

A SPATIAL INQUIRY INTO WESTERN ANATOLIAN URBAN CENTERS:
TİRE IN THE MAKING (14TH AND 16TH CENTURIES)

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ABSTRACT

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Western Anatolia witnessed a crucial and eventful period between the end of the 13th and the middle of the 15th centuries. The region stood in a critical position giving way to trade between East and West, located at the junction of the sea and land routes. This following study concentrates on a crucial aspect of Western Anatolia within these circumstances on the rise, through the 14th and 16th centuries. That is to say, this thesis focuses on the establishment and remodeling of the urban centers in Western Anatolia between the 14th and 16th centuries. In addition, it proposes an in depth analysis of one of these centers, namely Tire to further substantiate its theses on the making of these centers.

The main argumentation of the dissertation is twofold. First, it asserts the influence of the socio-economic backgrounds of these urban centers, particularly the role of trade activities, trade relations, trade road and urban network in the making of these towns. Second, it asserts the influence of architectural constituents of urban form in the formation and transformation of these towns. Namely, it argues the role of particular architectural “types”, “monuments” that act as “urban artifacts” in urban development, the most significant of which are building groups in the form of *külliyes* or *zaviyes*. Accordingly, the thesis maintains that both trade, trade roads and urban network, related with the socio-economic backgrounds of the urban centers, and particular “urban artifacts”, that are the components of urban form, affect the making towns as physical entities. It claims that all these factors and the town at their intersection, are in a continuous intercourse and they steadily transform each other.

Hence, the thesis endeavors to highlight and corroborate the interrelation of trade roads, urban form, and components of urban form, in regional, urban, and in architectural scale. In so doing, first it studies each of the themes separately within the general framework of Western Anatolian urban centers and next associates them particularly through the in depth analysis of Tire. In these lines, this thesis is an effort to interconnect and integrate the varied scholarly disciplines of social, cultural, economic history, urban geography and particularly architectural history through the explorations on urban space in general. It is also an undertaking to reveal the development and transformation of the urban space concentrating particularly on medieval Western Anatolia.

Keywords: Western Anatolian urban centers, trade, trade road and urban network, urban form, “urban artifacts”, “monuments”, architectural “types”, building groups

ÖZ

BATI ANADOLU KENT MERKEZLERİ ÜZERİNE MEKÂNSAL BİR SORGULAMA: 14. – 16. YÜZYILLARDA TİRE

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Batı Anadolu 13. yüzyılın sonlarından 15. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar çok önemli ve olaylı bir döneme tanıklık etti. Bölge, deniz ve kara yollarının kesişiminde, Batı ve Doğu arasında ticareti sağlayan nazik bir konumda yer almaktaydı. Bu çalışma, 14. ve 16. yüzyıllar boyunca şekillenmekte olan koşullar altında, Batı Anadolu'nun çok önemli bir yüzüne, diğer bir deyişle, Batı Anadolu'daki kent merkezlerinin oluşum ve dönüşümlerine odaklanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, öne sürdüğü hipotezleri doğrulamak adına bu merkezlerden birinin, Tire'nin inşasına dair detaylı bir irdeleme sunmaktadır.

Bu tez, birbirinden farklı ancak birbiriyle ilişkili iki esas iddia üzerine kurgulanmaktadır. Bir taraftan, kentlerin inşasında ve gelişiminde sosyo-ekonomik arka planlarının, özellikle ticaret aktivitelerinin rolü, ticaret ilişkileri, ticaret yolları ve bölgesel ölçekte kent ağının etkisini öne sürer. Diğer taraftan, bu kentlerin oluşum ve dönüşümünde kent formunun bileşenlerinin rolünü vurgular. Diğer bir deyişle, bu kentlerin gelişimde en çarpıcı örnek olarak kentsel üreteç olarak işleyen yapı gruplarının da arasında olduğu “kentsel kültür nesnelere” olarak çalışan, belirli mimari “tipler”in ve “anıtlar”ın katkısını savunmaktadır. Bu anlamda tez yukarıda bahsedilenlerin hepsinin kent formunu belirlemede etkin olduğunu

savunur. Tüm bu etkenler ve onların kesişiminde kent birbirleri ile sürekli etkileşim içindedirler ve birbirlerini dönüştürürler.

Sonuç olarak tezde, ticaret, yol ağı, kent formu, ve kent formunun bileşenlerinin bölgesel, mimari ve bunların kesişiminde kentsel ölçekte birbirlerine göre ilişkisi, birleşimi ve dönüştürmesi kanıtlanmaya ve vurgulanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda ilk bölümünde her bir tema genel anlamda Batı Anadolu kent merkezleri çerçevesinde ayrı ayrı çalışılmış ve devamında Tire'nin detaylı çözümlenmesiyle birarada değerlendirilmiştir. Böylelikle bu tez genel olarak kentsel mekân çalışmalarına, farklı akademik alanlardan sosyal tarih, kültür ve ekonomi tarihi, kent coğrafyası ve özellikle mimarlık tarihi disiplinlerini ilişkilendirmeye ve bütünleştirmeye yönelik bir denemedir. Bu anlamda, 14. -16. yüzyıllar arasında Batı Anadolu'daki kentsel mekânın oluşum ve dönüşümünü açıklamaya, ortaya çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Batı Anadolu kent merkezleri, ticaret, ticarî yol ve kent ağı, kent formu, “kentsel kültür nesnelere”, “anıtlar”, mimarî “tipler”, yapı grupları.

To my parents Mehmet and Nebile,
for they always supported my fondness of reading, writing, and research since my childhood

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Western Anatolia, which has been homeland of various cultures from prehistoric and ancient times onwards, witnessed a crucial and eventful period between the end of the 13th and the middle of the 15th centuries. First, the Byzantine Empire, which was about to collapse, was in a fight against both the Turkish threat of the East and the Catholic of the West in the name of survival and recovery. Second, in Western Anatolia frontier Turkish tribes, which grew into Turkish principalities tried to strengthen and extend their dominancy in Anatolia and some even in Rumelia (the Balkans). These were the Ottomans, Karesioğulları, Aydınoğulları, Menteşeoğulları, Saruhanoğulları and Germiyanogulları. Third, Latins, namely the Genoese and Venetians competed with one another and other forces to become the leading power in the Mediterranean. At the beginning of the 14th century, there were small states in the process of formation and growth; the Turkish Principalities and the Latin City States and a large one in decline; the Byzantine Empire. Accordingly, controlling the Aegean, its islands and the surrounding continental areas was of the most significant issues in the first half of the 14th century in the Mediterranean.¹

There were both alliances and disputes in between the Turkish Principalities, Byzantines, and the Latins for dominating on this territory. Yet, the region stood in a critical position giving way to trade between East and West, and all this struggle was for establishing supremacy in economy, which was hand in hand with political power. Where the gravity of ruling authority gradually moved towards Western Anatolia through this period, it was the Ottomans who ended this eventful epoch with the conquest of Constantinople and breakdown of the Byzantine Empire in midst of the 15th century. Meanwhile, the Ottomans also fought with the Principalities in Western Anatolia and declared their superiority over them and

¹ İnalçık H. (1993), “The Rise of the Turcoman Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium, and the Crusades”, (Byzantinische Forschungen, 9, 1985, pp. 179-211) reprinted in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington: Indiana University of Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Studies, p. 312.

appeared in the forefront through the leading maritime Latin states. Hence, the Ottoman rule initiated a new stage in the history of Western Anatolia, which was to last until the end of the 16th century. Within this period, the borders of the Empire being surpassed Anatolia and Rumelia in the west, reaching far to the Middle East and North Africa in the south and Eastern Europe and the entire Black Sea in the north, the Ottoman Empire reached its climax.

1.1. Approach and Main Arguments of the Dissertation

This following study concentrates on a significant facet of Western Anatolia within these circumstances. That is to say, *this thesis aims at* shedding light on the establishment and remodeling of the urban centers in Western Anatolia between the 14th and 16th centuries. It proposes an in depth study on one of these centers, namely Tire in order to substantiate the suggested theses on the making of these centers. The thesis questions; what the spatial formations and transformations of Western Anatolian urban centers are, how and in what ways they are established and remodeled, and what the reasons and the influential factors are in the making of these towns and in the shaping of these urban patterns, particularly through the two distinctive, yet consecutive periods, under the Principalities and then the Ottoman rule.

In view of that, *the main arguments of the thesis* can be formulated in two principal distinct, yet interrelated statements and their relevant derivations. *First*, towns are neither mere physical settings nor a collection of built forms and nor just a stage for social relations, but are socio-spatial phenomena steadily transforming with respect to each of these. *Second*, the making of urban form is again not an autonomous process, for it develops together with its architectural components, transforms in relation to these components, and hence, at the same time, influences the making of these components.

To begin with, the socio-economic background is one of the influential factors in the making of Western Anatolian urban centers. Particularly, the volume of trade, trade activities, trade relations, trade roads and thus road and urban network framed through a regional scale, are among the significant determinants in making the urban form of these centers. It is argued in this thesis that, the greater the volume of trade, the busier the trade activities and relations. Hence, the more proximate to trade routes or to main roads the towns are, the more prosperous and developed these urban centers are. As stated by Braudel,

“they [the towns] owed their existence to the control over physical space they exercised through the networks of communications emanating from them, the meeting of different transport

routes, their continual adaptation to new conditions and the ways in which they developed slowly and rapidly”.²

In the end, trade influences the making of the urban form in two ways. Trade fosters urban growth and necessitates spatial transformations in relation to the practice of trade. Plus, trade develops and is developed through the road network, where the regional road network corresponds to the regional urban network. Finally, the long distance roads play a significant role in the structuring of the urban form.

Next, as mentioned above, a comprehensive spatial inquiry into the Western Anatolian urban centers necessitates the examination of the form of these towns not only in their settlement patterns but also in relation to their constitutive components. Particularly, the architectural structures are significant constituents of urban form, and are at the same time of paramount importance as components of urban life. Based on Rossi’s theories on urban space and particularly the correlation of architecture to the city, in architectural scale, it is the “architectural types” and the “monuments” which persist and these essentially act as “urban artifacts” those generate the making of towns.³ It is argued in this thesis that, the more varied, and the greater number the monuments, hence the “urban artifacts” are, the more urbanized, the more prospered the towns are, for these artifacts stimulate the production of urban spaces and enhance urban life.

In the context of Western Anatolian urban centers, the most dominating urban “monuments”, “urban artifacts” can be listed as; building groups either in the form of *külliyes* [building complexes] or *zaviyes* [dervish lodges, hospices], mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan, other single buildings with multiple functions such as the combination of mosque and shops, and single public buildings like Friday Mosques, neighborhood mosques, baths, and commercial edifices. Essentially, building complexes, which are the most frequent urban monuments in Western Anatolia display typological variations in their plan schemes. This typological variation contributes to the making and transformation of their urban contexts.⁴ The building complexes and the other monuments mentioned above had vital roles in transforming

² Braudel F. (1972), *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, I, (S. Reynolds trans.) London and New York: Harper and Row Publishers, p. 312.

³ Rossi A. (1982), *The Architecture of the City* (D. Ghirardo, J. Ockman trans.), Cambridge - Massachusetts: MIT Press, pp. 21-22, 41, 46.

⁴ For instance, compact spatial organizations of attached masses in plan layout continues, while new geometrical relations of buildings in establishing a complex are experienced in the form of detached, scattered spatial units in plan during the Principalities rule in Western Anatolia. In addition, a new typology of building complexes, in which buildings are more geometrically and orthogonally arranged in relation to each other and to their surrounding, is developed during the subsequent Ottoman rule in the region.

and developing their urban contexts. Accordingly, the architectural monuments that are “urban artifacts” are significant for they not only dominate and influence the making of their urban contexts but also stand as inseparable parts of these contexts for they produce urban spaces themselves and they are the very instances of urban life in social, cultural, commercial, religious and in particular spatial terms.

The present thesis claims that the towns are neither made only according to road network, nor are they mere sum of their architectural components, and nor are they pure urban plans, forms in complete patterns. Yet, towns are complex systems, which comprise all these and in addition the social and cultural forces, economic practices, administrative institutions, which make them reconcile and transform each other steadily in a dynamic relationship. In other words, the thesis maintains that both trade, trade roads and urban network, related with the socio-economic backgrounds of the urban centers, and particular “urban artifacts”, that are the components of urban form, affect the making towns as physical entities. Plus, the thesis argues that all these factors and the town at their intersection, are in a continuous intercourse and they steadily transform each other. Hence, the thesis endeavors to highlight and corroborate the interrelation of trade roads, urban form, and components of urban form, in regional, urban, and in architectural scale.

In so doing, first it studies each of the themes separately within the general framework of Western Anatolian urban centers and next associates them particularly through the in depth analysis of Tire. Moreover, the present thesis is an effort to interconnect and integrate the varied scholarly disciplines of social, cultural, economic history, urban geography and particularly architectural history through the explorations on urban space in general. It is an undertaking to reveal the development and transformation of the urban space concentrating particularly on Medieval Western Anatolia.

In this framework, *the sources of this thesis* are as follows: First, Western Anatolian towns in their current physical setting and within the current urban network is the primary source of this particular research. Next are the earlier studies on the trade activities, trade relations, trade routes and road and urban network. Another group of studies are on the history of settlements, on the documentation of the built heritage of Western Anatolian urban centers. Finally, the earlier research, published documents, and historical accounts either written or visual, related to the depiction of these towns through history, particularly those works focusing on history of settlements, on documentation of the built heritage of these urban centers such as the travel accounts, engravings of historical figures, are among the sources of this thesis.

Hence, the information and feed-back emanating from these written sources support to improve the morphological analysis of the existing physical setting of these urban centers, in other words, the study of urban form and structure of these towns. Yet, in formulating *the methodology of this thesis*, it is mainly the methods of urban historical geography, sustained with the methods of architectural typo-morphology. While urban morphological analysis derives from urban historical geography, it is the emphasis and the analysis on the role of architecture in the making of towns at the same time, which helps to integrate and articulate these methods of morphological research into the architectural scale and diffuse into the research strategies of architectural history.

1.2. Western Anatolian Towns as the Focus of the Dissertation

Considering *the focus of this thesis*, Western Anatolia, which stood in a critical position giving way to trade between east and west, located at the junction of the sea and land routes is chosen as the subject area. The Principalities settled on the coasts of Western Anatolia are studied, for the reason that, the coastal territories at the intersection of both the maritime and the land trade routes, displayed the influence of trade in the urban network and in urban functions of the centers within this network more lucidly and more apparently. These principalities established along the Aegean coast are Karesioğulları, Aydınoğulları, and Menteşeoğulları from north to south. Yet, it is the Aydınoğulları and the Menteşeoğulları who ruled comparatively longer than the Karesioğulları Principality and who, in relation, achieved to leave noticeable imprints in the making of their urban centers within the territories they ruled. Besides, studying the trade relations and routes in this period, it is seen that, Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları were the most active parties in establishing economic connections and fostering trade activities, together with the Ottomans throughout the eventful and crucial periods of the 14th – 16th centuries.

In view of that, the flourishing urban centers of Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları are studied, and the process of their spatial transformation first through the Principalities and next through the successive Ottoman rule in the region is comparatively analyzed. Ayasuluk and Birgi as the significant settlement foci of Aydınoğulları and Balat and Beçin as of Menteşeoğulları are highlighted in terms of articulating the remodeling of their urban setting. Yet, Tire, another significant Aydınoğulları town is singled out among these centers and studied in depth for its socio-economic and spatial evolution in order to confirm and to substantiate the above argued hypotheses of this thesis in further detail.

The major motives for distinguishing Tire among other Western Anatolian towns particularly lies in the continuous development and increase of the urban functions it accommodated between the 14th and 16th centuries. Tire became by far the largest settlement not only with the size of its territorial borders but also with its scale in population and urban functions as the capital and the largest urban center of the sub-province of Aydın in the 16th century. On the contrary, Ayasoluk and Balat declined in time. They gradually lost their significance as urban centers concurrently with the decrease in trade activities and due to silting up of their harbors and swamp formation that the geography of the settlements prevented urban growth. Beçin, on the other hand, could not further develop and urbanize because of its location on rather difficult topography, far from ease of access, and considerably away from the major caravan routes within the Western Anatolian road network. Lastly, Birgi, the former capital of the Aydınoğulları Principality grew significantly during the 14th century like Ayasoluk, Balat and Beçin. Yet, neither its geographical location and geographical conditions -as the town developed along in a steep valley on both sides of the river- nor the later Ottoman contributions encouraged further development. For that reason, Birgi and the other Western Anatolian towns came much after Tire in terms of urban development.

In addition to the steadily developing trade activities, and urban functions and location at the junction of the main routes within the Western Anatolian road network, it is in Tire again, where significant “urban artifacts” survived. Accordingly, Tire is the most appropriate town allowing morphological analysis of its urban form both in complete patterns and with respect to its components to verify the influence of trade and road network as well as architectural artifacts in the making of urban form and the reciprocal connection between these three, in the 14th – 16th centuries Western Anatolia.

1.2. The Structure of the Dissertation

Seen in this light, *this thesis is structured* in six chapters and supplementary appendices. Yet, except for the ‘introduction’ and ‘conclusion’ chapters and the appendices, it is outlined in two main parts complementing each other. The first part comprised the three chapters, namely Chapters 2, 3, and 4 after the ‘introduction’, while the second part comprised only one chapter, namely chapter 5, before the ‘conclusion’. In the first part, a general picture of Western Anatolian urban centers, yet the socio-economic and architectural contexts to analyze these centers, is given. In the second part, an in depth study on one of these urban

centers is carried out. In other words, the second part is a detailed inquiry into the making of Tire in particular, by making use of the arguments and evaluations in the first part.

Chapter 1 is the introduction chapter, in which the background and the general themes related to this particular dissertation are provided. Hence, the aim, main arguments, approach and significance of the thesis, and subsequently, the sources, methodology, and focus of the thesis are clarified. In the following, the structure of the thesis and the structure of its chapters are summarized. Chapter 1 is concluded with an extensive literature survey comprising earlier studies on the socio-economic, urban, and architectural history of Western Anatolia between the 14th and 16th centuries. In the end, overlapping and integrating these earlier researches the preceding explorations and theories on urban space are discussed for their possible contributions in building up the methodology of this thesis.

Chapter 2 is the initial chapter of the first part for the analysis of the socio-spatial transformations in the Western Anatolian urban centers in general. In this chapter, basically the socio-economic background of Western Anatolia with particular emphasis on trade, road and urban network between the 14th and 16th centuries is discussed. Probable interfaces and possible interconnections of trade activities and relations, trade roads and road network, and urban network and urban developments in this part of Anatolia in the given period are attempted to be unfolded. Hence, this portrayal of Western Anatolian urban network and urban centers particularly through the socio-economic constructs, first under the Principalities and next under the Ottoman rule, paves the way for a comprehensive spatial analysis of these towns. In so doing, first the significance and the historical road network of the region is evaluated. Next, the historical development of Aydınogulları and Menteşeoğulları Principalities and subsequently the Ottomans are studied in sequence. Their trade relations mainly with the Latin city states, trade centers and flow of trade, and finally trade road and urban network are evaluated.

Chapter 3 is the second step for a comprehensive inquiry into the urban developments of Western Anatolian towns. In this chapter, these towns are principally studied emphasizing their physical setting. Particularly the urban forms and structures of these centers are analyzed and whether it is possible to fit them into probable town models, or whether they generate any town model themselves is investigated. Hence, through these analyses on urban forms, it is highlighted that a comprehensive study on the spatial formation and transformation of Western Anatolian urban centers can be conducted by looking into both the socio-economic constructs and the physical setting and the interrelation between the two. In addition, it is stated that, such a comprehensive study examines urban forms not only in complete patterns but also in relation to their constitutive components. This brings about the role of architecture in the making of

urban centers; put another way, the dynamic relation between architecture and urban form effecting and shaping each other mutually. Accordingly, in this chapter, first town models, which are likely to be either influential, or are influenced for their chronological, regional or cultural proximity, are given. In this framework, whether and how Western Anatolian towns can be related to these proposed urban forms in complete patterns is discussed. In other words, ancient cities, Byzantine cities, Seljuk cities within which the discussion on the probable Central Asian and Iranian and Islamic town models is included, and Ottoman cities are examined. Then, Western Anatolian centers, namely of Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi are studied respectively in terms of their relationship with the already settled urban environments, the shaping of their urban forms in complete patterns and plus the urban divisions, elements of urban architecture and finally the architectural language and urban image. After that, whether it is possible to propose a town model as Principalities towns or, better to say, Western Anatolian town models is discussed. Finally the vital role of architecture in the making of these towns is touched upon.

Chapter 4 is the final chapter of the first part; hence the third step for a comprehensive socio-spatial analysis of Western Anatolian urban centers is general. In this chapter, architectural evolutions and developments of “urban artifacts”, particularly building groups in the form of building complexes, and the involvement of architecture developing, transforming, and shaping the urban context of towns are discussed in depth. It is argued that, these building groups are significant for they not only dominate and influence the making of their urban contexts but also stand as inseparable parts of these contexts for they produce urban spaces themselves and they are the very instances of urban life in social, cultural, commercial, religious and spatial terms in medieval Western Anatolia. Hence, the portrayal of the making of the Western Anatolian centers in general is completed with the integration of the architectural component. In the end, the towns are studied all together considering socio-cultural and economic forces, the road and urban network in the region, and the physical setting, that is to say urban forms in complete patterns and in relation to their constitutive components. Accordingly, in this chapter first a discussion on the definition, design and management of building groups in the form of building complexes and the way they function both socially and spatially is given. Next, the building groups in the form of dervish lodges and mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan are studied in similar respects, plus regarding their role in transforming their immediate urban contexts. Then, the building groups in the form of building complexes in Western Anatolia are studied for their architectural characteristics and evolutions and developments, mostly based on typological analysis. More important than that, their

relation to their urban unit, hence their role in making and shaping their urban contexts is highlighted in the end.

Chapter 5 comprises the second part of the thesis. In this chapter, the making of Tire is analyzed in detail in the light of the before-mentioned issues, and subsequent to an already weaved historical and spatial background of Western Anatolian urban centers in the previous part of the thesis, put differently, through this very framework already established in the previous chapters. Yet, what is of paramount importance is, this chapter is an endeavor to exemplify and justify the arguments proposed, or better to say, to substantiate the evaluations reached at in these previous chapters with an attempt to reconstruct Tire, the significant Western Anatolian urban center, not only socially and economically but also spatially between the 14th and 16th centuries. Clearly speaking, Tire's socio-economic structuring is scrutinized on one hand. This corresponds to the role of trade and the road network especially in the regional scale in Western Anatolia. On the other hand, in the architectural scale the setting of the "urban artifacts", namely building groups, mosques with auxiliary spaces, mosques with shopping units, and certain single public buildings such as the Great Mosque, neighborhood mosques, baths and commercial buildings is examined. At the intersection of the both, in other words where they overlapped, the urban form transformed so did gradually the urban space. Hence, the influence of socio-economic background and trade, trade road and urban network, plus the influence of architecture in the form of "urban artifacts" in the making of Tire and the two way relationship between them is palpable and well traced as the still existing urban and architectural setting of the town suggest.

Accordingly, in this chapter initially, Tire is introduced with special emphasis on its location and geography within the wider framework of Western Anatolia. An evaluation on the history of the settlements, which probably resided in its center and vicinity, is given. Then, social, political and particularly economical constructs of the town, with particular focus on trade activities, trade relations and possible impacts of trade especially under the Turkish rule in shaping the spatial structures of the urban setting are depicted. Later, a morphological analysis on the formation and transformation of the urban form of Tire with special emphasis on the period between the 14th and 16th centuries is conducted. Yet, the urban form of Tire is also studied from the points of settlement pattern in plan, settlement size in territorial borders, urban image and urban architecture of the town, at the same time touching upon the role of the urban architecture in shaping and being shaped by its urban context. Finally, significant "types" of monumental urban architecture, in other words "urban artifacts", most of which are the building groups are studied in detail. Not only the architectural evolution and development of

these building groups but also their role in shaping the townscape and hence the making of Tire is discussed. Nevertheless, the interrelation of the building groups or single public buildings with the road network pattern, they are connected through, is also taken into account for they all together have an effect on the shaping of their urban contexts and structuring of the urban form.

Consequently, Chapter 6 is the last, thus the conclusion chapter of the thesis. In this chapter, the main questions formulated at the very beginning of the thesis are replied. Hence, making of the Western Anatolian urban centers in general and through an in depth analysis the making one of them, namely of Tire in particular is studied, evaluated and revealed throughout this thesis. In so doing, what the spatial formations and transformations of Western Anatolian urban centers are, how and in what ways they are established and remodeled, and what the reasons and the influential factors are in the making of these towns and in the shaping of these urban patterns, particularly through the two distinctive periods of 14th – 16th centuries, under the Principalities and then the Ottoman rule are summarized. Finally, the significance of the thesis within the field is highlighted and projections for future related studies are proposed.

1.4. Scholarship to Date

The evaluation of the existing literature comprising earlier studies on the socio-economic, urban, and architectural history of Western Anatolia between the 14th and 16th centuries is given under three related respective headings below. Eventually, in the fourth and last section, overlapping and integrating these preceding studies, explorations and theories on urban space are discussed for their possible contributions in constructing the methodology of this thesis.

1.4.1. Earlier Studies on the Socio-Economic Background: Trade, Road and Urban Network in Western Anatolia (14th – 16th Century)

The literature on the socio-economic background of Western Anatolia can be examined by classifying these earlier studies in separate, yet interconnected thematic groups, in terms of fields of research. Clearly speaking, the historiography on the socio-economic background of Western Anatolia between the 14th and 16th centuries can be classified in groups as socio-political and socio-cultural history, economic history, trade roads and road network, and finally urban network, which in a way overlaps with all of these groups. Not surprisingly, the

separation of these thematic categories is not clear-cut, still there are overlapping studies, for the bigger picture cannot be portrayed in isolation of one from the others.

To begin with, studies on socio-political and socio-cultural history of medieval Western Anatolia can be overviewed consecutively first, for the Principalities and next for the rather prolonged Ottoman period. Yet, publications comprising any of the periods provide clues on the economic history, in terms of economic policies, economic relations and hence alliances while, in essence, concentrating on the socio-political and socio-cultural history. Chronologically listing, the studies of S. Jr. Vryonis, P. Wittek, H. Akın, R. Stewig, H. İnalçık, E. A. Zachariadou are among the basic researches on Western Anatolia during the Principalities period.⁵ The works of Vryonis and Stewig emphasize the socio-cultural aspects, works of İnalçık and Zachariadou highlight the economic sides and works of Wittek and Akın are all-embracing analyses of the socio-political history of medieval Western Anatolia. Then again, the literature on the socio-political and socio-cultural history of the Ottoman period is rather more extensive. Still, within these, the studies of P. Wittek, F. M. Köprülü, H. İnalçık, C. Kafadar, E. A. Zachariadou, and A. Luttrell for the establishment, and the studies of H. İnalçık, A. Williams, A. Hess, S. Özbaran, P. Brummet for the rising stage of the Ottoman rule, are among the essential sources within the historiography of the socio-political background in Western Anatolia.⁶ Where within this framework Wittek, Köprülü, and Kafadar concentrate on the

⁵ Wittek P. (1944), *Menteşe Beyliği: 13. – 15. Asırda Garbi Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, (O. S. Gökyay trans.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. Akın H. (1968), *Aydınöğulları Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi. Stewig R. (1970), *Batı Anadolu'nun Kültürel Gelişmesinin Ana Hatları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture. Vryonis S. Jr. (1971), *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, London, Berkeley: University of California Press. Zachariadou E. A. (1980), "The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area", *Studi Medievali*, 3a Serie, XXI. pp. 821-838. İnalçık H. (1993), "The Rise of the Turcoman Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium, and the Crusades", (*Byzantinische Forschungen*, 9, 1985, pp. 179-211.) reprinted in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington: Indiana University of Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Studies, pp. 309-341.

⁶ Wittek. P. (1938), *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London: Royal Asiatic Society. Köprülü F. M. (1959), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. Hess A. C. (1970), "The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborne Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1453-1525", *American Historical Review*, 75/7, pp. 1892-1919, İnalçık H. (1973), *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600*, New York, Washington: Praeger Publishers. Brummet P. (1994), *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*, Albany: State University of New York Press. Kafadar C. (1995), *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Özbaran S. (1995), "Ottoman Naval Policy in the South", *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, (M. Kunt, C. Woodhead eds.) New York and London: Longman Publishing, pp. 55-70. Williams A. (1995), "Mediterranean Conflict", *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, (M. Kunt, C. Woodhead eds.) New York and London: Longman Publishing, 39-54.

socio-cultural aspects in particular and Hess, Williams, Brummet, Özbaran, and Zachariadou point to the economic-political issues, H. İnalçık proposes the most synthetic researches, which concurrently analyze the socio-political, socio-cultural, and economic developments through the 14th and 16th centuries.⁷

In addition to the above, there are studies mainly concentrating on economic history. In other words, there are studies both on the economic policies and on the trade activities, trade relations, and hence trade agreements and commodities, which pave the way and support with extra information for investigating the trade road and urban network in Western Anatolia of that period. Accordingly, the earliest of these works are by W. Heyd and F. Thiriet, who focus on the trade relations and activities in the medieval Mediterranean.⁸ The researches on the history of trade and economy in the medieval Aegean continued with the works of M. Delilbaşı, M. Spremič, E. A. Zachariadou, K. Fleet, and Ş. Turan.⁹ Where Delilbaşı and Spremič mostly emphasized the developments of economic relations, namely the trade agreements between the Latins and the Turkish-Islamic Principalities, Zachariadou, Fleet, and Turan proposed a broader portrayal of these developments, including the analysis of the trade of particular commodities and hints about the trade routes. Additionally, the works of H. İnalçık and D. Quataert and particularly S. Faroqhi are of paramount significance.¹⁰ For the reason that, they more decisively indicate the trade routes and trade road network and even

Luttrell A. (1997), “1389 Öncesi Osmanlı Genişlemesine Latin Tepkileri”, *Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389*, (E. Zachariadou ed.) (G. Çağalı Güven, İ. Yerguz, T. Altınova trans.) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp. 129-158. Zachariadou E. A. (1997), “Karesi ve Osmanlı Beylikleri: İki Rakip Devlet”, *Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389*, (E. Zachariadou ed.) (G. Çağalı Güven, İ. Yerguz, T. Altınova trans.) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp. 243-255.

⁷ İnalçık (1973), see also the other studies of H. İnalçık on the socio-political, socio-cultural and plus economic history of the Ottoman State in the bibliography.

⁸ Heyd W. (1885-1886), *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, I-II, Leipzig. Thiriet F. (1964). “Les Relations entre la Crete et les Emirats Turcs d’Asie Mineure au XIVe siecle. (vers. 1348-1360). *Actes du XIIe Congres Internationales Etudes Byzantines*, 1961, Ohrid, II, Belgrad, pp. 213-221.

