin Paşa is left without any inscription on it. It is arguable therefore that the original tombstones were either removed for certain reason and later replaced by the two decorated stones, or it is also possible that the grave of Şihabeddin Paşa in Filibe is a cenotaph, while his body was laid somewhere else. (Figs. 38-39)

Whatever the case, in his lifetime Şihabeddin endowed the revenues from a number of villages in the districts of Filibe and Malkara for the support of his complex

in Filibe, together with the revenues from the rice fields and the rents of the two baths and a number of other properties and shops in the city.¹⁹² There is no extant copy of his endowment deed (*vakfiye*) therefore the exact date of its drawing up is unknown, but in all probability this must have happened shortly after the complex was completed, thus in the second half of the 1440s. The accounting registers of the foundation show that after the death of Şihabeddin the *vakıf* was managed by the acting *kadı*s of Filibe, who proved to be skillful administrators gradually increasing the wealth of the pious foundation over time as the largest villages in its domains reached in the mid-sixteenth century several hundred households of taxpayers.¹⁹³

The prolific architectural patronage of Şihabeddin Paşa during the late 1430s and the first half of the 1440s completely redesigned the urban space of Filibe and laid the foundations of the emerging Ottoman provincial center. On the one hand his contributions to the urban core gave a real boost to the development of the commercial area the revival of which seems to have been inspired by Murad II. On the other hand, Şihabeddin became the benefactor of a large complex, centered on a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* that was placed at the head of the bridge of Lala Şahin over the river Maritsa. Acting in accordance with the established Ottoman tradition of urban planning Şihabeddin placed his complex at some distance from the Muslim urban core thus

¹⁹² On the *vakıf* of Şihabeddin see Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livası, 258-261; Vera Mutafchieva. “Novi osmanski dokumenti za vakāfite pod turska vlast.” *Izvestiya na Dāržavnite Arhivi* 6 (1962): 271-273; idem. “Za rolyata na vakāfa v gradskata ikonomika na Balkanite pod turska vlast.” *Izvestiya na Instituta po Istorija* 10 (1962): 121-143; Damiyan Borisov. Vakāfskata institutsia v Rodopite prez XV-XVII vek (unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Plovdiv, 2008), 164-182; İbrahim Sezgin. “Filibe’deki Şehabeddin Paşa Vakıfları.” in Meral Bayrak et al. (eds.), *Uluslararası Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri Sempozyumu 11-13 Mayıs 2005. Bildiriler Kitabı* (Eskişehir: Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2005), 347-355.

¹⁹³ Borisov. Vakāfskata institutsia v Rodopite, 168-177.

stretched the space of the city and defined its boundaries to the north. Extending the Ottoman architectural presence to previously unoccupied outlying areas the complex must have also had the task to serve as a dignified preview of the city and was by all means a vivid display of the Ottoman claim for lordship over the area.

The imperial Muradiye mosque in the center of the city and Şihabeddin's *imaret* complex at its northern edge were linked by a wide street (the so-called *Uzun çarşı*) that turned into the main axis of Filibe's spatial development. Elviya Çelebi noted that it ran from the bridge to the mosque of Murad II in the center, being one thousand sixty steps in length and entirely paved in the old fashion with large stones. Both sides of the main street of the city were occupied by inns and double-storied shops (*dükân*) that according to the Ottoman traveler numbered eight hundred eighty.¹⁹⁴ The concept that stayed behind the construction of this large and long commercial street seems apparent. It had to divert the path of the old medieval road that once ran north of the citadel and to bring the traffic into the new Muslim commercial center of Filibe. The earliest urban plans of Filibe, drawn up by Guillaume Lejean (1867)¹⁹⁵ and Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1869)¹⁹⁶ clearly designated the old road leading to Edirne and Istanbul below the

¹⁹⁴ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, 218.

¹⁹⁵ The city plan of Plovdiv by Lejean is published in French and German versions. The German version of it appeared as addition to the map of the *sancak* of Filibe published by Heinrich Kiepert in 1876. The map of Kiepert, however is a translation of the earlier Ottoman map prepared by Mehmed Nusret Paşa. *Filibe Sancağının Harita Umumiyesi 1279 (1862)*, a copy of this map is available in the Başbakanlık Arşivi (BOA, HRT 220). The map of Heinrich Kiepert. *Karte des Sandjak Filibe (Philippopolis) aufgenommen nach Anordnung des dortigen Provinzial-Gouverneurs Mehmed-Nusret-Pascha, 1876* that contains Lejean's plan of Filibe is available at the British National Archives (FO 925/3176), the French Institute in Istanbul (IFEA) and the Public Library in Plovdiv (NBIV). A copy of the French version of Lejean's plan is published in Rudloff-Hille and Rudloff, "Grad Plovdiv i negovite sgradi", 383.

¹⁹⁶ Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Reise durch Rumelien im Sommer 1869." *Mitteilungen der K. und K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 14 (1871): 65-180. Hochstetter, a Viennese geologist was invited by

northern edge of the citadel and the new one which crossed the Muslim commercial core. Traversing the heart of Ottoman Filibe, the new road continued further southward as making a sudden shift to the east marked the southern edge of the city. (Plan 2 & 3) The Ottoman concept of diverting the path of the medieval road and turning the new one into the axis of the city appears so successful that it not only remained unchanged throughout the Ottoman period, but still constitutes the backbone of modern Plovdiv too.

2.5. The vanished imperial residence (*saray-i ‘amire*) in Filibe

The thorough revival of the city that took place in the mid-fifteenth century thanks to the extensive architectural patronage of sultan Murad II and the *beylerbeyi* Şihabeddin Paşa clearly indicates the increasing importance of the city. Being the seat of the acting governor and commander in chief of all Ottoman forces in Rumili the city must have had an adequate residence for the governor who represented the Ottoman power in Europe. Moreover, the fields northward of Filibe were one of the chief assembly points for the Ottoman army when campaigning to the Western Balkans, thus the sultans often resided in the city too. The archival documentation reveals that indeed such imperial residence (*saray-i amire*) was in existence as early as the fifteenth century.

The available sources do not provide information on the exact date of construction and

the Ottoman government to lead a group of engineers and topographer who did research in Thrace in connection to the planned construction of the railway between Edirne and Belovo.

the individual who commissioned the building, but in all probability the *saray* was built during the reign of Murad II in the process of the general renewal of the city, thus making him the most likely patron. His son Mehmed II appears to have made extensive use of this palace as the sources indicate that he often resided in Filibe. For instance, after the conquest of Constantinople he and the chancellery must have spent the fall of 1453 in Filibe.¹⁹⁷ The Thracian city was one of the places where Mehmed II took refuge during the frequent outbreaks of Bubonic plague in the capital. In 1455 Doukas, as part of a delegation taking the annual tribute of Mytilene (Lesbos) to the Ottoman ruler headed toward Filibe where Mehmed II together with his court expected the end of the outburst of the pestilence.¹⁹⁸ Oruç reports that after Mehmed II's Albanian campaign of 1467, once more the plague made him stay in Filibe for some time prior being able to safely return to the capital.¹⁹⁹

In any case the imperial residence in Filibe must have been built in the first half of the fifteenth century, because by 1489 it was already in a need of repair, indicating that it must have been erected some time earlier. In the course of the major restoration of the late 1480s the roof tiles were replaced and other parts were rebuilt as close to one thousand masters and skilled workers were occupied in different stages of the repair.

¹⁹⁷ A *tahrir* register of the *vilâyet* of Alaca Hisar, drawn up prior to 1446, i.e. during Mehmed II's first reign, contains also later notes of revisions and changes of the *timar* holders. Several *timars* were reassigned by the chancellery as the changes were approved by the sultan. The *berats* sanctioning the changes were signed by Mehmed II in *evahir-i Ramazan, sene 857* (14 September 1453) in his Filibe residence. İBK, M.C. O. 117-5, ff. 3^a, 4^a. In the late autumn of 1453 Mehmed II set for Istanbul in order to supervise the repopulation of the city in person. See Halil İnalçık. "The Ottoman Survey of 1455 and the Conquest of Istanbul." *550. Yılında Fetih ve İstanbul/The Conquest and Istanbul in the 550th Anniversary* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 3-4.

¹⁹⁸ Heath Lowry. "Pushing the Stone Uphill: The Impact of Bubonic Plague on Ottoman Urban Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." in idem. *Defterology Revisited: Studies on the 15th & 16th Century Ottoman Society* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008), 25.

¹⁹⁹ Lowry, "Pushing the Stone Uphill", 28.

The archival document that provides this information does not contain any specific reference about the number of the buildings which formed the structure of the complex of the residence. Nevertheless, as one can expect, the *saray* had its own *hamam* since fifty of its windows (*cam*) were replaced during the restoration ordered by Bayezid II.²⁰⁰

The exact location of the palace in Filibe is also unknown, but the local toponymy indicates that in all probability it was situated outside the confines of the then city. The area west of Filibe's tallest hill (Ott. *Candem tepesi*) that stood at some distance from the Ottoman town (about 2 km SW of Muradiye) was known by the local residents of Plovdiv in the previous century as *Saray kırı*.²⁰¹ A small stream, referred to in the Ottoman documentary sources and maps as *Saray çayı* (mod. Pärveneshka), descends from the northern foot of the Rhodope mountains and prior joining the Maritsa passes by the area known as *Saray kırı*. (Plan 4) These topographic markers suggest that the sultanic residence must have been located in this area, which roughly occupies five square kilometers, probably in its eastern part closer to the Ottoman town. Moreover, in 1525 some of the residents of the nearby village of Komat (modern quarter of Plovdiv) were employed as servants in the palace for which they enjoyed tax exemptions.²⁰² Later the privileges of the servants in the royal residence seem to have been disregarded by the

²⁰⁰ The document was published by Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 125-126. The accounting document of the repair of the imperial residence in Filibe was included in a large register containing multiple accounting registers of the sultanic pious foundations throughout the empire, which were in need of different repairs and in which various constructions were undergoing. Similarly to the repair of the bridge over the river Maritsa a few years earlier the resources for the reconstruction of the *saray* were provided by the *emins* of the *çeltük mukata'ası* of Filibe. İBK, M.C. O.91, ff. 263^r – 264^a (old pagination 525-526).

²⁰¹ It is probably after the name of this area that *Candem tepesi* appears on the nineteenth-century plan of Filibe drawn by Lajeau as *Serai Tepessi*.

²⁰² „*sarayda hizmetkârlardır avarızdan muaflardır, hükümleri var*” (These are servants in the palace [for which] they are exempted from paying the extraordinary levies. They presented their appointment orders). BOA, MAD 519, f. 64.

tax-collectors who levied extraordinary taxes on them. The servants abandoned their duties and the fencing of the *saray* fell into disrepair. The local residents of Filibe took advantage of this situation and began cultivating the lands that belonged to the complex of the residence. In the 1560s series of sultanic decrees urged the restoration of the trench (*hendek*) surrounding the *saray* as well as the reestablishment of status of tax-exemption (*mu'afiyet*) to the servants from the village of Komat.²⁰³

It is difficult to state with any certainty when the palace was abandoned, but it clearly functioned in the sixteenth century. The archival sources at hand contain no information about the *saray* after that date which suggests that left without an adequate maintenance the palace declined and turned into ruins. By the late nineteenth century, when this area was reclaimed and cultivated by the growing population of Filibe there were no traces left neither from the palace nor from its *hamam*. As it often was the case, the ruins of the buildings most likely provided good building material that was reused elsewhere.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973/1565-1566)* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1994), m. nos. 460, 1703, 1724, 1725. *6 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (972/1564-1565)* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1995), m. no. 338.

²⁰⁴ According to a publication in a local newspaper, which relates a legend for dramatic love story connected with this *saray*, in the mid-nineteenth century the local Bulgarian notable family of Chalâkov purchased the land of the *saray* (one thousand *decares* in size) from the Ottoman government. Nikola Iskrov. "Legenda za Saray-kârâ." *Plovdivski Obshtinski Vestnik* 5 August 1929, 3-4.

2.6. Supplying water for a Muslim city: İsfendiyarođlu İsmail Bey's governorship of Filibe and his contribution to the development of the city

The architectural patronage of Murad II and Şihabeddin Paşa in the 1430s and 1440s redesigned the medieval Philippopolis thus giving birth to the new Ottoman city of Filibe. Some twenty years later another benefactor contributed to the architectural development of the city that truly made Filibe an important provincial center of the Ottoman realm. İsfendiyarođlu İsmail Bey, who resided in the town in the 1460s – 1470s, appears to have been the second greatest patron of architecture in the Ottoman city. Endowing a number of valuable edifices he spent a great deal of efforts in promoting the development of the city in which he resided.

İsmail Bey descended from the dynasty of the Candarođulları, who ruled a principality (*beylik*) in central north Anatolia. The dynasty controlled major cities on the trade routes such as Kastamonu and Taşköprü, but most notably it ruled over the important Black Sea port of Sinop.²⁰⁵ Their principality was annexed to the Ottoman state by Bayezid I (1389-1402), but soon after the battle of Ankara (1402) it was restored under İsfendiyar Bey who managed in securing Timur's support.²⁰⁶ İsfendiyar's grandson Kemaleddin İsmail Bey ascended the *beylik* in 1443 after the death of his father İbrahim Bey. In 1461 Mehmed II launched a campaign against İsfendiyarođlu

²⁰⁵ On the dynasty of Candarođulları see Yaşar Yücel. *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1998); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu devletleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1937), 121-147.

²⁰⁶ Yaşar Yücel. "Candar-ođlu Çelebi İsfendiyar Bey 1392-1439." *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2:2-3 (1964): 157-174.

İsmail Bey and made him surrender the strategic and heavily fortified castle of Sinop.²⁰⁷ Taken by surprise İsmail Bey had no other choice but to put up with Mehmed II's proposal that offered him Yarhisar and İnegöl, near Bursa, in fief in exchange of his surrender. Nevertheless, later Mehmed II changed his mind, as most probably in a desire to move the Candaroğulları's descendants far away from their homeland thus preventing a possible riot on their part, he assigned to İsmail the governorship of Filibe and gave him in full proprietorship (*mülk*) the nearby village of Markovo together with other revenues from the region.²⁰⁸

İsmail Bey was a highly educated person who acted as profuse patron of literature, art, science and architecture in the Black Sea principality. He was the patron and supporter of a number of distinguished Islamic scholars such as Niksarlı Muhyiddin Mehmed to whom he endowed a library of three hundred books.²⁰⁹ In 1440s and 1450s İsmail Bey built in his native Kastamonu a complex which included a monumental T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, a medrese, a bath and a mausoleum for himself, in which were laid his mother and other relatives. He later commissioned two inns in Kastamonu – the so called *Deve Hanı* near his complex and *İsmail Bey Hanı* in the commercial core of the city.²¹⁰ İsmail Bey himself authored a widely read work on the ritual perceptions of

²⁰⁷ Franz Babinger. *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1978), 191-192; Halil İnalçık. "Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481) and His Time." *Speculum* 35:3 (1960), 422; Selâhaddin Tansel. *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Siyasî ve Askerî Faaliyeti* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1953), 253-259.

²⁰⁸ Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 114-115.

²⁰⁹ Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 116.

²¹⁰ The endowment deed of İsmail Bey's complex in Kastamonu dates from 1457. Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 116.

Islam entitled *Hulviyyât-i Şahi* that was written during his stay in Filibe.²¹¹ Several of the dedicatory inscriptions over his buildings in Kastamonu and the endowment deed refer to İsmail Bey as the “great sultan (*es-sultanü'l-mu'azzam*)” or even the “magnificent sultan and emperor, the master of the lords of Arabia and Persia” (*es-sultan ve'l-hakanü'l-azzim mevlâ-i mülûkü'l-'arab ve'l-'acem*), which offers a fairly good idea for the rank, magnitude and the available financial resources of the person who governed Filibe in the 1460s and 1470s.²¹²

İsmail Bey must have appeared in Filibe in the very late 1461 or more likely in the early 1462. Acting as governor of the city this mighty figure must have been the dominant factor in its development in the following two decades. In regard of İsmail Bey's extensive patronage in Anatolia it is hardly surprising that he commissioned and built several buildings in his new place of residence. He erected the so-called İsmail Bey mosque, which was located on the main market street (*Uzun çarşı*) a few hundred meters north of Muradiye at the corner of today's Rayko Daskalov and Kniyaz Bogoridi streets (no. 9 on Plan 1).²¹³ It was a modest single-domed neighborhood mosque, which in 1879 was standing in good condition as it can be observed on the panoramic photograph of Dimitris Cavra. (Fig. 40) The mosque had a small cemetery yard, clearly visible on Cavra's photograph, where the body of the patron İsmail Bey was buried after his death in 1479.²¹⁴ The mosque must have disappeared in the 1930s, because it was badly damaged by the powerful earthquake of 1928 and never saw a restoration. (Fig. 41) A

²¹¹ Necmi Hamamcıoğlu. *Hulviyyât-ı Şah* (unpublished M.A. thesis, Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, 2008).

²¹² See Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 173-177 for İsmail Bey's dedicatory inscriptions in Kastamonu.

²¹³ Alvađiev. *Plovdivska hronika*, 27.

²¹⁴ Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 192. It seems that İsmail Bey was buried in a simple grave. He did not build a second mausoleum for himself after the imposing *türbe* in Kastamonu.

devoted patron of science and education İsmail Bey established a primary school (*mekteb*) housed in a simpler building next to his mosque.²¹⁵ The school that also had its own library functioned throughout the Ottoman period and in the course of the first decades of the independent Bulgarian rule.²¹⁶

The mosque was supported by the revenues collected from the village of Markovo, earlier given by Mehmed II as *mülk* to İsmail Bey, which he endowed to a pious foundation established in 1467. The date of the endowment deed clearly indicates that the mosque and the *mekteb* in Filibe must have been commissioned soon after İsmail's arrival in the city, thus in the period 1462-1467.²¹⁷ It seems that a few years after its establishment the foundation was abrogated by Mehmed II and its properties confiscated and distributed to timariots. Later Bayezid II restored it and confirmed the right of İsmail Bey's descendents to manage the foundation on a hereditary basis.²¹⁸

Five years later İsmail Bey commissioned another mosque, this time in the family residence at the village of Markova (mod. Markovo), located about nine kilometers south of the then Ottoman Filibe. One of his descendents later added a public bath to this mosque, which together with the large family mansion stood until the early twentieth century when all of the buildings burned down in a big fire. Likewise İsmail

²¹⁵ A *Hurufat defteri* housed in Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi in Ankara, that kept record of different appointments made by the *vakıf*'s administration (VGMA, D. 1180, ff. 226, 246) confirms that the mosque and the *mekteb* of İsmail Bey, who died in the town, were located on the main market street, opposite the *sarraçhane* that occupied the western side of the street.

²¹⁶ Säbev, *Osmanskite uchilishta*, 222.

²¹⁷ Currently there are two known later copies of this endowment deed drawn up on A.H. 2.1.872 (3 August 1467) and its addition (*zeyl*) from 1477 – one housed in Vakıflar Arşivi, VGMA, defter no. 630, s. 975, sıra no. 585, published in facsimile by Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, (269)-(271); and another copy, prepared in 1867, housed in the Başbakanlık Arşivi EV.VKF, dosya 1, gömlek 49.

²¹⁸ Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, 328; BOA TD 370, f. 104.

established a pious foundation providing for the maintenance of the building and the salaries of the staff at his mosque in the village of Markova. He endowed the revenues from several water- and rice mills built near the village of Kadıköy (mod. Kadievo) on the river Kriçime (mod. Văcha) and also on the river Göpsu (mod. Stryama) that descending from the north joins the river Maritsa near Filibe.

The original endowment deed, drawn up in 21 March 1472 is also lost, but the contents of its stipulations survived in later copies.²¹⁹ Likewise it has an adding (*zeyl*), dating from September 1477, which stipulates the conditions for additional revenues endowed to the foundation by İsmail Bey.²²⁰ The revenues derived from two water mills and two rice mills which were built on the stream of Kırk Pınar (mod. Cherkezitsa), near the village of Kara Reis (mod. Bolyartsi, east of Filibe). It is interesting to note that this village and the area around it, which bordered the domain of Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey in Konuş, belonged to the *vakıf* of Muradiye in Edirne (that supported the big mosque in Filibe) and was the chief supplier of rice for the needs of the *imaret* in Edirne. It seems rather unusual that İsmail Bey managed to place his four revenue rising buildings (two rice- and two water mills) on the territory held by another *vakıf*. It can be a remarkable coincidence that his nephew, Bayezid Çelebi, son of Mahmud Bey, appears in the documents as the administrator (*mütevelli*) of Muradiye's foundation only a few years after İsmail Bey had his buildings constructed on the territory of the *vakıf* of Murad II.²²¹

²¹⁹ The *vakfiye*, dating A.H. 1 Şevval 876, also exists in two copies – VGMA, defter no. 628, s. 449, sıra no. 233, published in facsimile by Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı, (271)-(277); and BOA, Ali Emiri, Fatih 57. VGMA, defter no. 2105, s. 354-359, sıra no. 54 contains a translation of the endowment deed, originally written in Arabic into modern Turkish.

²²⁰ VGMA, defter no. 628, s. 474, sıra no. 241.

²²¹ Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki", 301.

This fact alone bespeaks of the great authority and influence of the İsfendiyaroğlu family in the provincial politics of Ottoman Rumili in the second half of the fifteenth century.

What makes the 1472 charter of İsmail Bey's foundation extremely valuable is the fact that it clearly indicates that he restored the water-supply system of Filibe. Moreover, the stipulations of his endowment deed arrange that the surplus of the revenues must be spent for the maintenance of the water conduit. It is highly likely that İsmail repaired or rebuilt one of the three aqueducts that supplied fresh water to the Roman Philippopolis. Two of the Roman aqueducts gathered waters in the lands of the village of Markova where İsmail built his family residence and mosque. The available information on the path of İsmail Bey's aqueduct is very limited, but one can suppose that it was based on the ruined Roman infrastructure.²²² Thus the aqueduct reached the tallest hill of Filibe *Candem tepesi* from the south from where it was directed northeast and reached the hill named *Bunarcık tepesi*. From this hill the pipes of the water conduit descended in the open plain reaching a water distribution building (*sebil*) that allowed the water to be directed wherever necessary. The *sebil* (no. 38 on Plan 1) that was located on the main market street very near to İsmail Bey's mosque was also most likely constructed by him in the course of the repair of the water-supply system of the city.²²³ The building must have been destroyed in the late 1880s or early 1890s, because its conic roof is still clearly observable on Cavra's 1879 panoramic photograph. (Fig. 42) In 1888 it appeared on the oil painting by Jan Václav Mrkvička (Fig. 43), but the

²²² On the Roman water-supply system of Philippopolis see Elena Kesyakova. "Vodosnabdiyavane." in Elena Kesyakova et al. (eds.), *Kniga za Plovdiv* (Plovdiv: Poligraf, 1999), 73-76.

²²³ The *hurufat* register provides the information about the exact location of the *sebilhane*. VGMA, D. 1180, ff. 228, 242, 248. In modern Plovdiv this is roughly the juncture of Rayko Daskalov street and 6th Septemveri boulevard.

panoramic photograph of Ivan Stoyanov, dating 1891, shows that its place was already taken by modern housing.²²⁴

The reconstruction of the old water-supply system must have had an immediate impact on the quality of life of the residents of Filibe. It not only provided enough water for the construction of the numerous public fountains dispersed in the city, but also allowed the construction of larger public baths that needed more running water.²²⁵ One of these baths built after the mid-fifteenth century is the large double bath (known locally as *Çifte hamamı*) which certainly is the largest, and probably the most beautiful, Ottoman public bath preserved in Bulgaria (no. 27 on Plan 1). The building, which was the only *hamam* with both male and female sections in the city, is located northeast of İsmail Bey's mosque dominating the area below the northwestern corner of the citadel. The bath has no dedicatory inscription but its architectural and stylistic features clearly bespeak of a dating in the second half of the fifteenth century. (Figs. 44-45)

²²⁴ The building depicted by Mrkvička is most likely a result of the restoration that took place under Mahmud II (1808-1839). A number of the fountains in Filibe were also repaired or built anew at that time. Two inscriptions commemorating these repairs are placed in the courtyard of Plovdiv's history museum, as one lies in a private courtyard. The photographic collection of the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul has photographs of other such inscriptions that are missing today. BOA, EV.d 10024, dating A.H. 1252 (1836-1837) is a summary accounting record of the expenses made by the *Evkaf-i Hümayun* for the repairs and reconstruction of forty two *çeşmes* and one *şadırvan* that replaced the existing *sebil*. Alvadžiev, Plovdivska hronika, 221 states that the fountain was destroyed in 1905, because of the construction of several new houses on the spot. As long as the reason for demolishing the fountain is indeed correct Alvadžiev must be wrong about the date of its destruction. By 1891 the new housing in question was already completed.

²²⁵ Ironically a local legend attributes to İsmail Bey (more precisely to his grandfather İsfendiyar Bey) a decisive role in the Ottoman conquest of Filibe. Instead of supplying water to the developing city the ruler of Kastamonu is depicted in the legend as the person who discovered and cut the hidden water conduit. By intercepting it İsmail Bey left the defenders of the stronghold dry and shortly afterwards they surrendered the stronghold to Lala Şahin. The text of the legend is published by Kosmas Mirtilos Apostolidis. "Prevezemaneto na Plovdiv ot turtsite, Plovdivski obshtinski vestnik." 18 October 1929, No 22, 3-5 and Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 95-96. For comments on its content see Boykov and Kiprovskaa, "Ottoman Philippopolis (Filibe)", 113-114.

The lack of inscription not only makes the date of construction of the largest bath in Filibe uncertain, but it also brings difficulties in identifying its patron. Machiel Kiel, after examining all other possibilities, made a well-grounded suggestion that only a person of the magnitude of İsmail Bey could have commissioned this imposing and lavishly decorated bath.²²⁶ Despite the lack of any firm documentary evidence at hand which explicitly establishes İsmail's patronage of *Çifte hamamı* I consent Kiel's argumentation.²²⁷ Known as extensive supporter of art and architecture it seems plausible that the person who reconstructed the water supply-system, thus brought abundant running fresh water in the Muslim city, also commissioned the largest public bath in Filibe.

The choice of location for such a large double bath, however, appears strange at a first glance. The bath was not located in the busy commercial quarter nor was it near the main market street that must have attracted most of the traffic. The bath also seems too disproportionate for a neighborhood *hamam*, nor there was matching in size mosque nearby, whose congregation might have made use of it. In any case the bath was placed in an area that even in the nineteenth century did not seem busy let alone in the emerging Ottoman city of the mid-fifteenth century. The only seemingly reasonable explanation for the patron's choice of this location appears to be the close proximity of the tanneries. The tanneries (*debbaghane*) apparently did not change their location throughout the

²²⁶ The argument is developed in detail in Kiel's unpublished notes. Machiel Kiel. "Filibe" in *TDVİA*. Kiel also attributes to İsmail Bey the construction of two more small mosques (*mescids*) and a mausoleum in Filibe.

²²⁷ I was unable to find any accounting register of the pious foundation of İsmail Bey. In case such document is found in the archives in Istanbul or Sofia in the future the patronage of İsmail Bey can possibly be confirmed.

Ottoman period. They were most likely established on that particular spot in late fourteenth or in the first half of the fifteenth century when it was an outlying area, but the rapidly expanding Ottoman city soon enclosed the tanneries between the complex of Şihabeddin Paşa and the quarter of *Durbeği hoca*. There is little doubt that the large *Çifte hamamı* erected in the late 1460s or the 1470s was meant to be the primary bath for those working at the tanneries. The technology of the profession that was extremely dirty requested the tanners to wash themselves in a *hamam* prior to returning home or interacting with other people. Therefore, the large double bath that stood a bit distant from the busy commercial core must have rendered services to the residents of the surrounding quarters but most importantly it provided the much needed nearby *hamam* to the workers in the tanneries.

2.7. The rapid population growth in the second half of the fifteenth century

The extensive architectural patronage in the mid-fifteenth century is a clear sign for the fast development of the urban space in Filibe and certainly for the increase of its Muslim population in this period. Nevertheless, the first Muslim settlers in the city must have appeared much earlier. The Ottoman chronicles, examined above, point that the conqueror of Filibe Lala Şahin furnished the city with a garrison as later on he installed himself in it. Being the administrative and military center of power of the Ottoman

European provinces Filibe most certainly accommodated a Muslim community ever since the Ottomans have taken control over the city. The available data on these earliest Muslim colonists in the Thracian city is very scarce, but it seems that the central power attempted to encourage Muslim migration. Murad I ordered his tutor to establish his seat of power in Filibe and revive the city, while his son Bayezid I issued a sultanic decree granting full tax exemption to all Muslim clergymen and instructors and *medrese* students, resident in the city. The order of Bayezid I was acknowledged by the later Ottoman rulers who reaffirmed the will of their predecessor. The original text of the order of Bayezid I is not extant, but a copy of the sultanic decree (*biti*) issued by Murad II on 6 July 1425 in confirmation of Bayezid I's will was appended to a *tahrir* register dating 1525.²²⁸ The text of Murad II's *biti* stipulates that his grandfather, that is Bayezid I, granted full tax exemption to the imams, *hatibs*, *müezzins*, *şeyhs* and the instructors and students at the Muslim colleges, which he reaffirmed. A later decree (*hükm*) signed by Bayezid II on 8 July 1500 testifies that both he and his predecessor Mehmed II also reaffirmed the tax exemption of the clergymen in Filibe, granted during the reign of Bayezid I.

It is difficult to tell how many Muslims resided in Filibe in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, but during the Interregnum period the city must have had a

²²⁸ BOA, MAD 519. Copies of multiple imperial decrees (*hükms*) that probably served the administrators who prepared the register were disorderly inserted at the front and at the back of this register. The paper on which most of the orders were written is rotten and about half of the text is missing. Nevertheless, most of the dates are preserved and from what it could be deducted from the extant parts one can state that these are documents attesting tax privileges to groups of people or individual villages. Among the documents there are several title deeds (*sinurname*) of the *vakıfs* of Fazlullah Paşa, Koca Davud Paşa in the region of Filibe and a *hükm* granting tax exemption to the residents of the *vakıf* of Gökçe Hamza who built and maintained the important bridge over the river Göpsu on the road from Filibe to Çırpan and Eski Zağra.

sizable Muslim community. Constantine the Philosopher reveals that irritated by the fact that the tax money collected by the residents of Filibe was handed to Musa, prince Süleyman arrested some Muslim notables with the intention to execute them.²²⁹ Given that the city had Muslim notables in the 1410s then presumably a number of ordinary Muslim taxpayers also resided there in the early fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the figures on the population of Filibe in the early Ottoman period can hardly be more specific than that.

The warfare during the Interregnum period must have forced many residents of Filibe, Muslims and Christians alike, to take refuge in safer locations. In the early 1430s when de la Broquière crossed the city it still looked to him predominantly Christian.²³⁰ In all probability at that time there was a Muslim community in the city, but the Christian residents who suffered no major damage during the conquest still greatly outnumbered the Muslims. It appears that the great shift in the demographic pattern of Filibe began after the mid-1430s when the architectural patronage of Murad II and Şihabeddin Paşa completely reshaped the urban space which certainly aimed at stimulating the migrations of Muslims into the city. It is very likely that while the Muslim settlers, establishing new quarters, were quickly filling up the space of the new city at the open plain, part of the Christians were leaving the town for the nearby town of İstanimaka, located at the foot of the Rhodope mountains. Moreover, being of constant shortage of settlers for repopulating Istanbul in the post-conquest years Mehmed II ordered in 1460 a forced deportation (*sürgün*) of Christians from Filibe to the capital,

²²⁹ Konstantin dem Philosophen, 40; Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 153.

²³⁰ Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, 200.

which must have lowered significantly their number in the Thracian city.²³¹ It is very likely that thanks to the dynamic changes in the mid-fifteenth century only in two or three decades the Muslims in Filibe reached a sizable majority. According to the data presented by Halil İnalçık, in 1455 there were already 600 Muslim households in Filibe as against only 50 Christian.²³²

In any case, by the early 1470s, when the earliest register providing some data on Filibe's population was compiled, the city was completely dominated by the Muslims, having a much smaller Christian minority. At that time the city had four Christian and twenty five Muslim quarters, thus demonstrating the Ottomanization of the space of Filibe.²³³ The detailed register kept record of 549 Muslim and 122 Christian households of tax-payers, who provided each 33 *akçes* for the support of the *akıncı* troops led by Mihaloğlu Ali Bey in the Ottoman campaign against the *emir* of Akkoyunlu Uzun Hasan.²³⁴ This register, however, was not a "classical" *tahrir defteri* that listed most of

²³¹ The information about this deportation is provided by Kritovoulos: "For there were many such in Adrianople, Philippopolis, Gallipoli, and Bursa and other cities, people who had been scattered through the capture of the city or still earlier and who had settled in those cities, learned men and men of the most useful kinds, men who, profiting by their abilities, had in a short time secured a competency and become wealthy. All these, then, he transferred here, giving to some of them houses, to others building lots in whatever part of the city they preferred". Charles Riggs (translator and editor). *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 148. Cf. Lowry, "Pushing the Stone Uphill", 37; Halil İnalçık. "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population and the Byzantine Buildings of the City", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969-1970): 229-249, 235-238.

²³² Halil İnalçık. "Bulgaria" in *EF*². The author did not provide a reference to the source of the data on the population of Filibe in 1455. In private conversations with Prof. İnalçık I had the chance to raise the question about the source of this information on multiple occasions. Prof. İnalçık was kind enough to search his private archive for it, but currently no source could be revealed.

²³³ Sofia, PD 17/27, ff. 1^r-7^a.

²³⁴ The register was drawn up in December 1472. The introduction of the document (the order for its compilation and the way of registering the taxpayers and the raiders) was first published by Boris Nedkov. *Osmanoturška diplomatika i paleografija*, vol. 2 (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1972), 175-177 and recently analyzed by Heath Lowry. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 52-54. Detailed information about the register and its contents in Mariya Kiprovska. *The Military Organization of the Akıncıs in Ottoman Rumelia*, (M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, 2004). The

the tax-payers, but it only included those liable to the extraordinary tax levied by Mehmed II in support for his campaign of 1473.²³⁵ Therefore, some portion of the population of Filibe was left out of this register and the population figures it offers are merely tentative.²³⁶

In spite of the inaccuracy of the data on the population of Filibe in 1472 the *defter* offers abundant data about the dramatic transformation of the city in the preceding half-a-century. It was already pointed that the city had some Muslim population ever since it was captured by the Ottomans, but its drastic and rapid increase must have become a fact only after the end of the Interregnum period. In case de la Broquière's statement that in the 1430s Filibe was still predominantly Christian was indeed correct then the big influx of Muslim population to the city must have been a direct outcome of the ambitious program for its revival carried out by Murad II and Şihabeddin Paşa in the 1430s and 1440s. The register of 1472 demonstrates that the Muslim settlers not only filled completely the space between the urban core around Muradiye mosque and Şihabeddin's complex at the northern edge, but following the path of the new road to Edirne, they also spread their quarters eastward thus surrounding from all sides the Christian quarters within and below the citadel. Moreover, a second major urban axis

binding of the register was removed and the document was torn, thus parts of it are catalogued under different call numbers in the Sofia Archive. While luckily Evgeni Radoshev established that PD 17/27 and OAK 94/73 belonged to one register, but still there are missing parts of it. Moreover, some pages were misplaced by the service personnel in the archive who did the modern binding of the document.

²³⁵ On Mehmed II's campaign against Uzun Hasan see İnalçık, "Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time", 424-425; Babinger, Mehmed the Conqueror, 302-368; Tansel, Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed, 311-326; Kiprovska, The Military Organization of the Akincıs, 35-41.

²³⁶ For instance the Muslim clergymen who enjoyed full tax-exemption granted by Bayezid I were also naturally excluded from this register. Muslim and Christian bachelors also were not liable to this extraordinary tax.

detached from the square of Muradiye, which roughly followed the road to Perushtitsa and further to the heart of the Rhodopes, directed the urban expansion westward. The small quarter of *Yakub Fakih*, south of Muradiye, established prior the registration of 1472 indicates that the urban growth continued southward extending the axis set in the 1430s and 1440s by Murad II and Şihabeddin Paşa. As early as the 1470s there was also a bridgehead north of the river - the sizable *mahalle-i Tataran* (the quarter of the Tatars). The available sources contain no information as to when these Tatars settled in the fields north of the river Maritsa and established a suburb, but a later *hurufat defteri* gives a clue that these could have been the people of the tribal leader Aktav, who arrived in the area in the late 1390s.²³⁷

The four Christian quarters occupied the areas which they were taking in the period prior to the Ottoman conquest. The main and largest Christian *mahalle Hisariçi* was enclosed within the confines of the ruinous citadel.²³⁸ The largest portion of the quarter was located on the two southern hills (*Taksim* and *Cambaz*) extending to the north in a narrow stretch up until the gates of the citadel. Northeast of it was located the quarter named *Pazariçi* which is an indication that in the pre-Ottoman medieval Philippopolis the main market place was situated at the eastern side of the citadel thus pointing to the drastic discontinuity in the development of the city in Ottoman times. For one reason or another, the Ottomans shifted the economic center of Filibe to the western

²³⁷ The migration of Aktav, one of Toktamış Han's generals to Rumelia is discussed in detail in the next chapter. The *hurufat* register mentions certain Aktav Bey *mescidi* in the quarter *Tataran*. This, however, is the only bit of information for a mosque in Filibe built by Aktav, therefore it calls for caution.

²³⁸ *Hisariçi* is the name of this quarter used by all later registers. In 1472 the register recorded the residents of this quarter as "*mahalle-i gerban el-ma'ruf be dahil-i ka'le*" (quarter of the infidels known [to be residing] within the citadel). Sofia, PD 17/27, ff. 6^r-7^a.

side of the citadel which they preferred for the further development of the Ottoman city.²³⁹ South of this quarter in a form of a long stripe that stretched at the foot of *Cambaz tepesi* was located the quarter named *İsklopiçe*. The name in all probability reflected the Bulgarian origin of its residents as it very likely derives from the Slavic word *sklopica* (a sort of a wooden vessel). The fourth Christian quarter *Pulat* was located below the southern slopes of the *Taksim* and *Cambaz* hills.²⁴⁰ It occupied quite a sizable territory as also the residence of the metropolitan of Filibe and the main church in the city St. Marina were built in this quarter.²⁴¹ By 1470s it must have appeared somewhat isolated since the Ottoman registrar recorded it as a village (*karye*) and not as a neighborhood (*mahalle*).²⁴²

The names of the Christian residents of Filibe suggest mixed Bulgarian and Greek population. While some of the Christian inhabitants must have left the city in the preceding years, the register indicates that a number of tax-payers were recent migrants from the nearby villages, like certain unmanned priest who came from the village of Saruca (mod. Tsaratsovo) near the city. In 1472 there were altogether seven priests serving the Christian community that is probably an indication that most of the medieval

²³⁹ Although the Ottoman decision for placing the urban center west of the citadel proved very vital, probably a more suitable spot which could have allowed the growth of the city without any natural obstacles was the center of the old Roman Philippopolis located south of the stronghold.

²⁴⁰ The precise location of some of the quarters of Filibe is discussed in a highly esteemed publication in a local newspaper by the architect Hristo Peev. "Plovdivskite mahali v tursko vreme." *Plovdivski obshtinski vestnik* no. 279 (1942): 4-6. Peev used for his article a non-extant draft of a plan, prepared most likely by the Czech architect and engineer Joseph Schnitter, which on its part was based on the basis of an older not extant Ottoman plan of the city. While Peev used the version written in Cyrillic script he did not notice the corruption of some of the names due to their transliteration from Ottoman-Turkish language.

²⁴¹ Permission for the repair of the "*metrepoli kilisesi*", i.e. metropolitan church, located in the quarter *Pulat* in Filibe, dating 28 March 1850, leaves no doubt about the exact location of the church St. Marina and *Pulat mahallesi* alike. BOA, A.}MKT.UM dosya 11, gömlek 72 (Sadaret, Mektubi, Umum Vilayet).

²⁴² Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 7^a. Nevertheless, in all following registrations *Pulat* is an integral part of the city, listed as one of its quarters.

churches in the city were still operational. The registrar rarely added patronymics of the taxpayers, but indicated a good number of craftsmen among the Christians. There were builders, shoemakers, grocers, dyers, potters etc., attesting for the urban origin of the greater portion of the Christian population in Filibe.

The influx of Muslims and the creation of new quarters required the building of a number of smaller mosques that served the community. For instance the quarter of *İsmail Bey* occupied the space near the mosque that he built on the main market street in the mid-1460s. A few years later in 1472 this new quarter already had thirteen households of craftsmen and traders.²⁴³ It neighbored the larger and probably older *mahalle* of *Muhsin hoca* which in the later registrations integrated the smaller quarter of *İsmail Bey*. Another example of such newly created quarter is the one of *veled-i Rüstem* which in 1472 also had at least thirteen households. Likewise it was established around a mosque built a few years earlier. The patron of the mosque can be identified as one *İskender Bey*, son of *Abdurrahman*, son of *Rüstem Paşa*, whose endowment deed was drawn up in March 1471.²⁴⁴ The text of the *vakfiye* informs that the patron elevated to a mosque the *mescid* that was built earlier by his ancestor and endowed to it the revues from a number of shops and houses in the city. The identity of the patron of the *mescid*, *Rüstem Paşa*, and of his grandson *İskender Bey*, the eponymous founder of the *veled-i Rüstem* quarter, is unclear.²⁴⁵ They both must have been military commanders of some

²⁴³ Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 6^a.

²⁴⁴ A copy of this *vakfiye* is extant in Vakıflar Arşivi in Ankara, VGMA, defter no. 633, s. 88-89, sıra no. 33, published in facsimile by Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, (299)-(301).

²⁴⁵ I was unable to establish the exact location of this quarter, but one may suggest that it was in the central part of Filibe.

prominence under Murad II and Mehmed II, but the sources at hand do not reveal any other details about the careers and history of these individuals.

There are a number of other benefactors who erected small mosques for the newly established Muslim quarters whose identity is questionable. One such case is the *mescid* in the quarter of *veled-i Kasım*, located eastward of the Christian neighborhood *İsklopiçe*. Based on the information in the work of T. Mümtaz Yaman²⁴⁶, Ayverdi attributes the construction of this mosque to a grandson of İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey one Kaya Bey, son of Kasım Bey.²⁴⁷ This assumption however seems very doubtful since there were no known descendents of İsmail Bey named Kasım and Kaya. Moreover, by 1472, i.e. in İsmail Bey's lifetime the mosque and the *mahalle* of *veled-i Kasım* were already a fact which greatly limits the possibility that the patron was a grandson of his. Should there be indeed any İsfendiyaroğlus' connection then it is more likely that the patron of the mosque in Filibe, Kaya Bey in question, was in fact İsmail Bey's first cousin, the son of his father's brother Kasım Bey. Kaya Bey was in close ties with Murad II and in 1440-1441 he married one of Murad II's daughters.²⁴⁸ After the dethronement of İsmail Bey in 1461 Kaya Bey must have followed him in Rumelia. In the early 1470s he commissioned an *imaret* in Malkara and endowed to it the revenues from a *kervansaray* and a public bath that he built in the same town, together with a

²⁴⁶ Talat Mümtaz Yaman. *Kastamonu Târihi* (Kastamonu: Ahmed İhsan Matbaası, 1935), 167. Quoted after Ayverdi.

²⁴⁷ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'mârisinde Fâtih Devri 855-866 (1451-1481)* (İstanbul: Damla Osfet, 1989), 272; idem, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*, vol. 4, 27.

²⁴⁸ Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 103-104.

number of shops, a watermill, etc.²⁴⁹ The link of İsfendiyaroğlu/Kasımoğlu Kaya Bey to Filibe still remains unclear, but the fact that the city was administered by his cousin makes very credible to suggest that it was him who built the *mescid* in the neighborhood of *veled-i Kasım*. The exact date in which he commissioned the mosque in the city is unknown, but the period can be limited in the decade between 1462 (İsmail Bey's arrival in Filibe) and 1472 when according to the data of the register it already existed. The mosque of Kaya Bey, known locally as *Bey camii/mescidi*, was a two-storied building with a pitched roof which stood until 1932.²⁵⁰ It is difficult to tell whether this was the original architectural appearance of the mosque or a result of later reconstruction, but the upper floor of the mosque was used as a Muslim primary school.²⁵¹ The area in the approximate vicinity of the mosque in later times split from the large quarter of *İbn-i Kasım* and formed a smaller separate *mahalle*, named after the mosque (*Bey mescidi mahallesi*).

Several other patrons such as Sinan the draper (*çukacı/çuhacı*) or Eyne *hoca* who built small neighborhood mosques at the southeastern edge of the city are only known by name. Their mosques collapsed prior to the mid-nineteenth century as in the course of the eighteenth or in the nineteenth century the territory of the quarters was occupied by the expending Bulgarian population of Filibe.²⁵² One *el-hac* Mes'ud commissioned

²⁴⁹ The endowment deed of Kaya Bey on behalf of his *imaret* in Malkara dates A.H. 876 (1471-1472). Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, 104. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 330.

²⁵⁰ The mosque stood at the modern square of Sveta Nedelya. In 1910 a madman jumped from the minaret of the mosque and killed himself. After this accident the mosque was abandoned and gradually deteriorated until it was finally demolished. Alvađiev, *Plovdivska hronika*, 27.

²⁵¹ Peev, *Grad Plovdiv*, 222.

²⁵² The exact location of these *mescids* is unknown therefore they are tentatively marked on the plan of Filibe.

another *mescid* located in the area enclosed between the citadel and the mosque of İsmail Bey. Likewise the available sources contain no information about the identity of the patron and similarly the mosque vanished prior the nineteenth century. The 1879 panoramic photograph of Cavra covered the area where the *mescid* must have stood, but there are no traces of it on the photograph.

One other benefactor who contributed for the development of Filibe prior to 1472 can be possibly indentified. This is the patron of the small neighborhood mosque known locally as *Alaca mescidi* (no. 16 on Plan 1) that gave its name to the quarter around it. The *mescid* and the *mahalle* were located west of Muradiye mosque following the narrow steep street (mod. Antim I, str.), which climbed the northern slope of the hill called *Saat tepesi* (the Clock tower hill).²⁵³ As much as it can be observed on the extant photographs the mosque was a tiny simple structure with a pitched roof that from architectural point of view was of insignificant importance, but it most probably owed its name to the rich decoration. The building stood until 1910 when it was pulled down.²⁵⁴

In contrast to the modest nature of the mosque its patron appears to have been a very prominent figure in the Ottoman Balkans. The name of the benefactor can be deducted from the name of the quarter which in the 1472 register was indicated as *mahalle-i Karaca Bey*.²⁵⁵ It was only in the administrative records from the second half

²⁵³ Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 217, provides the exact location where the mosque once stood – 8 Antim I, str. A note in the *hurufat defteri*, dating 6 July 1773 that sanctions the appointment of one Abdülkerim as imam of this mosque on the place of his father Mustafa *halife*, refers to the mosque as “*Alaca mescid dimekle cami-i şerif*” (The noble mosque known as *Alaca mescid*). VGMA, D. 1180, f. 237.

²⁵⁴ Ali Kemal Balkanlı. *Şarkî Rumeli ve buradaki Türkler* (İstanbul: Elhan Kitabevi), 118.

²⁵⁵ Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 2^r.

of the sixteenth century that the name *Alaca mescidi* replaced that of *Karaca Bey*. Karaca Bey in question must have been no other but the renowned commander of the Ottoman forces in Rumelia under Murad II and Mehmed II, namely Dayı Karaca Bey.²⁵⁶ He replaced Şihabeddin Paşa on the post of *beylerbeyi* of Rumili and led the Ottoman Rumelian troops at the second battle of Kosovo (1448).²⁵⁷ Being the governor and commander in chief of Rumelia Karaca Bey must have been a frequent visitor to Filibe in the period when the Muslim part of the city was emerging. A copy of a title deed (*sinurmane*) of the grand vizier Çandarlı Halil Paşa, who in 1451 received the village of Kriçime (mod. Krichim, southwest of Plovdiv) as *mülk*, mentions Karaca Bey as the acting *beylerbeyi* of Rumili.²⁵⁸ The prosperous career of Karaca Bey ended suddenly with his death in 1456 during the Ottoman siege of Belgrade.²⁵⁹ His body was transported and buried in the Anatolian town of Mihaliç (mod. Karacabey), near Bursa.

Karaca Bey appears to have been a prolific patron of architecture. He commissioned in Mihaliç an imposing T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* that was completed in the late 1456 or early 1457 only after his unexpected death.²⁶⁰ The floor plan of this building, including the two vaulted vestibules leading to the lateral rooms and the location of the

²⁵⁶ Karaca Bey was a maternal uncle (*dayı*) to Murad II's eldest son Alaeddin.

²⁵⁷ İnalçık, *Fatih Devri*, 89, 104.

²⁵⁸ Later Halil Paşa's son İbrahim Paşa, who inherited the village bestowed it to the pious foundation that he established in support of his mosque and *medrese* in Istanbul. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, 423-424. The *sinurname* of Çandarlı Halil was published by İnalçık, *Fatih Devri*, 219- 223. This highly valuable document for the history of the Bulgarian lands under Ottoman rule was unfortunately omitted in the Bulgarian translation of the book of İnalçık.

²⁵⁹ The date of his death and details about the circumstances are provided by the tombstone of Karaca Bey published by Franz Taeschner. "Die Werke der Familie Dai Qarağa Beg in Brussa und Mihalitsch und deren Inschriften" *Der Islam* 20 (1932): 180. The text is also available in Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârisinde Fâtih Devri*, 776.

²⁶⁰ The text of the *kitabe* is published by Taeschner, "Die Werke der Familie Dai Qarağa Beg", 179 and Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârisinde Fâtih Devri*, 776.

türbe of the patron at its western side resemble Şihabeddin's *imaret/zaviye* in Filibe to such an extent that one hesitates to speculate that Karaca Bey attempted to built a replica of this building adorning it with more elaborate portal.²⁶¹ He bestowed on this building and on another *imaret* that he commissioned earlier in the same town the revenues from several villages in the area of Mihaliç, landed properties, shops etc. Moreover, the revenues from two villages in Thrace that Karaca Bey populated with his own slaves were also endowed to his *vakıf*.²⁶²

The exact date of the erection of Karaca Bey's Alaca *mescidi* in Filibe is unknown, but in any case this must have happened between the mid-1440s when he took the post of *beylerbeyi* of Rumili and 1456 when he was killed near Belgrade. About twenty years later, in 1472, the quarter of *Karaca Bey* had at least thirty Muslim households, most of whom were craftsmen, but there were also wealthy individuals of some prominence.²⁶³ The mosque of Karaca Bey and its neighborhood directed the spatial development of Filibe westward from the urban core set by the large Muradiye mosque. The parallel street (mod. Hristo G. Danov, str.), which ran north of Karaca

²⁶¹ Ayverdi, Osmanlı Mi'mârisinde Fâtih Devri, 771-775.

²⁶² Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livası, 238-240.

²⁶³ In 1486 one Hacı Yusuf, son of Abdullah, resident of the Karaca Bey neighborhood in Filibe received the *mukata'a* of some of the rice-fields in the area of Filibe that was previously held as a prebend by the *beylerbeyi* of Rumili. Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livası, 133. It is very likely that the same person established earlier the quarter named *Hacı Yusuf* that appears in the register of 1472 as having twenty one Muslim households. In all probability this *mahalle* was integrated into the larger quarter of *Karaca Bey*, because it disappeared in the following *tahrir* registers. On the rice cultivation in the Ottoman Empire see Halil İnacık. "Rice Cultivation and the *Çeltükçi-re'âyâ* System in the Ottoman Empire." *Turcica* 14 (1982): 69-141; Nicoara Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr. "Riziculture dans l'Empire ottoman (XIV^e-XV^e siècle)." *Turcica* 9:2-10 (1978): 9-28. For additional data on the rich fax-farm of the rice fields in the region of Filibe see Mehmed Karagöz. "Filibe Kazası Rûsum Defterleri ve XVII. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında, Filibe-Tatarpazarı-Göbe(sic!)'de Çeltik Ziraatı." *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimleri Dergisi* 14:2 (2004): 361-377; idem. "1193/1779 Senesi Rûsum Defterine göre Bazarlık-Tatarpazarı'nda Pirinç Üretimi." *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimleri Dergisi* 14:1 (2004): 275-299.

Bey's mosque became the second major axis of urban growth that rapidly attracted many new settlers. By 1472 the quarter of *Musalla* (located on this street), which was marking the western edge of Filibe until the end of the Ottoman period, was already a fact. In later times the *namazgâh/musalla* (open prayer space) was replaced by the so-called Musalla mosque (no. 20 on Plan 1), a single-domed mosque that stood until the end of the nineteenth or early twentieth century.²⁶⁴

The great changes that took place in the period 1430s-1470s demonstrate not only the large influx of Anatolian urban population into the Thracian city, but also the dramatic territorial and spatial expansion of the Muslim urban center. The trend of rapid growth of the Muslims continued in the following decades too while the pace of spatial enlargement naturally slowed down since the city seems to have reached about its optimal dimensions in the 1470s and 1480s.

The earliest available *tahrir* register that includes the city of Filibe, dating from 1489, shows that in the intervening years the population growth continued.²⁶⁵ The character of the source of 1472 does not allow any decisive conclusion on the exact figures of this growth, but the total population of the city apparently increased in the

²⁶⁴ The mosque was located on today's Kocho Chestimenski square. Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 218. Balkanlı states that the lead-covered mosque was commissioned by İbrahim Paşa, but he neither specified which of the multiple individuals in Ottoman history known under this name was the patron, nor did he reveal the source of this information. Balkanlı, Şarkî Rumeli, 114. In any case in 1633 the mosque existed, because the *vakıf* of Muradiye in Edirne provided the salary of its *hatib*. Barkan. "Edirne ve Civarındaki", 372.

²⁶⁵ BOA, TD 26. This document is not the standard *tahrir* survey of population and taxation of the entire *sancak* of Paşa, which was the later practice. Instead it selectively included information about the *hasses*, *zaemets*, *timars*, and *vakıfs* in some of the *kazas* of Paşa *sancağı*. For a reason many large settlements, like the neighboring town of Tatar Pazarcık, were left out of the register. Moreover, the binding of the document was torn and a number of pages in the front and the back of the register were lost. Undoubtedly this document is not the earliest *tahrir* registration of the area. Its content refers to previous registrations (*defter-i atik* and *defter-i köhne*) indicating the existence of at least two previous surveys that are not extant or unavailable to the author.

seventeen-year period between the registrations.²⁶⁶ In 1489 the city of Filibe had about five thousand residents that makes it one of the largest cities of the then Ottoman Rumelia.²⁶⁷ The total number of the city quarters increased to thirty of which four were the old Christians *mahalles*, mentioned above. In spite of the visible general growth of city's population the Christians in Filibe had a sensitive drop from at least 122 households in 1472 to 80 households, 5 bachelors, and 12 widows in 1489.²⁶⁸ It is difficult to tell what the reason for the decrease of the Christians was, but part of the loss must be attributed to conversion to Islam. Thirty eight heads of households listed in the census were first generation Muslims, presumably some of them originated in Filibe. Conversion, however, could hardly be the only explanation for this sudden drop of the Christians. It is likely that the local Christian residents continued to abandon the city and relocated to nearby settlements like the town of İstanimaka (mod. Asenovgrad) or Şihabeddin Paşa's large *vakıf* village of Kuklene (mod. Kuklen) that had much larger

²⁶⁶ Filibe was held as *zeamet* by Mesih Paşa, the high ranking Ottoman official and commander under Bayezid II who descended from the Byzantine Palaiologoi dynasty. During his career in the Ottoman administration he took appointments as *sancakbeyi*, *vezir*, and a grand vizier of Bayezid II. In the summer of 1485 Mesih Paşa was dismissed from the office of grand vizier and lowered to a *subaşı* of Filibe, where he was given a *zeamet*, two years later he was reassigned as *beylerbeyi* of Kafa. Hedda Reindl. *Männer um Bāyezīd: Eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bāyezīds II. (1481-1512)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), 283.

²⁶⁷ Except for the large cities like Edirne and Selânik in the beginning of the sixteenth century the rest of the provincial urban center matched Filibe in size or were smaller: Niğbolu had 468 Muslim and 775 Christian households; Sarajevo 1 024 Muslim households; Serres 671 Muslim and 357 Christian households; Skopje 630 Muslim and 200 Christian households; Manastır 640 Muslim and 171 Christian households; Sofya 471 Muslim and 238 Christian households. Ömer Lütfi Barkan. "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys." in Michael A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 163-171. The data on the population of these cities presented by Barkan is not absolutely accurate but offers a good idea about the magnitude of Filibe in comparison with the larger provincial cities of the European possessions of the Ottoman Empire. Cf. with the data interpolated in Nikolay Todorov. *Balkanskiyat grad XV-XIX vek: sotsialno-ikonomichesko i demografsko razvitie* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1972), 59-71.

²⁶⁸ BOA, TD 26, ff. 79-81.

Christian communities at that time.²⁶⁹ It seems that not only the number of ordinary Christian tax-payers dropped in the intervening years, but also their clergymen almost disappeared. Out of seven priests listed in the census of 1472 by 1489 merely three of them remained resident in the city.²⁷⁰

In contrast to the decreasing Christian clergymen the register lists twenty four imams serving in the mosques of Filibe. The main Friday mosque in the city, the monumental Muradiye in 1489 was staffed by a *hatib*, imam, two *müezzins*, and a *kıyyum* whose salaries were provided by the pious foundation of Murad II.²⁷¹ It appears that the tax exemption granted to the Muslim clergymen by Bayezid I that was later reaffirmed by all reigning sultans, including Bayezid II, have had the necessary effect in attracting Muslim scholars and preachers in the city. The growth of the Muslim taxpayers in the intervening years was also considerable. The census lists 791 Muslim households and 107 bachelors who constituted 87% of the total population of Filibe at that time. The large majority of the Muslim taxpayers were craftsmen and traders who relocated to Filibe mostly from the urban centers of Anatolia, but there were also

²⁶⁹ On İstanımaka see Boykov, Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace, 90-100. The village of Kuklene in 1530 had five Christian quarters and population of 370 Christian households, 52 bachelors and 1 widow. The small Muslim community in the village had 36 households and 7 Muslim bachelors. Borisov, Vakäfskata institutsia v Rodopite, 169. The area of İstanımaka had a dozen of medieval monasteries, among which the second largest in Bulgaria, the Bachkovo monastery. This fact probably explains the reasons for the migration of Christians in this direction. For a fine study on the demographic history of the region and the importance of the monasteries' network in local Christians' life see Hristo Hristozov. "Demografski i etno-religiozni protsesi v rayona na Asenovgrad prez XVI v." (forthcoming in *Istoricheski Pregled*).

²⁷⁰ One of the priests was registered in the quarter *Pazariçi* therefore probably served in the nearby church of Sts. Constantine and Helena, BOA TD 26, f. 80. Another resided in the *mahalle-i İsklopiçe* therefore most likely was the priest of the church St. Petka the Old. On the history of these churches see Nikola Alvadžiev. *Starinni cherkvi v Plovdiv* (Plovdiv: Letera, 2000), 37-53; 83-100. The third priest was not registered among the taxpayers of the city, as it usually was the case, but he appears some fifty pages further in the register as part of the "*timar-i Süleyman voyvoda, gulâm-i İsa Bey – Yorgi papas, der nefs-i Filibe*" (*timar* of Süleyman *voyvoda*, slave of İsa Bey – Yorgi, priest, from the city of Filibe), f. 139.

²⁷¹ Barkan, "Edirne ve Civarındaki", 372.

individuals who came from other cities in the Balkans under Ottoman control, like Smederevo for instance.²⁷² A community of thirty six Gypsy families settled at the eastern outskirts of Filibe and formed the oldest Gypsy quarter in the city, later known locally as “Adžisan maala”, corrupted form of the original name *Hacı Hasan mahallesi*.

The register of 1489 is exceptionally rich in information on the occupations of the Muslim residents in the town. The *tahrir emini* often listed the taxpayers with their professions instead of patronymics which was the more spread practice at the time. He kept record of more than one hundred different kinds of crafts and trades as the most numerous were the shoemakers, tailors, tanners, grocers, saddlers, etc.²⁷³ The Ottoman city also had a number of goldsmiths, perfumers, soap-makers, arms-producers, and certainly a good number of cooks, bakers, *börekçis*, and even sellers of sweets and drinks, like *şerbetçis*, *ma'cuncu*, or *lokmacı*. Being important administrative and political center the city naturally attracted a number of different Ottoman officials like the two deputy-judges (*naib*) who were probably expecting an appointment, scribes, secretaries of a court of justice (*muhzır*), superintendents, and even an *akıncı* officer (*tovice*).

Thus by the 1480s Filibe appeared as fully developed Ottoman city in the Balkans that rivaled in magnitude the largest provincial centers in the European domains of the empire. Its rapid spatial and demographic development in the second half of the

²⁷² BOA, TD 26, f. 68. One Yusuf Semendirelü was a resident in the centrally located *mahalle* of *Haraççı Hamza Bali*.

²⁷³ Lists of the craftsmen in Filibe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, extracted from the data in the *tahrir* registers in Nurullah Karta. “XV. ve XVI. Yüzyıllarda Filibe Şehrinde İktisadi Hayat ve Meslek Grupları.” *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 8:2 (2006): 145-173; idem. XVI. Yüzyılda Filibe Kazası (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Atatürk Üniversitesi, 2005), 72-100.

fifteenth century was instigated and controlled by the central Ottoman authority and a number of high ranking officials whose patronage over Islamic science and architecture reshaped the declining medieval city into a prosperous Muslim center that appeared attractive not only to merchants and craftsmen, but also to the Muslim scholars and artists. In the 1440s Şihabeddin Paşa built in the city one of the largest *medreses* in the Balkans, outside the capital Edirne. The elevation of Filibe as important intellectual center in Rumelia however was aided not only by the multiple primary schools (*mektebs*) present in the city, but also by the construction of another *medrese* towards the end of the fifteenth century, which equaled in rank and magnitude this of Şihabeddin Paşa.

The data about this *medrese* is very scarce. The building disappeared prior the nineteenth century therefore there is no information neither about its architectural features nor about its exact location. In his account on the Ottoman buildings in Filibe Evliya Çelebi did not note the total number of *medresses* in the city, but pointed that from among the *medresses* in the city these of Şihabeddin Paşa and Karagöz Paşa are the most important thus providing the name of the patron of the second large Muslim college in Filibe.²⁷⁴ Cahit Baltacı identified him as Karagöz Mehmed Paşa one of the prominent figures from the first years of the reign of Bayezid II.²⁷⁵ In the period 1482-1483 he occupied the post of *sancakbeyi* of Sivas and played a decisive role in the

²⁷⁴ “ve cumle (---) added medrese-i dâri’l-ulûmdur. Evvelâ medrese-i Karagöz Paşa, medrese-i Şehâbeddin Paşa”. Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 217.

²⁷⁵ Baltacı, Osmanlı Medreseleri, 139. Sâbev. Osmanskite uchilishta, 224, considers that the patron was a janissary *sekbanbaşı* Karagöz Ağa, who died in 1511. Nevertheless, the title Paşa, given in fifteenth century to the *sancakbeyis* and *beylerbeyis* certainly makes Baltacı’s hypothesis more sustainable.

struggle between Bayezid II and Cem Sultan by seizing the castle of Ankara.²⁷⁶ Later Karagöz Mehmed Paşa was appointed *beylerbeyi* of the province of Karaman and actively participated in the warfare against the Mamluks in the mid-1480s.²⁷⁷ His failure to hold the region of Çukurova finally led to the execution of Karagöz Mehmed Paşa in May/June 1486.²⁷⁸

The death of Karagöz Mehmed Paşa in 1486 establishes a firm date prior which he must have commissioned the *medrese* in Filibe. His connection to the Thracian city is unclear, but indeed he seems to have been the patron of the Muslim college there. Nevi'zade Ataullah ('Ata'i) specifies that in 1557/1558 this *medrese* equaled in rank the college of Şihabeddin Paşa offering a daily salary of forty *akçes* to the instructors there.²⁷⁹ Documentary sources also establish that in the mid-sixteenth century Çalık Yakub Efendi was a *müderris* in Karagöz Paşa's *medrese* in Filibe receiving a salary of forty *akçes*.²⁸⁰ It is unknown when this *medrese* disappeared, but it is very likely that soon after the visit of Evliya to the city it was closed. A seventeenth-century *ruzname* register of the Muslim colleges in Rumelia did not list the *mederese* of Karagöz Paşa which indicates that it was probably closed at that time.²⁸¹

²⁷⁶ Reindl, *Männer um Bāyezīd*, 262; Halil İnalçık. "Djem" in *EF*; Selâhettin Tansel. *Sultan II. Bāyezit'in Siyasi Hayatı* (İstanbul: Mili Eğitim Basımevi, 1966), 39.

²⁷⁷ Tansel, *Sultan II. Bāyezit*, 99-103.

²⁷⁸ Reindl, *Männer um Bāyezīd*, 266; Tansel, *Sultan II. Bāyezit*, 102-103. Mehmed Sürreyya. *Sicil-i Osmani yahud Tezkire-i Meşahir-i Osmaniyye*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Amire, 1311/1893), 109, gives a later date of his death 1488.

²⁷⁹ Quoted after Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 139.

²⁸⁰ Baltacı, *Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 139.

²⁸¹ The document lists in Filibe the *medreses* of Şihabeddin Paşa (daily salary of 40 *akçes*) and of Seyyid Ali Fakih (daily salary of 25 *akçes*), see M. Kemal Özergin. "Eski bir Rûznâme'ye göre İstanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri." *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4-5 (1973-1974): 284.

2.8. Reaching the peak: Filibe in the early sixteenth century

The earliest available “classical” *tahrir* of Paşa *sancağı* was prepared under sultan Selim I (1512-1520), most likely in 1516.²⁸² Its data presents Filibe as prosperous, predominantly Muslim city that had more than one thousand households and two hundred and twenty bachelors.²⁸³ (Table 7) While the number of Christian residents remained stable, having a growth of ten percent in the intervening years (1489-1516), the Muslim population continued to expand in the same pace. The census of 1516 lists the heads of 877 Muslim households that is also a growth of ten percent in the three decades between the registrations. The large number of Muslim bachelors in Filibe (25% of the entire Muslim population of the city), however, in this period was more common to the Anatolian cities, pressured by the explosively expanding Muslim population and seems rather unusual for the Balkans. In this respect the majority of Muslim bachelors in Filibe were most likely immigrants from Anatolia who came to Rumelia in search for better fortune. This unusual situation did not last long, because nine years later, when the next census of the city was drawn up, half of these bachelors disappeared probably as a result of migration further westward. The growth of Muslim households in the intervening period (eighty six *hanes*) must have also been a consequence of the influx of population. The increase that at a first glance appears as an output of the natural growth

²⁸² BOA, TD 77. This register is dated by the researchers in a large time frame from the 1510s to the late 1520s. I find most convincing the date 1516 that was suggested by Gökbilgin. A note on page 733 provides the date 17 Muharrem 922 (21 February 1516). This is the earliest date that appears in the register thus making Gökbilgin’s suggestion very plausible.

²⁸³ BOA, TD 77, ff. 543-560.

of the Muslim community in the city evidently was rather a result of the arrival of new residents. Twenty eight percent (250 individuals) of the Muslim heads of households in Filibe in 1516 were converts to Islam, thus significantly exceeding the total Muslim growth in the period. Stated differently, it appears that the converts to Islam not only constituted the entire Muslim population growth, but also compensated for the loss of Turkish residents in the period 1489-1516. The very low percentage of first generation converts to Islam in the census of 1489 (only 4.8%) bespeaks that a great part of the Muslim population of Filibe was ethnic Turks who came from Asia Minor. The situation in 1516 significantly differed as more than a quarter of the Muslims in the city were Christian-born converts to Islam. These were in all probability local people who left the overpopulated mountains that enclosed the plain of Upper Thrace. For instance the small high valley of Razlog, squeezed between the Rhodopes, Rila and Pirin mountains, had in this period a serious surplus of population that was constantly pushed out to the lower lands of Upper or Aegean Thrace.²⁸⁴ It is very likely that many of the villagers who came to the city converted to Islam in search for better life opportunities and easier integration.

Another significant change in the ethnic picture of the city was the arrival of a community of Sephardic Jews in the years after 1492, who probably reached Filibe by way of Thessaloniki.²⁸⁵ The Jewish presence was not entirely new to this city, since

²⁸⁴ Grigor Boykov. "Sădbata na Razložkata kotlovina v usloviyata na osmanska vlast." in Alexander Grebenarov et al. (eds.), *Razlog, istoriya, traditsii, pamet* (Blagoevgrad: Irin-Pirin, 2009), 53-78.