⁹ Delilbaşı M. (1983). “Ortaçağ’da Türk Hükümdarları Tarafından Batılılara Ahidnamelerle Verilen İmtiyazlara Genel Bir Bakış”, *Belleten*, XLVII/185, pp. 95-103. Spremič M. (1983), “XV. Yüzyılda Venedik Cumhuriyeti’nin Şarkta Ödediği Harçlar”, (M. H. Şakiroğlu trans.) *Belleten*, XLVII/185, pp. 363-390. Zachariadou E. (1983), *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1330-1445)*, Venice. Fleet K. (1999), *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Turan Ş. (2000), *Türkiye – İtalya İlişkileri I, Selçuklular’dan Bizans’ın Sona Erişine*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

¹⁰Faroqhi S. (1979c), “Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets in Various Anatolian *Sancaks*: İçel, Hamid, Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Aydın and Menteşe”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXII, pp. 32-80. Faroqhi S. (1984), *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. İnalçık H., Quataert D. (eds.) (2000), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi I*, (H. Berktaş trans.) İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık. See also the other economic history studies of İnalçık and Faroqhi in the bibliography.

touch upon the urban network in their researches on the economic issues and trade activities and relations in Anatolia under the peak of Ottoman control during the 16th century.

Yet, the last group of studies comprised those focusing on trade roads and road network and plus those touching upon urban network. These are basically the works of M. P. Charlesworth, D. French, C. Agouridis, and V. Şahoğlu, who portrayed the trade roads and road network of Western Anatolia in the ancient times, and the study of I. Demirkent pointing to the road network in the region during the Byzantine rule.¹¹ They help to illuminate the already existing road network in this part of Anatolia in order to differentiate between the continuity and transformations of these routes through the subsequent Turkish-Islamic period. Regarding the pre-Ottoman Turkish period, O. C. Tuncer's research on the caravan roads can be considered as the most extensive for the purpose of this dissertation. Because, it not only focuses on the road network of the Anatolian Seljuk era, which corresponds to Byzantine rule in Western Anatolia in that very period but also concentrates on the road network and touches upon the urban network of Western Anatolia during the subsequent Principalities period.¹² For the later Ottoman period, U. M. Luther's study is essential that it indicates the following transformations and developments in the trade road network in the 16th century.¹³

Finally, in this group of studies, the most significant ones are by S. Faroqhi and L. Erder and F. Braudel.¹⁴ In building up this dissertation, these studies were not only useful for their contribution in terms of providing information and knowledge but also for their involvement in structuring the main arguments of the thesis and the related methodological approach. Explicitly speaking, it is Braudel, who initially proposed the role of trade and trade road network in making the urban network, and by this means, in making the urban centers. In his words, "without markets and roads there would be no towns: movement is vital to them",

¹¹ Charlesworth M. P. (1970), *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, New York: Cooper Square Publishers. French D. (1981), *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor; the Pilgrim's Roads*, London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Press. BAR International Services: 107. Agouridis C. (1997), "Sea Routes and Navigation in the Third Millennium Aegean", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 16/1, pp. 1-24. Demirkent I. (2002), "Bizans'ın Ege Bölgesinden Güneye İnen Yolları", *Anadolu'da Tarihi Yollar ve Şehirler Semineri*, (L. Akgünlü, A. Terzi eds.) 21 Mayıs 2001, İstanbul. Globus Dünya Basımevi, pp. 1-13. Şahoğlu V. (2005), "The Anatolian Trade Network and the İzmir Region During the Early Bronze Age", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24/4, pp. 339-361.

¹² Tuncer O. C. (2006), "Anadolu Selçuklu ve Beylikler Dönemi Kervan Yolları", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.), II, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pp. 419-432. Tuncer O. C. (2007), *Anadolu Kervan Yolları*, Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları.

¹³ Luther U. M. (1989), *Historical Route Network of Anatolia (İstanbul- İzmir – Konya) 1550's to 1850's: A Methodological Study*, Ankara: Turkish Historical Society.

¹⁴ Braudel (1972). Faroqhi S., Erder L. (1980), "The Development of the Anatolian Urban Network during the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXIII, pp. 265-303.

and “a map of cities closely corresponds to a map of the roads”.¹⁵ With these in mind, now the existing literature on urban history of Western Anatolia can be overviewed.

1.4.2. Earlier Studies on the Urban History of Western Anatolia

Urban historiography on medieval Western Anatolia under Turkish-Islamic rule is scarce for the Principalities period, in comparison to the rather long-lasting Ottoman. However, in both cases, amateur local historians were the leading ones regarding the earliest urban explorations on Western Anatolian towns. Such studies either comprised the documentation of written sources such as *kadı sicilleri* [court records] and *tapu tahrir defterleri* [property deeds] or covered the documentation and description of physical entities, in other words they documented the architectural heritage of a certain town. Thus, they did not endeavour in making up scholarly arguments for these. Yet, in terms of compilation of knowledge and information for further research they are invaluable. For instance, works of F. Tokluoğlu, who is one of the former museum directors, in Tire, and M. Necip, a local historian in the same town are important in these respects.¹⁶

Scholarship, especially on Ottoman Anatolian towns progressed with the analyses of the written sources, particularly on the part of social historians.¹⁷ Studies on property deeds and court records enabled above all social historians to rebuild the demographic, social and economic structure of towns. Researches on societies and economies of Ottoman Anatolian towns in particular increased. These studies either focused on a single town like those by H. Gerber, D. Goffman, Z. Arıkan, T. Baykara, and Ö. Ergenç on Western Anatolian and/or Ottoman Anatolian urban centers in a broader frame or they, such as in the works of S. Faroqhi and F. Acun, focused on Ottoman Anatolian towns in groups and formulated shared and/or individual characteristics.¹⁸

¹⁵ Braudel (1972), pp. 312, 316.

¹⁶ Necip M. (1932d), “Tetkik ve Tetebbü Notları I: Tire’nin Tarihçesi”, *Yeşil Tire*, 2/20, pp. 13-15. Necip M. (1933a), “Tire’nin Ümrânına Hizmet Etmiş Büyük Adamlardan Lütü Paşa ve Bıraktığı Eserler I”, *Yeşil Tire*, 2/29, pp. 4-5, 11. Necip M. (1933b), “Tire’nin Ümrânına Hizmet Etmiş Büyük Adamlardan Lütü Paşa ve Bıraktığı Eserler II”, *Yeşil Tire*, 2/30, pp. 6-10. Tokluoğlu F. (1957), *Tire Tarihi ve Turistik Değerleri*, İzmir: Yenilik Basımevi. Tokluoğlu F. (1964), *Tire*, İzmir: Şehir Matbaası. Tokluoğlu F. (1973), *Tire Çevre İncelemeleri*, İzmir: Karınca Matbaacılık.

¹⁷ For a more detailed discussion on the researches on Ottoman cities, emphasizing their social histories. see Eldem E., Goffman D., Masters B. (1999), “Introduction: Was there an Ottoman City?”, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul*, (E. Eldem, D. Goffman, B. Masters eds.) London: Cambridge University Press, pp. 9-11.

¹⁸ Gerber H. (1988), *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa, 1600-1700*, Jerusalem: Hebrew University. Goffman D. (1990), *İzmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*, Seattle: University

Urban studies, comprising comparative physical histories of towns became professionalized by the late 1970s, based on the earlier documentation studies on Anatolian towns. Still, there were studies focusing on a single urban center such as the works by A. Arel, F. Alioğlu, K. Bilici, G. Urak, and Ü. Altınoluk, and studies analyzing possible city models such as the works by U. Tanyeli, S. Aktüre, and G. Tankut.¹⁹ As for the city models, or in other words urban models Tanyeli's dissertation for the pre-Ottoman, and Aktüre's dissertation for the late Ottoman towns, and particularly Tankut's research, recently published yet prepared earliest among the others, in the 1970s, are regarded as forerunners. Especially Tankut's study, as discussed in the proceeding chapters in the relevant paragraphs, is the most influential in this particular dissertation. She proposes a rather spatial analysis and focuses on urban experiences, where she accepts each urban center as a unique case, instead of proposing schematic urban models. Nevertheless, considering recent scholarship, there is an increasing interest in studies focusing on pre-Ottoman city models.²⁰

of Washington Press. Goffman D. (1999), "İzmir", *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir, and İstanbul*. (E. Eldem, D. Goffman, B. Masters eds.), London: Cambridge University Press, pp. 79-134. Arıkan Z. (1991), "XIV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda Ayasuluğ", *Belleten*, LIV/209, pp: 121-168. Baykara T. (2001), *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi. Baykara T. (2007), *Selçuklular ve Beylikler Çağında Denizli*, İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık. Ergenç Ö. (2006), *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. Faroqhi S. (1984), *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520- 1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Faroqhi S. (2000), *Town Life: Urban Identity and Life Style*, in *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, London - New York: I. B. Tauris Publishers, pp. 146-161. Acun F. (2002), "A Portrait of the Ottoman Cities", *The Muslim World*, 92, pp. 255-285.

¹⁹ Arel A. (1968), "Menteşe Beyliği Devrinde Peçin Şehri", *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları*, I, pp. 69-98. Bilici K. (1991), *Kastamonu'da Türk Devri Mimarisi ve Şehir Dokusunun Gelişimi (18.Yüzyıl Sonuna Kadar)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Art History, Ankara: Ankara University. Urak G. (1994), *Amasya'nın Türk Devri Şehir Dokusu ve Yapılarının Analiz ve Değerlendirmesi*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Ankara: Gazi University. Alioğlu F. (1999), "Erken Osmanlı Döneminde İznik Kentinin Fiziksel Gelişimi", *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar, Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, (Ç. Kafesçioğlu, L. Thys – Şenocak eds.) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 83-101. Altınoluk Ü. (2007), *Geleneksel Kent Dokusu Birgi*, İstanbul: Ege Yayınları. Tanyeli U. (1987), *Anadolu Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci (11. – 15. yy.)*, Ph. D. Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture. In addition, Tanyeli U. (1999), "Pre-Ottoman Anatolia", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia, A Historical Perspective*, (Y. Sey ed.) İstanbul: Tepe Architectural Culture Center, pp. 105-133. Aktüre S. (1978), *19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Anadolu Kenti Mekansal Yapı Çözümlemesi*, Ph. D. Thesis in İstanbul Technical University, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, In addition, Aktüre S. (1975), "17. Yüzyıl Başından 19. Yüzyıl Ortasına Kadarki Dönemde Anadolu Osmanlı Şehrinde Şehrsel Yapının Değişme Süreci", *Middle East Technical University, Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, 1, pp. 101-128. Aktüre S. (1989), "The Islamic Anatolian City", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 1-2, pp. 68-79. Tankut G. (2007), *The Seljuk City*, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture Printing Workshop.

²⁰ Özcan K. (2005b), *Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yerleşme Sistemi ve Kent Modelleri*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in City Planning, Konya: Selçuk University. See also, Özcan K. (2005c), "Anadolu'da Kentler Sistemi ve Mekânsal Kademelenme", *Middle East Technical University, Journal of*

In addition to the above urban historiography concentrating either on social and economic histories of towns or on their physical setting, and probable urban models, there are others in greater numbers that focus on the Ottoman era. Their explorations of towns with reference to their architectural entities are highly favored in recent studies on architectural history. Researches of H. Crane and I. A. Biermann display more synthetic approaches for Ottoman urban studies.²¹ S. E. Wolper's work is parallel to the above ones in discussing the place of the dervish lodges in Seljuk towns and their continuity.²² At this point, although not covering specifically the Turkish-Islamic towns in Anatolia, the works of W. L. MacDonald on ancient Roman towns, of N. Baker and R. Holt on medieval English towns, and plus more theoretical works by A. Rossi and D. Preziosi are likewise essential in structuring the main arguments of the thesis. For in addition to effective factors in making the towns in the regional scale, they emphasize the role of inseparable components of urban contexts in architectural scale, as will be more comprehensively explained in the following pages.²³ Hence, it can be repeated that the former works on social and economic histories of urban centers and urban models have for the most part been helpful for their informative contribution, whereas the latter ones, which can be listed within the domain of architectural history, have been influential for their methodological approaches to urban historiography in building up this research. Yet, the existing literature on the inseparable components of urban contexts in architectural scale, namely on the building groups as significant constituents of the urban form and their role in the making of this urban form with particular emphasis on Western Anatolian examples is discussed below.

Faculty of Architecture, 23/2, pp. 21-61, Özcan K. (2007), "Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yerleşme Sistemi ve Kent Modelleri", *İTÜ Dergisi, Mimarlık, Planlama, Tasarım*, 6/1, pp. 3-15.

²¹ Crane H. (1991), "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A. Biermann, R. Abou-el-Haj, D. Preziosi. eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 173-243. Biermann I. (1991), "The Ottomanization of Crete", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A. Biermann, R. Abou-el-Haj, D. Preziosi. eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 53-75.

²² Wolper E. S. (2003), *Cities and Saints, Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

²³ MacDonald W. L. (1986), *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II. An Urban Appraisal*, New Haven: Yale University Press. Baker N., Holt R. (2004), *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church*, Burlington: Ashgate. Preziosi D. (1991), "Introduction to Part II: Power, Structure, and Architectural Function", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el-Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 103-109. Rossi (1982).

1.4.3. Earlier Studies on Building Groups: Evolution and Development of Building Groups and their Role as Urban Generators

Similar to the literature on urban history, the scholarship concentrating on building groups and later on their role as urban generators starts with monographic studies, which describe and analyze single, particular building groups. These mostly study the building complexes, so-called *külliyes*. There are also studies focusing on dervish lodges, hospices, the so-called *zaviyes*, and plus focusing on mosques with auxiliary spaces, the so-called *zaviyeli*, or *t tipi camiler*. To begin with, the earlier works on building complexes either depict the social life and administrative aspects of the building groups after the documentation of sources such as in the works of İ. H. Uzunçarşılı and S. Pay, or they focus on the physical properties, that is to say, on the architectural and artistic features of these edifices like in the works of M. Akok, H. Karamağaralı, A. Durukan, H. Acun, F. Müderrisoğlu, and R. Kazancıgil.²⁴ Likewise, there are also monographs describing and examining the architectural and artistic characteristics of dervish lodges, hospices in medieval Anatolia.²⁵ Plus, the architectural evolution and the probable functional aspects of the mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan are discussed in previous research like in the works of E. H. Ayverdi, A. Kuran, and for the most part S. Eyice.²⁶

²⁴ Uzunçarşılı İ. H. (1941), “Gazi Orhan Bey Vakfiyesi, 724 Rebülevvel – 1324 Mart”, *Belleten*, V/19, pp. 277-288. Pay S. (2000), “Osmanlı Külliyyelerinde Yönetim, Bursa İvaz Paşa Külliyesi Örneği”, *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 9/9, pp. 325-338. Akok M. (1968a), “Kayseri’de Hunad Mimari Külliyesi’nin Rölövesi”, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, XVI/1, pp. 5-44. Akok M. (1969a), “Kayseri’de Gevher Nesibe Hatun Darüşşifası ve Sahibiye Medresesi Rölöve ve Mimarisini”, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, XVII/1, pp. 133-184. Akok M. (1969b), “Diyarbakır Ulu Camii Mimari Manzumesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 9, pp. 113-139. Karamağaralı H. (1976), “Kayseri’deki Hunad Camii’nin Restitüsyonu ve Hunad Manzumesinin Kronolojisi Hakkında Bazı Mülâhazalar”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 21, pp. 119-245. Durukan A. (1988). *Balat, İlyas Bey Camii*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları. Acun H. (1985), “Manisa İshak Çelebi Külliyesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 19, pp. 127-144. Müderrisoğlu F. (1991), “Edirne II. Bayezid Külliyesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 22, pp. 151-177. Kazancıgil R. (1997), *Edirne Sultan II. Bayezid Külliyesi*, Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Yayınları.

²⁵ Akok M. (1968b), “Hacıbektaş Veli Mimari Manzumesi”, *Türk Etnoğrafya Dergisi*, 10, pp. 27-58. Tanman B. (1992), “Geyikli Baba Külliyesi”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, XIV, İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları. pp. 47-49. Savaş S. (1993), “Tokat’ta Hoca Sümbül Zaviyesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 24, pp. 199-208.

²⁶ Ayverdi E. H. (1966), *İstanbul Mimari Çağının Menşei, Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri 630-805 (1230-1402) Ertuğrul, Osman, Orhan Gaziler, Hüdavendigâr ve Yıldırım Bayezid*, 1. İstanbul: Baha Matbaası. Ayverdi E. H. (1973), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri 855-886 (1451-1481)*, 3-4. İstanbul: Baha Matbaası. Ayverdi E. H. (1989), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve Sultan II. Murad Devri 806-855 (1403-1451)*, 2, (2nd Edition, 1st Edition in 1972) İstanbul: Damla Ofset. Kuran A. (1971), *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press. Eyice S. (1962-63), “İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-İçtimai Bir Müessesesi: Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XIII/1-2, pp. 1-80.

Such monographic works continued on one hand and encouraged studies focusing on more than a single case and investigating the shared and individual characteristics of a group cases on the other hand. For instance the works of İ. Numan, S. Emir, and B. Tanman investigated a common architectural language among the dervish lodges and pointed to their individual features at the same time.²⁷ Yet, similar studies on building complexes are also rather abundant. Studies of B. Yediyıldız and A. Güneş point to the social aspects and concentrate on the driving forces for founding building groups and on the working principles of these groups.²⁸ However, works of S. Ögel, M. Katoğlu, F. Akozan, and particularly those of G. Cantay and especially T. Reyhanlı not only examine the motives for establishing building complexes and the way they work but also search for the origins, evolutions and developments of these groups in terms of their architectural settings.²⁹ Nevertheless, it is the works of B. A. İpekoğlu for the pre-Ottoman, namely Anatolian Seljuk and A. Kuran, and A. Ataman, for the Ottoman period, which emphasizes the design principles and highlights the spatial variations and developments of building groups.³⁰

Accordingly, S. Yıldırım, and particularly R. Hakky and M. Cerasi are significant names for they study building groups within their urban contexts and point to their role in

²⁷ Numan İ. (1982), *Anadolu'nun Fethinden İstanbul'un Fethine Kadar Türk Tekke ve Zaviye Mimarisi Hakkında Araştırma*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Religious Studies, Ankara: Ankara University. Emir S. (1994), *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok-İşlevli Yapılar: Kentsel Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zaviyeler*, İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi. Tanman B. (2002), "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları / Tekkeler", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 12, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 149 - 161. Tanman B., Parlak S. (2006), "Tarikat Yapıları", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı* (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.) II, pp. 391-417.

²⁸ Yediyıldız B. (1981), "Sosyal Teşkilatlar Bütünlüğü Olarak Osmanlı Vakıf Külliyesi", *Türk Kültürü*, 219, pp. 262-271. Güneş A. (2005), "Bir İmar Düzeni ve Hayır Kurumu Olarak Osmanlılarda İmaret", *Milli Folklor*, 9, 17/66, pp. 26-33.

²⁹ Ögel S. (1963), "Osmanlı Devrinde Türk Külliyesi", *Türk Kültürü*, 11, pp: 37-41. Akozan F. (1969), "Türk Külliyesi", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 8, pp. 303-327. Katoğlu M. (1976) "13. Yüzyıl Anadolu Mimarisinde Külliye", *Belleten*, XXXI/123, pp. 336-344. Reyhanlı T. (1976), "Osmanlı Mimarisinde İmaret: Külliye Üzerine Notlar", *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, XV/1-2, pp. 121-131. Cantay G. (2002a), "Türk Mimarisinde Külliye", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 7, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 836-853. Cantay G. (2002b), *Osmanlı Külliyelerinin Kuruluşu*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları.

³⁰ Kuran A. (1979), "15. ve 16. Yüzyıllarda İnşa Edilen Osmanlı Külliyelerinin Mimari Esasları Konusunda Bazı Görüşler", *I. Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi*, 3, İstanbul, pp. 794-818. Kuran A. (1996a), "Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Yerleşme Düzeni – Bir Tipoloji Denemesi", *Prof. Doğan Kuban'a Armağan*, (Z. Ahunbay, D. Mazlum, K. Eyüpgiller eds.) İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, pp. 38-44. İpekoğlu B. A. (1993), *Buildings with Combined Functions in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture (An Evaluation of Design Principles, Past and Present Functions)*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Restoration, Ankara: Middle East Technical University. İpekoğlu B. A. (2006), "Birleşik İşlevli Yapılar", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.) II, pp. 111-125. Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliye - Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantığı*, İstanbul: Mimari Tasarım Yayınları.

making the urban form and shaping the townscape.³¹ Yet, the building groups are not only studied with respect to their urban contexts but also the urban contexts are evaluated in relation to the development of building groups as in the works of Ö. L. Barkan, A. Kuran and as touched upon in the work of G. Cantay.³²

1.4.4. At the Intersection of Earlier Studies on Socio-Economic, Urban, and Architectural History of Western Anatolian Towns: Evaluating the Preceding Explorations, Theories on Urban Space

As previously mentioned, approaches in urban historiography, display diversities and varieties, particularly due to the academic background of the scholars. Social historians, urban planners and architectural historians have distinct methodologies in making up scholarly arguments in their researches on urban history.³³ In these lines, the studies of social historians, urban geographers, hence, urban historical geographers, urban designers, and architectural historians related to urban space differ. Inevitably, each of these disciplines formulates its own approach and methodology in researches on urban space, in other words, study on cities and towns, referring to their established priorities depending on their disciplinary backgrounds.³⁴

At the outset, the approach and methods of urban geography, which is a sub-area of human geography can be discussed, for urban geography is among the significant fields in

³¹ Yıldırım S. (1991), *Kuruluşundan VII. Yüzyıla Kadar Rumeli – Edirne Kent Kurgusu ve Yapı Grupları*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Architecture, Ankara: Gazi University. Cerasi M. M. (1987), “Place and Perspective in Sinan's Townscape”, *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 52-61. Cerasi M. M. (1999), “The Urban Perspective of Ottoman Monuments from Sinan to Mehmet Tahir – Change and Continuity”, *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar, Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, (Ç. Kafesçioğlu, L. Thys – Şenocak eds.) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 171-190. Hakky R. (1992), *The Ottoman Külliye between the 14th and 17th Centuries: Its Urban Setting and Spatial Composition*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Environmental Design and Planning, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

³² Barkan Ö. L. (1962-63), “Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişafı Tarihi Bakımından Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XXIII/1-2, pp. 239-296. Cantay G. (1993), “16. Yüzyıl Külliyelerinin Şehirlerin Tarihi Topoğrafyasını Belirlemesi”, *Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Önge Armağanı*, Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi, Selçuklu Araştırmaları Merkezi, pp. 75-85. Kuran A. (1996b), “A Spatial Study of the Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and İstanbul”, *Muqarnas*, 13, pp. 114-131.

³³ The approaches of social historians, urban planners and architectural historians within urban history studies are already mentioned above, in 1.4.2. Studies on Urban History of Western Anatolia.

³⁴ For detailed evaluation on the approaches of social historians on urban space, see Çelik Z., Favro D. (1988), “Methods of Urban History”, *Journal of Architectural Education*, 41/3, p. 5. Favro D. (1999), “Meaning and Experience: Urban History from Antiquity to the Early Modern Period”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58/3, p. 367. Madanipour A. (1996), *Design of Urban Space, An Inquiry into a Socio-spatial Process*, Chichester and New York: John Wiley and Sons, pp. 19, 71-75. See also Uğur Y. (2005), “Şehir Tarihi ve Türkiye’de Şehir Tarihçiliği”, *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi, Türk Şehir Tarihi*, 3/6, pp. 12-13.

structuring the methodology of this particular thesis. Urban geography studies focus on urban structures, in other words, on the physical form of cities, plus on the people who live in those cities.³⁵ Likewise, spatial patterning is the basic concern of urban historical geographers.³⁶ For instance H. Carter, one of the leading figures in the field of urban historical geography proposes the organization of an urban historical geography; starting with “the origin of the city in settlement form” through a wider, regional framework and articulating into the “uses of urban land”, in other words into the very units of urban structure.³⁷ Hence, land use is accepted among the basic constituents of urban form in some urban geography studies, which retain a functionalist interpretation of urban space.³⁸ Bourne criticizes and elaborates this approach through the proposal of a system of collection of individual elements like built environment, buildings and land uses as well as social groups, economic activities and public institutions, their integration formulizing a subsystem and the interaction of these within the city.³⁹ Nevertheless, geographers, specifically, enlarge the physical territory of cities; consider urban settings as regional elements, as elements of regional systems.⁴⁰

Nevertheless, the approaches of urban geography vary from and conform with the viewpoints of urban designers, architects and architectural historians stemming from their identification and conceptualization of urban form and referring to its diverse aspects. At this point, A. Madanipour states that urban form comprises both physical and social dimensions which are in a dynamic relationship.⁴¹ In his words,

“Physical fabric is produced and conditioned by different social procedures. At the same time, the form of urban space, once built, can exert influence upon the way these procedures recur.

³⁵ For a recent inquiry of urban geography through a discursive framework and evaluation with regard to urban research, see Lees L. (2004), “Urban Geography: Discourse Analysis and Urban Research”, *Progress in Human Geography*, 28/1, pp. 101-107.

³⁶ Carter H. (1983), *An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography*, London: Edward Arnold Publishers, p. xv.

³⁷ Carter (1983), p. xvii.

³⁸ Madanipour exemplifies such studies as Scargill D. I. (1979), *The Form of Cities*, London: Bell and Hyman, and Clark A. N. (1985), *Longman Dictionary of Geography*, Harlow: Longman, p. 667 in Madanipour (1996), p. 32.

³⁹ Bourne L. S. (1982), “Urban Spatial Structure: An Introductory Essay on Concepts and Criteria”, *Internal Structure of the City*, (L. S. Bourne ed.) New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 28-45.

⁴⁰ Çelik, Favro (1988), p. 6.

⁴¹ Madanipour explains the physical and social aspects of urban form as such; “Physically urban fabric might be seen as a grouping of built spatial units. Here the study of form can, at different scales and in both two and three dimensions, refer to single buildings, blocks, urban quarters, and the whole urban fabric as the combination of these physical component parts. It is also possible to focus on the space between these parts when studying the pattern of streets and squares. The social dimension of urban form deals with the spatial arrangement and interrelationship of the characteristics of the people who build, use and value the urban fabric. Here the study of urban form refers to the way the urbanites, individually or in groups, relate to each other in space.” Madanipour (1996), p. 33.

On these bases, it is possible to envisage urban form as the geometry of a socio-spatial continuum.⁴²

Architectural historians also concentrate on the physical form, in other words, on the visual characteristics, at the same time relating them to the social, political, and economic forces which are influential in shaping the urban settings. In these lines, M. Gandelonas suggests an “architectural reading of the urban text” with the articulation of the city first, according to its architectural components; second, to its urban plan in its complete patterns and third to the social and cultural forces, economic practices, administrative institutions, which help to reconcile the two above in making the cities.⁴³ Following Madanipour’s arguments, in order to establish a shared ground for research on the urban phenomena between distinct disciplinary fields, urban morphological studies may stand as an appropriate medium. Hence, urban morphology comprises the outcomes of ideas and intentions as they take shape on the ground and mold the cities, that is, it brings together the tangible results of social and economic forces.⁴⁴

The interdisciplinary field of urban morphology has its roots established by M. R. G. Conzen, an immigrant German geographer, who founded the British school on one side and S. Muratori, an Italian architect, who founded one of the Italian schools, namely the School of Rome on the other side.⁴⁵ Conzen’s followers such as J. W. R. Whitehand, T. R. Slater, and K. D. Lilley mostly examine the urban form aiming to develop a theory on how and why the cities are built.⁴⁶ Those tracing Muratorian tradition such as G. Caniggia as the leading figure, G.

⁴² Madanipour (1996), p. 33.

⁴³ In his words; “...at one level, we are dealing in the city with buildings and spaces that are always open to changes, with a level that has an unlimited capacity to transform. At another level, we are also dealing with the urban plan, which can be seen as the ground where the traces are inscribed and indefinitely retained while everything else changes. But there is also a third level, one of social and cultural forces, of practices and institutions, that reconciles the other two, that makes possible the realization of the individual buildings on the collective ground, the transformation of time into space, of history into geography.” Gandelonas M. (1998), “The City as the Object of Architecture”, *Assemblage*, 37, p. 135.

⁴⁴ Moudon A. V. (1997), “Urban Morphology as an Emerging Interdisciplinary Field”, *Urban Morphology*, 1, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Conzen M. R. G. (1960), *Alnwick, Northumberland: A Study on Town-Plan Analysis*, Institute of British Geographers Publication 27, London: George Philip. Muratori S. (1960), *Studi per una Operante Storia Urbana di Venezia*, Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. There is also another significant Italian school that was influential within the urban morphology studies established by C. Aymonino and continued with his assistant A. Rossi.

⁴⁶ Lilley K. D. (2000), “Mapping the Medieval City: Plan Analysis and Urban History”, *Urban History*, 27/1, pp. 5-30. Lilley K. D. (2002), *Urban Life in the Middle Ages, 1000-1450*, New York: Palgrave. Slater T. R. (ed.) (1990), *The Built Form of Western Cities*, Leicester: Leicester University Press. Whitehand J. W. R. (ed.) (1981), *The Urban Landscape: Historical Development and Management*, London: Academic Press. Whitehand J. W. R. (1987), *The Changing Face of Cities: A*

Cataldi, G. L. Maffei and P. Maretto, for the most part, carry on urban research for developing a theory on how to build cities, where they are as well engaged in the practice of urban design and architecture.⁴⁷ In similar lines, A. Petruccioli is from the same, Italian tradition and in the very recent publication he likewise proposes a comprehensive morphological analysis on the particularities of Mediterranean Muslim towns.⁴⁸

Nevertheless, soon after the British and Italian schools, the French schools like the one established in Versailles were engaged in urban morphology studies. This tradition initiated by J. Castex and P. Panerai, and influenced by F. Boudon and A. Chastel mostly focused on criticism, assessment of the impact of the design theories on city building in their urban researches.⁴⁹ It was by the 1980s that all these schools diffused not only inside the continent but spread worldwide among urban researchers. The extension of urban morphology studies to geographies other than Europe and to differing academic disciplines paved the way for combination and elaboration of further methodologies and increase in the number of studies in the field, where research content, as well, enriched and ranged both temporally and regionally.⁵⁰ For instance, works of P. Pinon comprised both researches on the typologies of the urban fabric of Ottoman towns, plus typology studies in the architectural scale.⁵¹

Study of Development Cycles and Urban Form, Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Whitehand J. W. R. (1992), *The Making of the Urban Landscape*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Whitehand J. W. R. (2001), "British Urban Morphology: The Conzenian Tradition", *Urban Morphology*, 5, pp. 103-109.

⁴⁷ Caniggia G. (1963), *Lettura di una Città: Como*, Roma: Centro Studi di Storia Urbanistica. Cataldi G. (1977), *Per Una Scienza del Territorio*, Firenze: Alinea. Cataldi G., Maffei G. L. and Vaccaro P. (1997), "The Italian School of Process Typology", *Urban Morphology*, 1, pp. 49-63. Maretto P. (2005), "Urban Morphology as a Basis for Urban Design: The Project for the Isola dei Cantieri in Chioggia", *Urban Morphology*, 9, pp. 29-44.

⁴⁸ Petruccioli A. (2008), *Bellek Yitiminin Ardından, Akdeniz İslam Kent Dokusunun Öğrettikleri*, (B. Kütükçüoğlu trans.) İstanbul: Yapı endüstri Merkezi Yayınları.

⁴⁹ Moudon (1997), p. 8. Castex J., Celeste P., and Panerai P. (1980), *Lecture d'une Ville: Versailles*, Paris: Éditions du Maniteur. Darin M. (1998), "The Study of Urban Form in France", *Urban Morphology*, 2, pp. 63-76.

⁵⁰ For more detailed analysis on urban morphological studies, concerning the development of this research area, classification of different traditions, interpretation of the contributions according to disciplinary fields, refer to, Gauthier P. and Gilliland J. (2006), "Mapping Urban Morphology: A Classification Scheme for Interpreting Contributions to the Study of Urban Form", *Urban Morphology, (International Seminar on Urban Form, 2006)*, 10/1, pp. 41-50. Madanipour (1996), pp. 53-58. Moudon (1997), pp. 3-10.

⁵¹ Pinon P. (1999), "Essai de Typologie des Tissus Urbains des Villes Ottomanes D'Anatolie et des Balkans", *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture "A Supra-National Heritage"*, (N. Akin, A. Batur, S. Batur eds.) pp. 174-188, (English translation, pp. 442-450). See also Pinon P. (1987), "Sinan's Külliyes: Inscriptions into the Urban Fabric", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 106-111. Pinon P. (1994-95), "L'Occidentalisation de la Maison Ottomane", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 38-49. Pinon P. (1998), "The Parceled City: İstanbul in the XIXth Century", *Rethinking XIXth Century City* (A. Petruccioli ed) Cambridge - Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, pp. 45-64.

Not surprisingly, where visual and physical aspects of the urban environments are among the major concerns of urban morphology, it is inevitable for architectural historians, those engaged in urban research, to tackle with morphological studies. Because, the approach of the architectural historian, even though not design-oriented, centralizes on the tangible facets of the cities unlike social scientists of other disciplines, who consider human aspect as the essential hub.⁵² Still, architectural historians undertaking urban studies examine social, political, economic dimensions which are effective -and effected in turn- in shaping the urban environments. In that way, they endeavor presenting a more complete picture, where they are concerned in comprehending “why” and “how” beyond the stylistic “what”.⁵³ In other words, in recent architectural history studies on urban settings, contextualization through a socio-spatial framework dominates, where the cities are neither comprehended as a collection of built forms nor just a stage for social correlations. Hence, as examples of the substantiation of this approach, the published researches of S. Aktüre, Z. Çelik, and F. C. Bilsel on different late Ottoman cities can be given. Aktüre studies the spatial transformations of the late Ottoman cities in relation to the socio-cultural developments and changes in these urban centers.⁵⁴ Similarly, while Çelik studies the spatial transformations of 19th century İstanbul through the social, political, and economical framework of the period and emphasizes the aspects of the urban fabric in this context, Bilsel in her study on the morphological evolution of late Ottoman and early Republican İzmir, mediates between urban culture and urban form and highlights the relation in between the two in transforming each other.⁵⁵

Nevertheless, initially, urban patterns throughout history are for the most part examined focusing on their formal constituents such as major public buildings, building groups,

⁵² Arnold J. L. (1990), “Architectural History and Urban History: A Difficult Marriage”, *Journal of Urban History*, 17/1, pp. 70-78. Tilly C. (1996), “What Good is Urban History?”, *Journal of Urban History*, 22/6, pp. 702-719. Favro (1999), p. 364.

⁵³ Çelik, Favro (1988), p. 5. Çelik and Favro base their argument here on Braudel’s approach to history that, in order “history” to be “substantial use in understanding the world today”, there should be close contact and communication between various disciplinary fields of social sciences. Braudel F. (1980), *On History*, (S. Matthews trans.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 200-207.

⁵⁴ Aktüre (1975). Aktüre (1978).

⁵⁵ Çelik Z. (1986), *The Remaking of İstanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. Bilsel C. F. (1996), *Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L’Évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la Ville d’İzmir aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Paris: Université de Paris X – Nanterre. Bilsel C. F. (1999), “The Ottoman Port City of İzmir in the 19th Century: Cultures, Modes of Space Production and the Transformation of Urban Space”, *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture “A Supra-National Heritage”*, (N. Akın, A. Batur, S. Batur eds.) İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, pp. 225-233.

etc, put another way, documenting their built heritage.⁵⁶ There are also studies which attempt to portray an overall picture of the urban form both in the general survey format like in the works of L. Benevolo and A. E. J. Morris and in focusing on particular cities like in the works of J. L. Abu-Lughod and F. Alioğlu.⁵⁷ Yet, in addition to formal constituents, altering the natural space, and spread over its surface, are layers of created environments and social forms, accumulated through time, which together make the urban space and interpret the city therefore as a socio-spatial phenomenon.⁵⁸ Hence, architectural historians for the most part consent on the contextualization and conceptualization of urban environments as socio-spatial processes not only in their own research but also in their studies regarding research methods in scrutinizing urban settings.⁵⁹

This assent paves the way for architectural historians to expand their sources beyond the tangible components of cities in their urban research. Other than the built environment they broaden their inquiry with the use of historical documents. They make use of not only archival written materials such as court records, property deeds, tax records, trade agreements, and peace treaties but also of historical visual documents such as paintings, drawings, maps, and diagrams.⁶⁰ Plus, literary sources, narratives of cities in various periods are also helpful in shedding light to the urban environment under research.⁶¹ At this point, opening a parenthesis,

⁵⁶ See in 1.4.2. Studies on Urban History of Western Anatolia for a more comprehensive evaluation and examples of these studies, and also how the methodology of the thesis is derived and what the approaches are in urban history studies.

⁵⁷ Benevolo L. (1981), *The History of the City*, (G. Culverwell trans.) (2nd Edition, 1st Edition in 1980) Cambridge – Massachusetts: MIT Press. Morris A. E. J. (1994), *History of Urban Form; Before the Industrial Revolutions*, (3rd Edition, 1st Edition in 1979) London: Pearson Education Limited. Abu-Lughod J. L. (1971), *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Alioğlu F. (1999), “Erken Osmanlı Döneminde İznik Kentinin Fiziksel Gelişimi”. *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar, Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, (Ç. Kafesçioğlu, L. Thys – Şenocak eds.) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 83-101.

⁵⁸ Madanipour (1996), p. 38.

⁵⁹ Çelik, Favro (1988). Favro (1999). Madanipour (1996), pp. 3-87. In addition Abu-Lughod J. L. (1987), “The Islamic City: Historic Myth, Islamic Essence, and Contemporary Relevance”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 19/2, pp. 155-176. Çelik Z. (1999), “New Approaches to “Non-Western” City”, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58/3, pp. 374-381.

⁶⁰ While in the subsequent chapter the use of archival material like peace treaties and trade agreements in unfolding the spatial organization of medieval Western Anatolian urban centers is attempted to be displayed, the study of S. Denoix is an example to show the integration of physical existing data with pictorial documents of early maps. Denoix S. (1993), “History and Urban Forms: A Methodological Approach”, *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 70-81. For a more thorough discussion on the sources see Çelik, Favro (1988), pp. 5-6, where they sum up as “Their [architectural historians] sources now range from the actual physical data (existing built forms and archaeological research) to literary documents from demographic and other quantitative data to oral history, as well as to pictorial documentation” p. 6.

⁶¹ AlSaiyyad N. (2005), “Ali Mubarak’s Cairo: Between the Testimony of *Alamuddin* and the Imaginary of the *Khitat*”, *Making Cairo Medieval*, (N. AlSaiyyad, I. A. Bierman, N. Rabbat eds.) New

it has to be indicated that, while social historians make use of visual materials to explain the emergence, transformation and growth of cities, architectural historians concentrate and elaborate on urban form.⁶² On the whole, where current historical research on urban environments witness the merging of varying disciplines, chronologies and geographies; there emerged a tendency among architectural historians fixed on the tangible aspects of cities, towards a revived concern in the sense and experience of urban form.

D. Favro exemplifies the increasing permeability of methodologies in urban studies among different disciplines by comparing the works of M. Girouard and S. Kostof.⁶³ Girouard attempts to integrate the technique of a social scientist and humanist in his pursuit of urban history research.⁶⁴ Kostof, as an architectural historian has an invigorated interest in the cultural context and spatial experience within which cities take shape and are structured.⁶⁵ He claims that, it is possible "...to "read" the form correctly only to the extent that we are familiar with the precise cultural conditions that generated it", is established.⁶⁶ Asserting that culture is constructed and not static, he mediates between various geographies and periods of history exploring urban form, meaning and process. First, he investigates urban patterns as a whole, in other words, taking up the bird's eye view stance Kostof inquires complete urban patterns such as organic configurations, grids, and diagrams.⁶⁷ Second, he pursues to evaluate cities by examining urban forms and meanings through the city's internal structure and partitions, in other words, constitutive components like urban divisions, public places, and streets, and this time, independent of modes of classifications of comprehensive settlement patterns.⁶⁸ Eventually, the aim of Kostof's meticulous study is, in his words, "to elucidate the physical traits of the urban landscape without *a priori* theories of urban behavior".⁶⁹ Yet, as stated by Favro, since his research communicates a combining note that, "cities surpass history",

York: Lexington Books, pp. 29-48. Friedrichs C. R. (1995), *The Early Modern City 1450-1750*, London: Longman Publishers. Rabbat N. (2005), "The Medieval Link: Maqrizi's *Khitat* and Modern Narratives of Cairo", *Making Cairo Medieval*, (N. AlSayyad, I. A. Bierman, N. Rabbat eds.) New York: Lexington Books, pp. 49-67.

⁶² For instance compare Goffman and Çelik on differentiating between social historian and architectural historian. Çelik (1986). Goffman (1990).

⁶³ Favro (1999), p. 364.

⁶⁴ Girouard M. (1985), *Cities and People: A Social and Architectural History*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁶⁵ Kostof S. (1991), *The City Shaped, Urban Patterns and Meanings through History*, London: Thames and Hudson. Kostof S. (1992), *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form through History*, Boston: Little Brown.

⁶⁶ Kostof (1991), p. 10.

⁶⁷ Kostof (1991).

⁶⁸ Kostof (1992).

⁶⁹ Kostof (1991), p. 16.

continuously redefining themselves and hardly ever becoming outdated, Kostof's contribution is of paramount importance.⁷⁰

In addition to Kostof's research, which embraces a wide range of geographical and temporal boundaries, the work of W. L. MacDonald and the collective inquiry of I. A. Bierman, R. Abou-el Haj and D. Preziosi are worth to mention, since they focus on the urban environments of particular geographies and eras. MacDonald's approach is rather formalistic, where he investigates the built environment within the visual context of the Roman city in his search for characteristics of Roman urban form through its constituents, as he names them "urban armatures".⁷¹ In the latter collective work, urban structure and imagery of the Ottoman city is explored first as a whole, mediating between socio-political mechanisms, as S. Vryonis calls "imperialization" in space making and a spatial-visual construction of power in space production as Bierman names "Ottomanization".⁷² Second, the Ottoman city is examined through its constitutive components, displaying how urban form takes shape through the relationship of these individual structures. Hence, H. Crane and to a certain extent J. L. Bacharach also study how significant these structures are in their own historical materiality, as well as engendering cultural and urban settings by connoting ideologies and meanings to their audience.⁷³ S. E. Wolper's inquiry displays similarities in terms of its research methodology with the above mentioned works.⁷⁴ She examines the transformation of the urban environment in Seljuk cities through the role of dervish lodges. Clearly speaking, she explores the contribution of these edifices to the formation of the urban fabric both in plans, in other words, with the bird's eye view of the cities, and in elevations, that is taking into account spatial experience of people wandering in the cities. Last of all, the previously mentioned joint research of N. Baker and R. Holt on church and urban growth in medieval England can be

⁷⁰ Favro (1999), p. 365.

⁷¹ MacDonald W. L. (1986), *The Architecture of the Roman Empire II. An Urban Appraisal*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁷² Vryonis S. Jr. (1991), "Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Imperial Iconography", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 13-52. Bierman I. A. (1991), "The Ottomanization of Crete", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 53-75.

⁷³ Bacharach J. L. (1991), "Administrative Complexes, Palaces, Citadels: Changes in the Loci of Medieval Muslim Rule", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 111-128. Crane H. (1991), "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 173-243.

⁷⁴ Wolper E. S. (2003), *Cities and Saints, Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

singled out.⁷⁵ The cooperation of an urban archaeologist and geographer with a historian in the search for the role of the church in the urbanization of medieval English towns with particular emphasis on the transformation of the urban form, have strong parallels considering their research methods with those of the aforementioned architectural historians.

All these various approaches to the study of the urban and architectural space are influential in building up this research. Clearly speaking, the above-mentioned urban historical geography studies, and plus the above-mentioned architectural history studies are helpful in constructing the research methodology and the related techniques in questioning the formation and transformation of the urban form, together with its architectural constituents in Western Anatolian town centers between the 14th and the 16th centuries.

⁷⁵ Baker, Holt (2004).

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL and ECONOMIC HISTORY of WESTERN ANATOLIA: TRADE, ROADS and URBAN NETWORK (14th- 16th Centuries)

In this chapter, trade activities, road network and urban development in Western Anatolia are discussed focusing on their possible interfaces with each other for an attempt of rebuilding the socio-economic history of Western Anatolian urban centers between the 14th and 16th centuries. This proposal for a reconstruction of Western Anatolian urban network, first, under the Principalities and next under the Ottoman rule, will pave the way for the detailed spatial analysis of these towns, for they are not only composed of physical settings but also comprised socio-economic constructs. In other words, in order to evaluate Western Anatolian towns in their spatial characteristics, a discussion of socio-economic context, through which their urban development and growth were shaped, is provided. Because, in this thesis, spatial formations and urban developments are consented as social and economic processes rather than mere physical products.⁷⁶

First, Western Anatolia, for its geographical setting as well as its significance of trade activities, trade routes and urban centers, is introduced. Second, the already established road network in the region before the Turkish infiltrations is evaluated. Then, in two main sections, for the Principalities and the Ottoman periods consecutively, trade and trade relations and their possible influences for the formation and development of urban network are discussed. In this sequence, the historical development of these successive states, their trade relations with the West and to a certain degree with the East, traded commodities and in relation, trade centers and finally flow of trade, trade routes and urban centers in their territories are studied as comprehensively as possible.

⁷⁶ See in Chapter 1, Introduction, 1.1. Approach and Main Arguments of the Dissertation and in 1.4. Scholarship to Date, 1.4.2. Studies on Urban History of Western Anatolia, and 1.4.4. At the Intersection of Earlier Studies on Socio-Economic, Urban, and Architectural History of Western Anatolian Towns: Evaluating the Preceding Explorations, Theories on Urban Space, for how the methodology of the thesis is derived and what the approaches are in urban history studies.

2.1. Trade, Roads and Urban Network in Western Anatolia before the Turkish Infiltration

Western Anatolia, which faces the Aegean Sea on its west and Central Anatolia on its east, was a significant piece of land in terms of trade activities from prehistoric and ancient times onwards.⁷⁷ (Figure 2.1) This part of Anatolia housed various settlements, which were to prosper in a short while, due to the fact that the region extends along the coast and has particular geographical and topographical conditions. Some settlement centers like Phocaea, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus, developed on the coastline and later grew as port towns. Other centers like Thyrea, Pyrgion, Tralles, and Mylasa were situated in the interior. In both cases, trade played a major role in the urban functions of these towns. They either grew because of the increase in production of foodstuff, textiles, alum or else, or ease of transportation, or because of developing as an import/export center.

Urban development in these towns was also strongly related to the road network, through which they were connected. The roads, to a great extent, determine the growth and decline of towns.⁷⁸ The nearer the towns to major highways, the wealthier and the richer they become. Those far from the main roads or become further because of a shift in the road network inevitably decline in time. All at once, towns attract or generate roads, and to a certain extent, urban network determines the road network.⁷⁹

Below is given the historical road network in Western Anatolia. The important centers and the connection of these to each other during the ancient and Byzantine times are indicated. Later, reflection of Turkish infiltrations and domination on the trade relations and activities is discussed, as, these shifts in the socio-political and economical dimensions might have affected the urbanization in the region and the road network pattern. Lastly, the contribution of trade

⁷⁷ Agouridis C. (1997), "Sea Routes and Navigation in the Third Millennium Aegean", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 16/1, pp. 1-24. Şahoğlu V. (2005), "The Anatolian Trade Network and the İzmir Region During the Early Bronze Age", *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24/4, pp. 339-361, See also in Chapter 1, 1.4.1. Earlier Studies on the Socio-Economic Background: Trade, Road and Urban Network in Western Anatolia (14th – 16th Century).

⁷⁸ Braudel F. (1972), *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, I, (S. Reynolds trans.) London and New York: Harper and Row Publishers, pp. 312-318. Faroqi S., Erder L. (1980), "The Development of the Anatolian Urban Network during the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXIII, pp. 299-303. Tuncer O. C. (2006), "Anadolu Selçuklu ve Beylikler Dönemi Kervan Yolları", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, II, (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.) Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 430. Tuncer O. C. (2007), *Anadolu Kervan Yolları*, Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, pp. 35-36. See also Stewig R. (1970), *Batı Anadolu'nun Kültürel Gelişmesinin Ana Hatları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, pp. 100-101, 109-118, 135-143, 150-164, 226-229.

⁷⁹ Braudel (1972), pp. 312-318, see also Tuncer (2006), p. 430. Tuncer (2007), pp. 35-36.

and road network to the evolution, development and decline of Western Anatolian urban centers is considered.

2.2. Historical Road Network in Western Anatolia before the Turkish Infiltration

Western Anatolian towns were in the forefront during the ancient Greek city-states long before the Turkish rule. Ionian city-states kept their prominence and turned into independent kingdoms during the Hellenistic rule in Anatolia. The Roman period witnessed a continuation of the former in many respects. Considering the urban network, the leading towns were the same ones. However, they were Romanized as they became parts of the Empire and more important than that urbanization increased during this period. This was partly because there was a parallel development in terms of constructing bridges, aqueducts as well as new roads and renovating and repairing the already existing ones. For instance, the roads from Ephesus to Smyrna, Miletus and other Ionian cities were repaired by Diocletian and maintained through the 4th century as can be seen from the surviving milestones.⁸⁰ Thus, the building up and enhancement of the road network encouraged the weaving of the urban network.

As illustrated on D. French's research maps Smyrna, Ephesus and Miletus were among the important port towns, whereas Tralles and Mylassa were among the inland ones.⁸¹ The Roman period road network and the urban centers show that there were a considerable number of settlements aligned along the Aegean coast. They probably developed due to stimulating trade activities, making use of the advantages of sea and land transport collectively. The Ephesus and Miletus ports and thus settlements were proper examples in this respect. These port towns were among the significant trade centers due to woolen textile and carpet production and export.⁸² They were connected to inland ones through the highways. The inland towns probably urbanized depending on proximity to main arteries and river courses, increase in production, and commercial pursuits. Tralles connected to Ephesus and Mylassa connected to Miletus by major highways, might be given as examples. The smaller inland settlements, on the

⁸⁰ Foss C. (1979a), *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, London: Cambridge University Press, p. 6.

⁸¹ French D. (1981), *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor; the Pilgrim's Roads*, London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Press. BAR International Services: 107, Map 6, 11.

⁸² Arıkan Z. (1991), "XIV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda Ayasuluğ", *Belleten*, LIV/209, p. 122. Mansel M. A. (1947), *Ege ve Yunan Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, p. 463. In addition Malay provides an extensive depiction on the trade commodities and trade flow, which were significant for the economic cultivation of Western Anatolian towns during the ancient times. There was also considerable agricultural production, timber and metal trade in addition to textile production and export. Malay H. (1983), "Batı Anadolu'nun Antik Çağdaki Ekonomik Durumu", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, 2, pp. 51-61.

secondary routes, could be detected from French's maps with reference to milestones.⁸³ Thyrea (Tire), Metropolis (Torbalı), and Nyssa (Sultanhisar) were of these smaller, less populated settlements. (Figure 2.2)

Throughout the breaking up of the Roman imperial regime and division into two discrete administrative authorities as West and East Roman; East Roman, namely the Byzantine rule gradually replaced the previous authority in the region from 5th century onwards. Where Roman pagan cult transformed into Christianity, so did the ancient religious centers. The religion issue probably did not have remarkable influences in the function of the towns. However, the Roman names of towns were turned into Christian ones, like *Dios Hieron* into *Christopolis* in Pyrgion (Birgi), or the Roman structures, either religious or civic, were converted into Christian ones, like Temples and Market Basilica into Churches in Ephesus.⁸⁴

What provoked the transformation of urban and structure, urban network and road network to a considerable extent, was the political and military occurrences in the 7th and 8th centuries, of the Arab invasions. The changes in the civic law in the Byzantine period resulted in the changes of public life, which had its influences in transforming the already existing urban spaces such as the colonnaded avenues and *fora* [civic centers in Roman cities] in the towns.⁸⁵ Plus, on account of the military occurrences, the urban forms of the towns changed and two basic settlement types; *castrons* [settlements around fortified castles] and *dioiskismos* [dispersion of settlements] came into being.⁸⁶ While the former were the fortified, well-protected settlements with security concerns, the latter were the smaller scale, scattered settlements reflecting a decline in the economic and urban prosperity of the towns. In addition, settlement patterns also displayed transformations from the existing Roman ones, depending on how the Byzantine one grew with reference to Roman. For the most part in Western Anatolian urban centers, the medieval settlements developed partially next to the already existing Roman

⁸³ French (1981), pp. 536, 546. Map 6, 11.

⁸⁴ For the changes of the settlement names in Birgi, Kiel M. (2001), "Birgi Tarihi ve Tarihi Coğrafyası", (R. H. Ünal trans.) *Birgi: Tarihi, Tarihi Coğrafyası ve Türk Dönemi Anıtları*, (R. H. Ünal ed.) Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pp. 4-5. In addition, Uzunçarşılı gives the name as Hristopolis. Uzunçarşılı I. H. (1929), *Afyonkarahisar, Sandıklı, Bolvadin, Çay, İshaklı, Manisa, Birgi, Muğla, Milas, Peçin, Denizli, Isparta, Atabey ve Eğirdir'deki Kitabelerce Sahip, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe, İnanç ve Hamitoğulları Hakkında Malumat*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, pp. 116-145. Foss states that the Roman market basilica was converted into Cathedral dedicated to Virgin Mary, and Temple of Serapis into a church. Foss (1979a), pp. 36-37.

⁸⁵ For further discussion on this issue see in the next chapter, Chapter 3. 3.1.2 Byzantine City.

⁸⁶ Bryer A. (1986), "Structure of the Late Byzantine Town; Dioikismos and the Mesoi", *Continuity and Change in the Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, (ed. A. Bryer – H. Lowry) Birmingham: University of Birmingham & DOP Press, pp. 274-275. Foss (1979a). Foss C. (1996), *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor*, Aldershot: Variorum.

ones, instead of completely overlapping, like Roman Ephesus transforming into Byzantine Ephesus. Or they developed thoroughly next to the already existing Roman ones, instead of partially overlapping, like Torbalı next to Metropolis, or Pyrgion next to Hypaepa, as will be discussed more in detail in the subsequent chapter.⁸⁷

These changes in settlement patterns indicate alterations in population density, economical prosperity and social stratification of the towns during the Byzantine era. Accordingly, certain modifications appeared in the transformation of the urban network under Byzantine rule, where some centers flourished while some others declined in terms of the above criteria. For instance, Pyrgion grew in population and became more prosperous under the Byzantine rule, as Magnesia, Tralles and Nyssa could not attain the lively days of Hellenistic and Roman period during the medieval era.⁸⁸ However, the road network did not shift considerably in Western Anatolia. The main highways and roads were preserved. Even though threatened by invasions to a little extent, urban centers depending on production, import / export and trade continued to survive. Thus, trade routes and in relation, the ancient road network in Western Anatolia carried on in the Middle Ages, especially between the 5th and 11th centuries.

2.3. Trade and Trade Relations in the Principalities Period

2.3.1. Historical Outline of the Turkish Infiltration

Byzantine Anatolia set out to be restructured in socio-cultural terms from the 11th century onwards with the gradual Turkish penetration.⁸⁹ After the battle of Manzikert (1071), Seljuk tribes achieved even to take over lands around Marmara and Aegean coasts. Süleyman Şah ruled in İznik in 1075, and Çaka Bey founded the earliest Turkish maritime principality in İzmir and ruled around the region between 1081 and 1097.⁹⁰ Turkish rulers were aware of the

⁸⁷ See in Chapter 3, 3.2. History of Urban Form in Western Anatolia.

⁸⁸ For Pyrgion, Kiel (2001), pp. 6-7. For Magnesia, Tralles and Nyssa, Foss C. (1977), "Archaeology and the "Twenty Cities" in Byzantine Asia", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81/4, pp. 482-484.

⁸⁹ Stewig R. (1970), *Batı Anadolu'nun Kültürel Gelişmesinin Ana Hatları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, pp. 123-140. Vryonis S. Jr. (1971), *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, London, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 143-155, 194-216, 223-244, 285-287.

⁹⁰ Alioğlu F. (1999), "Erken Osmanlı Döneminde İznik Kentinin Fiziksel Gelişimi", *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar, Essays in Honor of Aptullah Kuran*, (Ç. Kafesçioğlu, L. Thys – Şenocak eds.)

significance of controlling the coasts in Mediterranean as early as the 11th century. However, they had to wait until the end of the 13th century to occupy key cities on the Aegean coast.

With the 1st Crusade (1097), Seljuk Turks retreated from the coastal lands to the central parts of Anatolia.⁹¹ They strengthened their control in Anatolia towards the end of the 12th century. Hence, the 2nd Crusade (1147) showed that Christian armies could not directly move to Seljuk lands from the inner regions of Western Anatolia.⁹² The Crusaders had to follow the roads closer to the coastline, as seen in I. Demirkent's map.⁹³ (Figure 2.3) This indicated the rise of Turkish domination in the inner lands of Aegean region. The Myriokephalon victory (1176) against the Byzantines warranted Turkish settlement in Anatolia and at the same time gave way to the establishment of the *uc teşkilatı*⁹⁴.

Uc teşkilatı [frontier organization], formed the basis for the *uc beylikleri* [frontier principalities],⁹⁵ which Seljuk authorities encouraged to settle in the border region between their territories and the Byzantine lands for security purposes (Figure 2.4) These dynasties helped Seljuks control the region in both social and military terms. However, they retained their own economic and socio-cultural customs and did not entirely become a part of the Seljuk central authority. After the collapse of the Seljuk State in the early 14th century, they grew into Principalities and each declared their rule in particular parts of Western Anatolia. (Figure 2.5) Like previously achieved by the Seljuks, each aimed to become a central power by dominating the others.

These Turkish Principalities expanding in Western Anatolia knew that taking over port towns and occupying nearby key cities would certify the continuity and effectiveness of their existence in the region. By the first half of the 14th century, some of the ports along the Aegean coast like Ephesus and Palatia developed from *ghazi* [Turkish fighter, warrior in the name of Islam] pirate bases into important commercial centers.⁹⁶ Clearly speaking, these centers, which

İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları. pp. 83-101. Ülker N. (2002), "Batı Anadolu'nun Türkleşmesi: İzmir Örneği", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 6, pp. 288 - 293.

⁹¹ Demirkent I. (2002), "Bizans'ın Ege Bölgesinden Güneye İnen Yolları", *Anadolu'da Tarihi Yollar ve Şehirler Semineri*, (L. Akgünlü, A. Terzi eds.) 21 Mayıs 2001, İstanbul: Globus Dünya Basımevi, p. 2.

⁹² Demirkent (2002), p. 7.

⁹³ Demirkent (2002), Map 3.

⁹⁴ Çiftçi C. (2002), "14. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Uç Beyliklerinin Siyasi ve İktisadi Faaliyetleri", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 7, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, p. 393. Demirkent (2002), p. 13.

⁹⁵ Çiftçi (2002), p. 393

⁹⁶ İnalçık H. (1993), "The Rise of the Turcoman Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium, and the Crusades", (Byzantinische Forschungen, 9, 1985, pp. 179-211) reprinted in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, Bloomington: Indiana

had previously been inhabited by unorganized, small groups of *ghazis*, grew into reviving trade ports after thoroughly annexed by the Turkish Principalities. As İncalcık states, Turkish rulers organized the *ghazis* and plus the local Greek sailors into successful sea-raiding forces which happened to be critical “in creating a new and functioning society at these ports”.⁹⁷

Concurrently, there was a raising Latin power in the Mediterranean. The Italian states, Genoa and Venice built up significant sea forces and worked hard to rule in the ports along the Aegean. (Figure 2.6) There was a severe rivalry between Venice and Genoa for taking over the control of sea trade and thus dominating in the Aegean ports. Adding the underestimated rising of the corsair activity and the local Greek population’s turning their back to the Latins and instead, cooperating with the Turks, the settlement of the Turks in the Aegean was at once facilitated.⁹⁸

In short, Western Anatolia witnessed a crucial and eventful period between the end of the 13th and the middle of the 15th century. First, the Byzantine Empire, which was about to collapse was in a struggle to survive and recover against both the Turkish threat of the East and the Catholic of the West. Second, frontier Turkish tribes turned into Turkish principalities and each tried to strengthen and extend its dominancy in Anatolia and even in Rumelia. These were Ottomans, Karesioğulları, Aydınoğulları, Menteşeoğulları and Saruhanogulları in Western Anatolia. Third, the Latins, namely the Genoese and Venetians tried hard to become the leading power in the Mediterranean. At the beginning of the 14th century, there were small states forming and improving; the Turkish Principalities and the Latin city-states, and large ones in decline; the Byzantine Empire. Accordingly, dominating the Aegean, its islands and the surrounding continental areas was of the most significant issues in the first half of the 14th century.⁹⁹ Ottomans responded to this crucial question towards the midst of the 15th century, with the conquest of İstanbul and breakdown of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. Meanwhile they fought with the Principalities in Western Anatolia and declared their superiority over them and appeared in the forefront through the leading maritime Latin states. Below are given an outline of the history of Menteşeoğulları and Aydınoğulları, who settled in Western Anatolia and were

University of Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Studies, p. 312. On Ephesus and Palatia, Foss (1979a), pp. 141-180. Vryonis (1971), pp. 250-252, 296-298. Zachariadou E. (1983), *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1330-1445)*, Venice: Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, pp. 3-62. See also Heyd W. (1885-1886), *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, I, Leipzig, pp. 540-544.