²⁸⁵ Heath Lowry. "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selanik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478." in idem. *Studies in Defterology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992), 71-73; Mina Rozen. *Facing the Sea: The Jews of Salonika in the Ottoman Era (1430-1920)* (Afula, 2011) - <http://www.minnarozen.co.il>

there was a Jewish community in Philippopolis ever since the antiquity. The available sources and archaeological materials, however, do not contain any specific data about Jews in the city at the eve of the Ottoman conquest of the city. Nevertheless Filibe must have had a Jewish community since after the conquest of Constantinople in 1455 Mehmed II deported and settled there a group of thirty eight Jewish families from Filibe.²⁸⁶ Mehmed II must have deported virtually all Jews residing in Filibe because the registers of 1472 and 1489 contain no data for Jewish population there. By the end of the fifteenth century, after an interruption of about half-a-century, the Jewish community of Filibe was reestablished. The census of 1516 lists 32 Jewish households who settled at the western edge of the Muslim city.²⁸⁷ The Jews occupied the area north of the slopes of the hill with the clock tower (*Saat tepesi*), known locally as *Orta mezar* and remained in residence there throughout the Ottoman period. There is no explicit information about the existence of a synagogue in the first centuries of Ottoman rule in Filibe as the present building only dates from the 1880s.²⁸⁸

The data in the *defter* of 1516 indicates that the spatial expansion of the city continued as three new neighborhoods appeared after the registration of 1489. The *mahalle* of *Koca Hüseyin* filled up the last available territory on the eastern slopes of *Nevbet tepesi* and the ruined citadel.²⁸⁹ To the west the *mahalle* bordered the Christian quarter of *Pazariçi* and that of *Veled-i Kasım* to the south. In all probability it was

²⁸⁶ Halil Inalcık. "İstanbul" in *ET²*. idem. "Jews in the Ottoman Economy and Finances 1450-1500." in Clifford Bosworth et al. (eds.) *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis* (Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1989), 513.

²⁸⁷ BOA, TD 77, f. 559.

²⁸⁸ The synagogue built in 1886-1887 stands in good shape on 9 Tsar Kaloyan, str.

²⁸⁹ In 1516 the quarter must have been very recent, since it was explicitly noted in the census as a new one (*hadis*). BOA, TD 77, f. 552.

formed around a small mosque of unidentified benefactor that in later times was locally known as the mosque of the chained well (*Zincirli bunar camii*). The other quarters *Korucu* and *Köprübaşı* split from the large *mahalle* named Tataran and formed a suburb of Filibe north of the river that was known in later period as the Karşı yaka (mod. Karshyaka).

Four residents of the northern suburb of Filibe were listed in a separate entry in the register indicating that they were tax-exempted because of rendering services at the imperial stables for camels.²⁹⁰ The stables were located in the open plain north of the city and were of high strategic importance for the Ottoman army. The large open space north of Filibe was one of the gathering points of the imperial army campaigning toward the western Balkans. The availability of camels that were the chief transportation vehicle of the Ottoman army was of extreme importance for any military campaign undertaken by the sultans.²⁹¹ The date of construction of the imperial stables for camels is uncertain, but it is likely that this happened during the reign of Mehmed II or earlier, since in the late 1480s they already needed repair.²⁹² Many western travelers who crossed Filibe mentioned the large stables for camels on the northern bank of the river, standing near

²⁹⁰ BOA, TD, 77, f. 555. “*deve ahurına hizmet ederler bunlardır ki avarızdan eminler imiş*” (these individuals render services to the stables for camels, for which they are tax-exempted).

²⁹¹ On the usage and the importance of camels in the Ottoman army that had higher carrying capacity than horses or mules see Suraiya Faroqhi. “Camels, Vagons, and the Ottoman State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14:4 (1982): 523-539; Rhoads Murphey. *Ottoman Warfare 1500-1700* (London: UCL Press, 1999), 70-83. Halil İnalcık. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 39.

²⁹² The repair of the camel stables (*ıstabl-i şuturan*) was done in 1486 together with the repair of the bridge over the river Maritsa, mentioned above. İBK, M.C. O. 91, ff. 261^r-262^a.

the bridge of Lala Şahin.²⁹³ Catharin Zen who visited the city in 1550 stated that the large stables for horses and camels were built by the grand vizier İbrahim Paşa, which indicates a possible reconstruction in the first half of the sixteenth century, financed by the grand vizier.²⁹⁴ The exact date in which this reconstruction took place is unknown, but this must have happened in the late 1520s. In October 1530 when Benedict Curipeschitz crossed Filibe he witnessed the stone-made stable on the northern edge of the city capable of fitting in eight hundred horses, which he likewise attributed to İbrahim Paşa.²⁹⁵

The closer look on the data of the register allows some further detailed observations on the professions and occupations of the residents of the city. The increasing number of Muslim clergymen is noteworthy. The tax exemptions that were probably recognized and reaffirmed by the reigning sultan attracted more learned men in the intervening years between the registrations. In 1516 Filibe had at least three *hatibs*, thirty six imams, and twenty three *müezzins* who staffed the mosques and the *mescids* of the city. Moreover, among the tax-payers one finds several dervishes, who probably refused the ownership of property and were marked by the *tahrir emini* as being in a

²⁹³ A number of these reports are summarized in Bistra Cvetkova. "Materiali za selishtata i stroitelstvoto v bălgarskite zemi prez XV-XVI v." *Izvestiya na Instituta po gradoustroystvo i arhitektura* 7-8 (1975): 490-495.

²⁹⁴ "...Et questa citta ha timor del bassà, che è vezil et Abraim bassà, al tempo, che lui fù edificò qui grande stanze per alloggiar cavalli et camelli, che haveva qui in abbondantia, come hoggi de li ha Rusten bassà, che è vezil..." in Petar Matković. "Dva talijanska putopisa po balkanskom poluotku iz XVI. vieka: Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catharin Zen ambassador straordinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno & Descizione del viaggio per terra di Constantinopoli e dalle cose principali del paese." *Starine* 10 (1878): 213.

²⁹⁵ Mihail Yonov. *Chuždi pãtepisi za Balkanite. Nemski i avstriyski pãtepisi za Balkanite XV-XVI v.* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1979), 147.

state of poverty (*fakirü'l-hal*) thus not liable to *avarız* and other extraordinary levies.²⁹⁶ The locations of the *zaviyes* and the *tekkes* of these dervishes are uncertain, but the register offers information about the names of some of the patrons. For instance the resident of the quarter *Aslıhan Bey*, Muhiddin Halife, was a *şeyh* at the *zaviye* of Şemseddin Halife.²⁹⁷ There is no information about the identity of the patron nor did the convent keep its name since in the following register it already appears as a *zaviye* of Emir Halife. One Mustafa, son of İsa Halife, resident in the quarter of *Haracçı Hamza Bali* was also a sheikh of an unnamed convent. The fairly central location of this quarter, that had three *mescids*,²⁹⁸ must have made it one the preferred residential places for the urban elite. Except for the mentioned sheikh the imams of the *mescids* of Hacı Davud, Aslıhan Bey and Çarşu, the superintendent of the *imaret* of Şihabeddin Paşa, and the *emin-i çeltük* of Tavuslu also resided in this quarter. To this list one can add one Tursun, relative of a *kadıasker* and Ali, son of the *kadı* in the nearby quarters of *Musalla* and *Hacı Ahmed*.²⁹⁹

Two architectural monuments, that later turned into significant landmarks of the urban landscape were also commissioned and built at the turn of the fifteenth or in the first years of the sixteenth century in the period between the registrations. These are the mosque and bath of Hacı Hasanzade and the mosque of Yeşiloğlu, which had the tallest minaret of all Filibe mosques. The mosque of Hacı Hasan was located east of the citadel, lying on the old road to Edirne, very near the newly established quarter of *Koca Hüseyin*.

²⁹⁶ For instance there was one ‘Hasan *derviş*, *fakirü'l-hal*’. BOA, TD 77, f. 543.

²⁹⁷ BOA TD 77, f. 547.

²⁹⁸ BOA, TD 77, f. 543. “*mahalle-i Haracçı Hamza Bali – bu mahallenin üç mescidi var*” (quarter of *Haracçı Hamza Bali* – this quarter has three small mosques).

²⁹⁹ BOA, TD 77, ff. 454-455.

(no. 12 on Plan 1) It stood until 1971 when the local authorities demolished it. The mosque of Hacı Hasan was studied in detail by Machiel Kiel who examined the abandoned building in 1967.³⁰⁰ The latter was a simple *mahalle mescidi* that was considerably enlarged in the nineteenth century by integrating the antechamber into the main building. On its left side the mosque had a low minaret the square base of which was made of large stone blocks of antique *spolia*.³⁰¹ The original part of the building was made of irregular cloisonné and was covered with a pitched roof.³⁰² The architectural features of the building allowed Kiel to conclude that the mosque was built in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The closest architectural parallel of this building, according to Kiel, is the mosque of the grand vizier Atik Ali Paşa, within the walled part of Edirne built in 1506.³⁰³

The dating of Kiel for the mosque of Hacı Hasan completely fits into what is known about the spatial development of the city in this period. Similarly to the quarter and the mosque of Musalla (no. 20 on Plan 1), that marked the western boundaries of the city, this of Hacı Hasan defined its eastern limits. A photograph from the 1900s published as card postal in 1910 shows that the mosque and its quarter, inhabited mostly by Gypsies, even in the twentieth century continued to occupy the outer parts of Filibe.(Fig. 47)

³⁰⁰ Kiel, Filibe notes and studies, 50f.

³⁰¹ Kiel, Filibe notes and studies, 50f. The *spolia* must have been abundant in this area since the outer wall of the Roman Philippopolis stood nearby.

³⁰² Several stone inscriptions examined by Balkanlı show that the mosque saw at least three major restorations. Firstly in A.H. 997 (1588-1589) one *zaim* Hacı Hüseyin repaired or rebuilt the mosque. Later in A.H. 1090 (1679-1680) Mehmed Ağa, son of the *mir-i liva* Mustafa restored the building. The last repair was carried out by *el-hac* Şerif Mehmed, son of Hafiz Mustafa in A.H. 1262 (1845-1846). Balkanlı, Şarkî Rumeli, 114.

³⁰³ Kiel, Filibe notes and studies, 50f.

About thirty meters west of the mosque the patron commissioned a public bath that was known locally by the name of *kadıasker hamamı*. (no. 30 on Plan 1)³⁰⁴ The fact that Hacı Hasan commissioned this bath too allowed Kiel to positively identify the patron of these buildings in Filibe as the *kadıasker* Hacı Hasanzade.³⁰⁵ The register of the pious foundations in Istanbul of 1546 lists the *vakıf* of Hacı Hasanzade that was in possession of the revenues of the *hamam* in Filibe.³⁰⁶ The pious foundation was established in support of the mosque and *medrese* in Istanbul commissioned by the *kadıasker* Hacı Hasanzade Mustafa Efendi.³⁰⁷ He was a highly influential person, one of the most prominent of the *‘ulema* of this time. Hacı Hasanzade was appointed by Mehmed II to the post of *kadıasker* of Anatolia in 1481 and received the position of *kadıasker* of Rumili in 1488, which he kept until his death in A.H. 911 (1505-1506).³⁰⁸ The information on Hacı Hasanzade’s administrative and scholarly career suggests that his mosque and *hamam* in Filibe must have been built in the period after his appointment to the *kadıasker*-ship of Rumili in 1488 and prior to his death in 1505/1506.

The other significant landmark of Filibe that appeared between the registrations of 1489 and 1516 was the highly monumental mosque of Yeşiloğlu in the quarter of *Muhsin Hoca*. (no. 8 on Plan 1) The mosque was located in the northern part of the city, occupying the western corner of the second busiest spot in Filibe after the square and the

³⁰⁴ Alvadžiev. Plovdivska hronika, 94. In the seventeenth century Evliya Çelebi also mentioned a public bath named *kadıasker hamamı*. Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 217.

³⁰⁵ Kiel, Filibe notes and studies, 50f.

³⁰⁶ Ömer Lüftü Barkan and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihli* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1970), 248.

³⁰⁷ Hacı Hasanzade also commissioned and bestowed to his *vakıf* two baths in Bursa and one in a village near Istanbul. Ayverdi, Osmanlı Mi’ârisinde Fâtih Devri, 273.

³⁰⁸ Elias Gibb. *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. 2 (London: Luzac & Co., 1902), 264 note 1; 350-351.

çarşı near Muradiye. At this point the main commercial street (*Uzun çarşı*) running from north to south was intercepted by a long street that crossed the entire city from east to west. The street owed its popular name (*Şadırvan sokağı*) to the *sebil* built in all probability by İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail across the mosque of Yeşiloğlu. It was mentioned above that west of this juncture was held the main market for agricultural products, used by the villagers of the surrounding rural area that made the area crowded and busy. It is probably because of this reason that the large mosque was placed on this particular spot in the very late fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The building stood until 1928 when the powerful earthquake demolished its minaret which collapsed over the structure leaving it in ruins.³⁰⁹ The extant photographs portray the mosque of Yeşiloğlu as a highly monumental stone building that almost rivaled in size Muradiye with a fine and tall minaret attached to the northern side. It had two rows of windows on the seemingly thick stone-made walls being crowned with a pitched roof covered with tiles. (Fig. 48) In the nineteenth century the mosque received an enormous extension on its front side that is clearly observable on the extant panoramic photographs. The portico was transformed into a two-storey addition covered by a separate roof integrated into the structure.

The patron of this mosque was the scholar Yeşilzade Kadı Sinanoğlu Ahmed Riyâzi. He was one of the most renowned poets of his time and a highly educated Islamic scholar who actively participated in the debates on the cash *vakıfs* that erupted in

³⁰⁹ Alvadžiev. Plovdivska hronika, 27, 221; Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 209, 219.

the sixteenth century.³¹⁰ Riyâzi, a native of Filibe, served as *kadı* of the city several times and even passed away there during one of his terms. The exact date of his death is not known, but Latîfi specifies that this happened in the time of the then reigning sultan.³¹¹ Latîfi presented his work *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ ve Tabsıra-i Nuzemâ* to Süleyman I (1521-1566) in 1546³¹² therefore the time of Yeşilzade Riyazi's death in Filibe can be limited in the period between 1521 and 1546. Nevertheless, the data in the register of 1516 strongly suggest that the mosque of Yeşilzade must have been built several years prior to Riazi's death. The mosque was located in the old quarter of *Muhsin hoca*, which by the time when the census was drawn up was also known locally as *Yeşiloğlu mahallesi*. The new name that gradually replaced the older is definitive evidence that the mosque of Yeşilzade was erected in Riazi's lifetime in the years prior to 1516.

2.9. The forced relocation (sürgün) of Muslims to the west in the 1520s

The next population census of Filibe dates only nine years after the general *tahrir* registration of 1516.³¹³ Nevertheless, the form of the document differs from the standard *tahrirs* of the period.³¹⁴ It did not cover all left wing *kazas* in the *sancak* of Paşa, but

³¹⁰ Mustafa İsen. *Latîfi Tezkiresi* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), 381-382.

³¹¹ İsen, *Latîfi Tezkiresi*, 381.

³¹² İsen, *Latîfi Tezkiresi*, v.

³¹³ BOA, MAD 519.

³¹⁴ There is rich literature discussing the methods of compiling of *tahrir* records and their usage in modern scholarship. Halil İnalçık published the earliest preserved census, providing it with detailed introduction,

included only the settlements from the *nahiyes* of Filibe, Saruhanbeğlü and Samako and several villages from the *kaza* of Zağra-i Eski Hisar. Moreover, the register had also a significant structural disparity with the traditional *tahrir* records. The population of each village or *mahalle* was split into two separate sets of records. The upper part of the entry indicated the residents that were present in the previous *tahrir* (1516) and lived enough to be included in the new one whilst the lower part listed all new tax-payers who were not included in the previous *defter*. The same was valid for the taxation records of the settlements thus also indicating the increase or drop of revenues that occurred since the previous registration. These unusual features make the document highly valuable as it clearly indicates that the Ottoman administration was attempting to track the changes that took place in the period after the registration of 1516, thus bringing the data up to date. In all probability this *defter* was a draft prepared by the local *kadis* upon a request of the central administration. The first and last pages of the document were torn away therefore in case the imperial order for this registration was appended to the front of the *defter*, as it was often the case, it has been lost too. Nevertheless, the document contains copies of a number of other orders and documents related to properties and taxation of

thus establishing a long tradition in publishing these valuable sources. Halil İnalçık. *Hicri 835 Tarihli Süret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954). A number of other estimated works also contributed to the field. Ömer Lütfi Barkan. “«Tarihî demografi» Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1951-1953): 1-26; idem. “Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’Empire ottoman aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles.” *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1:1 (1957): 9-36; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr and Nicoară Beldiceanu. “Règlement ottoman concernant le recensement (première moitié du XVI^e siècle).” *Südost-Forschungen* 37 (1978): 1-40; Mehmet Öz. “Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler.” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 22 (1991): 429-439; idem. “Tahrir Defterlerindeki Sayısal Veriler.” in Halil İnalçık and Şevket Pamuk (eds.), *Osmanlı Devletinde Bilgi ve İstatistik* (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, 2000), 17-32.

the area, like the imperial decree exempting the Muslim clergymen in Filibe from taxation that was discussed above.

The missing front page of this *defter* also leaves the document without a firm date of its compilation. The information in the record, however, clearly shows that the actual registration took place between the detailed census of 1516 (TD 77) and the large synoptic register of 1530 (TD 370). The date in the catalogue of the Başbakanlık archive A.H. 925 (1519-1520) is undoubtedly wrong. On the one hand this is a too short a period after the previous registration of 1516 therefore hardly any update was needed; on the other hand, the changes that can be observed in the document certainly required a period longer than three years. Moreover, evidently the *defter* was drawn up in the reign of Süleyman I (1521-1566) since some of the dignitaries of his court were allotted revenues in the area. The *hasses* of the grand vizier Pargalı/Maktul İbrahim Paşa, listed in the register allow specifying a more precise dating of the census. İbrahim Paşa was appointed to the highest administrative post of the Ottoman state on 27 June 1523 and occupied it until his death on 15 March 1536 which limits the time frame in which the *defter* was drawn up.³¹⁵ In 1529 the revenues of the domain of İbrahim Paşa were significantly increased as his total annual incomes reached three million *akçes*.³¹⁶ Clearly MAD 519 was drawn up prior to this date, because it did not reflect the considerable enlargement of İbrahim Paşa's estate that took place in 1529.³¹⁷ This fact

³¹⁵ M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. "İbrahim Paşa" in *ET²*; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. II (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975), 545-547; Hester Donaldson Jenkins. *İbrahim Pasha: Grand Vizir of Suleiman the Magnificent* (New York: Columbia University, 1911), 34-35.

³¹⁶ Gökbilgin, "İbrahim Paşa", 998.

³¹⁷ The large *icmal* of 1530 on the other hand clearly indicated this change. In the area of Filibe twelve extra villages were added to the *hass* of the grand vizier. BOA TD 370, f. 98.

limits the period of drawing up of the *defter* to six years, i.e. it was compiled between 1523 and 1529. A marginal note dating 1525 strongly suggests that the registration took place in this year.³¹⁸

The peculiar character of this census indicates that the registration must have been carried out on a special request by the central administration to meet certain extraordinary needs of the Ottoman authorities. The analysis of the data in the register seems to substantiate the assumption that there was some irregularity in the demographic processes in the region. Instead of the anticipated growth of population in the prosperous and rapidly developing city in the intervening nine years between the registrations the total population of Filibe dropped. About half of the numerous Muslim bachelors disappeared in the census of 1525. The natural supposition that they simply created families on their own should be overruled because the total number of the Muslim households in the city also dropped. Not only the 113 Muslim bachelors disappeared in the period 1516 – 1525, but it also seems that the Muslim community in Filibe lost 76 households. Evidently, this drop in the early sixteenth century, a period of an overall demographic growth in the Ottoman Empire and Europe, is a highly unexpected and very abnormal development. This unusual process can also provide the most likely explanation as to why the central administration ordered a new registration only nine years after the previous one was completed. It appears that the changes taking place in this area were so dynamic that the bureaucracy necessitated data that was up to date in this particular moment. Moreover, the unusual fluctuations of population were not

³¹⁸ “*Karye-i Pastuşa-i Köhne, haliya hassa-i Padişah...*, *Muharrem 932*” (October-November 1525), BOA, MAD 519, f. 239.

restricted to Filibe only. In this period a new Christian quarter was founded in the neighboring town of Tatar Pazarcık only to disappear five years later.³¹⁹

The assumption for an extraordinary demographic development in the 1520s finds indubitable confirmation in the data of the 1530 large *icmal* register.³²⁰ This synoptic register compiled data from the previous registrations (1516 and 1525) for different parts of the region as also there must have been yet another registration after 1525, but prior to 1530, from which the compilers of the large defter extracted additional information. The detailed draft of this registration is not extant, but its data covering different parts of the area was incorporated in the *icmal* of 1530.³²¹ Thus the information on the tax-payers of Filibe was refreshed in 1530 providing excellent opportunity for closer observations on the demographic processes in the city.

The synoptic census from 1530 does not allow close observations on the individual tax-payers in Filibe, but the data in the document shows a dramatic decrease of the Muslim community in the city. It seems that after the peak in 1516 when there were 877 Muslim households and 220 bachelors the Muslim population of the city began to decline dropping to 801 households and 136 bachelors in 1525 and finally falling to only 636 households and 126 bachelors in 1530. The decrease was indeed dramatic since only in fourteen years more than one quarter of the Muslim population in Filibe disappeared bringing the demographic figures close to the level of the 1470s. The archival documents leave no clue as to the reasons for these intensive changes, but the

³¹⁹ For details see the chapter on Tatar Pazarcık below.

³²⁰ BOA, TD 370, 85.

³²¹ It is difficult to state with any degree of certainty why some settlements were included in the census of 1530 with data that was up to date whilst for others the information from the *mufassal* of 1516 was used, but it is likely to be indicative for the greater changes in some of the settlements.

only plausible explanation for such intensive and sudden drop of the Muslims in the town is a forced deportation organized by the central authority. The abnormal drop in numbers of the Muslim residents in Filibe due to their relocation was not an isolated case. In the same period the nearby urban centers like Tatar Pazarcık or Eski Zağra also unexpectedly lost portions of their Muslim population.³²² Natural calamities and diseases must certainly be ruled out because the other religious groups in the town remained stable without any signs for unnatural decrease. Moreover, the population of the neighboring town of İstanımaka that was almost entirely Christian not only did not drop in the period 1516-1530 but also slightly increased.³²³

The period in which the Ottoman administration produced multiple censuses for parts of Upper Thrace and when significant portion of the Muslim population of Filibe and the surrounding towns disappeared from these records concurred with the period of fast territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire to the west. In 1521 the Ottomans took “the outer wall of Christendom”, the strong fortress of Belgrade, that cleared their way to Central Europe allowing them to defeat the medieval kingdom of Hungary (1526) and lay the first siege of Vienna in 1529.³²⁴ The rapid territorial extension was accompanied by deportations of local Christian population from the conquered territories to the capital Istanbul or other inner parts of the Empire. One such example was the deportation of disobedient Serbs from the region of Syrmia (Ott. Sirem) and Belgrade to the Gallipoli

³²² Grigor Boykov. “Balkan City or Ottoman City? A Study on the Models of Urban Development in Ottoman Upper Thrace (15th – 17th c.)” in Halit Eren and Sadık Ünay (eds.), *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on the Islamic Civilisation in the Balkans, 1-5 November 2005, Bucharest, Romania* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2010), 74.

³²³ Boykov, Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace, 90-100.

³²⁴ Halil İnalcık. *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 35-38.

Peninsula and Istanbul.³²⁵ Certainly the Ottomans needed to compensate the loss of taxpayers caused by the warfare and deportations by bringing in Muslim settlers from the older European parts of the Empire. Moreover, it was not only for the apparent need for people trained in Islamic educational system who had to administer the newly conquered territories, but also the Ottomans must have sought to change the ethnic balance in the Christian western Balkans and Central Europe thus securing the loyalty of the residents and some stability in the conquered lands. The earliest available *tahrir* census of Ottoman Belgrade, dating 1536-1537 clearly shows that virtually all Muslim residents were newcomers who did not form yet *mahalles*, but were registered as *cema'ats*.³²⁶ The register however does not provide details as for where the settlers came from thus it is not possible to state with any certainty whether the Muslims from Filibe were indeed amongst these Muslims. Nevertheless, undoubtedly the missing part of Filibe's Muslim community must have been transferred to the Western Balkans or further west to Central Europe. The *mufassal* register of Buda, compiled in 1546 shows that several of the residents of the Danubian city were newcomers from Filibe.³²⁷

The closer examination of the data in the registers of 1525 and 1530 provides further evidence showing that the decline of the Muslim population of Filibe in the period 1516-1530 was not a natural process but was undoubtedly due to a forced

³²⁵ Feridun M. Emecen. "The History of an Early Sixteenth Century Migration – Sirem Exiles in Gallipoli." in Geza David and Pal Fodor (eds.), *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Budapest: Lorand Eötvös University and Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1994), 77-91.

³²⁶ BOA, TD 187, f. 243. Further details in Branislav Djurdjev. "Belgrade" in *EF*².

³²⁷ Gyula Kaldy-Nagy. *Kanuni Devri Budin Tahrir Defteri (1546-1562)* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1971), 11. In this case these were several Jews from Filibe, as there were many other newcomers from various cities in the Balkans like Kavala, Vidin, Semendire, Edirne, Selânik or even the capital Istanbul.

relocation (*sürgün*) orchestrated by the Ottoman central administration. In 1525 the multiple mosques of Filibe were served by no less than 33 imams and 28 *müezzins* as also the record provides information about four sheikhs of dervish convents. The effect of the transfer of Filibe's Muslims to the west must have been devastating to the normal existence and everyday life of the Muslim community there, because the register of 1530 indicates that it was far from the normality. According to the data in the register, the city that at that moment must have had about thirty mosques and *mescids*, was served by altogether 3 imams and 2 *müezzins* as there was also one *şeyh-i zaviye* who most likely headed the complex of Şihabeddin Paşa. The *sürgün* seems not only to have interrupted the rapid demographic development of the city and carried away more than one quarter of the Muslims but it also striped the city from its religious, scholarly and intellectual elite. In all probability the vacant positions of the clergymen were soon filled up with new candidates waiting for appointment, but the effect of these dramatic changes must have been a temporary set-back for its development.

The forced population relocation of the late 1520s certainly was not new to Filibe. It was mentioned above that in mid-fifteenth century Mehmed II transferred Christian and Jewish families from the city to his capital Istanbul. Nor such deportations were isolated cases, but they were rather systematically used by the Ottomans to repopulate the newly conquered territories in the early period.³²⁸ Nevertheless, very little is known

³²⁸ There is rich literature on the Ottoman policy of forced relocations. The "classical" studies of Barkan present rich data on the *sürgüns*, orchestrated by the Ottomans that aimed at repopulating the depressed regions in the Balkans. By bringing Muslim Turkish settlers to the Christian Balkans the Ottomans undoubtedly attempted to strengthen their authority in the region. Ömer Lütfi Barkan. "Osmanlı İparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler." *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 11 (1949-1950): 524-569; 13 (1951-1952): 56-79; 15 (1953-1954): 209-237. Paul

about the forced relocations of Muslims to the Western Balkans and Central Europe that occurred under the rule of Süleyman I.³²⁹ It was already mentioned that several other towns in Upper Thrace were also affected by these deportations in the late 1520s. Moreover, it appears that the Ottoman administration prepared the forced relocation of Muslim population to the newly conquered territories in much large scale and it affected other regions too. A recent study on the powerbase of the Evrenosoğlu dynasty, the city of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) in Greek Macedonia, shows a striking similarity to the development in Filibe.³³⁰ In the immediate aftermath of the second conquest of Thessaloniki in 1432-1433 Murad II forcibly relocated the greater portion of the Muslims of Yenice-i Vardar to the newly conquered city.³³¹ The archival documents show that under the management of the members of the dynasty of Evrenos Yenice-i Vardar recovered quickly, but a century later in 1530 it suffered another major drop in population. Compared to the figures from the preceding register, dating 1519, the city lost close to 38% of its Muslim community while the small quarter of Christians

Lovell Hooper. *Forced Population Transfers in Early Ottoman Imperial Strategy: a Comparative Approach* (unpublished senior thesis, Princeton University, 2003) summarized the existing bibliography on this topic. Likewise many of the cities conquered and resettled by the Ottomans were examined in a number of fine studies. See Heath Lowry. *The Islamization & Turkification of the City of Trabzon (Trebizond), 1461-1583* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2009); idem. "From Lesser Wars to the Mightiest War?: The Ottoman Conquest and Transformation of Byzantine Urban Centers in the Fifteenth Century." in Anthony Bryer and Heath Lowry (eds.), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham – Washington, D.C.: the University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine Studies & Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 323-338; Halil İnalçık. "Istanbul: an Islamic City." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 1-23.

³²⁹ While Western Balkans and Central Europe is the most likely destination for the transfer of urban population from Upper Thrace it seems that about the same time rural population from the region relocated to Danubian Bulgaria. The villages of *Küçük* and *Büyük Filibelüler* or *Zağralı* that in a register of 1550 appear in the *kaza* of Hezargrad (mod. Razgrad) clearly attest this fact. Machiel Kiel. "Hrazgrad-Hezargrad-Razgrad: The Vicissitudes of a Turkish Town in Bulgaria (Historical, Demographical, Economic and Art Historical Notes)." *Turcica* 21-23 (1991): 536.

³³⁰ Heath Lowry and İsmail Erünsal. *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar: Notes & Documents* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2010), 120-122.

³³¹ Lowry – Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar*, 120-121.

remained stable.³³² Moreover, a group of twenty four Jewish households disappeared completely.³³³ Lowry and Erünsal noticed this irregularity in the demographic processes and concluded that the only seemingly explanation for this sudden drop in population in the interim between the two registers must be forced relocation of part of the city's residents.

Further studies will most likely bring to light more cases of deportations of Muslim population from the older Rumelian territories of the Empire in the early Süleymanic age and could possibly reveal the exact locations where the Muslims of Filibe were resettled. Relocating urban population among whom were many merchants and craftsmen but also Muslim clergymen and scholars bespeaks that the residents of Filibe were resettled in some of the newly conquered urban centers in the Western Balkans or Central Europe. While this hypothesis cannot be advanced beyond the speculation, it is strongly suggested by evidence at hand.

2.10. Resurgence of the city in the second half of the sixteenth century

The forced relocations of Muslims in the 1520s most certainly had a negative effect on the development of Filibe. Notwithstanding the central administration was not attempting to ruin the prosperity of the city but it rather appears that the Ottomans had a

³³² Lowry – Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar*, 122.

³³³ Lowry – Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar*, 122.

very good sense for the abilities of the individual settlements to recover after such deportations. Evidently the central administration was very careful in defining what portion of the population can be relocated and was very flexible in making this choice. Thus, larger and prosperous places like Filibe and Yenice-i Vardar provided greater percentage of their Muslim population for the resettlement policy of Süleyman I, whilst smaller developing towns such as the neighboring Tatar Pazarcık contributed to the population transfer with a much smaller part of its residents thereby the central power assured that the town will not decline after the forced relocation of part of its Muslim population.

The data from the next *tahrir* registers demonstrates that indeed Filibe had the necessary demographic potential for fast recovery and indicates that its Muslim population was quickly reemerging. Moreover, the high ranking Ottoman officials continued to commission public buildings there thus their architectural patronage not only contributed for the recovery from the demographic crisis of the early sixteenth century, but boosted the further development of the urban space as well. The *icmal* register of 1530 specifies that by that time Filibe had four public baths. Although they were not explicitly named in the document these baths can be certainly identified as *Tahtakale hamamı* (built by Şihabeddin Paşa in the late 1430s); *Hünkâr hamamı* (also built by Şihabeddin Paşa in 1444); *Çifte hamamı* (in all probability built by İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey in the late 1460s or the early 1470s); and *Kadıasker hamamı* (built by the *kadıasker* Hacı Hasanzade Mustafa Efendi between 1488 and 1505/1506).

Moreover, the *tahrir emini* marked altogether four inns (*hanat*) in the city, whose existence undoubtedly point to the growing importance of the trade in the thriving urban center. These commercial buildings, however, are more difficult to be identified. One of these *hans* must have been the great *kervansaray* built north of Muradiye in the second half of the fifteenth century (very likely prior to 1489) whose patron is unknown. A second inn was built in 1444 in the complex of Şihabeddin Paşa, located at the northern part of the city near Lala Şahin's bridge over the river Maritsa. Yet, the scarcity of the sources mentioning the commercial buildings in the city makes it very hard to establish which were the remaining two inns put on record in the 1530 *defter*. It is noteworthy that the register did not record separately the *bedesten* built in the second half of the fifteenth century, which makes it plausible to suggest that the registrar counted it in the total number of the city *hans*. On the other hand, the seventeenth-century text of Evliya Çelebi lists several *hans* in Filibe, but it is unclear which ones were built prior to 1530 and were thus included in the *icmal defteri* of that time. According to the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler by the time of his visit to Filibe, there were four inns in the *çarşı* area – *Zal Paşa hanı*, *Dede hanı*, *Şihabeddin Paşa hanı*, and *Tahtalkal'a hanı*, and a fifth one, *Varoş hanı*, situated by the bridge on the northern side of the river.³³⁴ The older edition of Evliya's travelogue, however, includes yet another inn named the *Orta Pazar hanı* that is missing in the recent academic publication of Kahraman and Dağlı based on the Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 305 manuscript. It seems that the Topkapı copy of the travelogue in this specific part was incomplete, a fact indicated by the editors by

³³⁴ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, 217.

leaving empty spaces. Therefore, despite the modernized language used in the nineteenth-century edition of Evliya Çelebi in this particular section it seems the more credible copy that has to be preferred before the recent academic publication of the text.³³⁵ Except for the name of an additional inn, the nineteenth-century publication included also a remark missing in the Topkapı copy according to which near the *han* of Şihabeddin Paşa there was also a lead-covered *kervansaray* (“*Şihabeddin Paşa hanı, civarındaki kârbanseray dahi anukdur*”).³³⁶

It seems that not only the publications of the text of Evliya do not match, but the narrative itself is also somewhat confused.³³⁷ Nevertheless, the analysis of its information can provide the names of the four inns that stood in 1530 and were listed in the large synoptic register. One of the *hans* can be immediately ruled out of the list, because it was apparently being commissioned after 1530. This is the *Zal hanı*, built by Zal Mahmud Paşa (d. 1577) that will be discussed below.

From the remaining five inns in Evliya’s list three were certainly standing in 1530. These are the *kervansaray* in the commercial core of Filibe (*Tahtalkal’a hanı* in Evliya), the Şihabeddin Paşa’s *han* in the northern part of the city and the so-called *Dede hanı* from Evliya’s list. There is no information about the identity of the patron of *Dede hanı*, but amongst the schools and colleges in Filibe, that Evliya mentions there was certain *Dede mektebi*. Above the main gate of this school, according to Evliya, was placed a dedicatory plate that gives the year A.H. 893 (1487-1488) as the date of its

³³⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, Üçüncü Cild (İstanbul: Dersa’det Matba’ası, 1314/1896), 386.

³³⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi* (Dersa’det Matba’ası), 386.

³³⁷ In fact the names of the public baths provided by Evliya are also mixed up.

construction.³³⁸ The school that was located in the “lower market” was undoubtedly commissioned by the same individual who also built the so-called *Dede hanı*, therefore the construction date of this *han* was evidently prior the *icmal* of 1530, thus it was one of the four inns listed in the register. It is difficult to state with any degree of certainty which one was the fourth *han* in the register. It was already stated that the *bedesten* that indisputably stood by the 1530s could have been added to the list of *hans* of the Ottoman registrar, but it seems more likely that it was one of the ‘proper’ inns from the list of Evliya. There is no documentary or any other information about an inn named *Orta Pazar hanı*, which makes its existence questionable. Moreover the name of the inn does not appear in the Topkapı copy of Evliya’s travelogue therefore it is probably safe to be ruled out of the list of *hans* from 1530, which makes the so-called *Varoş hanı* the only possible choice. In spite of the lack of precise information about the date of construction and the name of its patron the location of this inn can be established without any difficulties. If the information of the Ottoman traveler about *Varoş hanı* is credible it must have been located in the suburb formed on the northern bank of the river Maritsa, very close to the bridge.³³⁹ Unfortunately there is no other information about this inn nor is it known when exactly it disappeared.

³³⁸ Evliya provided the construction date of the *mekteb* both as a chronogram and in numbers – “*Dedi târihin Bekir ‘Hayrun cemil’ (خير جميل) sene 893*”. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi* (Dersa’det Matba’ası), 385. The new academic edition of the *seyahatname*, as if to add to the confusion, also gives the same chronogram and a date in numbers 982 (1574-1575), thus indicating that the building was commissioned close to a century later. Moreover, the editors added a footnote pointing correctly that the chronogram does not match the date provided in figures, but miscalculated the value of the chronogram to 993. Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, 217.

³³⁹ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, 217.

The forced relocation of Filibe's Muslims undoubtedly slowed down the natural demographic development of the city. It appears, though, that even after such drastic changes, its population recovered relatively quickly. To a great extent this fast revival must be attributed to the existing infrastructure of the already developed urban fabric. Certainly the commercial buildings, *kervansarays* and *hans*, erected in the period before the *sürgün* fostered the influx of both traders and new settlers, who sought for better opportunities in the biggest urban and trade center of the area.

The register of 1530 also provides data about Filibe's Friday mosques that functioned in the city at that time. According to it altogether merely three Friday mosques operated in the city in the year in which the census was drawn up. This information is also the most likely explanation for the same incredibly small number of imams and *müezzins* in the city in 1530. The forced relocation of Muslims from Filibe had such dramatic impact on the urban life that it only left three mosques that were staffed and fully fit to serve the congregation of the city. In all probability these were the largest mosques of Filibe – the imperial Muradiye in the commercial core, the large mosque of Yeşiloğlu that was new at that moment, and the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* of Şihabeddin Paşa that by that time must have been already redesigned and began its service as a Friday mosque. All other smaller or larger mosques and *mescids* in the Muslim quarters in 1530 did not have enough personnel in order to render services to the reduced Muslim community in Filibe.

The unusual situation, as reflected in the register of 1530, evidently did not last very long. The Ottoman central administration apparently was attempting to provide a

short term decision in securing the urgently needed settlers for the newly conquered territories in the west. Not too long after this date newly appointed imams and *müezzins* appeared in the city, the schools and colleges reopened and everyday life returned to normality.

The period after the 1530s was also a time of drastic changes in the entire region of Upper Thrace. The central Ottoman administration attempted to establish stronger control over these parts of the province that were dominated by the mighty *akıncı* border lords and their natural allies - the mystical heterodox dervish brotherhoods. It was in this period that the neighboring area and town of Tatar Pazarcık were detached from the large *kaza* of Filibe and were placed under the jurisdiction of a separate *kadı*.³⁴⁰ Moreover, the central authority managed to come to close understanding and cooperated with some of the most prominent figures from the Sunni mystical order Khalvetiyye. Important preachers like Muslihuddin Nureddinzade and Kurd Efendi, both native of the region, took terms in Tatar Pazarcık in guiding the local Muslims in their struggle against the “heretics”.³⁴¹ The details about this important clash in which the centralism and Sunni Islam gained a decisive victory is examined in detail in the related section of the chapter on the town of Tatar Pazarcık below. What is relevant to this chapter is the connection of sheikh Nureddinzade to the development of Filibe that remained unnoticed in the scholarly literature to date.

³⁴⁰ Grigor Boykov. *Tatar Pazardžik ot osnovavaneto na grada do kraja na XVII vek. Izsledvania i dokumenti* (Sofia: Amicitia, 2008), 56-61.

³⁴¹ Overview of the role and importance of the Halveti sheikh in the struggle against the hetedodoxy in Rumelia in Nathalie Clayer. *Mystique, état et société. Les Halvetis dans l'air balkanique de la fin du XV^e siècle à nos jours* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1994), 63-112.

The influential Halveti sheikh Nureddinzade, who enjoyed the patronage of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa resided and preached in Tatar Pazarcık most likely in the late 1530s and the 1540s.³⁴² It must have been in this period that he established a Halveti *zaviye* in the city of Filibe too. (no. 23 on Plan 1) The available information about Nureddinzade's convent in Filibe is extremely scarce and in general it is limited to attesting the fact of its existence. At some moment he must have also established a pious foundation for its support endowing a lump sum of cash (*vakf-i nukud*).³⁴³ A document dating 1596, drawn up by the administrator of the cash *vakıf* of Nureddinzade, one Abdullah, presents a very brief accounting balance of the foundation. The information in the document reveals that the *zaviye* had a public soup kitchen since the foundation spent 4 900 *akçes* for the food cooked in the kitchens there.³⁴⁴ Appointments of personnel, registered in a *hurufat defteri* show that the *zaviye* of Nureddinzade must have been a rather spacious complex since except for the dervish convent and the public kitchens it had a mosque served at least by one imam and one *müezzin*.³⁴⁵ Another *hurufat* register, in spite of containing much less detailed information, provides an important clue for the exact location of Nureddinzade's *zaviye* in Filibe. It specifies that one Mustafa received a *berat* for his appointment as imam to the mosque of

³⁴² See the chapter on Tatar Pazarcık for argumentation and details.

³⁴³ Nureddinzade was a disciple of Sofyalı Bali Efendi who was among the voiced proponents of the cash *vakıfs* playing a decisive role in the controversy about the legal nature of cash *vakıfs* that erupted in the Muslim scholarly society in the Ottoman realm. In this respect, being vigorous supporter of his tutor, it is little surprising that Nureddinzade established a cash *vakıf* in support of his convent in Filibe. On the cash *vakıfs* and Bali Efendi's involvement in the debate see Jon E. Mandaville. "Usurious Piety: The Cash Waqf Controversy in the Ottoman Empire." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10:3 (1979): 289-308; Keskiöglü, "Bulgaristan'da Türk Vakıfları ve Bâlî Efendi", 90-94.

³⁴⁴ BOA, TSMA 4319. The document is wrongly dated in the catalogue 1611.

³⁴⁵ VGMA, D. 1180, ff. 225, 228, 239, 242, 248. In 1763 the imam was entitled to a daily salary of two *akçes*.

Nureddinzade, which is located near the bank of the river Meriç.³⁴⁶ Additional information from the earlier *hurufat* register, pointing that the *zaviye* and the mosque of Nureddinzade were built in the quarter *Hacı Ömer*, allows to establish with a great degree of certainty the precise location of Nureddinzade's convent in Filibe. It was built in a place that in the mid-sixteenth century was quite distant and isolated from the commercial part of the city. The *zaviye* and the mosque stood by the river in the northwestern edge of Filibe in a zone that at that time must have been uninhabited. Even on the nineteenth century photographs the district appears empty. In the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century the numerous Bulgarians who flooded the city established a new Christian quarter named *Maraş mahallesi* west of the convent of Nureddinzade, thus enclosing the area of the *zaviye*. It is unknown when the convent was abandoned or demolished. Undoubtedly in the mid-eighteenth century the *zaviye* was still functioning, because after sultan Mustafa III (1757-1774) occupied the Ottoman throne he issued a *berat* that reaffirmed the post of *zavieydar* of the convent of Nureddinzade Musliheddin Efendi of certain sheikh Mustafa.³⁴⁷

Being one of the fanatic supporters of Sunni Islam and a bitter opponent to the heterodoxy in Ottoman Rumili Nureddinzade and his followers in the convent in Filibe must have pursued a very similar task as in Tatar Pazarcık, i.e. persecution and oppression of the itinerant heterodox *abdals* in the city and the area. The Halveti sheikh was native of the region and he was certainly very well informed about the religious

³⁴⁶ Halit Çal. "1192 Numaralı 1697 – 1716 Tarihli Hurufat Defterine Göre Bulgaristan'daki Türk Mimarisi." in Aktaş Yasa - Zafer (eds.), *Balkanlar'da Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi*, 258.

³⁴⁷ BOA, C.EV. dosya 569, gömlek 28746.

atmosphere there and the course of the struggle for domination between the central authority and the centrifugal periphery forces.³⁴⁸ The persecutions against wandering dervishes in Thrace were not novel to the region. After the attempt on his life in the summer of 1492 Bayezid II ordered the *kadı* of Edirne to “round up all atheist abdals, dervishes, and ishiks in the area east of Filibe and Zagra, and punish, after investigation and hearings, those among them uttering blasphemous words”.³⁴⁹ The authorities arrested and executed quite a few of the itinerant dervishes, some of them Otman Baba’s followers, and deported a number of them to Anatolia.³⁵⁰ It seems however that the persecutions at the turn of the fifteenth century did not eradicate the heterodoxy from the area of Filibe. Although the city was always under the tight control of the central authority and its development was shaped by the architectural patronage of the high ranking officials from the close entourage of the Ottoman sultans, the heterodox dervishes too were present in the city. In the summer of 1533 Schepper witnessed in Filibe a group of naked dervishes and attended their ritual in a garden near the city.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ See the chapter on Tatar Pazarçık for further details on Nureddinzade’s life and career and his involvement in the center-periphery clash.

³⁴⁹ Halil İnalçık. “Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the *Otman Baba Vilâyetnâmesi*.” This was a paper presented at the *Colloquium on Saint and Sainthood in Islam*, held at the University of California, Berkeley, April 3-5, 1987, republished in idem. *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 32-33.

³⁵⁰ İnalçık, “Dervish and Sultan”, 33.

³⁵¹ “...*En ce jardin y avoit ung lieu où se retiroyent ordinairement les dervitz ou ischnicqz, c'est-à-dire les numbdes, à raison qu'ilz disent avoir fuy le monde, et sont quasy toutz nudts et très-mal en ordre. Ils s'assembloyent environ la nuict, et au chant d'ung, les aultres respondoyent, chantantz assez barbarement, en caste substance: Sicha Sahestem va Hussem, selon qu'on est accoustumez en nostre quartier de faire aux danses...Les susdictz dervi[c]tz usent des susdictes chansons, à raison que personne n'est parfaict en leur ordre, ne soit qu'elle ayt visité les sépulchres de ces deux, Sahuestem et Hussem; et quand ilz entreprendent ledict ordre, ilz font serment d'aller visiter les dictz sépulchres. Lesdictz dervictz sont abhorrez, et grandement hayz des Turcqz en horreur et hayne, à raison qu'ilz n'ayent que Hasdrith, c'est-à-dire le magnifique Haly. Et après qu'ilz eussent longtems chanté de ceste sorte, ilz commencèrent à danser, et finalement se misrent à resposer.*” Corneille Duplicius de Schepper. *Missions diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus, ambassadeur de Christiern II, de Charles V, de*

The description of the dervishes by the Dutchman leaves little doubt that he depicted a gathering of itinerant heterodox *abdals*, in all probability Kalenderis or Haydaris.³⁵² The convent established by Nureddinzade clearly targeted precisely this group in the Ottoman society as the Halveti sheikhs spared no efforts in preaching or pursuing the central authority to take decisive punitive measures against the “heretics” such as deportations or even executions. In any case the struggle with Islamic heterodoxy in Filibe that was reinforced by the lodge of Nureddinzade should not have been as dramatic as in the neighboring Tatar Pazarcık. Unlike the smaller town nearby that was established, developed and dominated by the periphery forces, thus attracting the centrifugal elements in the then Ottoman society, Filibe was under much closer control of the central power ever since the city fell into Ottoman hands. Nevertheless, the wandering dervishes appear to have been integral part of the urban society in the early period. The Ottoman centralism that was gradually gaining might increasingly marginalized the heterodox groups. In the first half of the sixteenth century the Ottoman state fully developed an imperial ideology based on the Sunni Islam which requested the establishing of closer control over the unruly subjects who opposed it. The Halveti convent of Nureddinzade in Filibe must have been part of the general attempt of the

Ferdinand I^{er} et de Marie, reine de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1523 à 1555, éd. par M. Le Bonde Saint-Genois (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1856), 191-192.

³⁵² The *vita (vilâyetname)* of Otman baba speaks of two convents in Filibe (*Hıdırlık tekke* and *Hasan baba zaviyesi*), whose patrons recognized the authority and leadership of Otman baba. This is the only available source of information about the existence of these convents. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Marjinal Süflük: Kalenderiler (XIV.-XVII. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara: TTK, 1999), 191; Nevena Gramatikova. *Neortodoksniat islyam v bălgarskite zemi. Minalo i săvremennost* (Sofia: Gutenberg, 2011), 539.

central power to impose its universal doctrine all over the territories of the Ottoman domain.

The most detailed and credible physical description of Filibe in the second half of the sixteenth century is authored by Stephan Gerlach who crossed the city in June 1578 on his return from Istanbul.³⁵³ The Protestant scholar was naturally focused on the pre-Ottoman architectural heritage in Filibe and the Christians in the city. He visited the old citadel, stating that the parts of the walls were still standing and visible in some places as were also was a cistern on *Nevbet tepesi*³⁵⁴ and the eastern gate of the stronghold (today's Hisar kapiya, Fig. 5). Gerlach mentioned by name seven functioning orthodox churches (St. George, St. Constantine, St. Nikolas, St. Michael, St. Demetrious, Jesus Christ, Virgin Mary) and the metropolitan church of St. Marina.³⁵⁵ He visited the fenced residence of the metropolitan, located in the quarter *Pulat*, that according to Gerlach had several pleasant rooms and a spacious hall all built within a very nice garden. Gerlach was unable to meet the metropolitan, because the latter went to Istanbul at the time of his

³⁵³ The original German text of Gerlach's travelogue *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch der von zween glorwürdigsten römischen Kaysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho, beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens an die ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten und durch den Wohlgebornen Herrn Hn. David Ungnad, Freiherrn zu Sonnegk und Preyburg [...] mit würcklicher Erhalt- und Verlängerung des Friedens zwischen dem Ottomannischen und Römischen Kayserthum und demselben angehörigen Landen und Köngreichen glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschaft*. Hrsg. von Samuel Gerlach, Zunner, Frankfurt am Mayn 1674 was inaccessible to me, therefore the information here is based on its abridged Bulgarian translation. Mariya Kiselincheva. *Stefan Gerlach. Dnevnik na edno pätuvane do Osmanskata porta v Tsarigrad* (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1976), 258-260.

³⁵⁴ The cistern that Gerlach mentions must be the large reservoir excavated on the northern hills dating from the late-middle ages (12th-14th c.). Hristo Džambov. "Novi dannii za vodosnabdyavaneto na Plovdiv prez antichnostta i srednovekovieto." *Godishnik na Narodniya archeologicheski muzey Plovdiv* 6 (1968): 65-82.

³⁵⁵ Kiselincheva, Stefan Gerlach. *Dnevnik na edno pätuvane*, 259.

visit, but interacted with his secretary who proved to be illiterate man showing more interest and proficiency in arms and hunting rather than matters of religion.³⁵⁶

The German clergyman spent the night in the inn of Şihabeddin Paşa near the bridge and offers a vivid description of the rest of the complex. Near the large mosque³⁵⁷ Gerlach saw the *imaret* that distributed every evening food free of charge to the city poor, the instructors and students in the nearby *medrese* and numerous dervishes. All people, according to Gerlach were offered rice, barley, and bread.³⁵⁸ On the fifth hill in the city, that is most likely the *Saat tepesi*, Gerlach saw a brick-made baldachin tomb of a Turk that had a fountain (*çesme*) near it.³⁵⁹ In all probability this must have been the domed open *türbe* (no. 41 on Plan 1) that appears on a nineteenth century photograph of Cavra. (Fig. 49) It was located in one of the oldest Muslim cemeteries in the city that surrounded the southwestern foot of the clock tower hill and it is likely to be identical with the domed tomb of Behlül Efendi, who according to Evliya Çelebi was the imam of sultan Murad I.³⁶⁰

Gerlach's information about the Christian residents of Filibe is highly valuable, because its credibility can be controlled through the Ottoman documentary sources. He states that in 1578 in Filibe resided 250 Christians whose eight churches were served by

³⁵⁶ The secretary also offered Gerlach and his companions a local alcohol drink (*rakiya*) regardless the early hour of the visit. According to the German theologian this type of kindness was common in the region. Kiselinceva, Stefan Gerlach. Dnevnik na edno pätuvane, 259.

³⁵⁷ Gerlach wrongly attributed the patronage of the mosque to a "great *kadi*", Kiselinceva, Stefan Gerlach. Dnevnik na edno pätuvane, 260.

³⁵⁸ Kiselinceva, Stefan Gerlach. Dnevnik na edno pätuvane, 260.

³⁵⁹ Kiselinceva, Stefan Gerlach. Dnevnik na edno pätuvane, 259.

³⁶⁰ Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatnamesi (Dersa'det Matba'ası), 387. The old edition once more proves superior to the Topkapı manuscript used for the new academic edition. In the Topkapı manuscript the row which provides the information about the tomb of Behlül Efendi in Filibe was left blank.

three priests and the metropolitan himself.³⁶¹ Eight years prior Gerlach's visit the Ottoman administration prepared a new *tahrir* record of the region.³⁶² The data in the register indicates that the city had eighty eight Christian households and two Christian bachelors in the four quarters mentioned above. Gerlach slightly underestimated or was misinformed about the number of the Christians in Filibe, since the data from the register shows that the totals must have been about thirty families higher. Gerlach's account also makes no mention of Jews and Gypsies in the city, but in spite of the migration to the west by 1570 the Jewish community has grown larger having fifty households and one bachelor. The Gypsies who occupied the opposite edge of the city remained about the same number losing seven households in the period 1530-1570.

The data in the *tahrir* census of 1570 show that the greatest changes that took place in the interim period were due to the Muslim community in Filibe. Deprived from one quarter of its Muslim residents in 1530 and virtually left without staff for the numerous mosques and *mescids* the city had undergone astonishing recovery in the period between the two registrations. In the forty intervening years 116 new Muslim households settled in the city giving a significant rise to the Muslim community there. Moreover, having only three imams in 1530 Filibe must have turned into an attractive place for the *'ulema* and many new appointments were quickly made in the period after the forced relocation. According to the data from the register of 1570 the city had no less than 57 imams and 44 *müezzins* who occupied the vacant posts in the numerous mosques in the city. The dramatic influx of Muslim clergymen hardly needs any further

³⁶¹ Kiselincheva, Stefan Gerlach. Dnevnik na edno pätuvane, 259-260.

³⁶² BOA, TD 494, dating 1570.

comments. The census also recorded three college instructors (*müderris*) in the *medreses* of Şihabeddin Paşa and Karagöz Paşa and two teachers (*mu'allim*) in some of the *mektebs* in the city. It is uneasy task to trace all primary schools that functioned in Filibe in the second half of the sixteenth century, but a century later Evliya Çelebi claims that seventeen *mektebs* offered education to Muslim children in the city.³⁶³ In any case the *mektebs* of İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey and the so-called *Dede mektebi*, mentioned above, might have been among the institutions where the two *mu'allims* offered instruction in 1570. The census also recorded several dervishes, Friday preachers, descendents of the Prophet, *kadıs* and other Muslim elites who formed the intellectual and religious *milieu* which must have made Evliya remark that although the residents of Filibe were people of pleasure there were many Muslim scholars, preachers, sheikhs, as the group of the *kadıs* was especially large.³⁶⁴

The rapid growth of the Muslim population is also reflected by the increase of the total number of city quarters that by 1570 counted thirty six - 30 Muslim, 4 Christian, 1 Jewish, and 1 Gypsy respectively. A small group of merchants from Dubrovnik settled near the complex of Şihabeddin Paşa, but they did not form their own quarter nor were they included in the census.³⁶⁵ On the northern bank of the river Maritsa settled a group

³⁶³ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi* (Dersa'det Matba'ası), 385.

³⁶⁴ "Eğerçi ehl-i beledî ehl-i hevâdır ammâ ulemâsı ve kibâr-ı meşâyihî ve e'imme ü hutebası gayet çokdur. Ekseri kudat tâ'ifesi bî-hisabbdır. Ulemâ-yı mütebahhirinden ve şu'arâ -yı mütehayyirinden erbâb-ı ma'ârifî çokdur." Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, 218. At least four *kadıs* and one deputy judge (*naib*) resided in Filibe in 1570, doing their term in isolation or awaiting new appointment. The *defter* also included a number of scribes, tax-collectors, market supervisors, *evkaf* administrators and a number of other officials.

³⁶⁵ Catharin Zen first attested the presence of Ragusan merchants in Filibe. Matković, "Dva talijanska putopisa", 213. Later Gerlach describes this group of merchants indicating their exact location in the city. They resided very near the *han* of Şihabeddin Paşa by the bridge and used it for their commercial activities. Kiselincheva, Stefan Gerlach. *Dnevnik na edno pätuvane*, 260. In 1580 when Paolo Contarini visited

of servants in the imperial mail service, who formed the new Muslim quarter named after their profession *mahalle-i Ulakçıyan*.³⁶⁶

2.11. Filibe's complete recovery at the turn of the sixteenth century

The data from the next *tahrir* registration, prepared in 1596, indicates that the city's population recovered completely from the demographic crisis suffered the first half of the century, caused by the centrally orchestrated forced relocation of population.³⁶⁷ The total population of the city for the first time reached again and even

Filibe he found only one merchant from Dubrovnik residing in the city. The rest of the group, according to him, either died or returned home. Paolo Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini che andava bailo per la Repubblica Veneta alla Porta Ottomana nel 1580. Ora per la prima volta pubblicato* (Venice: Coi Tipi di Teresa Gattei, 1856), 30.

³⁶⁶ BOA, TD 494, f. 522. The twenty eight *ulaks* were also dispersed in many other quarters. On the functions of *ulaks* and the Ottoman courier system see Colin Heywood. "Some Turkish Archival Sources for the History of *Menzilhane* Network in Rumeli during the Eighteenth Century (Notes and Documents on the Ottoman *Ulak*, I)." in idem. *Writing Ottoman History: Documents and Interpretations* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2002), IX; idem. "The Ottoman *Menzilhane* and *Ulak* System in Rumeli in the Eighteenth Century." in idem. *Writing Ottoman History*, X; "The Via Egnatia in the Ottoman Period: The *Menzilhanes* of the Sol Kol in the Late 17th/Early 18th Century." in idem. *Writing Ottoman History*, XI; Aleksandăr Antonov. "Vremeto e pari. Osmanskata kurierska služba v kraya na XVII i prez XVIII vek." in Raya Zaimova and Nikolay Aretov (eds.), *Pari, dumi, pamet* (Sofia: Kralitsa Mab, 2004), 127-143; idem. "Infrastruktura na ovladyanoto prostranstvo. Osmanski dokumenti za pätnite stantsii po Diagonalniya pät." in Svetlana Ivanova (ed.), *Etnicheski i kulturni prostranstva na Balkanite. Chast I: Minaloto – istoricheski rakursi* (Sofia: Universitetsko Izdatelstvo "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 2008), 206-225.

³⁶⁷ TKGM, KuK 65. This document has two clean copies in the Ottoman archive in Istanbul. BOA, TD 648 and BOA, TD 1001. The copy TD 1001 is by far superior to TD 648 the pages of which were mixed up when the document was rebound. Thus quarters from one town were laid in another, villages were misplaced in different *kazas* etc. The document has no *hüküm* and date on its front page and it is commonly referred in the literature as dating from 1595 or even 1585 cf. Turan Gökçe. "Filibe Şehri Nüfusunun Dini ve Meslekî Özellikleri (1485-1610)." in *XIV. Türk Tarih Kongresi (9-13 Eylül 2002)*, vol. 2, part 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), 523-555. The construction of the great *kervansaray* and mosque of İbrahim Paşa in the town of Tatar Pazarcık however indicates that the registration took place in 1596 or maybe a year later. See below the chapter on Tatar Pazarcık for details and argumentation.

surpassed the level of 1516, when Filibe looked at the peak of its development. At the turn of the sixteenth century the city had 1 078 households and 48 bachelors, that must mean a total population of well above five thousand residents. For a quarter of a century between the registrations the Muslims increased with close to one hundred households (844 in total) thus almost reached their highest point of 1516. The increase of the entire population was also due to the rapid growth of the Christians who almost doubled in the intervening period between the registrations of 1570 and 1596. The four old Christian quarters apparently turned too small for the rapidly increasing population and the Christians began to 'colonize' the neighboring Muslim quarters. The first Christians who settled outside their traditional quarters were a group of twelve households who installed themselves in the *mahalle Koca Hüseyin* which bordered the large old Christian quarter *Pazariçi*. These early Christian settlers in the Muslim quarters established a trend that fully developed in the seventeenth century when most of the Muslim quarters in the eastern part of the city that neighbored the established Christian *mahalles* were overflowed by new Christian settlers. In the course of time some of these mixed quarters were completely overtaken by the Christians and thus appeared in the nineteenth century sources as entirely Christian-Bulgarian districts.

It is apparent that the dynamic increase of the Christians in Filibe at the turn of the sixteenth century was not due to an extreme natural growth but rather to the influx of population from outside. Moreover, similar process was also taking place in all nearby towns of Upper Thrace. For instance in the period 1570-1596 the Christian population of

Eski Zağra doubled in size³⁶⁸, the same was true for Tatar Pazarcık³⁶⁹, while in the almost exclusively Christian İstanimaka as many as 130 new Christian households appeared in the intervening years.³⁷⁰ Throughout the sixteenth century rural Bulgarian population from the overpopulated mountains was descending in the open plains in search for better living conditions. Some of these migrants converted to Islam and settled in the towns and the cities; others retained their Christian faith and installed themselves in the villages in the plain. The end of sixteenth century marked the beginning of a process that changed the demographic balance in the area. The higher birth rate of the Bulgarians in the mountains during the sixteenth century produced a significant surplus of population that was constantly pushed out toward the lower parts of the region. Driven by two dominant factors - the high fertility and the sudden drop of average annual temperatures, particularly felt at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the process of influx of rural Bulgarian population into the towns of Thrace significantly intensified. In this period the average annual temperatures dropped sensibly that must have triggered the mass migration from the mountains. The several cold summers in the 1590s in all probability lead many villages located at a higher altitude in the Rhodopes or the Balkan range to harvest failures.³⁷¹ The climatic changes known as the “Little Ice Age” affected more dramatically Anatolia, where in combination with a range of social and economic

³⁶⁸ Boykov, “Balkan City or Ottoman City”, 74.

³⁶⁹ See the following chapter on Tatar Pazarcık.

³⁷⁰ Boykov. Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace, 97-99.

³⁷¹ For recent studies on the drop of average temperatures in the period see Rüdiger Glaser. “On the Course of Temperature in Central Europe since the Year 1000 A.D.” *Historical Social Research* 22:1 (1997): 59-87; Jürg Luterbacher. “European Seasonal and Annual Temperature Variability, Trends, and Extremes since 1500.” *Science* 303 (2004): 1499-1503.

problems it caused constant unrest for decades.³⁷² The effect of the changing climate and the worsening living conditions in Ottoman Rumelia are yet to be satisfactorily studied, but the dynamic migrations in the late sixteenth and the entire seventeenth century were undoubtedly stimulated by this process.

Certainly the recovery of Filibe was not expressed in terms of population growth only but in the course of the second half of the sixteenth century the local economy must have also returned to its normal pace. Moreover, the commercial infrastructure of the city not only functioned as usually, but it also continued to attract the patronage and the investments of the high ranking Ottoman officials. It was mentioned above that Evliya Çelebi referred to the *Zal hanı* in his list of inns in the seventeenth-century Filibe. The name of this inn is so peculiar that the vizier Zal Mahmud Paşa can be undoubtedly identified as a patron of this commercial building. Bosnian-born *devşirme* he made a rapid career progress in the Ottoman military and administrative hierarchy rising from *kapıcıbaşı* to *beylerbeyi* of Budin, Halep and Anadolu. The great skills of Mahmud Paşa in wrestling and the crucial role he played in the strangling of prince Mustafa in 1553, according to Peçevi, earned him the byname Zal, after the mythical Persian hero.³⁷³ After the death of the vizier Hasan Paşa in 1574 Zal Mahmud married his widow

³⁷² There is rich bibliography on the social unrest in Anatolia, commonly referred as *celâli* rebellions. See Oktay Özel. "The Reign of Violence: The Celâlis (c.1550-1700)." in Christine Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 184-202 for evaluation of bibliography to date. A recent study examined the impact of climate changes and population pressure which were the driving force that caused constant turmoil in the Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth century. Sam White. *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 59-73; 126-139; 260-275. Oktay Özel. "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia During the 16th and 17th Centuries: The 'Demographic Crisis' Reconsidered." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004): 183-205 is an overview of the demographic processes in Anatolia in the period in question.

³⁷³ İbrahim Efendi Peçevi. *Tarih-i Peçevî*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Matba'a-i 'Amire, 1281/1864), 441-442.

Şahsultan, the daughter of sultan Selim II and was promoted to vizierate. The marriage did not last long as within two weeks in 1577 both husband and wife died and in accordance with their last will the couple was buried together in Eyüb.³⁷⁴

Prior their deaths the Ottoman princess and the vizier had each left a written will donating one-third of their inheritance for a construction of a joint mosque, *medrese* complex and a mausoleum in Eyüb. The princess begged her reigning brother, Murad III, and royal sisters to give up their shares of the remaining of her inheritance and selected her mother, the *valide* Nurbanu Sultan as the executor of her will. Whoever occupied the grand vizierate had to oversee the thus established endowment.³⁷⁵ The core of the property endowed by the princess consisted of fourteen villages in the area of Filibe, which she received as a gift from her royal father in 1568.³⁷⁶ Zal Mahmud Paşa's more modest endowment consisted of shops in Ankara and Filibe and a *hamam* and a fountain equipped with its own water channel in the Macedonian town of Pirlepe (mod. Prilep).³⁷⁷

The money raised for the foundation was loaned out at interest for a year and a half thus increasing the available funds. The administrator of the *vakıf* Hüseyin Ağa, chief finance minister and Zal Mahmud's council scribe first built the mausoleum for the couple in Eyüb and then spent 1 251 563 *akçes* for the construction of an income-

³⁷⁴ Gülru Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 368.

³⁷⁵ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 370-371. The endowment deed of the joint foundation of Şahsultan and Zal Mahmud is housed in the Ottoman archive in Istanbul. BOA, Evkaf 20/25, dating 1593. This long neglected document was recently made known by the publication of Necipoğlu who also summarized its contents.

³⁷⁶ *Evkaf defteri* of 1570 lists the villages of the then *mülk* of Şahsultan. The villages were located southeast of Filibe at the foot of the Rhodopes, including also the monastery Ste. Paraskeva near the village of Muldava. BOA, TD 498, ff. 416-429. The following *evkaf* register of the area, dating 1596, already lists the villages as *vakıf* of Şahsultan. BOA, TD 470, ff. 424-440.

³⁷⁷ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 371.

producing *kervansaray* in Filibe and multiple water mills in the villages belonging to the domain of Şahsultan.³⁷⁸ The rest of the complex in Eyüb, the mosque, two *medreses* and number of commercial structures were completed a decade later in 1590.³⁷⁹

The endowment deed of the pious foundation established posthumously by the Ottoman princess Şahsultan and the vizier Zal Mahmud Paşa leaves no doubt about the identity of the patron of the *Zal hanı* which appears in Evliya's travelogue about a century later. The *han* was commissioned on behalf of Zal Mahmud Paşa by the then *mütevelli* of the foundation Hüseyin Ağa most likely in 1580. Paolo Contarini who crossed the city in the same year witnessed and described the ongoing construction of a great *kervansaray*, which was according to him commissioned by the mother of sultan Murad III.³⁸⁰ There is little doubt that the building described by the Venetian is the so-called *Zal hanı* while his information on the patron also seems credible since according to the stipulations of the endowment deed *valide* Nurbanu Sultan acted as an executor of her daughter's will. Once accomplished the inn yielded revenues to the *vakıf* which supported the complex of the couple in Eyüb. This building was another contribution to the commercial core of Filibe and corresponded to the ongoing recovery of the economic strength and demographic development of the city. The exact location of the building cannot be established, nor it is known when the *han* named after Zal Mahmud Paşa disappeared. In all probability it was one of the multiple inns built along the main

³⁷⁸ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 371.

³⁷⁹ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 371.

³⁸⁰ "... girammo tutta la città, nella quale sono molte moschee, molti caravanserà, ed ora se ne fabbrica uno magnifico dalla madre del gransignore, che sarà cosa superb. Ha molti bagni, è piena di traffico, ha molti bazari ..." Contarini, *Diario*, 30.

market street that had fallen victim to the “modernization” of the city in the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.

2.12. Overshadowed by the smaller neighbor: population changes in the early seventeenth century

The turn of the sixteenth century marked a significant change in the urban landscape of the smaller neighboring town of Tatar Pazarcık that affected the demographic processes of the entire region. In 1596 the grand vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa built there a highly monumental double *kervansaray*, which in terms of size is likely to have been the largest building enterprise ever undertaken in the Ottoman Balkans outside the old capital Edirne.³⁸¹ The building of İbrahim Paşa was a complex on its own that included an *imaret*, small mosque, public fountains etc., which gave a real boost to the development of the economy of the provincial town. The population of Tatar Pazarcık in short time increased dramatically thanks to the influx of new settlers who apparently saw in the provincial center better trade opportunities and living conditions.

The last “classical” *tahrir* census of the population of Filibe shows the impact of the emergence of Tatar Pazarcık as a second major economic center in the area. The

³⁸¹ See the following chapter for details.

extant register is likely to be a clean spare copy and contains no *hükm* and date therefore it was variously dated in the related historiography.³⁸² Gökbilgin first pointed that the document must date from the period of sultan Ahmed I's reign (1603-1617).³⁸³ Later researchers who studied the register used various dates, ranging from 1603 to 1610.³⁸⁴ In his study on Tatar Pazarcık during the Ottoman period Machiel Kiel offered highly valuable information for the history of Filibe, which allows the defining of more accurate date for the last *tahrir* of the region. According to Kiel's findings a compact group of Armenian settlers appeared in Filibe in 1610.³⁸⁵ After a bitter controversy with the local Greeks the Armenian community managed to take over the church of St. George and settled at the western edge of the citadel and the area below it. (Plan 1) The *tahrir* in question lists a group of twenty one Armenian households in Filibe thus indicating that in any case the document was drawn up after 1610.³⁸⁶ It seems that the census was a part of a general renewal of the provincial registers done by the central administration during the reign of Ahmed I. In some regions, like *Paşa sancağı* in the case, new registrations were carried out, while for other regions were produced new copies of the preceding *tahrirs*. For instance the information in the last *tahrir* of the

³⁸² BOA, TD 729.