⁹⁷ İncalcık (1993), p. 312.

⁹⁸ İncalcık (1993), p. 312.

⁹⁹ İncalcık (1993), p. 312.

noteworthy for the development of trade activities, road network and urban centers in the region. (Figure 2.5)

Menteşeoğulları occupied Muğla, the significant city in Southwest Anatolia today, and its surroundings beginning from 1261.¹⁰⁰ This first *ghazi* principality of Western Anatolia was founded by Menteşe Bey who apparently bore the official Seljuk title of *Sahil-Begi*, in Byzantine Pachymeres' words *Salpakis*, lord of the coasts.¹⁰¹ They took over Tralles (Aydın) and Nyssa (Sultanhisar) by 1282 under the command of Menteşe Bey and began to expand within southwest Anatolia.¹⁰² The navy of the Principality grew to be so powerful that, under the command of Mesud Bey, they took over Rhodes and achieved to keep it for ten years (1300-1310) until Hospitallers invaded the island.¹⁰³ After the collapse of the Seljuk State in 1308, Menteşe Principality became dependant on the İlkhaniid State. The Principality, after all, acquired autonomy in its political and economical decisions by 1335.¹⁰⁴ This situation was interrupted by the incursion of Balat in Southwest Anatolia overlapping ancient Miletus and then Beçin in Southwest Anatolia near ancient Mylasa, in 1391 by Bayezid I, the Ottoman sultan.¹⁰⁵ When Timur had defeated Bayezid I in 1402 in Ankara War, Menteşeoğlu Mehmed Bey began to rule the region again.¹⁰⁶ The Principality became dependent on the Ottoman State in 1414 during the reign of his son İlyas Bey and finally became a part of the Ottoman lands from 1426 onwards as *Menteşe Sancağı*.¹⁰⁷

At first, Beçin was the capital of the Principality and then by the rule of Mehmet Bey in 1358 Balat took its place as the most important military base of the navy as well as the main trade port, which continued after the annexation of Menteşe territories by Bayezid I.¹⁰⁸ The lands of the Principality covered the territories of today's Muğla towards the west of today's Antalya and at the same time included the south of Tralles (Aydın) and Laodikeai (Denizli).

¹⁰⁰ Umar B. (1998), *Türkiye Halkının Ortaçağ Tarihi, Türkiye Türkleri Ulusunun Oluşması*, İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, p. 140. Wittek P. (1944), *Menteşe Beyliği: 13. – 15. Asırda Garbi Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, (O. S. Gökyay trans.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, pp. 24-26.

¹⁰¹ İnalçık (1993), p. 311. Arıkan (1991), p. 127.

¹⁰² Umar (1998), p. 141. Wittek (1944), p. 26.

¹⁰³ Umar (1998), p. 141. Uzunçarşılı İ. H. (1957), "Menteşeoğulları", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 7, İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, p. 725.

¹⁰⁴ Uzunçarşılı mentions the rule of the İlkhaniids even in 1291, where the İlkhaniids were effective interfering in the policies of even the Seljuk State. Öztuna Y. (1976), "Menteşeoğulları", *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, 23, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, p. 506.

¹⁰⁵ Öztuna (1976), p. 506. Wittek (1944), pp. 80-83.

¹⁰⁶ Öztuna (1976), p. 506. Wittek (1944), pp. 88-94.

¹⁰⁷ As an indication of acceptance of Ottoman rule, İlyas Bey's coins beared the name of the Ottoman sultan Mehmed I. Wittek (1944), p. 97. Uzunçarşılı (1957), p. 729. Öztuna (1976), p. 507.

¹⁰⁸ Öztuna (1976), p. 506. Umar (1998), p. 141. Ünal R. H. (2006), "Beçin", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, II, (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.) Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 212.

The location of the land of the Principality, in other words, the well-protected ports of Menteşeoğulları gave way to a rise in sea trade and economical development.¹⁰⁹

Similarly, Turkish raiders of Aydınoğulları occupied Ephesus (Ayasoluk), which is today's Selçuk, by the command of Mehmed Bey and took over Thyrea (Tire) and Pyrgion (Birgi) on behalf of Sasa Bey and himself in 1307.¹¹⁰ Mehmed Bey around Aydıneli Region founded the Principality after the explicit loss of power of the Anatolian Seljuk State in 1308.¹¹¹ He then appointed the command of Ayasoluk and Sultanhisar to Hızır Bey, İzmir to Umur Bey, Bademiye to İbrahim Bahadır Bey, Tire to Süleyman Şah and kept his youngest son with him in Birgi.¹¹² (Figure 2.7)

The successful attacks of Umur Bey to the islands in 1328 as well as to Rumelia and mainland Greece in 1333 contributed to the wealth of the Principality.¹¹³ However, this resulted in the unification of the crusaders towards İzmir, namely the part of the town under the Turkish rule and its surroundings by 1334.¹¹⁴ It was at this time that, following the death of Mehmed Bey, Umur Bey became the head of the Principality.¹¹⁵ Umur Bey established strong relations with the commander Kantakuzenos of the Byzantine Empire from 1336 onwards after the donation of Chios to him by the Byzantines and continued to help Byzantine armies whenever they needed military support as they did for Albany.¹¹⁶ He did not stop and went on his attacks towards Crete and Cyprus so that under the command of the Pope, the crusaders once again united. (Figure 2.8) This time they even gathered a bigger army with the addition of the

¹⁰⁹ Arel, referring to Wittek, also mentions the increase in the pirate activities within the region, with the rise in sea trade activities, where Menteşe Principality ruled the shores of the southwest Anatolia. Arel A. (1993), "Menteşe Beyliği Mimarisinde Latin Etkileri", *Uluslararası Üçüncü Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri* (A. K. Birgül ed.) 25-29 Eylül 1993, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, p. 167.

¹¹⁰ Although Sasa Bey is known as the first Turkish invader in the historical sources, it is said that after the conquest of the region by Mehmed Bey, the Beys went into a fight in between them for the sake of power and Mehmed Bey defeated Sasa Bey and then ruled over the lands. Akın H. (1968), *Aydınoğulları Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, p. 18. Armağan M. (2003), *Devlet Arşivlerinde Tire*, İzmir: Karınca Matbaacılık, p. 29. Aslanoğlu İ. (1978), *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, p. 1. Umar (1998), p. 144.

¹¹¹ ____ (1950), "Aydınoğulları", *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, 4, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, p. 377.

¹¹² Akın (1968), pp. 30-31. Arıkan (1991), p. 130. ____ (1950), "Aydınoğulları", p. 377.

¹¹³ ____ (1950), "Aydınoğulları", p. 378.

¹¹⁴ Zachariadou gives detailed information about the relations of the Principality with the Latins and the unification of the Christians for the crusade towards İzmir as a reaction against the successes of Umur Bey. Zachariadou (1983), pp. 21-40. See also Baykara T. (2001), *İzmir Şehri ve Tarihi*, İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, pp. 100-101.

¹¹⁵ ____ (1950), "Aydınoğulları", p. 378.

¹¹⁶ Akın (1968), pp. 39-51. ____ (1950), "Aydınoğulları", p. 378.

Genoese to Venetian, Cypriot and Rhodian navies in 1344.¹¹⁷ Even though, it was a great loss for the Turks, Umur Bey achieved to save the upper parts of İzmir together with Kadifekale.

Hızır Bey was the successor after the death of Umur in a war against the Hospitallers in İzmir in 1348.¹¹⁸ He was not as powerful as his brother that, during his rule, Aydınogulları had to give more privileges to the Latins. In the following, İsa Bey became the ruler in 1360 until 1390 in Selçuk. After the invasion of Aydınogulları Principality by Bayezid I, İsa Bey was forced to settle in Tire dependent on the rule of the Ottoman State.¹¹⁹ After 1402 Ankara War, Timur gave the lands back to the rule of the Aydınogulları, namely to the sons of İsa Bey, Musa and Umur II Beys.¹²⁰ Later their relatives Hasan Ağa and Cüneyd Bey tried to declare their power in the Principality. However the rule of Cüneyd Bey was interrupted in between 1405 and 1425.¹²¹ Finally, Aydınoglu Principality accepted Ottoman rule by 1425, during the reign of Murad II.¹²²

Similar to the Menteşe Principality, Aydınogulları governed the fertile lands and important ports considering sea trade like Ayasuluk of Western Anatolia. Umur Bey's attacks to the islands as well as to Greece and his successes in return and the crusades as a reaction were also the reasons for the unavoidable interferences of the Principality with the Latins both in political and economical issues.

2.3.2. Trade Agreements and Peace Treaties

It seems clear that, this entire struggle was for economical superiority, which was hand in hand with political power. This region, like the whole Anatolia, held a critical position in the trade between East and West. Considerable amount of raw materials of the East were exported and some luxury items of the West were imported from these ports. All at once, the region acted as a transit market for eastern luxuries such as silks and spices.¹²³ Hence, there were alliances as well as disputes in between the Turkish Principalities, Byzantines, and the Latins

¹¹⁷ ____ (1950), "Aydınogulları", p. 378. Baykara (2001), pp. 101-102. Zachariadou (1983), pp. 41-62.

¹¹⁸ Baykara (2001), pp. 103-104.

¹¹⁹ Arıkan (1991), p. 137. Uzunçarşılı (1929), p.133. ____ (1950), "Aydınogulları", p. 379.

¹²⁰ It is mentioned that, Umur II and Musa Bey welcomed Timur in Tire in 1402-1403 winter. Akın (1968), p. 67. ____ (1950), "Aydınogulları", p. 379.

¹²¹ Akın (1968), pp. 81-83.

¹²² Akın (1968), pp. 81-83. ____ (1950), "Aydınogulları", p. 380.

¹²³ Fleet K. (1999), *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*, New York: Cambridge University Press, p.22.

for dominating this territory.¹²⁴ Peace treaties and trade agreements showed this process, through which, these authorities were lined up, regarding the improvement or decline of their political and economical power. Below is explained the overlaps and shifts of political authorities through their economical power focusing on trade and trade relations in Western Anatolia.

By the beginning of the 14th century, Venetians and Genoese compromised with the Byzantines, and frequented Byzantine ports on the Aegean.¹²⁵ In a very short period, they had to negotiate with the Turks, who replaced the Byzantines and became the leading power on the Aegean coasts. (Figure 2.9) Marino Morisini, *Duca di Candia* [the duke of Crete] and Orhan Bey, signed the first published trade agreement between Venice and Menteşe Principality in 1331.¹²⁶ This treaty contained certain decrees in addition to the ones in the earlier treaties. There would be a Cretan, or in other words Venetian consul in Menteşe, islands those would be under Cretan control from then on was listed, and the church of Saint Nicholas in Balat, with an area for their houses and premises, was granted to the Venetians.¹²⁷ As Turks developed their relations with the Byzantines and the Catalans of the West, Latins, especially the Venetians, activated a search for new allies. They tried to establish close relations with Menteşeoğulları to put an end to their joint acts with Aydınoğulları.¹²⁸ The accounts of the Arab traveler, İbn Batuta in Asia Minor provide remarkable information about the antagonism between the two.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Zachariadou gives the detailed chronological narration considering the collaborations and confrontations in between these states. Zachariadou (1983), pp. 3-89. Zachariadou E. A. (1980), "The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area", *Studi Medievali, 3a Serie*, XXI, pp. 821-838. See also Akın (1968) and Wittek (1944).

¹²⁵ Vryonis states that Venetian merchants could visit the ports of Ephesus, and Phocaea even in the 10th and 11th centuries. Vryonis (1971), p. 11. In addition, Zachariadou mentions Venetians' patronizing the Byzantine ports in western Asia Minor, especially the use of the port of Anaia, Kadıkalesi by the Venetian merchants from Crete in 1300-1302. Zachariadou (1983), p. 5. In addition, Fleet reveals that Venetians loaded wheat at Makri (Fethiye) in the 1270s, for Giovanni Bembo, having sailed from Negroponte to Fethiye where he loaded wheat and wine, was attacked from there and his cargo seized. Fleet (1999), p. 65. Genoese colonies also took on trade activities in Byzantine lands such as Pera in Constantinople, Chios on the Aegean, etc. Fleet (1999), p.12.

¹²⁶ Zachariadou (1983), pp. 18-20. Delilbaşı M. (1983), "Ortaçağ'da Türk Hükümdarları Tarafından Batılılara Ahidnamelerle Verilen İmtiyazlara Genel Bir Bakış", *Belleten*, XLVII/ 185, p. 98.

¹²⁷ Zachariadou (1983), pp. 19, 130-131.

¹²⁸ Zachariadou (1983), p. 27.

¹²⁹ İbn Batuta, during his visit in Anatolia probably between December 1332 and July 1333, met Menteşeoğlu ruler Orhan Bey at Milas. He mentioned that Orhan Bey was displeased with one of the jurists, *Fakih* Harizmi who was present in his court at that time. The reason was that Harizmi had gone to Ayasoluk, visited the Aydınoğlu ruler there and accepted his gifts. He also added that, when he later visited Aydınoğlu ruler Mehmet Bey in Birgi, the ruler was bothered because of the flight of his younger son Süleyman Bey to his father in law, Menteşeoğlu Orhan Bey. İbn-i Batuta (2004), *İbn Battuta Seyehatnamesi / Ebu Abdullah Muhammed İbn Battuta Tancı*, (A. S. Aykut trans. and analysis) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 411-412, 420.

This fact is also reflected in the agreements of the duke of Crete with Menteşeoğlu İbrahim Bey and Aydınoğlu Hızır Bey, both signed in 1337. The treaty between Menteşeoğulları included a decree that, Venetians would leave the Menteşe territory in peace and they would neither collaborate with the enemies nor help them in any way.¹³⁰ Hence, after difficult negotiations, for the first time, Venetians and Aydınoğulları came to an agreement and signed a treaty. Hızır Bey signed on the part of Aydınoğulları and Giovanni Sanudo, the duke of Crete represented the Venetians.¹³¹ Both parties agreed that Venetians would have a consul in Ayasoluk and an area granted for the Venetian merchants and the customs duties were fixed.¹³²

The next agreement in 1346 was with the Genoese who were also granted with privileges in Aydınoğlu lands.¹³³ Delilbaşı referring to Thiriet mentions the continuity of the treaty with the Genoese even in the war between Genoese and the Venetians and the stance of Aydınoğulları on behalf of the Genoese.¹³⁴ Zachariadou has similar claims that by 1351, Hızır Bey renewed the treaty with the Genoese, permitted the Genoese merchants have their own quarter and he supported the Genoese fleet fighting against the Venetians and the Byzantines.¹³⁵ In the meantime, Hızır Bey had to agree on the treaty, which was signed between *Sancta Unio* [Latin Union] and himself in 1348. Reflecting the defeat of Hızır, the decrees of the treaty indicated to grave privileges allotted to the Latins.¹³⁶

In 1353, relations between Aydınoğulları and Venetians were re-established and the treaty signed between Hızır Bey and Cretan ambassador representing Venetian administration displayed the rise in the power of the Aydınoğulları Principality. Where he granted a security of trade within his territories and protection of the Venetian vessels, he made the Venetian party to

¹³⁰ Zachariadou (1983), p. 35

¹³¹ Arıkan mentions the name of Hızır Bey within this agreement opposed to Delilbaşı, who adheres the Turkish side of the agreement as Umur Bey. Arıkan has to be correct regarding that Hızır Bey was the ruler at that time, which is as well supported by Zachariadou's claims. Arıkan (1991), p. 133. Delilbaşı (1983), p. 100. Zachariadou (1983), pp. 35-36, 190-194.

¹³² Zachariadou (1983), p. 36

¹³³ Delilbaşı (1983), p. 100.

¹³⁴ Delilbaşı (1983), p. 100. Thiriet F. (1964), "Les Relations entre la Crete et les Emirats Turcs d'Asie Mineure au XIVe siecle. (vers. 1348-1360)", *Actes du XII^e Congres Internationales Etudes Byzantines*, 1961, Ohrid, II, Belgrad, pp. 213-221.

¹³⁵ Zachariadou (1983), pp. 58, 128.

¹³⁶ In Zachariadou's words, "Thus Khizir promised to grant the members of the Latin Union one half of the *commerclum* of Theologo and of the other cities of the emirate; to allow freedom of trade to Christian merchants within his territories; to put his fleet in the dry dock; to refrain from piratical attacks against the Christians; to protect the latter from corsairs from other emirates, etc." Zachariadou (1983), pp. 55-56. See also, Akın (1968), 52-55. Arıkan (1991), p. 135. Delilbaşı (1983), p. 100. ____ (1950), "Aydınoğulları", p. 378.

accept heavy taxation on both the import and the export merchandise.¹³⁷ By the same date, Venetians were to have a quarter in Ayasoluk reserved for their merchants and accommodated a church, houses, a loggia and a bake-house.¹³⁸

In the name of Menteşeoğulları, the successor of İbrahim, Musa Bey renewed the agreement with the Venetians and signed a treaty in 1359 with the duke of Candia, Pietro Badoer.¹³⁹ While Aydınöğlü İsa Bey carried on the trade relations with the Venetians and approved the 1371 treaty, in which he claimed to block the minting of fake Venetian coins, Menteşeoğlü Ahmed Gazi signed a treaty in 1375 with the duke of Crete, Giovanni Gradenigo and guaranteed the continuation of tributes paid by certain islands.¹⁴⁰ Such items included in the treaty and the use of the title of *ghazi* by Ahmed Bey point to a revival, or in other words, re-rise of the power of Menteşeoğlü Principality.

However, it did not take long for the Ottoman Principality, under the command of Bayezid I, renowned as Bayezid the Thunderbolt, to take over Menteşeoğlü and Aydınöğlü lands. Similar to renewals of agreements with the change of rulers, Bayezid I had to sign treaties to continue the earlier established trade relations with the other Turkish principalities and also to warrant and develop its economical power in Western Anatolian lands.¹⁴¹ After Bayezid I's defeat by Timur in 1402, Turkish Beys re-ruled in their territories. It was in 1403, 1407 and lastly in 1414 that, Menteşeoğlü İlyas Bey re-signed trade agreements with the Venetians.¹⁴² The first two was with the dukes of Candia, Marco Falier and Leonardo Bembo respectively and the last one was with the Captain of the Gulf of Pietro Civrano.¹⁴³ As Zachariadou states, the texts of these treaties reflected the decline of Menteşe, which paralleled with the decline of the other Turkish states opposed to Ottomans.¹⁴⁴

At this point, it has to be noted that, the trade agreements like the political and military alliances of the Turkish Principalities was not only between the Latins, Byzantines and themselves but it was also in between each other. Explicitly speaking, the Principalities were rivals of each other in the name of being the only ruling authority in the region. Hence, while they were in a steady struggle for becoming more powerful, they also made alliances with one

¹³⁷ Zachariadou (1983), p. 59.

¹³⁸ Zachariadou (1983), p. 128.

¹³⁹ Zachariadou (1983), p. 62. Delilbaşı (1983), p. 98.

¹⁴⁰ Zachariadou (1983), pp. 72-73. Delilbaşı (1983), pp. 98, 101.

¹⁴¹ Akın (1968), p. 54.

¹⁴² Delilbaşı (1983), pp. 98, 101.

¹⁴³ Zachariadou (1983), p. XI.

¹⁴⁴ "There was no mention of any annual tribute; a penalty of 500 ducats was payable for damages inflicted on the Venetians by any Turkish vessel; [...]" Zachariadou (1983), p. 83.

another, particularly established with marriages among the ruling families, each time needed.¹⁴⁵ The Principalities also got in touch with the rest of the Islamic world, whenever it was for their advantage. For instance Menteşeoğulları were in contact with the Mamluk State considering their political benefits and economical growth. The Principality stood beside the Mamluk as their allies against the Crusaders, which include not only the Genoese and Venetians but also the Hospitallers.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Aydınöğulları were also involved in establishing connections with the Muslim powers, the Mamluks on the south of the Mediterranean.¹⁴⁷ In addition, Aegean Turkish Principalities were situated at the intersection point for export of goods to Egypt, particularly slave and timber export, and thus they had to have closer relationships with the Mamluks.¹⁴⁸

In summary, these agreements or treaties mainly included important decrees regarding trade and law during the medieval era in the Mediterranean. (Table 2.1) First, they displayed articles related with the import and export of materials like permitted and forbidden trade items and tax rates for each permitted one, etc. This shed light to the economical history of trade items and transaction of trade between East and West. Second, the treaties also included articles on the precautions taken against the pirate activities of the time. This to a certain extent indicated to the political and military compromises between East and West. Third, the treaties provided information about the tributes paid to the Turks within the agreement articles. In addition to annual income and thus economic supply, this fact also meant a political success for the Principalities. However, it has to be remembered that, Muslim Turks assented *haraç* payment, tribute corresponding to the obedience to the Muslim state and hence becoming a part of the Islamic world, while the Christians considered it as an insignificant sacrifice in return for their freedom from Turks.¹⁴⁹ Last but not least, the treaties also mentioned about the privileges given to the Venetians and Genoese such as having consulates, building churches, and the right for Latin merchants to reside in their own quarters in the Turkish lands. By this way, they give clues about the urban life in certain Western Anatolian urban centers, with regard to socio-cultural stratification and to a certain extent urban development in physical terms. They also

¹⁴⁵ For instance, the daughter of Menteşe Bey was married to Sasa Bey of the Aydın Principality. Similarly, the daughter of Orhan Bey was married to Aydınöğlü Süleyman Şah Bey. Öztuna (1976), p. 506.

¹⁴⁶ As Uzunçarşılı states, during the rule of Musa Bey, during the second half of the 14th century, there were ongoing wars with the Mamluks. However, against the invasion of the crusaders, namely the Cypriot navy, the Principality stood on behalf of the Mamluk State. Uzunçarşılı (1957), pp. 726-727.

¹⁴⁷ Uzunçarşılı (1957), pp. 726-727.

¹⁴⁸ İnalçık (1993), p. 309.

¹⁴⁹ İnalçık (1993), pp. 317-318.

give hints to portrait an overseas Western Anatolian port, which display the general characteristics of an urban trade center during the 14th – 15th centuries.

Ayasoluk, located partially overlapping and partially next to ancient Ephesus, is a proper example to outline the basic features of an overseas port town in Western Anatolia under the Principalities rule. Aydınoğulları Principality inherited a town of the Byzantines, which was among the important port towns like Smyrna, Phocaea, Adremyton along the Western Anatolian coast. Yet, even in the 11th century, Ayasoluk, called as Ephesus under the Byzantine rule and Alto Luogo by the Latins, was a highly active port and a center of regional as well as overseas trade.¹⁵⁰ Since the ancient harbor silted up, the Byzantine harbor was moved to the Panarmos Bay near Pamucak.¹⁵¹ Latin merchants, particularly the Venetians resided here by the tower known as Prison of St. Paul, which provided the control of the harbor.

Ayasoluk displayed remarkable development as a religious and especially an economic center due to a wide range of trades with Venetians to Arabs in the Middle Ages.¹⁵² After the conquest of the town by Aydınoğulları some of the local inhabitants migrated to Thyrea (Tire) or were forced to migrate.¹⁵³ The composition of the population began to change in socio-cultural terms because of the new Turkish settlers and the departure of some of the local residents. In addition to Turks and Greeks, the Latins as well as a few Arab merchants took part in the total population.¹⁵⁴ Not surprisingly, such articulation in population, where the Turkish residents prevailed was also reflected in the urban and architectural structuring of Ayasoluk. (Figure 2.10)

Each group had their own quarters, in which they had their own residential units and public buildings. As mentioned before, by time the Latins as well had these rights, and had their own churches built in the areas they occupied. Yet, Turkish population dominated in Ayasoluk and the number and territory of Turkish neighborhoods increased in time. Plus, Aydınoğulları converted a considerable number of the churches into mosques and they also had mosques, masjids, madrasas, and baths constructed.¹⁵⁵ By this way, the Turkish-Islamic

¹⁵⁰ Vryonis depending on the information of specific incidents states that "...11th century Ephesus was no sleepy hollow but was rather a center of both local and international trade". Vryonis (1971), p. 10.

¹⁵¹ Foss (1979a), pp. 149-150.

¹⁵² Arıkan (1991), p. 125.

¹⁵³ Wittek (1944), p. 32.

¹⁵⁴ İnalçık H. (1998), "Arab Camel Drivers in Western Anatolia in the Fifteenth Century", *Essays in Ottoman History*, İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, pp. 402-407.

¹⁵⁵ The famous church of St. John was also converted into a mosque during that period. Arıkan (1991), p. 129. İsa Bey Mosque, Akıncılar, Kale, İshak Bey, Alparslan, Karakolyanı, and Kılıçarslan Masjids, Anonymous Baths, etc. are among significant examples. For further details on the architectural

architectural entities were introduced and by time increased in number, through which Islamization process is substantiated. Some of the Turkish population together with most of the remaining local Greeks, who did not migrate, dealt with maritime activities and ship building.¹⁵⁶ Some other concentrated on trade, like the Latin merchants. Ayasoluk was still an important port for commercial transaction. The import/export of many trade items like slaves, grain, textiles, metals, etc. between East and West took place here. The town was an overseas center of commerce and thus had noteworthy trade markets, which in turn effected the urbanization of the town.

A German pilgrim, Wilhelm von Boldensele, passing through Ephesus in 1335, described the settlement of Ephesus to take place in a beautiful location in fertile lands, a few miles inland from the sea, overlooking its surroundings.¹⁵⁷ He added that, as Muslim Turks took over the town, they expelled and killed the local Christians here, destroyed their churches with the exception of St. John. Instead they converted the church into a mosque, on which he gave a detailed depiction.¹⁵⁸ Another German, Ludolf von Suchem wrote a similar description of the Church. What's more, he mentioned the conversion of a part of the Church into a market place, where Turks charged money from the visitors for entrance to the tomb of St. John and sold silk, wool, wheat and other products.¹⁵⁹ Finally he gave a clear picture of the abandoned old town, Ephesus, in which only a Greek widow lived in destitute and survived by selling wine to the merchants. The travel accounts of the German pilgrims provided some clues not only about Turkish Ephesus but also their impressions about Turkish people in general. Yet, their somewhat negative depiction of the newly inhabiting Turkish people contradicts with their illustration of this Turkish city. They emphasized the serene, stunning landscape the well-watered meadows and orchards around the city and the liveliness and dynamism in the markets of the city.

In the illustration drawn by John Covel, forests in and nearby Ayasoluk, meadows, where the rough topography permitted and green areas can be seen. (Figure 2.11) This illustration also shows how the town moved, where ancient Ephesus replaced by the Byzantine and the latter replaced by the Turkish town. At the top, on account of the minarets, Turkish settlement, which was scattered within the outskirts of Ayasoluk hill, can be detected. At the

heritage in Ayasoluk dating from Aydınoğulları period, see in Chapter 3, 3.2.1 Transformation of the Urban Form of Ayasoluk and the related references cited.

¹⁵⁶ İnalçık (1993), p. 312.

¹⁵⁷ Buch W. (1982), "14./15. Yüzyılda Kudüs'e Giden Alman Hacılarının Türkiye İzlenimleri", (Y. Baypınar trans.) *Bellekten*, XLVI/183, pp. 516-517.

¹⁵⁸ Buch (1982), pp. 516-517.

¹⁵⁹ Buch (1982), pp. 517-518.

bottom, probably the extension of the medieval harbor is pictured, on whose corner tower of the so-called St. Paul Prison, where the Venetian quarters located can be noticed. Last but not least, the neglected old Ephesus, around the remains and the Aqueducts, which probably housed the Greek population, can be identified on the right.

To sum up, after the Turkish conquest, Ayasoluk was reorganized in terms of socio-cultural segregation and of spatial modes of urbanization. Special attention should be paid to the role of trade in this respect, to which the cosmopolitan state of socio-cultural configuration and the developing nature of architectural and urban formation might be attributed. Moreover, while the intensity of the trade relations and activities, manipulates the prosperity of towns, it is also influential on the road network connecting these centers. Below is presented the general flow of trade from West to East and East to West in Western Anatolia with reference to trade items. In so doing, production, local exchange; and import/export centers are distinguished, which opens the way to draw the trade road network of medieval Western Anatolia under Turkish Principalities rule.

2.3.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers and Flow of Trade

Western Anatolian coasts and nearby inland towns were entirely conquered by the Turks at the beginning of the 14th century. These lands once more became prosperous in terms of trade and production, as they had been previously during the Roman and Byzantine times, at least during the powerful years of the Byzantine Empire.¹⁶⁰ In these early ages, the entire Asia Minor was renowned for its wealth, considering food production; plenty of grain, fruit and vegetables, breeding of animals, textile manufacture, linens and woolens, timber and even mineral resources like alum and iron.¹⁶¹ Yet, taking into account the critical location of this part

¹⁶⁰ İzmir is an exception in this respect that, due to continuous struggles between the Genoese and the Turks for controlling the town, it did not witness considerable growth in the 14th and 15th centuries. İzmir began to flourish from the second half of the 16th century onwards. Arıkan Z. (1992). "XV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda İzmir", *Üç İzmir*, (Ş. Beygu ed.) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 60-66. See also Goffman D. (1992), "17. Yüzyıl Öncesi İzmir", *Üç İzmir*, (Ş. Beygu ed.) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 71-83. Plus, İzmir particularly and steadily grew and prospered after the northern caravan route passing through Tokat to Bursa developed in the 17th century, where this major road stimulated urban growth of İzmir. Tekeli İ. (1992), "Ege Bölgesindeki Yerleşme Sisteminin 19. Yüzyıldaki Dönüşümü", *Üç İzmir*, (Ş. Beygu ed.) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 125-128. Also, Bilsel C. F. (1999), "The Ottoman Port City of İzmir in the 19th Century: Cultures, Modes of Space Production and the Transformation of Urban Space", *7 Centuries of Ottoman Architecture "A Supra-National Heritage"*, (N. Akın, A. Batur, S. Batur eds.) İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, p. 225.

¹⁶¹ Levick B. (2004), "The Roman Economy: Trade in Asia Minor and the Niche Market", *Greece and Rome*, 51/2, The Classical Association, p. 182. Charlesworth M. P. (1970), *Trade Routes and*

of Anatolia between East and West, it surely benefited from its coastal routes and there was exchange between the two parties. The existence of a fair even in the 5th century in the Aegean shows how far Western Anatolian coasts were lively markets for western shippers.¹⁶² It is very likely that these lands housed significant trade activities in their production centers, local hubs, both local and overseas ports, which functioned as import / export centers under the Turkish rule, too.

The trade items which were mentioned in the treaties and trade agreements show a variety ranging from agricultural products, domestic animals to certain industrial products. Zachariadou gives the list of these commodities as; “corn, dried vegetables, domestic animals, such as horses, donkeys, oxen and sheep, slaves, cheese, wax, hide and leather, alum, wine soap and textiles”.¹⁶³ In addition, referring to medieval Florentine merchant Pegolotti, she lists the trade items, which were not included in the treaties as; “metals, silver, copper, and tin, and in gall-nuts, rice, saffron, sesame seed, raisins, hemp, carpets and red maroquin”.¹⁶⁴ Yet, there were particular trade items, which were frequently exported as agricultural products like grain and dried vegetables, animals like horses and cattle, and lastly industrial items like alum, carpets, leather and some metals. The imported ones were generally textiles and soap of the industrial products in addition to certain metals and wine. Furthermore, slave trade was highly important in 14th - 15th century eastern Mediterranean commercial movements.