³⁸³ Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livası, 535.

³⁸⁴ Machiel Kiel. "Tatar Pazarcık. The Development of an Ottoman Town in Central-Bulgaria or the Story of How the Bulgarians Conquered Upper Thrace Without Firing a Shot." in Klaus Kreiser, Christoph Neuman (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich in seinen Archivalien und Chroniken, Nejat Göyünc zu Ehren* (Istanbul: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), 31-67. Gökçe, "Filibe Şehri", 523-555. In later work the same author revised the date to 1613-1614 after the argumentation in Boykov, Demographic Features, 16-17. Turan Gökçe. "XVII. Yüzyılda Filibe Şehrinin Demografik Yapısı." in Meral Bayrak et al. (eds.), *Uluslararası Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk-Bulgar İlişkileri Sempozyumu, 11-13 Mayıs 2005* (Eskişehir: Osmangazi Üniversitesi, 2005), 49-64.

³⁸⁵ Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık", 44.

³⁸⁶ BOA, TD 729, f. 317. Kiel who provided the information about the exact date of arrival of the Armenians in Filibe however did not find the Armenian community in the register therefore concluded that the *defter* was compiled prior to 1610. Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık", 44.

region of Niğbolu, dating 1579-1580³⁸⁷, was replicated in a new *tahrir* without any changes. The copy, housed in Istanbul, was prepared in A.H. 1023 (1614-1615) which indicates that the renewal of the registrations in the eastern parts of Rumelia took place about that time.³⁸⁸ Given that the last *tahrir* census which included the population of Filibe was certainly compiled after 1610 it is very likely that the actual registration took place in 1614, when the central administration also prepared the copy of the Niğbolu *defter*.³⁸⁹

The greatest novelty in the development of Filibe in the interim (1596-1614) was the arrival of a community of Armenians mentioned above. The Armenians who migrated to Rumelia from the Persian lands were not new to the city. In the early Middle Ages Philippopolis had sizable Armenian Monophysite population, deported there in the eighth century. Nevertheless, by the time of the Ottoman conquest it appears to have been assimilated by the local Greek and Slavic population and disappeared completely.³⁹⁰ In the beginning of the seventeenth century the twenty one Armenian households occupied the area near the then abandoned church of St. George, located below the walls of the citadel. In the second half of the seventeenth century the community acquired enough power and strength to take possession of the medieval Greek church. The thus acquired

³⁸⁷ The original copy of this register is extant in Tapu ve Kadastro Arşivi in Ankara. TKGM, KuK 58.

³⁸⁸ BOA, TD 718.

³⁸⁹ By the 1640s when for the central administration compiled the highly detailed *avarız* registers for some parts of the Empire the information on the regions of Niğbolu and Silistre was already more than sixty years old therefore a new detailed registration was carried out. (BOA, TD 771 and TD 775, dating A.H. 1052/1642-1643) The information on the taxpayers of the left and the right wing *kazas* of the *Paşa sancağı* however was much fresher, which must have appeared acceptable for the central administration and it did not produce detailed *avarız defters* of this region in the 1640s.

³⁹⁰ Ani Dancheva-Vasileva. "Armenskoto prisăstvie v Plovdiv prez Srednovekovieto." *Istoričeski Pregled* 5-6 (1999): 119-134.

Armenian church was repaired multiple times in the later period but kept the original name of the patron saint St. George (Surp Kevork). The community seems to have been growing rapidly most likely as a result of influx of more Armenian settlers. Twenty years later a register for the poll-tax of the non-Muslims recorded fifty one *cizye hanes* levied on the Armenian tax-payers in the city.³⁹¹ Evidently both the Armenian quarter and the church occupied the same area throughout the Ottoman period. The earliest urban plan, drawn up by the Russian officer Ilinskiy in 1878, marked a small Christian cemetery near the Armenian quarter that in all probability was used by the Armenian community.

The emergence of the nearby town of Tatar Pazarcık as regional economic center affected mostly the Muslim community of Filibe. The total number of Muslim households in Filibe instead of the anticipated growth had a sensitive decrease. It dropped from 844 households in 1596 to 721 households in 1614. Undoubtedly a large portion of Filibe's 'missing' Muslim population transferred to the smaller neighboring town, whose Muslim community in the intervening eighteenth years rapidly increased from 287 households in 1596 to 414 households in 1614. Some of the older Muslim quarters in Filibe like this of *Hacı Bunarı* disappeared from the records. Others like *Köprü başı*, *Ulakçıyan* and *Korucu* were merged again into the large quarter named *Tataran* that covered the area of the suburb on the northern bank of the river Maritsa. Although the drop of the Muslims in the beginning of the seventeenth century was sensitive it was not nearly as dramatic as the events in the preceding century when Filibe

³⁹¹ Elena Grozdanova (ed.), *Turski izvori za bălgarskata istoriya* (Sofia: Glavno Upravljenje na Arhivite, 2001), 19.

lost a great portion of its Muslim residents. By 1614 most of the mosques and *mescids* in the city must have been operational, being staffed by thirty imams and twenty nine *müezzins*. Moreover, the census included information about more *'ulema* members such as eight college professors, several *kadis* among whom one labeled *'kadı-i Filibe'* who was possibly the previous judge of the city, at the moment of registration expecting a new appointment. The *tahrir emini* did not keep record of the bachelors in the city and omitted to list most of the professions of the craftsmen preferring to use patronymics instead, but he was quite careful in noting not only the *'ulema*, but also the members of the *'askeri* class. Thus he kept record of more than one hundred cavalry and infantry soldiers, four gunners, the commander (*mir-i liva*) of the *voynuks*, or even the retired *sancakbeyi* of Çirmen.³⁹²

Despite the significant decrease of the Muslims the total population still increased thanks to the growth of the other confessions in the period between the registrations reaching 1 130 households in 1614. In accordance with the trend that erupted at the turn of the sixteenth century the Christian population of Filibe continued to grow extremely rapidly. In eighteen years one hundred new Christian families appeared in the city, undoubtedly as a result of migration. Likewise the great influx of population into the city was by no means a phenomenon of the development of Filibe only. In the same period the Christians in Eski Zağra doubled, whilst in the highly attractive town of Tatar Pazarcık the total number of the Christians jumped from forty

³⁹² Gökçe, "Filibe Şehri", 547-549.

four to one hundred households.³⁹³ Recent research on the climate changes of the region, based on the dendrochronological analysis of samples from *Pinus heldreichii* taken in the Pirin mountain (southwest of Filibe), demonstrates that the first two decades of the seventeenth century were extremely cold as the average annual temperatures dropped down every year until reaching the bottom in the mid-1620s when the trend shifted and followed a decade of relatively moderate temperatures.³⁹⁴ In regard of the data about the spell of cold weather in the region in the course of the last decades of the sixteenth and the first two decades of the seventeenth century the influx of Christian population into the towns and cities located in the lower plain is hardly surprising. The constant migration of Bulgarian Christians from the overpopulated mountains to the lower lands gradually changed the etho-religious balance of the region. While on the one hand the Christians were progressively growing in cities like Filibe, the prosperous mountain town of Razlog, which had close to 600 households in the early sixteenth century, shrank to about half of its size by the turn of the century.³⁹⁵ The large Christian community in Filibe, as it appears in the register of 1614, continued to expand throughout the rest of the period of Ottoman power over the city. This was a beginning of a process that in the coming two centuries changed completely the demographic picture of the city. Documentary evidence show that by the nineteenth century Muslims were no longer the majority of Filibe's residents and the Christian Bulgarians and

³⁹³ See the chapter on Tatar Pazarcık for further details.

³⁹⁴ The data is part of an ongoing research project of the Dendrology studies Laboratory of the University of Forestry in Sofia. <http://dendrologybg.com/dendrochron/index.htm>

³⁹⁵ Boykov, "Šădbata na Razložkata kotlovina", 71.

Greeks were slowly taking over the urban center which was once re-created and dominated by the Muslim-Turkish population.³⁹⁶

2.13. Ottoman public buildings in Filibe in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century

At the very end of the sixteenth or more likely in the first years of the seventeenth century unidentified patron erected one of the most important landmarks of Filibe that still dominates the landscape of the modern city – the clock tower (*saat kulesi*). (no. 39 on Plan 1) The clock tower was built on the hill named after it, which is situated in the western part of the city thus enclosing the square of Muradiye mosque and the urban core from the southwest. It overlooked the commercial area of Filibe and defined the pace of economic life for centuries. (Figs. 50-52) Evliya Çelebi relates that the minaret-like tower set on the top of one the hills in Filibe had a clock mechanism whose bell rang twelve times every day marking the midday. The dreadful sound of the clock tower was audible at a great distance from the city.³⁹⁷

The tower in Filibe is not only the earliest Ottoman clock tower in modern Bulgaria, but it is also one the earliest clock towers in entire Ottoman Rumelia. Only two clock towers in the Balkans seem to predate the tower in Filibe. The earliest clock tower

³⁹⁶ Kiel. “Filibe” in *TDVİA*. Neriman Ersoy. XIX. Yüzyılda Filibe Şehri (1839-1876). (unpublished dissertation, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2003), 38-42.

³⁹⁷ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, 218.

in the European possessions of the Ottoman Empire is the standing tower near the mosque of sultan Murad II (*Hünkâr camii*) in Skopje. In all probability it was built in the second half of the sixteenth century, more precisely in the period 1566-1572. The description of the tower by Evliya matches greatly his text depicting the clock tower in Filibe which leaves the impression for a cliché used by the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler.³⁹⁸ The other early clock tower built in the Serbian *palanka* of Jagodina was mentioned by Wolf Andreas von Steinach who crossed the place in 1583.³⁹⁹ Therefore the clock tower in Filibe is likely to be the third oldest in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The architectural features of the tower that stands today in modern Plovdiv cannot provide any information about the initial construction date of the clock tower in the city because it was completely rebuilt in the early nineteenth century. The present day hexagonal structure is clearly a result of this late reconstruction that according to the repair inscription, placed on the tower was completed in September 1810.⁴⁰⁰

The earliest information about the clock tower in Filibe comes from the travel account of M. Lefebvre, who crossed the city in August 1611.⁴⁰¹ As a secretary of the

³⁹⁸ The clock tower in Skopje was described as early as 1575 by Jacopo Soranzo. It was new at that time and measured the time in western fashion from noon to midnight. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo, ambasciatore straordinario della serenissima repubblica di Venezia al Sultano Murad III, in compagnia di M. Giovanni Correr, bailo alla porta Ottomana/descritto da anonimo che fu al seguito del Soranzo, MDLXXV* (Venice: G. Merlo, 1856), 43. Two weeks later the traveler reached Filibe, but mentions no clock tower there that most certainly indicates a later construction date for the tower in this city. Further details about the clock tower in Skopje in Özer. Üsküp'de Türk Mimarisi, 172-174.

³⁹⁹ Nikolay Tuleshev. "Chasovkikovite kuli." *Vekove* 3 (1987): 39.

⁴⁰⁰ The inscription of the clock tower was published by Ivan Dobrev. "Za nadpisa na "Sahat Tepe" v Plovdiv." *Vekove* 3 (1986): 41-44.

⁴⁰¹ The original text *Voyage de M. de Sancy, ambassadeur pour le Roi en Levant, fait par terre depuis Raguse jusques à Constantinople l'an 1611* was unavailable to me. Here I use the Bulgarian translation of

French ambassador in the Ottoman Empire, Lefebvre passed through Filibe on the way to Istanbul. The group entered the city from the north, passed the square of Muradiye mosque and continued further southward in order to take the new road to Edirne and Istanbul. At the southern edge of the city, on right hand side of the road (i.e. west) Lefebvre spotted the clock tower that sat on the top of a high rock. According to the traveler the clock marked every hour with a sound and kept time according to the French manner, twelve o'clock being the midday.⁴⁰² This information corresponds to the narrative of Evliya Çelebi who half a century later witnessed the clock beating twelve times at noon. The mechanism of the clock must have been very primitive and imperfect, because only twelve years after the visit of Lefebvre it was already out of order.⁴⁰³ Later the mechanism was repaired and Evliya found the clock operating in good order.

In the course of the eighteenth century this clock tower must have fallen down, but neither the cause for the destruction is clear nor do we know when exactly it happened. One can suppose that the most likely reason for the destruction of the clock tower was the powerful earthquake that struck the city in the second half of the eighteenth century and caused the need of major restoration of Muradiye mosque, which was completed in 1784.⁴⁰⁴ Damaged badly or leveled to the ground in the eighteenth century the tower was built anew in the shape it stands today as late as 1810. In all probability the tower was also used as an observation and signal tower, which was the

the text. Bistra Cvetkova. *Chuždi pātepisi za Balkanite. Frenski pātepisi za Balkanite XV-XVII v.* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1975), 189.

⁴⁰² Cvetkova, *Frenski pātepisi*, 189.

⁴⁰³ This information is provided by the Danish traveller Henrich Rantzoven who visited Filibe on 27 September 1623. Lubomir Mikov. "Cultural and Historical Profile of Clock Towers in the Bulgarian Lands (17th-19th Centuries)." *Étude balkanique* 1-2 (2010): 104-105.

⁴⁰⁴ Tatarlı, "Turski kultovi sgradi", 605-608.

case in many other places. Immediately next to the clock tower there was gunpowder storage (*baruthane*) that is seen on the nineteenth-century photographs. It was a small depot that did not have military functions, but was in all probability used for the small signaling *şahi* guns placed near the tower. (Fig. 53) According to Evliya these guns were fired by the local governor (*nazır*) in order to mark the beginning of the religious holidays every year.⁴⁰⁵

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the urban plan of Filibe was fully developed as several dozens of Ottoman public buildings shaped its architectural appearance. Nevertheless, apparently there was still enough space for further architectural patronage and a number of benefactors continued to erect public buildings thus contributing for the elevation of the importance of the urban center. Without exception all buildings constructed in the period aimed at supplementing the existing urban structure by providing the Muslim community with more places for worship or public baths for their everyday needs. In their great majority these public buildings are not extant as most vanished even before being scholarly examined. Because of this reason the available information about the exact dates of construction or the identity of their patrons is also very scarce and limited.

The only individual who can be positively identified as a patron of architecture in Filibe in this period is Lutfullah Şeyhi Efendi, also known popularly as Çelebi Kadı or Kadızade Şeyhi. He was born and raised in a family of high ranking members of the *'ulema* class. His father Bayramzade Zekeriya Efendi was promoted to a *şeyhü'l-islâm*

⁴⁰⁵ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 216.

as was later his brother, the popular poet Yahya Efendi, who occupied the highest religious post in the Ottoman Empire three times. Çelebi Kadı, himself a very popular poet, who wrote under the name Şeyhi, was born in İstanbul in A.H. 972 (1564-1564).⁴⁰⁶ He naturally received high quality education in Islamic sciences and obtained different appointments as instructor in the *medreses* and in the provincial administration, such as the *kadılık* of Üsküb. Çelebi Kadı was seven times appointed to the kadıship of Filibe⁴⁰⁷ a post given to him after a term as a professor at Bayezid II's *medrese* in Edirne.⁴⁰⁸ He participated in the Ottoman campaign against Eger (Erlau/Eğri) in Hungary and was possibly appointed as *molla* of Eğri after the conquest.⁴⁰⁹ Naima, on the other hand, relates that when sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603), leading the Ottoman army that marched toward Hungary, arrived in Filibe on 8 Zilkade 1004 (4 July 1596), Çelebi Kadı, who was the then acting *kadı* of the city, welcomed the ruler with a splendid entertainment in a large pavilion erected for the occasion. The sultan was so much pleased by the four-day long celebrations that he confirmed Çelebi Kadı in office for life.⁴¹⁰ He died on 10 July 1632⁴¹¹ and was buried in Filibe in a mausoleum near his mosque.

The mosque of Çelebi Kadı (no. 25 on Plan 1) was built in the northern suburb of Filibe (the so-called *Karşıyaka*), on the bank of the river Maritsa, very near the bridge of

⁴⁰⁶ Sürreyya, Sicil-i Osmani, vol. 4, 88-89.

⁴⁰⁷ Sürreyya, Sicil-i Osmani, 88.

⁴⁰⁸ Zeynep Ayhun Özbek. 1-2 nolu Mülâzemet Defteri (Tahlil ve Değerlendirme) (unpublished M.A. thesis, Marmara University, 2006), 28, 136.

⁴⁰⁹ Sürreyya, Sicil-i Osmani, 89.

⁴¹⁰ Naima. *Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian era*, translated from the Turkish by Charles Fraser, vol. 1 (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1832), 71-72.

⁴¹¹ Sürreyya, Sicil-i Osmani, 89.

Lala Şahin.⁴¹² It was located east of the Hoşkadem mosque (no. 24 on Plan 1) and its minaret can be seen on several photographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. (Figs. 54-55) The mosque was a rather humble structure with pyramidal tiled roof that stood until the first decades of the twentieth century.⁴¹³ The data about the pious foundation of Çelebi Kadı from the *hurufat defteri* housed in Ankara confirms the information about the exact location of his mosque.⁴¹⁴ It also provides important details about several other buildings of the same patron that are not documented by any other source and are likewise no longer extant. The multiple appointments of *türbedar* recorded in the register demonstrate that the mosque had an adjunct mausoleum where the body of Çelebi Kadı was buried.⁴¹⁵ (no. 37 on Plan 1)

West of his mosque, at a distance of about fifty meters, he also built a small neighborhood public bath. (no. 29 on Plan 1) This *hamam* is mentioned in Evliya Çelebi's list of public baths in Filibe⁴¹⁶ and it is the only building of Çelebi Kadı that survived until the second half of the twentieth century. The *hamam* (known locally as Banya Maritsa) stood until the early 1980s when it was demolished by the local authorities. A decade earlier Machiel Kiel had the chance to examine the bath, which he found in a terrible state of neglect, but still operational. The disrobing room of the bath is likely to have had a dome, but the numerous later repairs changed the structure

⁴¹² Balkanlı, Şarkî Rumeli, 116;

⁴¹³ A card postal, dating 1910 is the latest available evidence for its existence. The postcard, a panoramic view from the clock tower hill, was published by Hristo Malinov's Nova Knizarnitsa in 1910. Reprinted in the album Krasimir Linkov et al. (eds.), *Plovdiv predi i sega* (Plovdiv: Nova Print, 2005), 42.

⁴¹⁴ “*Filibe’de Karşıyakada nehr-i Meriç kenarında vaki’ (...)* Çelebi kadı dimekle meşhur kadim şeyhü’l-islâm Zekerîya Efendizade Lüfüllah Efendi merhumun bina ve vakıf etdüğü cami-i şerif ...” VGMA, D. 1180, f. 249.

⁴¹⁵ VGMA, D. 1180, ff. 230, 232, 239, 240, 241.

⁴¹⁶ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 217.

considerably. The cold room (*soğukluk*) was a small rectangular space covered by two barrel vaults. The hot room (*sıcaklık*), covered with a dome measured 7.10 m x 2.95 m, had two *halevets* with smaller domes (Fig. 56). Unaware of the identity of the patron Kiel examined the architectural features of the building and concluded that it was built at the turn of the sixteenth or in the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴¹⁷ The date offered by Kiel indeed perfectly corresponds with the period in which Çelebi Kadı resided in Filibe, holding the post of a local *kadı*. Nevertheless, the sources at hand do not provide the exact date of construction of the complex (mosque, bath, and mausoleum) nor there is information about the date in which he established the pious foundation maintaining the buildings and providing the salaries of the staff. In any case this must have happened prior to his death in 1632, thus the buildings of Çelebi Kadı in Filibe were erected in the course of the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the growing suburb north of the river Maritsa and the constant traffic on the busy trade route connecting Western Balkans and Central Europe with Istanbul must have evoked the need of more places for worship for the Muslims and certainly a much needed public bath. About the same time the mosque of Korucu Ağa, in the quarter of the same, located north of the river was probably built anew because in the mid-seventeenth century Evliya saw it as a newly constructed mosque.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ Kiel. Filibe notes and studies, 51^d-51^e.

⁴¹⁸ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 217.

The list of Filibe's new mosques in Evliya's travelogue also includes the mosque of Anbar Kadı.⁴¹⁹ The patron of the mosque cannot be identified, but the exact location and appearance of the mosque can be established without any doubts. The mosque stood until 1912 and it is mentioned by the local historians Peev and Alvadžiev.⁴²⁰ (no. 21 on Plan 1) It was known under different names (Anbar Kadı, Anber Gazi, Ömer Gazi) and according to a story related to Alvadžiev by the local Muslim community it was built in 1640.⁴²¹ The *hurufat defteri* clearly places the mosque in the northwestern part of the city in the quarter named *Hacı Ömer*.⁴²² A closer look on the available nineteenth-century panoramic photographs of Carva and Karastoyanov allow a glimpse of this magnificent building, seen at a considerable distance from the elevated point at the northwestern part of the citadel used by both of the photographers for taking their pictures. The mosque appears on the photographs as a massive cubic stone building. The main hole was finished with a cornice over which was placed a visibly smaller octagonal tambour with round windows on each side. The roof seems to have been a wooden polygonal pyramidal construction covered with tiles that imitated a dome. The entrance of the mosque faced the river as its seemingly stone-made tall minaret was raised from the northwestern corner of the building (Figs. 57-58)

The mosque of Anbar Kadı was only one of the multiple public buildings in this part of the city constructed in the seventeenth century. Southeast of it in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century unknown patron erected one of the three standing

⁴¹⁹ "...ve Anbar Kadı câmi '-i cedit, pür-nurdur". Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 217.

⁴²⁰ Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 218; Alvadžiev. Plovdivska hronika, 27.

⁴²¹ Alvadžiev. Plovdivska hronika, 27.

⁴²² VGMA, D. 1180, ff. 244, 248, 249, 251.

mosques in modern Plovdiv, the so-called *Orta mezar* mosque, which is also known as *Taşköprü camii* (the mosque of the stone bridge) despite the apparent lack of any bridge nearby. (no. 18 on Plan 1) The mosque is located near one of the oldest and largest Muslim cemeteries in the city (*Orta mezar*, i.e. middle cemetery) at the corner of one of the busiest junctures in modern Plovdiv (bul. Ruski and bul. 6^{ti} Septemvri)⁴²³. Architecturally the mosque of Anbar Kadı, mentioned above appears as a cheaper replica of its predecessor at the *Orta mezar* area. Likewise in its original shape the mosque had a square prayer hall (13.5 m) finished by a cornice, above which was placed an octagonal drum that supported a lead-covered dome. (Figs. 59-61) In 1829 the mosque was restored and considerably enlarged by a matching in size frame-built structure attached to the eastern wall of the mosque.⁴²⁴ (Figs. 62-63) The minaret, attached to the southern wall collapsed during the big earthquake of 1928 and was never repaired. In the 1970s or 1980s the main building of the mosque was restored and today it serves as a tavern. The interior is completely destroyed as the walls and the dome are covered with tasteless modern paintings.

Across the street at the western edge of a small square is located the second standing Ottoman bath in modern Plovdiv, the *Orta mezar hamamı*. It is also known locally as *Yeni hamamı* or *Yahudi hamamı* because of being located very near to the

⁴²³ As early as 1878 the cemetery was cleared by the Russian administration governing the city and its space was converted into the first public park. The project for the park was prepared by the officer Ilinskiy, who also had drawn the earliest modern situation plan of the city. The change can be seen on his plan of Filibe, completed in 1878 (copy of this plan is housed in the Special Collection of the Public Library in Plovdiv) and on the panoramic photograph of Cavra taken in the spring of 1879.

⁴²⁴ The archive in Plovdiv has several photographs taken in 1968 prior the destruction of the addition. Luckily among these pictures there is a photograph of the now lost repair inscription once placed above the gate of the addition. The text of the inscription on the extant photograph is hardly readable, but the date 1 Muharrem 1245 (3 July 1829) is clearly visible.

Jewish quarter of Filibe. (no. 31 on Plan 1) Likewise its patron and the exact date of construction of the bath are not known, but because of being mentioned by Evliya Çelebi it certainly predates mid-seventeenth century.⁴²⁵ This bath is considerably larger than the *hamam* of Çelebi Kadı mentioned above (32 x 14.75 m)⁴²⁶, but it cannot compete in size or outward appearance the baths from the fifteenth century (*Tahtakale, Hünkâr, or Çifte hamami*). The original masonry of this bath, a sort of cheaper local variation of cloisonné, is still clearly observable. The disrobing room was covered by a low pyramidal roof with a tall lantern at the top, which makes it similar to the bath of Hacı Hasanzade in the opposite part of the city. (Fig. 64) The bath functioned throughout the Ottoman period and continued to serve as the main bath of the western parts of the city until the 1970s, therefore it saw multiple repairs and corrections.⁴²⁷ Nevertheless, the bath that still stands in relatively good condition, being used as furniture store, and preserved a good deal of its original appearance. Machiel Kiel who examined the building in the 1970s concluded that based on its architectural features the *hamam* must date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century as even offered a more defined time framework between 1580 and 1620.⁴²⁸ While I fully comply with the date offered by Kiel I believe that the most likely date of construction of this bath is in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. The bath must have been built shortly after the mosque of Orta mezar opposite it. Although the two buildings are very close by one

⁴²⁵ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 217.

⁴²⁶ Measurements are taken by Machiel Kiel. Kiel. Filibe notes and studies, 51^c.

⁴²⁷ Numerous publications in the local press from the first half of the twentieth century speak of repair works that kept the bath operational. I am grateful to Vladimir Baltchev who provided me with a number of such newspaper publications.

⁴²⁸ Kiel. Filibe notes and studies, 51^d.

another there is no information that they were commissioned by the same individual. The lack of information about the identity of the patrons of these buildings is a serious obstacle and any further conclusions cannot be taken beyond the realm of conjecture.

In any case the intensive public construction in the western part of the city in the beginning of the seventeenth century testifies about a significant spatial growth in this direction. The buildings near Orta mezar were laid on the second major axis of Filibe, which crossed the city from west to east. The western edge of Filibe was set in the fifteenth century by the *namazgâh/musalla* that was later replaced by the mosque of Musalla, forming its own quarter. The space that remained between Musalla and the main commercial street cutting the city from north to south was gradually filled with Muslim *mahalles* in the subsequent years. The Jewish community which arrived to the city at the end of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century established its own quarter in this area at a spot that by that time was still unoccupied. The public buildings commissioned in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century indicate that the expanding urban space already filled the gap between the remote quarter Musalla and the long central street. In this manner the large cemetery, known as *Orta mezar*, which might have seemed remote in the early fifteenth century, by the early seventeenth century appears to have been surrounded by quarters from all sides. This very fact is also the most likely explanation for the peculiar name of the graveyard.

Architectural evidence demonstrates that the growth of the urban space also continued along the main axis of the city south of Muradiye mosque. Despite the lack of documentary evidence at hand the available visual materials testify that the city also

stretched south of its focal point and commercial core. In all probability the growth of the city in this direction was closely related to the path of the road to Istanbul, that after reaching the commercial center of Filibe continued further south, passed between the *Saat* and *Taksim* hills and finally switched to east at a point south of *Cambaz tepesi*. (Plan 1) Only a few hundred meters south of Muradiye, in the quarter of Yakub Fakih there was a mosque named after one Hacı Abdullah. (no. 2 on Plan 1) The building appears on nineteenth-century gravure and its minaret and dome are also seen on a photograph taken by Cavra in 1879. (Figs. 65-66) From what can be observed on the visual materials the building appears as a single-domed quarter mosque. Judging from the shape of its minaret that seems to have been brick-made the building can be dated in the late fifteenth century, but it is also possible to be a later construction. A closer look on what appears to be a lantern on the top of its dome shows that in all probability it was a stork nest. The mosque of Hacı Abdullah that stood at the corner of the streets Alexander I and 11^{ti} Avgust was among the first victims of Plovdiv's "modernization" and was pulled down by the municipality in the late 1870s in an attempt to straighten and widen the main street.⁴²⁹

The building that stood at the southern edge of Filibe was the magnificent Alaca mosque. (no. 3 on Plan 1) It was built very near the point where the route of the main road bending to east was running further to Edirne and Istanbul. Another intersection continued straight southward and connected Filibe with the nearby important town of İstnimaka, which on its own was a starting point of a road that lead to the Aegean coast

⁴²⁹ The building appears on the city plan of Ilinskiy (1878), but is already missing on the plan of Schniter (1891).

and through the Rhodope Mountains. There are several extant photographs of this building that depict it as one of Filibe's most beautiful mosques. (Figs. 67-69) Nevertheless, the available documentary sources offer no clue about the person who commissioned it. The date of construction of Alaca mosque is also unknown, but thanks to the extant photographs one can get a fairly good idea about the external appearance of the mosque. Its square prayer hall (judging from the scale of the people near it 8-10 m wide) was finished by a cornice. The lead-covered dome rested on octagonal drum, which had roundish windows on four of its sides, probably a later addition. The masonry of the mosque was done through layers of cut stone and bricks that left the pleasant appearance of stripes throughout the entire structure.⁴³⁰ Undoubtedly this feature gave the name Alaca (colorful) to the mosque, although its interior should have been quite dark, because only a few small windows allowed access to the light inside the prayer hall.

It is difficult to date the building with any certainty based on the available visual evidence but one may suggest that it was a seventeenth-century construction that possibly saw some later modifications, like the seemingly nineteenth-century decoration of its gate. Alaca mosque survived in good shape until the second decade of the twentieth century when it was leveled to the ground due to the construction of the new municipality building and the square in front of it.⁴³¹

⁴³⁰ In this respect it greatly reminds the stripes of Zal Mahmud Paşa and Şahsultan mosque in Eyüb mentioned above, but there is no information about any other connection to Filibe of the noble couple except for the posthumously built *kervansaray*.

⁴³¹ Peev, Grad Plovdiv, 210, 219.

2.14. Conclusion

The re-emergence of Ottoman Filibe was a direct result of systematic efforts of the central authority and a number of high ranking officials, whose career was linked to the Thracian city. It is safe to state that the development of the city was one of the most illustrative examples of discontinuity of the inherited urban tradition in the Balkans. When the Ottomans took the medieval Philippopolis they found it reduced to the confines of its small citadel as most of the magnificent Roman and early medieval outer city was lying down in ruins for several centuries. The local Christian population that suffered from the numerous destructive raids on the city in the period from twelfth through fourteenth century was greatly reduced in number and was literary fit into the confines of the citadel and its immediately belonging areas. The Ottomans, who took the city by agreement, faced the need of redesigning the urban space thus giving birth to entirely new Muslim city at the open plain bellow the citadel.

The space of Filibe was reshaped in accordance with the already established Ottoman tradition for remodeling the major Byzantine and Slavic cities in Asia Minor and the Balkans. The circumstantial evidence assembled and discussed above strongly suggests that the earliest Muslim buildings were placed at the foot of the three hills fenced by the walls of the medieval citadel. Like in many other locations the ‘colonizers’ of the space beyond the walled parts of the town are likely to have been a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* and several service buildings, erected in the second half of the fourteenth

century by the conqueror and actual ruler of the city Lala Şahin Paşa. Heavily damaged by the warfare in the early fifteenth century the earliest Muslim buildings in Filibe were in all probability rebuilt in the mid-fifteenth century by the acting *beylerbeyi* of Rumili Şihabeddin Paşa.

The real shift of the urban core however only began in the mid-1430s when Murad II constructed his highly monumental imperial Friday mosque and set the focal point of the Muslim city. A decade later Şihabeddin built a complex centered on a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, which defined the northern edge of the city. The street that linked these two edifices turned into the main axis of Filibe which diverted the path of the existing road to Edirne/Istanbul, bringing it inside the Muslim city and redirecting it to the new commercial core. In the period that followed a number of secondary axes detached from the square of Muradiye mosque running south or west of the main mosque. The free spaces between the main arteries of the Muslim part of the city were soon occupied by quarters and numerous smaller or larger quarter mosques arose in the course of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The urban scheme settled in the mid-fifteenth century thanks to the patronage of important public buildings on the part of the Ottoman central authority and several high ranking officials proved to be extremely successful. It not only remained relatively intact throughout the Ottoman period but also to a large extent dominates the plan of the central parts of modern Plovdiv.

The Ottoman central power, i.e. the sultan and his subordinates appointed in the provinces, who played crucial role in the physical reshaping of the city were also the driving force that shaped the demographic processes in the formative period. In the mid-

fifteenth century the city was deprived from its Jewish and part of the Christian residents who were forcibly transferred to Istanbul by Mehmed II. This allowed more space for the settling of Muslims from Asia Minor, who flooded the city in the second half of the fifteenth century stimulated by tax-exemptions and the excellent living conditions in the provincial urban center. The earliest population and taxation records show that by the 1470s Filibe was already predominantly Muslim city. In the late 1520s, however, the Muslims of Filibe also turned a subject of forced relocation orchestrated by the central power. The rapid expansion in the Western Balkans and Central Europe in the early days of the reign of sultan Süleyman I requested for Muslim settlers who manned the places that were badly affected by the warfare or whose residents on their own were transferred elsewhere. The archival documents show that a number of towns and cities in Aegean and Upper Thrace offered to this process significant portion of their Muslim residents. Filibe was among the places which were severely affected by the forced relocation that completely disordered local life and economy. The data from a register of 1530 demonstrates that at that time the already large and crowded urban center had only three operational mosques, served by a matching number of Muslim clergymen. In the remaining part of the sixteenth century the Muslims in the city had a remarkable recovery reaching back their peak from 1516 when close to 5 000 Muslims resided in Filibe. Yet once more the actions of high ranking Ottoman official influenced the demographic processes in Filibe. In 1596 the grand vizier İbrahim Paşa commissioned and built in the nearby town of Tatar Pazarcık one of the largest *kervansarays* in the Ottoman Balkans. This building, a complex on its own, gave a massive boost to the

development of the provincial town thus attracting great many Muslim families from the neighboring metropolis Filibe.

Dominating the architectural and spatial development and the demographic processes of the city the Ottoman central power managed in modifying the heritage of medieval Philippopolis and to transform it into the large Muslim metropolis of Upper Thrace. In this respect the history of Filibe in the first centuries of Ottoman domination over the city is a token of the methods and policies in modifying the inherited urban space, applied by the sultans, in their sound claim for lordship over the place.

CHAPTER III

TATAR PAZARCIK (PAZARDŽIK) – TURNING *AKINCI* POWERBASE INTO OTTOMAN TOWN

3.1. The Creation of the Town

The modern town of Pazardžik, located at the heart of Bulgarian Thrace, about 35 km to the west of the metropolis Plovdiv, is one of the many towns in the Balkans that have been created from scratch in the Ottoman times on a spot where no earlier Byzantino-Slavic settlement existed before. Overtime, the newly created town grew and becoming an important market place that distributed the constant flow of goods on the *Via Militaris* road, it turned into the second most important urban center of Upper Thrace. The very name of the town – Tatar Pazarcık (Tatar Bazarı), which was in use up until the 1930s, definitely implies that it must have been a group of Tatars who settled on this spot, thus giving a name to the settlement. Who were these Tatars, where they

came from and when exactly they founded the town, however, are all questions that to a great extent divide the researchers who wrote on these issues. Thus, the early days of Tatar Pazarcık remain understudied while the scholarship discussing the founders of the town disagrees on the exact time of its foundation and its eponymous creators. Evaluating the reliability of the diverse suggestions for the exact time of the town's creation, this section of the chapter is arguing that none of the authors exhausted the topic and offers an alternative hypothesis that aims at establishing more precisely the correct date and exact founders of Tatar Pazarcık. Moreover, while rejecting the most popular hypothesis that points out sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512) as the founder of the town, the presented evidence demonstrates that the settlement was created about an entire century earlier.⁴³²

The “traditional” hypothesis about the creation of the town maintains that Tatar Pazarcık was established by Crimean Tatars in 1485 whom Bayezid II deported to Thrace after the conquest of the port cities Kilia and Akerman. This idea that seems to have originated in the nineteenth century is still very popular and was adopted by most modern researchers who wrote on the creation of the town. In two excellent articles that laid strong foundations for further study of the history of Tatar Pazarcık in the Ottoman era, Machiel Kiel accepts that it was established in 1485 by the Tatars who arrived from the Black Sea region.⁴³³ The Dutch researcher's conclusions are based on a statement

⁴³² For a more detailed version of the argumentation on the establishment of Tatar Pazarcık in Bulgarian language cf. Grigor Boykov. *Tatar Pazardžik ot osnovavaneto na grada do kraya na XVII vek. Izsledvania i dokumenti* (Sofia: Amicitia, 2008), 1-32.

⁴³³ Machiel Kiel. “Tatar Pazarcık. A Turkish Town in the Heart of Bulgaria, Some Brief Remarks on its Demographic Development 1489-1874.” in *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 22-26 Eylül 1986. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. 5 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 2567-2581 and the longer more elaborate

made in an earlier study of Franz Babinger, which discusses some aspects of the history of early Ottoman Rumili.⁴³⁴ On the question of the establishment of Tatar Pazarcık the German Turkologist on his part refers to the earlier works of Constantin Jireček and Ivan Batakliiev.⁴³⁵ The pioneers Jireček and Batakliiev, on the other hand, seem to rely entirely on a single common source – the nineteenth-century local historian Stephan Zahariev, who claims that the information about the creation of the town derived from “some old Turkish narratives and manuscripts”.⁴³⁶

In simple terms, it appears that the historiographic tradition that lasted for more than a century is entirely based on a very unclear statement made by a person, who is known for his quite free interpretations and even falsifications.⁴³⁷ Regardless the fact that the hypothesis of the Bulgarian local historian might have seemed doubtful, modern scholarship was unable to reject it completely, because the earliest known Ottoman document, in which Tatar Pazarcık appears, dates only to 1488, thus making the suggestion of Zahariev still permissible.⁴³⁸ A hitherto neglected source that was only

version of this congress paper idem. “Tatar Pazarcık. The Development of an Ottoman Town in Central-Bulgaria or the Story of How the Bulgarians Conquered Upper Thrace Without Firing a Shot.” in Klaus Kreiser, Christoph Neuman (eds.), *Das Osmanische Reich in seinen Archivalien und Chroniken, Nejat Göyünc zu Ehren* (Istanbul: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), 31-67. I have to underline that on multiple occasions in private correspondence and discussions Prof. Kiel stated that he never found the date 1485 convincing enough, but the lack of other evidence made him adopt it.

⁴³⁴ Franz Babinger. *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.-15. Jahrhundert)* (München-Brünn: R. M. Rohrer, 1944), 68.

⁴³⁵ Constantin Jireček. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe. Eine historisch-geographische Studie* (Prag: Verlag von F. Tempsky, 1877), 35; 130. Ivan Batakliiev. *Grad Tatar-Pazardžik. Istoriko-geografski pregled* (Sofia: Gutenberg, 1923), 75-78.

⁴³⁶ Stephan Zahariev. *Geografiko-istoriko-statistichesko opisanie na Tatar-Pazardžishkata kaaza* (Phototype edition with comments) (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1973), 41.

⁴³⁷ According to Zahariev the first Tatar colonists settled in the quarter of *Hacı Kılıç*, who also became the patron of the earliest mosque in the town. Zahariev, *Tatar-Pazardžishkata kaaza*, 41.

⁴³⁸ The document is a register of the salt-sellers (*tuzcuyan*) in Rumelia, housed in Sofia archive OAK 121/9, f. 28^a. The document was first pointed out by Rusi Stoykov. “Naimenovania na bălgarski selishta v

recently brought to scholarly attention, however, testifies that the statement of the Bulgarian author is fictitious and it has to be completely overlooked.

A register from 1472, compiled in order to raise revenues in support of the *akıncı* raiders, enlists most of the settlements and a larger portion of the taxpayers in Upper Thrace.⁴³⁹ Along with many others, the document contains the taxpayers of a town named “*Bazar-i Tatar Yenice*” that belonged to the district (*kaza*) of Filibe.⁴⁴⁰ There is little doubt that the settlement in question is no other but the town of Tatar Pazarcık, which by the time of this registration had six quarters inhabited exclusively by Muslims. This is in fact steady evidence demonstrating that it is impossible the town to have been established by Bayezid II since it already existed in the reign of his predecessor Mehmed II (1444-46; 1451-1481). The former thesis must thus be abandoned as a groundless speculation, produced by the nineteenth-century Bulgarian patriot.

The 1472 document portrays Tatar Pazarcık as a Muslim town that has been created in the near past, because it still bore the add Yenice, i.e. fairly new or recent. In spite of this important information the register contains no other indication regarding the exact time of the founding of the town. Strangely enough a document of later date helps pushing the date of creation of Tatar Pazarcık even further back in time. A *tahrir* register of 1516 testifies that the *beylerbeyi* of Rumili Şihabeddin Paşa had a watermill and a rice

turski dokumenti na Orientaliskiya otdel na Narodnata biblioteka “V. Kolarov” ot XV-XVI-XVII i XVIII vek.” *Izvestiya na Narodnata biblioteka “V. Kolarov” za 1959*, 1 (1960): 442.

⁴³⁹ The *defter* is housed in Sofia archive, bound in two separate pieces – PD 17/27 and OAK 94/73. The document is examined in depth by Mariya Kiprovska. *The Military Organization of the Akıncıs in Ottoman Rumelia*, (M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, 2004).

⁴⁴⁰ The name also appears as *Bazar Yenice-i Tatar*. Sofia PD 17/27, f. 17^b and OAK 94/73, f. 32.

mill built in the town, which yielded incomes to the *vakıf* of his complex in Filibe.⁴⁴¹ It is very unlikely that Şihabeddin constructed these buildings on an uninhabited spot, but it must have rather been the existing settlement that attracted them. Therefore, Tatar Pazarcık undoubtedly existed by the time these profitable buildings were erected in the mid-1440s⁴⁴², which on the other hand allows establishing a secure *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the town.

The available archival documentation rejects in a convincing manner the most popular hypothesis, which attributes the founding of the town to Bayezid II (1485), but leaves the second best-known suggestion still possible. Likewise, this hypothesis, arguing for a much earlier date of the town's creation (1418), originates in the nineteenth century and it is a work of the renowned orientalist Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall.⁴⁴³ According to von Hammer, Tatar Pazarcık was established by the Tatars of Minnet Bey from İskilip, who, on order of sultan Mehmed I (1413-1421), were deported to the area of Filibe in 1418.⁴⁴⁴ This thesis was later uncritically adopted by Ömer Barkan in his valuable publications on the deportations in the Ottoman Empire as a method used for colonizing and reviving the depressed territories of Rumelia.⁴⁴⁵ However, it appears that

⁴⁴¹ *asıyab-i Şihabeddin Paşa, bab: 3 - 90 [akçe]; dink-i hacı Şihabeddin, vakf-i cami', bab: 2 - 40 [akçe]*. BOA TD 77, f. 635.

⁴⁴² Şihabeddin Paşa's complex, examined in detail in the previous chapter, was completed in 1444. Its endowment charter must have also been drawn up around that time.

⁴⁴³ Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman, depuis son aurigine jusqu'à nos jours*, traduit par J. J. Hellert, t. 2 (Paris: Bellizard, Barthès, Dufour et Lowell, 1835), 180-181.

⁴⁴⁴ The narrative sources on the deportation of Minnet Bey and his people from the area of İskilip to Konuş Hisarı in the plain of Filibe will be examined in detail in the following chapter.

⁴⁴⁵ Ömer Lûtfi Barkan. "Osmanlı İparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953-54): 211 (=Sürgünler III).

neither the *Vienna* copy of Neşri⁴⁴⁶, nor the work of Kâtib Çelebi⁴⁴⁷, used by the Austrian scholar, contain such information, therefore it is unclear what made von Hammer conclude that “the founding of the town, located on the route from Philippopolis to Constantinople, very near to the first of these two cities, today called Tatarbasari” was actually work of the Tatars of Minnet Bey.⁴⁴⁸ Moreover, all sources seem to agree that these Tatars settled in Konuş Hisarı, a place 35 km to the east of Filibe and not in Tatar Pazarcık that is located to the west of the metropolis of Upper Thrace. It is also known that the son of Minnet Bey, Mehmed, who turned into one of the prominent raider commanders (*akıncı ucbeyis*) in the Western Balkans, tried to develop Konuş as a town, endowing the place with a number of important public buildings and also brought many captives and settlers there.⁴⁴⁹ The apparent lack of connection between Minnet Bey and his descendents with Tatar Pazarcık makes von Hammer’s thesis unfounded too.

Ignoring von Hammer’s suggestion that the Tatars of Minnet Bey were the ones who created the settlement, there is another group of deportees in the early period that can be regarded as the possible founders of the town – the nomads from Saruhan

⁴⁴⁶ The *Vienna* copy later was used as a main copy of Neşri’s edition of the Turkish Historical Society. Mehmed Neşri. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ. Neşri Tarihi*. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen (eds.) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957), 543.

⁴⁴⁷ *Rumeli und Bosna. Geographisch beschrieben von Mustafa Ben Abdalla Hadschi Chalfa*, translated and commented by Joseph von Hammer (Wien: Im Verlage des Kunst- und Industrie-Comptoires, 1812), 55-56.

⁴⁴⁸ Hammer, *Histoire de l’Empire ottoman*, vol. 2, 180.

⁴⁴⁹ Mehmed Bey replaced for a short period of time İshakoğlu İsa Bey as Bosnian *sancakbeyi*. Halil İnalçık. “Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time”. *Speculum* 35 (1960), 423. Later he shifted posts in Serbia and Bosnia. Grigor Boykov. “In Search of Vanished Ottoman Monuments in the Balkans: Minnetoğlu Mehmed Beg’s Complex in Konuş Hisarı.” in Maximilian Hartmuth and Ayşe Dilsiz (eds.), *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts: Papers on Ottoman Europe Presented to Machiel Kiel* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2010), 47-67.

transferred to the area of Filibe on order of sultan Bayezid I (1389-1402) in 1395. In modern scholarship this is a well-studied episode that turned into a textbook example used by a number of authors while examining the aspects of the Turkish colonization of Rumelia.⁴⁵⁰

It is important to note that this particular episode does not belong to the common source (Yahşi Fakih) used both by Aşıkpaşazade and the so-called Anonymous chronicles.⁴⁵¹ Since it only appears in Aşıkpaşazade's narrative, it is very likely that it could have been an oral story related personally to the Ottoman chronicler who lived for some years among the members of the border society at the western *uc* under the leadership of the İshakoğulları.⁴⁵²

Saruhan ilinin göçer halkı vardı, Menemen ovasında kışlarlardı. Ol iklimde tuz yasağı vardı, anlar ol yasağı kabul etmezlerdi, Bayazid Hana bildirdiler. Han dahi oğlu Ertogrul'a haber gönderdikim: „o göçer evleri nekadarkim vardır onat zabt edesin, yarar kullarına ısmarlayasın, Filibe vilâyetine gönderesin”, didi. Ertogrul dahi atasının emrini kabul etdi şöylekim ne buyurmuşdu dahi ziyade etdi. Ol göçer evleri gönderdi, geldi, Filibe yöresine kondurdılar. Şimdiki demde Saruhan Beğlükim dirler Rumili'nde anlardırlar. Paşa Yiğit Beğ o kavmin ulusuydı. Ol zamanda anlarunla bile gelmişdi.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵⁰ From among the modern authors first Münir Aktepe. “XIV. ve XV. Asırlarda Rumeli'nin Türkler Tarafından İskânına Dair.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 10 (1951-1953): 300-301 examined the episode. Later it was analyzed in details by Ömer Lûtfi Barkan. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler.” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 13 (1951-52): 67-76 (= Sürgünler II).

⁴⁵¹ Halil İnalcık. “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography.” in idem. *From Empire to Republic. Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1995), 1-16, first published in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East* (London: Oxford University Press, New York – Toronto, 1962). Victor Ménéage. “The Menâqib of Yakhshi Faqih.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26:1 (1963): 53.

⁴⁵² On the life, career and chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade see the fundamental article of Halil İnalcık. “How to Read ‘Ashık Pasha-zade’s History.’” in idem. *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren, 1998), 31-50.

⁴⁵³ The passage differs insignificantly in the two basic editions of Aşıkpaşazade. Friedrich Giese. *Die Altosmanische Chronik des ‘Aşıkpaşazâde* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1929), 66-67; *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi. Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. Ali Bey (haz.), (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Amire, 1332/1916), 74.

There were nomads in the land of Saruhan, they were spending the winters in the plain of Menemen. In the region there was a law about the salt, they [the nomads] did not obey it, [for which] Bayezid Han was informed. The ruler sent a message to his son Ertoğrul and ordered: “As many as these nomad tents are, you have to subjugate them, assign them to your trustworthy slaves and send them to the region of Filibe”. Ertoğrul accepted his father’s order and did even more than he was asked for. He came and sent these nomad tents to the plain of Filibe. Now they are these [people] in Rumili who are called Saruhan Beylü. The leader of this group was Paşa Yiğit Bey. He came to Rumili at that time with them.

The same narrative was also incorporated into Neşri’s chronicle, which in this part uses the work of Aşıkpaşazade as its main source.⁴⁵⁴ Neşri’s text, however, lacks Aşıkpaşazade’s concluding remark that Paşa Yiğit Bey came to Rumelia together with this group of nomads, probably because the chronicler noticed that Paşa Yiğit already played a role in the Balkans some years earlier. The conqueror of Skopje, Paşa Yiğit, appears in Neşri’s text in the course of the winter campaign of 1388 that Çardarlı Ali Paşa led against the Bulgarian king Yoan Shishman.⁴⁵⁵ This episode is not found in Aşıkpaşazade, because Neşri and the so-called *Oxford Anonymous* (Pseudo-Ruhî) relied on a lost source, called by İnalçık the *Kosovoname*, which belongs to the genre of the *gazavatnames*.⁴⁵⁶ Apparently, the fact that Neşri mentioned Paşa Yiğit earlier was good enough for the chronicler to disregard Aşıkpaşazade’s statement.

⁴⁵⁴ Neşri (Unat-Köymen), 339.

⁴⁵⁵ Neşri (Unat-Köymen), 243. On the campaign of Ali Paşa as reflected in Neşri’s chronicle see Machiel Kiel. “Mevlana Neşri and the Towns of Medieval Bulgaria. Historical and Topographical Notes.” in Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (eds.), *Studies in Ottoman history in honour of Professor V.L. Ménage* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1994), 165-187. Halil İnalçık. “Polunya (*Appolunia*) – Tanrı-Yıkdığı Osmanlı Rumeli Fetihleri Kronolojisinde Düzelrmeler (1345-1371).” in Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ (ed.) *Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu’na Armağan* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 2006), 27-57.

⁴⁵⁶ I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. İnalçık to whom I owe this information. Moreover, many of my own ideas regarding the Ottoman narrative sources are a direct output of his stimulating seminars at Bilkent. *Pseudo-Ruhi* is published by Yaşar Yücel and H. Erdoğan Cengiz. „Rûhî Tarihi – Oxford Nüshası.” *Belgeler* 14 (1989-1992): 359-472.

The conflict between the nomads of Menemen and the Ottoman authority caused by the disregard of the established salt regulations, which led to the deportation of the nomads to the area of Filibe, is comprehensively examined by Barkan.⁴⁵⁷ Even though Aşıkpaşazade's account is somewhat confused in regard of Paşa Yiğit's role⁴⁵⁸ in the process of the nomads' deportation, it is very unambiguous about the fact that they were transferred to the area of Filibe and also that in Rumelia these people were known as Saruhanbeylü. The name Saruhanbeylü gives a very clear clue as to where exactly the nomads were settled – at the southwestern edge of the Upper Thracian plain, some 55 km westward of Filibe. They created a settlement of the same name, which Mehmed II gave in full proprietorship (*mülk*) to the then *beylerbeyi* of Rumili Koca Davud Paşa.⁴⁵⁹ Later Davud Paşa endowed the incomes from the village of Saruhanbeylü (mod. town of Septemvri) to the pious foundation he established in support of the mosque, *imaret*, *medrese*, and *mekteb*, which he built in Istanbul.⁴⁶⁰

The nomad deportees from Saruhan are unlikely to have been the founders of Tatar Pazarcık. Similarly to the case of Minnet Bey's Tatars, the narrative sources leave the impression that these nomads too constituted a small compact group that settled on

⁴⁵⁷ Barkan, "Sürgünler II", 71. The regulations of the salt production (*tuz yasağı*) are published by Robert Anhegger-Halil İnalçık. *Kanunname-i Sultani ber Muceb-i 'Örf-i Osmani* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956), 29-30 and Ahmed Akgündüz. *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri. 1. Kitap* (İstanbul: FEY Vakfı, 1990), 628-629.

⁴⁵⁸ One hesitates to speculate that the chronicler included Paşa Yiğit in his text in order to please his successor in Skopje – İshak Bey. In any case, when the nomads were transferred to Thrace, Paşa Yiğit must have been present in Skopje. Barkan, "Sürgünler II", 75-76.

⁴⁵⁹ In Bayezid II's reign Davud Paşa was promoted to a grand vizier, keeping the post for fifteen years. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. "Davud Paşa" in *EP*.

⁴⁶⁰ He also endowed a number of other settlements and built quite a few revenue raising buildings, among which is the magnificent double bath (*çifte hamam*) in Skopje. On Davud Paşa's possessions and his pious foundation see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı. Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), 405-412.

one definite place. They found there perfect conditions for seasonal migration and established the settlement of Saruhanbeylü, which over time developed into a small provincial town. Although the town is not far from Tatar Pazarcık, only 20 km westward, there is no information pointing them out as the founders of the larger urban center. Moreover, as stated above, the very name of Tatar Pazarcık suggests that it must have been established by Tatars. The nomads of Saruhan seem to have been Yürüks, not Tatars,⁴⁶¹ therefore they must be ruled out of the list of potential founders of the town.

Indeed, there is such a Tatar group, whose role in the founding of the settlement is quite plausible, but was nevertheless neglected by the historians and has not been hitherto examined in the light of the creation of Tatar Pazarcık. These are the numerous Tatars led by Aktav who came to Rumelia at the end of the fourteenth century.⁴⁶²

The story of the transfer of the Crimean Tatars under the leadership of the tribal chieftain Aktav is best presented in the history written by Kemalpaşazade (İbn-i Kemal). The Ottoman intellectual who began a career of a military turned into one of the most important scholars and theologians of the Empire and was appointed as *şeyhü'l-islâm* in the Suleymanic age.⁴⁶³ On request of Bayezid II, Kemalpaşazade compiled a voluminous history of the Ottoman dynasty, one volume for each sultan, which he later complemented with two extra volumes covering the reign of Süleyman I (1520-1566) too. Basing his narrative on the earlier chronicles of Neşri, Karamanî Mehmed Paşa,

⁴⁶¹ Barkan, "Sürgünler II", 71. Feridun Emecen. *XVI. Asırlarda Manisa Kazâsı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989), 127-142.

⁴⁶² Barkan examines the arrival of Aktav and his people to Rumelia, but failed to connect the events to the founding of Tatar Pazarcık. Barkan, "Sürgünler II", 211-212.

⁴⁶³ Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1927), 61-63; Victor Ménage. "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography." in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, 176-177.

Uruc, Anonymous chronicles, Tursun Bey etc. along with some detailed accounts of eyewitnesses, Kemalpaşazade produced the most elaborate and comprehensive compilation of the Ottoman narrative tradition of that time.⁴⁶⁴ Approaching his sources with a great degree of selectivity and criticism Kemalpaşazade's work was aimed to become the Turkish counterpart of İdris-i Bitlisi's *Heşt Bihişt*. Written in an elevated Turkish language he showed a great skill in presenting the events in their chronological and logical sequence, which made İnalçık label him "the greatest of all Ottoman historians including Hoca Sadeddin, 'Ali, Naima, and Cevdet Paşa".⁴⁶⁵

The narrative of interest for this chapter was included in the fourth volume of Kemalpaşazade's history, which deals with the reign of sultan Bayezid I.⁴⁶⁶ According to the editor, who prepared this volume for publication, the main sources used by the Ottoman historian in creating the compilation are Neşri, a detailed version of Uruc, the so-called *Oxford Anonymous* and the *Anonymous Giese*, together with the historical calendars (*takvims*).⁴⁶⁷ While accepting without any objections Imazawa's conclusions, it must be underlined that Kemalpaşazade must have used at least one more additional source that is unknown for the time being or has been lost. The detailed account of the transfer of the Tatars of Aktav is missing in all of the mentioned authors and clearly the learned *şeyhü'l-islâm* must have had a different narrative at his disposal. Striping out the

⁴⁶⁴ İnalçık. "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography", 14-15; Ménage. "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography", 177; Cf. the introduction to the seventh volume by İbn Kemal. *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman. VII. Defter*, Şerafettin Turan (ed.) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957), xxii – xlvi.

⁴⁶⁵ İnalçık. "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography", 15. Cf. Victor Ménage. "Kemal Pasha-Zade" in *ET*².

⁴⁶⁶ The published version of the text is based on three copies housed in the main Istanbul libraries. İbn Kemal (Kemalpaşazâde), *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman, IV. Defter*, Koji Imazawa (ed.), (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000), ix-xii.

⁴⁶⁷ İbn Kemal. *IV. Defter* (Imazawa), xii-xx.

story of Kemalpaşazade of all details and expressions aimed at beautifying the narration, it can be summarized as follows:⁴⁶⁸

... In result of the second campaign of Timur (Tamerlane) against the Golden Horde one of the generals of Toktamış Han – Aktav, heading of his *tuman*, run away to the south. He negotiated with the Ottoman sultan and after receiving an approval he crossed the Danube and entered Ottoman service.⁴⁶⁹ In exchange of their services the Ottoman ruler settled the Tatars together with their families, animals, and belongings in the area of Filibe and assigned summer and winter pastures for them.⁴⁷⁰ Filling the plain of Filibe up, some of the Tatars settled down and began cultivating the land.⁴⁷¹ The sultan, however, was anxious about the great power under Aktav's control and he was summoned in the palace in Edirne. During the feast, also attended by most of the *beys* [Çandarlı] Ali Paşa poisoned the drink of Aktav and he died on his horse near one of the city gates.⁴⁷² Hearing about the death of their leader many of the Tatars returned to the north of Danube. Those who remained were registered in the *defters*...⁴⁷³

The Ottoman historian, however, did not specify the exact time of these events, simply placing them prior to the battle of Ankara (1402). Aurel Decei, who was unfamiliar with this section of the text of Kemalpaşazade, analyzed the information in other available to him sources (Bedreddin Ayni, Nizamüddin Şami, and Chalkokondyles) and concluded that the Tatar leader Aktav and his *tuman*⁴⁷⁴ appeared in Rumelia in

⁴⁶⁸ The arrival of the Aktav Tatars to Rumelia and the events afterwards are presented on close to twenty pages in the published version of the history of Kemalpaşazâde. İbn Kemal. *IV. Defter* (K. Imazawa), 327-255.

⁴⁶⁹ İbn Kemal. *IV. Defter* (Imazawa), 327.

⁴⁷⁰ İbn Kemal. *IV. Defter* (Imazawa), 329.

⁴⁷¹ İbn Kemal. *IV. Defter* (Imazawa), 333.

⁴⁷² İbn Kemal. *IV. Defter* (Imazawa), 337-341. Aktav died near Manyas Kapısı praying for an antidote.

⁴⁷³ İbn Kemal. *IV. Defter* (Imazawa), 353. According to Kemalpaşazâde 50 000 Tatars were registered as *sipahis*. Certainly these figures are unrealistic, but reflect the large number of Tatars who remained in Rumelia.

⁴⁷⁴ *tuman/tümen* is a unit compound of 10 000 horsemen and their families. A *tuman* consists of 10 *hezares* (1 000 riders), 100 *sades* (100 riders), and 1 000 *koşuns* (10 riders). Together with the soldiers'

1398.⁴⁷⁵ While accepting the date suggested by Decei it is very hard to trace with any degree of certainty Aktav's fate after he crossed the Danube. Kemalpaşazade's detailed account about the poisoning of the Tatar leader undoubtedly seems credible, but the short information in the chronicles of Uruc and Ruhî ascribe a natural death to him:⁴⁷⁶

Deşt vilâyetinden çokluk tatar çerisi gelmişdi, beğlerine Ak Tav dirlendi. Edirne'de vefat edüb⁴⁷⁷. Leşkeri kalmışdı. Ol tatar askerini bile beraber almışdı, askerini toplayıb Sultan Yıldırım Han dahi yürüdü. Engüri ovasına çıkdı...

A large Tatar army came from the province of Deşt. Their *bey* was named Ak Tav. He died in Edirne. His army remained. Sultan Yıldırım Han [Bayezid I] summoned his army, he took this Tatar army too and departed. He reached the Engüri [Ankara] plain...

It is hard to explain why the arrival of the numerous Crimean Tatars under the leadership of Aktav, an event of considerable importance, received so little appreciation in the early Ottoman sources. Nevertheless, it has caught the attention of the late Byzantine historian Chalkokondyles, who described the arrival of the Tatars in a great detail and also insisted that Aktav was murdered by Bayezid I. The similarities in the content of the texts of Chalkokondyles and Kemalpaşazade make one hesitant to suggest that both

families a *tuman* could number up to 50 000. R. E. Darley-Doran. "Tuman" in *EF*²; Nizamüddin Şâmi. *Zafernâme*, translated and edited by Necati Lugal (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1949), 162, 288.

⁴⁷⁵Aurel Decei. "Etablissement de Aktav de la Horde d'Or dans l'Empire Ottoman, au temps de Yıldırım Bayezid." in *60. Doğum Yılı Münasebetiyle Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1950-1955), 77-92. Cf. Halil İncik. "Dobruđja" in *EF*² who places Aktav's crossing to Rumelia a bit earlier in 1395 and Strashimir Dimitrov. *Istoria na Dobrudža*, vol. 3 (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1988) who argues for even earlier date, namely 1389. On Tamerlane's campaign against the Golden Horde and the role of Aktav see Bertold Spuler. *Die Goldene Horde: die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1965), 592.

⁴⁷⁶Franz Babinger. *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch: nach den Handschriften zu Oxford und Cambridge* (Hannover: Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, 1925), (Oxford MS), 34; (Cambridge MS), 103. *Oruç Beğ Tarihi*, Nihal Atsız (haz.), (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1001 Temel Eser, No. 5, 1972), 59-60. Ruhi Edrenevi. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Orient Quart 821, fol. 46 (quoted after the text published by Decei, "Etablissement de Aktav", 88).

⁴⁷⁷*Edirne'de otururken orada öldü. Oruç Beğ (Atsız); Edirne'de ferrar etmişken anda fevt oldu.* Uruc (Babinger-Oxford MS).

authors might have used a common source, which does not belong to the known Ottoman literary tradition.⁴⁷⁸

It is said that a large tribe of Scythians went to Dacia and send envoys to Bayazid. Their leaders asked for money and offices. They in return would cross the Ister and help him in his wars against his enemies in Europe. He was delighted with this, accepted their offer and made great promises. When they crossed over he settled them all over Europe. He took care of their leaders everywhere. Thus scattered they became useful to him both in raids and warfare. Later Bayazid fearing that their leaders might unite and revolt arrested them and killed them. It is possible nowadays to see a great number of Scythians scattered in many places throughout Europe.

The exact date and the causes for Aktav's death are of lesser importance for this study, but it seems that he did not live long in Rumelia. It is highly likely that it was not the fear of a Tatar revolt that caused Bayezid I's actions against their leader, but it was rather Aktav who provoked Bayezid's anger, because his Tatars sacked and pillaged the city of Varna in 1399.⁴⁷⁹ In any case, by 1402 the mighty Tatar general was already dead. However differing in their accounts as they are, all sources seem to agree on one particular point – the Tatars who arrived in Rumelia under his leadership were numerous. Kemalpaşazade speaks of fifty thousand warriors, who were registered in the sultanic

⁴⁷⁸ English translation of Chalkokondyles after Nicolaos Nicoloudis. Laonikos Chalkokondyles: A Translation and Commentary of the "Demonstrations of Histories", Books I-III (PhD Dissertation, King's College London, 1992), 230. Original text in Byzantine Greek in Eugenius Darkó. *Laonici Chalcocandylae historiarum demonstrationes*, vol. 1 (Budapestini: Typis Societatis Franklinianae, 1922), 93-94.

⁴⁷⁹ The information for the Tatars who pillaged Varna on 2 February 1399 derives from a Byzantine short chronicle, known as the *Chronicle of Mesembria*. Schreiner who edited the short chronicles argues that these "godless Tatars" who sacked the city are those of Aktav. Peter Schreiner. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken, 2. Teil: Historischer Kommentar* (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1977), 362-363. Cf. Vasil Guzelev. *Srednovekovna Bălgariya v sletlinata na novi izvori* (Sofia: Narodna Prosveta, 1981), 220-221.

defters.⁴⁸⁰ Ruhî and Uruc relate about a large Tatar army, as according to Chalkokondyles the Tatars scattered in many places throughout Europe (i.e. Rumelia). On the other hand, Kemalpaşazade is the only source to indicate explicitly where Aktav and his people settled – the plain of Filibe.

The Ottoman registers of the later period show clearly that the central administration was very familiar with the Tatars of Aktav (*Tataran-i Aktav*). They were really a very big group of people who occupied long stretch of crescent-like territory, that began in Dobruca to the north and turning westward at Yanbolu-Çirmen area it finished to the west of Filibe at its southern edge.⁴⁸¹ The recruit, services rendered and taxation of the Tatars of Aktav were a subject of special regulations (*kanun*) produced by the Ottoman central administration.⁴⁸² A register of the Naldöken Yürüks and the Tatars of Aktav from 1543-44 shows that only in the region around Filibe, Yanbolu and Çirmen there were 21 *ocaks* of these Tatars.⁴⁸³ It appears that the information of the narrative texts about the great number of the Tatars of Aktav who arrived in 1398 corroborates well with the documentary sources of later times, which increases the credibility of the chronicles. In this respect one can accept Kemalpaşazade's statement that the leader Aktav settled in the plain near Filibe as trustworthy as well. Moreover,

⁴⁸⁰ Instead of being registered as *sipahis*, as claimed by the Ottoman chronicler, the Tatars were most likely offered a status of Yürüks. İncalcık. "Dobruđja". On the social status and military obligations of the Yürüks see Halil İncalcık. "The Yürüks: Their Origins, Expansion and Economic Role." in idem. *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire. Essays on Economy and Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1993), 97-137. Cf. a recent monograph on the nomads in the Balkans by Aleksey Kalionski. *Yurutsite* (Sofia: Prosveta, 2011).

⁴⁸¹ İncalcık. "Dobruđja". M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihan* (İstanbul: Osman Yılçın Matbaası, 1957), 17, 26, 87-88.

⁴⁸² The *kanun* for the Yürüks of Yanbolu and the Tatars of Bozapa and Aktav is published by Ömer Lûtfî Barkan. *XV ve XVIncı Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukuki ve Malî Esaslar. Kanunlar* (İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1943), 260-262.

⁴⁸³ BOA, TD 223, Gökbilgin. *Yürükler*, 87.

the available archival documents also seem to confirm the account of the Ottoman historian.

The register of 1472, mentioned above, testifies that by the time it was drawn up a settlement named after the leader Aktav indeed existed in the area of Filibe.⁴⁸⁴ The specificity of this *defter*, which is typologically closer to the *avarız* records, rather than to the common *tahrir* registers, does not allow any closer observations over this village. Only three *reaya* individuals from the village Aktav contributed the requested 33 *akçes*, which had to cover the expenses for the *akıncı* raiders during their expedition to Anatolia⁴⁸⁵, thus leaving little doubt that the rest of the residents were exempted from the levy, because of having a status of auxiliary troops (*müsellem*).⁴⁸⁶ In a register dating close to one hundred years later (1570) the village Aktav appears as held in full proprietorship by the daughter of Süleyman I and spouse of Rüstem Paşa, Mihrimah Sultan.⁴⁸⁷ It had 140 Muslim households and 2 unmarried individuals, most of whom were either raiders or their *yamaks*. The Muslim village was surrounded by four newly-formed Christian *mahalles* that had a total population of 75 households. Later on, Mihrimah Sultan's possessions were endowed to a pious foundation in support of one of her mosques in Istanbul.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴ Sofia, PD 17/27, f. 7b.

⁴⁸⁵ The *akıncıs* were summoned under the command of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey for the campaign that Mehmed II launched against the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan in 1473.

⁴⁸⁶ A short note in a *defter* of 1525 confirms that the residents of the village are under Yürük status and pay their tithes to the *müsellem beyi*. BOA, MAD 519, f. 194. This fact can explain the lack of the village in the regular *tahrir* records from the 15th and the first half of the 16th century.

⁴⁸⁷ BOA, TD 498, ff. 383-386. Mihrimah Sultan received as *mülk* a dozen of villages in the districts of Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık and Samako.

⁴⁸⁸ Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı, 500-501.