Anatolia had active slave markets beginning from the 14th century, among which the lands ruled by Menteşeoğulları and Aydınoğulları were included. Where the port towns, Ayasoluk and Balat had the largest markets, Ania (Kadikalesi), Foça and Makri were the other export ports for slave trade, yet, Sultanhisar was an inland urban center with a slave market.¹⁶⁵

Commerce of the Roman Empire, New York: Cooper Square Publishers, pp. 76-79. Fleet (1999), pp. 83, 114-115. Zachariadou (1983), p. 125.

¹⁶² Levick (2004), p.184.

¹⁶³ Zachariadou (1983), p. 159.

¹⁶⁴ I am greatly thankful to Belgin Turan Özkaya and particularly Şerafettin Turan for translating paragraphs from Pegolotti so that I could cross check with the secondary sources which cited from this publication. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (1936), *Pratica: Fr. Balducci Pegolotti, La Pratica della Mercature*, (ed. A. Evans) Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Medieval Academy of America, pp. 55-56. Zachariadou (1983), p. 159.

¹⁶⁵ The information cited by Fleet from a Byzantine statesman lived in the 14th century Ayasoluk, Demetrius Kydones, indicates the existence of a slave market there. Fleet (1999), p. 38, citing from Kydones Demetrius, *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, (J. P. Migne ed.) *Patrologica Graecia*, vol. CLIV, col. 981/982. Furthermore, İbn Batuta states that he bought a young Christian girl in Ayasoluk for 40 *dinars*. İbn-i Batuta (2004), p. 425. See also Zachariadou (1983), pp. 162-163. For the other slave markets, Fleet states that “[...] in 1303 a Greek female from Kadikalesi (Ania), close to both Theologos and Sultanhisar, was bought there from the Turks.” and “Slaves were also exported from Foça to Sicily.” Fleet (1999), p. 38.

Considering food production and trade, Western Anatolia encompassed both agricultural production centers and export ports. Grain was the most important commodity in this respect.¹⁶⁶ For the most part, Genoese imported grain in the ports of Ayasoluk and Foça, and Venetians from the ports of Ayasoluk, Balat, and Makri.¹⁶⁷ In the ports of the region, the exchange of luxury items, namely spices in terms of food production and trade, yet,

Yet, Turkish rulers and commanders captured slaves, during their attacks to Christian lands, as part of the booty they gained. In the palaces and courts of the Principalities, Greek slaves were mostly seen. For instance Aydınoğlu Mehmed Bey had Greek slaves in his palace in Birgi, and he gave one of these slaves called Mihail to İbn Batuta as a gift and in a similar way, his son, Umur, also presented İbn Batuta a slave called Nicola during his visit to İzmir. İbn-i Batuta (2004), pp. 424-425. It should also be noted that, trade, depending on Greek slaves, was not limited to Muslim societies. The Turks were active traders in selling Greek slaves not only to Arab world but also to Latin merchants of the west, who had no problem in buying and selling Orthodox Christians. By the time Turkish Principalities became more powerful and spoke louder in the overseas market, as the decrees of the trade agreements pointed. Concurrently, Western Anatolia maintained its significance as both local and overseas slave market, in which the number of the slaves increased with the constant Turkish conquests in the West. Additionally, the efforts for recapturing escaped slave shows the prominent place of slave trade in the economy of 14th-15th century eastern Mediterranean, especially the Aegean world. These also underline importance of slaves “as a commodity in the trade between the Turks and the western states, a trade in which the Turks took part both as traders and as trade items”, where Turks were also captured as slaves. Fleet (1999), pp. 40, 48, 68-69.

¹⁶⁶ Grain the most important trade item between East and West that it was even regarded by an author of a 14th century chronicle, Marcha di Marco Battagli da Rimini, as the cause of the western crusade against Aydın in 1344. Fleet (1999), p.59. Turks were cultivating grain around İzmir and Maiandros (Menderes) even by the 13th century. Zachariadou (1983), p. 163. The most common kind of grain traded were *buğday* [wheat], *arpa* [barley], and *misir* [millet, corn]. Concerning the Latin sources, both in trade agreements and in travel accounts, *frumentum* corresponded to wheat, *ordeum* to barley and *granum*, and *bladum* to grain in general. See Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (1936), p. 56, and citing from him, Fleet (1999), pp. 59, 61-62, and citing from the trade agreements, Zachariadou (1983), p. 187. The frequent mention of this item indicates that the region was an important source of grain in the eastern Mediterranean and was visited and used by the Latins in the West regularly. I have to repeat also here that I am greatly thankful to Belgin Turan Özkaya and particularly Şerafettin Turan for translating paragraphs from Pegolotti.

¹⁶⁷ Both Ayasoluk and Foça were the important grain export ports during the 14th century. Genoese merchants were especially active in having exported grain from these towns and they imported grain into Genoa in 1381, 1382, 1384, 1391 and 1393. There are also instances pointing to the sea route within grain export / import routes, like from Phocaea to Famagusta from the accounts of the Genoese merchants. In addition to Genoese, there were also Venetians exporting wheat and barley from the Aydınoğlu and Menteşeoğlu Principalities. Even in the Byzantine times, in 1270s, Venetians loaded wheat from Makri. Fleet (1999), pp. 63, 65. As for the parts of the Turkish Principalities, it can be said that, Aydınoğulları in comparison to Menteşeoğulları were more powerful in economic and political terms. They could make Venetians accept more of the sanction decrees for their benefit, opposed to Menteşeoğulları, within the agreements of the two parties. Availability of other grain sources than Anatolia and political situation in the region at that time had considerable effects on the grain prices. For instance, during the struggles of the Western Anatolian principalities against the Ottomans and their take over by the Ottoman ruler Bayezid I, the grain prices raised in Crete and Constantinople. Fleet (1999), p. 71. Zachariadou (1983), p. 164. Hence, whether or not the most important grain producing region for Europe, Western Anatolia contained considerable amount of grain sources for trade with the Latins.

particularly, saffron, sesame, and pepper were widespread in the markets of Balat and Ayasoluk.¹⁶⁸

Domestic animals raised particularly by nomads in Western Anatolia were of significant commodities between the Turks and the Latins. There was not only trade of livestock animals, but also of related industrial productions from the animals such as leather and hide, specifically goatskin, sheepskin, goats hide and particularly tanned leather exported from Balat by the western merchants.¹⁶⁹

Textile production and trade also prevailed in Western Anatolia.¹⁷⁰ Aegean not only produced and exported both raw materials and worked, expensive fabrics, but also imported particularly those luxury ones. As for the textile producing areas in Western Anatolia, Lazkiye (Denizli) was a production center of fine quality cloth, and Philadelphia (Alaşehir), a smaller production center in comparison, was renowned particularly for its red cloth. Hence, Latin imported carpets and other cloths from Balat, plus they traded in raw materials to manufacture textiles such as cotton, hemp, and wool in Balat, particularly cotton in Foça, and particularly hemp in Ayasoluk ports.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, as well as producing and exporting Western Anatolia imported textile both from the East and West. While silk fabrics of Iran were for the most part imported in Bursa, various types of luxurious European cloths arrived essentially in the markets of Ayasoluk, Balat, and Milas.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Fleet (1999), p. 27. Zachariadou (1983), p. 159.

¹⁶⁹ For the trade of livestock of animals, especially for the renowned Turkish horses among mules and camels in the region and the export of horses *Menteşeoğulları* to Crete referring to Marco Polo, Fleet states about the quality of horses and recognition of horse breeding in Anatolia by the westerners. Fleet (1999), p. 29. For further details on the trade of industrial products depending on animals see Fleet (1999), p. 30. Zachariadou (1983), p. 167.

¹⁷⁰ There was a wide range of variety of cloth types and in relation variety of uses and functions of cloth. First, cloths, particularly rich fabrics were highly appreciated and used as gifts for the stately, ceremonial presentations, also as bribes and lastly as rewards for favors. For instance Umur Bey gave İbn Batuta, a piece of gilded silk, two garments of damask, made of silk as well, as a parting gift, at the end of his visit to İzmir and İlyas Bey presented a gift to Cretan ambassador Dellaporta an exquisite Turkish costume. İbn-i Batuta (2004), pp. 425-426. Fleet (1999), pp. 95-96. Zachariadou (1983), p. 169.

¹⁷¹ The medieval western merchants provide information about the textile export centers in the region. Yet, Turkish camelot cloth was so prevalent in Europe that even a mediocre man could wear it in France. Fleet (1999), pp. 97, 99-100.

¹⁷² For a detailed discussion on Bursa silk markets see in this chapter, 2.2.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers and Road Network. For further details on the luxurious cloths exported from Europe, particularly from, Florence, England, France, and Ireland Zachariadou states the popular textiles in the markets of Ayasoluk as those of Narbonne, Perpignan and Toulouse of azure, turquoise, scarlet, pistachio-green and emerald-green, and also woolen fabrics from Florence, citing from Francesco Balducci Pegolotti. Zachariadou (1983), p. 170. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (1936). pp. 55, 425. Hence, the translations into English is also given in Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (1936), p. 425. Plus, the routes of the medieval textile merchants, Manulio Verigo de Candida and Domenico Cattaneo, and the ports and markets they visited like Ayasoluk, Balat, and Milas provide not only information about the active markets in Western

Considering the industrial productions, the material sources of Anatolia and particularly Western Anatolia, alum is the most significant.¹⁷³ Western Anatolian alum was renowned and exported not only to the East; Egypt and Syria, but also to the West; further west in Europe, England and into the northern Europe, Bruges.¹⁷⁴ Especially, Foça and Yeni Foça were of the major centers of alum production and export, had been controlled by Genoese merchant families, beginning with Zaccaria family from the second half of the 13th century.¹⁷⁵ In addition, Kütahya was a significant alum production center in the north east, within the further inland parts of Western Anatolia. Yet according to Pegolotti, the alum of Coltai, (Kütahya) was exported from the ports of Palatia (Balat) and Theologo (Ayasoluk).¹⁷⁶

Metals were also among the predominating trade items, where they were imported / exported, and produced in Western Anatolia. Hence, there was a two-way flow of metal trade in the region. Latins, especially Genoese were trading iron, lead, and tin in Balat at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries.¹⁷⁷ However, the region had its own metal resources such as copper, iron and silver and was also active in the export of these. İzmir was renowned as an iron-producing center. In the lands ruled by Germiyanogulları, in the Northeast Anatolia,

Anatolia, but also about the road network regarding the flow of trade in between East and West. Fleet (1999), pp.104-105. In the end, the flow of textile trade between East and West was functioning in both ways. There was an exchange of both raw materials and fine, finished products of cloths in between the two parties. However, it was Western Anatolia, which imported luxury items mostly of the two.

¹⁷³ This colorless crystalline substance used in various industrial fields and especially in processing woolen fabrics, and leathers, in dyeing and cleansing, in chemistry and cosmetics. Faroqi S. (1979a), "Alum Production and Alum Trade in the Ottoman Empire (about 1560-1830)", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands*, 71, pp. 153-155. See also Zachariadou (1983), p. 167. Heyd (1885-1886), II, pp. 565-571. Fleet (1999), p. 80.

¹⁷⁴ Fleet (1999), p. 82.

¹⁷⁵ The town was once re-dominated by the Byzantines in 1336, however from 1346 until 1445 it was controlled by Genoese merchants. The historic figures, writing in the 14th and 15th centuries, describe Foça with reference to the trade activities of production and export of alum initiated by the Genoese. They point out that the town had the main alum mine in Anatolia, and depicted a general picture of the town as 3000 Greeks busy in the production of alum, giving clues about its socio-economic dynamics. Hence, Turkish attacks to the town also have to be considered for the development of the settlement pattern. Foça was initially established to the north of İzmir gulf, on the Aegean coasts. However, a new settlement, called New Phocaea (Yeni Foça) was subsequently established on the outskirts of the alum mountains because of constant Turkish attacks. Fleet (1999), pp. 83-84. Zachariadou (1983), p. 167.

¹⁷⁶ I am greatly thankful to Belgin Turan Özkaya and particularly Şerafettin Turan for translating paragraphs from Pegolotti. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (1936), pp. 369-370. See also Zachariadou (1983), p. 168, who cites from Pegolotti as well.

¹⁷⁷ Fleet (1999), pp.113-114.

silver was produced even in the Byzantine times.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, gold was both exported and imported in Balat, silver was in the markets of Ayasoluk and in the ones of Foça.¹⁷⁹

Wine was another noteworthy commodity of luxury trade between the Turks and the Latins.¹⁸⁰ Yet, wine was produced as well as imported and exported in Western Anatolia in the 14th century.¹⁸¹ Merchants exported both the cultivated grapes and wine produced from these grapes in the vineyards in Western Anatolian lands, in the ports of Balat, Fethiye, Kadıkalesi, and Ayasoluk.¹⁸² Among other imported luxury commodities, soap, a special kind of soap, held a prominent place, where Genoese and imported soap into Ayasoluk and Balat, while Venetians traded soap into Aydın.¹⁸³ Lastly, Mastic was another item imported by the Turks from the West especially traded in Pergamon (Bergama) and Jasmati (Çeşme) of the Western Anatolian coasts.¹⁸⁴ (Figure 2.12)

2.3.4. Trade, Road Network and Urban Centers

After this extensive depiction of trade activities in the region referring to trade items, it is possible to discuss the hierarchy in between the urban centers as production, local exchange; and import/export centers with respect to their type and size, and the possible road network established in between those, under the Principalities rule. Regarding the evaluation of the

¹⁷⁸ Fleet (1999), pp.114-115. Vryonis S. Jr. (1962), “The Question of Byzantine Mines”, *Speculum*, 37/1, pp. 8-9.

¹⁷⁹ Hence, it is clear that, the trade of precious metals, silver and gold as luxury items, was also important. For instance, İbn Batuta mentions about the gold and silver plates and spoons in the palace of Aydınoğlu Mehmed Bey in Birgi and he also writes about the silver presents given to him by the ruler at the end of his visit. İbn-i Batuta (2004), pp. 421-424. See also Fleet (1999), pp.120-121, for gold and silver trade.

¹⁸⁰ Wine was not only consumed by the Christians but also by the Turkish rulers and commanders like Saruhanoğulları or Umur Bey, who is among the pious Aydınoğulları rulers Zachariadou (1983), p. 171.

¹⁸¹ Like the rest of the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea region, Aegean, imported wine from renowned wine producing places like southern Italy, Provence, Crete and Cyprus. At the same time, along the Aegean coasts and in the nearby inland settlements, wine was produced. Probably, the local Christians, Greeks dominated much of the wine production Vryonis (1971), p.225. Fleet (1999), p. 74. Zachariadou (1983), p. 171.

¹⁸² Considerable amount of raisins was exported from the port, Balat between the 14th and 15th centuries. Even in the 13th century, with their surroundings the ports of Fethiye and Kadıkalesi were wine producing and export areas under the Byzantine rule, and the Venetians exported wine from there. Fleet (1999), p. 75. Ayasoluk is the other significant center both of production and export of wine. While describing the landscape of Ayasoluk, İbn Batuta refers to the vineyards along both banks of the river. İbn-i Batuta (2004), pp. 424-425.

¹⁸³ Genoese imported soap into Ayasoluk from Naples, Gaeta, and Chios. Fleet (1999), pp.24-25. Zachariadou (1983), p. 172.

¹⁸⁴ Fleet’s contemplation of Jasmati as Çeşme seems reasonable that mastic is still traded in Çeşme today, which is the closest port and market to Chios, mastic producing island. Fleet (1999), p.26.

urban centers in terms of the intensity of the trade activities and its likely influences, at first place are the overseas ports, import/export centers of the period, namely Ayasoluk and Balat. These towns were the most urbanized among the other Western Anatolian towns, as cosmopolitan trading centers by the 14th century. As the importance of İzmir port decreased, though not thoroughly vanished, Ayasoluk prospered and grew.¹⁸⁵ Due to the wide range of commodities traded and due to the merchants from mostly the West and also from the East, as mentioned before, Ayasoluk was composed of various socio-cultural groups. Turks dominated the population, followed by the Greeks and there were Latin groups as well as a few Arab merchants.¹⁸⁶ Genoese had their own quarters and a consul was established there before 1351, where the Venetian consul was established about 1337, but Venetians had their own quarter, which included a church, houses, a loggia, and a bake house by 1353.¹⁸⁷ Depending on the historical accounts, Zachariadou claims that Cyprus, Rhodes, and other Italian city states like Florence and Messina had their consulates, as least representatives, in the town.¹⁸⁸

Hence, after the Turkish conquest, Ayasoluk was reorganized in terms of socio-cultural configuration and this had its impacts spatial transformations in the town. (Figure 2.10) Yet, as Ayasoluk became an overseas center of commerce, trade was the most influential factor, which determined the spatial modes of urbanization of the town. Spaces serving for commercial activities dominated and the auxiliary spaces, serving to the public like prayer areas, baths supplemented them in constructing the urban fabric. There are no examples surviving, as examples of *hans* dating to 14th -15th centuries in Ayasoluk. However, there should be vast spaces reserved for the markets. Probably, these were not enduring edifices, or easy to construct and deconstruct structures like open air bazaars. Yet, for instance, İsa Bey Mosque, the most imposing building of the Aydınoğulları contribution, has shops inserted to its entrance façade, making use of the level difference in the topography. (Figure 2.13) Although, this is

¹⁸⁵ Zachariadou (1983), p. 127. Vryonis (1971), pp. 344-348.

¹⁸⁶ According to the *Tapu Tahrirleri* [Property deeds], No. 8, dating to the H. 877-882 / AD. 1473-1477, conducted during the reign of Mehmed II, Arıkan lists the neighborhood and the population distribution in Ayasoluk during that period. Arıkan (1991), pp. 143-144. Hence, the Muslim, Turkish population is 92% compared to the 8% of the Christian, local Greek population. Similar rations in population distribution can be assumed for the Aydınoğulları period in the town, since the earliest historical information about the population ratios is from the Ottoman period.

¹⁸⁷ Zachariadou (1983), p. 128.

¹⁸⁸ Zachariadou (1983), p. 128.

associated with the Syrian influences on architecture, this may well point to the intense trade activities, and the need for commercial spaces in the town.¹⁸⁹

Second type and size towns are the port towns again, which functioned as overseas ports as well, but were not as commercially active and cosmopolitan as Ayasoluk and Balat. İzmir, Foça, Makri, and Kadikalesi are examples of these port towns, with less trade activities and less population. Accordingly, these urban centers were not urbanized that much of the first ones. For instance Foça, as mentioned before, was a center, which had the main alum mine in Anatolia. (Figure 2.14) The town was generally under Genoese rule and was regularly attacked by the Turkish troops of Aydınoğulları. Thus, both trade, mostly based on alum production and sale, and defense against the Turkish attacks affected the urban pattern of the town. A new fortified settlement, called Yeni Foça was subsequently established between the coast and the outskirts of the alum mountains because of constant Turkish attacks. (Figure 2. 15) Both Old and New Foça included significant Genoese architectural edifices, which mostly served for defensive purposes and for alum industry. Hence, in the previous researches, general picture of Foça is given, as 3000 Greeks busy in the production of alum, giving clues about its socio-economic dynamics.¹⁹⁰

Third are the other urban centers, which were located inland. Birgi, capital of Aydınoğulları, Tire, Güzelhisar (Aydın), Sultanhisar, Lazkiye (Denizli), Milas, capital of Menteşeoğulları –closer to the sea by the river-, Pezzona (Beçin), former capital of Menteşeoğulları, Muğla and Çine are examples of this type of urbanized settlements. These centers were also active in trade although not as much as the import /export port towns. İbn Batuta mentions about the existence of *ahi* organizations, guilds and city bazaars well-arranged and controlled in every center in Western Anatolia.¹⁹¹ It may be argued that these inland centers took part in overseas trade to a little extent and also developed in regional trade. For instance, according to İbn Batuta, Milas was one of the finest and most spacious cities in Anatolia, with abundance of water, fruit and gardens and connected to the sea by the river through which it was visited by Latin merchants.¹⁹² Milas was surrounded by vast meadows, was linked to the sea by the Maiandros (Menderes) river and stood as a trade center, at the junction of roads

¹⁸⁹ Kalfazade - Ertuğrul S. (1998), “Etkileşim Sahası İçinde Selçuk İsa Bey Cami / Selçuk İsa Bey Mosque: A Look at Interactions”, *Sanatta Etkileşim / Interactions in Art*, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, pp. 158-163.

¹⁹⁰ Fleet (1999), p. 84.

¹⁹¹ İbn-i Batuta (2004), pp. 403-405.

¹⁹² İbn-i Batuta (2004), p. 411. Zachariadou (1983), p. 130.

leading to Karpuzlu Plain, Çine Valley, Menderes Valley and Muğla.¹⁹³ Of the other inland towns some were renowned as production centers rather than exchange. Lazkiye is a remarkable example in this respect, which is famous for its local industry in the production of elegant cotton fabrics within textile trade in Lazkiye. İbn Batuta described the physical setting of the town bestowed with seven great mosques, vineyards and gardens, streams and fountains, as well as small, charming markets, while he, at the same time, emphasized the town's reputation due to the quality of its special gold gilded cloth.¹⁹⁴

Fourth and last, other than the urban centers trade also took place in the countryside in the form of fairs, *panayır*. Belongi near Anaia, Nazilli or Kestel near Sultanhisar and Alaşehir are examples of these market places in the countryside.¹⁹⁵ For instance Alaşehir had a developed commercial life in the setting of a rich agricultural countryside and contributed to the prosperity of Aydınoğulları lands both with the regional trade activities and with the tribute paid.¹⁹⁶

In the end, these centers scaled, considering their type and size, with respect to trade, were most likely connected through a road network. There had to be roads, which the production centers to commercial centers of regional and overseas trade. The main trade centers, import / export ports along the Aegean coast, where most of the distribution of commodities took place, were likely connected to inland, both for the population living inland and for trade by way of long distance roads into Anatolia and into the further East. For instance, textile and wine of Lazkiye reached the ports of Ayasuluk, Balat, and even İzmir by land transport and from these centers were sent to the West by sea transport. (Figure 2. 16)

Above is shown the role of trade in the urban development of particularly Western Anatolian towns. Primary criteria are their types and sizes. Urbanization in these towns was also strongly dependant on the road network, through which they were connected. The main roads support the growth and enlargement of cosmopolitan, the greatest sized towns of the Middle Ages, where, in fact, the flow of trade keeps these centers lively.¹⁹⁷ For instance, Ayasuluk was on the major highway and at the intersection of land routes and sea routes in those years. Accordingly, trade, road network and urbanization of urban centers manipulate and feed each other. Where the intensity in the flow of trade supports the development of the road network, the road network influences the urban growth or decline of urban centers just like

¹⁹³ Tuncer (2006), p. 422. Wittek (1944), pp. 123-125.

¹⁹⁴ İbn-i Batuta (2004), p. 408.

¹⁹⁵ Zachariadou (1983), p. 129.

¹⁹⁶ Zachariadou (1983), p. 129.

¹⁹⁷ Tuncer (2006), p. 430.

trade contributing to their prosperity and development. Yet, due to certain political changes over time, some urban centers may lose their significance, trade may also be affected and road network may have changed because of shifts in directions of the trade flow and appearance of new trade centers. Below is explained the establishment and rise of the Ottoman State, their take over of Western Anatolian lands, and reflections of the Ottoman rule on trade relations and activities, road network and at the same time, on the urban life and settlement patterns of the former Principalities urban centers.

2.4. Trade and Trade Relations in the Ottoman Period

2.4.1. Establishment and Rise of the Ottoman State

Osman Gazi, who formerly ruled in Söğüt and then in Karacahisar with his tribe in the second half of the 13th century, as part of the *uc teşkilatı* under Seljuk rule, is regarded as the founder of the Ottoman Principality. In 1299, he conquered Bilecik, Yarhisar, Yenişehir and İnegöl near Eskişehir, which were the former fortresses of the Byzantine *tekfurs* [Byzantine governors].¹⁹⁸ Hence, 1299 is generally accepted as the foundation date of the Ottoman State.¹⁹⁹

After Osman, his son Orhan Gazi (1324-1362) continued to enlarge and strengthen the state by completing what his father began, as he took over Bursa and İznik. By 1326, Bursa was ruled by the Ottomans and served as their capital city. Orhan struck his first coins here and in 1340 he founded a market place and a *bedesten* [covered bazaar] in Bursa in order to turn the city into a significant trade center.²⁰⁰ İbn Batuta described Bursa around 1340 as a city with fine bazaars and wide streets, surrounded on all sides by gardens and running springs flowing into a big lake.²⁰¹ Orhan Gazi also founded a medrese in İznik in 1331. As described by İbn Batuta, İznik was in a moldering condition and uninhabited except for a few men under the Sultan's

¹⁹⁸ İnalçık, referring to Yahşi Fakih Menâkıbnamesi, states that in the same year, Osman delivered his *hutbe* [sermon] in Karacahisar, declared his independence, and started to organize and systematize his frontier principality as a Turkish-Islamic State. İnalçık H., Ortaylı İ. (1999), "Halil İnalçık ile Söyleşi: Osmanlı Tarihi En Çok Saptırılmış, Tek Yanlı Yorumlanmış Tarihtir", *Cogito. Osmanlılar Özel Sayısı*, 19, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 28-29.

¹⁹⁹ However, the victory of Osman in Baphaeus (Koyunhisar) War against the Byzantines in 1301 during the siege of Niceae (İznik) has been a turning point in Ottoman history, which fastened and supported the Ottoman expansion and growth in Northwestern Anatolia. İnalçık H. (1997), "Osman Gazi'nin İznik Kuşatması ve Bapheus Muharebesi", *Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389*, (E. Zachariadou ed.) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp. 78-105.

²⁰⁰ İnalçık H. (1973), *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600*, New York, Washington: Praeger Publishers, pp. 7-8.

²⁰¹ İbn-i Batuta (2004), p. 428.

service, yet there existed gardens, fields and houses in the urban center.²⁰² Considering the depictions of these towns by İbn Batuta, it can be said that, at times Ottomans found the lands they annexed, in good condition but mostly the town and the townspeople were moldered and weakened by the long lasting sieges. The attempts of Orhan Gazi considering the settlement and urban development of the towns he conquered, point that the Ottomans' policy was to prosper these newly annexed lands. Even during the rule of Osman Gazi, the polity was not to pillage and obliterate the city to its last drop and not to wipe out and fight to kill the already settled populace totally, but to incorporate them as much as possible and prosper the newly extended territories.²⁰³

Yet, during 1350s, Ottomans were still a frontier principality. In order to become the dominating state in the region, they needed to establish their authority not only in the lands but also in the seas.²⁰⁴ As soon as Karesioğulları was annexed by the Ottomans (1345), Karesi sea *ghazis* accepted the Ottoman command and began to fight for the Ottomans. Then, owing a great deal to the experience and ability of these *ghazis*, Ottomans prevailed to take over parts in Rumelia, namely Thrace (1352). By then, active both in the lands and in the sea, they became advantageous for further *ghaza* and conquests towards the west and in 1361 Murad annexed Edirne, the capital of the State after Bursa, to Ottoman territories.²⁰⁵

Under the reign of the subsequent ruler, Murad I (1362-1389), the Ottoman principality turned out to be a rather more developed state in terms of its broadly expanded territories and highly institutionalized polity in comparison to other Turkish states ruling in Western Anatolia.²⁰⁶ Institutionalization aroused both in the administrative aspects, within the *ulema* [civil ruling body of the state] and in military terms with the foundation of the janissary

²⁰² İbn-i Batuta (2004), pp. 430-431.

²⁰³ Lowry H. W. (2003a), *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, New York: State University of New York Press, pp. 68-70.

²⁰⁴ The other Western Anatolian principalities, Menteşeoğulları, Aydınöğulları, and Karesioğulları were stronger and more renowned due to their fleets and close trade relations with the Latins than the Ottomans, who succeeded to rule only in the broad lands of Bythina, in Northwestern Anatolia. However, Orhan Bey was a clever ruler and had all-encompassing vision for further progression of his state, that he cleverly turned the circumstances of those times to the Ottomans' advantage. He was clever and in a way fortunate to make use of the existing situations. He took a stand on the victorious side in a fight between the Byzantine parties opposed to Karesioğulları. Besides, there was a factionary group in Karesi principality, which supported joining to Ottomans. For further information on this issue, see Zachariadou E. A. (1997), "Karesi ve Osmanlı Beylikleri: İki Rakip Devlet", *Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389*, (E. Zachariadou eds.) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp. 243-255.

²⁰⁵ İnalçık (1973), pp. 9-11.

²⁰⁶ The territorial expansion to the west in Rumelia made the westerners so anxious that, they gathered a crusader army against the Ottomans. However the crusaders were defeated by the slowly and strongly developing Ottoman state in Kosova (1389).

corps.²⁰⁷ Where Murad I held the epithet *Hüdavendigâr, hükümdâr* [the all ruling Sultan], the Ottomans outgrew a strong state from a frontier society.²⁰⁸

Nevertheless, it was Murad I's son Bayezid I (1389-1402), who first attempted to improve the state's authority towards a fully centralized one.²⁰⁹ He took over the lands of Menteşeoğulları, Aydınoğulları, Saruhanoğulları, Germiyoğulları and even Hamidoğulları principalities in Anatolia, threatened the Byzantines by having the Anadolu Hisarı built and besieging Constantinople for two years (1394-96), and also fought with the European crusaders. His aim was to establish a central and integrated authority ruling in Anatolia, for the reason that, he had an imperial vision for his state.²¹⁰ However, Bayezid I's state's rapid rise was interrupted with his defeat to Timur in 1402. Most of Bayezid's endeavors were then bygone. As Anatolia witnessed a scene of re-emergence and mingling of former Turkish principalities, so did Ottoman State enter a period of interregnum (1402-1413), where the descendants of Bayezid went into an eleven years of fight for the throne.²¹¹

Of Bayezid's sons, Mehmed I (1413-1421) finally prevailed and became the ruler. Mehmed I's reign was a period of recovery for the Ottoman State. He re-annexed some of the Turkish principalities' lands like the terrain of Hamidoğulları, lands around İzmir, Niğde and Canik.²¹² After his death, his son, Murad II (1421-44, 1446-51) took over. Murad II's reign faced achievements not only against the west but also within Rumelia and especially Anatolia in establishing a unity and ruling over the Turkish principalities from a center.²¹³ It was probably due to the gradual, steady and solid formation of the state that, within a short period of time after the interregnum, Ottoman state recovered and even prospered more than before.

²⁰⁷ Kafadar C. (1995), *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp.142-143.