The name of the village and the nearby Aktav *bayırı* and Aktav *deresi* remained unchanged until the nineteenth century, as it can be seen on the Ottoman military map.⁴⁸⁹ Only a few years later the maps marked a more Slavic version of the name – Afto köy⁴⁹⁰, as at the turn of the century it was completely Slavicized to Avtoevo⁴⁹¹, which allows its unmistakable identification as the modern village of Shishmantsi, located a few kilometers to the northeast of Filibe. The identification of the village Aktav in the vicinity of Filibe complements the information from the narratives. It appears that the Tatar leader himself and his closest companions indeed settled in the area as claimed by Kemalpaşazade. After his death Aktav left his name as a contribution to the local toponymy.

The identification of the village where the Tatar leader Aktav has taken up his residence in the vicinity of Filibe substantiates once more the truthful nature of the narrative sources that relate the settling of the Tatars in this very area as well. Besides, all chronicles markedly underline the great number of the Tatars who came to the region in 1398, a fact that is also supported by evidence derived from the archival documents. The numerousness of the Tatars, on the other hand, makes it reasonable to suggest, even though a direct proof for it is lacking, that the Tatar army has scattered all around the area, thus giving birth to many small settlements in the region. It is very plausible therefore some of the Tatars of Aktav to have settled only several kilometers to the west

⁴⁸⁹ *Rumili Haritası*. Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye Dairesi 1:210 000, Filibe from A.H. 1299/1881-82.

⁴⁹⁰ *Rumili Şahane Haritası*. Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye Dairesi 1:210 000, Filibe from A.H. 1317/1899-1900. I am indebted to Prof. Heath Lowry who provided me with a digitized version of this map.

⁴⁹¹ *Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa* 1:200 000, 43° – 42° Stara Zagora (Eski Zagra). Herausgegeben vom Militärgeographischen Institut in Wien, 1940. The 1940 map is an exact reprint of the 1913 military map. I thank Prof. Machiel Kiel who gave me a copy of the map.

of their leader and they might well have been the ones who founded the settlement that overtime turned into the town of Tatar Pazarcık. The fact that the Tatars of Aktav were numerous along with the existence of a village by the name of their chieftain in the area greatly increases the possibility that there were some of them who established the town.

Indeed, several other hints also imply that Aktav's Tatars were the ones who founded Tatar Pazarcık. As a matter of fact all other known cases of Tatars' migration to the area of Filibe, which were carefully examined above, were overthrown by argument as potential founders of the town. The Tatars deported from Kilia and Akkerman in 1485 could not have created it simply because they arrived too late when the town already existed. The nomads from Menemen, who founded Saruhanbeylü were not even Tatars, consequently their role in Tatar Pazarcık's creation should be refuted too. The Tatars of Minnet Bey, who settled in Konaş, don't seem to have been numerous enough to split in portions in order to become founders of a second settlement. To the contrary, Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey was in a desperate need for settlers whom he brought even from the western Balkans in an attempt to develop the area of his family domain. Moreover, by the time Minnet Bey and his people came to Upper Thrace it appears that the western edge of the plain was already occupied and they settled where empty land was available.

Focusing on the time and the location of the newly created Turkish settlements along the route of the *Via Militaris* road in Upper Thrace, one can notice an attempt for mastering the conquered territory on the part of the Ottomans through a settlement policy that was driven in a direction opposite to the one of the conquest. The earliest

Turkish settlements that appeared at the edge of the then Ottoman territories were the Yürük villages of the İhtiman plain and the town of İhtiman itself, created and mastered by the mighty dynasty of raider commanders of the Mihaloğulları as early as the 1380s. Once the Ottoman conquest moved westward, it faced the densely populated plain of Sofia where there was neither need nor enough room for new settlements. Therefore, the Ottomans began to populate in a rather systematic manner the free empty lowland of Upper Thrace. The earliest deportees were the Yürüks from Menemen who were settled in the farthest western edge of the plain. A few years later the numerous Tatars of Aktav arrived, who along with many other locations were assigned to populate a spot on the main road, but to the east of the Saruhan nomads. By the second decade of the fifteenth century, when Minnet Bey was deported to Thrace, the territory to the west of Filibe must have been already occupied and he was given a place located even farther eastward on the main road. The reason for this looks apparent – Saruhanbeylü and Tatar Pazarcık already existed.

3.2. Power base of the peripheral forces: Tatar Pazarcık's development until the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The lack of sources covering the period from the founding of Tatar Pazarcık at the turn of the fourteenth century till 1472, the date of the earliest available register, makes the history of its early days very unclear. Nevertheless, one can guess that soon

after the settlement became a fact it had to face a very serious challenge – the Interregnum period that followed the battle of Ankara (1402) and the warfare between Bayezid I's sons which was particularly violent and destructive in Upper Thrace.⁴⁹² Certainly the second range of commanders in the Tatar contingent left by Aktav must have provided manpower to the claimants for the Ottoman throne, but it is unclear with whom of the princes they sided. Be it as it may, it is clear that the settlement survived the troublesome times of the first decade of the fifteenth century, which in fact marked the last major military operations in the region until the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, thus securing more than a four-century-long period of peaceful development of the town. By the early 1430s Tatar Pazarcık must still have been negligibly small, since it was not even mentioned by the Burgundian knight de la Broquière, who must have crossed it on his way to Sofia.

The real boost in the growth of the town took place between the second half of the 1430s and the 1450s when Murad II and Mehmed II seem to have tried to encourage the development of Upper Thrace. Resurrecting the nearby metropolis Filibe was only the pick in a general attempt of the Ottoman central authority for reviving the depressed region. The greatest change in the rural area was the intensification of the rice cultivation that happened about that time and brought significant changes in the demographic picture of the area.⁴⁹³ The labor-consuming rice cultivation required

⁴⁹² On the struggle for the Ottoman throne and its impact over Upper Thrace see Nedim Filipović. *Princ Musa i šejh Bedreddin* (Sarajevo: Svetlost, 1971), 317-373; Dimitris Kastritsis. *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-13* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2007), 135-158; 161-194.

⁴⁹³ It is generally believed that the cultivation of rice was introduced immediately after the conquest by Lala Şahin Paşa, but according to the authoritative opinion of Halil İnalcık the production was greatly

availability of sedentary population in the area, which in a couple of decades brought to Thrace numerous Anatolian Turkish villagers and urban dwellers. The rice fields surrounded Tatar Pazarcık and affected its development quite early, probably in the late 1430s-early 1440s, a fact best demonstrated by the rice mill built on the bank of the Maritsa River by Şihabeddin Paşa in the mid-1440s. Many of the Tatar founders of the town must have settled down in this process, as suggested by Kemalpaşazade. Others probably continued their nomadic lifestyle using the highlands of the Rhodopes and the Balkan range descending to the plain in the winters when the rice fields were drained, thus profiting from the rice stubbles while fertilizing the soil.

The earliest preserved Ottoman register containing consistent data on the development and the population of Tatar Pazarcık is the mentioned *akıncı defteri* of 1472. The taxpayers of the town were listed in two sets which later on, when the register was torn into fragments, were separated and now have different call numbers in the Sofia archive.⁴⁹⁴ The information of the register portrays Tatar Pazarcık as a small provincial town in the *kaza* of Filibe that had six quarters and entirely Muslim population of at least 105 households (Table 7). The total population of the town was undoubtedly higher, because apart of the militaries, who were not subjected to taxation, some portion of the taxpayers (unmarried young men, clergymen etc.) were also exempted from this extraordinary levy, therefore they were excluded from the register.

intensified only in the time of Mehmed II. Halil İnalçık. "Rice Cultivation and the *Çeltükci-Re'âyâ* System in the Ottoman Empire." *Turcica* 14 (1982): 70-71.

⁴⁹⁴ Sofia PD 17/27, ff. 17^b-18^a and OAK 94/73, ff. 32-33. Tatar Pazarcık is not the only settlement whose taxpayers were recorded in more than one place. This, what seems unusual practice at a first glance, is due to the fact that the registrar had the task of grouping sets of 30 households that provided the allowance of the raider, rather than registering the entire taxpaying population of the settlement in a *tahrir* fashion.

Speculating, one can guesstimate Tatar Pazarcık's population to at least 130-140 households in the early 1470s.

The new settlement marked a remarkable progress in the eight decades of its existence. Part of the 600-700 Muslim residents were the descendents of the Tatar founders, but also there were a great many colonists from the Turkish towns and cities of Anatolia. Names and nicknames such as *şehirlü Yusuf* (Yusuf the townsman), *Anadolu*, *Karamanî*, etc. encountered among the taxpayers in 1472, leave little doubt about the fact that the rapid development of the new settlement was due to colonization of urban population from Asia Minor, which either came on its own will or was transferred as a result of forceful deportation ordered by the central authority in the mid-fifteenth century.

The increase of population went alongside, or was rather stimulated, by the modifications of the urban space. Established as a nomadic Tatar camp, in only half a century, the settlement undertook the long journey from its birth to the transformation into an adequate town (*kasaba*). The fact that the Ottoman architectural heritage of Tatar Pazarcık was completely devastated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century deprives researchers from the capacity of studying the spatial and architectural development in a greater detail.⁴⁹⁵ A closer look at the Ottoman archival documentation, however, could provide enough facts for tracing the tendencies in its development. The *akıncı* register, for instance, testifies that by the 1472 the town already had at least one communal mosque which gave a name to one of the town's quarters *mahalle-i Cami*'.

⁴⁹⁵ The only Ottoman building standing in modern Pazardžik is the single-domed mosque of Nazır Mehmed Ağa (the so-called *Kurşunlu Camii*), built in 1667.

The register contains no other information allowing a precise identification of the patron of the mosque or its exact location in the modern city, but in the second half of the fifteenth century this must have been the very core of the emerging small town. Moreover, the assumption that by the 1470s in Tatar Pazarcık there should have also been a public bath in close proximity to the mosque is also confirmed by the Ottoman archival sources. The register of the Rumelian salt-sellers (*tuzcuyan*) from 1488, mentioned above, enlists one “Hamza *külhani* (stoker of a bath), son of Dede from the town of Tatar Bazarcık”.⁴⁹⁶ This information demonstrates convincingly that a *hamam* definitely existed in the town, since among its residents there was a stoker of a public bath. Most likely the bath was built simultaneously with the mosque, as it was often the case, thus erected close to it by the same individual who commissioned the mosque.

The sources at hand left no direct evidence for the identity of the patron of the earliest mosque in the town, but some clues allow forwarding a cautious hypothesis. The close proximity of the powerbase of the mighty dynasty of raider commanders of the Mihaloğulları, the town and the plain of İhtiman (about 50 km westward), immediately inclines one to consider their possible involvement in the development of Tatar Pazarcık. Being present in the region earlier than the Tatars who established the town, the powerful border lords probably kept a close eye on the emergence of the settlement at the edge of their domain. Moreover, they must have quickly grasped the great strategic importance of its location. On the one hand the town was built on the main highway of

⁴⁹⁶ Sofia OAK 121/9, f. 28^a. For a general study on the *tuzcus* in Rumelia and Anatolia see Elena Grozdanova and Stefan Andreev. “Organizatsia i statut na solarite v bălgarskite zemi pod osmanska vlast.” *Bălgarska Etnologiya* 2 (1983): 41-52; Lütfi Güçer. “XV.-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Tuz İhisarı ve Tuzların İşletme Nizamı.” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23:1-2 (1962-1963): 1-47.

the medieval and Ottoman Balkans near the point where the wild deep-water stream Topolnitsa joins the Maritsa River, thus controlling the traffic. On the other hand, it was precisely here that an important juncture split up from the main road and led to the iron-producing center of Samokov and further southwest to Macedonia and the Albanian Adriatic coast. The document of 1472 does not explicitly mention any of the members of the Mihaloğlu family, but one peculiarity allows such a connection. One of the quarters of the town that had altogether eight tax-payers was named after certain Ali Bey. Out of the eight Muslim residents of the *mahalle-i 'Ali Bey*, two were named Mihal and one was Ali. The name Ali is popular and often encountered in the censuses while in contrast Mihal, because of its non-Muslim origin, is very uncommon and even rather exceptional name. The presence of two individuals named Mihal in a quarter established by Ali Bey implies a very probable Mihaloğlus' connection. It is highly likely that Ali Bey in question was the famous raider commander Mihaloğlu Alaeddin Ali Bey, whose *akıncıs* were the immediate benefactors of the register compiled in 1472.⁴⁹⁷ The proximity of the family domain of İhtiman, managed at that time by Ali Bey, makes the connection even more plausible.⁴⁹⁸ In this respect, if the connection of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey to Tatar

⁴⁹⁷ On Mihaloğlu Ali Bey's career see Olga Zirojević. "Smederevski sandžakbeg Ali beg Mihaloglu." *Zbornik za istoriju Matice srpske* (1971): 9-27. Cf. Olga Zirojević. "Der Sandschakbey von Mederevo Ali-Bey Mihaloğlu." *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 25-29 Eylül 1970. Kongreye sunulan bildiriler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1973), vol. 2, 567-577. Further details in Mariya Kiprovska. "The Mihaloğlu Family: Gazi Warriors and Patrons of Dervish Hospices." *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 32 (2008): 193-222; Orlin Sabev. "The Legend of Köse Mihal." *Turcica* 34 (2002): 241-252.

⁴⁹⁸ In the 1460s-1480s Mihaloğlu Ali Bey was not only the most distinguished member of the family, but he also had enormous authority among the other *akıncı* commanders. On the family domain and buildings in İhtiman see Machiel Kiel. "İhtiman" in *TDVİA*; idem. "Four Provincial İmârets in the Balkans and the Sources About Them." in Nina Ergin, Christoph Neumann and Amy Singer (eds.), *Feeding People, Feeding Power. İmârets in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 2007), 106-109. Semavi Eyice. "Sofya Yakınında İhtiman'da Gaazî Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey İmâret-Câmii." *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmûası* 4:2 (1975): 49-61.

Pazarcık indeed existed, then he might have been the person who erected the first mosque and the public bath in the town. He is known to have built numerous public buildings in the Balkans and Anatolia and most certainly had the necessary financial means.⁴⁹⁹ Moreover, his greatest project, the creation and development of the new town of Plevne (mod. Pleven) in Danubian Bulgaria, that focused most of Ali Bey's efforts and resources was only to begin two decades later.⁵⁰⁰ Bringing together all of the circumstantial evidence that connects Mihaloğlu Ali Bey to the development of the town strongly suggests that the mighty border lord might have well been the person who set the urban core by constructing a communal mosque and a bathhouse near it, thus giving a real boost to the process of conversion of the small rural Tatar settlement into a moderate in size provincial town.

The rapid development of the strategically located town attracted the attention of the other families of border lords too, who also commissioned several public buildings in the town. In the intervening the forty-year period prior the next registration was prepared in 1516 two more important *akıncı* leaders contributed to the development of Tatar Pazarcık.⁵⁰¹ Probably the most significant addition to the urban landscape was the *imaret* built by Şemseddin Ahmed Bey, the then head and leader of the mighty dynasty of *ucbeyis* of the Evrenosoğulları. The building of Ahmed Bey has long vanished

⁴⁹⁹ Ali Bey rebuilt the tomb of Seyyid Batal Gazi near Eskişehir and commissioned a number of *imarats*, *zaviyes* and baths in the Balkans. Zeynep Yürekli. *Legends and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire: The Shrines of Seyyid Gazi and Hacı Bektaş* (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2005), 132-136. I express my gratitude to Mariya Kiprovska to whom I owe the information on Ali Bey's patronage in the Balkans.

⁵⁰⁰ Machiel Kiel. "Plevna" in *EF*².

⁵⁰¹ BOA, TD 77 is the earliest *tahrir* which contains information on Tatar Pazarcık. The register of 1489 (TD 26) for some reason did not include the town.

therefore one must guess what exactly the Ottoman documents implied by the term *imaret* in this specific case. In all probability this building must have been a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, because apart of distributing food it apparently accommodated visitors overnight, as attested by Corneille de Schepper in 1534.⁵⁰² Deriving analogy from the nearby Filibe and many other towns in the Ottoman realm, it is very likely that Ahmed Bey placed his *imaret* at the outskirts of the town, thus completing the urbanizing model in which the core is flanked by one or many T-shaped multifunctional buildings. The most logical location for this building must have been the point in which the *Via Militaris* entered the town from the west. (no. 8 on Plan 5) Just like the complex of Şihabeddin Paşa in Filibe the *imaret* of Ahmed Bey marked the boundaries of the town and played a role of counterweight to the mosque in the urban core that was built prior 1472. The *imaret* that was located near the building of the theater of modern Pazardžik was later “swallowed” up by the expanding town and just as it happened with the *imarets* of sultan Orhan in Bursa and Paşa Yiğit Bey in Skopje it ended up in the most central part of the modern city.⁵⁰³

Not only the exact location and functions of Ahmed Bey’s *imaret* in Tatar Paracik are somewhat debated, but the date of its construction is also very unclear. Certainly the building did not exist in 1472, because the register did not make any

⁵⁰² Corneille Duplicius de Schepper. *Missions diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus, ambassadeur de Christiern II, de Charles V, de Ferdinand I^{er} et de Marie, reine de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1523 à 1555*, éd. par M. Le Bonde Saint-Genois (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1856), 192. The later Ottoman registers refer to Ahmed Bey’s building as a *zaviye*. BOA, TD 494, f. 719.

⁵⁰³ Batakliiev, Grad Tatar-Pazardžik, 92 pointed that the “*imaret mahallesi*” was located to the north of the prison. In the 1930s the prison was pulled down and was replaced by the building of the modern theater. The great old pane-tree in the courtyard of the theater is believed to be from the Ottoman times. I owe this information to Dr. Rumiyan Katsarova from the Regional Museum of Pazardžik.

mention of it. By 1516 it already had a staff of ten individuals, among whom were an imam, *müezzin*, sheikh of the *imaret*, scribe, cook, bakers etc., consequently the building was clearly built earlier.⁵⁰⁴ The patron *Hacı* Ahmed Bey, the grandson of Gazi Evrenos Bey, died in Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) in 1498.⁵⁰⁵ Earlier he established a pious foundation endowing property and profitable buildings for the maintenance and salaries of the staff of his *imaret* in Tatar Pazarcık and for the upkeep of a mosque, *medrese* and *imaret*⁵⁰⁶ that he built in the town of Yenice-i Vardar.⁵⁰⁷ The endowment deed is a steady proof that the *imaret* in Tatar Pazarcık was built prior 1498, since it is mentioned in the document; hence it allows limiting the timeframe of the construction of the *imaret* in the period between 1472 and 1497.⁵⁰⁸

The other influential march lord, who became a patron of a public building in the town in the interim (1472-1516), was Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey. He built in the vicinities of Tatar Pazarcık a dervish lodge dedicated to some preacher named Pirzade.⁵⁰⁹ Likewise, the available sources specify neither the exact location nor the precise date of construction of this building or more likely a complex of multiple buildings. Nevertheless, it must have happened between 1472 (it lacks in the *akıncı defter*) and

⁵⁰⁴ BOA, TD 77, f. 633.

⁵⁰⁵ Iréne Mélikoff. “Ewrenos oghullari” in *EP*.

⁵⁰⁶ On Ahmed Bey’s buildings in Yenice-i Vardar see Machiel Kiel. “Yenice-i Vardar (Vardar Yenicesi – Giannitsa): A Forgotten Turkish Cultural Centre in Macedonia of the 15th and 16th Century.” in idem. *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans* (Aldershot-Brookfield: Variorum, 1990), IV, 300-329 and the recent contribution of Heath Lowry and İsmail Erünsal. *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar: Notes & Documents* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2010), 103-114.

⁵⁰⁷ The *vakfiye* of Ahmed Bey, drawn up in 1498 is a five-meter long roll, housed in Istanbul. BOA, EV. VKF. dosya 19, gömlek 11.

⁵⁰⁸ A register from 1525 (BOA, MAD 519) testifies that Ahmed Bey also had other properties in the area of Tatar Pazarcık. He possessed a rice mill in the village of Başıkırılar (mod. Glavinitza), f. 139; a watermill in the village of Köse Muradlu (mod. Bratanitsa), f. 159; and another rice mill in the village of Kadı Sinan (mod. Gelemenovo), f. 181.

⁵⁰⁹ BOA, TD 77, f. 635.

1503, the date of Bali Bey's death.⁵¹⁰ What can be stated with great degree of certainty is that the dervish Pirzade, whose convent Bali Bey patronized, was deceased by the date of the register's compilation (1516) and that he and his disciples undoubtedly belonged to one of the multiple mystical heterodox brotherhoods in Rumelia of that time. The names of the dervishes residing in the convent – İshak, Hındır Kulu, and Kaygusuz Abdal, bespeak of their bearers' connection to the Anatolian mystical brotherhoods of the Babais, the Hurufis or the Kalenderis.⁵¹¹ The close proximity of the convent of Otman Baba, whose authority in the region by that time was in its peak, makes it tempting to presume that Pirzade and his followers might have been from among the dervishes who were under the influence of the great heterodox dervish leader.⁵¹²

The cooperation of the mighty *akıncı* commanders with the heterodox dervishes, who constituted the very basis of the then border society, is clearly noticeable. They often acted in conjunction with one another against the Ottoman attempts for centralization, which seriously affected both groups' existence.⁵¹³ In this alliance, the

⁵¹⁰ An official report dispatched to the sons of Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey informs that their father died in Silistra on 24 September 1503. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, 482. Cf. Fahamettin Başar. "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Kuruluş Döneminde Hizmeti Görülen Akıncı Aileleri. IV – Malkoçoğulları." *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi* 65 (1992): 47, who suggested 1510 for Bali Bey's death without a benefit of reference. On the dynasty of Malkoçoğlu and their role in the history of the western Balkans see Franz Babinger. "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malkoç-oghlu's." in idem. *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. 1 (München: Südosteuropa-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1962), 355-369.

⁵¹¹ Ömer Lütfi Barkan. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler. İstilâ Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler." *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 279-386 underlined the important role which the heterodox dervishes played in the process of reclaiming the lands of Rumelia by the Ottomans.

⁵¹² Halil İnalçık. "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the *Otman Baba Vilâyetnâmesi*". in idem. The Middle East and the Balkans, 19-37. On the mausoleum of Otman Baba see Lubomir Mikov. *Izkustvo na heterodoksnite musulmani v Bălgariya* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2005), 39-46.

⁵¹³ Halil İnalçık. "Periods in Ottoman History, State, Society, Economy." in Halil İnalçık and Günsel Renda (eds.), *Ottoman Civilization*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2004), 31-109; and idem. "Dervish and Sultan", 19-37.

raider commanders' beneficence over the dervishes is clearly perceptible through their architectural patronage. Thus, members of the Mihaloğlu family not only patronized one of the largest heterodox complexes in Anatolia – the convent of Seyyid Battal Gazi, but also built the four principle *babai* convents of Rumelia, that were later on absorbed by the Bektashiya order of dervishes.⁵¹⁴ The Evrenosoğlu and Malkoçoğlu families were the biggest patrons of the complex of Hacı Bektaş Veli near Kırşehir and also built a number of smaller dervish convents in the Balkans.⁵¹⁵ Therefore, taking into account the other raider commanders' families' patronage over the dervish cloisters throughout the Ottoman territories, it seems little surprising that a Malkoçoğlu family member was the benefactor of the heterodox convent in Tatar Pazarcık. Moreover, some names of the taxpayers in the town, such as Bektaş, Musa Baba, Barak Baba, Zülfikâr, son of Baba Acem etc., strongly imply the heterodox background of most of the residents. This fact alone can explain the great interest of the *akıncı* dynasties in the emerging Tatar Pazarcık and *vice versa* – the march lords' support and patronage attracted various elements of the border society of that time. Created by a Tatar commander, supported by the mighty *akıncı beyis*, in the first century of its existence the town seems to have turned into an “oasis” offering ideal *milieu* for the border culture in all of its forms. Just like Sarajevo was created and developed by the periphery forces, Tatar Pazarcık appears to have become a common project, developed in the very heart of Ottoman Rumili, by

⁵¹⁴ Kiprovska, “The Mihaloğlu Family” argued that the members of this dynasty patronized the convents of Otman Baba, Akyazılı Baba, Kıdemli Baba, and Demir Baba.

⁵¹⁵ Yürekli, Legends and Architecture, 164-191. Lowry-Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty*, 125-127.

the members of the prominent *akıncı* families.⁵¹⁶ The time of the town's flourishing coincided or was rather defined by the rehabilitation of the border lords' dynasties during the reign of Bayezid II, after Mehmed II attempted to marginalize this influential group in the Ottoman society.⁵¹⁷ The march lords' intensive patronage in Tatar Pazarcık might well be regarded as a preview of their reemerging power in Rumelia. Certainly, the Ottoman rulers must have also noticed the strategic importance of Tatar Pazarcık, but they managed to pull it out of the hands of the periphery forces only in the Süleymanic era that will be discussed below.

Turning attention to the *tahrir* register of 1516 that includes information on the population and the growth of the town, one can notice its development. The town at that time belonged to the newly formed *nahiye* of Saruhanbeylü that split from the very large *kaza* of Filibe.⁵¹⁸ This is the first register to enlist all of the quarters that became the nucleus of the town in the course of the next three centuries. Tatar Pazarcık had five *mahalles*, one *imaret*, whose staff was registered as a separate group and several dervishes in the *zaviye* of Pirzade, located in the approximate vicinities of the town. Some of the quarters known from the previous registration joined together receiving new names while others seem to have been newly founded. *Mahalle-i Helvacı Barak* can

⁵¹⁶ Hazim Šabanović. "Postanak i razvoj Sarajeva." *Radovi naučnog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 13:5 (1960): 71-89; Vesna Mušeta-Aščerić. *Sarajevo i njegova okolina u XV stoljeću* (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 2005), 152-200.

⁵¹⁷ There is rich bibliography on the so called "land reform" of Mehmed II that aimed at undermining the authority of the powerful semi-independent border lords. See Halil İnalçık's recent publication "Autonomous enclaves in Islamic states: *temliks*, *soyurgals*, *yurdluk-ocaklıks*, *mâlikâne-mukâta'as* and *awqâf*." in Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (eds.), *History and historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in honor of John E. Woods* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 112-134; idem. "Mehmed II" in *İA*.

⁵¹⁸ By the end of the 15th century the *kaza* of Filibe was by far larger than the entire *sancak* of Çirmen, having twice as many settlements.

serve as an excellent example. The founder of the quarter, after whom it was named, one Barak, a maker of *helva*, was still alive in 1516, being registered at the head of his quarter together with three of his sons – Mustafa, Malkoç, and the unmarried lame Hasan.⁵¹⁹ The salt-seller Hamza, who appeared in the 1488 register, must have died by 1516 and was replaced by certain Mustafa, who on his own became a patron of another quarter in the town.⁵²⁰ It appears that these individuals along with several others like Mustafa from Karaman and the deputy judge (*naib*) Hamza have commissioned small neighbourhood mosques (*mescid*) thus forming the quarters around them. (Plan 5)

The population of Tatar Pazarcık has also grown in the period between the two registrations. The *defter* enlists the names of 197 heads of Muslim households and 30 unmarried, together with one single Christian. (Table 7) The Christian, some *Boşko preseliç*, was registered in the newly formed quarter of Helvacı Barak and was in fact the first Christian settler in the Muslim town.⁵²¹ As suggested by his nickname (*preseliç* – newcomer, migrant) Boşko was not a native, but he has recently arrived to the town. As a matter of fact he was not the only immigrant to Tatar Pazarcık. 34 heads of household and 4 unmarried Muslims were indicated in the census of 1516 as being recent converts to Islam. Since there was no Christian community in the town, it is apparent that these converts came from elsewhere. This process was not peculiar to Tatar Pazarcık only, but it can be certainly observed in the entire region in late fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century. Many villagers left their rural homelands for the

⁵¹⁹ BOA, TD 77, f. 632.

⁵²⁰ *mahalle-i Tuzcu Mustafa*, BOA, TD 77, f. 632.

⁵²¹ *Boşko* [sic!] paid annual *ispençe* of 25 *akçes*. BOA, TD 77, f. 632.

towns of Thrace after converting to Islam. Comparing the figures from Tatar Pazarcık to these of the nearby metropolis Filibe, the portion of the converts in the entire Muslim community appear to be about the same. The immigrant converts apparently managed to integrate quickly in the urban environment and economy. In this respect it is noteworthy that exactly half of the staff at Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey's *imaret* in Tatar Pazarcık consisted of converts (the bakers, the cook, and the butler).⁵²²

Because of the specificity of the register of 1472 it is impossible to offer even approximate estimations of the growth of the Muslim community in Tatar Pazarcık in the forty-four-year gap until 1516. Nevertheless, the total increase of the population is undoubted. This must be attributed to the migration of converts from the immediate surroundings as well as to the arrival of more settlers from Anatolia, demonstrated by the names of the residents such as Karamani, Saruhan, Anadolu etc. that are common in the 1516 register. Many of the immigrants were city dwellers who enriched the urban economy with their professional skills. The registrar listed close to half of the taxpayers with their professions instead of the commonly used patronymics, thus offering rich information about the occupation of the residents. It can be estimated that the largest portion of the population was occupied in activities that the Ottoman state encouraged, considering them of great importance, therefore applying more liberal taxation to these individuals. The most numerous were the *yamaks* of Tatars and Yürüks, followed by the dairymen (*yağcı*) and the rice-growers (*çeltükçü*). The fact that the *zaim* of the Tatars was listed together with a large number of *yamaks* illustrates that the town did not

⁵²² BOA, TD 77, f. 633.

interrupt the ties to the descendents of its founders who continued a lifestyle closely related to the animal husbandry. The *defter* also enlists many residents occupied in typical for the urban life professions, such as butchers, cooks, bakers, makers of *boza* and *helva*, all sort of traders, tanners, shoemakers, tailors, weavers, etc. The Muslim clergymen and those in service at the mosques were naturally another significant portion of the population of the town at that time.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century Tatar Pazarcık clearly acquired the appearance of an average provincial town in Rumelia. It had a population of about one thousand or more that was almost entirely Muslim. The main Friday mosque and the nearby *hamam*, built prior 1472, set the commercial core of the town. In all probability this was the so-called Eski Camii', located at the southeastern part of the town and the nearby *hamam*, known locally as the 'dark bath'.⁵²³ (no. 1 & no. 18 on Plan 5) The town developed to the northeast, occupying both sides of the *Via Militaris* road that cut it into two equal halves. The urban center was surrounded by several quarters that emerged around unidentifiable small *mescids*, while the T-shaped *imaret* of Ahmed Bey, located probably at the western entrance of the town marked the limits of Tatar Pazarcık.

The register of 1516 also marked a remarkable novelty on the urban landscape, the erection of a second Friday mosque. An entry in the document reading *mahalle-i cami'-i İshak Çelebi, hadis* (quarter of the mosque of İshak Çelebi, new one) informs that the recently created quarter was formed around the mosque built by İshak Çelebi.

⁵²³ The old mosque was almost completely rebuilt in 1820 by the local *ayan* Gavanozoğlu Hasan Bey, who also placed a new inscription above the entrance commemorating the restoration. A handwritten copy of it is published by Batakliiev. The so-called 'dark bath' was located nearby and it was a small building that also bespeaks of an early date of construction. Batakliiev, Grad Tatar-Pazardžik, 82.

(no 9 on Plan 5) Virtually all residents of the quarter (5 *hane* and 2 unmarried) delivered different services to the new mosque and most likely lived very near to it.

Unlike the rest of the patrons of small *mahalle mescids* in the town, who remained anonymous for history, İshak Çelebi can be positively identified. The endowment deeds of various important individuals connected to the territory of ex-Yugoslavia, collected and published by Hasan Kaleši, contain the necessary bit of information.⁵²⁴ Among these documents is the *vakfiye* of İshak Çelebi, son of İsa *fakih*, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century was for several years a *kadı* of Selânik. Afterwards he moved with his family to the Macedonian town Manastir (Bitola) where he built a large single-domed mosque and a *medrese*.⁵²⁵ İshak Çelebi's college disappeared, but his mosque still dominates the central square of the modern city, being the highest and nicest mosque of Bitola.⁵²⁶ He died on 1 August 1512 in the same town and was buried in the courtyard of his mosque.⁵²⁷

The endowment deed of İshak Çelebi, drawn up in Manastir in June 1506, clearly testifies that he was the patron who commissioned the mosque in Tatar Pazarcık, consequently the mosque was built prior to this date.⁵²⁸ The *vakfiye* specifies further that south of the mosque he built three houses that had to accommodate the families of the

⁵²⁴ Hasan Kaleši. *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti u Jugoslaviji na arapskom jeziku* (Priština, 1972).

⁵²⁵ Kaleši, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti*, 145-146.

⁵²⁶ Zoran Pavlov. "Single-Domed Mosques in Macedonia." *Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Islamic Civilisation in the Balkans, Tirana, Albania, 4-7 December 2003* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2003), 33-58. This article is actually a summary of Pavlov's M.A. thesis. idem. *Makedonya'da Tek Kubbeli Camiler* (Gazi University, Ankara 2001), 23-28.

⁵²⁷ Kaleši, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti*, 146. The date of İshak Çelebi's death is provided by his tombstone, which was examined by Kaleši in the 1960s, but it is missing today. It is very likely that it is one of the many tombstones used to pave the paths in the present garden of the mosque.

⁵²⁸ The complete original text in Arabic and translation in Serbian is published by Kaleši, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti*, 152-171.

staff of the mosque – the imam, *muezzin*, and *kıyyum*. Moreover, he erected two more buildings and a stable designed to host the travelers and their draught animals. Additionally, he ordered that 13 brick-made houses next to the mosque are to be joined together thus constructing a convent for the dervishes and their sheikh. The incomes coming from a *bařhane* and a *bozahane*, along with four more shops located at the market area of the town had to provide for the upkeep of the mosque. Furthermore, he also endowed a *menzil* and fourteen more shops located on the bank of the Maritsa River in Filibe.⁵²⁹ The charter stipulated the conditions of work and the salaries of the imam, *muezzin*, and the *hatib* of the mosque in Tatar Pazarcık, that were set accordingly to four, two, and one *akçes* daily. The administrator of the foundation (*mütevelli*) was entitled to receive a daily salary of one *akçe*.⁵³⁰

In spite that the mosque of İřhak Çelebi in Tatar Pazarcık appears to have been a massive solid building it did not survive to the modernity, therefore it is very difficult to establish its exact shape and precise location. Nevertheless, one can guess that it most likely resembled his mosque in Bitola, but probably built in a smaller in scale. It is plausible that this mosque was built north of Eski Camii’ and in fact served as the main mosque of the *çarşı* for centuries to come.

The taxation record in the 1516 register also bespeaks of the rapid development of Tatar Pazarcık in the period 1472-1516. The boom of constructing of public and private buildings was supplied with materials by the tiles workshop in the town. The

⁵²⁹ The connection of İřhak Çelebi to Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık is uncertain, but it is very likely that he occupied the post of *kadı* of Filibe in the late 1480s. A document on the repair of the bridge in Filibe in 1486 mentions one *mevlâna* İřhak Çelebi acting as the local *kadı*. İBK, M.C. O. 91, ff. 261^r-262^a. He retained the post in the following year too Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Pařa Livâsı, 133.

⁵³⁰ Kaleři, Najstariji vakufski dokumenti, 165-168.

market area must have also expended quickly. It is impossible to tell how many shops had Tatar Pazarcık at that time, but the butchers' shops provided annual revenue of one thousand *akçes*. The trade should have also been intensive, because the register recorded that the share of the market taxes retrieved by the revenue holder amounted to 10 339 *akçes*.⁵³¹ The intensified traffic of people and goods through the town towards Samako, Köstendil, and Macedonia required a safe passage of the Maritsa to the south of the town. By 1516 a permanent cross over the river was already a fact, bringing annual revenue to the *timariot* of 600 *akçes*.⁵³²

The changes that took place at the end of fifteenth and the beginning of sixteenth century made of Tatar Pazarcık an interesting attractive town, which promised to continue its rapid progress. Luckily the fast development of the town can be closely observed thanks to the availability of two more registrations done in the period 1516-1530.⁵³³ The detailed register of 1525 naturally attracts much attention due to the richness of its information that allows observations on the urban life in very small details. As one can expect the changes of the total population figures were not significant. In the nine-year period, separating the registrations, the Muslims in the town had a very slight decrease, totaling 195 households and 13 unmarried.⁵³⁴

Focusing on the details it is noteworthy that the quarter founder Barak, the seller of *helva*, was still alive in 1525. Meanwhile his lame son Hasan married, but fell in

⁵³¹ In this case this was the *kadiasker* of Rumili Zineddin Efendi, as recorded in the synoptic (*icmal*) register BOA, TD 73, f. 105, drawn up in 1519 on the basis of the detailed TD 77.

⁵³² BOA, TD 77, f. 635.

⁵³³ BOA, MAD 519 (1525) and BOA, TD 370 (1530), see above about more details and dating of these documents.

⁵³⁴ It must be noted that the registrar recorded the *zaviye* of Pirzade, but not the dervishes who were resident there, thus several more people must be added to the total figures.

poverty (*fakirü'l-hal*). Barak's elder son Malkoç has died while the younger Mustafa became a raider (*akıncı*), most likely replacing his brother who was killed in a battle.⁵³⁵ The close look on the data of the register can reveal more interesting details from the daily life of the residents of Tatar Pazarcık. For example the resident of the *mahalle* Tuzcu Mustafa, some Baba Acem, who in 1516 was a perfumer, by 1525 was already employed in a mosque as a Quran reciter (*hafız*).⁵³⁶ In a different case the *yamak* Ramazan, son of Cafer from the quarter of Naib Hamza managed to secure for himself a promotion to the position of rice field supervisor (*reis-i çeltük*), and the Tatar Durmuş also from this quarter, who used to be *yamak* of the Tatars, turned into a *helva* maker, etc.⁵³⁷

The further detailed analysis of the two registers could reveal even more intriguing aspects of the life of the residents of the town at that time. They can probably also provide a good foundation for a research on the average life expectancy in Ottoman Rumili of the early sixteenth century. It is noteworthy that only 37% of the residents, registered in 1516, lived long enough to be included in the record of 1525. This analysis, however, requires a great care for the detail and stays out of the scopes of this research that aims to provide a more general population figures over a long period of time.

Nevertheless, the in depth look on the information in the register of 1525 provides a significant detail of the history of Tatar Pazarcık – the creation of the first Christian quarter. The earliest Christian settler Boşko was still alive in 1525, recoded as

⁵³⁵ BOA, MAD 519, f. 123.

⁵³⁶ BOA, MAD 519, f. 123.

⁵³⁷ BOA, MAD 519, f. 123.

a head of the new quarter.⁵³⁸ His daughter married to certain İstoyan, enlisted after his father-in-law in the same *mahalle*. Boško and his son-in-law were not the sole newcomers attracted by the better job opportunities in the developing town. Eleven more Christian households and two bachelors also appeared in the town in the period between the registrations. The Ottoman registrar kept track of their previous location thus supplying important information. Five of the new settlers came from the village of Yakoruda, three of them from the town of Razlog, two newcomers left the village of Godlevo and one arrived from the village of Gorna Belitsa.

All settlements left by the Christians who came to the town prior 1525 are located in a relatively small high plain (roughly 40x80 km in size), situated to the southwest of Tatar Pazarcık, that is enclosed from all sides by the Rhodopes, the Rila, and the Pirin mountains. These were all mediaeval pre-Ottoman villages inhabited exclusively by Christian Bulgarians. The Ottoman archival documentation reveals that this small territory was extremely densely populated. In 1516 it had more than two thousand Christian households, as only in its center, the town of Razlog, there were 580 Christian households listed.⁵³⁹ When compared to Thrace the population density seems much greater. The provincial town, high in the mountains, had more than half of the then population of the metropolis Filibe and certainly it had twice as many residents as an

⁵³⁸ *mahalle-i gebran, hadis* (quarter of the infidels, new), BOA, MAD 519, f. 126. The scribe of this register paid more attention to the detail. Apart of spelling correctly Boško's name he added his patronymic Atanas.

⁵³⁹ On the demographic development of the region of Razlog throughout the Ottoman period see Grigor Boykov. "Sădbata na Razloškata kotlovina v usloviyata na osmanska vlast." in Alexander Grebenarov et al. (eds.), *Razlog, istoriya, traditsii, pamet* (Blagoevgrad: Irin-Pirin, 2009), 53-78.

important city like İznik.⁵⁴⁰ It seems that the small mountainous plain had a serious surplus of population, which left the region looking for better perspectives in the plains.⁵⁴¹ This process continued in the entire sixteenth century by the end of which the town of Razlog lost more than half of its residents.⁵⁴² The first dozen of Christians who appeared in Tatar Pazarcık in the 1520s marked only the beginning of an ongoing migration of Christians from the valley of Razlog towards Thrace that was greatly intensified after the 1530s and continued with diverse intensity throughout the Ottoman period.

The fact that virtually all of the Christians in Tatar Pazarcık came from a very small region can imply a possible involvement of the central authority. It is possible that the Ottoman administration settled the Christians there only temporarily with an intension of moving them somewhere else shortly afterward. The next *tahrir* register, the large *icmal* from 1530, shows that in the five-year period the new quarter and all of the Christians disappeared from Tatar Pazarcık as suddenly as they appeared.⁵⁴³ Moreover, similar demographic drop, discussed in the preceding chapter, was also observed in the neighboring city of Filibe, which lost 20% of its Muslim residents. Following the same trend, the Muslims in Tatar Pazarcık also decreased drastically losing about 9%, i.e. a

⁵⁴⁰ Heath Lowry. "Ottoman İznik (Nicaea): Through the Eyes of Travelers & as Recorded in Administrative Documents, 1331-1923." in idem. *Defterology Revisited: Studies on the 15th & 16th Century Ottoman Society* (Istanbul: ISIS Press, 2008), 121.

⁵⁴¹ The nearby high land valley of the river Mesta (Ott. Karasu) was also densely populated in the period. In the second decade of the sixteenth century the provincial town of Nevrokop (mod. Gotse Delchev) had close to six hundred households, split between Muslims and Christians. See Evgeni Radushev. *Pomatsite: hristiyanstvo i islyam v Zapadnite Rodopi s dolinata na r. Mesta, XV – 30-te godini na VXIII vek* (Sofia: Narodna Biblioteka Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodiy, 2005), 406-411.

⁵⁴² Boykov, "Razlog", 71.

⁵⁴³ BOA, TD 370, f. 109.

catastrophic drop of close to 2% annually.⁵⁴⁴ The only likely explanation for such a sudden loss of Muslim population in these settlements, whereas other urban centers in the area registered a demographic growth,⁵⁴⁵ appears to be forceful deportation or encouraged migration. It is worth noting that such centrally supervised population transfers were not unusual Ottoman practice aiming at populating formerly deprived areas and balancing the ethnic equilibrium in territories where one ethnic group was prevailing.⁵⁴⁶ In the period 1521-1530 the Ottomans marked a remarkable military advance to the western parts of the Balkans and Hungary, capturing Belgrade and Buda, and reaching as far as Vienna. These territorial gains brought along serious population shifts in various directions. Thus, part of the Christian inhabitants of Belgrade was transferred to the interior of the Empire,⁵⁴⁷ and Muslims from all around the Ottoman

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. Kiel, "Tatar Pazarcık", 42, who somewhat mixed up the numbers, seeing a rapid increase instead of the significant drop.

⁵⁴⁵ While the Muslims in Filibe are seriously decreasing, the neighboring town of İstanımaka marked 7% growth in its population for the period 1516-1530. Moreover, the other ethnic groups as the Jews and the Christians in the entire region are increasing in numbers, therefore a natural disaster or other calamities should be excluded from the possible reasons for the decline of the Muslims. Grigor Boykov. Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace: A Case Study on Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık and İstanımaka (1472-1614). (unpublished M.A. thesis, Bilkent University, 2004), 64-68, 94-97.

⁵⁴⁶ In order to repopulate the newly conquered city of Istanbul, for instance, Mehmed II brought Jews and Christians to the city from various places of the Ottoman realm. Halil İnalçık, "İstanbul" in *EP²* and idem, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population and the Byzantine Buildings of the City." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969-1970): 229-249, 235-238; Same process of forced population transfers as method used to repopulate some cities was observed by Heath Lowry. "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selanik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478." in idem. *Studies in Deftology. Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992), 65-100 and idem. "'From Lesser Wars to the Mightiest War': The Ottoman Conquest and Transformation of Byzantine Urban Centers in the Fifteenth Century." in Anthony Bryer and Heath Lowry (eds.), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham – Washington, D.C.: the University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine Studies & Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 323-338.

⁵⁴⁷ Feridun M. Emecen, "The History of an Early Sixteenth Century Migration – Sirem Exiles in Gallipoli." in Geza David and Pal Fodor (eds.), *Hungarian-Ottoman Military and Diplomatic Relations in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Budapest: Lorand Eötvös University and Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1994), 77-91.

realm replaced them in the newly conquered city.⁵⁴⁸ Taking into account the selectivity of the population that disappeared in the five-year period from the registration of Filibe and Tatar Pazarcık, it would not be erroneous to assume that precisely the newly conquered territories to the west became a new home for the residents of the Thracian cities. To support this supposition, it is worth noting that evidently the Ottoman administration planned the transfer of the Muslims with a great care and in conformity with the rehabilitation abilities of the settlements, carrying away adequate portions of population from the two neighboring cities. The much larger metropolis Filibe, studied in the preceding chapter, was apparently in a better position for quick resurgence and although it lost 20% of its Muslim residents it managed to recover almost completely until the next registration of 1570. Taking such large portion of the population from the much smaller developing Tatar Pazarcık would have certainly doomed the town to decline. It seems that the Ottoman administration clearly understood this fact, therefore a much smaller share of its population was sent to the west along with all Christian newcomers.

The 1530 register is the earliest document that contains a complete list of the public buildings in Tatar Pazarcık. According to the record by 1530 the town had two Friday mosques, two public baths, and one *imaret* as one can add to this list the *zaviye* of Pirzade and the one built by İshak Çelebi next to his mosque. While the patrons of the mosques, the *imaret*, and one of the baths were examined above it is noteworthy that the document presents steady evidence for another *hamam* in the town that must have

⁵⁴⁸ BOA, TD 187, f. 243.

appeared at the end of 15th or at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Although this document did not specify the name of the patron of this bath a register of the pious foundations in Istanbul dating 1546 contains the necessary clue. The *hamam* in Tatar Pazarcık was included in the endowment of Koca Mustafa Paşa that supported his mosque, *imaret*, *medrese*, and *mekteb* in the capital, yielding annual revenue of 400 *akçes*.⁵⁴⁹ The fact that the pious foundation of Koca Mustafa Paşa collected revenues from the *hamam* in Tatar Pazarcık leaves little doubt that the grand vizier of Bayezid II and Selim I was the person who built the second bath in the town. The name of the patron allows the identification of this bath as the so-called *Paşa hamamı* the largest bath in Tatar Pazarcık that stood until the 1900s in the market area. (no. 17 on City Plan 5) The bath was a massive large building, as it can be seen at the existing photographs of it and used to be the main bath of the craftsmen and merchants at the *çarşı*. (Fig. 70)

The bath was clearly a very much missed addition to the mosque of İshak Çelebi that was built prior to 1506. It is difficult to establish with any degree of certainty when Mustafa Paşa constructed the *hamam*, but one can fairly safely suppose that this happened in the first years of the sixteenth century when he held the post of *beylerbeyi* of Rumili and must have passed through the town on a number of occasions.⁵⁵⁰ Moreover, meant to serve the congregation of İshak Çelebi's mosque, the bath is likely

⁵⁴⁹ Gökbilgin, Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı, 444. Koca Mustafa Paşa converted the church of the Byzantine monastery of Saint Andrew of Crete and added to it an *imaret*, a *medrese* and a *mekteb*. He also built a mosque at Eyüb, an *imaret* in the town of Yenice-i Karasu (mod. Genisea in Greece) and a mosque and a *hamam* in the town of Nevrokob (mod. Gotse Delchev in Bulgaria). Mustafa Paşa also possessed a watermills, rice mills and a channel (*nehir*) in the area of Filibe, which yielded annual revenues of 10 400 *akçes*.

⁵⁵⁰ Koca Mustafa Paşa was appointed to the post of *beylerbeyi* of Rumili in June 1499 and held the post until January 1502 when he was promoted to a vizier. Feridun Emecen. "Koca Mustafa Paşa" in *TDVİA*.

to have been built approximately at the same time, i.e. in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The construction of Mustafa Paşa's bath-house is indicative for the fact that the central authority was paying close attention to the development of the provincial town and its growing importance. In fact in the course of the first decades of the sixteenth century there was a significant shift in the architectural patronage in Tatar Pazarcık. The mighty border lords were replaced by individuals more closely associated with the central power, thus marking the beginning of a process of thorough transformation of the provincial urban center.

2.3. Subduing the “heretics” aka “Ottomanizing” the *akıncı* center

The *icmal* register of 1530 recorded a significant change in the development of Tatar Pazarcık and the region. The *nahiye* of Saruhanbeylü ceased to exist, while a number of villages from Tatar Pazarcık's surrounding were subdued to the newly created *kaza*. The administrative change of the 1530s was clearly directed against the domination of the mighty *akıncı* families. With the appointment of a *kadı* the central power must have aimed at undermining the influence of the periphery forces, while attempting to strengthen the centralized control over the strategically located town. Certainly, what was happening in Tatar Pazarcık was not an isolated incident but was rather a tiny bit of an Empire-wide process that aimed at marginalizing the centrifugal

elements in the Ottoman society (raiders and their commanders, heterodox dervishes, etc.) that did not comply with the emerging concept of a universal Sunni Empire. The attempts for subordinating the lords of the marches began half a century earlier, in the reign of Mehmed II, but faced the bitter opposition of all affected layers of the then border society. It was only in the Süleymanic age that the sultans succeeded in establishing closer control over their unruly subjects that was also partially due to adopting a more Sunni model of centralized rule that was whenever necessary even forcefully imposed.⁵⁵¹

Applying a single administrative act, such as the appointment of a *kadı* in the town could have only be successful if supported by serious attempts for converting the greater portion of the heterodox population into “more Sunni” Islam closer to the Imperial concept. It seems that the central authority virtually applied the tactics of “the carrot and the stick” in its desire to “Ottomanize” the town and its population. It clearly encouraged some of the most prominent Sunni preachers of that time to spend time in Tatar Pazarcık and thus induced through their preaching the residents to accept the orthodox doctrine, but it also punished severely those who disobeyed it. The process of marginalizing the centrifugal forces in the Ottoman society and their counteraction is a wide topic that lies far beyond the scopes of this research. Pursing a more modest task, namely the dramatic changes in the history of the provincial town, it will try to demonstrate that the centralism and Sunnism with the vigorous support of the sheikhs of

⁵⁵¹ Halil İnalcık. *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 179-203.

the Khalvetiyye dervish order, managed in gaining an important victory over the periphery forces and the heterodox border culture in Tatar Pazarçık.

Halveti dervishes were the spike of the Sunni propaganda in Rumelia playing extremely important leading role in the struggle against “the heretics” there.⁵⁵² The time of the appointment of the first *kadı* in Tatar Pazarçık coincided with the peak of the popularity of the highly influential Halveti preacher Sofyalı Bali Efendi. Born in Ustrumca (mod. Strumica in Macedonia) at the end of the fifteenth century, Bali Efendi received his education in Istanbul, where he became a disciple of sheikh Kasım Efendi. Returning to his native region, he settled near Sofia and established a *zaviye* gathering a large number of disciples.⁵⁵³ For a period of time he was a *kadı* of Sofia establishing very close relations with the central authority.⁵⁵⁴ His popularity and close cooperation with the Ottoman government at certain point was so great that Münîrî Belgradî found it appropriate to begin his narrative on Bali Efendi with the label “the spy of the sheikhs (*casusü'l-meşaih*)”.⁵⁵⁵ Probably the best illustration of some of his most radical ideas are

⁵⁵² On the significance of the Halvetis, mostly their Cemaliya branch, in the Ottoman society see the thorough study of Nathalie Clayer. *Mystique, état et société. Les Halvetis dans l'air balkanique de la fin du XV^e siècle à nos jours* (Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1994), 63-112. I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Alexander Popović and to Prof. Nathalie Clayer for providing me with their stimulating insides on this topic.

⁵⁵³ Clayer, *Les Halvetis*, 70-71. The *vita* of Bali Efendi *Bahr'ül-velâye* (Sea of Holiness) was written by the nineteenth-century scholar Süleyman Köstendili. See Maria Kalicin and Krassimira Mutafova. “Historical Accounts of the Halveti Shaykh Bali Efendi of Sofia in a Newly Discovered *Vita* Dating from the Nineteenth Century.” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 12:3 (2001): 339-353. Bali Efendi was buried in a mausoleum in his convent, which grew up to a village of the same name. The *türbe* of the sheikh was rebuilt in the nineteenth century by the son of the famous brigand leader Kara Feyzi (I owe this information to Dr. Tolga Esmer). The foundations of the original mausoleum seem to have been incorporated in the altar of the St. Elias church built in the post-Ottoman period.

⁵⁵⁴ Andreas Tietze. “Sheykh Bâlî Efendi’s Report on the Followers of Sheykh Bedreddîn.” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 7-8 (1988): 115.

⁵⁵⁵ Münîrî Belgradî. *Silsüetü'l-Mukarribîn ve Menâkibü'l-Müttakîn*. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Şehid Ali Paşa N 2819/3, f. 119^b. I am indebted to Prof. Clayer who was kind enough to send me the related pages of the manuscript and provided me with some of her unpublished notes and other materials. Cf. Zeynep

presented in the letters discussing the *Kızılbaş* heresy, sent by Bali Efendi to the grand vizier, as well as in his reports to the sultan advising severe punishments for the followers of sheikh Bedreddin in the Deliorman region (mod. northeastern Bulgarian).⁵⁵⁶ It is difficult to tell what the impact of Bali Efendi's ideas was over a heterodox place like Tatar Pazarcık, but according to the respectful opinion of Nathalie Clayer by the mid-sixteenth century the towns and cities like Sofya, Ustrumca, Tatar Pazarcık, Samakov, Vidin etc. were already in the sphere of influence of the renowned sheikh from Sofia.⁵⁵⁷

The imposition of the Sunni Islam in the town could hardly be connected with the influence of a single person alone, but it was rather a result of the teachings of his multiple disciples who spread throughout Rumelia. In view of that Bali Efendi urged one of his most prominent disciples to install himself in Tatar Pazarcık in order to “guide the believers”.⁵⁵⁸ Being native of the region, Filibeli Sheikh Mustafa Muslihuddin Nureddinzade, more popularly known as Muslihuddin Nureddinzade, was born in 1502-1503 in the village of Anbarlı (mod. Žitnitsa) from the district of Filibe.⁵⁵⁹ Educated in Edirne, he moved to Sofia and became one of the numerous followers of Bali Efendi. In the 1530s or the 1540s, on the insistence of his mentor, Nureddinzade relocated to Tatar Pazarcık, where he took the leadership in the struggle against the “heretics” in the region.

Yürekli. “A Building between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite: the Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul.” *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 163.

⁵⁵⁶ Vladimir Minorski. “Shaykh Bali-Efendi on the Safavids.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20:1/3 (1957): 437-450.

⁵⁵⁷ Clayer, *Les Halvetis*, 73.

⁵⁵⁸ Clayer, *Les Halvetis*, 82.

⁵⁵⁹ According to Belgradî the birth place of the sheikh was the town of Filibe. Belgradî, *Silsiletü'l-Mukarribîn*, f. 113^a. Based on the information of Ata'î, Nathalie Clayer proved that he was actually born in the village located 30 km north of Filibe.

Belgradî points that he quickly gained great popularity, while Ata'î underlines the magnetic power of the preacher who gathered numerous followers, thus spreading his ideas all over the towns of Rumelia.⁵⁶⁰ According to Belgradî, Nureddinzade was a person of such a great charisma that at the time when he was at the peak of his influence, the Khalvetiyye order was referred to as “the order of Nureddinzade”.⁵⁶¹

The stay of the Halveti sheikh in Tatar Pazarcık is shrouded in obscurity, but around the same time he must have established a *zaviye* in Filibe too.⁵⁶² Nevertheless, the years in which Nureddinzade resided in Tatar Pazarcık coincided with the systematic efforts of the central Ottoman administration to secure tighter control over the town, dominated by the periphery forces and to strengthen the stand of the Sunni Islam there. It is highly likely that Nureddinzade's preaching conflicted with the heterodox dervishes of the *zaviye* of Pirzade. In fact, these dervishes seemed to be the natural target in the joint efforts of the central power and the Halvetis in introducing a closer to the Sunni creed Islam by imposing more centralistic rule, which requested the personal involvement of a character of the magnitude of Nureddinzade. One can only guess about the course of the confrontation between the heterodox dervishes and Nureddinzade's followers, but it is pretty clear that the Halvetis enjoined the support and the sanction of the Ottoman authorities, which predetermined the outcome of the struggle. As a matter of fact, the *icmal* register of 1530 is the last Ottoman document mentioning the heterodox *zaviye* of Pirzade that was built about half a century earlier by one of the most

⁵⁶⁰ Clayer, *Les Halvetis*, 81-82.

⁵⁶¹ “... *tarikati kendiyeye nisbet olunub, Nureddinzade tarikati diyar-i Rum'da şayi' buldu*”. Belgradî, *Silsiletü'l-Mukarribîn*, f. 114^a. Cf. Yürekli, “Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha”, 163 for a detailed account of Nureddinzade's career.

⁵⁶² On the *zaviye* of Nureddinzade in Filibe see the preceding chapter.

prominent raider commanders Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey. The lack of information about the convent in the Ottoman documentation after this date indicates that it ceased to exist, which is a sound demonstration of the triumph of the centralism over the heterodoxy in Tatar Pazarcık.

Certainly gaining space for the Sunni Islam was a long-lasting process that cannot be associated solely with Nureddinzade despite that he was highly influential and charismatic figure. He rather established a trend that was taken up by other dominant Halveti preachers.⁵⁶³ His profound commitment to Sunni Islam and hatred against the heterodox Sufi dervish groups was transmitted to his disciples and followers and it has certainly left a deep mark in the town of Tatar Pazarcık itself. There was yet another very important figure from among the Halveti sheikhs and close associates of Nureddinzade that was strongly linked to Tatar Pazarcık in the time of its transformation and Sunnification in the mid-sixteenth century. Mehmed b. Helvacı Ömer, more popularly known as Kurd Efendi, was himself a native of Tatar Pazarcık. Born in the town in 1524-1525, he grew up in an atmosphere of a struggle against the “heretics”, undertaken by Bali Efendi and Nureddinzade. Kurt Efendi graduated from Mehmed II’s *Sahn-i Seman* complex in Istanbul and becoming one of the disciples of Bali Efendi he later returned to his native town, where he established a Halveti *zaviye*.⁵⁶⁴ In 1553 he was called to Sofia by the dying Bali Efendi to take his place, twenty years later Nureddinzade pointed him as a fellow-in-lineage (*pirdaş*) who was to replace him in the

⁵⁶³ Nureddinzade moved to Istanbul in 1550s. The grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Paşa built the convent and its complex for his spiritual advisor, but Nureddinzade did not live long to see it, dying in 1574 a few months prior its completion. Yürekli. “Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha”, 163.

⁵⁶⁴ Mehmed Sürreyya. *Sicil-i Osmani yahud Tezkire-i Meşahir-i Osmaniyye*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: Matba’-a-i Amire, 1311/1893), 63; Clayer, *Les Halvetis*, 93-94.

Kadirga Limanı convent in Istanbul⁵⁶⁵ – facts that once again lay stress on the magnitude of Kurt Efendi's personality and high position in the Khalvetiyye order.

The period that Kurt Efendi, a key figure of his time, spent in Tatar Pazarcık as a preacher must have given another massive impulse to the ongoing Sunnification there. Moreover, it seems that he did not interrupt his ties with his native town even when he left it, having secured appropriate adherents of his ideas there. Apparently, even though residing in Istanbul, the sheikh was keeping a very close eye and was excellently informed about the events in his native region and did not hesitate to interfere in the local affairs whenever he considered it necessary. Thus in 1577, three years after his arrival in Istanbul, he urged the central Ottoman authority to act decisively against the heterodoxy in his birthplace. A sultanic order was handed to one of Kurt Efendi's subordinates to be delivered to the *kadı* of Filibe.⁵⁶⁶ The content of the sultanic decree reveals that in two villages from the area there were several individuals who declared to be either followers of sheikh Bedreddin or Hurufis. They gained certain popularity and according to the order following their own fancies and heresies the mentioned people misled the local Muslims and corrupted their faith. The *kadı* of Filibe was urged to investigate the case and those who were found guilty of heresy were to be executed.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁵ Clayer, *Les Halvetis*, 94; Yürekli, "Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha", 163.

⁵⁶⁶ BOA, MD 29, no. 98/237, issued on 2 February 1577. The text of the order is also published by Ahmet Refik. *On Altıncı Asırda Rafızilik ve Bektaşilik* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1932), 36-37. Earlier sultanic order (dating from 28 March 1573) instigated the persecutions of the "heretics" in the region, Refik, *Rafızilik*, 31-32.

⁵⁶⁷ It is probably on the basis of this document that İnalçık pointed that the "Ottoman documents show that as late as 1576 there was a general massacre of a Hürufî group in the villages near Filibe in Bulgaria". İnalçık, *Classical Age*, 193.

Kurt Efendi proved himself to be a vigorous disciple of his mentor in his decisive actions against the heretics – he reported those considered heretic to the central authority, which on in its own turn willingly took steps against them. It appears that Kurd Efendi never interrupted his connection with Tatar Pazarcık and frequently visited the town where his father remained to live. During one of these visits Kurd Efendi fell sick and died in his home town on 8 November 1588.⁵⁶⁸ He was buried next to the tomb of his father.⁵⁶⁹ In the seventeenth century according to Evliya Çelebi his tomb was very popular site that attracted many pilgrims.⁵⁷⁰

There was another prominent figure of that time that can be related to Tatar Pazarcık's history in this important period of transformation – the geomancer of Süleyman I, Remmal Haydar.⁵⁷¹ He fled the Safavid court in ca. 1527-1528, because of a plot against him that could have cost Haydar's life.⁵⁷² Accepted in the Ottoman court, in short time he became one of the sultan's closest affiliates and respectively a very power shadowy figure involved in Istanbul factional politics, being particularly hostile to the sultan's other favorite İbrahim Paşa.⁵⁷³ He was present at Süleyman's campaigns and accepted in the salons of elite Istanbul society making friendships in the leading

⁵⁶⁸ Clayer, *Les Halvetis*, 94.

⁵⁶⁹ Sürreyya, *Sicil-i Osmani*, 63.

⁵⁷⁰ Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 305 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu – Dizini, (3. Kitap)* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 219-220.

⁵⁷¹ I am grateful to Prof. Cornell Fleischer who pointed to me this connection. He was also kind enough to send me his unpublished paper on Remmal Haydar "Saraydaki Kâhin", presented at the symposium in honor of Filiz Çağman, February 2005.

⁵⁷² The arrival of Haydar in Istanbul is linked to the return of İbrahim Paşa from Egypt. Cornell Fleischer. "Shadow of Shadows: Prophecy in Politics in 1530s İstanbul." in Baki Tezcan and Karl Barbir (eds.), *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World. A Volume of Essays in Honor of Norman Itzkowitz* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2007), 59.

⁵⁷³ Fleischer, "Shadow of Shadows", 61.

literary circles of the sixteenth-century Ottoman capital.⁵⁷⁴ His connection to Tatar Pazarcık is unclear, but Fleischer's study on his life demonstrates that Haydar clearly spent some part of it in residence in the town, around 1535. Moreover, it must be at that time that he received from Süleyman I as a freehold (*mülk*) a large plot of arable land within the boundaries of the town totaling up to 380 *dönüm* (approximately 350 daa) in size.⁵⁷⁵ After Haydar's death in the early 1560s the land (*bağçe*) was inherited by his son Ali as the full proprietorship was confirmed by Selim II and Murad III.⁵⁷⁶ It seems that at least one more of Remmal Haydar's sons, some *subaşı* Hasan, resided in the town, because in 1566 the *kadı* of Tatar Pazarcık received an order for his arrest.⁵⁷⁷

The role that Haydar and his sons played in the transformation of Tatar Pazarcık is still to be clarified, but the fact that one of the closest sultan's intimates chose to acquire property in the town bespeaks not only for the visible potential of the settlement, but also that it clearly was in the political agenda of the central Ottoman power. The transformation of Tatar Pazarcık was a victory for the centralism and Sunnism over the heterodox centrifugal forces. The "Ottomanization" of the town that happened in less than half a century (1530s - 1570s) was made possible thanks to the flexible but persistent approach of the central administration. The series of administrative and penal

⁵⁷⁴ Fleischer, "Shadow of Shadows", 60.

⁵⁷⁵ Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, 502. I was unable to find any documentary evidence for Remmal Haydar being a substantial fief-holder in the area and possibly a Çingene *livası beyi* as suggested by Fleischer, based on a poem by Yahya Bey, which describes Haydar. Fleischer, "Shadow of Shadows", 60. The *zeamet* of Tatar Pazarcık in 1530 was held by the then *kadıasker* of the *vilâyet* of Anadolu, whose name was not noted. In 1533-1534 Tatar Pazarcık was held as *zeamet* by the Anatolian *kadıasker* Kadri Efendi as the total revenues from the town slightly decreased. BOA, TSMA D. 544, f. 13^o.

⁵⁷⁶ Two registers of the pious foundations and the freeholds in Rumelia recorded this fact, BOA, TD 498 (from 1570), f. 661; BOA, TD 470 (from 1596), f. 684.

⁵⁷⁷ *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973/1565-1566)* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1994), m. no. 1735.

actions of the central government were accompanied by the presence of some of the most popular and strongly influential preachers of that time. The close cooperation between the central government and the charismatic Halveti sheikhs in the forty-year period proved successful in marginalizing the authority of the border lords and the influence of the various itinerant heterodox dervishes, thus turning Tatar Pazarcık into what can be labeled as a “typical” Ottoman town.

3.4. The dynamic spatial and population growth of Tatar Pazarcık in the second half of the sixteenth century

The large *icmal* register of 1530 is the last piece of documentary evidence for the development of the town in the first half of the sixteenth century. The only tiny bit of information from the intervening years prior the next *tahrir* registration of 1570 comes from the travelogues of the western missionaries and diplomats who traveled on the *Via Militaris* to Istanbul thus crossing Tatar Pazarcık on their way. These were usually short remarks that vary greatly in their appreciation of the town, which in 1499 Arnold von Harff saw as “beautiful town in the Upper Bulgaria”⁵⁷⁸, while in 1553 Hans Dernschwam described as “a miserable Turkish village” that “was held to be a town but

⁵⁷⁸ Mihail Yonov. *Chuždi pãtepisi za Balkanite. Nemski i avstriyski pãtepisi za Balkanite XV-XVI v.* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1979), 131.

in reality is not even worth being called a village, just a group of Gypsy huts”.⁵⁷⁹ Adding to this information the remark of Philippe du Fresne-Canaye according to which in 1572 Tatar Pazarcık was “beautiful and big town, unspeakably pleasant”⁵⁸⁰, it is clear that the general judgments on the town merely reflected the travelers’ background and education or maybe even their good or bad mood. Nevertheless, some details in these accounts add important bits to the colorful mosaic of everyday life in the mid-sixteenth century town. Dernschwam testified that in 1553 the town already had two mosques and two inns for the travelers, sign of uninterrupted development.⁵⁸¹ The travel account of the Dutchman Schepper provides valuable information about a stone bridge over the Topolnitsa River that in 1534 was carried away by its wild waters and he had to leave the main road and use a cross to the north of the town near the village of Melek Hatun (mod. Dragor).⁵⁸² Twenty years later Dernschwam saw the same bridge partially repaired as the large central arch was replaced by a wooden extension.⁵⁸³ This must have been a large massive stone bridge that according to the traveler measured 165 steps in length⁵⁸⁴, but it seems that its regular destructions caused by the overflowing stream made the

⁵⁷⁹ Franz Babinger. *Hans Dernschwam’s Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)* (Berlin und München: Verlag von Duncker & Humbolt, 1986²), 20. English translation quoted after Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcık”, 42.

⁵⁸⁰ Philippe du Fresne-Canaye. *Le voyage du Levant (1573)*, publié et annoté par H. Hauser (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), 41.

⁵⁸¹ Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 20. He refers to them as “*zwo karwansalia*”, but these are more likely to have been *hans* of more modest nature.

⁵⁸² Schepper, *Missions diplomatiques*, 192.

⁵⁸³ Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 19-20.

⁵⁸⁴ Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, 20. Anton Vrančič confirms this information. Yonov, *Nemski i avstrijski pätepsi*, 190.

authorities abandon its maintenance. By 1611 the bridge laid in ruins while a new 200-steps long wooden bridge was built next to it, but it was also very poorly maintained.⁵⁸⁵

Probably the most valuable account describing Tatar Pazarcık in the second half of the sixteenth century is the travelogue of Stephan Gerlach.⁵⁸⁶ He visited the town in 1578 and, like in Filibe, the high reliability of his information can be controlled by the Ottoman archival sources. He was the first traveler who mentioned the presence of Christian population in the town. This was a tiny community of 30 households who did not have a church and had to bring a priest from Filibe or elsewhere for their rituals.⁵⁸⁷ The Ottoman detailed *tahrir* register of 1570 reaffirms the credibility of the travelogue of Gerlach.⁵⁸⁸ Eight years prior the arrival of the German clergyman the town indeed had a Christian quarter of 28 households. Seven of the taxpayers were listed with the nickname *preseliç* (newcomer) instead of a patronymic. For one of them the registrar noted that he came from Mehomiye (Razlog) that casts suggestive, if not fully explanatory light on the possible homeland of the Christians in the town. Twenty of these individuals were listed as craftsmen, as the most numerous were the tailors, shoemakers, and goldsmiths, but there were also a baker, potter, mason, *börek* maker and *helva* seller.

The data in the 1570 register and Gerlach's travelogue demonstrate that the second attempt of establishing a Christian quarter in the town was successful. The first

⁵⁸⁵ According to Lefebvre the newly built wooden bridge over the Topolnitsa River was damaged so much that it was useless. Bistra Cvetkova. *Chuždi pätepsi za Balkanite. Frenski pätepsi za Balkanite XV-XVII v.* (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1975), 189.

⁵⁸⁶ Here I use the Bulgarian translation of *Stephan Gerlach des Aeltern Tagebuch*, Franckfurth am Main 1674. Mariya Kiselincheva. *Stefan Gerlach. Dnevnik na edno pätuvane do Osmanskata porta v Tsarigrad* (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1976), 260.

⁵⁸⁷ Gerlach, *Dnevnik*, 260.

⁵⁸⁸ BOA, TD 494, f. 719.

settler or settlers must have appeared after the registration of 1530, attracted by the better job opportunities in the developing town. Similarly to the first Christian colonists, these people were most likely coming from the densely populated highland valley of Razlog to the southwest of the town. Clearly the lack of arable land there pushed the surplus of population to the low plains where land was available, thus establishing Christian enclaves in entirely Muslim areas. The town must have been found attractive by the young people who had the chance to be trained in a craft or enter a trade there. The demographic boom of the sixteenth century constantly supplied new Christian settlers who willingly occupied the free space in the town. At this early stage the Christians constituted insignificant minority, but in a very short period of time their rapid growth would make them $\frac{1}{4}$ of the entire population of Tatar Pazarcık.

The creation of the Christian quarter was not the only change that occurred in the period 1530 – 1570. The town has visibly grown up. Seven new small mosques formed the respective number new quarters. The names of the *mescids* of Hacı Kılıç, Divane Sefer, Debbag Bali, Hacı Mahmud, Kara Derzi, Ayas, and Musalla can be identified with certainty (nos. 2, 3, 5, 11, 7, and 13 on Plan 5). Most of these mosques survived the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 when they were pulled down by the Bulgarian population of the town.⁵⁸⁹ The local historiography, due to the fabricated information provided by Zahariev, commonly considers the *mahalle* of Hacı Kılıç as being the oldest in the town. The register of 1570 however clearly asserts that the *mescid* and the quarter of Hacı Kılıç respectively appeared only post 1530, therefore it is not feasible to be

⁵⁸⁹ Batakliiev, Grad Tatar-Pazardžik, 96-97, who provides a complete list of the mosques and *mescids* prior to the war.

regarded as the oldest quarter of Tatar Pazarcık, but to the contrary – it was a rather late addition to the urban fabrics. Moreover, the *mescid* of Hacı Kılıç must have been built in the quarter formerly known by the name of Helvacı Barak, because the latter took its name.⁵⁹⁰

The documents contain no other information about the patrons of the new mosques but their names. It seems, however, that one of them has made his wealth on the rice fields, surrounding the town from all sides. The detailed register of 1525 enlists the rice-growers (*çeltükçüs*) on the channel Gölemen that passes by the village of Melek Hatun, located about 6 km northwest of the town. Among the *çeltükçüs* one finds certain Kara *derzi* (the black tailor), son of Yunus, who resides in Tatar Pazarcık.⁵⁹¹ Because of his unusual name it is highly likely that this person was no other but the patron of the mosque and the quarter of Kara Derzi. Registered as a rice-grower in his youth, later he was either promoted or found other means, but he was clearly able to put a significant amount of money aside that allowed him to build one of the new mosques in the town.

The spatial growth of the town is also attested by the construction of a third public bath in Tatar Pazarcık. Ivan Batakliiev published a handwritten copy of a dedicatory inscription that he ascribed to Paşa *hamamı*, but the Bulgarian researcher must have mixed up his notes since it certainly refers to the third new bath, thus providing information of great value.⁵⁹² The copy of the text of the *kitabe*, published by Batakliiev, indicated some Hüsrev Bey as patron of the bath, dating the building to A.H.

⁵⁹⁰ *mahalle-i Helvacı Barak, nam-i diğer mescid-i Hacı Kılıç*. BOA, TD 494, f. 718.

⁵⁹¹ BOA, MAD 519, f. 132.

⁵⁹² Batakliiev, Grad Tatar-Pazardžik, 83.

977 (1569-1570). This information not only provides the exact date of construction of the *hamam*, but also allows the identification of the person who commissioned it. This was Hüsrev Kethüda the household steward of the grand vizier Kara Ahmed Paşa (d. 1555) and of the Sokollu family.

Hüsrev Kethüda was the administrator of the pious foundation of Kara Ahmed Paşa under whose supervision in 1561-1562 was built the mosque and the mausoleum of the deceased grand vizier in the Istanbul's quarter Topkapı.⁵⁹³ Later he administered the pious foundation of İsmihan Sultan (Süleyman I' daughter and Sokollu Mehmed Paşa's spouse) that supported her mosque of the Kadirga Limanı complex, jointly built with her husband.⁵⁹⁴ In regard of the fact that the *zaviye* at Kadirga Limanı was built by Mehmed Paşa to accommodate the Halveti sheikh Nureddinzade, whose connection to Tatar Pazarcık is undoubted, one hesitates to speculate that Hüsrev Kethüda's patronage in Tatar Pazarcık might have been inspired by the popular Halveti sheikh.

Hüsrev Kethüda was himself a patron of a number of public buildings, many of which were designed by the great architect Sinan: two *medreses* in Ankara and Istanbul, a school for Koran recitation in Istanbul, a *kervansaray* in the Thracian town of İpsala⁵⁹⁵, the standing bath in Ortaköy, and two other *hamams* in İzmit and Çatalca.⁵⁹⁶ He also commissioned the so called *Burmali Cami*' and *Yeni hamamı* in the city Thessaloniki of which the bath is still standing. This large double bath (*çifte hamamı*), which operated

⁵⁹³ Gülru Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), 377-384.

⁵⁹⁴ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 331-345.

⁵⁹⁵ The *kervansaray* of Hüsrev Kethüda is described by Âşık Mehmed. *Menâzirü'l-Avâlim*, Mahmud Ak (ed.), vol. 3 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007), 1001.

⁵⁹⁶ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 380.

until 1917 is preserved in its men's part only as the women's section was demolished in the 1930.⁵⁹⁷ Hüsrev Kethüda was buried in the cemetery of Kara Ahmed Paşa's mausoleum as the text of his now-lost tombstone referred to him as Hüsrev Bey.⁵⁹⁸ The original endowment deed of the large pious foundation established by Hüsrev Kethüda, drawn up in August 1582, is extant in Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi in Ankara.⁵⁹⁹

Undated accounting register of the pious foundation of Hüsrev Kethüda includes the *hamam* in Tatar Pazarcık, which is irrefutable evidence that being a prolific patron of architecture he commissioned the bath in this town too.⁶⁰⁰ The bath was situated in the very center of modern Pazardjik, next to the *imaret* of Ahmed Bey. It was locally known as *maden-hamam* and stood until the 1880s, when it was demolished.⁶⁰¹ (no. 19 on Plan 5) Along with the bath Hüsrev Kethüda also commissioned a number of shops and a *menzil*, which he endowed to the pious foundation. The *menzil* was located at what at that time must have been the northern edge of the town, near the quarter named *Musalla*, thus indicating the location of an open prayer space (*namazgâz*) at the northern edge of

⁵⁹⁷ Heath Lowry. *In the Footsteps of the Ottomans: A Search for Sacred Spaces & Architectural Monuments in Northern Greece* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2009), 174-176.

⁵⁹⁸ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 380.

⁵⁹⁹ The document dates from *Şaban* A.H. 990. Yılmaz Kurt. "Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Kuyûd-ı Kadîme Arşivi Vakf-i Cedîd Tasnifi Katalog Çalışması." in Alâaddin Aköz, Bayram Ürekli, Ruhi Özcan (eds.), *Uluslararası Kuruluşunun 700. Yıl Dönümünde Bütün Yönleriyle Osmanlı Devleti Kongresi, 7-9 Nisan 1999. Bildiriler* (Konya: T.C. Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2000), 461.

⁶⁰⁰ The document has no date, but comparing it to other documents of the same type it can be dated to late seventeenth or first half of the eighteenth century. BOA, EV. HMH 9045, f. 1^r.

⁶⁰¹ Batakliiev, *Grad Tatar-Pazardjik*, 82.

the town. (no. 21 on Plan 5) His foundation also retrieved revenues from a rice-field (*çeltük*) in the approximate vicinities of Tatar Pazarcık.⁶⁰²

The increase of the number of the quarters and therefore the physical space of the town along with the newly constructed public buildings in the town undoubtedly bespeak of a tangible population growth. In 1570 there were 231 Muslim households and 1 unmarried young man in residence in Tatar Pazarcık. (Table 7) Compared to the data from the previous register the Muslim population increased by 23% that makes a steady annual growth of 0.57%. At least 12% of the Muslim growth, the portion of the converts to Islam, was certainly due to immigration while the rest was probably a result of the natural demographic growth of the local Muslim community. The pace of demographic development of Tatar Pazarcık corresponds to this of the neighboring Filibe, where in the intervening period between the two registrations the Muslim community had 0.46% of annual growth. The trend of increase was even more intensive in the town of Eski Zağra (mod. Stara Zagora), which also lost significant portion of its residents because of the population transfer to the western Ottoman territories in the late 1520s.⁶⁰³ Just like in Tatar Pazarcık, the first Christian quarter of 29 households and 8 unmarried, appeared in Eski Zağra in the period 1530-1570, as the annual growth of the Muslim population of 1.4% was even greater than the one observed in Filibe and Tatar

⁶⁰² The document also noted some other little known building of Hüsrev Kethüda, such as the *hamams* in Selânik and Aydoz and a nuber of watermills and rice mills scattered in Rumelia.

⁶⁰³ Grigor Boykov. "Balkan City or Ottoman City? A Study on the Models of Urban Development in Ottoman Upper Thrace (15th – 17th c.)." in Halit Eren and Sadık Ünay (eds.), *Proceedings of the Third International Congress on the Islamic Civilisation in the Balkans, 1-5 November 2005, Bucharest, Romania* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2010), 74.

Pazarcık.⁶⁰⁴ The data demonstrates that thanks to the constant influx of mountainous population to the lowlands of Thrace the artificially made demographic crisis of the first half of the sixteenth century was quickly taken under control and the towns and cities in the region returned to the track of constant steady growth.

Tatar Pazarcık lost a smaller portion of its population and seemed to have recovered faster than the nearby metropolis Filibe. The rapid development was also probably due to the fact that in this very period its administrative status was elevated to a *kaza* center, as the presence of influential religious figures such as the Halveti sheikhs in the town should also be taken into account in view of the fact that they might well have been a stimulus in attracting new settlers too. The close cooperation of the Halvetis and the central Ottoman authority in introducing in the town a closer to Sunnism Islam appears to have been extremely successful. The period 1530 – 1570 was marked not only by the disappearance of the heterodox *zaviye* of Pirzade for good, but also studying the personal names of the Muslim tax-payers one can immediately notice the dramatic change that took place during these years. The old pagan Turkic name system and the names of popular heterodox dervishes, which were frequently encountered in the previous register, gave way to more orthodox Muslim names and by 1570 were entirely replaced by a Sunni name system. This must be seen as a sound demonstration of the victory of the Sunni imperial ideology over the border society by way of which Tatar Pazarcık of the second half of the sixteenth century was transformed into a “typical” Ottoman town.

⁶⁰⁴ Boykov, “Balkan City or Ottoman City?”, 74.

Beside the detailed information on the Muslim names, the register from 1570 left rich data regarding the occupation of the residents of the town at that time. Like in the previous registrations, the largest group of tax-payers was occupied in works that were of special importance for the central government. The noticeable increase of the total number of the rice-growers, for instance, can be indicative for the further intensification of the production in the area. The development of the imperial communication and transportation system in the town is illustrated by the presence of no less than nine messengers (*ulak*) and a *menzil* that appeared in Tatar Pazarcık prior to 1570. The building of several new mosques that naturally requested new personnel sensitively increased the share of the clergymen and service staff. Having only two imams and two *müezzins* in 1530 the developing town offered good job opportunities, attracting educated people even from a distance. Thus in 1570 the provincial town already had sixteen imams and thirteen *müezzins* who served the two Friday mosques and a dozen of *mescids* in the quarters. The growing importance of the tanners in the urban economy is manifested by the building of a small mosque by certain Debbag Hamza that formed a quarter.⁶⁰⁵ This *mahalle* was located north of Eski Camii', locked between the main road that crossed the town on the northwest and the tanneries to the east. The registrar noted that this quarter occupied the space of the old market place, thus offering a clear clue that by 1570 the urban core and market zone already shifted a few hundred meters northward next to the mosque of İshak Çelebi and Paşa *hamamı*. The register recorded also a sensitive increase of people that were occupied in metal works – blacksmiths,

⁶⁰⁵ BOA, TD 494, f. 717.

coppersmiths etc. This fact corresponds to the remark of Vrančić who in the mid-sixteenth century saw many blacksmith workshops at the edge of the town.⁶⁰⁶ Furthermore, there were a number of the common bakers, *boza* and *helva* makers, different kinds of traders etc.

The local *kadı* of Tatar Pazarcık who was appointed in 1530 clearly had the trust of the central Ottoman administration as his importance in regional matters was progressively growing over time. In 1565 some *mevlâna* Musliheddin⁶⁰⁷ was appointed to organize and supervise the registration of the drovers (*celebkeşan*) supplying sheep to Istanbul that covered wide territory from the plain of Sofia to the region of Eastern Thrace.⁶⁰⁸ Moreover, it seems that ever since that moment the duty was traditionally assigned to the *kadı* of Tatar Pazarcık. The available later *celeb defters* show that they were all compiled by those who held the post of *kadı* of the Thracian town.⁶⁰⁹ The earliest obtainable register of the drovers that included Tatar Pazarcık was prepared by the *kadı* of Yanbolu and dates from July 1566.⁶¹⁰ The latter registration was indeed the last one prepared under the supervision of the judge of Yanbolu, but although it was completed in 1566, it should be noted that the actual listing of the drovers was carried out in the preceding one or two year, since several months prior to the *defter*'s

⁶⁰⁶ Yonov, Nemski i avstrijski pätepsi, 190.

⁶⁰⁷ It is very likely that it was after this man that the quarter of *Tuzcu Mustafa* also received the name of *Musliheddin kadı*.

⁶⁰⁸ The sultan order instructed that only the rich tax-payers must be recorded as *celebs*. *6 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (972/1564-1565)* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1995), m. no. 1439.

⁶⁰⁹ On the *celeps* and the services that they rendered see Bistra Cvetkova. "Le service des Celep et le ravitaillement en bétail dans l'Empire Ottoman (XV^e-XVIII^e ss.)." in M. A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 172-192.

⁶¹⁰ BOA, MAD 5292.

completion the *kadı* of Tatar Pazarcık was already appointed to carry out the new registration. Nevertheless, the register of 1566 provides interesting details about the town. The document listed both old and newly registered *celebs*, thus allowing some observations on the changes that took place. The four old drovers, who had to supply 270 sheep, were replaced in 1566 by eight new ones as the total number of sheep requested from the town augmented to 350. Among the new *celebs* there was an individual who is already familiar to us – Mustafa the son of Helvacı Barak. In the previous piece of information on him from 1525 Mustafa was seen as a raider (*akıncı*). It seems that he made a good career and a fortune at the border, since he was considered wealthy and enlisted in the drovers' register. By 1566 Mustafa must have been above 60 and clearly inherited the leadership of the quarter, established by his father, because he was recorded in the *defter* as residing in “his own quarter”.⁶¹¹ Mustafa died soon after 1566, because his name was already missing among the tax-payers in the *tahrir* of 1570.⁶¹²

The following *celebkeşan* register prepared by the *kadı* of Tatar Pazarcık dates from 1576, i.e. only six year after the last *tahrir* of the area was drawn up.⁶¹³ It lists eight *celebs* from the town who had to supply altogether 450 sheep. Only one of the drovers, some *meyhaneci* Kurd son of Petko, was a Christian. About half of the total number of the sheep delivered by Tatar Pazarcık's residents was to be provided by the shoemaker (*başmakçı*) Piri, son of Mustafa, who according to the *kadı* of the town, was healthy and

⁶¹¹ BOA, MAD 5292, f. 18.

⁶¹² BOA, TD 494, f. 718.

⁶¹³ Sofia, OAK 265/4, f. 80^b. The publication of the register in Bulgarian by Petko Gruevski contains many mistakes. Bistra Cvetkova (ed.), *Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae*, vol. 3 (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1972), 42-206.

possessed four thousand sheep. Four years later, in 1580, the *kadı* of Tatar Pazarcık prepared another register of the *celeps*.⁶¹⁴ Examining its data one can notice that the number of the drovers more than doubled now totaling up seventeen individuals. All eight *celebs* from the previous *defter* were reregistered in this one as well, as there were nine new ones. What is noteworthy is that apart of the five Muslim and three Christian new *celebs* there was also one Jew by the name of Ilia among the drovers of the town. The *tahrir* of 1570 does not contain any Jewish taxpayers in the town, so this one must have arrived recently, most likely from the nearby Filibe, which had a Jewish community. Nevertheless, Ilia did not live until the next *tahrir* registration of 1596 or maybe left the town.

Another interesting detail from the register of 1580 that brings itself to one's attention is that the doubled number of the drovers from the town did not match the increase of the total number of the supplied sheep. On paper, the total number of the livestock to be provided by the 14 drovers only increased by 45, thus amounting to 500 sheep as it was recorded in the balance prepared by the *kadı* and his scribe. However, when one adds the number of sheep provided by each of the *celebs*, listed above the names of the individual drovers, comes to much higher number. It is possible of course that this discrepancy was simply a counting mistake of the scribe, but it rather seems to have been a fraud. Thus 500 sheep from Tatar Pazarcık were annually dispatched to Istanbul, while another good one third of the livestock is likely to have fallen a prey to

⁶¹⁴ BOA, MAD 4075, f. 88.

private individuals, perhaps the *kadı* for instance, the person entrusted with the preparing of the register.⁶¹⁵

The next *tahrir* register compiled in 1596 demonstrates that the growth of the town continued at full pace.⁶¹⁶ There were 287 Muslim households and 5 unmarried, while the Christians increased to 44. Compared to the data from the previous registration the growth of the Muslims intensified drastically. In quarter of a century they added 24% to their number that makes an annual growth of close to 1%. In simple terms, if the trend was to continue, the Muslims were expected to double in number every century. The increase of the Christians was even more spectacular, 57%, or marking more than 2% annual growth. Apparently the new Christian quarter that appeared in the 1570 register, not only gained a firm foothold but continued to attract even more settlers from the surrounding mountainous areas. Just like it is observed with the Christians, good portion of the Muslim growth must be attributed to migration to the town, because 16% of the Muslims in 1596 were converts. It is apparent that the small local Christian community did not provide these converts, but they came from elsewhere.

⁶¹⁵ The central administration was purchasing the sheep at fixed prices, but local markets and especially the black market in times of shortages often offered doubled prices. For example a sultan order urged the *kadis* of Vize and Kırk Kilise to interrupt the practice of the local butchers who were selling lamb meat at the price of 300 *dirhems* instead of 150 *dirhems* as recorded in the *narh. 3 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (966-968/1558-1560)* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1993), mühimme No. 1638.

⁶¹⁶ Ankara, KuK 65 = BOA, TD 648 & BOA, TD 1001. The careful reading of the *defter* from 1596 demonstrates a significant discrepancy in the data. While the changes and the development of the town were clearly indicated for most of the quarters it appears that the data for three of them, namely the *mahalles* of Na'lband Ayas, the mosques of İshak Çelebi, and the *imaret* of Evrenos Bey was clearly copied without any changes from the *tahrir* of 1570. It is unclear what made the Ottoman registrar use the old data, since apparently a new registration of the tax-payers was carried out, but this noteworthy fact calls for caution in the interpretations of the data provided by the register of 1596. Certainly, the limitations of the source refer only to the three abovementioned quarters, as the rest of the document undoubtedly offers the results of the new registration.

The rapid population expansion did not lead to the creation of new quarters in the period 1570-1596. Nevertheless the Ottoman documentation still provides evidence for significant innovations in the town. In this period certain Hacı Salih built the third Friday mosque in Tatar Pazarcık, which on its own testifies for the aroused need of more mosques in the town that had to serve the rapidly growing Muslim community. There is no available detailed information about the patron of this mosque, but the 1596 *tahrir* clearly indicates its existence, therefore it must have been constructed prior to this date. It was located in the old quarter of Mustafa Karamanî, which changed its name to *Babuççu İlyas*.⁶¹⁷ (no. 16 on Plan 5)

The period 1570-1596 was marked by another important change in Tatar Pazarcık – the appearance of the town’s most significant landmark, the *kervansaray* of İbrahim Paşa, which Kiel justifiably labeled “one of the largest building projects ever undertaken by Ottomans in the Balkans”.⁶¹⁸ This was the enormous double *kervansaray*, popularly known as Kurşun *han*, that offered shelter to hundreds of travelers, provided them with food free of charge from the attached *imaret* and safeguarded their animals and goods. The most authoritative works on the history of Tatar Pazarcık, however greatly differ in their opinions about the date of construction and the actual patron of this complex. While for Batakiev there is no doubt that that the great *han* was built in 1574 by the grand vizier İbrahim Paşa, Kiel suggested 1596 for its date of construction and a

⁶¹⁷ BOA, TD 1001, f. 727.

⁶¹⁸ Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcık”, 45.

different grand vizier, also named İbrahim Paşa, who erected the building on the request of the local population.⁶¹⁹

The contradiction arises from the fact that the two main literary sources that discussed the construction of the *kervansaray* in the town, Evliya Çelebi and Kâtib Çelebi, also significantly differ in their information. Both authors seemed to agree that the patron was a grand vizier named İbrahim Paşa, but they alluded to two different individuals. Evliya pointed that this was the grand vizier of Süleyman I Makbul İbrahim Paşa, while Kâtib Çelebi indicated in his account that Damad İbrahim Paşa, grand vizier of Mehmed III ordered the construction of Kurşun *han* when he crossed the town in the spring of 1596, leading the vanguard of the Ottoman army against the castle of Eger (Erlau/Eğri) in Hungary.⁶²⁰

According to Evliya, the construction of the *kervansaray* was begun by Makbul İbrahim Paşa, but because of his execution it remained unfinished for a long time.⁶²¹ The traveler came to this conclusion because he saw a dedicatory inscription hanged on the wall of the *han* that gave the date of its construction in the form of a chronogram:

*Du'âlar eyleye aştân rûhuna der bânî
Dedi târîh Âyşe Sultân kalub lilleh mâ cârî*⁶²²

⁶¹⁹ Batakliiev, Grad Tatar-Pazardžik, 84-86; Kiel, “Tatar Pazarcık”, 45.

⁶²⁰ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 219. Kâtib Çelebi, Rumeli und Bosna, 55-56.

⁶²¹ Makbul, Maktul of Pargalı İbrahim Paşa occupied the post of grand vizier from 1523 to 1536. M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. “İbrahim Pasha” in *EF*²; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı. *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1975), 545-547.

⁶²² Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 219.

The part of the chronogram that indicates the date begins after the word *tarih*:

عائشه سلطان قلوب لله ما جارى

The numerical value of the chronogram gives the year A.H. 994 (1585-1586). It seems that the later date of the dedicatory inscription contradicted his idea about the patron of the complex and therefore Evliya has made up the story of it being begun earlier by Makbul İbrahim Paşa, but finished only later on by certain Ayşe Sultan. What makes Evliya's note valuable is the fact that he introduced the personality of Ayşe Sultan who seemed to have supplied water to the *kervansaray* rather than completing it. The woman in question was none other than the daughter of Murad III who married İbrahim Paşa thus giving him the nickname *damad* (son-in-law). Known for her charity, after the death of her husband in 1601, Ayşe Sultan remarried twice and died in 1605. She was buried in her father's mausoleum located in the courtyard of Aya Sofya in Istanbul.⁶²³

Evliya's note on Ayşe Sultan gives credibility to the account of Kâtib Çelebi and certainly establishes Damad İbrahim Paşa as the patron of the great *kervansaray*'s complex in Tatar Pazarcık. Evliya's account, though helpful at this point, proved erroneous on one more thing – the date of the inscription 1585-1586 that he provided is undoubtedly wrong too. İbrahim Paşa was promoted to the post of grand vizier for the first time only in the spring of 1596, therefore it is very unlikely that he built the *han* prior to this date.⁶²⁴ Evliya probably mixed his notes up, because he himself was

⁶²³ M. Çağatay Uluçay. *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992³), 45.

⁶²⁴ Damad İbrahim Paşa held for three turns the office of the grand vizierate: from 4 April till 27 October 1596; from 5 December 1596 till 3 November 1597; from 6 January 1599 till 10 July 1601. İsmail Hâmi Danişmend. *Osmanlı Devlet Erkânı* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1971²), 25-27.

somewhat doubtful about the words and the rhyme rhythm that composed the chronogram of the *kitabe*.⁶²⁵

The Ottoman archival documents also confirm the fact that the patrons of the large *kervansaray* were Damad İbrahim Paşa and his spouse Ayşe Sultan. An accounting register (*muhasabe defteri*) of the pious foundation, jointly established by İbrahim Paşa and Ayşe Sultan, dating from 1668, demonstrates that the *vakıf* was retrieving an annual revenue of 65 000 *akçes* from part of the *han* in Tatar Pazarcık that was rented out.⁶²⁶ Moreover, the foundation provided 16 920 *akçes* annually for the salaries of the staff of the *mescid* located within the *han*.⁶²⁷ This information reaffirms the account of Kâtib Çelebi who lived closer in time to these events and apparently was better informed about them than Evliya Çelebi.⁶²⁸

There is no reason to doubt the construction date of the *kervansaray* provided by Kâtib Çelebi, according to whom its foundations were laid in 1596 during İbrahim Paşa's march against Eger.⁶²⁹ The *tahrir* register of 1596 does not contain information about the *han*, but some clues indicate that the *defter* was drawn up during the period of its genuine building. It seems that when the actual registration took place only the *mescid* of İbrahim Paşa was completed while the construction of the *han* (no. 20 on Plan

⁶²⁵ “*Bir muğlak vezîndir ammâ böyle tahrîr olunmuşdur*” (The meter is confused, but the date is recorded in this manner). Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 3, 219.

⁶²⁶ BOA, TSMA D. 1598.0002, f. 1^b.

⁶²⁷ BOA, TSMA D. 1598.0002, f. 3^b.

⁶²⁸ Kâtib Çelebi lived between 1609-1657. His “Rumeli and Bosna” was completed in 1648. Orhan Şaik Gökyay. “Kâtib Çelebi” in *EF*; Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen*, 195-203.

⁶²⁹ Caroline Finkel. *The Administration of Warfare: the Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593-1606* (Wien: VWGÖ, 1988), 14-15.

5) was still going on.⁶³⁰ The registrar recorded in the new census certain Mehmed, son of Ali, who was the imam at the *mescid* of İbrahim Paşa. The small mosque, however was not the *mescid* built within the *han*, but another mosque located at the southwestern edge of the town in the quarter of Divane Sefer.⁶³¹ (no. 4 on Plan 5) In the short period until the *tahrir* registration of 1614 the mosque of İbrahim Paşa formed a quarter of its own, being the last *mahalle* before the road leaves for Sofia.

The construction of the great *kervansaray* and the adjacent to it large *imaret* gave a real boost not only to the local economy, but to the development of the town as a whole. A building of this kind was indeed very needed in the provincial town which in the course of the sixteenth century not only became an important spot on the *Via Militaris* road, but also the place of distribution of the goods directed towards Macedonia and more importantly where the strategic iron coming from Samakov was first stored before being shipped to Istanbul or to the western parts of the Ottoman domains. The building of the *kervansaray* stood and rendered services throughout the Ottoman period until the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 when it was set on fire and was partially ruined.⁶³² After the war the locals used the stones of the *kervansaray* for building private houses and for some years according to Batakliiev “it served as some

⁶³⁰ This is also an argument against the commonly used dating of this document (1595) that is solely based on the assumption that immediately after Mehmed III ascended the throne a *tahrir* registration was carried out.

⁶³¹ BOA, TD 1001, f. 729.

⁶³² The damaged *kervansaray* and its *imaret* were depicted in 1878 by Dick de Lonley. *A travers la Bulgarie. Souvenirs de guerre et de voyage, par un volontaire au 26^e régiment de Cosaques du Don. Les Balkans. Etropol. Tchelopez. Plevna. Araba-Konak. Sofia. Tatar-Bazardjick. Philipppopoli. Le Rhodope. Hermanli. Andrinople. San-Stefano. Stamboul. Illustré de 20 dessins par l'auteur* (Paris: Garnier frères, 1888), 222. (Fig. 73) I was unable to find neither any extant photograph of the building, nor information of it being photographed ever. A 3D plastic model of the *han* is exhibited in the local museum. (Figs. 71-72)

sort of a stone-pit of the town”.⁶³³ Indeed, very sad end for one of the largest and most magnificent examples of Ottoman architecture in the Balkans.

The immediate impact of the construction of the *han* can be noticed in the last *tahrir* register, produced by the Ottoman administration that was compiled in 1614.⁶³⁴ In less than twenty years between the two registrations Tatar Pazarcık enlarged extremely quickly, as five new quarters appeared in the town, one of which was the *mahalle* of İbrahim Paşa, inhabited by Muslims and Christians alike.⁶³⁵ Apart of the mosque of İbtahim Paşa several other *mescids* must have been built in this period among which the *Ak mescid* can be indentified with certainty. The few residents registered in the new quarters bespeak of their very recent creation. Some of the quarters like this of Kâtib Yusuf were explicitly noted as new ones, as there was one that did not even have a name yet and was recorded simply as “the new quarter” (*mahalle-i cedid*).

The territorial expansion of the town was a logical consequence of the enormous population growth in the period 1596-1614. The Muslim community increased up to 414 from only 287 households in 1596, an unprecedented growth of 42% in only nineteen years.⁶³⁶ It is obvious that such dynamic population increase cannot be due to natural growth, but it was a result of influx of many new residents to the town. Undoubtedly the construction of the *kervansaray* must have played a significant role in this process being a stimulus for the immigration. It is difficult to tell what portion of the newcomers were villagers, but it is evident that some of them were city dwellers who left the nearby

⁶³³ Batakliiev, Grad Tatar-Pazardžik, 86.

⁶³⁴ BOA, TD 729.

⁶³⁵ BOA, TD 729, f. 442.

⁶³⁶ This register did not keep record of the unmarried individuals as it was the common practice.

towns in search for better opportunities in the promising Tatar Pazarcık. When compared to the development of the nearby metropolis Filibe one can notice a curious concurrence. Between 1596 and 1614 the Muslim population of Tatar Pazarcık increased by 127 households, as in the same period the number of the Muslim residents of Filibe dropped with 128 households. The almost matching numbers must be a coincidence and attributing the Muslim growth of Tatar Pazarcık to the drop in Filibe would be highly speculative. Moreover, the decrease of Muslim population for the period, as odd as it may seem, was not an isolated case in Upper Thrace. In the same period the town of Eski Zağra lost even greater portion of its Muslim inhabitants, while in both places the Christians sensitively increased.⁶³⁷

Likewise, the Christians in Tatar Pazarcık, in the period of question, augmented at even faster pace than the Muslims. In nineteen years they more than doubled jumping from 44 households in 1596 to 105 in 1614, thus illustrating the big influx of population from the surrounding areas. Moreover, twenty one taxpayers were explicitly noted by the registrar as newcomers to the town. Most likely the greater portion of the newly arrived Christians comprised of villagers but there were also people coming from the nearby towns. The occupations of the six Christian taxpayers who did not have a permanent residence yet, among whom two were builders, two – *boza* sellers, and two were cart drivers, bespeak of their urban background. The old Christian quarter (the *varoş*), established less than half a century earlier, could not accommodate the large number of newcomers and the Christians spread to the neighboring Muslim quarters

⁶³⁷ Boykov, “Ottoman city or Balkan City?”, 74.

such as Hacı Kılıç (former Helvacı Barak), Cami'-i Kebir and İbrahim Paşa in the southern part of the town. (see Plan 5) Another group settled northwest of the *mahalle* Musalla, later forming a separate Christian quarter.

The *defter* of 1614 is the first to record a permanent Jewish community in Tatar Pazarcık. The small group of seven Jewish households, who arrived in the years between the two registrations, settled north of the main road only a few hundred meters to the west of the *çarşı* area. The Jews most likely came from the bigger cities in the region like Sofia or Filibe that had larger Jewish communities since the first half of the sixteenth century.⁶³⁸ The beginning of the seventeenth century was also marked by the arrival of another ethnic group in the town, 35 Gypsy households appeared in Tatar Pazarcık and settled on an empty spot near the tanneries, thus not only enlarging the physical space of the urban center, but contributing to the ethnic diversity peculiar to the big Ottoman cities.

The register of 1614 was not nearly as rich in information regarding the occupation of the residents of Tatar Pazarcık as were the earlier *defters*. The registrar only occasionally listed tax payers with their professions preferring the patronymics instead. Nevertheless, one can notice the increase of the clergymen, 17 imams and 16 *müezzins*, whose number naturally augmented as a result of the erection of several new mosques in this period. The growing importance of the town called for opening of educational institutions as well. The 1614 register testifies that in the beginning of the seventeenth century there must have been an operating *medrese*, because there was an

⁶³⁸ Machiel Kiel. "Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: The Place of the Turkish Architecture in the Process." *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 4:2 (1989): 79-129.

instructor (*müderri*) among the tax payers of the town. In all probability this was the *mederese* built by Abdurrahman Çelebi that in 1660 offered daily salary of 25 *akçes* to its lecturers.⁶³⁹ Additionally there should have been several *mektebs* in the town, because Evliya Çelebi stated that there were seven *mektebs* in Tatar Pazarlık when he visited the town.⁶⁴⁰ The Ottoman archival documentation shows that there was also a *dersiye* functioning in the mosque of Hacı Salih.⁶⁴¹ Hence, it appears that in the beginning of the seventeenth century Tatar Pazarlık was already growing as an educational center as well. It definitely took a well-deserved place among the towns and cities in the Balkans which had all the features of a genuine Ottoman town of its time.

Tatar Pazarlık walked a long way to become a town of considerable importance at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Created originally as a Tatar army camp at the turn of the fourteenth century, its colorful history of two centuries was filled with variegated events. Founded on a strategic spot, the small settlement soon attracted the attention of the men of the day – the mighty raider commanders of several prominent families who endowed it with a number of public buildings, thus boosting its development. The architectural patronage of the *akıncı* leaders and the specificity of the buildings they patronized attracted new settlers, representatives of the border culture known for their heterodox beliefs. The so-formed “oasis” for the centrifugal elements of the Ottoman society, who acted in accordance against the increasingly centralistic imperial policies, urged the Ottoman authorities to take steps in gaining control over the

⁶³⁹ Orlin Säbev. *Osmanskite uchilishta v bălgarskite zemi XV-XVIII v.* (Sofia: Lubomădrie - Hronika, 2001), 238. M. Kemal Özergin. “Eski bir Rûznâme’ye göre İstanbul ve Rumili Medreseleri.” *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 4-5 (1973-1974): 281.

⁶⁴⁰ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 219.

⁶⁴¹ Säbev, *Osmanskite uchilishta*, 250.

growing in size and importance Tatar Pazarcık. In this struggle the central power gained over some of the most vigorous and charismatic figures of the time – the leading preachers of the Khalvetiyye order, whose teachings and application of forceful methods against the “heretics” eventually won a decisive victory over the heterodox populace of the region. The long process of the transformation of Tatar Pazarcık into a Sunnified place was marked by the consistent policy of the Ottoman authorities in re-gaining its control over the town and consequently by a gradual replacement of the distinguishing features of the heterodox culture, such as the dervish convents built by the representatives of the raider commanders’ families. The changing conditions shifted the architectural patronage from the *akıncı beyis* to the high ranking Ottoman official whose patronage not only inspired the special change that took place in the second half of the sixteenth century, but also stimulated the unprecedented demographic boom.

New settlers, attracted by the quickly growing town, rapidly flooded its existing quarters and even created new ones in order to accommodate the large numbers of incoming migrants. Leaving aside the unnatural drastic drop that occurred in the first half of the sixteenth century, when a sizable portion of Tatar Pazarcık’s residents was relocated to the newly conquered western territories by the central Ottoman authority, the town hereafter followed a constant rapid demographic growth. The increasing importance of the urban center drew many newcomers not only from the surrounding villages but from the larger cities as well. The predominantly Muslim town became a new home for other ethnic groups such as Bulgarian or Greek Christians, Jews and Gypsies, thus contributing to its multiethnic and multicultural appearance inherent to the

town and cities throughout the Ottoman domains. By the beginning of the seventeenth century Tatar Pazarcık was a significant addition to the colorful urban network of the Ottoman realm.

CHAPTER IV

FAILED ENTERPRISE: THE UNACCOMPLISHED TASK TO CREATE THE TOWN OF KONUŞ HISARI

The study on Tatar Pazarcık over the two centuries of its existence revealed that it can be undoubtedly regarded as illustrative example of successfully developing towns established in the Ottoman era. The settlement came into being in the right time, while its location on the important juncture of the *Via Militaris* road and the support of the powerful *akıncı ucbeyis*' families predetermined its prosperity that seemed to have later motivated the sultans in establishing centralized control over the town. The successful development of Tatar Pazarcık was an outcome of the cooperation of several of the most prominent dynasties of raider commanders in the Ottoman Balkans who had at their disposal both the political and financial means of creating new urban centers on their own. Furthermore, a number of key modern Balkan cities owe their creation to the initiative of the lords of the marches and their descendents, thus leaving a legacy which manifests the prominence and the enormous power accumulated by these people in the first two centuries of Ottoman domination in Southeastern Europe.

The successful models of building of new towns naturally attracted scholarly interest and some of the settlements, created as powerbases of the *akıncı ucbeyis*, were satisfactorily studied in the past. Researchers, however, paid very little attention to the less successful projects that did not manage to turn into sizable towns and cities in modernity. This chapter aims at demonstrating the importance of studying also the undeservedly ignored to date models of unsuccessful urban development by focusing on a hitherto unstudied township in the area of Filibe, created and dominated by one family of raider commanders – Konuş Hisarı.

4.1. The Founders of Konuş: The Transfer of Minnet Bey and his Tatars from İskilip to Rumelia

Konuş Hisarı came into existence thanks to a Tatar tribe, led by certain Minnet Bey, that was deported by sultan Mehmed I (1413-1421) from Anatolia to Rumelia. The transfer of Minnet Bey's Tatars from the area of İskilip (Çorum region in Turkey) to the plain of Filibe in 1418 is known to the related historiography and has been exploited as a textbook example, illustrating the Ottoman policy of forced population transfers (*sürgün*).⁶⁴² The story of this deportation can be found in both Aşıkpaşazade and the

⁶⁴² While discussing in his “classical” work the Ottoman methods of forceful population transfers to the Balkans, Ö. L. Barkan was among the first ones to point to the deportation of Minnet Bey and his people. Ömer Lûtfî Barkan. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Sürgünler.” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 15 (1953-54): 209-11 (=Sürgünler III).

anonymous chronicles, thus indicating the existence of a common source.⁶⁴³ Both traditions share a narrative, according to which on his way back from Samsun Mehmed I stopped by İskilip and ordered the deportation to Rumelia of a Tatar tribe headed by Minnet Bey.⁶⁴⁴ When comparing the narratives it appears that Aşıkpaşazade supplemented the common source by adding an imaginary dialog between the sultan and his vizier Bayezid Paşa. Bringing together the texts of Aşıkpaşazade and the anonymous chronicles-Uruc tradition, the episode of the transfer of these Tatars can be presented in an artificially created but circumstantial text that reads⁶⁴⁵:

Sultan Mehmed Samsun’u aldı, {oğlu Sultan Murad Amasya’da kodu⁶⁴⁶},[Bursa’ya giderken] İskilip’e uğradı. İllerinde⁶⁴⁷ çok⁶⁴⁸ tatar evleri gördü {Temür Han zamanından kalmışlardı}. [Sordu: “Hey, bu evler kimindir” dedi. “Minnet Beğ’indir” dediler. “Ya hani bunların beği” dedi. “Tatar Samagaroğlu düğün yaptı, anun düğününe vardı” dediler. Sultan Mehmed veziri Bayazid Paşa’ya ider “Temür bu memleketden tatarları aldı, gitdi dediler. Ya bu ilde bunların beğleri düğün yapar, birbirine gider, gelir⁶⁴⁹, benim seferimde bulunmazlar. Bunları sürmek gerek” dedi. Minnet

⁶⁴³ In his ‘genealogy of the texts’ İnalçık refers to it as “a supplemented Yakhshi Faqih”. Halil İnalçık. “The Rise of Ottoman Historiography.” in idem. *From Empire to Republic. Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1995), 1-16.

⁶⁴⁴ Cf. the editions of these chroniclers by Ali Bey. *Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi. Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman* (İstanbul: Matba’a-i Amire, 1332/1916), 90; Friedrich Giese. *Die altosmanische Chronik des ‘Aşıkpaşazâde* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1929), 80-81; Nihal Atsız. *Aşıkpaşaoğlu Ahmed Aşıkî. Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*. in idem. *Osmanlı Tarihleri I*. (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949), 152-53; Friedrich Giese. *Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken. Teil I: Text und Variantenverzeichnis* (Breslau, 1922), 53; Nihat Azamat. *Anonim Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman. F. Giese neşri* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1992), 57; Franz Babinger. *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch: nach den Handschriften zu Oxford und Cambridge* (Hannover: Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, 1925), 43, 110; Necdet Öztürk. *Oruç Beğ Tarihi* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2007), 50.

⁶⁴⁵ The related passages describing the events could be found in the following editions of the narrative sources: Aşıkpaşazade (Ali Bey), 90; Aşıkpaşazade (Giese), 80-81; Aşıkpaşazade (Atsız), 152-153; *Anonymous Giese*, 53; An. Giese (Azamat), 57; Uruc (Babinger-Cambridge MS), 110; Oruç Beğ (Atsız), 74. The text that stays out of the brackets is common for both traditions; [] encloses the text found only in Aşıkpaşazade; { } encloses the text found only in the anonymous chronicles tradition.

⁶⁴⁶ *olurdu* (An. Giese).

⁶⁴⁷ *vilâyetlerinde* (Aşp, Ali Bey).

⁶⁴⁸ *mübalâğa* (Aşp, Ali Bey, Giese, Atsız); *kalabalık* (Oruç Beğ, Atsız).

⁶⁴⁹ *bu vilâyetinde bunların beği düğün iler, birbirine varır, gelir* (Aşp, Ali Bey).

Beğ'i çağırtdı⁶⁵⁰, getirdi, sürdü. Bunlar hepsini] Filibe yöresine [geçirdi] Konuş Hisarının yöresine koydu⁶⁵¹. {Minnet Beğ oğlu ol arayı ma'mur eyledi}. Minnet'in oğlu Mehmed Beğ [şimdi] Konuş'da bir 'imâret yaptı. Bir kârbânsaray dahi yaptı.

Sultan Mehmed captured Samsun, {he left his son Sultan Murad in Amasya}, [and while on his way to Bursa] he stopped by İsklib. He noticed many Tatar houses there {that remained from the time of Timur Han}. [He asked: "Whose houses are these?" They replied "These belong to Minnet Bey. "So, where is their Bey?"", he asked. "The Tatar Samagaroğlu has a wedding, he went to his wedding", they replied. Sultan Mehmed said to his vizier Bayezid Paşa: "I was told that Timur took his Tatars from this region and left. The Beys of the area organize weddings, visit each other, but do not come for my campaign. They must be deported". They sent for Minnet Bey, brought him and deported all of them. They were all transferred] to the region of Filibe and settled them in the area of Konuş Hisarı. {The son of Minnet Bey made the area prosperous} [Now] Minnet Bey's son Mehmed Bey built in Konuş one *imaret*. He also built one caravanserai.

The text indicates quite clearly that the deportation of the Tatars to Rumelia was a punitive measure undertaken by the sultan against the Tatar tribal leaders in the region. The most likely reason that caused the reaction of the Ottoman central authority was the disobedience of the tribal chieftains who did not send their contingents to the sultan's campaign, presented by Aşıkpaşazade in a form of a dialog between Mehmed I and his vizier Bayezid Paşa.⁶⁵² The mistrust of Mehmed I could be also felt from the emphasis of the chronicler on the fact that Minnet Bey appeared in Anatolia as part of Timur's army some fifteen years earlier and that in fact he managed to build strong ties with the Samagaroğlus, the former rulers of this province and sultan's natural competitors.

⁶⁵⁰ *okutdu* (Aşpaz, Ali Bey, Giese, Atsız).

⁶⁵¹ *kondurdılar* (An. Giese); *Konuş hisar çuresini ol tatar ile doldurdu* (Uruc, Cm MS).

⁶⁵² This must have been the campaign against the İsfendiyoğulları of late 1417 or early 1418. Yaşar Yücel. *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar I* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 92-94; Colin Imber. *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1990), 88.

Apparently, it was easier for the Ottomans to deal with the smaller and weaker clan of Minnet Bey, therefore these Tatars, like other Anatolian nomads in the preceding years, were transferred in the vast and rich but depopulated plain of Upper Thrace. The sources also point out that all of these Tatars settled in the region of Filibe, in a place called Konuş Hisarı, where the traces of the leader of the clan, Minnet Bey disappear.⁶⁵³

The location of the settlement of the Tatars is easily identifiable at a distance of some 24 kilometers southeast of Filibe. It owes the adding “hisarı” to its name to a small mediaeval stronghold, about 800 m² in size, which was located on a naturally elevated terrace on the eastern bank of the stream Sushitsa, close to seven kilometers southwest of the settlement Konuş itself. The stronghold was inhabited and in use until the end of the twelfth century when the place was stormed and devastated by the knights of the Third Crusade and ceased to exist hereafter.⁶⁵⁴

4.2. Mehmed Bey’s military and administrative career

In contrast to the father Minnet Bey of whom very little is known, his son Mehmed Bey played an important role in the history of the fifteenth-century Balkans

⁶⁵³ There is a possibility that Minnet Bey in question was identical to Minnet Bey who was captured by Timur’s army at the battle of Ankara (1402). The sources, however, seem to portray two different individuals. Mehmed Sürreyya. *Sicil-i Osmani yahud Tezkire-i Meşahir-i Osmaniyye* (İstanbul: Matba’a-i Amire, 1311/1893), vol. 4, 515.

⁶⁵⁴ Hristo Džambov. “Krepostta “Hisarlâka” kray Zlatovrah.” *Godishnik na Narodniya arheologicheski muzey Plovdiv* 4 (1960): 188-190; Petăr Detev. “Razkopki na terasata “Asarlâka” pri s. Zlatovrah.” *Izvestiya na muzeite v Yužna Bălgariya* 5 (1979): 81-124. For a detailed analysis of the origins of the name of the settlement see Damijan Borisov. *Vakăfskata institutsia v Rodopite prez XV-XVII vek* (unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Plovdiv, 2008), 95-96.

and is therefore fairly well represented in the sources. The information about his early years, however, is scarce and hence it is unclear whether he inherited the position of a raider commander (*akıncı beyi*) from his father or made a name on his own as Aşıkpaşazade claims in verse. One could also speculate that the core of the detachment led by Mehmed Bey could have been composed mainly by people from his own clan. Traditionally known as good horsemen, Tatars were likely to be excellent raiders and one may surmise that Mehmed Bey had chosen his closest companions from among his kin. Although the early days of his career are obscure, it seems that Mehmed Bey proved to be a talented commander in a series of raids and succeeded to build a name at the Ottoman frontier during dramatic times when most of the important figures from the greater raider commanders' dynasties were present there too. One of the known raids led by Mehmed Bey took place during the first Ottoman campaign against Serbia in 1458.⁶⁵⁵ On order of Mahmud Paşa (1453-1466 and 1472-1474), the grand vizier of Mehmed II (r. 1444-46 and 1451-1481), he led a large group of *akıncıs* who devastated the territory enclosed between the rivers Danube and Sava or possibly managed to go even deeper in Hungarian lands, as claimed by Solakzade.⁶⁵⁶ Mehmed Bey divided his troops in seven separate detachments and had a major success in the raid. Tursun Bey

⁶⁵⁵ Halil İnalçık and Rhoads Murphey. *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg* (Minneapolis & Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1978), f. 82a; Şerafettin Turan. *İbn Kemal. Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman. VII. Defter* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991²), 152. Halil İnalçık. "Tursun Beg, Historian of Mehmed the Conqueror's time." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 69 (1977): 55-71.

⁶⁵⁶ Vahid Çabuk. *Solak-zâde tarihi*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1989), 297.

who supervised the collectors of the sultan's share of the booty (*pençikçis* and *armağancıs*) testifies for the rich spoils brought by the *akıncıs*.⁶⁵⁷

The enormous authority acquired by Mehmed Bey in the then border society is witnessed not only by the fact that a figure of the rank of Mihaloğlu Ali Bey (d. before 1505), the then governor of Vidin, was placed under his command in the 1458 raid towards Srem (Ottoman Sirem),⁶⁵⁸ but also because of his appointment as the first *sancakbeyi* of Serbia and Smederevo in 1459 after the important Danubian fortress of Smederevo (Ottoman Semendere) was finally taken by the Ottomans. In fact it seems that Mehmed Bey's assignment as a *sancakbeyi* of the "land of Laz"⁶⁵⁹ happened a year earlier, when Mahmud Paşa subdued most of Serbia, but Smederevo remained in the hands of the defenders until the following year.⁶⁶⁰ He must have spent four to five years in administering the area, while simultaneously carrying the duties of a frontier commander in the vicinity of the strategic fortress of Belgrade.

Apparently Mehmed Bey proved very successful in his activities in the old Serbian lands, because in 1463, soon after Mehmed II's campaign against Bosnia, he

⁶⁵⁷ Tursun Beg (İnalcık-Murphey), f. 82a; M. Hüdai Şentürk. *Gelibolulu Mustafa Âlî. Künhü'l-ahbâr: cilt II – Fâtih Sultân Mehmed devri (1451-1481)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), 112-114.

⁶⁵⁸ Olga Zirojević. "Smederevski sandžakbeg Ali beg Mihaloglu." *Zbornik za istoriju Matice srpske* (1971): 10.

⁶⁵⁹ In contemporary Ottoman sources this expression referred to the territory under the Lazarevići rulers; roughly present-day Serbia excluding Vojvodina, Sandžak, and Kosovo regions.

⁶⁶⁰ The appointment of Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey as a governor of Smederevo is mentioned only in the chronicle of Uruc. The Cambridge MS presenting the events after the surrender of Smederevo reads: "...ve Laz-İli sancağını Minnetoğlu Mehmed Beğe viridi", Urudsch (Babinber), 125. In Öztürk's recent edition, which follows Bibliothèque Nationale, ancien fonds Turc 99, it reads: "... Lâz-ili'ni, Semendre'yi, Minnet-oglu Muhammed Beg'e Lâz-ili'ni viridi", Uruç Beğ (Öztürk), 115. Tursun Beg, without mentioning a name states that after Mahmud Paşa's successful campaign (1458) a *sancakbeyi* of Serbia was appointed. Tursun Beg (İnalcık-Murphey), ff. 85a-85b. In Ibn Kemal (VII. defter), 162, Mehmed Bey's name appears already as a ruler of Laz-ili. Cf. Hazim Šabanović. "O organizaciji turske uprave u Srbiji u XV i XVI vijeku." *Istoriski glasnik*, 3-4 (1955): 61.

was assigned governor of the newly conquered province.⁶⁶¹ Although he is commonly referred to as the first Bosnian *sancakbeyi*, İnalçık argues that he took this post only after a very brief term of İshakoğlu İsa Bey (d. 1476?), who was deposed by Mehmed II as a punitive measure because of the flight of the Herezegovian ruler Stjepan Vukčić Kosača (d. 1466).⁶⁶² İnalçık did not develop his argumentation further, but indeed it seems that Mehmed Bey took İsa Bey's place, regardless whether the latter was formally appointed as the new Bosnian *sancakbeyi* or retained his position of *ucbeyi*.⁶⁶³

Mehmed Bey's actions after he took up the rulership of Bosnia may confirm this assumption. Instead of heading towards Jajce, the last Bosnian capital, which should have been the natural choice of the new governor due to the city's vulnerability to Hungarian attacks, the sources report that Mehmed Bey sent one of his subordinate commanders there while he himself went to Sarajevo (Saray Bosna).⁶⁶⁴ In this respect, Mehmed II's decision to substitute İsa Bey, the mighty lord, referred to by the Ragusans as the "actual ruler of Bosnia",⁶⁶⁵ with Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey, appears quite surprising. İsa Bey's failure in Herzegovina must have irritated Mehmed II to a great extent as he installed in İsa Bey's own powerbase, Sarajevo, a commander of lesser prominence. This fact might also explain the (at a first glance illogical) decision of

⁶⁶¹ Ibn Kemal (VII. defter), 234; Mehmed Neşrî. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ. Neşrî Tarihi*. Faik Reşit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen (eds.) (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957), 767; Franz Babinger. *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 224.

⁶⁶² Halil İnalçık. "Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481) and his Time." *Speculum* 35 (1960): 423.

⁶⁶³ Šabanović also maintains that the reason for the appointment of Mehmed Bey was the failure of İsa Bey in Herzegovina. Hazim Šabanović. "Bosansko krajište, 1448-1463." *Godišnjak istoriskog društva Bosne i Hercegovine* 9 (1957): 212-213.

⁶⁶⁴ Yaşar Yücel and Halil Erdoğan Cengiz. "Rûhî Tarihi – Oxford Nüshası." *Belgeler* 14:18 (1989-1992): 548; Aşıkpaşazade (Atsız), 213.

⁶⁶⁵ Ćiro Truhelka. *Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive* (Sarajevo: Zemaljska štamparija, 1911), 338.

Mehmed Bey to head towards Sarajevo instead of staying in the threatened by a Hungarian attack old capital of Jajce. The janissary Konstantin Mihailović, an eyewitness of the events, states that “at this time a certain voivode named Machomet Mumiatowicz held Bosnia, and in his place at Jajce was a servant of his named Usunharamibass”⁶⁶⁶, stressing once more what should have been the proper place of the Bosnian governor.

Mehmed Bey’s subordinate who was entrusted with the defense of Jajce failed in fulfilling his duties and soon after he surrendered the fortress to King Matthias of Hungary (1458-1490). In the following year (1464), in an attempt to regain the lost fortresses, Mehmed II reappeared with the sultanic army in Bosnia and besieged Jajce again. However, fearing that the Hungarian forces advancing toward Zvornik could cut his retreat route, he left Jajce, ordering Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey to carry on the siege.⁶⁶⁷ It is unclear how long the siege commanded by Mehmed Bey continued, but it yielded no results, since Jajce remained in Hungarian hands for another half a century. In the same year Mehmed Bey was deposed as Bosnian *sancakbeyi* and his place was taken by İshakoğlu İsa Bey who apparently regained the trust of the sultan. Mehmed Bey was sent back to govern Smederevo, while Mihaloğlu Ali Bey, who occupied the post in the meantime, was reassigned as a *sancakbeyi* of Vidin.⁶⁶⁸ Mehmed Bey retained the post of

⁶⁶⁶ Mihailović participated in the campaign of 1463 and after the sultan’s army withdrawal he was left in Zvečaj in command of fifty janissaries. Konstantin Mihailović. *Memoirs of a Janissary*, translated by Benjamin Stolz, historical commentary and notes by Svat Soucek (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975), 141.

⁶⁶⁷ Tusun Beg (İnalçık-Murphey), f. 118a; Mustafa Âlî (Şentürk), 139; Selâhattin Tansel. *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed’in Siyasî ve Askerî Faaliyeti* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1953), 180.

⁶⁶⁸ Šabanović, “Turske uprave u Srbiji”, 61

sancakbeyi of Smederevo for several years, probably until 1467 when he was once again replaced by Mihaloğlu Ali Bey.⁶⁶⁹ After his dismissal from the governorship of Smederevo the traces of Mehmed Bey's military and administrative career seem to disappear.

Although Mehmed Bey's terms in administering Sarajevo and Smederevo were brief, he left behind significant architectural evidence for his successful governorship in the mid-fifteenth century. Opposite the complex of İsa Bey, which constituted the nucleus of Sarajevo by that time, Mehmed Bey established a new neighborhood that was formed around his mosque and a number of shops that provided for its upkeep.⁶⁷⁰ The first Muslim quarter in Smederevo, the former place of residence of the Serbian despots, was likewise established by Mehmed Bey. He commissioned a Friday mosque, a public bath and a residence for the *sancakbeyis* within the fortified town that were supported by a pious foundation.⁶⁷¹ It seems that the governors of Smederevo, or at least the first two of them, Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey and Mihaloğlu Ali Bey, have spent resources in promoting the town of Nish as well by commissioning a number of public buildings there. Mehmed Bey built a public bath in Nish the revenues of which were endowed to the *imaret* of his complex in Koneuş in Thrace. According to a *tahrir* register, dating

⁶⁶⁹ Zirojević, "Smederevski sandjakbeg Ali-Beg", 15.

⁶⁷⁰ Further details in Grigor Boykov. "In Search of Vanished Ottoman Monuments in the Balkans: Minnetoğlu Mehmed Beg's Complex in Koneuş Hisarı." in Maximilian Hartmuth and Ayşe Dilsiz (eds.), *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts: Papers on Ottoman Europe Presented to Machiel Kiel* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2010), 51-53.

⁶⁷¹ Boykov, "Vanished Ottoman Monuments", 53-55.

from A.H. 903 (1497-1498), this *hamam* yielded to Mehmed Bey's *imaret* an annual income of 3 666 *akçes*.⁶⁷²

4.3. Building up Minnetoğlus' powerbase – Konuş (Konuş Hisarı)

It is not possible to state with any degree of certainty when Mehmed Bey's complex in Konuş Hisarı (today's village of Konuş in the district of Plovdiv, Bulgaria), that was meant as a nucleus of a new town, was actually commissioned. The Ottoman narrative tradition, relating the story of the deportation of Mehmed Bey's father Minnet Bey to this area, includes a remark according to which Mehmed Bey built a *kervansaray* and an *imaret* there, but it is difficult to assert to what date exactly this information refers. In any case, considering that Mehmed Bey's career seems to have reached its peak towards the 1460s, one may suppose that his buildings in Upper Thrace were commissioned about that time, or probably up to a decade earlier. The available sources also do not allow any decisive conclusions as to whether the complex was initially designed and built in its entirety, or some of the buildings were added in later times.

The sources at hand suggest that Mehmed Bey created all needed conditions for the development of a small *kasaba*, situated on the main road linking Istanbul and Belgrade, the ancient *Via Militaris*. He built a Friday mosque, bath, *imaret*, caravanserai,

⁶⁷² BOA, TD 27, f. 141 and BOA, TD 135 (A.H. 932/1525-1526), f. 126.

supposedly together with a number of smaller buildings for the service personnel and a residence for himself and his family. It is also plausible that the mosque and the *imaret* constituted a single structure, a multifunctional T-type building, but could have also been separate buildings, since in the second half of the fifteenth century the T-type buildings were not as frequently commissioned as in the preceding period. The disappearing of all the buildings that once constituted the complex deprives the researchers from the possibility of closer observations on the structure and architecture of Mehmed Bey's establishment.

The salaries of the staff and the upkeep of the buildings of the complex were provided by a pious foundation that must have been established soon after their completion. It cannot be specified when the endowment deed was drawn up since there is no extant copy of it in the main archives in Istanbul, Ankara, or Sofia. The first administrator (*mütevelli*) was most likely Mehmed Bey himself, because later documents attest that the post was held on hereditary basis by his descendents. Thus, one may presume that a settlement, which received such massive boost, would develop rapidly and become a prosperous small town that would attract many new settlers. Mehmed Bey must have imitated the accomplishments of his fellow-raider commanders from the families of greater prominence such as the İshakoğlus or the Mihaloğlus with whom he was in close contact and cooperation in the western Balkans. Almost without an exception the influential lords of the marches created in their family domains complexes of public buildings of similar type that later developed into new towns. Moreover, often the new settlements that were strategically located on one of the main roads attracted the

attention of other raider commanders who also became patrons of public buildings there thus contributing for the development of the settlement. In this respect the mosque of Mehmed Bey in Sarajevo, which İsa Bey created less than a decade earlier can provide an excellent example.

However, in spite of what Mehmed Bey's initial plan for the development of Konuş seems to have been, it does not appear to have worked out. In the late 1470s the political conditions in the empire changed dramatically as the central Ottoman authority attempted to limit the enormous power exercised by the lords of the marches by depriving many of them from their landed estates.⁶⁷³ It appears that Mehmed Bey lost Mehmed II's favor completely because his recently established foundation that had to provide for the upkeep of his complex in Konuş was abrogated, returned under the control of the state treasury and apportioned to *timars*. The exact impact of the confiscation of the properties of Mehmed Bey's foundation is unknown but it certainly must have brought difficulties to the family, whose complex in Konuş remained without means of support. This state of affairs, however, did not last very long, because soon after his enthronement in 1481 Bayezid II (1481-1512) restored Mehmed Bey's foundation and reaffirmed the endowment deed. A note in the large synoptic register of 1530 relates that the lands given by Mehmed II in full proprietorship to Mehmed Bey were confiscated, but Bayezid II reestablished the family's proprietorship over the

⁶⁷³ This process is often referred to in the historiography as "Mehmed II's land reform". For an overview that discusses the historiography to date see Halil İnalçık. "Autonomous enclaves in Islamic states: *temliks*, *soyurgals*, *yurdluk-ocaklıks*, *mâlikâne-mukâta'as* and *awqâf*." in Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (eds.), *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East. Studies in honor of John E. Woods* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 112-134.

foundation.⁶⁷⁴ Another document dating from approximately the same time testifies that the management of the pious foundation supporting the *zaviye* of Mehmed Bey's spouse Durpaşa Hatun in Edirne was brought back in the hands of their son Alihan, thus pointing to the reestablished position of the family.⁶⁷⁵

The Ottoman administrative documents from the sixteenth century trace the growth of Mehmed Bey's pious foundation and the development of Konuş over time respectively. The earliest available records of this foundation date to the first half of the sixteenth century.⁶⁷⁶ They report that by 1520s the efforts in bringing settlers in the family domain of Mehmed Bey and his descendants resulted in the creation of two new small villages in the immediate vicinity of Konuş, which were inhabited by Christians and Muslims alike.⁶⁷⁷ The large synoptic register of Rumelia, compiled in 1530 offers valuable details about the ways in which the new settlements came into being. The

⁶⁷⁴ “*Vakf-i Mehmed Beğ, bin Minnet Beğ, karye-i Konuş. Merhum Sulta[n] Mehmed Han temlik edüp, sonra timara virilmiş. Ba'de merhum Sultan Bayazid Han gerü mülkiyet ve vakfiyesin mukarrer dutup, mukarrername virilmiş*” [*Vakıf of Mehmed Bey, son of Minnet Bey, village of Konuş. The deceased sultan Mehmed has given it as private property, later he allocated it to timars. Afterwards the late sultan Bayazid Han reaffirmed its status of absolute proprietorship and its endowment deed issuing a document of confirmation*]. BOA, TD 370, f. 102.

⁶⁷⁵ “*Vakf-i Durpaşa Hatun, zevce-i Mehmed Beğ, bin Minnet, der Edirne, der mahalle-i Hisarlık. Evvel derviş mutasarrıf imiş, şimdiki halde mezkürün oğlu Alihan elindedir. Zaviye-i Durpaşa Hatun: Yunus, gulâm-i Durpaşa; Olivir, gulâm-i Durpaşa; Yusuf, gulâm-i Durpaşa. hasıl 'an resm-i çift ve öşr-i hububat – 391*” [*Vakıf of Durpaşa Hatun, spouse of Mehmed Bey, son of Minnet, in Edirne, in the neighborhood of Hisarlık. Previously held by a dervish, now in the hands of Alihan, son of the above mentioned. Zaviye of Durpaşa Hatun: Yunus, slave of Durpaşa; Olivir, slave of Durpaşa; Yusuf, slave of Durpaşa. Revenues from resm-i çift and tithe of cereals – 391 (akçes)*], BOA, TD 20 (A.H. 890/1485-1486), ff. 70-71. The slaves (*gulâm*) of Mehmed Bey's spouse must have been captives from his campaigns in the western Balkans. Two of them apparently converted to Islam, but one remained Christian and his name Olivir clearly indicates western origin.

⁶⁷⁶ Although the detailed register of 1489 (BOA, TD 26) includes some pious foundations in the area of Filibe it lacks data on the *vakıf* of Mehmed Bey. The following detailed register of this area (BOA, TD 77 from 1516) has several dozen pages lost at its end, thus also lacks information about most of the *vakıf*s there, including this of Mehmed Bey.

⁶⁷⁷ BOA, TD 73 (A.H. 925/1519-1520), f. 137, which lists an annual income of the foundation from its surroundings of 11 648 *akçes*; BOA, TD 138 (A.H. 934/1527-1528), f. 137, with a slight increase of the totals up to 11 690 *akçes*.

register contains the following note on the new Christian village, situated about a kilometer south of Mehmed Bey's complex in Konuş:⁶⁷⁸

karye-i Bosna, haymaneden gelüb, Konuş sunurunda oturub, haracların hüvandigâra [sic!] ve ispençeleriyle öşürlerin vakfa virir. Yirmi biş yıl var imiş

village of Bosna, [the residents] gathered from unsettled ones, settled within the boundaries of Konuş, they [pay] their poll-tax to the Sultan, their customary taxes and tithes give to the *vakıf*. It has been twenty five years.

The very name of the village – Bosna, is a good indicator as for the possible place of origin of its Christian residents. Given Mehmed Bey's military career, during which he was often involved in raids towards the western Balkans, it is arguable that these people had been gathered and brought to Konuş after some of his raids. Thus while providing fresh settlers for his emerging *kasaba* he should have aimed at increasing the revenues for his pious foundation. The Christian residents, however, did not settle near the Muslim complex, but at some distance forming a new village instead of adding a quarter to the Muslim settlement. It must be noted however that at a first glance the note in the register seems somehow contradictory to the assumption that the Christian settlers are linked to Mehmed Bey's military and administrative career in the western Balkans. It claims that the village was founded twenty five years before the *defter* was compiled, thus around 1505, or a date when one would expect that Mehmed Bey was no longer

⁶⁷⁸ BOA, TD 370, f. 102.

active. Unless one assumes that Mehmed Bey lived for quite a long time and had a very long-lasting career respectively, the information in the source seems to be at odds.

Examining the nature and the way in which the synoptic register of 1530 was compiled however provides an alternative explanation for the seemingly conflicting date in which the Christian village of Bosna was created. This document is an integral part of series of other summary registers prepared in the early years of Süleyman I's rule (1521-1566), which had the task to provide the Ottoman administration with an up-to-date Empire-wide overview of its provincial revenues. As noted in the previous chapters the 1530 register of Rumelia is a compilation of the data contained in a number of various earlier detailed records as whenever the administration requested the data was updated. Thus, the large summary register of 1530 contains data from 1516, 1525 or 1530. It is arguable therefore that the main body of information concerning the pious foundation of Mehmed Bey, including the entry on the village, was derived from the detailed register of 1516, while the data regarding its revenues was updated.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁹ In other instances, like the neighboring town of İstanımaka, it is clear that the data in the 1530 summary register was copied without changes from the detailed *defter* of 1516 (BOA, TD 77). As mentioned above the related pages in the register of 1516 in which the revenues and tax-payers of Mehmed Bey's pious foundation were enlisted have been torn off and lost, therefore the information cannot be cross-checked. The revenues of the foundation as recorded in 1530 register were certainly up-to-date, because when compared to the data from the previous two *defters* (TD 73 and TD 138) one could notice an increase of the annual revenues – 16 210 *akçes*. BOA, TD 370, f. 102.

Table 1. Revenues of the *vakıf* of Mehmed Bey, son of Minnet Bey

Date	Total Revenues in <i>akçes</i>
1519/1520	11 648
1527/1528	11 690
1530	16 210
1570	23 457
1596	23 457

1519/20=BOA TD 73; 1527/28=BOA TD 138; 1530=BOA TD 370; 1570=BOA TD 498;
1596=BOA TD 470

In such a case the note in the document describing the establishment of the village of Bosna, according to which it was created twenty five years earlier, should be regarded as referring to 1516 and not to 1530 when the entry was simply copied by the Ottoman scribe from the previous register. Therefore, one must consider an earlier date for the arrival of the Bosnian settlers in Konuş, most probably the early 1490s or the late 1480s.⁶⁸⁰ The fact that Mehmed Bey might have been still active at that time is also supported by the presence of several captives in the *zaviye* of his spouse in Edirne.⁶⁸¹

The data in the register concerning the newly created Muslim village in Mehmed Bey's *vakıf*, is likewise very concise, stating only that the residents of Kaşıkçı settled within the boundaries of Konuş and paid their tithes to the pious foundation.⁶⁸² The favorable conditions in the *vakıf* land and the relative prosperity of the pious foundation must have been among the reasons for the choice of the new settlers. The area around

⁶⁸⁰ The detailed register TD 77 was compiled in 1516, but the actual registration should have been executed a year or two earlier.