²⁰⁸ For the meaning and the variety of the titles used in inscriptions and foundation charters, Lowry (2003a), pp. 37, 86-87.

²⁰⁹ For the purpose of establishing a central authority, Bayezid I tried to diminish and eliminate the independency and power of the *ghazis* and dervishes against the central government in the state administration. Thus, he not only fought with the west and the Byzantines but he also annexed the other Turkish principalities.

²¹⁰ Lowry is very critical about the period, when Bayezid I ruled. He criticizes Bayezid I, referring to the Ahmedî's *İskendernâme* that, Bayezid I was not a highly revered ruler by his subjects, especially by the *ghazis*, dervishes, because of his aberration and aptness to alcohol, but, I think, probably due to his imperial vision and quest for central government. Lowry claims that, *İskendernâme*, rather than an historical chronicle, is in the form of a *nasihatname*, for Bayezid and later for his son Süleyman, giving clues for how to govern the state, how to be a Muslim (unlike Bayezid) and keep away from imperial visions like Bayezid I's. Lowry (2003a), pp. 27-30, 136-137.

²¹¹ For a more detailed information about the interregnum period, Finkel C. (2005), *Osman's Dream, The Story of the Ottoman Empire*, London: John Murray Publishers, pp. 27-34. İnalcık (1973), pp. 17-19. Kafadar (1995), pp. 101-102.

²¹² İnalcık (1973), pp. 17-18.

²¹³ Finkel (2005), pp. 41-47. İnalcık (1973), pp. 19-22.

Under the rule of Murad II, trade and economy developed to a great degree that, Bursa and Edirne thrived as significant trade centers.²¹⁴

Mehmed II's reign (1444-46, 1451-81), especially beginning from 1451 was a crucial upswing in Ottoman history. His primary aim was to take the command of the Balkan states south of the Danube, Tuna River and the Asian states west of the Euphrates, Firat River, so that he would realize the imperial vision of his forefather Bayezid II, which he had once intended but could not have completed.²¹⁵ In this respect, Mehmed II's, at first hand prefigured and calculated to conquer Constantinople, which would provide him the necessary prestige and power to begin to substantiate his central authority and imperial vision.²¹⁶ It is his imperial vision that subsequent to the conquest, he did reforms both in the administrative and institutional aspects and in the settlement and urbanization policies, for instance in the making of a new capital of the former Byzantine capital.²¹⁷ Under the rule of Mehmed the Conqueror from then on, the Ottoman territories expanded to establish an Empire, the state grew into a prospering empire and trade activities increased to meet the needs of the rapidly rising empire. As will be shown in the proceeding sections of this chapter, the conquest of İstanbul, and imperialization and centralization of the state brought forth a shift in the trade activities, especially in the flow of trade and accordingly in the trade routes and finally in the weaving of the urban network and development of the urban centers in relation to trade.

Subsequently, under the rule of Bayezid II (1481-1512), the son of Mehmed II, imperialization of the Ottoman state displayed a recession in centralization in the administrative matters, especially in the privatization of land – giving back the property of the fief holders, *tumar* [fief] holders opposed to belonging to the central government.²¹⁸ Yet, with the

²¹⁴ İnalçık (1973), p. 21. For more detail on trade and urban centers, 2.4.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers and Flow of Trade, and 2.4.4 Trade, Road Network and Urban Centers.

²¹⁵ İnalçık (1973), pp. 23-30.

²¹⁶ During the conquest the civil and the military parties of the administrative body of the state divided into two. The *ulema*, headed by the grand vizier Çandarlı supported negotiation with the Byzantines and maintained a rather more moderate policy opposed to the *lalas* [mentors of the Sultan], Zağanos and Şihabetin pursued a more aggressive and progressive policy, reminding the “*ghazi*” character of the early Ottoman, in fact Turcoman principalities. Mehmed II, first eliminated the Çandarlı family, who had been highly effective in Ottoman polity for a long time not only because of the vizierate's moderate policies but also to get rid of such a powerful dynasty to maintain his central and unaccompanied, absolute authority. Second, he passivized the *ghazis*, impaired the stronghold of the dervishes and highlighted the centralistic and imperialistic notion of the state in the following reforms. See on this issue İnalçık (1973), pp. 23-27.

²¹⁷ For the making of İstanbul as the new capital of the Ottoman State during the rule of the Mehmed II, Vryonis S (1991), “Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Imperial Iconography”, *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. Biermann, D. Preziosi, R. Abou el Haj eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publishers, pp. 13-52.

²¹⁸ Fleet (1999), pp. 131-133.

establishment of a great number of *vakıfs* [foundations] of building complexes and public buildings, urbanization increased and urban centers developed. At this point, the role of trade in terms of an upswing of production and renewal of trade relations, improvement of the trade routes must also be taken into consideration.

Soon after Bayezid II, his son Selim I (1512-1520) became the ruler of the Empire. Unlike his father, rather than settlement and development projects, he was involved in new conquests, military successions and territorial expansion. Selim I, with his conquests in the other Muslim lands of the shi'ite like those governed by Şah İsmail and like the Mamluk lands, dignified the imperialization of the Ottomans and provided them a promotion within the Islamic world, paving the way for them to become a world empire.

It was Süleyman I (1520-1566), renowned as Süleyman the Magnificent in history, who actualized to take the Empire to its peak, and achieved to rule a world empire holding the prestige and power to claim its hegemony to the West and the East. Ottoman Empire reached its climax in juridical, administrative, institutional, economical, and military terms and attained 'classicism' in architectural development and urban vision under the rulership of Süleyman the Magnificent. As Ottoman Empire was a world empire at its peak, Europe was gradually reshaped and transformed in its socio-political context. In other words, there was a pace for pace changing of the socio-political framework, within which leading groups in trade activities and trade relations displayed different permutations than before.²¹⁹

For the Ottoman Empire, it was the transformations not only in the west but also within the Empire, which had their reflections in their trade activities. Accordingly Ottomans' trade relations with the other states underwent a transformation, import/export trade items displayed changes. Especially due to the capitalization of İstanbul and the attempts to turn it into the greatest metropolitan city for purpose of imperialization, and becoming a world empire, flow of trade alternated more than it did before in the 14th and first half of the 15th centuries. (Figure 2.17-2.18) Hence, flow of trade affected the trade routes. For instance, Western Anatolia became a depot of vegetables, fruit and grains to meet the feeding needs of İstanbul. The overseas ports here turned out to be local ports serving mostly the capital city. The main arteries, secondary routes and any related minor land or sea routes were reshaped according to

²¹⁹ Hapsburg dynasty grew to rule the most powerful empire in European lands. France urged to maintain its actual presence in the continent. The Catholic Church was not effective enough to gather a western collaboration against the East, namely the Ottomans. Italian states were no more as powerful and active as they were in the 14th and 15th centuries in Europe and more importantly in the Mediterranean, perhaps except for the Venetians to a certain extent. They were gradually replaced by the northern French, Dutch, British, Spanish merchants in the sea trade, especially towards the end of the 16th and later the 17th century.

the location and inclusion of İstanbul in this road network. Finally, the trade routes and the shifts and changes in the trade activities had its impacts on re-formation and trans-formation of the urban network. In relation to the changes in the trade activities, trade routes and hence road network, the already existing urban centers in the region either developed or declined, or new centers emerged. Below is explained trade agreements and peace treaties between the Ottomans and the West and whether and how they transformed from the early to classical Ottoman State. The discussion on the transformation of the trade relations will be helpful in showing the phases of growth from a frontier principality towards a world empire and in establishing a former basis for the analyses of the trade items, trade centers and the road network.

2.4.2. Trade Agreements, Peace Treaties and Economic Policies

In the beginning of the 14th century, the Ottomans, who ruled in the broad lands of Bythinia, in Northwestern Anatolia, were in contact only with the Byzantines in the Christian world. The annexation of Karesi Principality and as a result, starting to rule in the regions of Bergama, Edremit and ancient Troia before the middle of the 14th century paved the way for the Ottomans to have borders along the sea and gain access to the Aegean. They increased naval attacks mainly against Thrace and prevailed to take over ports here (1352). Actually, by 1354, when they captured Gallipoli (Gelibolu) and controlled the access to Marmara Sea, Ottomans attracted considerable attention from the western Christian world.²²⁰ In other words, in addition to the declining Byzantine Empire in Constantinople, Latin city states of Venice and Genoa, in the west, began to focus on this Principality, since by then the Ottomans were becoming a threat to these trading states in the Aegean, Constantinople and even in Black Sea.

Ottoman-Genoese relations were maintained as early as 1337, before the Venice-Genoa war (1351-52) although no evidence of such an early treaty document has survived.²²¹ Peace agreements and trade relations between the Ottomans and the Genoese developed earlier and established firmly than the other Latin states.²²² In the winter of 1352 the Ottoman Sultan

²²⁰ Zachariadou even mentions that the Ottomans took control of Dardanelles as early as 1346. Zachariadou (1983), p. 64.

²²¹ Turan Ş. (2000), *Türkiye – İtalya İlişkileri I, Selçuklular'dan Bizans'ın Sona Erişine*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları. p. 283.

²²² The reason for that may lie on the fact that Genoese ruled lands not only in Pera (Galata) and in the Aegean islands but also withheld Foça and Amasra, the ports within the Ottoman territories. Turan (2000), p. 278.

Orhan signed a peace treaty with the Genoese.²²³ According to the agreement, which is not extant, Orhan provided military support to the Genoese against the Venice-Byzantium-Aragon trio and Genoese paid annual taxes in return.²²⁴ Yet, as the subsequent treaty enacted in 1387 refer to this earlier document for the renewal of the customs taxes, it can be concluded that, trade relations between the Ottomans and the Genoese were already regularized in the non-extant treaty of 1352.

The establishment of Ottoman-Venetian relations had to wait for a little more, for the Venetians to understand that, Ottomans were allies with the Genoese.²²⁵ In addition, when Venice attempted to renew the capitulations given before by the Byzantine emperor, she faced the interruption of the Ottomans.²²⁶ Yet, even in 1362, Venetians tried to assemble an anti-Ottoman league with Genoese and Byzantines, which did not come to be realized.²²⁷ In time, Venetian polity to find allies and fight against the Ottomans shifted to a search for friendly relations with them.²²⁸ Venetians did not participate in the crusade against the Ottomans, in which the Ottomans had to leave the rule of Gelibolu to Byzantines for ten years in 1366. The loss of Gelibolu fortress neither prevented the Venetians to continue negotiations with the Ottomans nor the Ottomans to continue conquest of the Balkans.²²⁹ In other words, for the Venetian side, they continued their disinterested and cautious policy in their relations with the Ottomans until the possibility of the fall of Constantinople emerged due to the siege of the city by Bayezid I (1394-1396). Probably that was because the Venetian parti cared for their advantages and maintenance of privileges in the region concerning trade rather than the restructuring of the territories due to Ottomans domination of different power holder groups.²³⁰ As for the Ottoman side, they were a rising power, intensifying all the focus of the West within

²²³ Luttrell A. (1997), “1389 Öncesi Osmanlı Genişlemesine Latin Tepkileri”, *Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389* (E. Zachariadou ed.) (G. Çağalı Güven, İ. Yerguz, T. Altınova trans.) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp. 133-134. Turan (2000), p.284. Zachariadou (1983), p. 63. Heyd (1885-1886), I, p. 506, II, p. 258.

²²⁴ Luttrell (1997), pp. 134-135. Turan (2000), p. 284-285. Heyd (1885-1886), I, p. 567.

²²⁵ As Turan citing from Kantakuzenos indicates, Venetians did not have much information about the Ottomans until the end of the Venetian-Genoese War in 1352. Turan (2000), p. 295.

²²⁶ For the Ottoman-Byzantine part, the memoirs of a bishop, Pierre Thomas who was sent to Constantinople by the Pope in 1357-58 provide clues that, the Ottoman-Byzantine grew more friendly and resulted in a peace treaty between the two parties. Zachariadou (1983), p. 65.

²²⁷ Luttrell (1997), p. 136. Zachariadou (1983), pp. 65-67.

²²⁸ Referring to Thiriet, Zachariadou states that the reports of the Venetian Bailo in Constantinople in 1365 pointed that Sultan Murad I was favorably disposed towards Venice. Zachariadou (1983), p. 70.

²²⁹ Venetians tried to come to an agreement with Sultan Murad I for the granting of Scutari (Üsküdar) across Constantinople. On the Ottoman side, they took over Adrianople (Edirne) and piled on their victories through the Balkans regardless of the loss of Gallipoli (Gelibolu).

²³⁰ Turan (2000), p. 305.

the Levant, as interaction of the West with the other Turkish Principalities like Aydın and Menteşe decreased to a considerable amount however did not totally hinder.

After these explanations for the Venetian side turning back to the evaluation of Ottoman-Latin relations on the Genoese side, the earliest peace treaty known to survive is between Sultan Murad I on the Ottoman part and Gentile de Grimaldi and Janano de Bascho on the Genoese part in 1387.²³¹ The treaty points to the regularity of relations established between the two parties and provide information on the tax collections.²³² (Table 2.2) After the death of Sultan Murad I in 1389, the peace treaty was renewed by the subsequent Sultan Bayezid I. Here, the Genoese Podesta of Pera swore to observe all former agreements made with Orhan and Murad I.²³³ Just like the renewals of agreements with the change of rulers of the Ottoman State, Bayezid I signed treaties to continue the earlier established trade relations with the other Turkish principalities, those he annexed to Ottoman territories, specifically Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları Principality.²³⁴ It was one of his methods to guarantee and develop Ottoman's not only economical but also political power in Western Anatolian lands.

Yet, in comparison to the Principalities of Aydın and Menteşe, Ottomans pursued a more active trade policy. For instance, in an agreement enacted between Bayezid I and the Hospitallers, the Ottoman Sultan demanded unrestricted trade for the selling of slaves to Rhodes, which was possibly executed.²³⁵ Probably, supporting Fleet's claims, during the reign of Bayezid I, the Ottomans were able to sell slaves not only in their own territories but also in the other markets of the Aegean, unlike Aydın and Menteşe.²³⁶ Apparently, the Ottomans

²³¹ Fleet K (1993), "The Treaty of 1387 between Murad I and the Genoese", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, 56/1, p. 16. Turan (2000), p. 294. This treaty was signed in Mallaina, the place suggested corresponding to either Osmaneli or Karacahisar today. Luttrell names the place as Mallaina Fortress, Malagina near Bursa. Luttrell (1997), p. 141. Fleet (1993), p. 30.

²³² Luttrell (1997), pp. 141-142. Turan (2000), pp. 294-295. Fleet, comparing this treaty with the ones between Venice and Aydın and Menteşe, claims that the lack of detailed clauses indicates an active trade continuing between the two states regardless of wars and other inconveniences. Fleet (1993), p. 32. Zachariadou (1983), pp. 187-242.

²³³ Luttrell (1997), pp. 142-143. Fleet (1993), p. 23. Neither this treaty following the enthronement of Bayezid I (1389) nor the ones following the enthronement of Murad I after the death of Orhan (1362) apparently survived. However, the Genoese are known to have concluded treaties with the Ottomans in the winter of 1351-52 and in 1389. They were also signatories in the treaty with Bayezid I's son Süleyman in 1403 together with the Byzantines, the Venetians and the Hospitallers. Fleet (1999), p. 11.

²³⁴ Akin (1968), p. 54.

²³⁵ See the document from Malta archives published in Luttrell A. (1988), "The Hospitallers of Rhodes Confront the Turks: 1306-1421", *Christians, Jews and Other Worlds. Patterns of Conflict and Accommodation*, (P. F. Gallagher ed.) New York and London. pp. 96-97. This is also cited in Fleet (1999), p. 41.

²³⁶ Fleet (1999), pp. 41-42.

controlled and manipulated the markets and improved their relations with the Latins day by day for their own benefits. One method for this was to control the flow of trade items, and manipulate the export and import activities.²³⁷ This, in turn effected the negotiations on trade between the Latins and the Ottomans, especially after the conquest of the lands of Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları by Bayezid I. In the renewal of the already enacted trade agreements and the peace treaties between the Latins and the Principalities, Ottoman Sultan was more persuasive in dictating his demands to the other parti.²³⁸ Hence, Ottomans pursued a more demanding and tougher trade policy than that of the other Principalities, most likely depending on their comparatively powerful military forces. By time, and especially under the rule of Bayezid I, their political strength increased, so did their economic dominance not only in Western Anatolia but also even in Rumelia.²³⁹

In these circumstances, the anti-league against the Ottomans grew as the Ottoman power increased. The anti-league gathered a crusader army against Bayezid I so that he had to quit the siege of İstanbul (1394-1396) and had to face the crusaders in Nikopolis (Niğbolu) (1396). The war ended with a glorious victory on the Ottomans part, a disappointing defeat for their counterparts.²⁴⁰ The hopes of the Westerners, and especially those of the Venetians and the Byzantines to impede and stop Bayezid I, were realized by another Turkish commander ruling in the East. Venetians, Byzantines, Genoese in Pera and Greeks supported Timur, the powerful rival of Bayezid I who succeeded to finish him off in Ankara War (1402), and disrupted the established Ottoman authority and unity in Rumelia and especially in Anatolia.²⁴¹ The Ottoman power disintegrated, the lands were separated to be ruled partially by Bayezid I's sons and the earlier Turkish Principalities like Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları regained their autonomy in the region. Aftermath the defeat, the Ottoman State entered to an interregnum period and had to wait for half a century to regain its imposing power and become

²³⁷ Trade items, the flow of trade items will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent section of this chapter. 2.4.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers, and Flow of Trade.

²³⁸ For instance he forbade the export of grain from Balat and Ayasuluk ports and he arranged the prices and the export of alum from the same ports. Fleet (1999), pp. 72, 92-93. In addition, the letter composed by Bayezid I to the Venetian Dodge Antonio Venier in 1391 is the substantiation of a peace treaty enacted between Bayezid I for the Ottomans and the ambassador Francesco Querini for the Venetians. In other words, the letter acted as the first written document of the trade agreement between the two parties. The decrees pointed in the letter show that Venice, once pursuing to obtain a trade center in Üsküdar, to rule freely in these territory, as well as to have tax concession and discount in import goods, had to consent to the amount of freedom in trade allowed by Bayezid I. Turan (2000), pp. 308-309.

²³⁹ Spremič M. (1983), "XV. Yüzyılda Venedik Cumhuriyeti'nin Şarkta Ödediği Harçlar", (M. H. Şakiroğlu trans.) *Belleten*, XLVII/185, p. 364.

²⁴⁰ Turan (2000), pp. 324-329.

²⁴¹ Turan (2000), p. 340.

a world empire. The effects can be traced not only in the challenges of the Ottoman military and political power but also in their resolution of economic dominance.

Nevertheless, for the Latin side, they had to follow an ingenious economic polity. On one hand, they could regain more privileges and take more capitulations from the Ottomans than their sacrifices in the reign of Bayezid I. On the other hand, they had to support one Ottoman ruler to maintain the power balance to carry on their trade activities freely in the Mediterranean as soon as possible. Also, they did not want to have Timur replaced as another threat as the dominating authority. Soon, the Venetians signed a peace treaty with Süleyman Çelebi, who ruled in Rumelia known as Gelibolu Agreement (1403).²⁴² (Table 2.2) According to the decrees of the treaty Süleyman Çelebi left lands back to the command of the Byzantines, Venetians and the Hospitallers. He provided freedom in trade activities in the Ottoman lands without any prevention except for the settled amount of taxes. There was a considerable reduction in the tax amounts and yet, for instance, Byzantium was no more responsible to pay tribute to the Ottomans and thus no more a vassal dependant on them.²⁴³ Musa Çelebi, the brother of Süleyman neither accepted the terms dictated by the agreement nor the reign of Süleyman as the Ottoman Sultan.²⁴⁴ He succeeded his brother in 1411, yet, this time Mehmed Çelebi defeated Musa and put an end to the interregnum. Under his rule the Ottoman state began to recover rapidly both in military and in economic terms.²⁴⁵ For example, as an indication of advancement in economic prosperity, Mehmed I achieved to increase the amount of the tax collections 40 times more than Süleyman negotiated before.²⁴⁶

In fact, at this point, Genoese contribution has to be revealed and their policy towards the Ottomans, in other words relations with them has to be mentioned in comparison to the Venetians. Opposite to the Venetian polity to fight for peace, for privileges in trade activities, Genoese preferred to maintain good relations with the Ottomans and keep on acting as allies. For instance, the Genoese of Foça helped out Mehmed I to prevail over Cüneyd Bey, the last

²⁴² Byzantines, Genoese, and the Hospitallers were present during the negotiations between the Venetians and Süleyman Çelebi in the name of Ottomans. Spremič (1983), p. 365. Turan (2000), pp. 345-346.

²⁴³ Turan gives detailed information on the decrees of the Gelibolu Treaty. Where this treaty represented the waning condition of the Ottoman State with its dictated terms, Süleyman Çelebi took it slow to put them into practice. Turan (2000), pp. 350-353, 364.

²⁴⁴ Süleyman Çelebi was the ruler of the former Ottoman lands in Rumelia whereas Musa Çelebi ruled in Anatolia. For the implementation of the treaty, the Christian parti, lead by Venetians, had to persuade Musa as well. Turan (2000), pp. 364-369.

²⁴⁵ İnalçık (1973), p. 21. Turan (2000), p. 370.

²⁴⁶ Turan (2000), p. 375.

heir of the Aydınoğulları Principality.²⁴⁷ When Murad II enthroned after the death of his father Mehmed I, he retained close relations with the Genoese. Most significantly, Genoese remained neutral during the crusader attack to Ottomans under the command of Murad II in Varna (1444). While they did not join the crusader army, they helped the Sultan to pass across from Güzelcehisar, Anadolu Hisarı with a considerable amount of payment.²⁴⁸ As Turan states, Genoese actions in this event has to be regarded for sake of continuity and prevention from interruption in their trade activities rather than a treason to the Christian league.²⁴⁹ The close relations between the two parties endured until the death of Murad II (1451).

Turning back to the course of Venetian-Ottoman relations after the interregnum, it can be said that the two parties were in a conflict of interests.²⁵⁰ Due to these clashes of interests, wars and artificial peaceful periods between the two States were unavoidable. The Gelibolu War ended with the victory of the Venetians (1416).²⁵¹ (Table 2.2) The peace treaty enacted after the war declared items for the increase of the privileges provided to the Venetians and what's more, the confinement of the actions of the Ottoman naval forces in the Marmara Sea and not pass through the Dardanelles into the Aegean.²⁵² Next war, which lasted for seven years (1423-1430), was for the control of Thessaloniki (Selanik, Salonica) which was a very crucial trade center.²⁵³ This time, Ottomans triumphed over Venetians and a treaty enacted between Murad II on behalf of the Ottomans and Nicolo Bellavista, assigned by Admiral Silvestro Morosini in Edirne (1430).²⁵⁴ (Table 2.2) The agreement concurred on mostly in favor

²⁴⁷ Turan (2000), pp. 373-374.

²⁴⁸ İnalçık H. (1995), *Fatih Devri Üzerine Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, (1st Edition in 1954) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, p. 71. Furthermore, the Genoese supported Murad II against his uncle, and for their assistance they were provided with further capitulations by the Sultan and in addition gained a new trade center in Thrace, close to Enez. Together with the Genoese in Chios, they also helped Murad II to finish off Cüneyd Bey in İpsili, today's Doğanbey (1424). It is as well mentioned that, Genoese of Pera inscribed the herald of Murad II on the fortifications of Galata. Turan (2000), pp. 376, 379, 383.

²⁴⁹ Turan (2000), p. 383.

²⁵⁰ As the Ottoman State recovered by time and lead the way towards becoming a world empire, Venetians tried their best to prevent their progress. Speaking in economic terms, Ottomans increased the amount of the taxes. Since they expanded their territories towards west, they encumbered Venetians carry on their trade activities freely here.

²⁵¹ Turan (2000), pp. 393-404.

²⁵² Turan (2000), p. 405.

²⁵³ The reasons for this war mainly due to the fact that The Venetian Republic strived to maintain the capitulations dictated in the trade agreement during the reign of Murad II. Yet, they hoped for more because of the troubles the Byzantines brought on to the new Sultan. For further discussion on the war between the Ottomans and the Venetians for controlling Salonica see Vryonis S. (1986), "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430", *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, (A. Bryer, H. Lowry eds.) Birmingham: University of Birmingham & DOP Press, pp. 281-321. Delilbaşı M. (1999), "Balkanlarda Ortodoks Halkın Tutumu" *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi Bildiriler*. III, 4-8 Ekim 1999, Ankara, pp. 5-6. Turan (2000), pp. 417-430.

²⁵⁴ Turan (2000), p. 436.

of the winning parti. Ottomans were now to sail in the Aegean, free in trade activities in the Venetian lands and also they negotiated on the amount of the taxes.²⁵⁵ The peace time lasted until the congregation of the crusaders against the Ottomans in Varna (1444). However, Venetians soon after detached from the Christian alliance and agreed on terms dictated by the Ottomans that, they only endeavored to protect their lands and carry on trade.²⁵⁶

The reign of Mehmed II was suspense to very significant improvements on behalf of the Ottomans and disadvantageous events for the anti-Ottoman league.²⁵⁷ After his accession in 1451, he not only quickly achieved to get rid of the attacks and threats towards the Ottomans but also he reign witnessed a turning point in the medieval world regarding the future of both the Ottomans and of the ones dealt with Levant. In other words, his conquest of Constantinople paved the way for the imperialization of the Ottoman State, and the new Sultan won the essential prestige and power yet it is a turning point in history. Mehmed II brought the Byzantine Empire to an end and proceeded to take the command of the Balkan states south of the Danube and the Asian states west of the Euphrates, so that he would realize the imperial vision of his forefather Bayezid I.²⁵⁸ His great successes had its impacts on the course of Ottoman-Latin relations, when he began to threat their trade policies with territorial expansion, meeting the needs of a rapidly rising empire and capitalization and thus feeding of the great city, İstanbul. Focusing on the Ottoman – Venetian relations under the reign of Mehmed II, the content of the trade agreements consecutively point to the shifts, parallel to the developments in Ottoman military and political power, so in their growing economic dominance.²⁵⁹ (Table 2.2) Ottomans provided Venetians freedom of trade in the lands they owned, maintained the amount of taxes, and kept the decrees regarding the controlled passage through Dardanelles. When Mehmed II maintained the stability of relations with the west he directed all his energy to siege and to conquer Constantinople.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ Turan (2000), pp. 437-438.

²⁵⁶ Turan (2000), p. 441, 455-457.

²⁵⁷ The anti-Ottoman league was defeated in Varna, yet their hopes, including the Venetians did not tear apart, due to the enthronement of Mehmed II in the age of 12. However, Murad II took control in 1446 in the appearance of serious threat and ruled until his death (1451). Hence, the actual enthronement of Mehmet II can be accepted as his succession in 1451.

²⁵⁸ İnalçık (1973), pp. 23-30.

²⁵⁹ In fact, Mehmed II signed the second treaty with the Venetians following his second succession. This treaty was the renewal of the 1446 treaty without any crucial changes or details.

²⁶⁰ Since the conquest would affect the balances of power and control for the Ottomans, Venetians searched for new allies, this time from the east towards the Ottomans. Venetians were already getting close to Karamanoğlu Principality ruling in central Anatolia, as Karamanoğlu-Ottoman relations got tenser even under the rule of Murad II. Venetians and Karamanoğulları enacted a treaty on the eve of the conquest in 1453, in which the Turkish parti provided significant privileges to the Venetians, like

The conquest of Constantinople was a real disappointment for not only the Venetians but also for the whole western world.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, throughout Mehmed II's reign, Genoese and other Latin traders remained active in Constantinople after 1453, life continued and houses in Pera were rented or sold.²⁶² Hence, Venetians wanted to renew the agreement with Mehmed II and negotiations ended in 1454. (Table 2.2) The content of the treaty did not have crucial changes and was like the insurance of the former ones.²⁶³ The relations with the Venetians remained peaceful until the Ottoman – Venetian Wars (1463-1479) for the sake of the control of the Balkan shores and the Aegean islands.²⁶⁴ At this point, it should be added that, Mehmed II provided privileges to the Florentines in terms of freedom in trade in the Ottoman lands as a rival to the Venetian parti.²⁶⁵ To wrap up the policies of Mehmed II, renowned as Mehmet the Conqueror, especially his economic development strategies, it can be said that, Ottoman treasury witnessed a great deal of wealth under his rule. Where he maintained freedom in trade in the Ottoman lands, having a residency at the same time was limited and required special permission. Customs taxes increased not only in amount but also in the number with the multiplication of customs stations.²⁶⁶ Heavy taxation in the possession of agricultural lands was

trading freely, and exemption from the customs and taxes. These decrees of the treaty, in a way, point to the declining power of the Principality.

²⁶¹ For instance, Genoese in Pera, although remained neutral during the siege of the City, ran away while the Ottomans plundered this newly conquered land. İnalçık (1973), p.140. Soon Mehmed II, from then on renowned as Mehmed the Conqueror, gave an end to the pillage of the City, returned the Latins and the Greeks their properties for the purpose of rapid development and prosperity of the new capital of the Ottoman Empire. Fleet (1999), pp. 124-125, 127. Also referring to Dukas, she mentions that Zağanos Paşa, the vizier of Mehmed II, persuaded the Genoese not to flee and assured them the sultan's friendly intentions and promised them better treaty agreements than the former Byzantine emperor. Fleet (1999), pp. 128-129. Hess A. C. (1970), "The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborne Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1453-1525", *American Historical Review*, 75/7, p. 1901.

²⁶² Fleet states this as "In 1454 Magister Petro di Cremona instructed his procurators to rent out his houses and vineyards both within and without Pera while Antonio di Cabella gave instructions for the sale of his small wooden house in the *bassali* of Pera, above the dockyards, to be sold". Fleet (1999), p.126.

²⁶³ Because, Mehmed II aimed to stabilize the situation in Constantinople, after the conquest and feel relaxed for his further occupations towards the west, namely to Serbia. İnalçık H. (1960a), "Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481) and His Time", *Speculum*, 35/3, pp. 415-417.

²⁶⁴ During this period, Venice searched for new allies in the East, like Uzun Hasan, the Akkoyunlu ruler. Due to the appearance of such a threat from the east Ottomans and the Venetians once more set for negotiations, however, Mehmed II succeeded to defeat Uzun Hasan, which was a severe disappointment for the Venetians. İnalçık (1960a), pp. 424-425. Hess (1970), p. 1904.

²⁶⁵ İnalçık H., Quataert D. (eds) (2000), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi I*, (H. Berktaş trans.) İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, p. 243.

²⁶⁶ For instance, the caravans leading from Tabriz to Bursa, stopped in Tokat and paid customs dues and when they reached Bursa they paid again. İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 245.

introduced. In short, he had very strict laws manipulated, which brought about considerable strain in the country.²⁶⁷

Bayezid II, the successor of Mehmed II, softened the stern economic policy his father adjusted to. This contained relaxation in the customs dues and taxation system.²⁶⁸ However, he was also eager to continue the foreign policy, which he inherited from his father for the vision of the state in worldwide economy.²⁶⁹ In so doing, even though the sultan is renowned for his engagement in building, construction and development activities more than his warrior character, Ottoman-Venetian wars (1499-1503) followed Ottoman-Mamluk wars (1485-1491) under his reign.²⁷⁰ Before the Ottoman – Venetian war, Bayezid II provided capitulations to the Kingdom of Naples, just like his father did to Florentines against the Venetians.²⁷¹ (Table 2.2) After the war, the peace treaty enacted between Ottomans and Venetians in 1503 was to a great extent the reflection of the softening Ottoman policy towards Venice due to the rise of the Safavid power in the East.²⁷² Hence, by the beginning of the 16th century, there were four main factors, which affected the progress of Ottoman economic policies, especially in the Levant. Brummet itemizes these as; the rise of the Safavid power in Iran, the decline of the Mamluk power in Syria and Egypt, the development of the Ottoman navy and the Portuguese entering the stage of trading activities with its naval expansion threatening the established trade relations in the Levant.²⁷³ In such context, the Ottoman Empire was the target of alliances proposed by the western and eastern states, due to their dominant situation in the Levant concerning trade routes and trade flow and its obvious desire to expand more. However, the Venetian-Safavid collaboration precluded with discontent, since Ottomans soon defeated Şah İsmail and took over his territory.

²⁶⁷ For more detailed account on Mehmed II's policies and legacies, İnalcık (1954), İnalcık (1960a), particularly p. 426. İnalcık, Quataert (2000), I, pp. 245-247.

²⁶⁸ İnalcık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 247.

²⁶⁹ He was eager to cultivate and encourage commercial relations with the Latin trading states and thus expanding and strengthening the Ottoman navy was of his primary concerns. Hess (1970). pp. 1904-1905.

²⁷⁰ İnalcık (1973), pp. 134-137. Brummet P. (1994), *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery*, Albany: State University of New York Press, p. 24.

²⁷¹ İnalcık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 243.

²⁷² In this treaty, privileges for Venetian merchants in the Ottoman territory were resumed and security in the eastern Mediterranean was assured for the benefit of the Venetian parti. On the other side, the Ottomans annexed some of the former Venetian territories and guaranteed the payment of an annual tribute in return. Spremič (1983), Brummet (1994), p. 22, 90. Simultaneously Rhodes unwillingly concluded a truce with the Ottomans, see Brummet (1994). p. 25.

²⁷³ Brummet (1994), p. 23.

When Selim I accessed to throne (1512-1520), forcing his father to abdicate, Venetians sent Antonio Justinian to congratulate and negotiate with the new sultan.²⁷⁴ Probably because of the rising Portuguese naval power, Venetians accepted decrees like the provisioning of an Ottoman fleet in the Venetian ports like Cyprus.²⁷⁵ Having settled the agreement with the Venetians, and establishing the control in the West, Selim I directed his attention to finish off the Safavid threat in the East and continue towards South to take over the Mamluk country, which he realized in 1514 and 1517.²⁷⁶ Yet, within the framework of Ottoman commercial and military policies, it was obligatory to control the East to realize the quest for their world hegemony and that's why he returned to his forefather Mehmed II's more aggressive policies.

Selim I's achievements had its impacts in two significant aspects in providing security of the power of the Ottoman Empire and even to enlarge it.²⁷⁷ First, getting rid of the Safavid threat, and more important than that, finishing off the Mamluk State, Selim I brought the eastern territories under the hegemony of the Ottomans. From then on, Ottomans had the control of the eastern and southern lands as far as Iran, Syria and Egypt and thus the trade routes and flow of trade in these lands.²⁷⁸ Economically speaking, Ottomans increased their dominancy in trade activities in the Mediterranean and even in between Europe and Asia. Yet, like Bayezid I did when he annexed the Principalities, Selim I renewed the trade agreements enacted by the Mamluks. He resumed the capitulations given to the French and Catalans by the Mamluks concerning their trade activities in these lands.²⁷⁹ Hence, even though not as extent in privileges as in the treaties with the Italian city states, the renewal with the agreements paved the way for the French to trade freely in the Ottoman territories for the first time. Second, when Selim I conquered Mamluk territory; he took the control of the caliphate, which would provide

²⁷⁴ Brummet (1994), p. 46.

²⁷⁵ Actually, they not only agreed to grant landing facilities in their territories but also renewed the amount of tribute paid to the Ottoman Sultan. Brummet (1994), pp. 46, 108.

²⁷⁶ Selim I, first defeated Safavid ruler, Şah İsmail in Çaldıran (1514), so that the myth around the Safavids as a rising power to rival the Ottomans collapsed. He then proceeded to Syria and Egypt and conquered the Mamluk territories with the victory in Ridaniye (1517). For further discussion on Selim I's policies see Brummet (1994), pp. 51-52, 60, 82-87.

²⁷⁷ Brummet (1994), p. 10.

²⁷⁸ From a geographical point of view, Ottoman Anatolia stood in a crucial position, linking the eastern Mediterranean to Iran, Iraq and Syria, and thus the trade routes connecting these lands. See Özbaran S. (1995), "Ottoman Naval Policy in the South". *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, (M. Kunt, C. Woodhead eds.) New York and London: Longman Publishing, p. 59. In addition, from now on now the Ottomans could easily integrate both the agricultural and the commercial resources of the newly conquered lands in the south into the imperial economy by way of controlling the Eastern Mediterranean. See Hess A. C. (1973), "The Conquest of Egypt (1517) and the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century World War", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 4/1, p. 72.

²⁷⁹ İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 243.

the Ottoman Empire a title to dominate the Muslim world.²⁸⁰ Politically speaking, this fact supported the Ottomans to manipulate the Muslims under their rule and also possessing the Holy lands for Christians and Jews as well, provided the Ottomans to strengthen the authority they aimed in uniting the subjects in the broad lands of the Empire.²⁸¹ Furthermore, the annexation of these territories resulted in taking the control of the pilgrimage routes as well, which in turn had positive economic consequences for the Ottomans.²⁸²

Nevertheless, the Ottoman Empire lived the most brilliant period and witnessed its peak in the commercial, military and political spheres as the dominating power in the world under the succession of the subsequent sultan, Süleyman I, renowned as Süleyman the Magnificent. In the early years of his accession to throne, he first accepted the congratulations for his succession by the Venetians and renewed the agreement for trading privileges, enacted between them under the reign of his father.²⁸³ Next, the conquest of Rhodes governed by the Hospitallers was necessary for Süleyman I, in order to protect the maritime routes not only for pilgrimage to Holy Lands but also for commercial purposes like maintaining the security in Mediterranean trade.²⁸⁴ After taking over Rhodes, Ottomans had to reconsider their priorities, which meant to choose between either to invest sieges and commands in the Indian Ocean against the Portuguese or to direct their energy to the West concerning the restructuring of the power balances in Europe.²⁸⁵

In the 1530s a new anti-Ottoman legacy or better to say a Christian League was united to end the Ottoman hegemony in the Mediterranean.²⁸⁶ However, the Christian League was

²⁸⁰ Now, the Ottoman sultan was the protector, the guardian of the Holy Lands. He was also the leader of the Sunni communities. Hess (1973), p. 61

²⁸¹ Hess (1973), p. 70.

²⁸² Hess (1970), pp. 1910-1911.

²⁸³ Williams A. (1995), "Mediterranean Conflict", *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World*, (M. Kunt, C. Woodhead eds.) New York and London: Longman Publishing, p. 42.

²⁸⁴ Vatin provides a detailed discussion on the reasons necessitating the conquest and preparations for the conquest of Rhodes by Süleyman and especially its consequences after. Vatin N. (2000), *Rodos Şövalyeleri ve Osmanlılar. Doğu Akdeniz'de Savaş, Diplomasi ve Korsanlık*, (T. Altınova trans.) İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp. 316-345. Hess (1970). p. 1912.

²⁸⁵ Williams provides a detailed account on reshaping of power relations in Europe. Williams (1995), pp. 42-44.

²⁸⁶ On the Ottoman side, Land campaigns even to reach Viennese fortresses were encouraged, while the navy reposed until the Hapsburg assault in Morea (1532). In those years, the unification of an anti-Ottoman legacy led especially by Charles V, known as the Holy Roman Emperor and also the leader of the Spaniards and the Venetians among the papacy and other Latin city states, was established. Both the Spanish and the Venetians had sanguine thoughts and provisions to shake the Ottoman naval power, which meant to agitate their hegemony in the Mediterranean. For the land campaign see Hess (1970), p. 1914. For the gathering of the anti-Ottoman league see Williams (1995), p. 48, Libby L. J. (1978),

defeated by the Ottoman navy in Prevesa (1538). Aftermath their defeat, Venetians had to negotiate on their former privileges with the Ottomans so did the Spanish with French. (Table 2.2) The 1540 treaty enacted between the Ottomans and the Venetians declared the tripled amount of tribute payment and the surrender of some Venetian territories on behalf of the Ottomans.²⁸⁷ Maintaining the control in the Mediterranean, Ottomans turned their face to Indian Ocean, where the Portuguese naval power intensified.²⁸⁸ Towards the midst of the 16th century, Süleyman I achieved to expand the Ottoman provinces as further south as Yemen, Basra and Ethiopia, which was similar in the amount of their territorial extension to north, west and east. As an indication of their universal sovereignty, the Ottomans intensified their domination even along western Mediterranean. The Ottoman frontiers bordered the Hapsburg territories to the northwest and they also reinforced their commanding position around the Black Sea region. Last but not least, the Ottoman Empire under the rule of Süleyman I was able to suppress the Safavid threat in the East and have the control of the caravan routes leading from Tabriz to Bursa and İstanbul.

All these territorial expansions pointed to the trade-based economic polity of the Ottomans. They aimed territorial expansion not only for providing income in the form of tributes, taxes and such regular payments, which contributed to the wealth of the Ottoman treasury but also for the control over the trade items, trade flow, trade centers and trade routes, both maritime and caravan routes, connecting these centers. Yet, the Ottoman desire to capture oriental trade and for this purpose first encounter the Mamluks and then rival the Portuguese showed in a way that Ottomans were in the pursuit of ‘world’ hegemony both in political, military and economical means. They were not merely in a conflict of ‘Christian-Muslim’. Instead, regardless of ‘Christian or Muslim’, or ‘Eastern or Western’, they either allied or rivaled according to what their political and commercial benefits required in the first place.²⁸⁹ (Table 2.2)

“Venetian Views of the Ottoman Empire from the Peace of 1573 to the War of Cyprus”, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 9/4, (Central Renaissance Conference), pp. 103, 106-112.

²⁸⁷ Williams (1995), p. 48.

²⁸⁸ By 1547, the Ottomans had the command of the Persian Gulf and rivaled the Portuguese. Brummet (1994), p. 120. As Özbaran claims, Ottomans were able to appear a true imperial power against the Portuguese active in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Özbaran (1995), p. 69.

²⁸⁹ For instance, Ottomans did not hesitate to conquer Mamluk lands for their political and commercial advantages. Then, automatically they renewed the capitulations provided to French by the Mamluks beforehand. However, in the quest for new allies later during the rise of the Hapsburg power in Europe, Süleyman once more negotiated with the French and provided them capitulations, granted them broad trade privileges in return of their support (1536). The Franco – Turkish alliance was even attained in military spheres. Ottomans supported French during the siege of Nice (1543-1544) and in return French supported the assisted the Ottomans in the occupation of Tripoli (1551). İnalçık, Quataert (2000),

In summary, as analyzed through peace treaties and trade agreements, Ottoman economic polities and their consequent reflections on the evolution of commercial activities may be considered in two distinct phases till the decline by the beginning of the 17th century. First is the early Ottoman period, which lasts from the establishment of the State until the conquest of Constantinople. Second begins with the conquest and ends with the end of the reign of Süleyman I. The conquest and urbanization process of the new capital of a world empire had its outcomes in determining the future of the already existing trade centers in Anatolia as well as the emergence of new ones. More important than all, growth of Constantinople, as the Ottoman capital İstanbul, effected the transformation of overseas trade into regional trade, which corresponds to the alteration in flow of trade, especially in Western Anatolia. Yet, Ottoman Empire reached its peak both in political and military strength and in economic power, which was also displayed in the Empire's territorial expansion and control of trade routes between East and West. (Figure 2.19) Accordingly, transaction of commodities, development and reduction of urban centers in relation to trade activities and flow of trade items in Western Anatolia can be evaluated in comparison to the Principalities period.

2.4.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers and Flow of Trade

Similar to the Principalities period, commodities, which predominate in trade activities, especially in Western Anatolia, display a variety ranging from agricultural products, domestic animals, to particular industrial products. Grain, dried vegetables and fruit take in a significant place within agricultural products of this part of Anatolia for commercial activities. Horses and cattle are included within live-stock trade items as domestic animals. Industrial commodities consist of textiles like cotton, wool, and silk, leather such as sheepskin, goats hide, and maroquin, and finally alum and metals such as silver, copper, and tin. Hence, slave trade maintained its prominence within eastern Mediterranean commercial movements through the Ottoman governance.

I, pp. 243-244. Jensen D. L. (1985), "The Ottoman Turks in the Sixteenth Century French Diplomacy", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 16/4, pp. 453-455, 458-459. Reciprocally then, Ottoman dominance in the broad lands extending from West to East and North to South was promoted by their Christian allies. For instance, they were on the Ottoman side to guarantee their trade activities in the Mediterranean encouraging their control in the Red Sea to maintain the continuity and constancy of the flow of eastern trade items, commodities to the West against the proposed flow patterns, trade routes by the Portuguese rather than the Mediterranean. For this discussion on the French support for the Turkish control in the Red Sea, see again Jensen (1985), p. 61.

In view of that, Fleet adheres importance to slave trade, among grain, cloth and alum, which intensely took place between the Ottoman and the Western States.²⁹⁰ As an important commodity for the economic cultivation of the Ottoman State, slave trade continued in the markets of the Western Anatolian urban centers like Ayasoluk, Balat, Makri, in the Karesi lands, and finally in the former capital of the State, Bursa.²⁹¹

In addition to slave trade, food production and trade of agricultural products were crucial in the conduction of Ottoman economy. In terms of food production and agricultural commodities, grain trade can be evaluated initially. Western Anatolia was a significant grain supply area in the eastern Mediterranean and transaction of grain trade was held between the Ottomans and the Latins in the 14th and first half of the 15th centuries. Similar to commercial relations established between the Genoese, Venetian parties and the Menteşeoğlu and

²⁹⁰ Yet, Fleet particularly focuses on the period until the conquest of İstanbul Fleet (1999), p. 25.

²⁹¹ Ottoman pursuit for a more active trade policy than that of the Aydınoğlu and Menteşeoğlu Principalities, particularly during the reign of Bayezid I, had its impacts on the slave commerce. According to an agreement signed between Bayezid I and Hospitallers of Rhodes in 1393, Ottomans were given the privilege to sell slaves not only in their own territories but also on the Aegean islands. Fleet (1999), pp. 37-39. Thus, it can be said that, slave markets those controlled by the Ottomans were spread in a wide range of provinces in and around Western Anatolia. The slaves traded between the Latin and the Ottoman merchants mostly comprised local Greeks, in other words the Orthodox Christians. Turkish slaves were also among the traded items. They were bought and sold in the Venetian and Genoese markets, mainly in Venice, Genoa and Chios. For further discussion on this issue see Fleet (1999), pp. 40, 42-43. Yet, all these slaves were also possessed by the Ottomans to contribute to another industry for the good of the Ottoman economic development and growth of trade. For instance, by the late 15th and the subsequent 16th centuries, as Bursa grew as a significant silk production and trade center, considerable number of slaves were engaged in silk industry either as weavers or as assistants to merchants. See on this issue Faroqhi S. (1994), "Labor Recruitment and Control in the Ottoman Empire", *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*, (D. Quataert eds.) New York: State University of New York Press, p. 20. Sahillioğlu H. (1985), "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries", *Turcica*, XVII, pp. 43-112. In fact, İnalçık states that population of Bursa exceeded that of İstanbul by the middle of the 15th century, since the city was both a trade center between Anatolia and Rumelia and a very significant warehouse of silk industry even in the early years of the century. After the conquest and subsequently the shift of the capital, Bursa maintained its significance not only as an active trade center but also as an administrative center of several Anatolian *mukataas* [tax farms]. In these circumstances, slaves were the inseparable part of the silk industry that supported silk trade not only as labor force in manufacture but also as subordinates to the master merchants. At this point, it is possible to argue that even though the Ottoman-Persian wars, beginning with the reign of Selim I had its impacts on the silk industry, resulting in obstructions in the trade of Iranian silk, slavery as a contributor to this sector was not considerably effected. Because, a shift occurred from the trade of Iranian silk to an increase in the production of particularly raw silk. As a final point, it can be claimed that, slave trade held an important position in the cultivation of Ottoman economy beginning with the establishment of the State and continuing through its evolution into a powerful world empire. For further information on this discussion silk industry and the related slave trade in Bursa see İnalçık H. (1960b), "Bursa: XV. Asır Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihine Dair Vesikalar", *Belleten*, XXIV/93, p. 45. Çızakça M. (1980a), "A Short History of the Bursa Silk Industry", *Journal of the Economic and the Social History of the Orient*, XXIII, pp. 142-143. Çızakça M. (1980b), "Price History and the Bursa Silk Industry: A Study in Ottoman Industrial Decline, 1550-1650", *The Journal of Economic History*, 40/3, pp. 538-541.

Aydinoğlu Principalities concerning the import of Western Anatolian grain, Ottomans signed contracts for grain export to the West.²⁹² This general picture of overseas grain trade flow in Aegean coasts, actively taking place between the West and the Ottomans, transformed into regional trade flow in Western Anatolian territories, as a response to the increasing demands to feed the new capital, İstanbul.²⁹³ After the conquest, the Western traders were not as active in Ottoman lands as they had been once, especially in Western Anatolia.²⁹⁴ Yet, illegal grain trade with the Europeans continued in the markets of Makri, Döğër, Köyceğiz, Pırnaz, and Urla.²⁹⁵

²⁹² For instance, as dictated in the 1387 treaty between Murad I and the Genoese, Genoese imported wheat, barley and millet from the Ottomans in 1387. Likewise, as early as 1333, Venetians agreed with the Ottomans for grain import into Crete. As Fleet states, “In 1333 the signora decided that officials of Crete should themselves handle the agreement with Orhan for the import into Crete of horses and grain”. Fleet (1999), p. 65. However, the annexation of the Principalities for the first time by Bayezid I, instigated a fracture and fluctuation between Ottoman-Latin grain trade. The upheaval of Ottoman power in the last decade of the 14th century resulted in the reduction of grain import from Western Anatolia and questioned the reliability of the region as a grain source for the Latin part. Ottomans controlled and manipulated the markets, directed the flow of goods as they desired, where Bayezid I forbade the export of grain after his capture of Menteşe and Aydın. Fleet, referring to Dukas claims that Bayezid I even imposed a ban on grain export from Macedonia. What’s more, the first siege of Constantinople by Bayezid I had also its consequences in grain trade, concerning the increase in the prices of food-supplies, within which grain took the lead, in Byzantium. In the end, even though Western Anatolia was not the most important grain source for the Western City States, Latins imported large quantities of grain from here, and at times of troubles of availability in other grain supplying regions such as Thrace and Black Sea, the territory gained utmost significance for them. For further discussion on grain trade see Fleet (1999), pp. 63, 65, 69, 71.

²⁹³ For instance, İnalçık states that, in order to nourish the capital of the Empire and feed the armies on the battles, Western Anatolia functioned as a significant grain supplier. Yet, he also adds, Western Anatolia together with Albania comprised the major wheat sources of Venetians, by way of whether legal or particularly illegal exchange, even in the second half of the 16th century. İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, pp. 231-233.

²⁹⁴ Capitalization of İstanbul not only effected overseas trade in this part of Anatolia but also had consequences in grain circulation between Anatolia and other Ottoman provinces. Faroqhi claims that, circulation of grain, other than to the capital, was under strict regulation that would not allow transport of this item without special permission. The local boat-owners along the Western Anatolian coasts and Aegean islands were expected to be utterly occupied in supplying İstanbul with grain. Yet, in reality a great many of these boatmen were also involved in illegal trade activities, where they delivered grain to Europeans. Faroqhi S. (1984), *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 82-85. See also previous nt. Above and İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, pp. 231-233.

²⁹⁵ For instance, Faroqhi mentions the complaints of the *kadı* [local judge] of Rhodes that, here, *karamürsel* owners, who brought in grain from Makri, Döğër, Köyceğiz and Pırnaz sold grain to European traders. Regional grain trade in the Ottoman lands was also carried out between Anatolia and the Aegean islands that Anatolia sometimes bought grain from the island markets. For instance, grain collected as taxes for the *beylerbeyi* of Algiers in Lemnos Island, was highly demanded in Urla markets. Faroqhi (1984), p. 85. Yet, regional grain trade was limited within the Empire and was subject to special permission like in some Western Anatolian centers. Because, as claimed by Faroqhi with reference to Güçer, in order to develop even into a *kaza*, [low-level administrative unit], that settlement had to have be self-sufficient grain stocks. Faroqhi (1984), p. 191. See also, Güçer L. (1951-52), “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Dahilinde Hububat Ticaretinin Tabi Olduğu Kayıtlar”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 13/1-4, pp. 79-98.

Besides grain trade, Western Anatolia was renowned for production and trade of vegetables and dried fruit. In other words, the region was a significant province of the Empire in terms of food trade. Concerning food trade; grocers, bakers, makers of *börek*, puff pastry and helva, butchers, drug-sellers, cook shops and syrup manufacturers had their specific *çarşıs*, markets.²⁹⁶ The specialization and distribution of the markets generally reflected the agricultural production of the surrounding area. For instance, Tire and Bergama had rice markets and in addition, Tire had a fruit market, plus, special spaces were reserved for the sale of chestnuts, apples, grapes here and other than that *pekmez* [grape syrup] was sold in a particular part within the town's commercial district.²⁹⁷ Similar to Tire, grape production, and dried grape trade was widespread along the Aegean coasts. While grapes produced on the west of the Aegean were oriented to export markets for English and Venetian merchants, the ones produced on the east of the Aegean and their output products like grape syrup, raisins and pickles were entirely reserved to meet the needs of İstanbul and grape sale for wine producers from Foça, Menemen and Ayazmend, Altınova was strictly forbidden by the Ottoman government.²⁹⁸ In addition, İnalçık lists the food-stocks and their production and trade centers, which serve for nurturing the capital through the maritime routes. İzmir, Kuşadası, Edremit, Foça, Yeni Foça, Karaburun and İstanköy provide raisins and dried figs, Edremit and Midilli supply olives, olive oil and fruit and finally most of the Aegean ports grant oranges, tangerines and grapefruits.²⁹⁹

Food supply was not limited to agricultural products that regional trade of livestock animals and dried meat within the Ottoman lands contributed to respond to the needs of the rapidly growing capital. For example, Aegean islands brought in dried beef to İstanbul.³⁰⁰ Actually, Western Anatolian urban centers close to the coast were rather trading spots for livestock animals like sheeps than pastures provided for the raise of animals. Faroqhi mentions the heading of sheep breeders of inland Anatolia to Aegean Plains of Aydın and Saruhan, continuing by the course of the Menderes River.³⁰¹

²⁹⁶ Faroqhi (1984), p. 32.

²⁹⁷ Faroqhi (1984), p. 32. For further information on trade in Tire see in Chapter 5, 5.1.3. Social and Economic History of Tire (14th – 16th Centuries).

²⁹⁸ Faroqhi (1984), pp. 81-82.

²⁹⁹ İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, pp. 228-229.

³⁰⁰ İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 228.

³⁰¹ Faroqhi further determines the road leading from Beyşehir, reaching Burdur and finally ending in the small port of Marmaris, which probably housed illegal trade of sheeps to western merchants and inhabitants of Rhodes. Faroqhi (1984). p. 224. She continues that, the general crisis in stockbreeding in the 16th century seems to effect Anatolia as well. Due to the production of soap from animal fats in certain parts of Western Anatolia, there was a reduction in raw material. For instance,

Animal breeding and trade comprised a significant part of a larger economy. The industrial products, which were manufactured from animals comprised soap, leather and hide, particularly goatskin, sheepskin, goatshide and especially tanned leather, all widespread commodities in Anatolian trade. In the 15th century, Latins exported tanned leather from Balat, and also goatskin from Gelibolu, and sheepskin and leather from Bursa and Edirne.³⁰² Leather trade did not only cover the export of leather products. By the 16th century, Çeşme, Ayazmend, Altınova and Tuzla, probably Behram Tuzlası were important centers in Western Anatolia, which produced tanning agents for leather manufacture and leather trade.³⁰³ Finally, certain centers in the region were renowned for particular types of leather manufacture such as the production and trade of *sahtiyan* [fine leather] in Manisa.³⁰⁴

In addition to leather trade and even more prevailing than that, textile manufacture and trade, encompassing commodities like cotton, silk, and wool was crucial in Ottoman economic development. Akin to the former Principalities period, luxurious fabrics were imported into Anatolia, and in turn, Anatolia exported both raw materials and expensive, worked tissues. In the following, such significant centers of particular textile production as Lazkiye renowned for manufacturing good-quality cloth and Alaşehir recognized for producing *çuha* [special woolen cloth] maintained their prominence in textile trade during the Ottoman era.³⁰⁵ However, cotton, silk and wool were the dominating commodities within Ottoman textile manufacture and trade.

To begin with, Anatolia was a significant cotton producing and exporting area.³⁰⁶ Hence, cotton was not only produced but also exported in Western Anatolia, for instance in the

referring to *mühimme defterleri* [registers of ‘important affairs’] Faroqhi states that in the imaret of Murad III in Manisa, goat’s meat was served to visitors instead of sheep because of shortage in the region and to overcome this problem the administration in İstanbul permitted the annual delivery of 6000 sheeps from Rumelia by way of Gelibolu to Western Anatolia. Faroqhi (1984), p. 225. Hence, the intensification of stockbreeding and live-stock animal trade, primarily in Western and Central Anatolia had its reflections on the number of the butchers, whose homelands were located in these provinces. Manisa and Aydın were of the Western Anatolian urban centers renowned for their butchers, working in İstanbul. Faroqhi (1984), pp. 229, 232.

³⁰² Fleet (1999), p. 30.

³⁰³ Demands for these agents were considerably high, where there was the capital on one side and the European traders on the other. Obviously, the capital had to have the privilege, however, the local inhabitants in these centers found a way to carry on trade with the Westerners. Faroqhi (1984), p. 159.

³⁰⁴ Faroqhi (1984), p. 161.

³⁰⁵ Fleet (1999), p. 97.

³⁰⁶ Çukurova plain prevailed in cotton production, in the 16th and 17th centuries, together with the *sancaks* of Aydın, Saruhan and Kütahya Faroqhi S. (1979), “Notes on the Production of Cotton and Cotton Cloth in 16th and 17th Century Anatolia”, *The Journal of the European Economic History*, 8/2, pp. 406-407, 411, 413.

port of Foça.³⁰⁷ A more significant urban center regarding cotton trade was Tire. This Western Anatolian town, containing a considerable number of *hans* in its commercial center, reserved particular spaces of these for cotton manufacture and trade like Pamuk Hanı.³⁰⁸ Cotton thread was possibly produced in the nearby rural areas around such as Aydın, Güzelhisar and Akçeşehir and however cotton cloths were mostly woven in Tire.³⁰⁹ Similarly, cotton thread were spun in Ayazmend and Tarhala, in the relatively smaller and rural centers and woven and traded in Bergama, which is the largest center in the vicinity.³¹⁰ The significant centers of Western Anatolia, those engaged in cotton manufacture can be listed as Ayazmend, Bergama, Tarhala, Akhisar, Gördük, Tarhaniyat, İzmir, Bayındır, Tire and Amasyacık.³¹¹ In addition, Tire, Bayındır and Bergama were the places which faced illegal cotton trade to foreigners.³¹² By the end of the 16th century, the port of İzmir grew so vigorous in terms of cotton trade that in the beginning of the 17th century export of cotton was legally permitted here.³¹³

In addition to cotton, silk was also a crucial commodity in regional and particularly in overseas trade of the Ottoman Empire. Fleet names Bursa, the former Ottoman capital as the major silk emporium to which raw silks of the East entered and then exported to the West, especially to Venice and Lucca, the centre of the European silk industry in the 14th century.³¹⁴ Accordingly, it can be stated that, Bursa became the economic center of Ottoman economy by the midst of the 14th century. The considerable number of markets, the location on the convergence of the trade routes between East and West and silk industry prevailing in the city

³⁰⁷ Actually, cotton was exported from this part of Anatolia far to Southern and Northern Europe. As such, cotton exported from the port of Foça was sent westwards as far as Spain, shipped to Ancona and Majorca in the first half of the 15th century. Fleet (1999), p. 99.

³⁰⁸ For further information on the spatial transformation in relation to trade in Tire see in Chapter 5, 5.2.2. Making of the Urban Form of Tire: A Morphological Analysis. See also, 5.1.3. Social and Economic History of Tire (14th – 16th Centuries)

³⁰⁹ Faroqhi (1984), p. 29.

³¹⁰ Faroqhi (1984), p. 128. Plus, Dalsar argues that, cotton used for sailcloth for the Arsenal in İstanbul was supplied from the Aegean coasts, particularly from the provinces of Aydın and Saruhan and the town of Bergama. Dalsar F. (1960), *Türk Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihinde Bursa'da İpekçilik*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, İktisat Fakültesi Yayınları, p. 55.

³¹¹ Faroqhi (1984), pp. 135-136. for the map p. 134, also refer to table 3, pp. 306-307.

³¹² Even though cotton trade with the Western merchants was forbidden by the State, Faroqhi, depending on a collection of *mühimme defterleri* claims that, Venetians exported cotton together with *sahtıyan* and wax from these Aegean coasts. Faroqhi (1984), p. 136.

³¹³ Faroqhi (1984), pp. 136-137.

³¹⁴ Fleet (1999), p. 98. The markets of Bursa faced intensive commercial activities that, for instance, Iranian merchants coming to Bursa to sell their silk and other expensive commodities of the East bought here European cloths of precious velvets and brocades, and famous Florentine woolens, which they took back with them. See on this issue, Fleet (1999), p. 102. İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 276.

enabled Bursa to turn into a world market.³¹⁵ (Figure 2.19) After Mehmed II conquered Constantinople, he encouraged the already settled Latin merchants in the city to continue their inhabitation for his imperial purposes to rapidly cultivate İstanbul into a world capital. Genoese merchants resumed their routine commercial activities and remained as the vigorous buyers of silk in Bursa markets. At this point, İnalçık states that, a great deal of silk bought in Bursa was imported to Genoa from Chios through the ancient harbor of Çeşme, which is connected to Bursa by land routes.³¹⁶ The liveliness in the silk markets, specifically in Bursa, had to face a severe break up aftermath the Ottoman-Persian wars during the reign of Selim I.³¹⁷ Accordingly, there appeared an increase in the locally produced raw silk instead of Iranian raw silk.³¹⁸ Thereafter, there was a rivalry for the sale of raw silk to the West between the Iranians and the Ottomans. Yet, the lift of the embargo for the Iranian silk by Süleyman I contributed positively to the silk trade in Bursa, which resulted in uprise of textile industry not only of raw material but also of woven fabric.³¹⁹

³¹⁵İnalçık H. (1960c), “Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant”, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, III/2, pp.131-147. İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 270.