⁶⁸¹ BOA, TD 20, f. 70.

⁶⁸² BOA, TD 370, f. 102.

Konuş on the other hand is well suited for rice-growing and apparently some of the newcomers found it attractive as well. Since the *imaret* of Mehmed Bey actually needed considerable amounts of rice in order to maintain its functions, by 1530 the first twenty six rice-growers (*çeltükçü*) working for Mehmed Bey's foundation, appeared in the register, as three of them settled in the new village of Kaşıkçı.⁶⁸³ In the following records both the number of rice-growers and the scale of production increased drastically clearly pointing at the increased necessities of the soup kitchen.

However concise in details concerning the possessions of Mehmed Bey, the sources at hand provide even less information about the pious foundation's founder – it is unclear when exactly he died, nor yet we know of his burial place. In case he spent the last years of his life in the family residence in Konuş, he should have been buried there, presumably in the courtyard of his mosque. Evliya Çelebi speaks of Mehmed Bey and Konuş in three separate sections of his travel accounts.⁶⁸⁴ He insists that Mehmed Bey was buried in Konuş in a domed mausoleum that was built for him by sultan Mehmed I.⁶⁸⁵ The traveler's account though seems somewhat confused and Evliya certainly misplaces Mehmed Bey's lifetime in much earlier period, attributing all buildings of the complex to Mehmed I.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸³ BOA, TD 370, f. 102. The village of Kaşıkçı numbered altogether twenty five households.

⁶⁸⁴ Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (eds.), *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (2. Kitap)* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 28; Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (eds.), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 305 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu – Dizini, (3. Kitap)* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 212-13; Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (eds.), *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (6. Kitap)* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 69.

⁶⁸⁵ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 212.

⁶⁸⁶ Most probably Evliya mixed him up with another personage – the above mentioned Minnet Bey who was captured by Timur at the battle of Ankara. He was later released and became one of Prince Musa's commanders in Rumelia. Sürreyya. *Sicil-i Osmani*, 515.

The available information on the history of the family after the death of Mehmed Bey is likewise very scarce. He undoubtedly had a son, named Alihan, who during the mid-1480s administered the foundation of his mother's *zaviye* in Edirne. It is not clear whether he also inherited the command of his father's contingent, but apparently the family retained the leadership over a sizable detachment, thus its importance in the political affairs of Rumelia was not weakened completely after Mehmed Bey's death. In the early sixteenth century another member of the family, probably a grandson of Mehmed Bey, Minnetoğlu Kazgan Bey sided with Selim I (1512-1521) in his struggle against Bayezid II, thus turning against the ruler who restored the landed properties of the family. Kazgan Bey who joined the group of prominent leaders from other powerful Rumelian families, assembled by Selim I at Kafa (Feodossia) and Akkerman, seemed to have had under his command a sizable contingent that matched these brought by the Mihaloğlus, the Gümlüoğlus, or İsfendiyaoğlu Celil Çelebi.⁶⁸⁷

Although Minnetoğlu Kazgan Bey was among the mightiest *beys* in the Balkans who brought to power sultan Selim I, it appears that Mehmed Bey's other descendents did not follow a military career, but rather contented themselves by taking the place of *vakıf* administrators (*mütevelli*). Despite the lack of any specific information as to who succeeded the patron of the *vakıf* immediately after his death, an imperial order of May 1550 reveals that one of his descendents, Mehmed Çelebi, was deprived from the post of

⁶⁸⁷ The full list of the Beys from the Balkans who supported the then *şehzade* Selim and thus brought him to the throne, along with the amount of money allocated to each of the commanders as a reward for his support, is analyzed in detail in Hakkı Erdem Çıpa. *The Centrality of the Periphery: The Rise to Power of Selim I, 1487-1512* (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007), 258-261. I am grateful to Dr. Çıpa for providing me with his unpublished work and for his numerous valuable suggestions and critical comments.

administrator of Mehmed Bey's pious foundation in Konuş.⁶⁸⁸ This document does not explicitly refer to the person in question as a family member, but a note in the detailed register of 1570, provides the necessary evidence, leaving little doubt that the foundation was managed on a hereditary basis.⁶⁸⁹ In the section related to the personnel of Mehmed Bey's *imaret* the register enlists all individuals who received payment from the *vakıf*. According to the document the administrator of the pious foundation in 1570⁶⁹⁰ was certain Mustafa Bey, son of Mehmed Çelebi, who was from among the descendents of the owner of the *vakıf*.⁶⁹¹ Therefore, since the document points the administrator in 1570 as a descendent of Mehmed Bey, it effectively establishes his father Mehmed Çelebi, the deposed administrator of 1550, as a descendent of Mehmed Bey too. There is no reason to doubt that all of the unknown previous administrators were from the lineage of the founder of the pious foundation. Comparison with the pious foundations of the mightier *akıncı* dynasties such as the Evrenosoğlus or the Mihaloğlus, which remained in the hands of the families until the beginning of the twentieth century, brings more strength to such a proposition.⁶⁹²

The descendants of Mehmed Bey, who were managing the family foundation, seem to have been unable to build good relations with the central Ottoman administration. On the contrary, they appear to have been in constant conflict. Twenty

⁶⁸⁸ The order was copied in a court record (*sicil*) of Sofia. Galab Galabov. *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia*, herausgegeben von Herbert W. Duda. (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1960), 9.

⁶⁸⁹ BOA, TD 498, f. 639.

⁶⁹⁰ Likewise although the *defter* was compiled in 1570 its data refers to a year or two earlier.

⁶⁹¹ 'Mustafa Bey, bin Mehmed Çelebi – mütevelli-i vakıf. 'An evlâd-i sahib-i vakıf'. BOA, TD 498, f. 639.

⁶⁹² Lowry and Erünsal provide a list of the known *mütevellis* of Gazi Evrenos's *vakıf* in Yenice-i Vardar. Heath Lowry and İsmail Erünsal. *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar: Notes & Documents* (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2010), 9-171. The information concerning the pious foundations of the Mihaloğlu family I owe to Mariya Kiprovska.

years after Mehmed Çelebi's deposition in 1550, his son Mustafa Bey had to face a similar fate. In the fall of 1565 the central bureaucracy ordered the *kadı* of Filibe to inspect the account books of some of the pious foundations in his district.⁶⁹³ An imperial decree of 5 May 1570 reveals that based on this inspection the *mütevelli* of the foundation Mustafa Bey was accused of malpractices and appropriation of significant amount of money. Since no one was willing to become his guarantor, he was detained and brought to Filibe. When his relatives found out of these events they marched to Filibe in charge of a detachment of *azabs*, broke into the prison and set all detainees free. However, it turned out that the local *subaşı*, whose house was also attacked and pillaged, had in the meantime transferred Mustafa Bey to a safer place under the guard of his entrusted men. The *azabs* left the city empty-handed, but until the next morning the *mütevelli* Mustafa Bey, together with the watchmen appointed by the *subaşı*, disappeared without a trace. The sultan urged the local *kadı* to investigate the case and punish those who created the disorder.⁶⁹⁴ Mustafa Bey's further fate is unknown, but he was most probably replaced as administrator of the *vakıf* by his son Yusuf, who retained the position at least until 1596, when a *tahrir* registration recorded him as the *mütevelli* of the foundation in Konuş.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹³ The register of the Imperial financial matters (*Maliye Ahkâm Defteri*) BOA, MAD 2775, f. 364 contains a copy of this decree, dating from 6-15 October 1565. It ordered the inspection of the account books of the *vakıfs* of Karlıoğlu Ali Bey and Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey in the *kaza* of Filibe. Likewise, orders for the inspection of the *vakıfs* of Zağanos Paşa in Balıkesir, Evrenos Bey in Gümülcine, Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey in Tatar Pazarcık, Uruc Bey in Dimetoka, Sinan Bey in Karınabad, İbrahim Paşa in Kavala, etc. were also prepared and dispatched to the local *kadıs*.

⁶⁹⁴ *12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978-979/1570-1572)* (Ankara: Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1996), *mühimme* no. 55.

⁶⁹⁵ BOA, TD 470, f. 665.

The register of 1570 is the earliest available document that can provide detailed information about Mehmed Bey's complex in Konaş, its possessions and complete list of its tax-payers.⁶⁹⁶ According to the document there were fifteen individuals involved in the service of the complex, which formed the nucleus of Konaş. Apart of the *mütevelli* of the *vakıf*, the above mentioned Mustafa Bey, who was to be soon imprisoned, the register lists also a *hatib*, an imam and a *müezzin* in service of the mosque and a number of servants in the *imaret* such as its *şeyh*, *kâtib*, *kilâri*, *anbari*, *vekil-i harc*, *tabbah*, *habbaz* etc.⁶⁹⁷

Table 2. Population of the *vakıf* of Mehmed Bey, son of Minnet Bey in 1570

Location	Muslims		Christians	
	Households	Unmarried	Households	Unmarried
<i>nefs-i Konaş</i>	23	-	-	-
Bosna	-	-	55	-
Turudlu	20	-	-	-
Kaşıkcı	23	1	-	-
Novasel, n.d. Lala	-	-	13	1
<i>çeltükçıyan</i>	93	-	-	-
<i>gılmanan</i>	-	-	3	-
TOTAL	159	1	71	1

⁶⁹⁶ BOA, TD 498, ff. 639-43.

⁶⁹⁷ BOA, TD 498, f. 639.

Around the main settlement, in its immediate surroundings, there were three other small villages – the above mentioned Christian village called Bosna, which had grown considerably since 1530, attracting to its second quarter settlers who previously did not have permanent residence; the Muslim Kaşıkçı, which also expanded with a new *mahalle* and the completely new village of Turudlu, whose residents moved to the territory of the *vakıf* from another unspecified location. In the intervening forty years between the two registrations another new Christian village also appeared within the boundaries of Mehmed Bey's pious foundation. The entry in the register provides its name, Novasel (i.e. new village) or Lalam⁶⁹⁸, and specifies that the village was formed from tax-payers who had previously resided in the lands of the *vakıf* and from newcomers who did not have permanent residence.⁶⁹⁹ The creation of the new settlements is illustrative for the policy of the administrators of the foundation. They continued the practice of attracting wandering peasants, potential tax-payers who were willing to settle in the territory of the *vakıf* thus increasing its revenues. In 1570 the village of Bosna had already 58 Christian households in its two *mahalles*, while in Kaşıkçı's two neighborhoods there were 20 households and 4 bachelors. The new village of Turudlu had altogether 20 households.

The rice production also expanded considerably in the intervening years and by that date there were 97 Muslim rice-growers permanently occupied in the cultivation. The rice-fields, which in 1530 must have been in the immediate surroundings of Konuş, by 1570 spread out in the plain and reached the neighboring villages, like Aziz Beylü

⁶⁹⁸ Later the village was known as Lala Pınarı.

⁶⁹⁹ BOA, TD 498, f. 644.

(modern Izbegli), where the *vakıf* was in possession of a rice-mill. It is not possible to identify the new villages created on the territory of the pious foundation, because later they joined the main settlement thus becoming its quarters. The registers explicitly underline that the newly established villages were located within the boundaries of Konuş, thus in the seventeenth or eighteenth century the Muslims formed the so-called Turkish Konuş, while the Christian residents joined in a larger village known as Bulgarian Konuş.⁷⁰⁰

The *defter* of 1570 also presents the earliest available evidence for the existence of a public bath in Konuş the tax-farming of which yielded to the pious foundation an annual revenue of 900 *akçes*.⁷⁰¹ The bath was a natural addition to the *imaret*, mosque and *kervansaray* of Mehmed Bey, therefore it is highly likely that its foundations were laid down together with the rest of the buildings in the complex. It must have been very modest in size because the *hamam* that Mehmed Bey built in Nish about the same time rendered to the *vakıf* four times as much annual income.

The fact that there was a public bath in Konuş raises the question of how the complex was supplied with fresh water. In spite of being located on the banks of a small stream, Mehmed Bey's compound must have been in need of more running water in order to maintain its functions. Despite the lack of any documentary evidence, it is likely

⁷⁰⁰ Kostadin Kostadinov. *Mestnite imena v Asenovgradsko* (Asenovgrad: Ekobelan, 1997), 51-52. Türker Acaroğlu. *Bulgaristan'da Türkçe Yer Adları Kılavuzu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006), 617. The Turkish Konuş disappeared, but its exact location is seen on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century maps: Rumili Şahane Haritası, Erkan-i Harbiye-i Umumiye Dairesi 1:210 000, Filibe. A.H. 1317/1899. Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa 1:200 000, 43°-42° Stara Zagora (Eski Zagra). Herausgegeben vom Militärgeographischen Institut in Wien, 1940.

⁷⁰¹ BOA, TD 498, f. 642. “‘*an mukata'a-i hamam-i Konuş, fi sene – 900 [akçes]*” [from the tax-farm of the public bath in Konuş, annually – 900 [akçes]].

that potable water was brought through a short aqueduct from the nearby hills. The local people in today's entirely Christian Konaş gladly relate a story about one Turk who had built in the past an aqueduct and point to its former location. In this respect one may assume that the patron of the complex might have also built an aqueduct in order to supply it with enough fresh water. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the aqueduct was built later on by some of Mehmed Bey's descendents when a need for more water in Konaş increased.

Being located on the path of the important diagonal road that crossed the Balkans, Konaş was visited by a number of westerners who were going to or coming from Istanbul. The most detailed physical description of Mehmed Bey's complex was left by Stephan Gerlach, who visited it in June 1578. According to Gerlach, Konaş was a small Turkish village, where above the small river, there was a lead-covered *han*, next to which was situated the mosque, the vast courtyard of which included a nice fountain with fresh cold water. Travelers and poor were offered rice and bread in the *imaret* of the mosque.⁷⁰² Gerlach's depiction of the main lead-covered buildings of Mehmed Bey's complex leaves little doubt about their imposing character. A decade earlier Marcantonio Pigafetta, who saw Konaş as inhabited both by Bulgarians and Turks, described Mehmed Bey's mosque as "built of stone and marble, very beautiful"⁷⁰³, which also bespeaks of a massive, very likely richly decorated building. In the 1550s Catharin Zen and Gaspare Erizzo, who passed through Konaş, also testify to the mixed

⁷⁰² Mariya Kiselinceva. *Stefan Gerlach. Dnevnik na edno pätuvane do Osmanskata porta v Tsarigrad* (Sofia: Otechestven Front, 1976), 257-58.

⁷⁰³ Matković, Petar. "Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. vijeka, X. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567. godine." *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 100 (1890): 117.

character of its inhabitants – Turks and Christians, pointing to the presence of a mosque, *imaret* and “good stables” referring in all probability to the *kervansaray*, called *han* by Gerlach.⁷⁰⁴ In addition, Evliya Çelebi also relates that hot soup was offered to all visitors and travelers at the *imaret* every day at dawn and late afternoon.⁷⁰⁵

With all due skepticism to Evliya’s account, one must also add the domed lead-covered *türbe* of Mehmed Bey⁷⁰⁶, described by the Ottoman traveler, to the mosque, *imaret*, caravanserai, and *hamam* that can be certainly identified as part of the complex in Konuş. It is highly likely that at the mosque or in a separate building there was a functioning Muslim primary school (*mekteb*). It is unknown when the school was first opened, but in the eighteenth century the instructor (*mu’allim*) received a daily salary of four *akçes*. The accounting register of the *vakıf* (*muhasebe defteri*) from 1755-1756 indicates that certain Mehmed Efendi received a daily salary of 4 *akçes* for his duties of *mu’allim-i sıbiyan* in Konuş.⁷⁰⁷ A bit later in 1779 one Mehmed Emin Halife received

⁷⁰⁴ Petar Matković. “Dva talijanska putopisa po balkanskom poluočku iz XVI. vieka: Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catharin Zen ambassador straordinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno & Descizione del viaggio per terra di Constantinopoli e dalle cose principali del paese.” *Starine* 10 (1878): 214 and 255. A bit earlier Schepper left the following short note on Konuş: “*Estanz montez à cheval, sommes venuz en ung bourg appellé Comis, où y at une grande meschita, edifice de Menelogy*”- Corneille Duplicius de Schepper. *Missions diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus, ambassadeur de Christiern II, de Charles V, de Ferdinand Ier et de Marie, reine de Hongrie, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1523 à 1555*, éd. par M. Le Bonde Saint-Genois (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1856), 191. For a complete list of western travelers who visited Konuş see Stephane Yerasimos. *Les Voyageurs dans l’Empire ottoman (XIV^e – XVI^e siècles)* (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société Turque d’Histoire, 1991).

⁷⁰⁵ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 212.

⁷⁰⁶ Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 2, 28; Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 3, 212-13 Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, vol. 6, 2002, 69.

⁷⁰⁷ BOA, TSMA D. 5671-0001, f. 1^b.

the same payment for performing his duties at the *mekteb*.⁷⁰⁸ Daily salary of 4 *akçes* was about the average payment of the instructors in primary schools in the region.⁷⁰⁹

The settlements surrounding the nucleus of Konuş, like the recently established Novasel, continued to expand in the intervening years prior the *tahrir* registration of 1596.⁷¹⁰ For quarter of a century the village tripled its population, having 39 Christian households and 13 unmarried tax-payers. Many of the taxpayers in the Christian village were certainly migrants, because some of them were explicitly mentioned either as *haymane* or *preseliç*, terms which indicate their recent arrival there. The *defter* also recorded a group of 12 individuals serving at the *imaret* in Konuş, 88 Muslim rice-growers dispersed in the fields around, 13 Muslim households in the village of Turudlu, and 57 Christian families in Bosna's two quarters. The Muslim village of Kaşıkçı, located in the immediate vicinities of Konuş had 25 households and 5 unmarried tax-payers.

⁷⁰⁸ Hasan Telli. *Osmanlı Döneminde Bazı Filibe Vakıfları* (MA Thesis, Ankara University, 2002), 123-124.

⁷⁰⁹ Orlin Säbev. *Osmanski uchilishta v bălgarskite zemi XV-XVIII vek* (Sofia: Lubomădrie-Hronika, 2001), 221-267.

⁷¹⁰ BOA, TD 470, f. 669.

Table 3. Population of the *vakıf* of Mehmed Bey, son of Minnet Bey in 1596

Location	Muslims		Christians	
	Household s	Unmarried	Household s	Unmarried
<i>nefs-i Konuş</i>	19	5	-	-
Bosna	-	-	54	-
Turudlu	13	-	-	-
Kaşıkçı	25	5	-	-
Novasel, n.d. Lala	-	-	39	13
<i>çeltükçıyan</i>	88	-	-	-
<i>gilmanan</i>	-	-	3	-
TOTAL	145	10	96	13

The documentary evidence shows that by the end of the sixteenth century the possessions of Mehmed Bey's pious foundation comprised of the nucleus in Konuş, where a *kervansaray*, mosque with *imaret*, public bath, residence for the administrators, along with other service buildings were placed, and two Muslim and two Christian villages in its immediate surroundings. Situated very close by one another, the Christian villages of Bosna and Novasel/Lala Pınarı merged in a single entity in the years to come, which was located less than two kilometers to the south of the complex. The fate of the two Muslim villages was similar and they likewise joined the main settlement, forming the so-called Turkish Konuş.

The growing importance of Konuş in the area did not remain overlooked by the central Ottoman administration. In the sixteenth century it was made an administrative center of a *nahiye* that included several dozens of villages in the open plain and in the

Rhodope Mountains to the south.⁷¹¹ Thus Konuş turned into the natural center of the region that was preferred by the Ottoman authorities before the much larger, but exclusively Christian, neighboring town of İstanımaka. It seems that one of the reasons that lead the Ottoman administration in favoring the smaller in size Konuş was the fact that the complex of Mehmed Bey, which implemented the symbols of Islamic domination in Thrace and displayed the presence of the Ottoman dynasty too, was located there. More notably, the area surrounding Konuş was used by the numerous Tatars and Yürüks as winter quarters (*kışlak*) of their herds. It is noteworthy that all the villages deep in the Rhodopes that belonged to the *nahiye* of Konuş are situated at an altitude between 700 and 1000 meters thus providing excellent conditions for transhumance. The nomads, Tatars and Yürüks spent the summers at the high lands and descended in the plain near Konuş in the late autumn, where the dried out rice-fields offered excellent wintering conditions. The authority of the Minnetoğlus, hereditary leaders of such nomadic groups, must have been used by the Ottoman administration in administering the region and collecting the taxes and dues of these seasonal migrants.

4.4. Why Konuş never turned into a town?

Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey attempted to create and promote a new town in his family domain, situated in the vast Thracian plain near Filibe. Certainly he was not a

⁷¹¹ Borisov, Vakăfskata institutsia v Rodopite, 101-103.

pioneer, but rather imitated his fellow-raider commanders, who were present in the Balkans for two or three generations already. The Ottoman conquest of the region, largely driven by these *akıncı ucbeyis*, along with the inevitable destruction accompanying any military endeavor, brought a significant modification and revitalization of the subdued territories. The powerful Balkan march lords, who ruled parts of the peninsula almost independently in the course of and shortly after its conquest, had a noteworthy output in this process. The might concentrated in the *ucbeyis*' hands was decidedly manifested not only in their successful military campaigns, but also in the creation and development of a number of new settlements all over the Balkans. Many of these newly created towns were fortunate enough to turn into some of the most prominent and admirable Balkan cities. Historiography up until very recently, when discussing the urban development of the Balkans under Ottoman rule, often neglected the crucial role of the march lords and generally attributed the creation of the numerous new settlements to the undetermined and flexible term "the Ottomans".⁷¹² In contrast, quite a few modern towns in the Balkans owe their existence to the architectural compounds commissioned by one of the *akıncı* leaders, which often attracted the attention of the relatives or fellows from other dynasties who also contributed to the settlement's development.

The career of Mehmed Bey can be seen as a typical example of the ideas, aims and efforts of the fifteenth-century Balkan march lords. He had a significant output in

⁷¹² A number of pioneering articles by Machiel Kiel in the past half a century as also recent studies by Heath Lowry on the urban centers dominated by the dynasty of Gazi Evrenos acknowledged the role and importance of the border commanders in the Balkans in the process of creating and developing new towns.

the development of both Sarajevo and Smederevo, places which also attracted the attention and sponsorship of many other border commanders. Imitating the *beys* of the more prominent dynasties, Mehmed Bey also tried to create and promote an entirely new settlement in his family domain. This was an ambitious task and he must have spent a lot of resources and energy in constructing the complex in Konoš in the second half of the fifteenth century. However, it seems that his initial plans to promote his powerbase and to turn it into a vivid town had to face a failure, since Konoš never lost its rural appearance. Finally, ironically enough, it was leveled to the ground by the descendants of the very same people whom Mehmed Bey settled there earlier in order to provide revenues for his pious foundation and thus disappeared for good.⁷¹³

There are at least several reasons that can provide for an explanation of the failure of Mehmed Bey's otherwise promising project. The spot he selected for his complex seemed well-chosen, because of its location on the main Balkan highway since the Antiquity – the Roman *Via Militaris*, thus one would expect a rapid development due to the traffic on the important highway. However, only a few decades after the complex was established, the main road shifted its path to the north and Konoš remained isolated on a secondary, rarely used, spare road which also explains why not so many western travelers crossed it.⁷¹⁴ The choice of the exact branch of the road, after the travelers passed through Filibe on their way toward Istanbul, pretty much depended on the current

⁷¹³ On the destruction of Turkish Konoš see Boykov, "Vanished Ottoman Monuments", 63-64.

⁷¹⁴ On the *Via Militaris* road in Ottoman times, the classical work of Constantin Jireček. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe. Eine historisch-geographische Studie* (Prag: Verlag von F. Tempsky, 1877), still remains the most authoritative work. The branches of the road which splits after Filibe and rejoin at Cisir-i Mustafa Paşa (Svilengrad) are marked on map #14 appended in Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs dans l'Empire ottoman*.

weather conditions or the preference of their guides. Nevertheless, most of the westerners preferred the path running through Papazalı (mod. Popovitsa)⁷¹⁵, a few kilometers north of Konuş, thus indicating that this section was used as the main road, while the segment passing through Konuş remained in use, but only as a secondary, spare way.

It also seems that Mehmed Bey missed the exact timing for such an enterprise. At the time when he began his complex, the area for almost a century was no longer a border zone and most of the energy and financial support of the periphery forces in the Ottoman society was already concentrated in the new frontier region in Serbia and Bosnia. Thus the march lords of that time must have found Konuş unattractive, besides, whenever they sponsored public buildings in Upper Thrace, they chose places with higher strategic importance, like the town of Tatar Pazarcık for instance.⁷¹⁶ An eventual patronage on the part of the other raider commanders undoubtedly would have brought an enormous boost in the development of the emerging settlement. The inability to attract the support of the *beys* must have been of vital importance for Konuş's further development. Mehmed Bey did not descend from one of the powerful and rich dynasties, but rather made a name on his own, therefore one would expect that his financial

⁷¹⁵ Oddly enough in 1660s Kethüda Mehmed Paşa attempted to elevate the village of Papazlı (i.e. priest's village) to a town, ironically renaming it to *kasaba* of İslâmlu. According to his endowment deed he built in the village a number of public buildings endowing to his foundation the nearby rice-fields and other properties. Just as Konuş never turned into a town Papazlı remained a village as the new name was hardly in any other use but is the fantasies of the patron. The endowment deed of Kethüda Mehmed Paşa is discussed by Svetlana Ivanova. "Golemi vakāfi na osmankiya elit v Rumeliya, XVII-XVIII v." in Raya Zaimova and Nikolay Aretov (eds.), *Pari, dumi, pamet* (Sofia: Kralitsa Mab, 2004), 111-115, without a benefit of a reference to the original document and where it is housed.

⁷¹⁶ Grigor Boykov. *Tatar Pazardžik. Ot osnovavaneto na grada do kraya na XVII vek. Izsledvania i dokumenti* (Sofia: Amicitia, 2008), 33-61.

resources were limited. Moreover, not only was Mehmed Bey relying on his own efforts alone, but his descendents did not seem to follow their father's steps and none of them turned into an influential and strong military leader, hence securing an influx of revenues through warfare. On the contrary, they appear to have been in constant conflict with the central Ottoman government as several of them were deposed as administrators of the family foundation on the explicit order of the sultan. The tension between the central authority and the family certainly did not favor the development of Konaş. Furthermore, the descendents of Mehmed Bey did not prove to be skilled administrators of their ancestor's foundation and no major additions to the complex were made in later times.

The family of Minnetoğlus appeared in Rumelia as tribal leaders and it seems that they could never break the connection with the large number of nomads who surrounded Konaş every winter. Mehmed Bey's aim to promote a town that he created from scratch appears to have been an overambitious task for a person of his magnitude. It could not turn into one of the many modern cities in the Balkans which owe their existence to the creative energy of the Ottoman border society. Nevertheless this failed attempt deserves scholarly attention, because if examined together with other successful or unsuccessful enterprises of its kind could provide a vivid demonstration of the ideas and processes in the early Ottoman society, in which the raider commanders took an important place. The case of Konaş therefore is a sound example of the might of the *bey*s of the marches and their aspiration for taking a well-deserved part in the process of empire building. Being an indispensable component of the Ottoman conquests and often

the driving force behind them, the border lords accumulated great power in their hands. By creating their own powerbases and thus giving birth to new settlements in the predominantly Christian Balkan territories, on the one hand they manifested the acquired influence in the Ottoman society and represented the authority of the new Ottoman masters in the conquered lands, on the other.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SUCCESSFUL PROJECT – THE EMERGENCE OF THE TOWN OF KARLOVA (KARLOVO)

In contrast with the failed attempt of Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey to create a new town in Thrace, this chapter focuses on a similar in time and scale project that was likewise carried out by a single person, but was nevertheless successful in giving birth to a new settlement, which over time turned into an important provincial urban center. The town of Karlova (mod. Karlovo), created by an Ottoman dignitary, Ali Bey, son of Karlı, was the center of the *nahiye* of Göpsa throughout the Ottoman period and still remains the largest and the most important place in the district. Its foundation and development can be seen as yet another model of urban development in the Ottoman Balkans. Certainly Karlova came into being thanks to the patronage of an important individual connected to the Ottoman ruling elite, who established it on a blank spot and contributed

to its further development, but the rapidly growing importance of the new town must undoubtedly be attributed to the inherited local pre-Ottoman tradition.

5.1. The region and the pre-Ottoman Kopsis

The town of Karlova, located about 55 km north of Filibe, dominates the valley of the Stryama River (Ott. Göpsu) that flows in a vast plain, enclosed by the high mountain range of Stara Planina (Ott. Koca Balkan) from the north and by the low hills of Sredna Gora (Ott. Karaca Dağ) from the south. (Map 2) The Göpsu River cuts through Sredna Gora and through a wide gorge it flows to the southeast. Crossing the plain of Upper Thrace it joins the Maritsa near the village of Papazlı (mod. Popovitsa) next to the path of the *Via Militaris* road. The eastern edge of the plain of Karlova reaches the mountain pass of Kalofer while the eminences of Koznitsa near the town of Klisura (Ott. Prisdım *derbend*) enclose it from west. Situated at an average altitude of 380 m the plain of Karlova occupies a territory of 280 sq. km that is crossed by a number of smaller streams running into Göpsu River, which traverses the plain from west to east.⁷¹⁷

Not only the favorable geographic setting of the region, protected by the mountains from all sides, but also its location on a point of intersection of some of the

⁷¹⁷ Ivan Undžiev. *Karlovo. Istorija na grada do Osvoboždenieto* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1962), 7-8.

main passage ways in the area brought about the prosperity of Karlova. The plain of Karlova was a place of distribution of several key secondary roads that crossed modern Bulgaria from east to west and from north to south since the Antiquity. Probably the most important of these roads was the one linking Filibe with the Danubian plain. It ran northward of Filibe and roughly following the bed of Göpsu the road entered the plain of Karlovo near the village of Mihiltsi (Ott. Mihailü) where it bended westward for about 25 km. Reaching the village of Hristo Danovo (Ott. Tekke köy) the road switched back northward and crossing the Balkan range at the pass known as “Beklemeto” it continued toward Nicopolis (Ott. Niğbolu) on the Danube River.⁷¹⁸ The road was built by the Romans over an earlier Thracian road and it was in continuous use throughout the Middle Ages and the Ottoman period. In Ottoman times the stretch from this road, linking Filibe and the mountain pass of Beklemeto, was known as the *Gaziler yolu*, i.e. the Road of the warriors of the faith. This main road running north-south was traversed at Hristo Danovo by another Roman road that was coming from the Black sea coast and entered the plain of Karlova at Kalofer as leaving the plain at Klisura it continued westward toward Zlatitsa (Ott. İzladi) and Sofia. It also remained in use in the Ottoman period as it must have been this very road that Murad II took on his retreat to Edirne after the battle of Zlatitsa in the late 1443.⁷¹⁹ Further eastward the same road, after

⁷¹⁸ Overview of the scholarship to date, dealing with the ancient and medieval road network in the region of Philippopolis can be found in Ani Dancheva-Vasileva. *Plovdiv prez srednovekovieto (IV-XIV vek)* (Sofia: Prof. Marin Drinov Academic Publishing House, 2009), 412-433. For a fine detailed study on the Roman road see Mitko Madžarov. *Rimskiyat pät Oescus-Philippopol. Pätni stantsii i selishta* (Plovdiv: Samizdat, 2005).

⁷¹⁹ Halil İnalçık. *Fatih Devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Krumu, 1954), 11.

crossing the Kalofer pass, was reaching the town of Kazanlık (Ott. Akça Kazanlık)⁷²⁰ where an important intersection of it split northward, leading to the capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom Tărnovo through the mountain pass of Shipka.

The plain of Karlova, referred to by the Ottoman sources as Göpsa, and the river of Göpsu were named after the medieval town of Kopsis, which was the seat of a Bulgarian aristocratic family that played an important role in late-thirteenth and early fourteenth-century Bulgarian and Byzantine politics.⁷²¹ The capital of the family estate seems to have been a town of primary importance since it dominated the toponymy of the entire region. Nevertheless, for more than a century the exact location of the fortified town of Kopsis, the seat of power of the medieval Bulgarian aristocratic family, whose domain was integrated into the Bulgarian state, but seemed to have preserved its administrative entity, was a matter of scholarly debate as various locations in the Göpsa plain were suggested for its specific site.⁷²²

Recent archaeological findings however established with a great degree of certainty the precise location of the medieval Kopsis, placing it at the foot of the Balkan

⁷²⁰ Akça Kazanlık was also a new town, established in the Ottoman period about 1400s. It was in the area of influence of the lords of Çirmen Saruca Paşa and his son Urum Bey, who became a patron of a number of public buildings there. On a low hill, very next to the renowned Thracian mausoleum, there is a domed brick-made baldachin under which is believed to be buried the intestines of Lala Şahin Paşa. Machiel Kiel. "Kazanlık" in *TDVİA*.

⁷²¹ The most successful member of the family, the despot Smilets, managed to occupy the Bulgarian throne in the period 1292-1298. Petăr Nikov. "Tatarobălgarski otnosheniya prez srednite vekove s ogleg kăm tsaruvaneto na Smiletsa." *Godishnik na Sofiyskia universitet, istoriko-filosofski fakultet* 15-16 (1921), 1-95.

⁷²² The discussion about the location of Kopsis was begun in the nineteenth century by Constantin Jireček. *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prag: Verlag F. von Tempsky, 1876), 289 and Vladimir and Karel Škorpil. *Nyakoi beležki vărhu arheologicheskite i istoricheskite izsledvaniya v Trakiya* (Plovdiv: Oblastna pechatnitsa, 1885), 39. Cf. Petăr Mutafchiev. "Stari gradishta i drumove iz dolinata na Stryama i Topolnitsa." in idem. *Săbrani săchineniya*, vol. 1 (Sofia: Nauka i izkustvo, 1973), 314-317.

range, only 6 km west from the Ottoman town of Karlova.⁷²³ The medieval settlement consisted of a fortified citadel and an inner town built on the natural terraces beneath it. The citadel (known locally as Anevsko kale) was constructed on a very steep hill making excellent use of the terrain. It was designed to accommodate the members of the aristocratic family and a small number of officers and soldiers for its defense. The archaeological finds testify that the fortifications, the residence of the *boyars*, the church near it and all service buildings were constructed in the thirteenth century and were in continuous use until the second half of the fourteenth century.⁷²⁴ (Figs. 79-84) The inner town that was partially fortified had several churches, quite complex network of streets and a large necropolis.⁷²⁵ The archaeological materials bespeak of a well-developed provincial center of power that was in close economic and cultural exchange with the capital Tărnovo.⁷²⁶ The medieval town of Kopsis existed until the second half of the fourteenth century, when it was taken by assault, clearly demonstrated by the marks of a great fire left on the walls of the citadel.⁷²⁷

The evidence of the waged combat in the 1360s or 1370s, which led to the destruction of Kopsis, indicates that the Ottoman contingent of Lala Şahin that took Filibe in the mid-1360s faced resistance in its attempts to subdue the belonging territory. On the other hand, it should be noted that, following an established pattern, in the course of the conquest the Ottomans were leaving garrisons only in the larger fortresses and razed to the ground all smaller strongholds thus preventing eventual resistance attempts

⁷²³ Ivan Džambov. *Srednovekovna krepost kray Sopot* (Plovdiv: Hristo G. Danov, 1991), 170-179.

⁷²⁴ Džambov, *Srednovekovna krepost*, 15-70.

⁷²⁵ Džambov, *Srednovekovna krepost*, 135-168.

⁷²⁶ Džambov, *Srednovekovna krepost*, 71-136.

⁷²⁷ Džambov, *Srednovekovna krepost*, 181-182.

after the withdrawal of the main armed forces.⁷²⁸ It appears that Kopsis was not the sole victim of the tactics of the Ottoman conquest in the area. Apparently Lala Şahin destroyed all of the small strongholds that were part of the Byzantino-Bulgarian defence line to the south of the Balkan range.⁷²⁹

Despite the destruction of the medieval town of Kopsis and the nearby smaller strongholds, however, the conquerors preserved the inherited Bulgarian setting, thus maintaining relative continuity in the development of the subdued region. The Ottomans, who as a rule, administered the conquered lands by adopting the existing territorial division, in this case too seem to have left unchanged the territory of the estate of the Bulgarian *boyar* family and simply transformed it into a *nahiye*, a subdivision of the large *kaza* of Filibe. Undoubtedly, the name of the *nahiye* – Göpsa, as well as the denomination of the river – Göpsu, derived from the name of the seat of the large estate, the town of Kopsis that was devastated in the course of the conquest. The later Ottoman documentary sources indicating the boundaries of the *nahiye* cast suggestive if not fully illustrative light about the exact territory held by the Bulgarian noble family. The continuity was not expressed solely by the integration of the area of Göpsa into the Ottoman administrative system. It seems that the reasons for creating the new center of

⁷²⁸ Halil İnalcık. "Ottoman Methods of Conquest." *Studia Islamica*, 2 (1954): 103-129.

⁷²⁹ Many of these strongholds, placed at strategic points in Sredna Gora and the Balkan range, are still unsatisfactorily studied. However, almost without an exception the excavation results show that the strongholds in question were ruined in the second half of the fourteenth century. Therefore, it is safe to state that it was Lala Şahin who destroyed many of them in order to secure his domination over Thrace and to prevent the reemergence of resistance. Dimităr Tsonchev. *Arheologicheski pametnitsi po yužnite sklonove na Panagyurska Sredna gora* (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1963); Dimităr Toptanov, Andrey Melamed and Georgi Abdulov. "Arheologicheski prouchvaniya na krepostta "Krasen" kray grad Panagyurishte, Plovdivska oblast." *Izvestiya na muzeite ot Yužna Bălgariya* 20 (1994): 85-107. Valeri Grigorov. *Krepostta Krasen do Panagyurishte* (Sofia: Prof. Marin Drinov Academic Publishing House, 2010).

power in the plain must be sought in a direct connection with its medieval predecessor. The town of Karlova that came into being in the 1480s as a purposeful attempt of Ali Bey, son of Karlı, was placed only 6 km to the east of the pre-Ottoman seat of power. Apparently the location of the new settlement was carefully selected and meant to demonstrate a succession of the former medieval tradition on the one hand and to manifest the triumph of Islam over it on the other. By building a town that was to become the administrative, economic and cultural center of the area, Ali Bey must have kept in mind the very close proximity of the destroyed medieval Kopsis.⁷³⁰

5.2. The identity of the patron Ali Bey, son of Karlı

Despite his important legacy the identity of the patron of Karlova, Ali Bey, seems very obscure, even somewhat mysterious. He appeared to have been a person of some prominence, but the contemporary Ottoman narrative sources make no mention of him. Franz Babinger, who wrote on the history of the area of Karlı-ili in the 1930s, claimed that Ali Bey was a son or another relative of the ruler of Epirus Carlo I Tocco

⁷³⁰ The Ottoman registers indicate that after the destruction and devastation of Kopsis in the 1360s-1370s, the place was never resettled. However, a new village appeared 3 km southeast of it. By 1489 it had 12 households who were all relatives from 3 extended families. There were also two priests that is highly unusual for such a small village (*kariye-i Zagorani, nam-i diğər Sopotin*), that seems to be populated very recently. BOA, TD 26, f. 160.

(1411-1429).⁷³¹ In a recent short article on the town of Karlova Machiel Kiel adopted Babinger's thesis⁷³², while in another recent publication the Bulgarian researcher Rumen Kovachev completely overruled it, but without the benefit of any further argumentation.⁷³³ The uncertainty in establishing the lineage of Ali Bey derives not only from the scarcity of the sources about his personality, but also from the fact that Babinger's thesis is based entirely on the analogy with Mehmed Bey, the patron of the so-called Burmalı mosque in Skopje (built in 1495), who is also believed to have been a descendent of Carlo I Tocco.⁷³⁴

There are at least two sources that were undoubtedly prepared under Ali Bey's supervision therefore constituting highly valuable sources for establishing his actual lineage. The first source is the dedicatory inscription (kitabe) of Ali Bey's mosque in Karlova, which is still *in situ*, placed above the entrance of the building.

⁷³¹ Franz Babinger. "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Qarly-Eli vornehmlich aus osmanischen Quellen." in idem. *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. 1 (München: Südosteuropa-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1962), 373-374. For an overview of the *sancak* of Karlı-ili in Ottoman times see Machiel Kiel. "Karlı İli" in *TDVİA*.

⁷³² Machiel Kiel. "Karlova" in *TDVİA*.

⁷³³ Rumen Kovachev. "Novi svedeniya za Karlovo i regiona v registri ot Istanbulskiya osmanski arhiv – XVI vek." in Penka Todorova and Petiya Tsoleva-Ivanova (eds.) *Obshtestveni i religiozni sgradi XV-XIX vek* (Sofia: Text-Asparuh Trayanov, 2006), 11-26.

⁷³⁴ On the mosque of Mehmed Bey in Skopje, that is referred to by Evliya Çelebi as *Karlızade camii* see Lidiya Kumbaracı-Bogojeviç. *Üsküp'te Osmanlı Mimarî Eserleri* (İstanbul: ENKA, 2008), 184-188; Mustafa Özer. "Karlı-İli Beyi Mehmed Bey Külliyesi" in *TDVİA*.

Dedicatory inscription (*kitabe*) of the mosque in Karlova:⁷³⁵

line 1: بنا هذا الجامع الشريف بعون الملك المنان

line 2: علي بن قارلي الذي لالا جم سلطان بن سلطان محمد

line 3: بن سلطان مراد خان في تاريخ تسعين وثمانماية بقا الي انقراض الزمان

line 1: This sacred mosque was built with the help of God the Gracious

line 2: by ‘Ali, son of Karlı, tutor of Cem sultan, son of sultan Mehmed,

line 3: son of sultan Murad Han in the year 890. Let it be standing till the end of time.

The inscription provides important details about Ali Bey’s descent, his place in the Ottoman society in the second half of the fifteenth century and the exact date in which the building was completed. While there is little to discuss about the date, A.H. 890 (27 January 1485 – 15 January 1486) provided by the *kitabe*, the patronymic of Ali Bey and his position of a tutor (*lala*) of the Ottoman prince Cem, certainly deserve closer observations. The highly unusual patronymic Karlı strongly suggests a Christian descent of Ali Bey’s father, thus making the connection with the Tocco family very plausible. Later documentary sources referred to him as Karlıoğlu Ali Bey, precisely as was named his supposed relative Karlıoğlu Mehmed Bey from Skopje, a fact that was convincing enough for Babinger to suggest a descent from the Tocco’s lineage for Ali Bey as well.⁷³⁶ The second important bit of information, that can be derived from the

⁷³⁵ Translations of this inscription were published by Gälāb Gälābov. “Turetskie dokumentiy po istorii goroda Karlovo.” in Anna Tveritinova (ed.) *Vostochniye istochniki po istorii narodov Yugo-vostochnoy i Tsentralnoy Evropiy* (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), 164 and Undžiev, Karlovo, 24-26. See Fig. 85 for a photograph of the inscription.

⁷³⁶ There seem to have been another relative of Mehmed Bey in Macedonia, very likely a son or a brother of his. The summary register of 1519/1520 provides information about some Sinan Bey, son of Karlı,

dedicatory inscription, is the fact that although Ali Bey was the tutor of Mehmed II's son Cem, who bitterly contested Bayezid II's enthronement, he managed in gaining the favor of the ruling Bayezid II. The mosque of Ali Bey, constructed in what later turned the town of Karlova was completed only three years after Cem was detained by the knights of St. John at Rhodes. Moreover, undoubtedly Ali Bey must have shown some loyalty to Bayezid II since the building was constructed within his own estate that was given to him in full proprietorship by the triumphant sultan Bayezid.

Ali Bey's tutorship of prince Cem and the patronymic Karlı are also confirmed by another source prepared on Ali Bey's demand and therefore under his personal supervision, namely his endowment deed (*vakfiye*) from 1496.⁷³⁷ He titled himself “*emirü'l-kebir, sahibü's-seyf ve'l-kalem, lala 'Ali Bey bin Karlı*” (the great *emir*, the master of the sword and of the pen, the tutor Ali Bey, son of Karlı) in the *vakfiye* thus leaving little doubt about his patronymic and tutorship, underlining his expertise in both the art of war and sciences. The fact that Ali Bey's tutorship of Cem was accentuated in both of the sources bespeaks of the genuineness of his tutorial service which he conspicuously manifested. His mentorship of the young Ottoman prince, on the other hand, seemingly had no obvious drawback for his career under the rulership of his disciple's opponent and brother Bayezid II.

The contemporary Ottoman and European narrative sources, however, make no mention of Ali Bey in the course of the struggle for the Ottoman throne. In contrast,

whose sons Kasım and Ahmed and some of his companions (*merdüm*) were given *timars* in the area of Manastr (Bitola). BOA, TD 73, ff. 290-303. For further details about the mosque of Mehmed Bey, demolished in 1925 and his connection to the Tocco family see Gliša Elezović. “Turski spomenici u Skoplju.” *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Dužestva* 2 (1929): 251-254.

⁷³⁷ The endowment deed is discussed in detail below.

there were several individuals known to be Cem's tutors, but none of them can be associated with Ali Bey, son of Karlı. Two of the *lalas* of Cem, Kara Süleyman and Nasuh, who seemed to have advised Cem to seize the Ottoman throne while Mehmed II was on a campaign against Uzun Hasan in 1473, were executed on the order of the sultan upon his return.⁷³⁸ There was another tutor of Cem, certain Lala Yakub Bey, who also served as his vizier, but this person is likely to have died in A.H. 888 (1483/1484).⁷³⁹

The only contemporary author who seems to mention Ali Bey in connection to Cem sultan is Ahmed Şikâri, who wrote the so-called *Karamannâme*.⁷⁴⁰ Şikâri relates in great detail the conflict between Cem and his brother Bayezid in regard to the important role played by Karamanoğlu Kasım Bey in the struggle for power between the two claimants for the Ottoman throne. After narrating the episode in which Bayezid defeated Cem's army and the Ottoman prince faced the difficult choice either to retrieve back to Egypt or to seek the alliance and support of the Hospitallers in Rhodes, Şikâri interpolates an account that is very likely to depict Ali Bey, son of Karlı. According to the chronicler Cem sultan had a *kethüda* who was known as Frenk Ali Bey, because his father was of western origin and he himself came from Rhodes.⁷⁴¹ Because of his

⁷³⁸ Halil İnalçık. "Djem" in *EF*², vol. 2, 529; Louis Thuasne. *Djem-sultan, fils de Mohammed II, frère de Bayezid II (1459-1495): d'après les documents originaux en grande partie* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), 7-8.

⁷³⁹ Mehmed Sürreyya. *Sicil-i Osmani yahud Tezkire-i Meşahir-i Osmaniyye*, vol. 4 (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Amire, 1311/1893), 647.

⁷⁴⁰ Ahmed Şikârî. *Karamannâme: Zamanın Kahramanı Karamanîler'in Tarihi*. Edited by Metin Sözen and Necdet Sakaoğlu (İstanbul : Karaman Valiliği, Karaman Belediyesi, 2005).

⁷⁴¹ Şikârî, *Karamannâme*, 243. Cf. Ekaterina Venedikova. "Za Sultan Džem i negoviya lala i kethuda Ali bey i otnosheniyata im s bălgari (v Mala Aziya i Bălgariya)." in Sergey Ivanov and Vladimir Tsonev (eds.), *Drevnite bălgari v osnovite na svetovnata istoriya, materialna i duhovna kultura i tsivilizatsiya* (Sofia: Dafna, 2005), 231-234.

descent Cem decided to send this Ali Bey, together with forty men, to Rhodes in order to negotiate the terms of the agreement according to which the knights had to transport Cem and his retinues to Rumelia. Ali Bey was successful in his mission and returned to Cem with a treaty signed by the grand-master of the order of St. John.⁷⁴² According to the narrative the Ottoman prince disregarded the multiple warnings of Kasım Bey, approved the pact and went on board of a ship that took him to Rhodes. Well received and honored by the Hospitallers, Cem sent four ships for the rest of his men and his valuables.⁷⁴³

In case Şikârî's account refers to a real historical figure, it is highly likely that the person in question was actually Ali Bey, the son of Karlı, who later became the patron of the mosque in Karlova. The individual depicted by the chronicler was apparently in the very close entourage of Cem, therefore he was entrusted with the important and delicate mission. Moreover, he was a convert to Islam since the source refers to him as Frenk Ali Bey and was most likely a former knight Hospitaller who deserted his duty on Rhodes, as explicitly mentioned in the text. If this were the case, a connection to the Tocco family seems also very probable, as it was easier for a nobleman to be accepted in the order of St. John. In addition Carlo I Tocco is known to have left five bastard sons who after their father's death contested the legitimacy of their cousin Carlo II Tocco.⁷⁴⁴ Some of them sided with Murad II and converting to Islam received military and administrative appointments thus mingling in the Ottoman elite, while others left for

⁷⁴² Şikârî, Karamannâme, 243.

⁷⁴³ Şikârî, Karamannâme, 243.

⁷⁴⁴ Donald Nicol. *The despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479: a Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 204-215.

Venice and elsewhere.⁷⁴⁵ Bertrandon de la Broquière relates, for instance, that he saw in the Ottoman court in Edirne some Magnoly, the brother of the count of Cephalonia, i.e. Carlo II Tocco, who behaved so humble as if he was a servant of Murad.⁷⁴⁶ In this respect there is a chance that one of the five bastard sons of Carlo I Tocco, or more likely one of his grandsons, was recruited by the order of Saint John, but he later abandoned it and converting to Islam he became Frenk Ali Bey, or Ali, son of Karlı, the tutor of Cem sultan.⁷⁴⁷

Şikâri's account on Frenk Ali Bey's involvement into the negotiations for a safe-conduct between Cem and the knights in Rhodes, however, conflicts the main narrative sources for these events – the *Vaki'at-i Sultan Cem* and *Œuvres* of Guillaume Caoursin.⁷⁴⁸ They unanimously point that the person dispatched by Cem for the negotiations with the grand master Piere d'Aubusson was one Frenk Süleyman Bey, but not Ali Bey, who was accompanied by another dignitary of Cem named Doğan.⁷⁴⁹ After Cem was received in Rhodes he sent his maternal uncle, another Ali Bey, to Karamanoğlu Kasım Bey to bring the rest of his troops and the personal belongings of

⁷⁴⁵ Theodore Spandounes. *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*. Translated and edited by Donald Nicol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 27-28.

⁷⁴⁶ Bertrandon de la Broquière. *Voyage d'Outremer*, Ch. Schefer (ed.) (Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1842), 195. Nada Zecevič, who is currently preparing for publication an extensive monograph on the Tocco family in the Balkans, considers that this person could have also been Menuno, one of the bastard sons of Carlo I Tocco, who in this period relied exclusively on Ottoman support. I am indebted to Dr. Zecevič for sharing her ideas on the possible connections of the Tocco family with the Ottomans.

⁷⁴⁷ According to Zecevič the family of the mother of Carlo I (Magdalena of the Florentine Buondelmonti), gave birth to several influential Hospitallers in the second half of the fourteenth century who were recorded as active in Greece. Nevertheless, the connection between the knights of St. John and Ali Bey still remains very questionable.

⁷⁴⁸ Both published by Nicolas Vatin. *Sultan Djem. Un prince ottoman dans l'Europe de XVe siècle d'après deux sources contemporaines: Vâkı'ât-ı Sultân Cem, Œuvres de Guillaume Caoursin* (Ankara: Imprimerie de la Société Turque d'Histoire, 1997).

⁷⁴⁹ Vatin, *Sultan Djem*, 142-143. Hoca Sadeddin who used the text of *Vaki'at* incorporated it with minor changes. Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. *Tac-üt-Tevârih*, vol. 2 ([Istanbul]: Tabhane-yi Âmire, 1280/1864), 23. İnalçık, "Djem".

the prince.⁷⁵⁰ Caoursin, who presented the events with utmost care to the detail testifies that prior the mission to Rhodes led by Süleyman Bey, Cem have sent another envoy, but he was earlier intercepted by Bayezid. The emissary revealed Cem's plans to Bayezid, which made the Ottoman prince send urgently a new mission, this time lead by the mentioned Süleyman Bey and Doğan.⁷⁵¹

Given the complexity and the great dynamics of the events, it is possible that the less-informed Şikâri mixed them up, attributing to Ali Bey, son of Karlı a leading role in the negotiations, which he seemingly did not play. Nonetheless, there is a chance that Ali Bey was indeed sent by Cem to the knights in Rhodes to negotiate the terms of safe-conduct to Rumelia, as it is narrated by Şikâri, but on his way he was intercepted by Bayezid and his mission failed. In regard of the fact that instead of imprisoning or executing the tutor of Cem Bayezid actually granted him with landed properties only a year or two after the events of July 1482, one hesitates to speculate that not only the patron of the mosque in Karlovo is identical to Frenk Ali Bey from Şikâri's account, but also that he might have gone to Bayezid on his own will. Revealing Cem's plans to the legitimate Ottoman ruler, who by that time was already taking the lead in the struggle, he must have gained Bayezid's favor. Switching sides not only saved Ali Bey from persecution on the part of the central authority, but also apparently brought him material gains too. Although it is unknown when exactly Bayezid granted him the landed property in Göpsa, it is noteworthy that this could only have happened in the period

⁷⁵⁰ Vatin, Sultan Djem, 144-145. Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall. *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman, depuis son aurore jusqu'à nos jours*, traduit par J. J. Hellert, vol. 3 (Paris: Bellizard, Barthès, Dufour et Lowell, 1836), 556, claims that this Ali Bey was one of Cem's agents despite that his source Hoca Sadeddin clearly pointed this individual as Cem's maternal uncle (*dayı*).

⁷⁵¹ Thuasne, Djem-sultan, 56.

1482-1485, i.e. between the date of his probable desertion from Cem in July 1482 and 1485, the date in which his mosque was already a fact, since it is apparent that Ali Bey commissioned the building in his own estate. The information in the detailed register from 1516, the earliest extant documentary source produced by the central Ottoman administration which enlists the landed estate of Karlıoğlu 'Ali Bey, leaves little doubt that the full proprietorship over it was granted to him exactly by sultan Bayezid II.⁷⁵²

The examination of the documentary and narrative sources at hand imply that Babinger's suggestion about the lineage of Ali Bey, son of Karlı, although derived entirely on the basis of analogy, seems credible. Despite the lack of any firm evidence, it is very likely that the patron of the mosque in Karlova was a direct descendent, most probably a grandson, of Carlo I Tocco who might have been a knight Hospitaller in his youth, but later converted to Islam. He must have received extensive training in Islamic sciences and the art of war for him being appointed a tutor of the Ottoman prince Cem. This fact alone bespeaks of Ali Bey's connections with the high ranking officials in the Ottoman court, where he is also likely to have been educated. In Mehmed II's lifetime he was given a *timar* in the region of Selânik (Thessaloniki) that by 1478-1479 yielded to Ali Bey a revue of 21 435 *akçes*.⁷⁵³ Be it as it may, he apparently was a skillful politician, since he managed to navigate well in the troublesome times after Mehmed II's death. Despite being in the close entourage of the claimant who lost the struggle for the Ottoman throne, Ali Bey not only managed in avoiding persecution, but he was also granted a *mülk* by the victorious Bayezid II. Ali Bey's architectural patronage in his

⁷⁵² BOA, TD 77, f. 835.

⁷⁵³ BOA, TD 7, ff. 276-278. *Timar-i 'Ali Bey, veled-i Karlı* (A prebend of Ali Bey, son of Karlı).

domain stimulated the development of a town named after him that turned into the administrative, economic and cultural center of the region of Göpsa.

5.3. The pious foundation (*vakıf*) of Ali Bey

Ali Bey did not lay the foundations of the new settlement on an empty ground, but he came into possession of a Christian village called Suşiçe (Sushitsa) that is very likely to have been a pre-Ottoman settlement. Because of the destructive nature of the Ottoman conquest in this area it must have been a deprived place with very few residents, if any, therefore Ali Bey needed to attract new settlers and bring it back to life.⁷⁵⁴ He must have begun the construction of the mosque soon after he came in possession of the village of Suşiçe, because by 1485, as indicated by the dedicatory inscription, it was already completed.⁷⁵⁵

Eleven years after the mosque in Karlova was built Ali Bey established a pious foundation for its support and maintenance, donating his estate that was earlier given to him in full proprietorship by Bayezid II. The original endowment deed, drawn up in the *kadı* court of Konya, is not extant, but its text written in Arabic survived in several later copies. The local museum in the town of Karlovo has a nicely written nineteenth-century

⁷⁵⁴ The Christian village must not have been large even prior to the arrival of the Ottomans. It probably had a couple of dozens of residents who were connected to the nearby monastery. Undžiev, Karlovo, 17-18.

⁷⁵⁵ The Hidjri year 890 begins on 27 January 1485 and finishes on 16 January 1486; therefore in all probability the mosque was completed in 1485.

copy of the *vakfiye*⁷⁵⁶ that has been published twice by Bulgarian researchers.⁷⁵⁷ Another nineteenth-century copy of Ali Bey's endowment deed is kept in the registers of Vakıflar Arşivi in Ankara, together with a type-written translation of it in modern Turkish.⁷⁵⁸

The copy in the local museum is likely to have been prepared on the basis of the one kept in the registers of Vakıflar Arşivi, because the careful examination of the two texts, including the ratifications and verifications made later by different individuals, shows that they are identical. Therefore, both of the copies give a wrong date for the drawing up of the endowment deed, *evâil-i Şaban 801* (8 April 1399), which on the other hand caused a confusion and prolonged discussion in the Bulgarian historiography until it was only corrected in Nedkov's publication in the mid-1960s.⁷⁵⁹ It is apparent that the scribe, who copied the text of the original *vakfiye* into the registers, has wrongly put eight instead of nine as a first digit of the year, a mistake which was multiplied in later copies. The correct date of Ali Bey's endowment deed indeed is *evâil-i Şaban 901*, therefore 15 April 1496.

The text of the *vakfiye* relates that Ali Bey endows all the incomes from his estate to the mosque that he commissioned a decade earlier in a village named Şahin,

⁷⁵⁶ The copy of the *vakfiye* has no inventory number. It is kept together with the very few Ottoman documents in the museum. It is not known how this copy was acquired, but it is very likely to have been in possession of the foundation's administration in the nineteenth century, as in all likelihood the latter ordered the copy from the department of the *vakıfs*.

⁷⁵⁷ The *vakfiye* was first published by Diamandi Ihchiev. "Turskite vakāfi v Bālgarskoto tsarstvo i dokumenti vārhu tiyah." *Minalo: Bālgaro-Makedonsko nauchno spisanie* 1:4 (1910): 346-352, but this is a very rough and incomplete translation which made Boris Nedkov publish a new translation that follows academic standards. Cf. Nikolai Todorov and Boris Nedkov (eds.), *Fontes Turcici Historiae Bulgaricae*, vol. 2 (Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 1966), 480-497.

⁷⁵⁸ VGMA, defter no. 632, f. 474, *vakfiye* no. 204 and VGMA, defter no. 2114, ff. 452-456, *vakfiye* no. 48. The same is also commented in M. Tayyib Gökbilgin. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı. Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar* (İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, 1952), *Vakfiye VIII*.

⁷⁵⁹ Nedkov, *Vakfiye*, 495. Kiel, "Karlova", 507.

known among the Christians as Suşiçe (modern Karlovo).⁷⁶⁰ The territory of the village bordered roughly the mountain Koca Balkan from the north, the land of the village of Arablı⁷⁶¹ from the east, the river Göpsu from the south⁷⁶² and the land of the village of Akça Kilise⁷⁶³ from the west. Additionally, he endowed two water-mills and two meadows that were near the village.⁷⁶⁴

The *vakfiye* further stipulates that the foundation must be administered on a hereditary basis thus it provides a complete list of Ali Bey's male heirs. He had five sons – Hasan Çelebi, Mehmed Çelebi, Bali Çelebi, İskender Çelebi, and the youngest Mustafa Çelebi, who had to become administrators of the foundation in respect to their seniority and in case their line is lost, the post of *mütevelli* had to be assigned to the most pious from among Ali Bey's manumitted slaves and in case he also had no heirs – to the manumitted slaves of his sons.⁷⁶⁵ First administrator of the pious foundation was appointed Ali Bey's eldest son, Hasan Çelebi, while his second son Mehmed Çelebi took the post of superintendent (*nazır*) of the *vakıf*.⁷⁶⁶

The administrator was entitled to receive 1/10 of the total production of the *vakıf* land and a salary of 17 *dirhems* daily. The document further specifies the daily payment of the servants in the mosque – the imam, who also served as *hatib* was paid 4 *dirhems*, the *muezzin* received 2 *dirhems*, the servant in the mosque (*kayyum*) was assigned 2

⁷⁶⁰ The poll-tax (*cizye*) paid by the Christians was reserved for the central treasury.

⁷⁶¹ Arapovo, today integrated in the modern town.

⁷⁶² River “*Osma*” or “*Ozma*” in the text of the *vakfiye*.

⁷⁶³ The above mentioned village of Zagorani, modern town of Sopot. The village was referred to in the documentation with several different names, for example BOA, TD 77, f. 565: *kariye-i Zagorani, Sopot ve Akça Kilise dahi derler* (village of Zagorani, it is also called Sopot and Akça Kilise).

⁷⁶⁴ Nedkov, *Vakfiye*, 486-487.

⁷⁶⁵ Nedkov, *Vakfiye*, 488-489.

⁷⁶⁶ Nedkov, *Vakfiye*, 488-489.

dirhems etc. A sum was ensured for the five Quran reciters, candles for lighting up the mosque and other necessities too. Were there any surplus left, after the salaries were paid and the needs for maintenance of the mosque were met, it had to be delivered to the *mütevelli*.⁷⁶⁷

The sons of Ali Bey, his manumitted slaves and the manumitted slaves of his sons were tax-exempted, within certain limitations, in case they have their own farms and vineyards.⁷⁶⁸ The mechanism for encouraging migration and bringing new settlers in the territory of the *vakıf* is reflected by the paragraph, which stipulates that those of the manumitted slaves who leave the place on their own will, but later decide to return, lose their privileges and tax-exemptions and would be taxed as any regular *reaya* taxpayers.⁷⁶⁹

The *vakfiye* of Ali Bey, naturally also provides a very detailed description of the exact boundaries of the land of the pious foundation, based on a title deed (*sinurname*) that was prepared in A.H. 891 (1486/1487), on the explicit order of Bayezid II. An Imperial edict (*ferman*) that was issued in December 1632 by sultan Murad IV (1623-1640) reveals that soon after the mosque of Ali Bey was completed there was a bitter controversy about the exact boundaries of his *mülk*.⁷⁷⁰ The residents of the neighboring village of Akça Kilise (mod. Sopot) occupied and used summer pastures (*yaylak*) that belonged to the land of the village of Suşiçe, held in full proprietorship by Ali Bey. Therefore, the residents of Akça Kilise instead of paying their dues for using of the

⁷⁶⁷ Nedkov, Vakfiye, 488-491.

⁷⁶⁸ Nedkov, Vakfiye, 492-493.

⁷⁶⁹ Nedkov, Vakfiye, 492-493.

⁷⁷⁰ The original *ferman* is kept in the local museum. The document was published in transliteration and translation into Russian by Gäläbov, "Turetskie dokumentiy po istorii Karlovo", 168-172.

pastures to the legitimate owner contributed them to the sultan's treasury, since the village was part of the sultanic hasses. The local *kadı* of Filibe was put in charge of a special committee that investigated the case and restored the ownership over these pastures to Ali Bey. In A.H. 891 he was given a title deed (*sinurname-i hümayun*) that settled the exact boundaries of his possessions.⁷⁷¹ This document, issued by Bayezid II in 1486/1487, became the basis of the endowment deed of Ali Bey, drawn up in Konya in 1496. Nevertheless, it seems that the *vakıf* was unable to collect regularly the revenues from these pastures, because four other *fermans*, issued in the period A.H. 980 – 985 (1572-1577) had to reaffirm the possessions of the *vakıf*.⁷⁷² In A.H. 986 (1578/1579) a new committee reexamined the disputed territory and reaffirmed the *sinurname* of Bayezid II, verifying the right of possession over these pastures to the pious foundation.⁷⁷³ Yet Murad IV's *ferman* of 1632 demonstrates that the controversies between the *mütevellıs* of the *vakıf* and the *emins* collecting the revenues of the sultanic *hasses* continued, since the rights of possession of the pastures had to be endorsed once again by an Imperial edict.⁷⁷⁴

The *vakfiye* of 1496 is the latest available bit of information about the personality of the patron of the mosque in Karlova – Ali Bey. In all probability he died shortly

⁷⁷¹ Gäläbov, "Turetskie dokumentiy po istorii Karlovo", 169.

⁷⁷² Gäläbov, "Turetskie dokumentiy po istorii Karlovo", 169.

⁷⁷³ Sultan Murad III (1574-1595) also issued a new Imperial edict for this. Gäläbov, "Turetskie dokumentiy po istorii Karlovo", 169.

⁷⁷⁴ Disputes over the exact boundaries of the land of a given village were very common in this period. It seems that the official sultanic orders were not followed strictly in most cases, which triggered a new process of petitions and checks in the Imperial registers. For example the administrators of the pious foundations that possessed the neighboring villages of Kalofer (*vakıf* of Süleymaniye) and Müderislü (mod. Vasil Levski, *vakıf* of the complex of the mausoleum of Abu Eyüb Ansari in Istanbul) bitterly contested a plot of land, that initiated several official checks and Imperial edicts, solving the issue. Alas the administrative documents show that the dispute continued throughout the Ottoman period and was inherited by the post-Ottoman Bulgarian administration. State Archive Plovdiv, Fond 55K, op. 2, a.e. 188.

afterwards. It is noteworthy, however, that although Ali Bey commissioned the mosque in 1485 his endowment deed was drawn up only after the death of his disciple – the Ottoman prince Cem, i.e. eleven years later.⁷⁷⁵ It is unclear why the document was drawn up in Konya, but Kiel suggested that Ali Bey was a *sancakbeyi* of Karaman at that time.⁷⁷⁶ This assumption, despite the lack of direct documentary evidence, seems very plausible. The title used by Ali Bey in the *vakfiye* as well as the reference made to him as one of sultan Bayezid's high ranking commanders (*ümera*) in Murad IV's *ferman*, testify for his high administrative and military position in the late-fifteenth-century Ottoman society.

If the personality of Ali Bey seems ambiguous, the careers of his sons as administrators of the pious foundation and military commanders are even more obscure. Even though the Ottoman chronicler Oruç mentions certain Karlıoğlu about the late 1490s, acting at the Moldovan border together with some of the most prominent frontier lords of Bayezid II, such as Malkoçoğlu Bali Bey and his son Ali Çelebi, Mihaloğlu Kasım Bey, Yahyapaşaoğlu Bali Bey etc⁷⁷⁷, it is impossible to establish whether this was one of Ali Bey's sons, or some of their relatives from Üsküb, Manastır or elsewhere. In 1503 the second eldest son of Ali Bey, Mehmed Bey, son of Karlı was acting as *kethüda* of the *vilâyet* of Rumili.⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁷⁵ Cem died in Naples on 25 February 1495. Bayezid received the news on 20 April 1495, while coincidentally or not the *vakfiye* was drawn up almost exactly one year after the news about Cem's death spread in the Ottoman Empire, 16 April 1496. See İnalçık, "Djem", 530.

⁷⁷⁶ Kiel, "Karlova", 507.

⁷⁷⁷ Necdet Öztürk. *Oruç Beğ Tarihi* (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2007), 179.

⁷⁷⁸ Atatürk Kitaplığı (İstanbul Belediye Kütüphanesi), Muallim Cevdet Yazmaları, O.71, f. 9^f.

Even though it is hard to trace the careers of ‘Ali Bey’s descendents in detail, it appears that they had a sizable military contingent under their command. The list of the Balkan lords, who joined Selim I in his march against his father Bayezid II, mentioned in the previous chapter, contains the name of Karlıoğlu İskender Bey.⁷⁷⁹ He was the third military commander in the list and was from among the small group of *beys* who joined the pretender for the throne at Caffa (mod. Feodosiya). Evidently the person enlisted as Karlıoğlu İskender Bey was no other but the middle son of Ali Bey, mentioned in the *vakfiye*. It is difficult to state with any certainty whether Karlıoğlu Bey of whom Oruç relates was İskender Bey in question or some of his relatives, but it seems that the family established strong positions at the northeastern edge of the Ottoman state. In 1514 the elder brother Karlıoğlu Mehmed, whose name is not found among the supporters of prince Selim, but some of Mehmed Bey’s companions joined the pretender for the throne, thus apparently gaining Selim’s favor⁷⁸⁰, held the post of *sancakbeyi* of Vuçitrin (modern Vuçitrin in Kosovo).⁷⁸¹ The frequent shifting of the offices of the *sancakbeyis*, thus preventing them to build powerbases directed against the central authority, was a widely used method of the Ottoman administration in the sixteenth century. Therefore, it is little surprising that Karlıoğlu İskender Bey appears in the records of 1526 as being appointed as *Müselleman-i Kırk Kilise beyi* with an annual

⁷⁷⁹ Hakkı Erdem Çıpa. *The Centrality of the Periphery: The Rise to Power of Selim I, 1487-1512* (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2007), 258-261. The author also faced difficulties in identifying the exact lineage of Karlıoğlu İskender Bey, see pages 177-179. Halil İnalçık. “Selim I” in *EF*.

⁷⁸⁰ “*İskender, merdüm-i Mehemmed Bey bin Karlı*”; “*Hüseyin Arnavud, merdüm-i veled-i Karlı*” Çıpa, *The Centrality of the Periphery*, 271, 279.

⁷⁸¹ BOA, MAD 7, f. 111^b.

revenue of 81 000 *akçes*.⁷⁸² After this date the available Ottoman documents do not contain any information about the careers and the fate of Ali Bey's descendents.

5.4. Architectural patronage of Ali Bey and his descendents in Karlova

The conversion of the inherited Christian village of Suşiçe into the Ottoman town of Karlova began with the construction of the Friday mosque, commissioned by Ali Bey and completed in 1485. It is a typical for this period square structure (12.50 x 13 m) that has a single lead-covered dome.⁷⁸³ (Fig. 86) The dome sits on an octagonal drum, supported on four massive pendants, which begin very low at the corners of the thick walls. The building that is 11.40 m in height has two rows of windows on each side and a brick-made minaret attached to its northeastern corner.⁷⁸⁴ (Fig. 87) The minaret, today preserved in height only up to the *şerefe* was standing intact until the 1877-1878 Russo-Turkish war according to some authors or until the Balkan wars according to others.⁷⁸⁵

The frontal space of the mosque is occupied by unusually large portico (9.80 x 16.30 m),

⁷⁸² Ömer Lütfi Barkan. "H. 933-934 (M. 1527-1528) Malî Yılına Ait Bir Bütçe Örneği.", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15:1-4 (1953-1954): 304.

⁷⁸³ There are several other examples of such provincial single domed mosques in the Balkans, built under Bayezid II. For a discussion of the emergence of this provincial type of mosques in the Balkans that came to replace the T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* see Maximilian Hartmuth. "The History of Center-Periphery Relations as a History of Style in Ottoman Provincial Architecture" in Maximilian Hartmuth (ed.) *Centres and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture: Rediscovering a Balkan Heritage* (Sarajevo: Cultural Heritage Without Borders, 2011), 18-29.

⁷⁸⁴ Dimităr Popov. *Arhitekturnoto nasledstvo na Karlovo* (Sofia: Tehnika, 1967), 45-46; Petya Tsoleva-Ivanova. "Arhitektura i istoriya na Kurshun džamiya spored osmanski i drugi iztochnitsi." in Todorova-Tsoleva-Ivanova, *Obshtestveni i religiozni sgradi*, 115-124.

⁷⁸⁵ Tsoleva-Ivanova, "Arhitektura i istoriya na Kurshun džamiya", 116.

supported on twenty wooden and four stone pillars.⁷⁸⁶ The portico seems to be a later addition to the mosque and used to cover the ablution fountain built by Ali Bey in front of the mosque. (Fig. 88) The dedicatory inscription is placed above the gate of the building, surrounded by nineteenth-century decorative paintings.⁷⁸⁷

The mosque that appears to have been built on previously unoccupied ground became the nucleus of the new settlement.⁷⁸⁸ The *vakfiye* testifies that Ali Bey commissioned the mosque at the eastern edge of the village named Şahin or Suşiçe as its land bordered a ruined watermill, the residence of Ali Bey himself and the cemetery of the Christians on a nearby hill.⁷⁸⁹ The family mansion of the administrators of the pious foundation of ‘Ali Bey, located northeast of the mosque, as indicated in the *vakfiye*, indeed stood until the twentieth century. Popov published an early twentieth-century photograph of the so-called *konak* of the *mütevelli* that depicts it as a large two-storey Mediterranean type house.⁷⁹⁰ In the approximate vicinity of the mosque, according to Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, there might have been an octagonal mausoleum (*türbe*) of the patron Ali Bey that was made of cut stone.⁷⁹¹ (plan 6)

Ali Bey’s mosque, his residence and a number of shops laid the foundations of the new Muslim *kasaba*. Soon after the death of the patron in 1499 one of his sons

⁷⁸⁶ The four stone pillars are likely to be *spolia* from an earlier medieval building in the surroundings. The nineteenth-century local Bulgarian intellectual Rayno Popovich claims that these were taken from a nearby monastery of St. Spas that was ruined in the course of the conquest. Popov, Karlovo, 47.

⁷⁸⁷ Hundreds of graffiti in Ottoman language placed on both sides of the gate still await scholarly attention.

⁷⁸⁸ Like many other mosques in the Balkans the local lore maintains that this one was built over the foundations of an earlier church. Tsoleva-Ivanova, “Arhitektura i istoriya na Kurshun džamiya”, 122.

⁷⁸⁹ Nedkov, *Vakfiye*, 487-489.

⁷⁹⁰ Popov, *Arhitekturnoto nasledstvo na Karlovo*, 50.

⁷⁹¹ The source of Ayverdi’s information on the mausoleum of Ali Bey is unclear. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi. *Avrupa’da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri. IV. Cild – Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1982), 36-37.

commissioned a public bath, located a few hundred meters northeast of the mosque.⁷⁹² The *hamam*, documented by Popov, which saw a number of later reconstructions, survived in relatively good shape until the 1960s when it was finally pulled down by the local authorities.⁷⁹³ (Fig. 89) The mosque was a starting point of the main market street (*çarşı*) that was running northward for about 200 m, where it opened for a large market place. In the second half of the eighteenth century the local craftsmen and traders built a wooden clock tower at the market square. In 1834 it was replaced by an octagonal stone-made tower, which also served as observation tower. The nineteenth-century clock tower was demolished by the communist authorities in 1944.⁷⁹⁴ Recently a replica of the 1834 tower was rebuilt in a different location in modern Karlovo. (Figs. 90-91)

The *çarşı* defined the direction of expansion of the Muslim town. The space northward of the mosque of Ali Bey and the residence of the administrators of the *vakıf*, the dominant authority of the place, was reserved for its Muslim residents. In the course of the next centuries several new mosques appeared in the Muslim quarters of the growing town. They were smaller and simpler provincial buildings with tile-covered pitched roofs, among which the Red mosque and Yalı mosque were the largest in size.⁷⁹⁵ (Figs. 92-93) The Christian part of the town grew in the opposite direction at some distance from the Muslim center. The rapid growth of the Christian population, however, soon significantly expanded its space. A plan of the town reflecting the situation of the

⁷⁹² Kiel, "Karlova", 507.

⁷⁹³ Popov, Arhitekturnoto nasledstvo na Karlovo, 50-52.

⁷⁹⁴ Popov, Arhitekturnoto nasledstvo na Karlovo, 28-29. Lubomir Mikov. "Cultural and Historical Profile of Clock Towers in the Bulgarian Lands (17th-19th Centuries)." *Étude balkanique* 1-2 (2010): 104-126.

⁷⁹⁵ Lubomir Mikov. "Arhitekturni osobenosti na Kurshunlu i Yalã džamiya v Karlovo." *Bãlgarski Folklor* 2 (2006): 125-131.

second half of the nineteenth century shows that the Christian quarters occupied at least twice as large a space as the Muslim part in the north of the town. (plan 7)

5.5. The Population of Karlova in the sixteenth century

Even though the town of Karlova began to emerge on the place of the pre-Ottoman settlement named Suşiçe as early as 1485, the earliest extant taxation and population register which provides data for its population dates only to 1516.⁷⁹⁶ As previously mentioned, the earlier preserved *tahrir* record of the region (TD 26) is incomplete in the parts that deal with the *mülks* and the possessions of the pious foundations. When the register of 1489 was compiled, Ali Bey already held in full proprietorship the village of Suşiçe/Şahin, therefore it must be accepted that the information about it is in the part of the register that has been lost.

The entry in the *defter* of 1516 presents in summary the way in which the foundation of Ali Bey was created.⁷⁹⁷ According to the document the deceased sultan Bayezid II has given to Ali Bey in full proprietorship the villages of Suşiçe (also named Şahin gölü) and Livadiçe, which were recorded in the previous register as his *mülk*. The mentioned Ali Bey built in the village of Suşiçe a Friday mosque, as later he established a *vakıf* and donated all of the incomes from his *mülk* to the Friday mosque in question.

⁷⁹⁶ BOA, TD 77.

⁷⁹⁷ BOA, TD 77, f. 835.

The documents attesting his rights of proprietorship, the *mülknâme* and the *vakıfname*, were presented to the registrar for examination.⁷⁹⁸ The part of the entry in the register that reads “*defter-i ‘atikde mülk kayd olunmuş*” (in the preceding register it was recorded as *mülk*) undoubtedly referred to the detailed register TD 26, compiled in 1489. The information in Ali Bey’s *vakfiye* shows that the pious foundation was certainly established in 1496, thus by 1489, when the *mufassal* was prepared, Ali Bey still held the villages in question in full proprietorship. This is a firm evidence that the properties of Ali Bey were indeed recorded in the *defter* of 1489 but the information was apparently lost with the torn off pages.

The data in the register of 1516 presents Karlova, still named Suşiçe and Şahin gölü, as a small emerging settlement. The Muslim community consisted of 6 households and 1 bachelor, while there were 41 Christian taxpayers and 1 widow. To the total number of taxpayers in Ali Bey’s *vakıf* must be added one more Muslim and one Christian households from the village of Livadiçe (alternative reading İvladiçe). There is no earlier information about this settlement but it is likely to have appeared shortly prior 1516 since it was not included in the *vakfiye*. It did not endure long, given that it disappeared from the official documentation after 1530. Each of the two settlers’ households in Livadiçe paid to the pious foundation three *kiles* of wheat (*gendüm*) and three *kiles* of barley (*arpa*).⁷⁹⁹

The majority of the Christians in Ali Bey’s domain were in all probability locals as only one head of a household was explicitly registered as a first generation migrant

⁷⁹⁸ BOA, TD 77, f. 835.

⁷⁹⁹ BOA, TD 77, f. 836.

(*preseliç*). It is noteworthy that more than 10% of the Christians were recorded as being in a state of poverty (*sirmah*). The Muslim community, on the other hand, seems surprisingly small numbering only 7 households and a bachelor in total. Nevertheless, it is very likely that in this case the *defter* did not present the actual demographic situation at the given moment, but merely marked only the taxpayers of the *vakıf*. Recalling the stipulations of the endowment deed, according to which the descendents and the manumitted slaves of Ali Bey enjoyed full tax exemption, it is plausible to suggest that there is an entire group of Muslims who remained out of the official registration. It can be noted that although the mosque of Ali Bey was serving for three decades already, no one from its personnel (imam, *hatib*, *müezzin*) appeared in the detailed register. This is a clear indication that part of the Muslims in the settlement, probably a significant portion of the community, enjoyed tax privileges and was left out of the *tahrir*. Granting tax exemptions for a period of time in order to encourage migration was a widely used method employed by the Ottoman rulers and the high ranking dignitaries in their attempts for reviving deprived cities or stimulating the demographic growth of newly created towns.⁸⁰⁰

⁸⁰⁰ There are numerous examples for the employment of this policy – Halil İnalcık. “Istanbul: an Islamic City.” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 1-23; idem. “The Policy of Mehmed II Toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969-1970): 229-249; idem. “Ottoman Galata, 1453-1553.” in Edhem Eldem (ed.), *Première Rencontre Internationale sur l’Empire Ottoman et la Turquie Moderne* (Istanbul-Paris: Isis Press, 1991), 17-105; Machiel Kiel. “Hrazgrad-Hezargrad-Razgrad: The Vicissitudes of a Turkish Town in Bulgaria (Historical, Demographical, Economic and Art Historical Notes).” *Turcica* 21-23 (1991): 495-562; idem. “Plevna” in *ET²*; Heath Lowry. “From Lesser Wars to the Mightiest War’: The Ottoman Conquest and Transformation of Byzantine Urban Centers in the Fifteenth Century.” in Anthony Bryer and Heath Lowry (eds.), *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham – Washington, D.C.: the University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine Studies & Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), 323-338.

Apart of the customary taxes and tithes collected from the *reaya* of Karlova, the foundation of Ali Bey also profited from two watermills and a fulling mill (*valâviçe*) built on the stream that passed by the town. The total annual revenues of the *vakıf* according to the census of 1516 amounted to 5 997 *akçes*.⁸⁰¹

A note in the register deserves explicit attention since it seems to have been of crucial importance for the development of the town. It informed about a special permit issued by the local *kadı* of Filibe, allowing the pious foundation to organize a market-place (*pazarışte*) in the town, the taxes of which yielded to the foundation annual revenue of one thousand *akçes*.⁸⁰² This market undoubtedly must have been located on the large square where the *çarşı* ended. It bespeaks of the fact that in the three decades that followed the construction of the mosque of Ali Bey the commercial core of the Muslim town had already developed. The market gathered the agricultural production of the entire Göpsa region and gave a massive boost to the emerging town. It was indeed the main driving force behind its progress as an economic and later on as an administrative and cultural center of the entire valley of the Göpsu River. The impact of the newly established market-place must have been great since soon after it was established by the *vakıf* administrators the Ottoman administrative documents began referring to the settlement by the name of Karlıoğlu Bazarı *kasabası* (the town of Karlıoğlu market).⁸⁰³ The name of the settlement did not change at once, but it rather

⁸⁰¹ BOA, TD 77, ff. 835-836.

⁸⁰² BOA, TD 77, f. 835.

⁸⁰³ The reference comes from an order in the register of important financial matters (*maliye ahkâm defteri*), BOA, MAD 2275, f. 1594, dating from 12 January 1566. The order arranged the unlawful collection of *cizye* and *ispençe* from twelve Muslim Gypsy residents of the town, who were recorded as one community with the Christian Gypsies in the poll-tax census therefore liable to it. Strangely enough the *tahrir* record

appears that the new denomination replaced gradually the old ones and indeed reflected the popularity and the importance for the entire region that the new market place in Karlova gained over time. It is noteworthy, however, that while the *tahrir* registers kept recording on conservative lines the new town as the village named Suşiçe until the end of the sixteenth century, the *celepkeşan* censuses referred to it as *nefs-i Karlı bazarı*⁸⁰⁴, thus echoing more accurately the undergoing changes there.

The market organized by the Karlıoğlu family undoubtedly aimed at reviving the lands under their administration by attracting new settlers and thus increasing the revenues of the pious foundation. The increasing incomes of the *vakıf* in the course of the century clearly demonstrate the rising number of taxable population on the territory of Karlıoğlu's foundation. In the period 1516-1530, however, the town of Karlova must have suffered from a minor loss of taxpayers, since by 1527-1528 the total revenues of the *vakıf* slightly dropped.⁸⁰⁵

Table 4. Revenues of the *vakıf* of Ali Bey, son of Karlı in the period 1516-1596

Date	Total Revenues in <i>akçes</i>
1516	5 997
1527/1528	5 984
1530	6 187
1570	21 954
1596	23 596

1516=BOA TD 77; 1527/28=BOA TD 138; 1530=BOA TD 370; 1570=BOA TD 498;
1596=BOA TD 470

compiled about four years after this order gives no clue for the existence of a Gypsy community in the town.

⁸⁰⁴ BOA, MAD 4075, f. 86, dating from 1580. A slightly earlier *celepkeşan* register (1576) gives the name as *karye-i Karlıoğlu*. Sofia Archive, OAK 265/4, f. 28^b

⁸⁰⁵ The *icmal* register BOA, TD 138, f. 138 does not provide the number of the taxpayers.

The data in the large synoptic register of 1530 clearly demonstrates the drop of the taxpayers that occurred in the years after 1516.⁸⁰⁶ The core part of the town, the so-called village of Suşiçe, had a slight increase of the registered Muslim taxpayers – totaling nine households and one bachelor, while the Christian community dropped to 33 households and four bachelors. The small village of Livadiçe⁸⁰⁷ which had only one Christian and one Muslim households in the preceding register by 1530 has lost the Christian family and remained with a single taxpayer's family who was still supposed to deliver to the pious foundation three *kiles* of wheat and three *kiles* of barley annually.⁸⁰⁸ The register of 1530 is the last Ottoman document that mentioned the village of Livadiçe which was either incorporated by the developing town or more likely simply ceased to exist. The very name of the village Livadiçe, that greatly reminds the term for meadow (*livada*) in Bulgarian, suggests that this could have been a settlement located higher in the mountain, probably in the pasture lands of the pious foundation. Later accounting registers of the *vakıf* testify that the pastures brought in large portion of the pious foundation's incomes therefore one can presume that some families settled there too.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁶ BOA, TD 370, f. 103. For translation into Bulgarian of the related sections of the register see Kovachev, "Novi svedeniya za Karlovo", 16-17.

⁸⁰⁷ Cf. Kovachev, "Novi svedeniya za Karlovo", 16 preferred the reading İvladiçe.

⁸⁰⁸ Cf. Kovachev, "Novi svedeniya za Karlovo", 17 misread *üçer* for *onar* thus indicating that the household owed 10 *kiles* annually.

⁸⁰⁹ There are several *muhasabe* records of Ali Bey's foundation in the Evkaf-i Haremeyn Muhasebeciliği in the Evkaf-i Hümayun Nezareti Section of the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul – EV. HMH 4911 (11.3.1753); EV. HMH 4998 (12.3.1755); EV. HMH 5697 (1768-1769); EV. HMH 4998 (12.3.1791). Another *muhasabe defteri*, dating from 9.12.1868 is kept in the local museum in Karlovo. The document is published in transliteration and translation into Russian by Gäläbov, "Turetskie dokumentiy po istorii Karlovo", 172-178.

Be it as it may, in the years after the registration of 1530 the village named Livadiçe disappeared for good from the official records.

Table 5. Population of the *vakıf* of Ali Bey, son of Karlı in the period 1516-1596

Date	Muslims		Christians	
	Household s	Unmarried	Household s	Unmarried
1516	7	1	42	1
1530	10	1	33	4
1570	69	4	115	2
1596	117	32	162	4

1516=BOA TD 77; 1530=BOA TD 370; 1570=BOA TD 498; 1596=BOA TD 470

Although the pious foundation of the Karlıoğlus lost one village from its landed properties, as the tiny village of Livadiçe ceased to exist, the town of Karlova itself has grown considerably in the forty-year period prior the following available *tahrir* record of the province dating 1570. It already had a population of about one thousand residents divided among the two large confessional groups. The register is in fact the earliest census that provides some information on the servants of Ali Bey's mosque. The *defter* has a record of one imam, who was also the *hatib* of the mosque, two *müezzins*, and a

kayyum.⁸¹⁰ The fact that the names of these people appeared in the record most likely indicates that they were no longer enjoying tax exemptions, therefore one can argue that the greater portion of the Muslim population residing in the town in 1570 was included in the register. The examination of the available data of individual taxpayers suggests that the elementary school (*mekteb*), which used to be located a few dozen meters northwest of the mosque, was already functioning by the date in which the document was drawn up. Undoubtedly the *mekteb* must have been built and supported by the pious foundation, but there is no specific information as to when exactly this was done and precisely which administrator commissioned it. Nevertheless, the register of 1570 testifies that some *mu'allim Hasan hoca* was appointed to educate the local Muslim children.⁸¹¹ By that time the town must have also had a dervish lodge, since among the Muslim taxpayers there were four dervishes. The registrar also noted several craftsmen – bakers, shoemakers, a tanner, a blacksmith etc. Surprisingly, very few of the Muslims were converts to Islam – only three heads of households were indicated as being first generation Muslims.

Christians who occupied the southern part of the town had tripled in the intervening years between the registrations. The growing importance of Karlova, already referred to in the Ottoman documents as a *kasaba*, must have attracted settlers from the villages of the surrounding area or even from more distant locations. One Christian taxpayer moved to Karlova from the village of Karnofol (mod. Voysil, 12 km northwest of Plovdiv), as two skilled craftsmen, spinners of goat hair (*mutaf*) relocated from the

⁸¹⁰ BOA, TD 498, f. 670.

⁸¹¹ BOA, TD 498, f. 670.

metropolis Filibe, apparently in search of better job opportunities.⁸¹² The list of craftsmen also included a goldsmith and six tailors. At least six of the Christian taxpayers were previously unsettled (*haymane*) as several others were explicitly marked as migrants or new arrivals (*preseliç*) that demonstrates convincingly that the rapid growth of the Christian community in Karlova was largely due to the influx of population. The register of 1570 is the earliest document that mentions a priest among the Christian taxpayers, certain Vlad *papas*⁸¹³, but there is no information about a church in the town at that time. The first church in Karlova seems to have been built as late as early nineteenth century.⁸¹⁴

The rapid population expansion of Karlova continued in the period until the next census that was compiled in 1596.⁸¹⁵ In the intervening quarter of a century the residents of the town increased by two thirds almost reaching the population figures of the much older and more developed town of Tatar Pazarcık.⁸¹⁶ The remarkable demographic growth in such a short period can only be attributed to a significant influx of settlers in the town from outside, as the large portion of Muslim bachelors (27%) clearly demonstrates this fact.

The growing Muslim community had in 1596 two imams, two *muezzins* and a *kayyum* serving at the mosque of Ali Bey. The dervish convent also appears to have attracted new followers as the total number of dervishes in the town increased to seven.

⁸¹² BOA, TD 498, f. 671.

⁸¹³ BOA, TD 498, f. 671.

⁸¹⁴ Todor Todorov. "Aspekti na tsärkovnoto stroitelstvo v Karlovo prez XIX vek." in Todorova-Tsoleva-Ivanova, *Obshtestveni i religiozni sgradi*, 183-187.

⁸¹⁵ BOA, TD 470, ff. 692-695.

⁸¹⁶ By that time Tatar Pazarcık had a population of 324 households.

The instructor in the primary school, Hasan *hoca*, most probably passed away since he was replaced by his unmarried son, the *mu'allim* Resul.⁸¹⁷ The number of craftsmen and the diversity of professions also increased greatly in the intervening several decades. The registrar kept record of shoemakers, blacksmiths, soap-makers, *helva*-makers, grocers etc. The fact that by 1596 there were at least four tanners in Karlova indicates that the tannery (*debbaghane*), which the pious foundation possessed, was most likely already built. It was located on the eastern edge of the town, logically placed on the bank of the stream very close to the public bath. According to the accounting register of 1772/1773 the rent of the tannery yielded to the *vakif* revenue of 1200 *akçes*.⁸¹⁸

The Christian community in the town that reached 163 households and 3 bachelors did not increase as rapidly as the Muslim one, but still had a significant growth for a quarter of a century – 41%. Despite the lack of a church building the priests in 1596 were already two – Ralyo *pop* and Dragul *pop*.⁸¹⁹ The Slavic origin of the Christian names of the two priests as well as the names of the greater part of the Christian residents of Karlova bespeak of their Bulgarian origin. The Christian artisans in the town also appear to have specialized in particular crafts. The register enlists 13 tailors, 7 spinners of goat hair, 5 shoemakers, 3 goldsmiths etc.

The data in the register of 1596 presents Karlova as a well developed provincial town in the Ottoman Balkans. Its population reached about one and a half thousand of which 58% was Christian and 42% Muslim. The Muslim community occupied the

⁸¹⁷ BOA, TD 470, f. 693.

⁸¹⁸ EV. HMH 5697, f. 1^r. The foundation also collected revenues from a number of shops, houses, watermills etc. The annual rent of the public bath was yielding a significant income of 12 000 *akçes*. In the same year the foundation spent 1 000 *akçes* for repair works of the *hamam*.

⁸¹⁹ BOA, TD 470, f. 694.

northern part of the town, where the main Friday mosque, as well as the public bath and the commercial core were located, while the Christian quarters were situated in a distance to the south of it. The favorable conditions created by the pious foundation, administered by the descendents of Ali Bey, presupposed the rapid development of the town. The available Ottoman documents do not specify whether by the end of the sixteenth century the administration of the *vakıf* was still in the hands of the members of Ali Bey's family or their lineage disappeared and it was delivered to the descendents of their manumitted slaves as stipulated in the *vakfiye*. Nevertheless, the register of 1596 contains the name of the current *mütevelli* Mehmed and three of his sons Dur Ali, Sinan and Ahmed.⁸²⁰

5.6. The reasons behind the success of Ali Bey's project

The town of Karlova came into being in the second half of the fifteenth century about the same time as the complex of Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey in Konaş. In contrast to Konaş, however, that never lost its rural look and finally disappeared for good, the development of Karlova was very rapid and extremely successful, becoming the dominant town of the area. Ali Bey and his descendents appeared to have been very

⁸²⁰ BOA, TD 470, f. 692. *Çiftlik-i Dur Ali bin Mehmed. Haliya der yed-i Sinan ve Ahmed, veledan-i Mehmed el-mütevelli-i mezbur* (Land farm of Dur Ali, son of Mehmed. Now it is held by Sinan and Ahmed sons of Mehmed, the mentioned administrator of the pious foundation).

skilled administrators and succeeded at the point in which Mehmed Bey and his relatives failed. They managed to create from scratch and promote a settlement which for a period of one century turned into an important provincial center in Thrace that rivaled in magnitude established towns such as Tatar Pazarcık.

Several important factors seem to have contributed for the thriving development of Karlova, while on the other hand they predetermined the failure of Koneş. Firstly, the geographic location of the two settlements appeared to have been of crucial importance. While, because of the shift of the path of the main road Mehmed Bey's complex remained isolated inland, Ali Bey's Karlova was established on a strategically important crossroad. The town became the place of distribution of people and goods traveling from the western Balkans to the Black Sea coast (the road that follows the Balkan mountain range) and from Upper Thrace to northern Bulgaria, cutting through the mountain near Karlova. The busy traffic crossing the small town on a daily basis undoubtedly proved advantageous and greatly stimulated its flourishing development.

Secondly, the central Ottoman authority set both Koneş and Karlova as administrative centers of the subdivisions (*nahiye*) in the large *kaza* of Filibe. Nevertheless, there was a great difference in the areas administered by both settlements. While Koneş was in charge of a newly defined territorial division that included numerous semi-nomadic Yürük and several Christian villages at the high lands of the Rhodopes, Karlova ruled over a territory that was incorporated into the Ottoman administrative system as a single entity from the pre-Ottoman period. Building the new town near the ruins of the medieval seat of power of the entire area, Ali Bey is likely to

have benefited from a long established tradition in governing the surrounding valley of the Göpsu River. Stated differently it is likely that the pre-Ottoman tradition contributed to the establishment of the new Ottoman seat of power in the region. Moreover, despite the destructive conquest of the region, a number of pre-Ottoman Bulgarian villages survived the troublesome times. The available space in the plain was naturally occupied by the Yürüks and by Turkish sedentary rural population but their portion was not nearly as big as in the region of Konaş. The population growth in the Bulgarian villages that remained inhabited was large enough in order to supply a constant influx of settlers for the emerging town. The stipulations of the *vakfiye* and later administrative documents clearly show that the administrators of Ali Bey's foundation attempted to encourage Muslim migration to the town too by offering tax exemptions for long periods of time.

Last but not least, the demographic boom that made Karlova a provincial center of some prominence was a direct result of its rapid economic development. The crossroad location of the town did not remain overlooked by the administrators of the pious foundation and they organized a large market that is likely to have gathered the agricultural production of the entire valley. The big market in Karlova that boosted its development could also have been an inherited tradition from the pre-Ottoman times that was utilized and carried on by the descendants of Ali Bey. The exchange of goods and the constant flow of people through the town stimulated the local industry too. The Ottoman registers recorded that by the end of the sixteenth century there were a number of craftsmen in the town that bespeaks for the economic development of the town. The complexity of favorable conditions appeared to have been sufficient enough in order to

turn Ali Bey's project into a success, thus giving birth to one of the many towns in the Balkans that owe their existence to the Ottoman creative energy of the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The cases of urban development examined in this dissertation hopefully succeeded in bringing together enough evidence that demonstrates the existence of an established Ottoman model for urban modification and creation of new towns. Formulating the methods used by the Ottomans for reclaiming urban space in the conquered territories followed a long evolutionary path. In all probability the Ottomans inherited and developed a common pattern for urban transformation that originated in the independent post-Seljukid Anatolian Turkish emirates. Adapting the ‘fashion of day’ the early Ottoman rulers transformed the spatial order of the cities through colonization of the territory that lay beyond the fortified parts of the conquered cities. Their chief instrument used for encouraging urban growth in the desired direction were the multifunctional socio-religious complexes grouped around T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes*. Commissioned, as a rule, by the conqueror and the actual ruler of the city these buildings aimed to establish Islamic bridgehead in the predominantly Christian environment and to

leave a permanent imprint on the urban landscape. In many cases these early ‘colonizers’ changed the inherited hierarchy of space and became a nucleus for the emerging Muslim city stretched beyond the fortified parts of the pre-Ottoman cities.

Continuous architectural patronage, which in several decades supplemented commercial infrastructure to the earliest T-shaped multifunctional building, not only extended the Ottoman architectural presence in the selected direction, but it also paved the way for the construction a large multi-domed imperial mosque that in a sound display of the triumph of Islam designated the new urban core. Once the new Ottoman center of the city was fully fit one or more T-shaped buildings marked its outer boundaries and defined the development of the urban fabric. The residential parts of the new Muslim city filled the space between the commercial core and the surrounding T-shaped buildings whose connections with the central area set the main axis of development and determined the network of secondary streets.

Following the Ottoman advance in Europe the program for urban transformation, formulated in Asia Minor by the early sultans, was transferred to the Balkans too. Adopted and implemented successfully by the mighty march lords (*akıncı uc beyis*) in the regions under their direct control, the model was also used by them when establishing new towns (Sarajevo being an emblematic example). Moreover, in the course of time, the multifunctional T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes*, a product of the border culture by naissance, became the preferred type of institution patronized by the border lords. In contrast, toward the turn of the fifteenth century, when the central Ottoman authority began to formulate imperial ideology based exclusively on Sunni Islam, it

gradually changed its attitude toward the multifunctional buildings. Offering shelter to the centrifugal forces in the then Ottoman society and to all who opposed the process of centralization and Sunnification propagated by the sultans, the *imaret/zaviyes* not only lost the royal support and patronage, but also many of the existing ones were converted into communal mosques. Thus, following the gradual marginalization of the periphery forces, the buildings that played a decisive role in the reshaping of the conquered Christian cities during the formative period were to be modified on their own turn and had to give way to other types of architecture, patronized by the ruling dynasty.

The program for renewal and complete modification of the urban space was by no means equally applied in all cities in the Balkans under Ottoman rule. It seems that it was rather reserved for these cities that were badly damaged prior or during the conquest or those that were seen as being of great strategic importance to the central authority. The degree of continuity of the Byzantino-Slavic urban base after the conquest defined to a great extent the development of the demographic processes there too. The cities in the Balkans that largely preserved their pre-Ottoman structure, with minor changes in the urban order, as a rule kept a sizable Christian community that was in majority to the Muslims (Istanbul and Thessaloniki being notable exceptions). In contrast, the newly established towns and especially the cities that were completely remodeled or built anew in the Ottoman period in most cases were predominantly, if not entirely, Muslim.

The case study on four separate settlements in Upper Thrace, a region that was devastated and depopulated in the pre-Ottoman times and during the Interregnum period in the first decade of the fifteenth century, presented in this dissertation, offers a

possibility for a detailed look on the process of resurrection of urban life in the area. While all four settlements in question shared insignificant continuity of the existing pre-Ottoman urban tradition they still greatly differed in their emergence and development, thus reflecting the heterogeneous nature of the early Ottoman society in the Balkans.

The largest and undoubtedly the most important of them was the metropolis of the region Filibe (mod. Plovdiv), which was seized by the Ottoman forces in the 1360s. Badly damaged by the continuous warfare in the pre-Ottoman period, when the city surrendered to Lala Şahin Paşa it was reduced to the confines of its stronghold. The restoration of urban life that began in the late fourteenth century with the establishment of the seat of the *beylerbeyi* in the city was once more interrupted by the disruptive warfare of the Interregnum period after the battle of Ankara (1402). The complete revival through a significant modification of the urban space was only achieved thanks to the patronage of sultan Murad II and the then *beylerbeyi* of Rumili Hacı Şihabeddin Paşa in the 1430s and 1440s. The development of Filibe was completely dominated by the central power and its closest associates who on the one hand expended large resources in providing the city with adequate architectural infrastructure that had to attract settlers, while on the other whenever it seemed needy interrupted the natural demographic processes through forced relocations of Christians, Jews, and Muslims from the city to other places had must have been of a higher priority for the Ottoman sultans. Having small Christian, Jewish, and Armenian minorities throughout the period of study the city was entirely dominated by its large Muslim community.

In the 1390s a group of Tatars established west of Filibe a tiny settlement that in the course of time turned into the important provincial center of Tatar Pazarcık. Unlike its larger counterpart the emergence of this town was due to the support and patronage of the several dynasties of raider commanders. Located on an important juncture that connected the *Via Militaris* road with the iron producing center Samako and Macedonia the town attracted the peripheral forces who established a powerbase there. The domination of the border society over the development of the provincial town came to an end in the mid-sixteenth century when the central power established closer control over it. This major change was also marked by a notable shift in the architectural patronage as the powerful border lords were replaced by high ranking Ottoman officials. The growing influence of the central power and the emerging economic importance of the provincial center in the second half of the sixteenth century attracted permanent Bulgarian Christian settlers in the town that had exclusively Muslim population.

Unlike Tatar Pazarcık, which owed its successful development to a number of prominent figures in the fifteenth-century border society, the attempt of Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey to promote a town in his family domain in Konuş Hisarı faced a complete failure and the settlement established by him disappeared for good. In spite of being a renowned commander of the Ottoman vanguard and prolific patron of architecture whose buildings contributed greatly for the development of important cities like Nish, Smederevo, and Sarajevo Mehmed Bey and his descendents did not manage in securing the support of the other dynasties of raider commanders who had both the much needed financial means and the necessary experience in creating towns on their own. The failure

of Konuş, which never turned into a real town, indicates quite clearly the difficulties that inevitably accompanied the process of establishing and promoting new settlements in the Ottoman realm.

As if to contrast the failure of Konuş the creation and the development of Karlova looks like an ultimate success of a single individual to promote a town in his own domain. The emergence of the town, however, was hardly only due to the great administrative skills of its founder Karlıoğlu Ali Bey. What seems of great importance for the fast emergence of the small town and its development to a provincial center was the existence of strong local pre-Ottoman tradition in administering the area and focusing the economic and trade activities that were skillfully utilized by the founder and his descendents in conjunction with tax exemptions for the new settlers, which paved the way for Karlovo's fast prosperity.

TABLES

Table 6. Population of Filibe (1472-1614)

Date	1472	1489	1516	1525	1530	1570	1596	1614
<i>Muslim households</i>	549	791	877	801	636	752	844	721
<i>Unmarried Muslims</i>	-	107	220	136	126	26	32	-
<i>Christian households</i>	122	80	88	79	81	88	156	255
<i>Unmarried Christians</i>	-	5	-	3	3	2	7	-
<i>Christian widows</i>	-	12	13	13	13	7	-	-
<i>Jewish households</i>	-	-	32	32	33	50	54	46
<i>Unmarried Jews</i>	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-
<i>Armenian households</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21
<i>Gypsy households</i>	-	36	35	33	33	26	24	87
<i>Unmarried Gypsies</i>	-	-	-	2	2	-	9	-
<i>Total (households/bachelors)</i>	671	907/124	1032/233	945/155	783/145	916/36	1078/48	1130

1472=Sofia, PD 17/27; 1489=BOA, TD 26; 1516=BOA, TD 77; 1525=BOA, MAD 519; 1530=BOA, TD 370; 1570=BOA, TD 494; 1595=T.K.G.M., Edirne 65; 1614=BOA, TD 729.

Table 7. Population of Tatar Pazarcık (1472-1614)

Date	1472	1516	1525	1530	1570	1596	1614
<i>Muslim households</i>	105	197	195	178	231	287	409
<i>Unmarried Muslims</i>	-	36	18	16	1	5	-
<i>Christian households</i>	-	1	13	-	28	44	105
<i>Unmarried Christians</i>	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
<i>Jewish households</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Gypsy households</i>	-	-	-	-	1	34	7
<i>Total</i> <i>(households/bachelors)</i>	105	198/36	208/20	178/16	260/1	365/5	521

1472=Sofia, PD 17/27; 1516=BOA, TD 77; 1525=BOA, MAD 519; 1530=BOA, TD 370; 1570=BOA, TD 494;
1595=T.K.G.M., Edirne 65; 1614=BOA, TD 729.

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MAD 519

MAD 749

MAD 2775

MAD 4075

MAD 5292

MAD 6513

MAD 15134

MD 29, no. 98/237

TD 20

TD 26

TD 27

TD 73

TD 77

TD 135

TD 138

TD 187
TD 223
TD 470
TD 494
TD 498
TD 648
TD 718
TD 729
TD 771
TD 775
TD 1001

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APPENDIX

Imperial order for removing of Mustafa Bey from the post of administrator of the Minetoğlu's pious foundation in Konuş and the subsequent events.

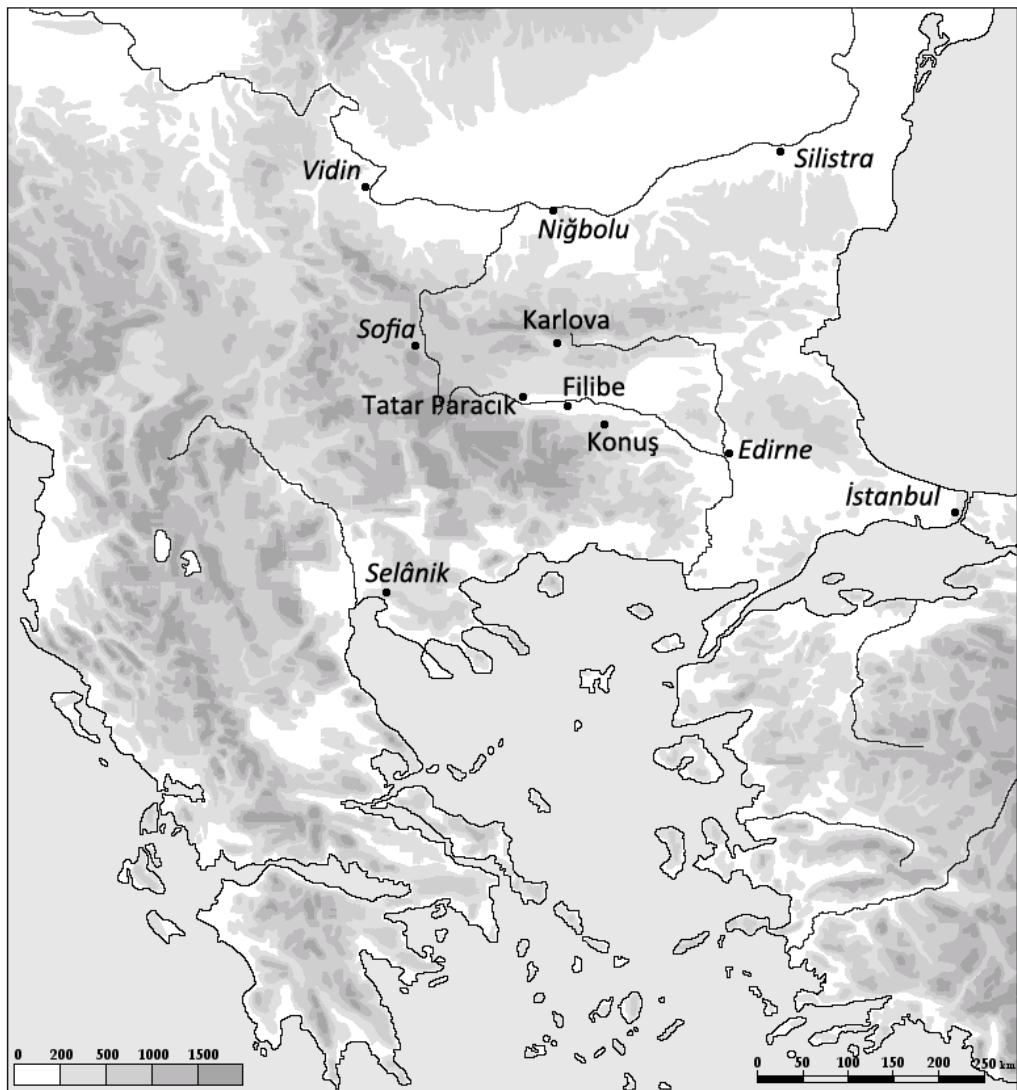
12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (Ankara, 1996), order no. 55.

Kasaba-i mezbûreden Mustafa nâm kimesneye virildi.

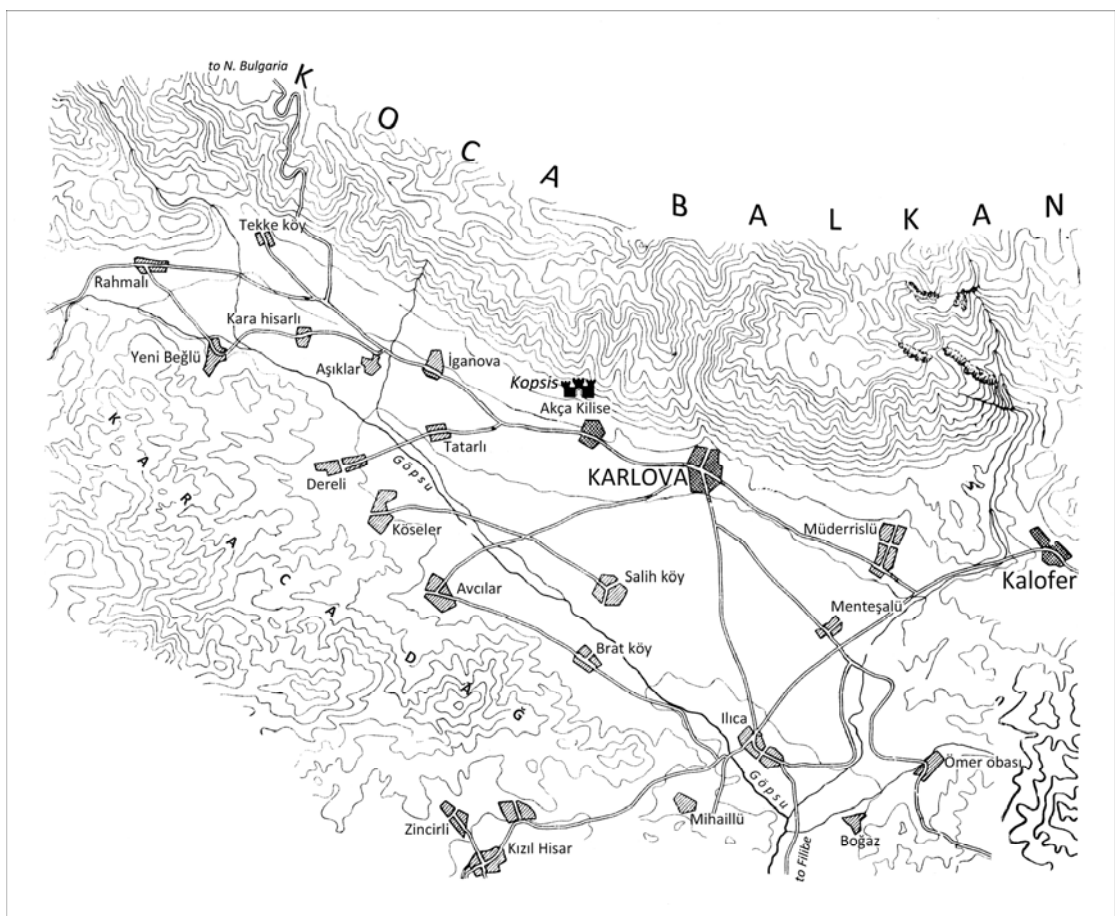
Fî 18 Za., sene 977

Filibe ve Tatarbazar[1] [kâdîlarına] ve Filibe subaşısı olan Dervîş'e hüküm ki: Sen ki kâdîsın, mektûb gönderüp, "kasaba-i Konuş'da Mehmed Beğ 'imâreti mütevellîsi olan Mustafa'nun mâl-i vakıfdan haylî bel'ıyyâtı ve ketmiyyâtı olup muhâsbesi görildükde mâl-i vakıfdan zimmetine on beş bin altı yüz yigirmi akça zuhûr idüp mezbûrdan taleb olundukda edâsına kâdir olmayup kefil olur kimesne dahı olmamağla habsolunup vilâyet halkı mezbûrun habsolunduğın istimâ' itdükde; "Harâmî vü ayardmacıdur ve ol makûle ehl-i fesâdun şerîki ve yatağı olmağla meshûrdu[r]" deyü gulüvv-i âmm itdüklerinde mütevellî-i mezbûrun Tatarbâzârcığında akribâsı olup ol yirün azeblerini tahrîk ü idlâl eyleyüp azebler Filibe zindânın basup zindânda olan mahbûsları alup çıkarup zencîrlerin kırup salıvirüp mütevellî-i mezbûrı Filibe subaşı[s] tarafından nâyib olan Memi subaşısı âhar evde hıfzitmekle zindânda bulunmayup tekrâr Üsküb azeblerini tahrîk eyleyüp anlar dahı gelüp ale'l-gafle zindânı basup bulunan mahbûsları zencîrile çıkarup salıvirüp mütevellî anda bulunmayup Memi subaşının dahı evin basup kapuların pâreleyüp mütevellî bulunmayup azebler gitdüklerinden sonra mütevellî-i mezbûr Memi sübaşısının âsinâsı olmağla Güleş nâm kendü hıdmetkârın evinde koyup iki nefer hıdmetkâr dahı bekci [...] mütevellî-i mezbûr ve Güleş ve zikrolunan hıdmetkârlar cümle gaybet itdüğün" bildürüp; "bu bâbda mazınna mezbûr Memi subaşı olduğın" arzeylemişsin. Buyurdum ki: Vardukda göresiz, arzolunduğı gibiyse mütevellî-i mezbûrı mezkûr Memi'ye buldurup elegetürüp ve mezkûrların akribâsından tahrîk idenleri elegetürüp eğer

MAPS

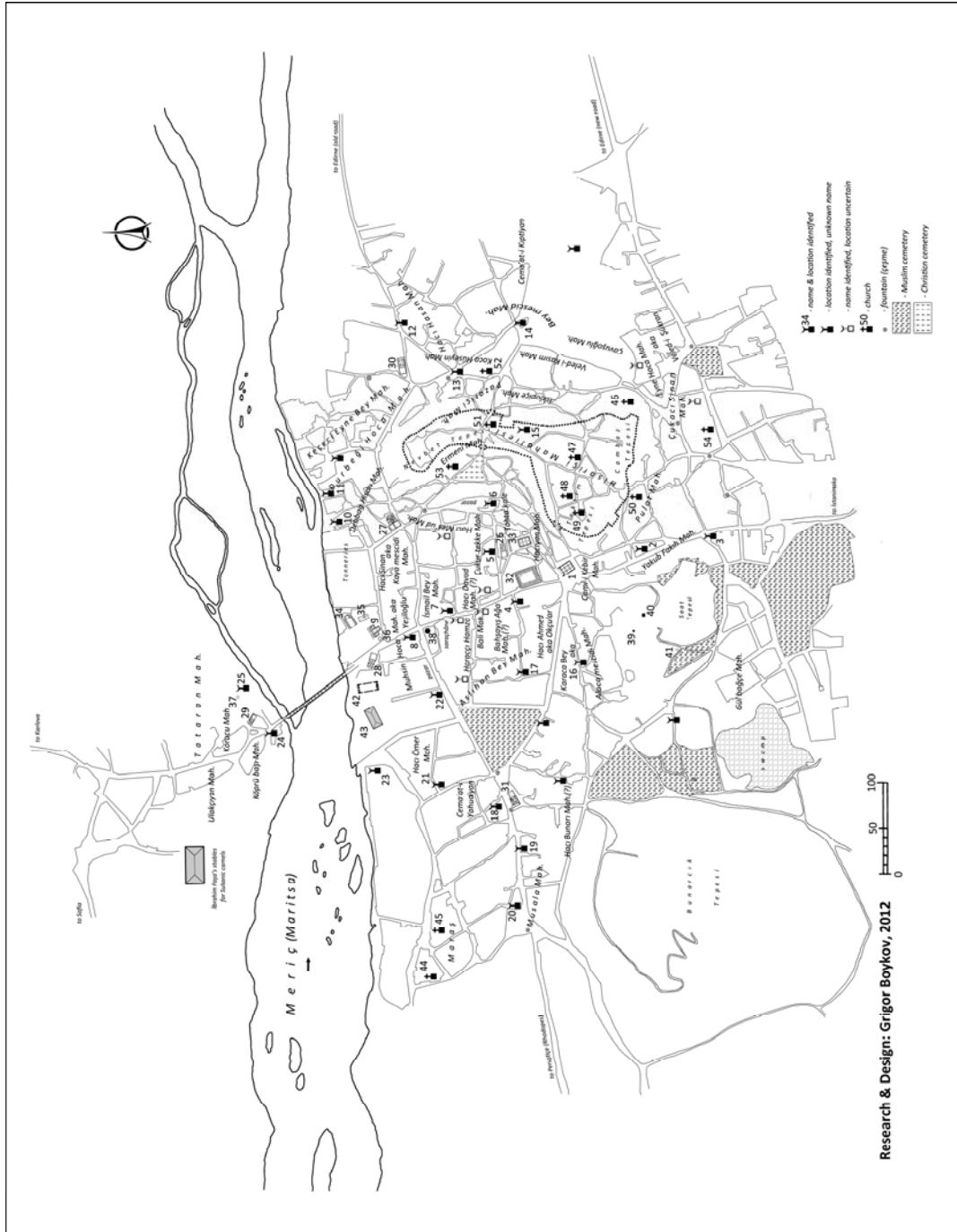


Map 1. Ottoman Balkans



Map 2. The valley of the River Göpsü and the region of Kopsis (after Undžiev, 1962)

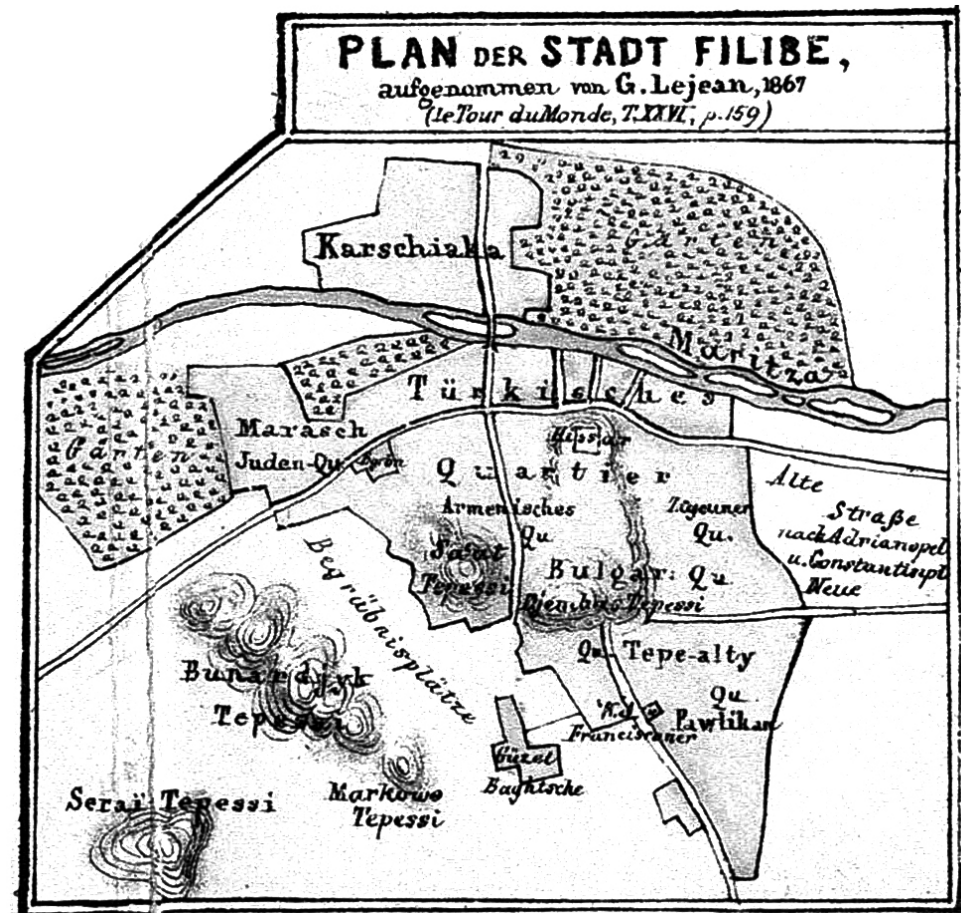
CITY PLANS



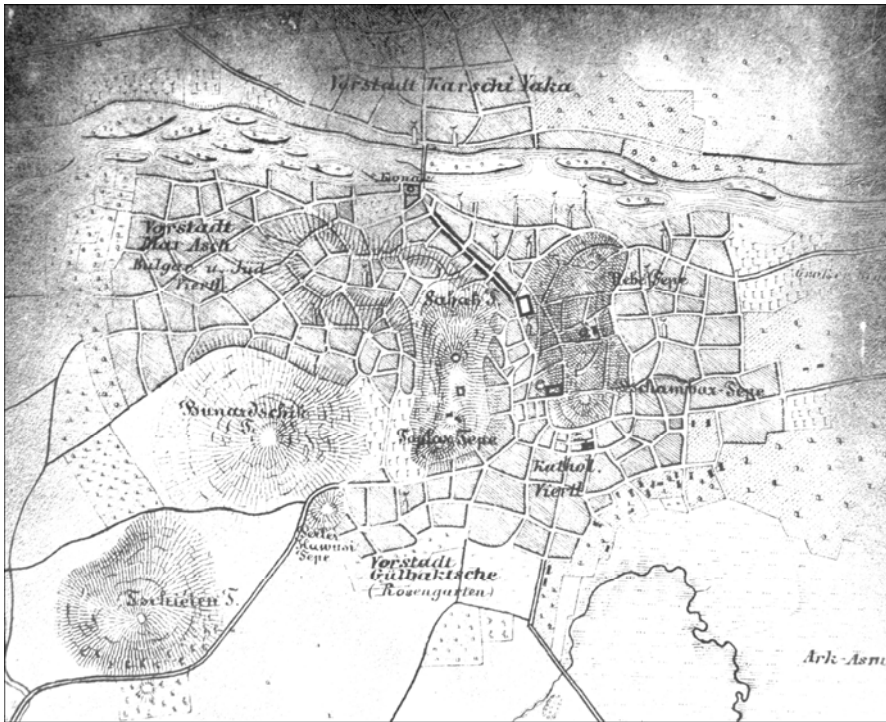
Research & Design: Grigor Boykov, 2012

Plan 1. City plan of Filibe drawn by the author after the plans of Ilinskiy (1878) and Schnitter (1891), supplemented with data from Ottoman documentary sources (page 360).

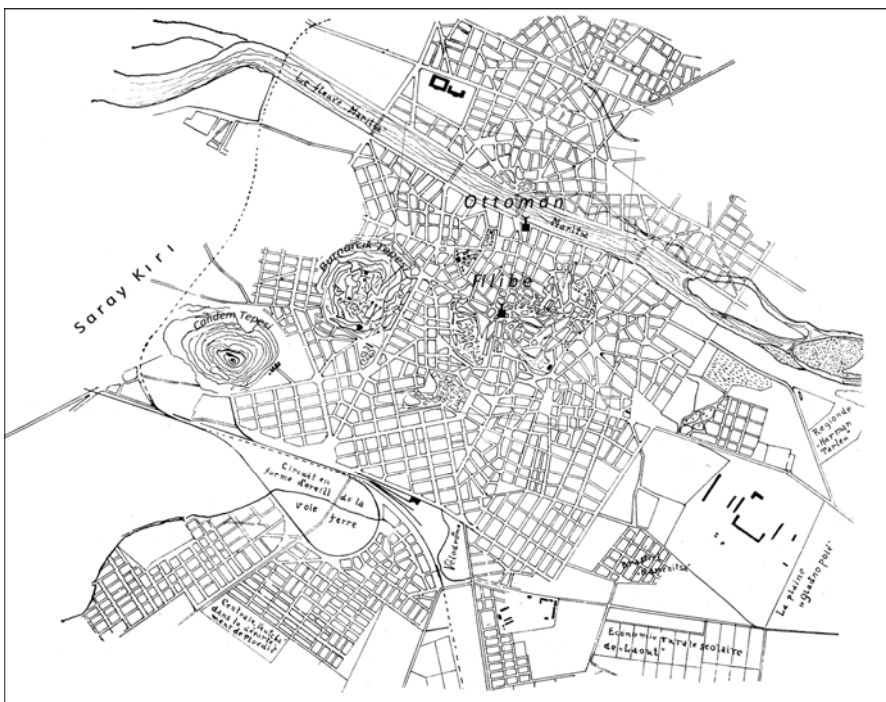
Mosques & Mescids: 1.Muradiye; 2.Hacı Abdullah; 3.Alaca Mosque; 4.Kürkçülerbaşı; 5.Çukur; 6.Tahtakale; 7.İsmail Bey; 8.Yeşiloğlu; 9.Şihabeddin Paşa; 10.Debbaghane; 11.Süprüge Baba; 12.Hacı Hasan; 13.Zincirli Bunar; 14.Bey mescidi; 15.Tekke mescidi (Mevlevihane); 16.Alaca mescidi; 17.Eyne Hoca; 18.Orta mezar; 19.Seyyid Mehmed; 20.Musalla; 21. Hacı Ömer; 22.Konak mosque; 23. Nureddinzade; 24.Hoşkadem; 25.Çelebi Kadı. Public Baths: 26.Tahtakale; 27.Çifte; 28.Hünkâr; 29.Çelebi kadı; 30.Hacı Hasan; 31.Yeni hamamı. Commercial buildings: 32.Kervansaray (Kursun Han); 33.Bedesten; 42.Panayır han. Education: 7.mekteb of İsmail Bey; 15.mekteb of Tekke mescidi; 17. mekteb of Eyne Hoca Mah.; 19. mekteb of Seyyid Mehmed; 34.medrese of Şihabeddin Paşa. 'İmaret: 35. 'imaret of Şihabeddin Paşa. Tekkes & Zaviyes: 15. Mevlevihane; 23.Nureddinzade. Türbes: 36.Şihabeddin Paşa; 37.Çelebi Kadı; 41.Behlül Efendi(?). Other Public Buildings: 38.Sebil; 39.Clock tower; 40.Baruthane; 43. Governor's residence (19th-century konak). Orthodox Churches: 44. St. Haralambos; 45. St. George; 46. St. Petka the Old; 47. St. Dimitrios; 48. Virgin Mary; 49. St. Nicholas; 50. St. Marina; 51. Sts Constantine and Helene; 52. Sv. Nedelya; 53. Armenian Church Surp Kevork; Catholic Church St. Ludwig



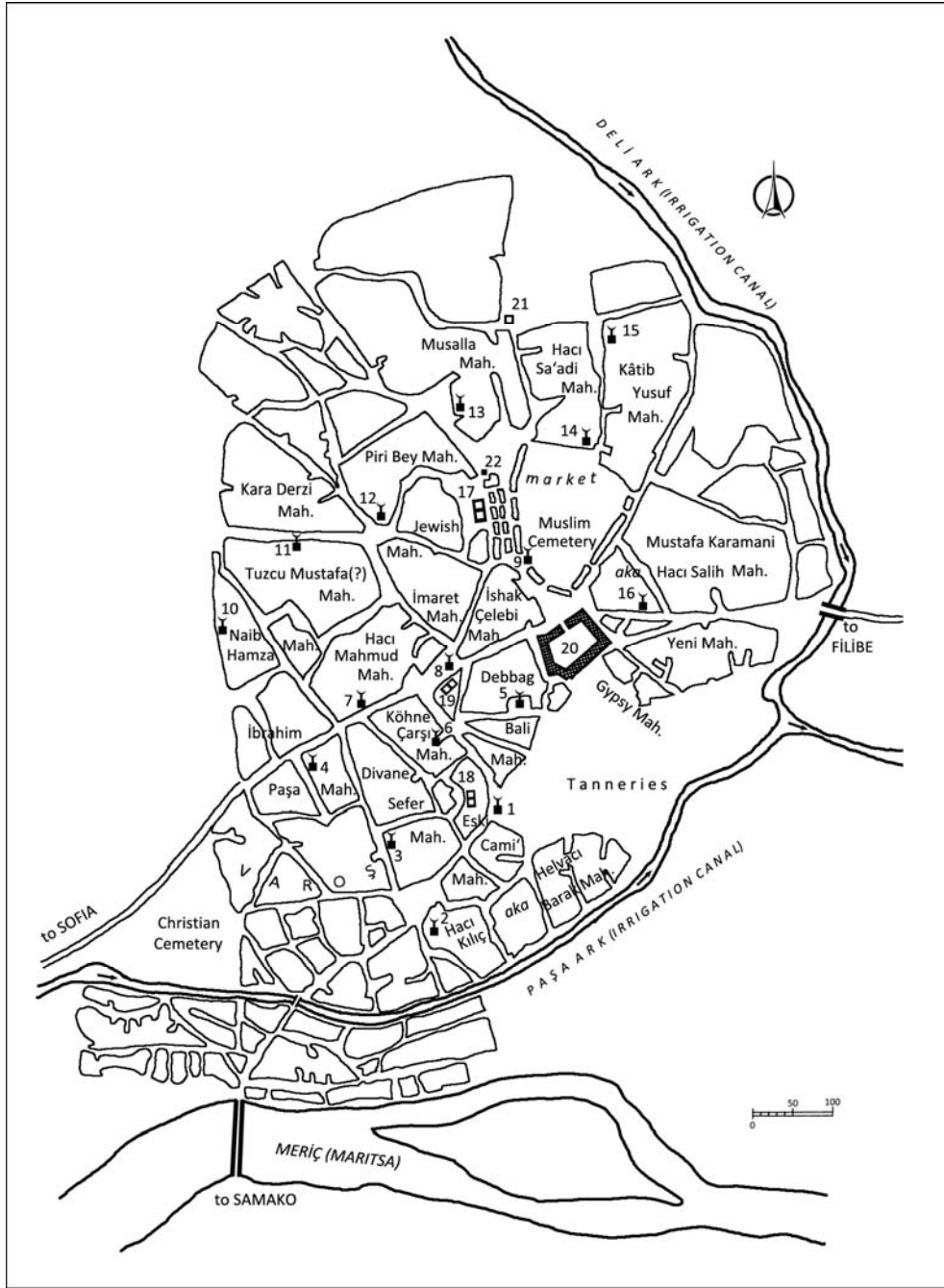
Plan 2. City plan of Filibe drawn by G. Lejean (1867)



Plan 3. City plan of Filibe drawn by Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1869)



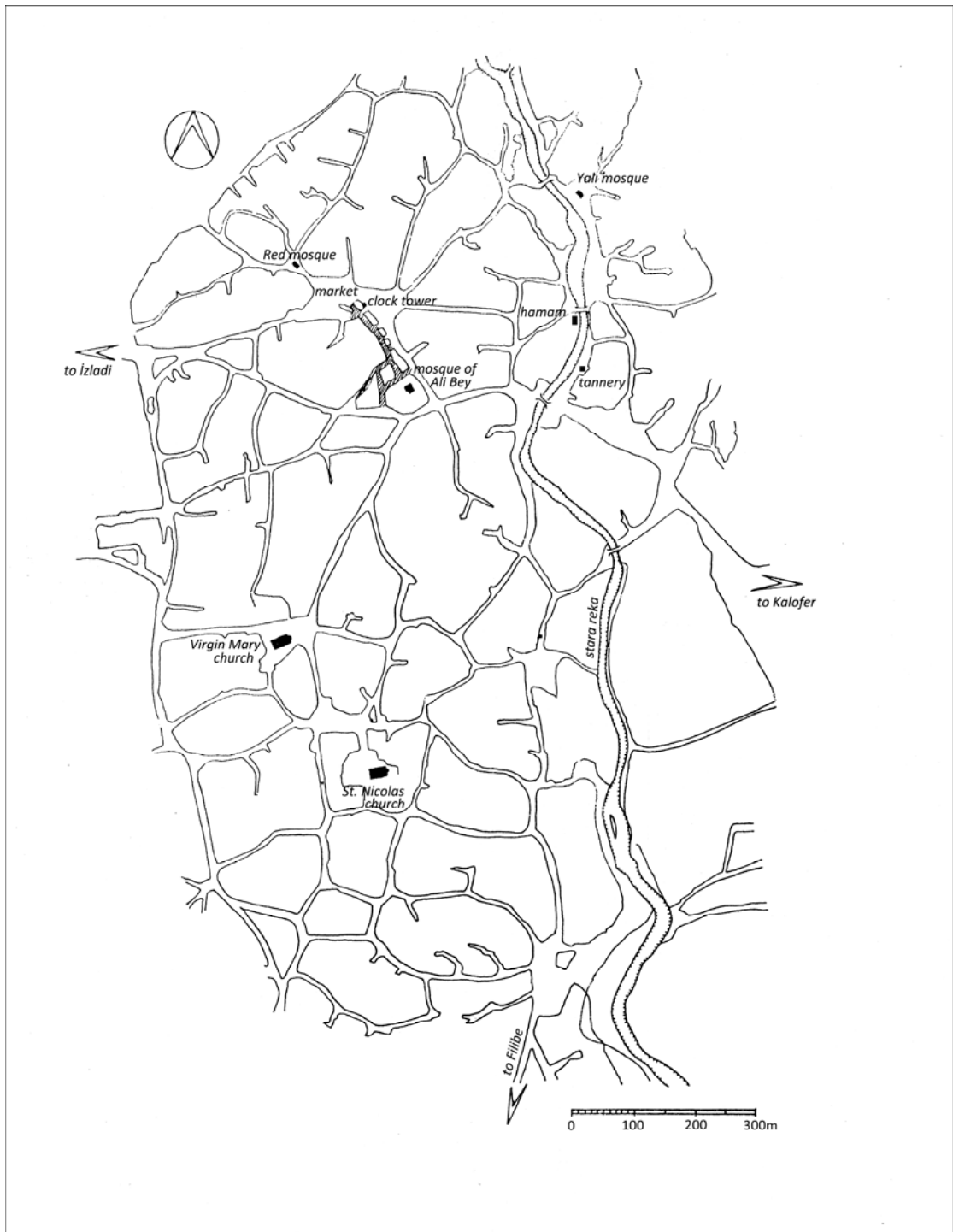
Plan 4. City plan of Plovdiv, showing the likely location of the Ottoman *saray*, drawn after S. Shishkov (1926)



Plan 5. City plan of Tatar Pazarcık, drawn by the author after Batakliiev (1923) & Kiel (1995).
 Mosques and mescids: 1. Eski Cami; 2. Hacı Kılıç; 3. Divane Sefer; 4. İbrahim Paşa; 5. Debbag Bali; 6. Orta cami; 7. Mahmud 'Atik; 8. Ahmed Bey imareti; 9. İshak Çelebi; 10. Naib Hamza; 11. Kara Derzi; 12. Piri Bey; 13. Musalla; 14. Nazır Mehmed Ağa (Kursun); 15. Kâtib Yusuf; 16. Hacı Salih. Baths: 17. Paşa hamamı; 18. Eski hamamı; 19. Hüsrev Kethüda hamamı. Other buildings: 20. kervansaray of İbrahim Paşa; 21. menzilhane of Hüsrev Kethüda; 22. clock tower



Plan 6. Plan of the urban core of the town of Karlova (after D. Popov, 1967)



Plan 7. City plan of Karlova (after D. Popov, 1967)



Fig. 1 The late Medieval wall attached to the southern edge of the citadel of Philippopolis (photo by the author 2011)

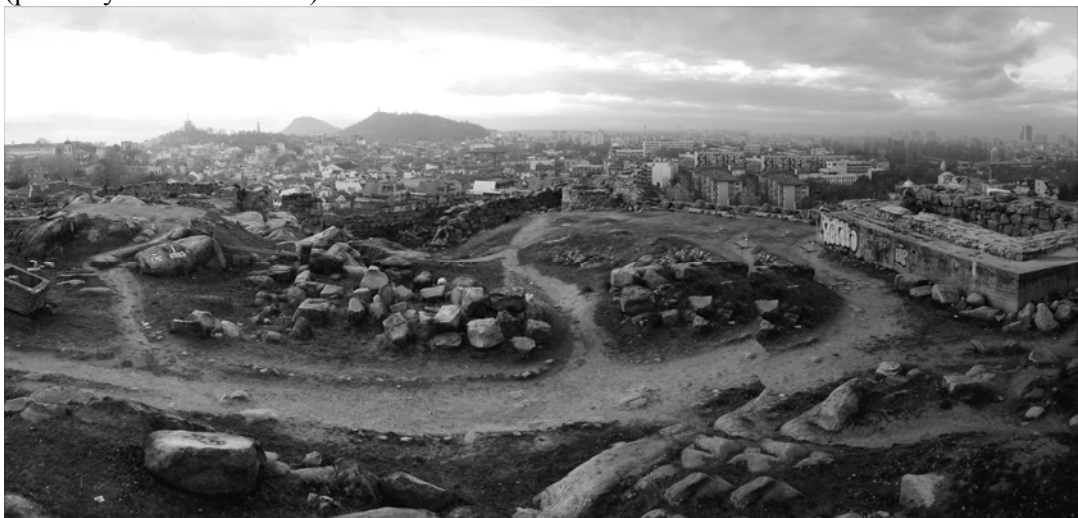


Fig. 2 Citadel of Philippopolis (northwest) (photo by the author 2011)



Fig. 3 Citadel of Philippopolis (northwest) (photo by the author 2011)



Fig. 4 Byzantine round tower on the eastern wall of the citadel of Philippopolis (photo by the author 2011)



Fig. 5 Eastern gate of the citadel of Philippopolis (photo by the author 2011)



Fig. 6 The wooden bridge over the river Maritsa in Filibe, built by Lala Şahin Paşa (photo Iv. Karastoyanov, 1892) – State archive Plovdiv



Fig. 7 The wooden bridge over the river Maritsa, built by Lala Şahin Paşa (drawing from Robert Jasper More. Under the Balkans, 1877)



Fig. 8 *Tahtakale* mosque in Filibe (Unknown photographer, 1890s)



Fig. 9 *Tahtakale* mosque in Filibe (photo D. Cavra, 1892) – Bulgarian National Library, Sofia



Fig. 10 Şihabeddin Paşa's Kirazlı mosque in Edirne, northwest (photo by the author 2010)



Fig. 11 Şihabeddin Paşa's Kirazlı mosque in Edirne, northeast (photo by the author 2010)

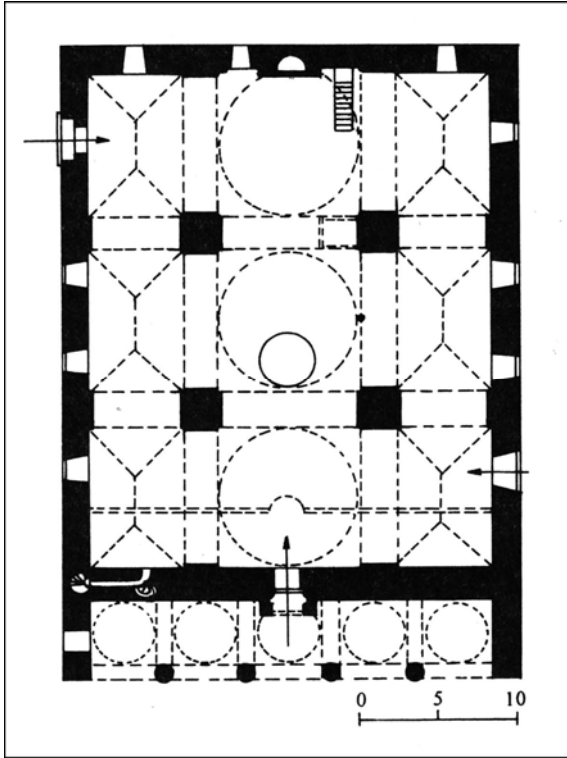


Fig. 12 Floor plan of Muradiye mosque in Filibe (plan M. Staynova)

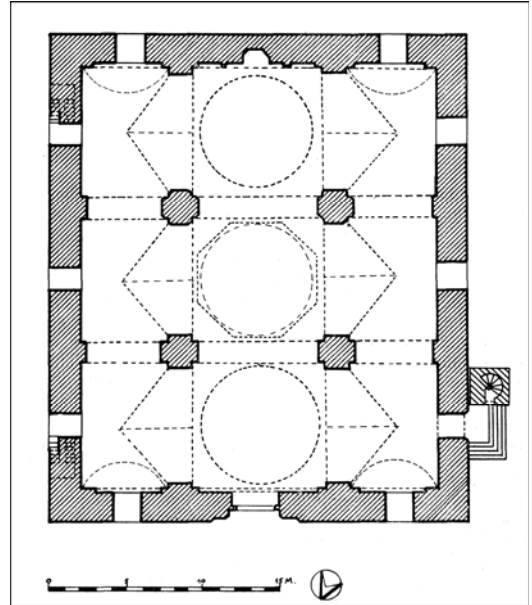


Fig. 13 Floor plan of *Ulu camii* in Bergama (plan E. Ayverdi)



Fig. 14 The central part of Filibe dominated by the Muradiye mosque. (unknown photographer, 1890s)

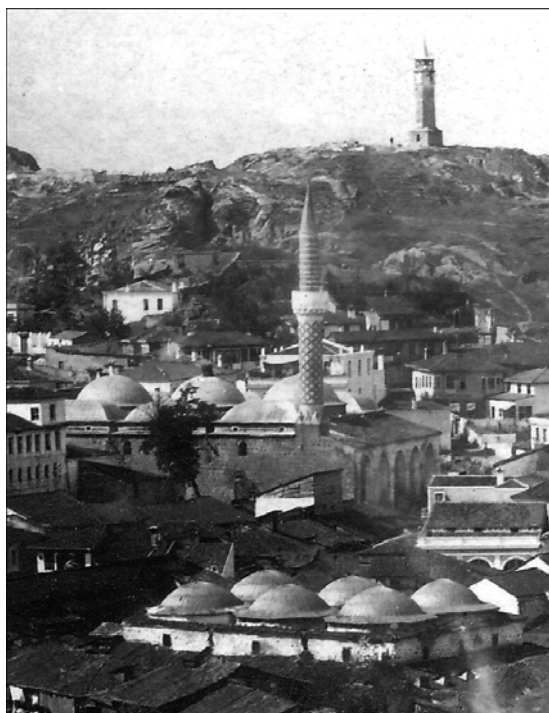


Fig. 15 Muradiye mosque in Filibe (photo D. Cavra, 1880s)



Fig. 16 Muradiye mosque. (card postal 1932)



Fig. 17 Tahtakale *hamamı* in Filibe (photo D. Cavra, 1879)



Fig. 18 Tahtakale *hamamı* and the *kervansaray* (Kurşum han) in Filibe (photo Iv. Karastoyanov, 1892)



Fig. 19 Plan of the *kervansaray* (Kurşum han), 1911 (State archive Plovdiv)

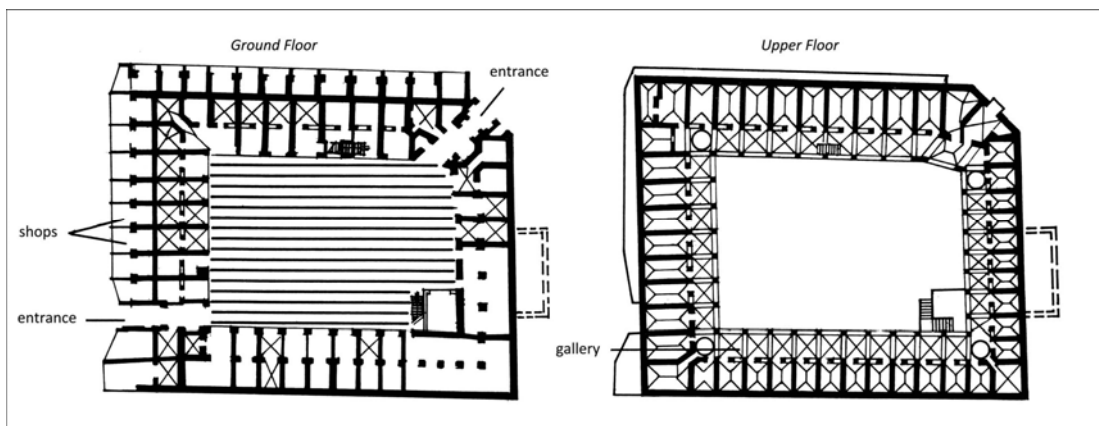


Fig. 20 Plan of the *kervansaray* (Kurşum han), plan after M. Harbova

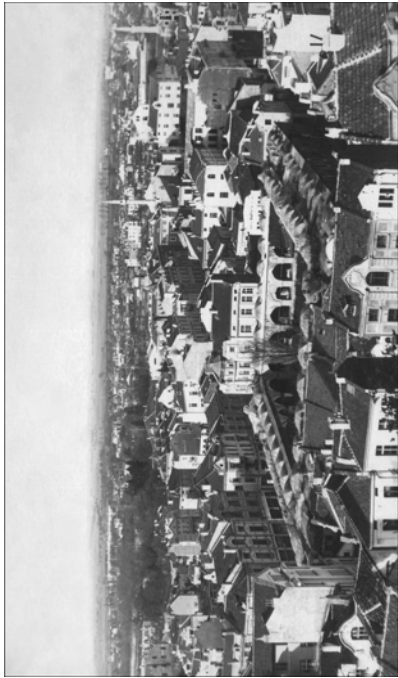


Fig. 21 The *kervansaray* (Kurşum han), condition prior the earthquake of 1928 (unknown photographer, 1927)



Fig. 23 The *kervansaray* (Kurşum han) after the earthquake (unknown photographer, 1930s). National Library Sofia



Fig. 22 The *kervansaray* (Kurşum han) after the earthquake (unknown photographer, 1932). Public Library Plovdiv

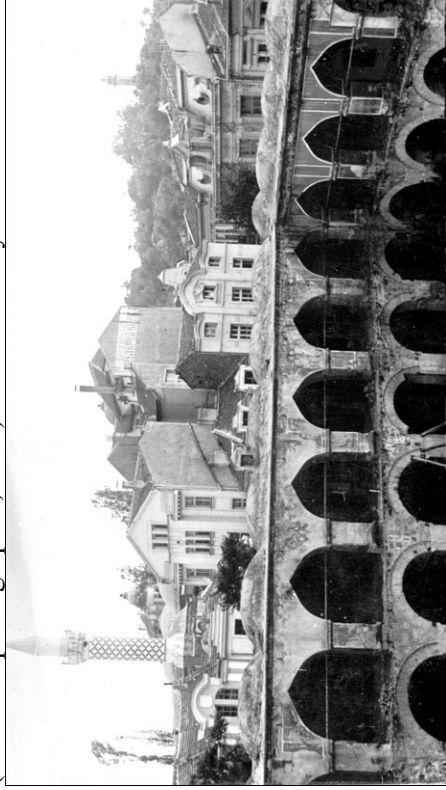


Fig. 24 The *kervansaray* (Kurşum han) after the earthquake (unknown photographer, 1929). State Archive Plovdiv

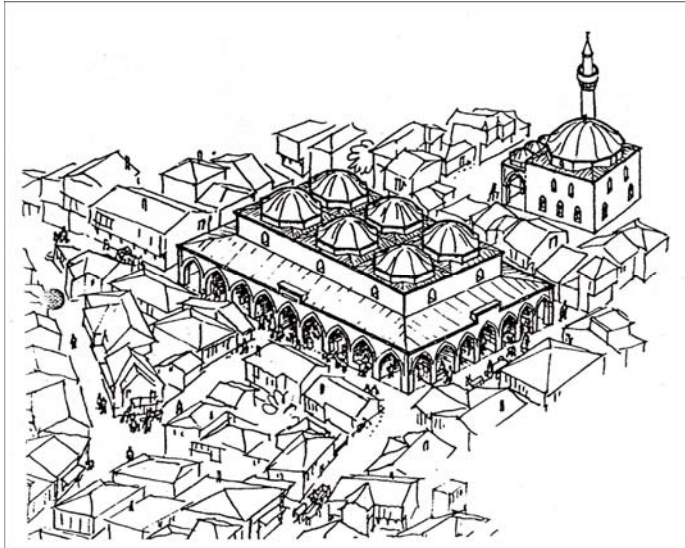


Fig. 25 Reconstruction of the *bedesten* in Filibe (drawing by Gerd Schneider after instructions by Machiel Kiel)

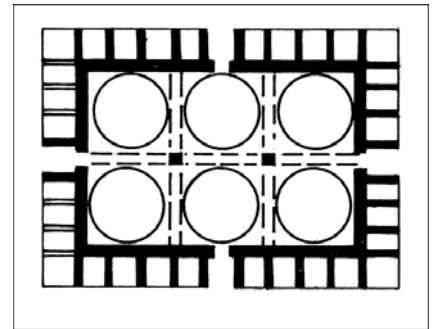


Fig. 26 Floor plan of the *bedesten* (plan M. Harbova)



Fig. 27 *Bedesten* in Filibe (photo Iv. Karastoyanov, 1892)



Fig. 28 Original dedicatory inscription of Şihabeddin Paşa's *imaret/zaviye* in Filibe (photo by the author 2011)

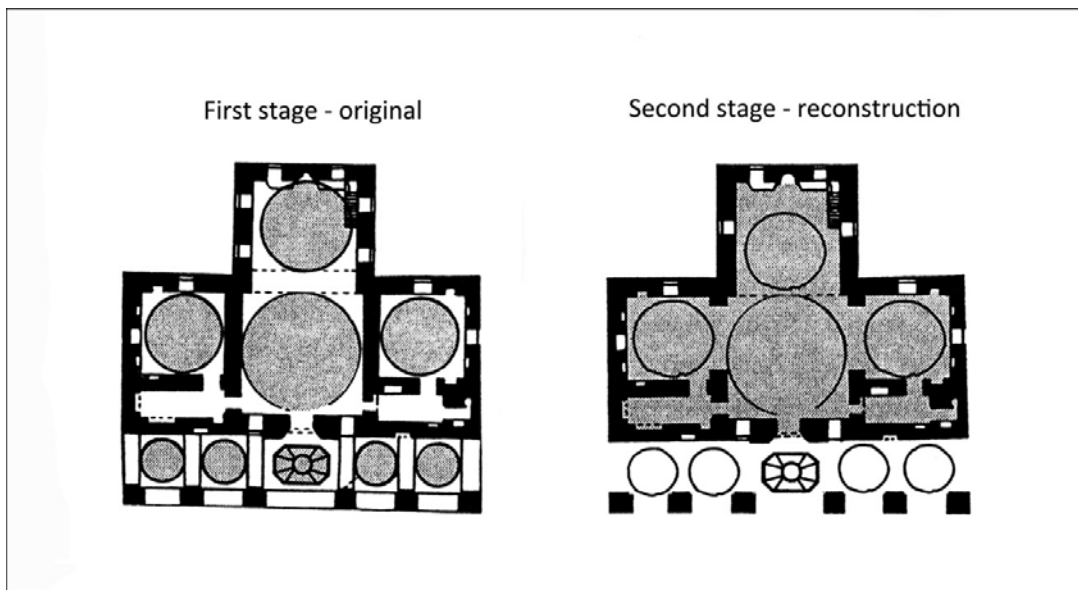


Fig. 29 Floor plan of Şihabeddin Paşa's *imaret/zaviye* showing the original shape of the building & the reconstruction, which opened the *tabhanes* to the main space (plan M. Harbova)



Fig. 30 Interior of Şihabeddin Paşa's *imaret/zaviye* (photo by the author 2010)



Fig. 31 The complex of Şihabeddin Paşa by the river Maritsa: 1. T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*; 2. *Medrese*; 3. Hünkâr bath; 4. Panayır *han*; 5. Mausoleum (*türbe*); 6. Kitchens (*aşevi*). (photo D. Cavra, 1879).

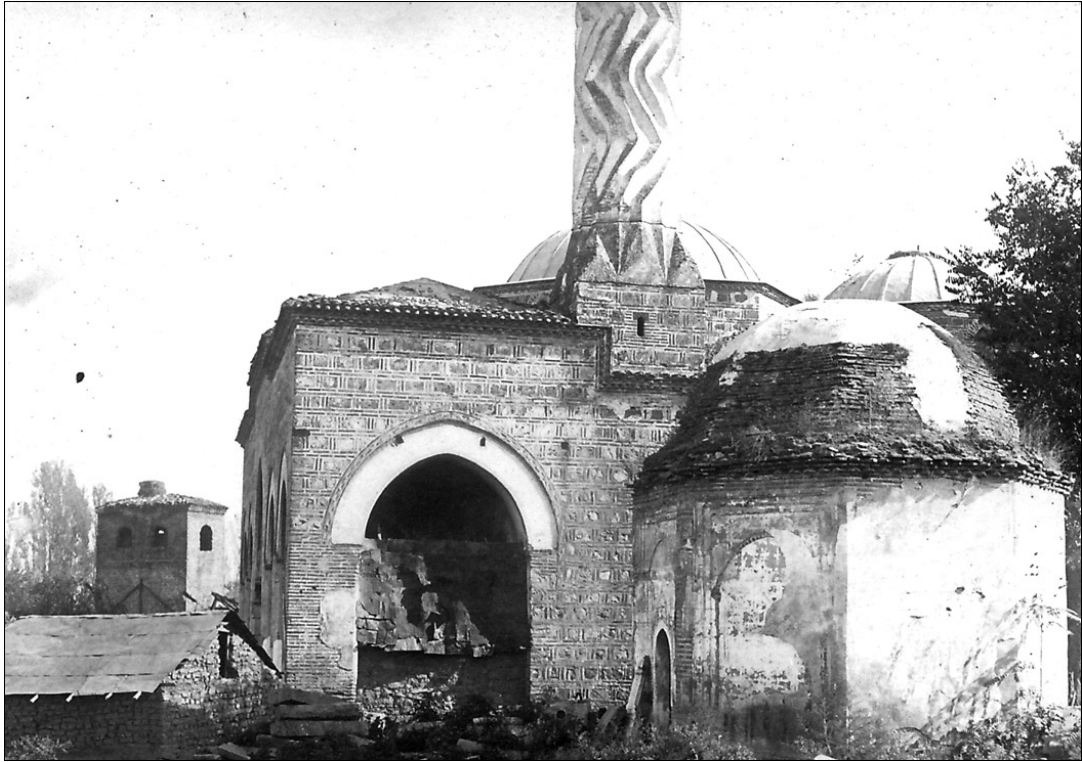


Fig. 32 Mausoleum and *imaret/zaviye* of Şihabeddin Paşa (foreground) and the large tall chimney of the kitchens of the complex (background) (unknown photographer and date, probably early 20th c.) National Library Sofia

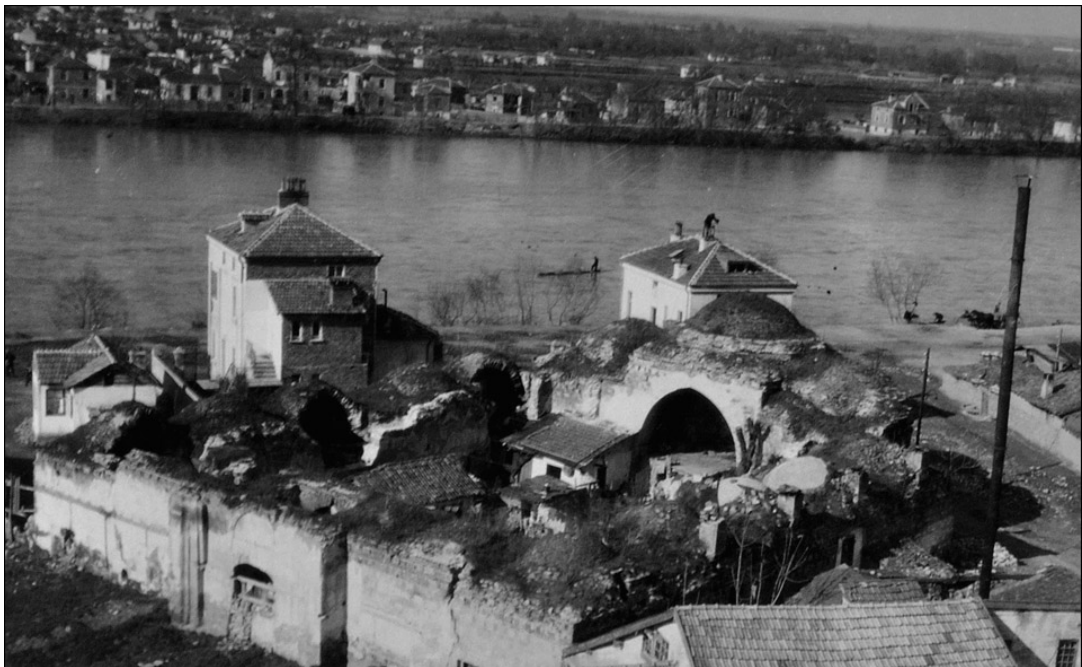


Fig. 33 *Medrese* of Şihabeddin Paşa in Filibe (photo O. Rudloff, 1920s) DAI



Fig. 34 *Medrese* of Şihabeddin Paşa (unknown photographer and date) National Library Sofia

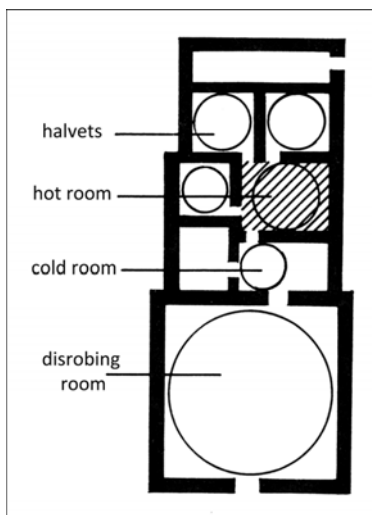


Fig. 35 Floor plan of *Hünkâr hamamı* (plan after M. Harbova)



Fig. 36 *Hünkâr hamamı* in Filibe (unknown photographer, 1900s) National Library Sofia



Fig. 37 The destruction of *Hümkâr hamamı* (photo O. Rudloff, 1923) DAI



Fig. 38 The tombstone of Şihabeddin Paşa (photo O. Rudloff, 1920s) DAI



Fig. 39 The tombstone of Şihabeddin Paşa (photo O. Rudloff, 1920s) DAI

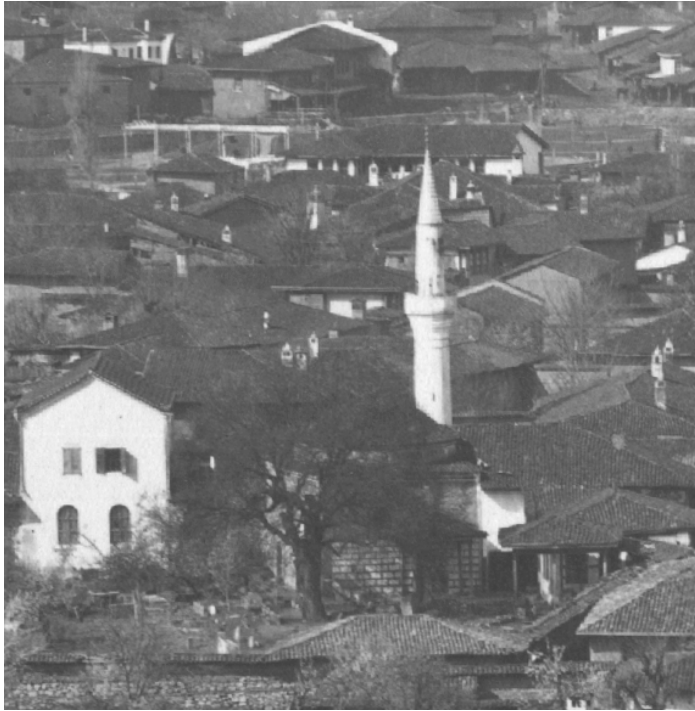


Fig. 40 The mosque of İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey in Filibe (photo D. Cavra, 1879)



Fig. 41 The mosque of İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey after the earthquake of 1928 (card postal, 1930s)



Fig. 42 The conic roof of the *sebil/şadırvan* (photo D. Cavra, 1879)

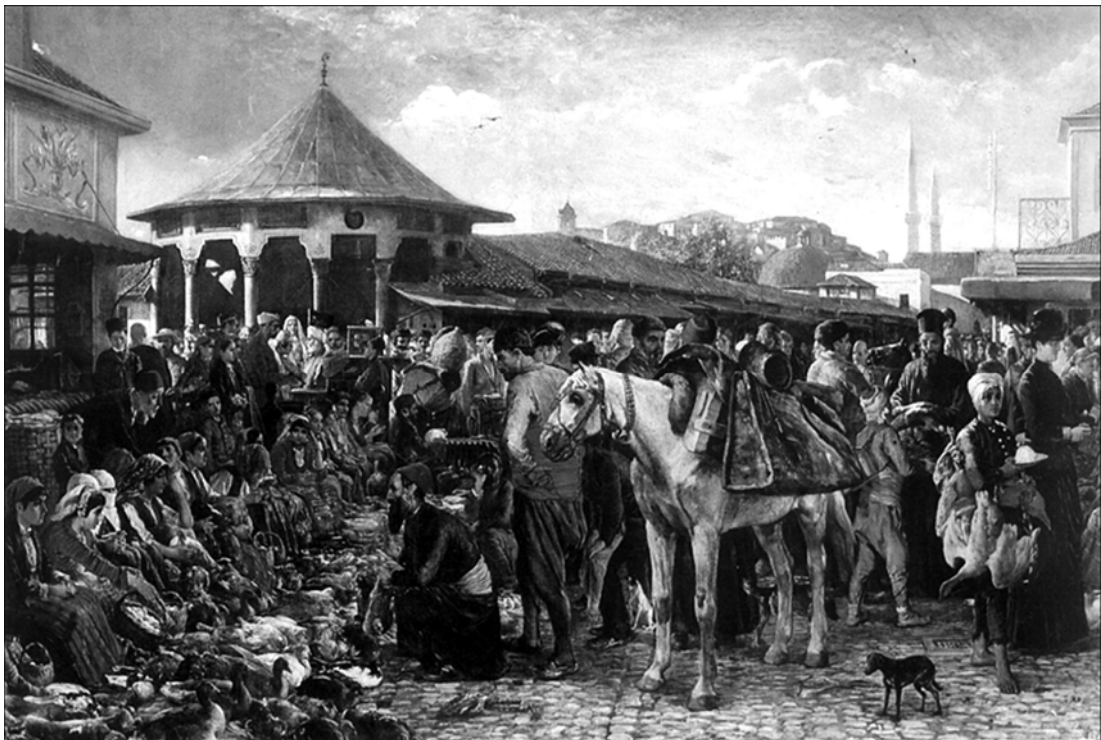


Fig. 43 Oil painting by J. V. Mrkvička showing the *sebil/şadırvan* in Filibe (1888)



Fig. 44 *Çifte hamamı* in Filibe (photo D. Cavra, 1979)

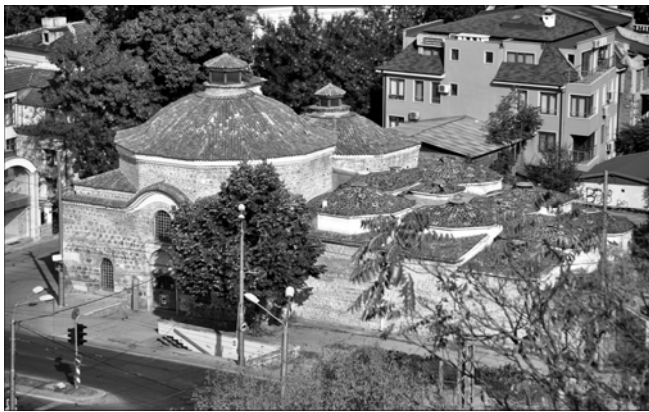


Fig. 45 *Çifte hamamı* (photo by the author, 2011)

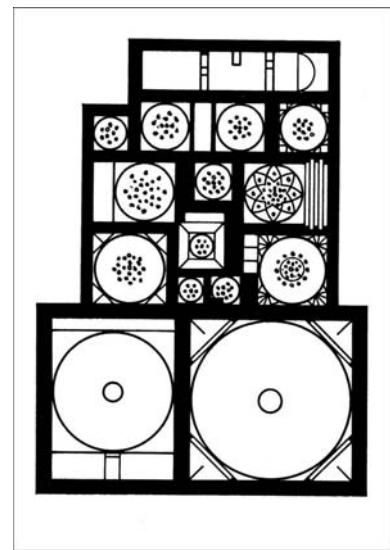


Fig. 46 Floor plan of *Çifte hamamı* (plan P. Dikidžiev)



Fig. 47 Western parts of Filibe: 1. Hacı Hasanzade *hamamı*; 2. Hacı Hasanzade mosque (card postal 1910)



Fig. 48 Yeşiloğlu mosque in Filibe (photo Iv. Karastoyanov, 1892)

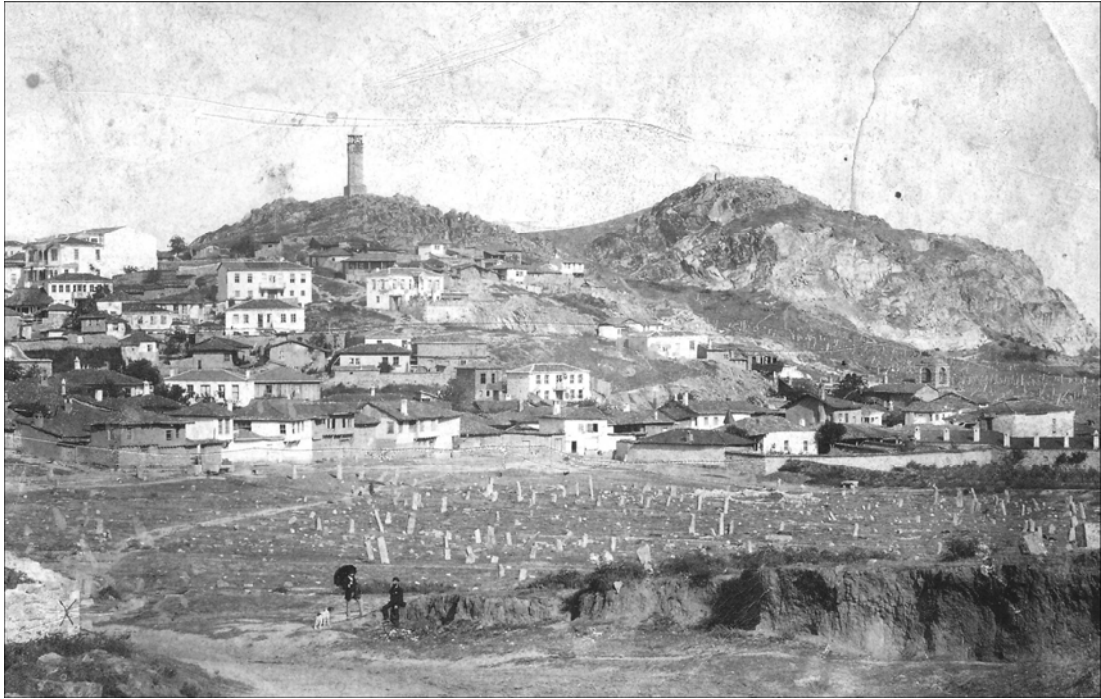


Fig. 49 Domed baldachin and Muslim cemetery at the southwestern foot of the *Saat tepesi* (photo D. Cavra, 1877) National Library Sofia

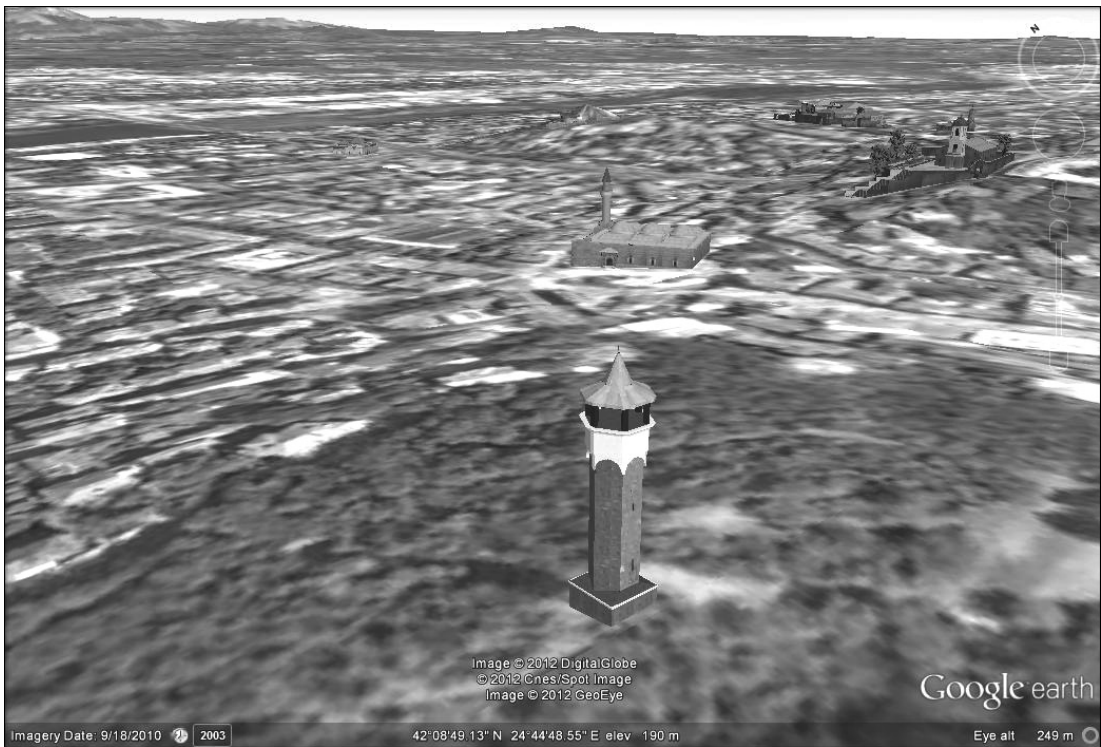


Fig. 50 Clock tower in Filibe – view from SW (illustration from Google Earth)



Fig. 51 Clock tower and Muradiye mosque – view from NE (illustration from Google Earth)



Fig. 52 Clock tower and Muradiye mosque – view from NE (photo by the author, 2011)



Fig. 53 Clock tower and the gunpowder depot (*baruthane*) (photo D. Ermakov, 1870s)



Fig. 54 Mosque of Çelebi Kadı on the northern bank of the river Maritsa, view from SE (photo D. Cavra, 1879)



Fig. 55 Mosque of Çelebi Kadı on the northern bank of the river Maritsa, view from SE (unknown photographer, 1904)

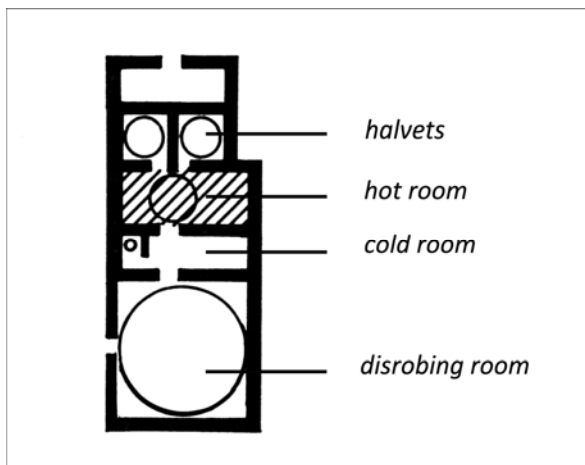


Fig. 56 Floor plan of the *hamam* of Çelebi Kadı (Banya Maritsa) in Filibe, plan after M. Harbova



Fig. 57 Mosque of Anbar Kadı in Filibe, view from SE (photo D. Cavra, 1879)



Fig. 58 Mosque of Anbar Kadı, view from SE (photo Iv. Karastoyanov, 1892)



Fig. 59 Orta Mezar (Taşköprü) mosque in Filibe, view from SW (photo by the author, 2010)



Fig. 60 Orta Mezar (Taşköprü) mosque, view from NW (photo by the author, 2010)

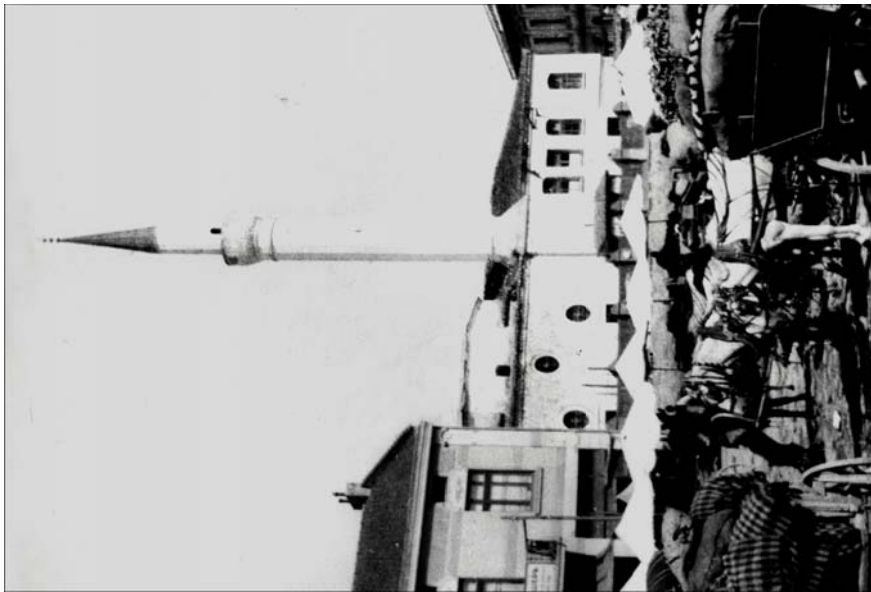


Fig. 61 Orta Mezar (Taşköprü) mosque, view from NW (unknown photographer, 1925)

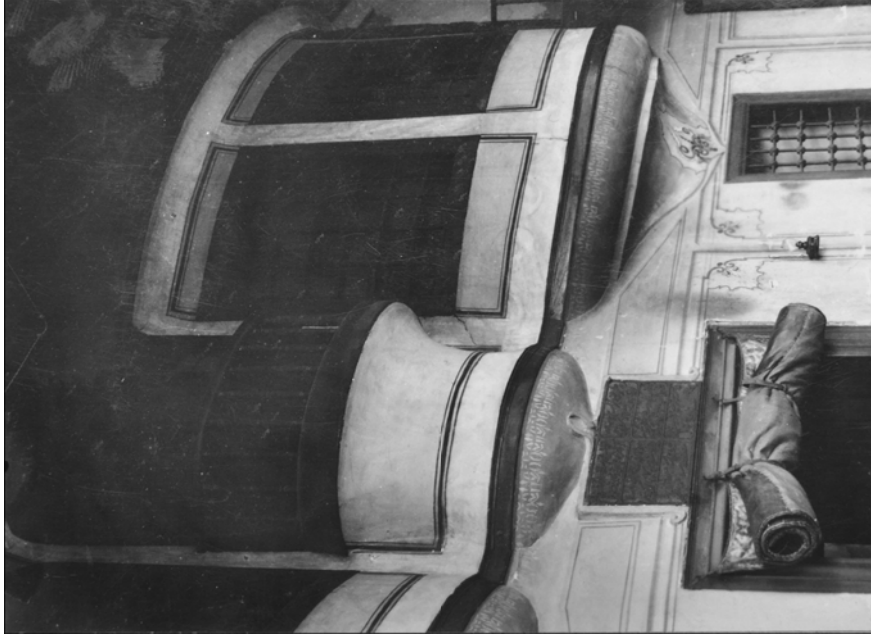


Fig. 62 Orta Mezar (Taşköprü) mosque, main entrance of the nineteenth century addition, view from east (photo O. Rudloff, 1920s) DAI



Fig. 63 Orta Mezar (Taşköprü) mosque, main entrance of the nineteenth century addition, view from NE (unknown photographer, 1968) State Archive Plovdiv

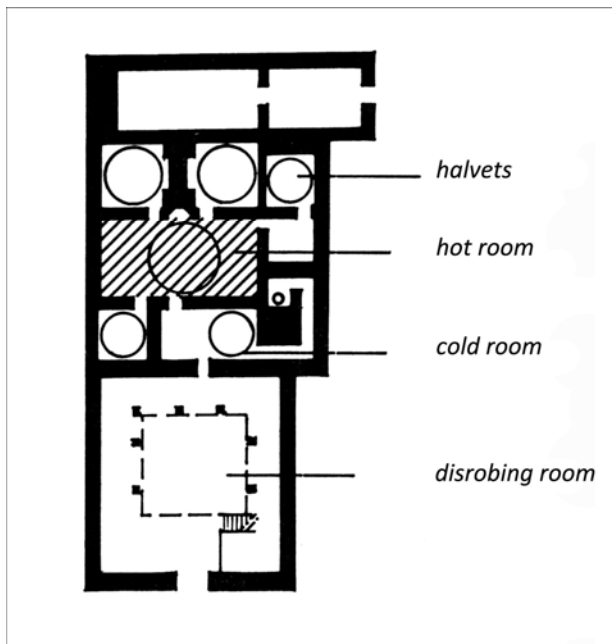


Fig. 64 Floor plan of Orta Mezar (Yeni) *hamamı*, plan after M. Harbova

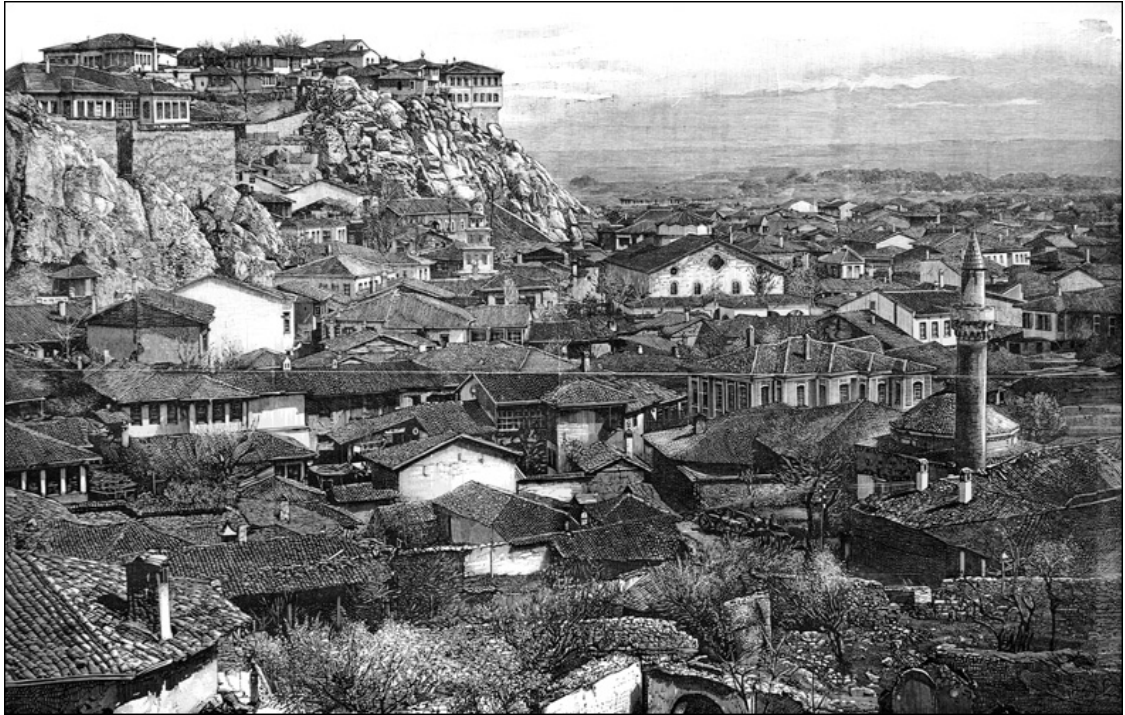


Fig. 65 Mosque of Hacı Abdullah in Filibe, view from west (gravure, unidentified author)



Fig. 66 Mosque of Hacı Abdullah (minaret and dome), view from south (photo D. Cavra, 1879)



Fig. 67 Southern parts of Filibe and Alaca mosque, view from NE (photo D. Cavra, 1870s)
State Archive Plovdiv

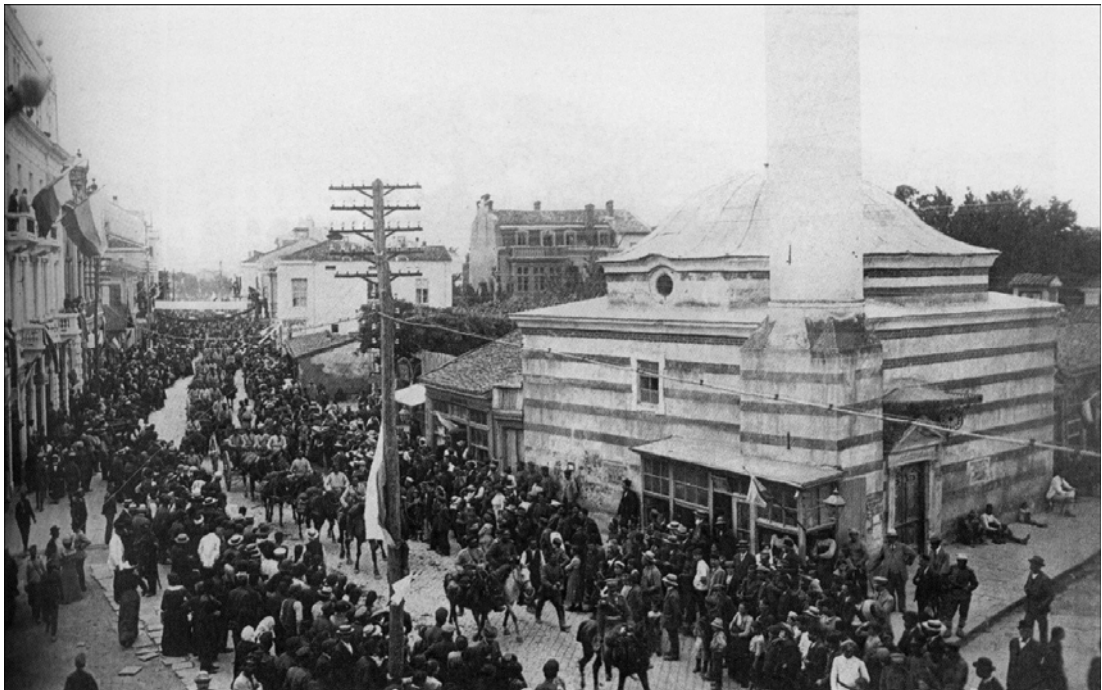


Fig. 68 Alaca mosque, view from NE (unknown photographer, 1913)



Fig. 69 Alaca mosque, view from SE (unknown photographer, late 1910s)



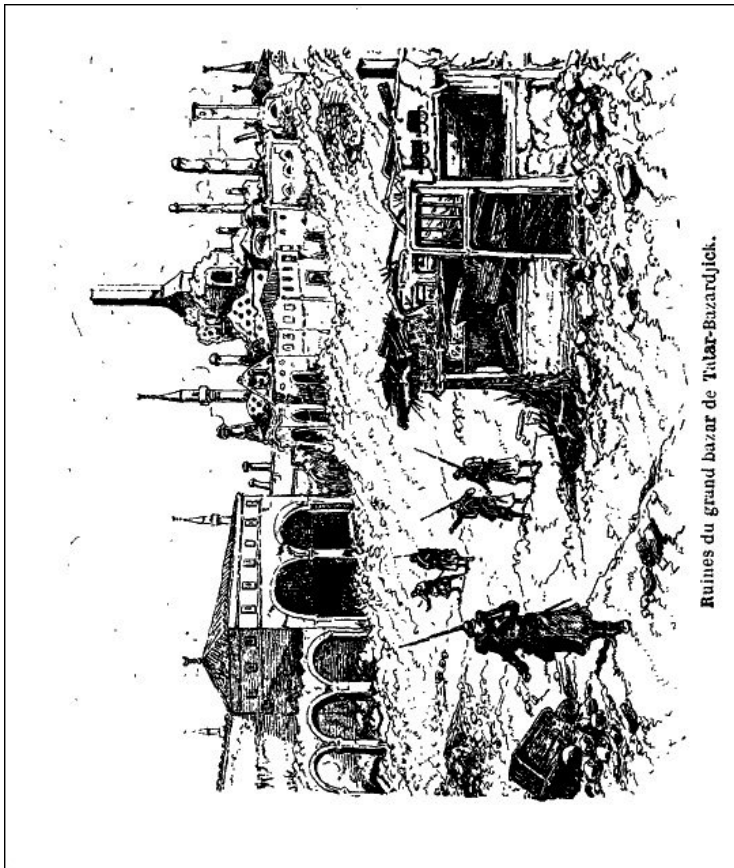
Fig. 70 Paşa *hamamı* in Tatar Pazardjik (unknown photographer, 1900s) Regional Museum of Pazardžik



Fig. 71 3D plastic reconstruction of the *kervansaray* of Damad İbrahim Paşa in Tatar Pazarçık (photo by the author, 2005) Regional Museum of Pazardžik



Fig. 72 3D plastic reconstruction of the *kervansaray* of Damad İbrahim Paşa (photo by the author, 2005) Regional Museum of Pazardžik



Ruines du grand bazar de Tatar-Bazardjick.

Fig. 73 İbrahim Paşa's *kervansaray* in ruins in 1877. Gravure by Dick de Lonley. *A travers la Bulgarie* (Paris, 1888)

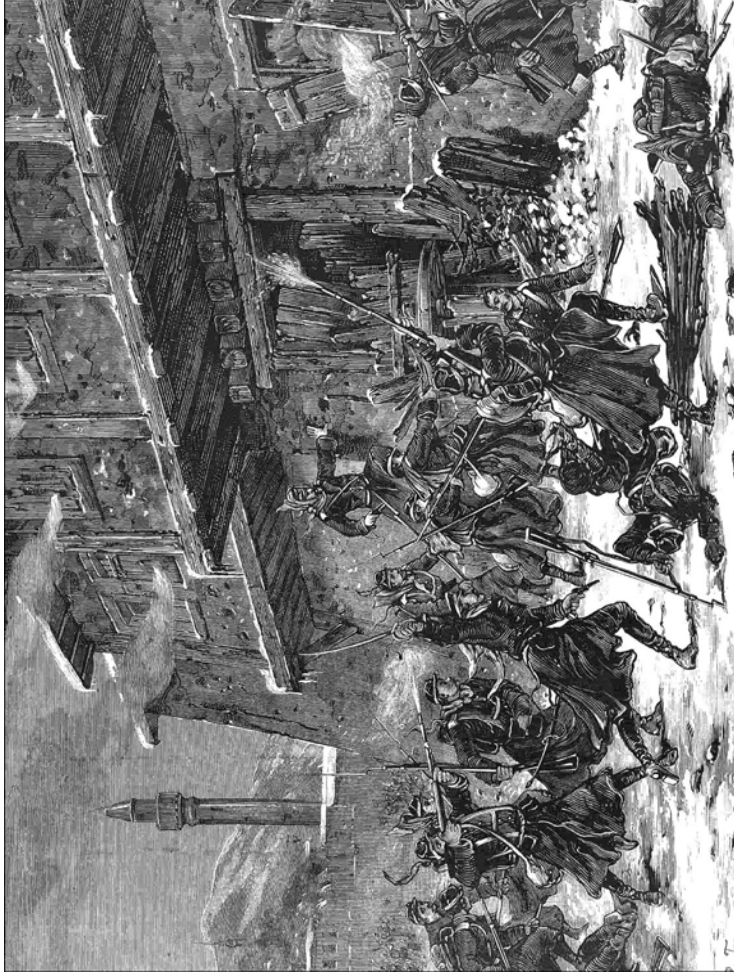


Fig. 74 Scenes from the fights between Russian and Ottoman armies on the streets of Tatar Pazarcik. Gravure from Herman Hoppe. *Illustrirovannaya hronika voyny 1877-1878* (St. Petersburg, 1878)



Fig. 75 The market area in Tatar Pazarcık with Nazır Mehmed Ağa mosque at the background (unknown photographer and date) Regional Museum of Pazardżik

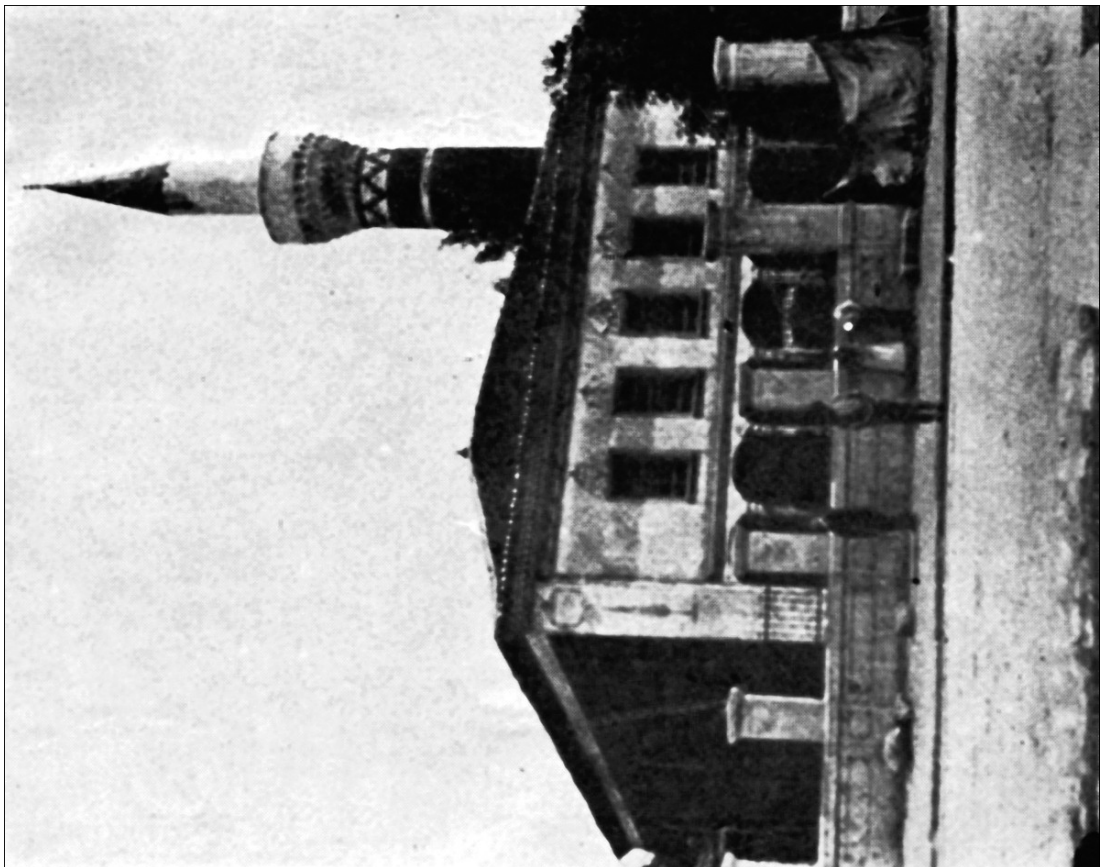


Fig. 76 Eski *Cami'i* in Tatar Pazarcık (unknown photographer and date) Regional Museum of Pazardżik



Fig. 77 The place of the vanished complex of Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey in Konuş (photo by the author, 2008)



Fig. 78 The place of the vanished complex of Minnetoğlu Mehmed Bey in Konuş (photo by the author, 2008)



Fig. 79 The citadel of Kopsis (Anevsko kale) and the plain of Göpsa (photo Angel Yordanov, 2007)



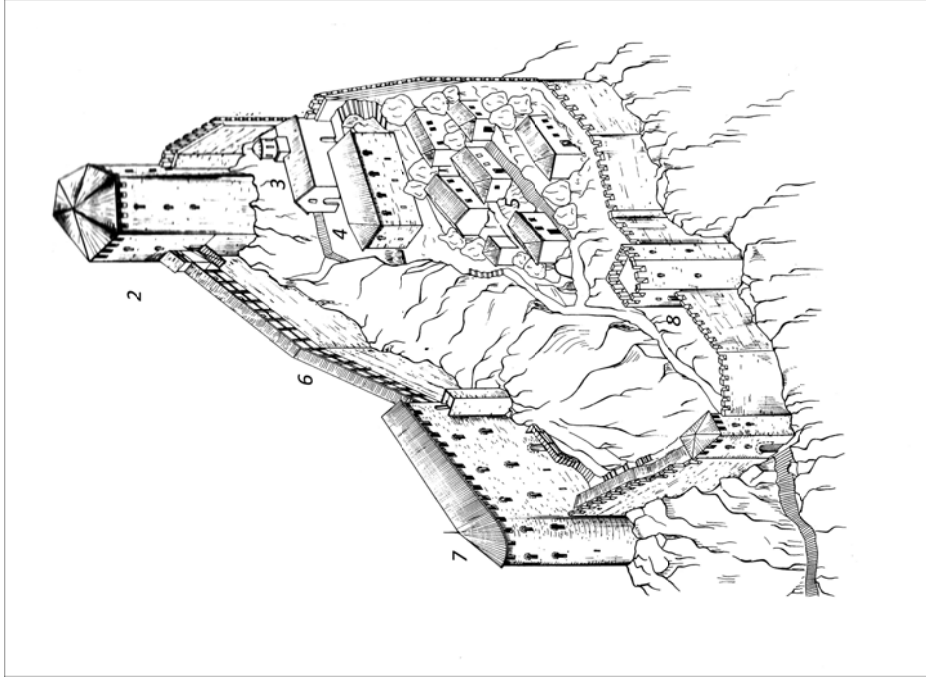
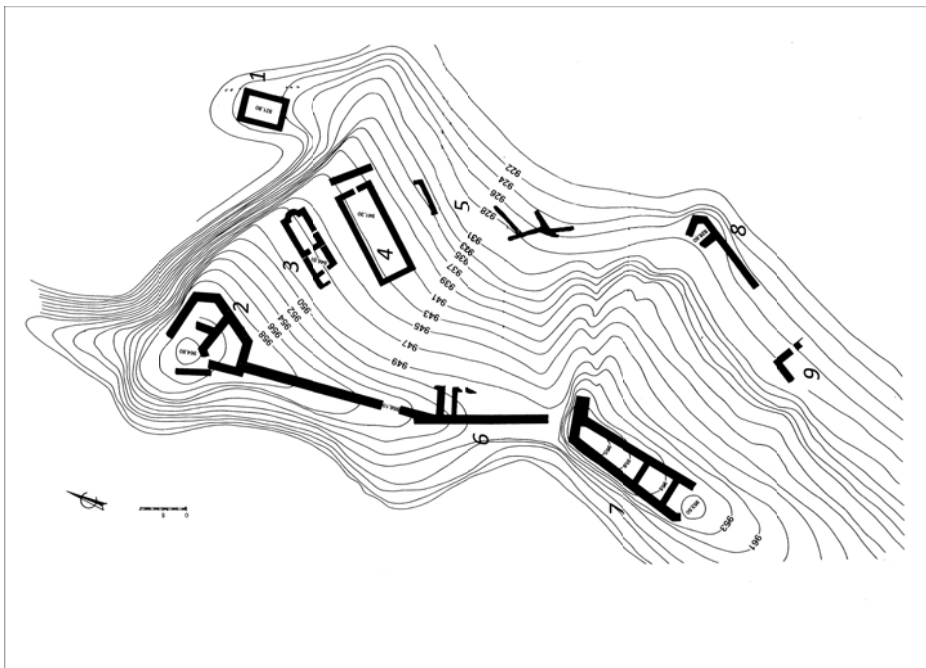
Fig. 80 The citadel of Kopsis (Anevsko kale) and the plain of Göpsa (photo Angel Yordanov, 2007)



Fig. 81 The citadel of Kopsis (Anevsko kale) (photo Angel Yordanov, 2007)



Fig. 82 The citadel of Kopsis (Anevsko kale) (photo Angel Yordanov, 2007)



Figs. 83-84 Plan of the excavated parts of the citadel of Kopsis and suggested reconstruction: 1. cistern; 2. N. tower; 3. church no. 1; 4. *boyar's* mansion; 5. dwellings; 6. W. wall; 7. S. tower; 8. SE wall and tower; 9. church no. 2 (plan after I. Džamboj; reconstruction after V. Docheva)



Fig. 85 Dedicatory inscription of Ali Bey's mosque in Karlova (photo by the author, 2008)



Fig. 86 The mosque of Ali Bey in Karlova (photo O. Rudloff, 1920s) DAI

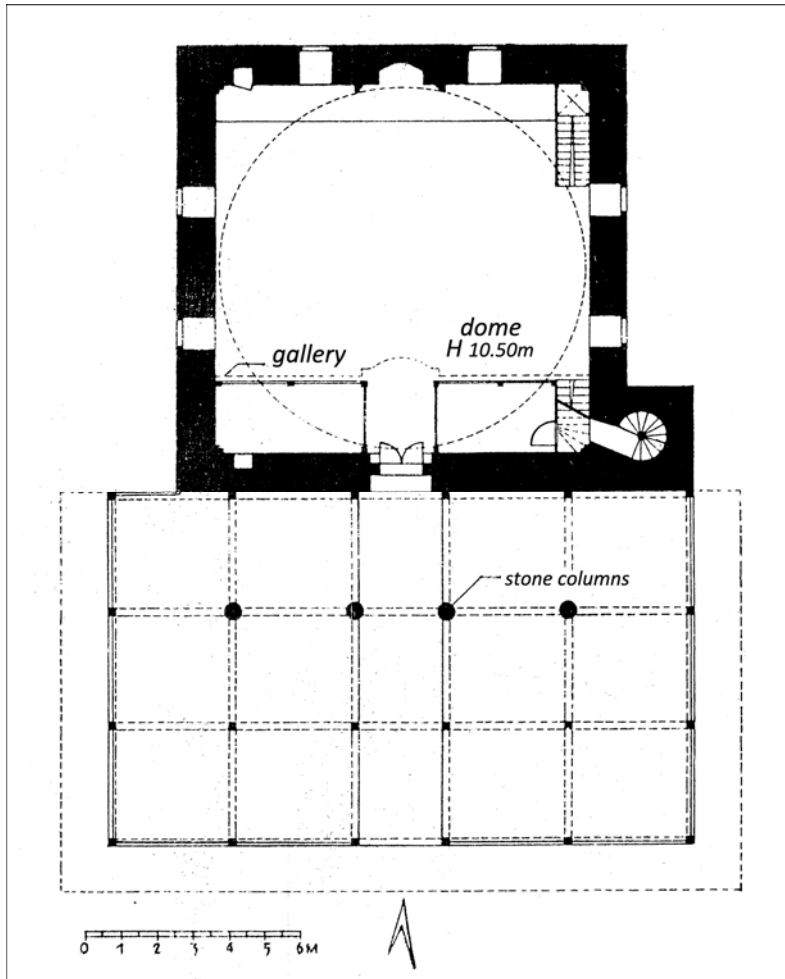


Fig. 87 Floor plan of the mosque of Ali Bey (plan after D. Popov)



Fig. 88 Porch of mosque of Ali Bey in Karlova (photo by the author, 2008)

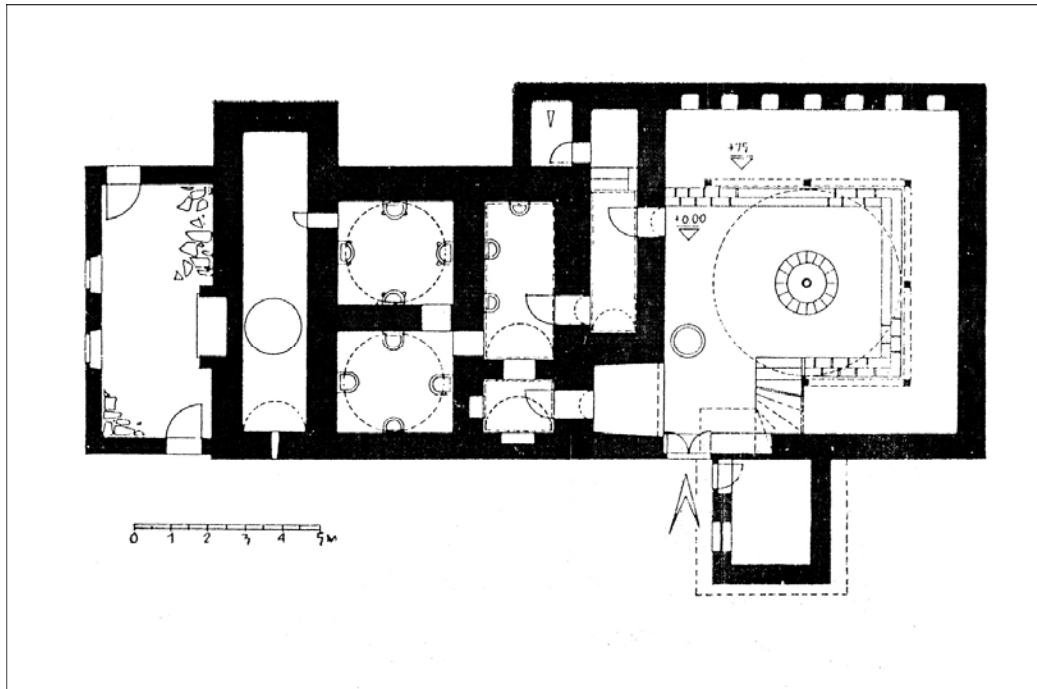


Fig. 89 Floor plan of the 16th-century public bath in Karlova (plan D. Popov)



Fig. 90 Clock tower and the market place in Karlova (unknown photographer, 1930s)
www.retrobulgaria.com

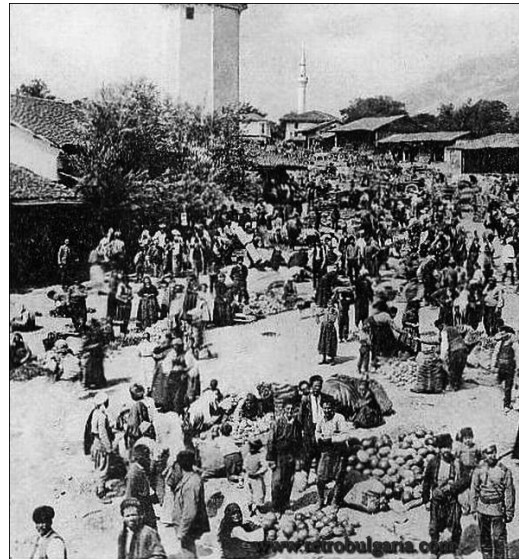


Fig. 91 Clock tower and the market place in Karlova (unknown photographer, 1903)
www.retrobulgaria.com

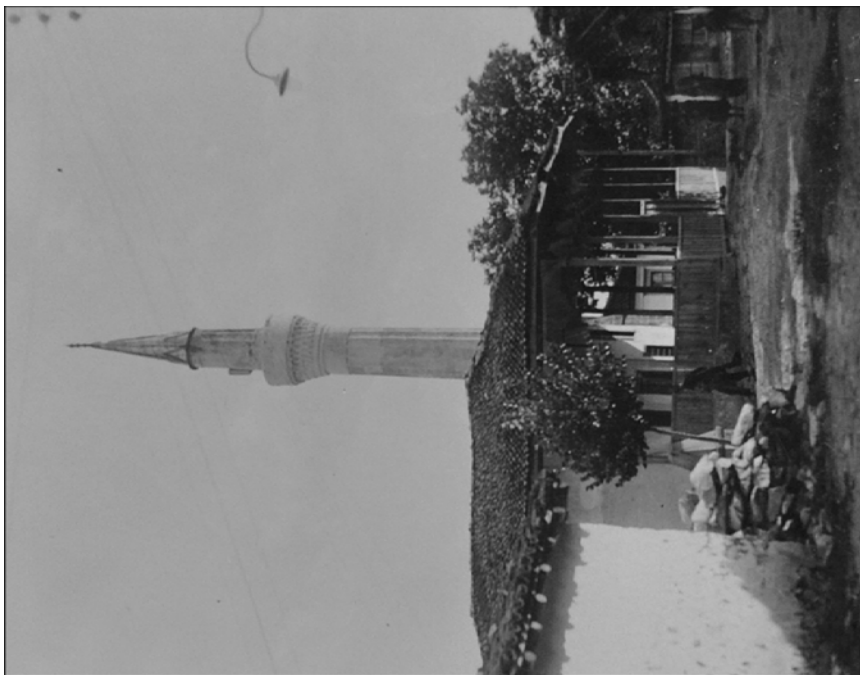


Fig. 92 Red mosque in Karlova (photo O. Rudloff, 1920s)

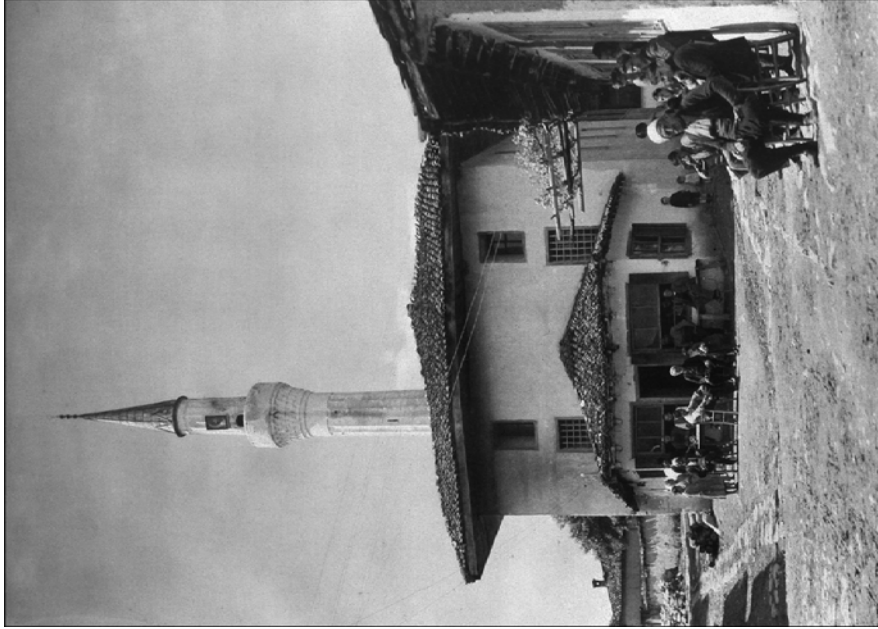


Fig. 93 Red mosque (photo The National Geographic Magazine, 1932)