³¹⁶ İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 277. Ottomans and the Latins were not the only socio-ethnic groups indulged in silk industry. Due to the importance of eastern, Iranian silk, Iranian merchants, as Ottomans call them *Acem* or *Azemi* merchants prevailed in centers, those specialized in silk trade. As mentioned previously, Bursa acted as an entrepôt for Iranian silks traded here, which in turn, attracted a great number of merchants of various origins to engage in the commercial activities taking place in the markets. For instance, as cited by İnalçık from G. R. B. Richards, the Florentine merchant Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi, who resided in Pera in İstanbul from 1497 to 1506, particularly participated in the export of the Florentine woolens and import of the Iranian silk in Bursa markets. Moreover, as a typical Renaissance merchant, he also traded a variety of commodities like mohair, hemp, wax, spices, and alike. İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, pp. 280, 288-289. See also, Richards G. R. B. (1932), *Florentine Merchants in the Age of Medicis*, Cambridge – Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, pp. 147, 185-201.

³¹⁷The sale of Iranian raw silk in the Ottoman markets was strictly forbidden. The consequences of such precautions like lessening in tax collections, and the related decrease in silk business resulted in a decline not only in Iranian economy but also in the markets of the Ottomans and the Italians. Çızakça (1980a), p. 144.

³¹⁸ Çızakça emphasizes the fine quality of this silk produced, especially in the first half of the 16th century and in relevance Dalsar claims that not only Polish rulers in the West but also Iranian rulers in the East were fond of Bursa *kadifes* [velvets]. Çızakça (1980a), p. 144. See also, Dalsar (1960), pp. 156-157, for the texts of the related registers, pp. 190-192.

³¹⁹ İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, pp. 282-283. The merchant class of the Ottomans included urban notables as well as significant officers in the ruling cadre that Dalsar mentions the possession of 88 weaving shops by 28 court officials in 1577. Çızakça (1980a), p. 147. Dalsar (1960), p. 155. Yet, the active import/export of raw material of woven textiles displayed considerable decline towards the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. That was due to an ensuing world-wide inflation and the Western markets to which the Ottoman textile, particularly raw material for cloth manufacture is dependent. Now that, by the beginning of the 17th century not only raw material export was effected but also there emerged a competitive ground, yet against the Ottoman economy indeed, for the manufacture and trade of the woven fabric like cotton, silk and wool. For further details on the decline of silk trade in Bursa see Çızakça (1980b), pp. 533-550.

Wool was a significant item among textile trade in the Ottoman economy that, by the 1430s, western merchants exported wool, whether washed or unwashed, in the western parts of the Ottoman empire, comprising both Rumelia and Western Anatolian coasts.³²⁰ After İstanbul became the capital city, Western Anatolia became an area serving the needs of the city like most parts of the Empire. Even though not as frequented in cotton production and trade, and not as renowned as in silk industry, the manufacture and trade of woolens also continued in certain Western Anatolian urban centers such as Manisa, Birgi, Tire.³²¹ In addition to woolen, goats' hair treatment and sackcloth production were common in Western Anatolian centers. For instance, Birgi and Bayındır in Aydineli province were renowned for processing goats' hair for textile manufacture. Similarly, sackcloth also, was produced in Balıkesir in the province of Karesi, then brought to Bursa and traded in here. Lastly, within textile manufacture and trade, hemp production can be pointed out that hemp was a noteworthy plant for fabric manufacturing. During the 16th century, Tire, in Western Anatolia was one of the crucial hemp producing and processing centers, where the tradition continued in the peripheries of contemporary town in the late 1980s and still continues in its commercial district nowadays.³²² In short, in terms of textile trade and production, it can be said that, Western Anatolia housed significant manufacturing centers, laid along Gediz and Menderes rivers. Event though cotton production prevailed in the region and silk production abounded to the north of the region, namely Bursa, woolens, linens, and hemp were integral parts of Western Anatolian textile trade under the Ottoman rule.

Of the industrial products as important commodities of trade occurred in mainly Western Anatolia, alum production and trade occupies a significant volume. While the trade in alum was for the most part in the hands of the Genoese, in the 14th century, the Principalities later after annexation of their territories the Ottomans, too, traded alum. Foça and later Yeni

³²⁰ Fleet (1999), p. 100.

³²¹ For instance, according to the travel accounts of Tournefort, who visited Anatolia in 1702, Manisa was a significant center in cotton production and trade as cited in Faroqhi. Besides cotton, Manisa was a significant town for its woolens, especially for *çuha* [a particular type of woolen]. Faroqhi (1984), pp. 120, 137, See also, Tournefort de Pitton M. (1718) *Relation d'un Voyage du Levant*. II, Amsterdam: Aux Dépens de la Compagnie, p. 195. Similarly, Birgi and Tire were the other important Western Anatolian towns, where woolen manufacture took place and sales of woolens prevailed in the markets. Apart from woolen cloths, woolen rugs and carpets, raw wool was a significant commodity within regional and overseas trade in the Empire. As Faroqhi claims, the export of raw wool was not forbidden during the second half of the 16th century, however, citing from *mühimme defterleri*, she states that specific prohibitions were taken just in case of raw wool shortage because of excessive export. Faroqhi (1984), pp. 137-139.

³²² For further information on hemp production and trade in Tire see in Chapter 5, 5.1.3. Social and Economic History of Tire (14th – 16th Centuries)

Foça, as of the major centers of alum production and trade, were controlled essentially by the Genoese until 1445. Karahisar and Kütahya were of the other production centers in Anatolia.³²³ The annexation of Foça and conquest of İstanbul resulted in an increase in the alum prices and a reduction in the amount of alum export, yet, similar to other commodities, the flow of alum was oriented to the capital and regional trade replaced overseas trade for the most part.³²⁴

Another important commodity, which was traded in Anatolia under the Ottoman rule, just like it happened during the Principalities period, is metals.³²⁵ It can be argued that Anatolia imported metals from the West, but not necessarily in large quantities, because of its own resources of satisfying quantity and even paving the way for export of some metals such as copper to Western merchants.³²⁶ Additionally, in terms of metal trade, luxurious metals like silver and gold occupied a considerable volume that enlivened commercial activities along the Western Anatolian coasts, at least until the State grew into an empire.³²⁷ Metal trade did not only consist of raw metal trade but it also comprised the production and sale of metal crafts. Similar to specialization of the markets in terms of the sold products in food and textile stuff in particular towns centers in Western Anatolia, there were some markets specialized and renowned for cauldron making, copper crafts for daily use and alike in the Ottoman era. Even, the specialization on the crafts of certain commodities reached to a degree that, Tire had a market place dedicated to sword making.³²⁸ However, it has to be emphasized that Western Anatolia, in particular, was renowned mostly for its food production and textile manufacture and related trade activities. Except from salt, frequented in centers Ayezmend, Çandarlı, Menemen, İzmir, and Beçin, not a significant amount of mining, metal industry and manufacture of metal crafts took place in this province of the Ottoman Empire.

³²³ As Fleets asserts, during the first half of the 15th century, Ottomans farmed out their sources of alum to Genoese, guaranteeing income without much effort. In other words, they both exerted control and, at the same time, compromised for the sake of promoting trade that, they did not legally restrict alum export in their ports. Fleet (1999), pp. 86, 94.

³²⁴ Fleet (1999), p. 94. What displays the government's policy in trade activities, particularly in overseas trade activities including alum export may be reflected in the existence of a large *gümriük mukataası* [combined tax farm], encompassing the *gümriük vergileri* [customs dues] Foça, Çeşme, Sakız, Urla, İzmir and Balat, during the last years of the 16th and the first quarter of the 17th century. Faroqhi (1984), p. 114.

³²⁵ It is known that, Genoese imported iron, lead and tin into Anatolia sometimes through the Western Anatolian ports such as Balat in the early years of the Ottoman State. However, it is also known that, Anatolia, in any case, produced and exported metal in its own right. Like in the Principalities period, the region had metal resources of particularly copper, iron and silver. Fleet (1999), pp. 113-114.

³²⁶ For the export of copper, Fleet (1999), pp. 116-117.

³²⁷ Fleet (1999), pp. 119-121.

³²⁸ Faroqhi (1984), p. 33.

Finally, trade of luxurious commodities between Western merchants and the Ottomans can be mentioned. Wine and grape trade prevailed in Western Anatolia during the Ottoman times like in the former Principalities period. Grapes were exported from Balat and Gelibolu and imported into Constantinople until the conquest of the city. In addition to grapes Anatolia also produced and exported wine such as the pomegranate wine of Lazkiye.³²⁹ Nevertheless, subsequent to the conquest of İstanbul the export of grape and wine to the West probably declined and possibly monopolized by the State. Timber trade and soap trade in Anatolia are likewise monopolized.³³⁰ Now that the state controlled not only the sale of soap imported from the west but also soap production and trade like in Foça and Urla.³³¹ Last but not least, spice was a significant trade item within luxurious commodities. Saffron, sesame and especially pepper were exported from Anatolian centers, where there was a heavy pepper trade particularly in the markets of Bursa.³³² (Figure 2.20)

2.4.4. Trade, Road Network and Urban Centers

The detailed elucidation on trade activities with reference to trade items and flow of trade particularly from and into Western Anatolian towns paves the way for a discussion on the development and shifts on the former trade routes and the possible rise or decline of the already existing urban centers as well as the formation of new ones in the new era of Ottoman domination. Actually, as has been stated before, commercial activities and their relevant impacts on urban growth and prosperity of Western Anatolian centers functioned as they did under the Principalities rule. The turning point, where the types of trade, flows of trade and the probable effects of trade activities on urbanization changed, is the conquest of İstanbul. With the initiations of Mehmed II, İstanbul, the capital city rapidly developed and turned into the most populated and by far the greatest city of Europe by the 16th century with a population estimated between 300.000 and 700.000 inhabitants.³³³ (Figure 2.17) To feed and meet the requirements of this enormous capital, the manufacturers in most parts of Anatolia and

³²⁹ Fleet (1999), p. 76. Tuncer (2006), p. 423. In addition, Mehmed II is presumed to have drunk the wine of Beyşehir, while he was annexing those territories. Vryonis (1971), p. 483.

³³⁰ İnalçık (1960c), p. 147.

³³¹ Fleet (1999), pp. 131-132. Faroqhi claims that soap production in this territory began by the Genoese dominancy and the *han* founded by the mother of Süleyman I in Urla was occupied in soap manufacture and sale, however, the quality of this soap considerably decreased towards the end of the 16th century. Faroqhi (1984), p. 30.

³³² Fleet (1999), p. 27. İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, p. 289.

³³³ Faroqhi (1984), p. 43. İnalçık even states the population as 400000 rising to 800000, İnalçık (1973), p. 144.

especially in Western Anatolia worked to respond to the needs of the capital. Rather than continuing commerce with the West, they were oriented to İstanbul. As overseas trade altered into interregional trade, so did the trade flow patterns. Yet, these changes in the type and flow of trade had its consequences in shaping the urban network of Western Anatolia, through adjustment of the number and variety of the inhabiting population and socio-economical transformation.

The analysis of Western Anatolian towns considering the variety and intensity of ongoing trade activities, demographical composition of the towns, and their proximity to the road network during the pre-Ottoman era displayed a hierarchy of settlements within the urban network under four basic groups. First are the overseas ports, import/export centers like Ayasoluk and Balat. Second are the overseas ports, which lacked intense commerce as in the first group and were less active in interregional trade such as Foça, Kuşadası, and Makri. Third are the inland settlements, which witness high level of commercial activity in terms of interregional and to a certain degree, overseas trade like Tire, Birgi, Milas. Fourth and the last group comprise the less developed centers, which have a rather rural character, and which house mostly local production activities and market places only in the form of fairs like in Alaşehir and Kestel. This grouping system gave way to changes not only in the hierarchy in between towns, like a formerly overseas center turning into an interregional or even local one, but also in the types of towns according to their economic activity, like in grouping as trading, manufacturing and production centers due to newly determined criteria with reference to the developments and alterations by time in the Ottoman socio-economic context.

For maintaining coherence with hierarchy and highlighting the alterations and formations by the new Ottoman control, it seems better to follow the hierarchy of the former classification and highlight the variations whenever necessary. In this manner, first the port towns along the Aegean coast and then the inland urban centers are analyzed. To begin with, overseas port towns can be discussed to elucidate the transformations they witnessed after the mid 15th century under the Ottoman rule. For instance, it has been stated that, Ayasoluk was a lively and dynamic overseas port, which housed intense commercial activities through the Aydınoğulları period in the 14th century. Yet, it lost its significance as an urban center due to certain political changes over time, namely first with the annexation by the Ottomans and then with their conquest of İstanbul. Subsequently due to İstanbul's rapid growth into a world city, Ayasoluk turned into an regional, interregional port serving to İstanbul rather than an overseas one trading with the West. By the end of the 16th century, Ayasoluk transformed into a small, deprived village, as can be detected from the travel accounts of Evliya Çelebi, and illustrations

of Western travelers. (Figure 2.21) Because of the changes in production, flow of trade and road network, particularly İzmir progressed as the major port and replaced Ayasoluk. Besides, the already silting harbor of Ayasoluk and malaria problem as a result of the swamp formation in the territory affected the decline of this urban center.³³⁴ Hence, under the Ottoman imperial rule, Ayasoluk never again recovered and attained its active, lively times as before, while İzmir gradually turned out to be a significant port town adapted to overseas trade.

İzmir, once, in the 14th century opened the way for Ayasoluk to prosper as an overseas port since the land routes leading to İzmir were under the control of the Turks while the sea routes were dominated by the Latins and so that İzmir's economic and urban prosperity resulted in a stalemate.³³⁵ However, by the end of the 16th and particularly in the 17th century İzmir enlivened as an overseas trade center replacing simultaneously declining ports along the Aegean such as Ayasoluk and Çeşme.³³⁶ Hence, İzmir's rapid growth into a cosmopolitan, active trade port adjusted to overseas commerce emanated not only from the decline of its neighbor towns but also from its potential in both socio-economic and geographical, topographical terms to house considerable commercial activities. First, most of the Latin merchants were replaced by the Westerners like English, French and finally Dutch merchants through the end of the 16th century and these traders became integrated with the Ottoman economy. İzmir hosted merchants, who were engaged in the commerce of commodities such as Iranian raw silk, Aegean cotton and Ankara mohair, which were crucial European textile manufacture.³³⁷ Also, the crisis in silk industry in Bursa resulted in an increase in the raw silk flow to İzmir docks.³³⁸ Second, physically speaking, İzmir had a spacious and well-protected gulf and permits connections by rivers and valleys to wealthy hinterlands towards northeast, east and southeast. In other words the town is linked to important interior towns of Aydın, Tire, and Manisa through valleys.³³⁹ Third, and the most important of all yet at the same time fostered by all, the development of the caravan route passing through North Anatolia and finalizing in İzmir port, promoted the growth of İzmir.³⁴⁰ Due to all these factors, İzmir became

³³⁴ Akın (1968). p. 98, Foss (1979a) pp. 149-150, 185-187.

³³⁵ Ülker (2002), pp. 288-293.

³³⁶ Faroqhi (1984), pp. 119-120.

³³⁷ Arıkan (1992), pp. 66-67.

³³⁸ Çızakça (1980a). Çızakça (1980b). Faroqhi (1984), p. 120.

³³⁹ Goffman D. (1999), "İzmir: from Village to Colonial Port City", *The Ottoman City between East and West*, (E. Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters eds.) London: Cambridge University Press, p. 85.

³⁴⁰ As an alternative to caravan route passing through Baghdad, Aleppo, and finalizing in the İskenderun port, northern route passing through Tokat to Bursa and finalizing in İzmir port developed. See for further information Arıkan (1992), p. 67. Bilsel (1999), p. 225. Tekeli (1992), p. 128. See also

a center of overseas commerce in the Ottoman heartland and representing an atypical 16th century Ottoman port town.

It is possible to illustrate a general picture of İzmir within its socio-cultural constructs referring to Goffman and in its physical setting and relation of these socio-cultural constructs and the transformation of urban form referring to Bilsel in particular.³⁴¹ Goffman argues that İzmir emerging as an overseas trade center particularly in the 17th century thrived despite, rather than as a result of, Ottoman initiations and designs.³⁴² On one hand, the integration of Westerners to the Ottoman economy and the pertinent increase of Western merchants in Aegean ports multiplied. On the other hand, after the annexation of Chios (Sakız) (1566) Ottoman subjects of Christians and Jew formerly inhabiting in the island migrated to İzmir like some others from the nearby territories like Manisa, Aydın, Kuşadası, Menemen, and Çeşme, who altogether engaged in commercial business.³⁴³ (Figure 2.22) There was a rapid growth in the town's population, where number of the taxpayers increased to 658 from 307, by 1528-29 to 1574-76, displaying an impressive rise among the other centers in Western Anatolia.³⁴⁴ Now that, İzmir turned into a both overseas and interregional trade center from a local hub. In these circumstances, İzmir became a multi-cultural city occupied by multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-linguistic groups, and the city was for the most part developed by local authorities, other Ottoman subjects engaged in trade activities and European intruders rather than the central government.³⁴⁵ The populace inhabiting in İzmir was highly colorful, in terms of diversions in ethnicity, in the conduction of various trade activities and articulation of the social structure of the town by the end of the 16th century.³⁴⁶

With these in mind, in order to envisage the atypical 16th century Ottoman port leading in both overseas and interregional trade, Bilsel's study on the urban form of İzmir and its

Braudel who stimulated the arguments of the above mentioned scholars on the growth of İzmir due to the development of the caravan routes Braudel (1972), pp. 260, 285-286.

³⁴¹ For further details on the social and cultural groups in İzmir Goffman D. (1990), *İzmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press. Goffman D. (1999), pp. 79-134. Bilsel (1999). For further details on the urban form of İzmir see also Bilsel C. F. (1996), *Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L'Évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la Ville d'İzmir aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Paris: Université de Paris X – Nanterre.

³⁴² Goffman (1999), pp. 82-83.

³⁴³ Faroqhi (1984), pp. 114-115, 119. Goffman (1990), pp. 84, 142. Goffman (1999), p. 92. Tekeli (1992), pp. 126-127.

³⁴⁴ Goffman (1990), pp. 11, 14. See also Arıkan (1992), pp. 67-68.

³⁴⁵ Goffman (1990), pp. 21-23, 143. Goffman (1999), p. 83.

³⁴⁶ Clearly speaking, there were Armenians, who were renowned to set off an overseas commerce web for they built a silk mart in the port, Jews who had secured their political position as Ottoman financial administrators serving as tax collectors, Arabs who organized the trade flow through the caravan routes as camel drivers and finally the local Turkish settlers, who acted as merchants or were state officials, forming the greatest percent of the town's population. Goffman (1990), p. 77.

gradual transformation from 17th to 19th century in particular is considerably revealing.³⁴⁷ Throughout the morphological analysis, Bilsel argues about the juxtaposition of various settlement patterns in the urban form of İzmir, where she questions the association of these patterns with various cultures in the city. In other words, she analyzes the settlement pattern to find whether quarters of varying settlement patterns correspond to differing ethnic groups, or reflect the functional zoning in which a commercial center can be distinguished, or the role of topography in shaping the urban form can be pointed.³⁴⁸ In the end, she deduces that these differing morphological formations are in fact the product of different periods. (Figure 2.23) It is also possible to trace a functional zoning in the urban pattern of the town.³⁴⁹ A comparative regular pattern prevails in the commercial area than the intricate layout of the residential quarters. More significant than that, the commercial edifices and hence commercial district is located at the junction of the major arteries passing through the town.³⁵⁰ Accordingly, as Bilsel emphasizes, the structure of the town is developed predominantly in relation to the major trade routes passing through the town, which encourage the growth of the commercial district and the construction of the commercial edifices like the *hans* and the *bedesten* at their junction. To sum up, it can be said that, the atypical urbanization of İzmir on account of overseas and also interregional trade and the trade routes, as well as the related socio-cultural diversity, occurred towards the end of the 16th century and culminated through the subsequent centuries.³⁵¹

Yet, the typical 16th century Ottoman port towns in Anatolia were modest settlements even including the largest ones of Trabzon and Sinop by the Black Sea and Antalya by the eastern Mediterranean coasts. Referring to *tahrir defterleri* [tax registers], Faroqhi lists the

³⁴⁷ Bilsel (1999), pp. 226-230, 232. See also Bilsel (1996), and for the probable urban image of the city see Goffman's description of 17th century İzmir, Goffman (1999), pp. 102-103.

³⁴⁸ For instance, the organic urban patterns of the Turkish quarters, where the streets end with blind alleys differ from the quarters of Franks. Bilsel (1999), pp. 226-229. See also Bilsel (1996), for further details. In addition, Goffman states that, besides the Ottoman subjects of differing ethnicities and religions, Westerners residing in the Street of Franks in particular, had their own quarters with consulates, residences and alike. He further argues that these people had a few dozen taverns, coffee houses, several churches and yet promenades and theaters. Goffman (1999), p. 102.

Here, the urban pattern is composed of narrow continuous streets in between two major parallel streets along the sea shore, which in a way indicate the differing daily life of Franks integrating commerce and residential units, from the private, introverted neighborhood life of the Turkish populace. The Street of Franks, which is known to exist in the 17th century, running parallel to the seashore by the harbor, probably had its roots of emergence dating to the ends of the 16th century, since a great variety of traders encompassing Westerners, non-Muslim Ottomans and even Arabs concurrently inhabited in İzmir.

³⁴⁹ Bilsel (1999), pp. 227-229.

³⁵⁰ Bilsel (1996), pp. 147-150.

³⁵¹ In this sense, Faroqhi states that the town of İzmir, in its social and particularly physical setting reflects the duality of being overseas as well as regional urban center acting in response to the dual functions of ongoing trade activities. Faroqhi (1984), pp. 120-121.

Western Anatolian ports, which have 400-1000 tax payers as Edremit, Ayazmend (Altnova), Foça, İzmir, Ayasoluk, and Balat.³⁵² All the other ports, some of which had still active commerce, contained only a village market. As evident as in the atypically prospering and urbanizing center, İzmir, this general picture began to change by the 17th and especially in the 18th centuries with the increase of trade with the West following the decline of the central government's authority. Nevertheless, following the conquest of İstanbul and ultimately during the 16th century, when the empire lived its brilliant times, all these ports along the Aegean coasts did not considerably outgrow. In fact, the shift of overseas trade in other words, import/export activities with the Westerners came to a halt legally -however continuing illegally- and turned into interregional trade, and all the goods began to flow to İstanbul, the great capital. The government achieved to funnel most of the wealth and production of Western Anatolia to the city.

Settlements never consisting of more than two or three thousand inhabitants such as Ayasoluk, Kuşadası, Foça, Urla and İzmir –for some time during the 16th century- dotted the eastern Aegean shoreline, where merchants freighted commodities like grains, raisins, currants, figs, oranges, cottons, woolens, and others to feed and clothe the thriving capital of the Empire.³⁵³ (Figure 2.24) Thus, in terms of demography and volume of commerce, the Western Anatolian ports were evenly distributed under the imperial Ottoman rule. These ports served for regional trade flow, particularly to İstanbul, especially when the maritime routes became safer with the annexation of the Fertile Crescent by the Empire at the beginning of the 16th century.³⁵⁴ They were linked to inland production and manufacture centers, where commodities arrived through the land road network and after the provision of security in the seas, directed to İstanbul also from docks of these port centers. In any case, piracy did not stop to be a threat for the dwellers in the coastal settlements, by the ports. For instance, during the 16th century, the villagers in Makri, Fethiye moved their settlement to Üzümlü, a comparatively inland center for

³⁵² Faroqhi (1984), p. 75.

³⁵³ Goffman (1999), p. 87. To give an idea of this situation, information of the shipped commodities to meet the needs of the palace in İstanbul in 1609 from Western Anatolian ports is provided from Goffman. İstanbul demanded from the *kadıs* of İzmir, Manisa, Chios, Menemen, Nif, Foça, Güzelhisar, Ayasoluk, Marmara, Ilica, Birgi, Nazlı and Karaburun 2000 *kantars* of sultanas, 1500 of raisins, 150 of almonds, 150 of beeswax, 200 of olive oil, 200 of Urla soap, 500 of figs, 15 of pressed and spiced meat, 200 of wild apricots, 300 of honey, and 100 of dried pears, 200 boxes of figs, 200 of honeycombs, and finally 500 *kiles* of black-eyed peas. Goffman (1990). p. 34. Yet, referring to archival sources he adds that “in 1593, İstanbul, noting the diversion of black grapes in the environs of İzmir, Çeşme, Foça and Çandarlı, protested that Christians, Jews, and Muslims in İzmir were converting these grapes into wine and *raki*, and insisted instead that they produce grape syrup and vinegar, to be delivered to the capital together with sultanas, almonds, and figs”. Goffman (1990), p. 43.

³⁵⁴ Goffman (1990), p. 9.

security concerns against smuggling and piracy.³⁵⁵ At the same time villagers living in these ports were encouraged to dwell in and protect these lands by the government so that they kept these villagers exempt from regular tax payments to convince them to keep on residing in those territories like in Ayasoluk.³⁵⁶

In short, for the port towns in Western Anatolia under the Ottoman rule, it can be said that no such port stood as a rival to İzmir, yet by the 17th century, which prospered and urbanized as an exception among the others such as Foça, Urla, Çeşme, Ayasoluk, Kuşadası, Balat, and Makri.³⁵⁷ Faroqhi categorizes these ports as centers having intermediate markets, where they hosted between 400-1500 taxpayers, which corresponded to 1200-1800 minimally and 4500-6750 maximally inhabitants.³⁵⁸ Nevertheless, analyses of the reasons for why these centers came to a standstill instead of growing, indicates that serving to meet the requirements of the capital was not the only cause and there were specific grounds for the standstill of each port town. For instance, Ayasoluk and Balat suffered from their silted-up harbors, swamps around and the resultant problem of malaria.³⁵⁹ Foça witnessed its liveliest times under the Genoese domination with the intense export of alum. Kuşadası, although an active port, could not rival İzmir due to its comparatively limited hinterland. Marmaris could not increase the commercial businesses it housed before, however kept on to trade with Rhodes.³⁶⁰ Consequently, it can roughly be argued that, apart from İzmir, settlements in the Western Anatolian ports did not grow but instead, remained as modest settlements, for the most part due to the decline of overseas trade and its replacement with one-way trade flow towards the capital. (Figure 2.24)

³⁵⁵ Faroqhi (1984), p. 99. Faroqhi S. (1979c), "Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets in Various Anatolian *Sancaks*: İçel, Hamid, Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Aydın and Menteşe", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXII, p. 48.

³⁵⁶ Faroqhi (1984), p. 100.

³⁵⁷ For instance, as an attempt to visualize a typical 16th century Ottoman port in comparison to the atypical İzmir port, Urla can be considered. With 1337 taxpayers Urla was the second largest settlement in the province of Aydın, following Tire, the inland urban center during the reign of Süleyman I. The inhabitants of the town encompassed urban dwellers and already settled nomads as well as few non-Muslim Ottomans. The architectural attempts took place in this center encouraged the formation of a typical port town responding to the needs of the 16th century Ottoman Empire. Clearly speaking, *Valide Sultan*, Mother of Süleyman I, initiated the foundation of a *han* and 245 stores. For further details see Faroqhi (1979c), pp. 53, 61.

³⁵⁸ Faroqhi (1979c), pp. 47-48. Depending on these numbers, these Western Anatolian ports can be regarded as medium-size towns referring to the classification by Faroqhi and Erder in terms of demographical identification of urban, administrative centers. 400 taxpayers, which correspond to 1500 inhabitants forms a fair-sized town, 1000 taxpayers, which correspond to 4000 inhabitants constructs a medium-sized town, and finally 3500 taxpayers, which correspond to between 10.500-14000 inhabitants yields to a big city. Faroqhi, Erder (1980), p. 280.

³⁵⁹ Faroqhi (1984), p. 116. Faroqhi (1979c), p. 62. Faroqhi, Erder (1980), p. 276.

³⁶⁰ Faroqhi (1984), p. 117.

Hence, other than the port towns, some inland settlements displayed developments, prospered and urbanized, while at the same time some new centers emerged and grew and some already existing ones declined in the 16th century under the Ottoman rule. The biggest settlement except for the capital, which had a population of 300.000 – 700.000 by the 16th century, is Bursa, the former Ottoman capital in Northwest Anatolia with more than 3500 taxpayers and approximately 60.000 inhabitants.³⁶¹ After Bursa, the largest inland settlements in Western Anatolia, those prospered and urbanized as medium sized towns with between 1000-3500 taxpayers, for the most part owing to the amount of trade activities, are Balıkesir, Bergama, Manisa, Tire, and Lazkiye. Actually only Manisa and Tire were among the medium-sized towns in the first half of the 16th century and for instance, Lazkiye grew into a medium sized from a fair sized town during the second half of the 16th century.³⁶² Essentially, by the end of the 16th century, Tire among the others was the largest settlement in the region, which is as well reflected in its built environment, shaped to serve for the fervent commerce that took place there. Tire had a considerable number of *hans* and between 600-700 shops as part of *vakıfs* [pious foundations], which pointed to the significance of Tire as a trade center and largest settlement in Western Anatolia.³⁶³ (Figure 2.25)

In short, in terms of population size Western Anatolian towns can be grouped into two as medium sized towns (1000-3500 taxpayers) and fair sized towns (400-999 taxpayers). Where Tire is the leading urban center both in population size and the number of commercial edifices, it is followed by Manisa in the first half of the 16th century and in addition to Manisa, by Balıkesir, Bergama, Demirci, and Lazkiye, formerly fair sized towns. Among these centers, Manisa, for instance, is located on the slopes of Mount Sipylus and next to the Gediz Valley. On one side, the river enables the access of the town to large markets. On the other side the mountains protect the settlement and provide it with meat, leather, and carpets produced by

³⁶¹ Faroqhi (1984), p. 43.

³⁶² See maps comparing the towns in the first and second half of the 16th century in Faroqhi, Erder (1980), Map. 1,2, pp. 273, 285. For the analysis and discussions on the population changes in Anatolia, which influenced the urbanization and growth of urban centers in demographical terms, Erder L., Faroqhi S. (1979), "Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia, 1550-1620", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 15/3, pp. 322-345. Gümüşçü O. (2004), "Internal Migrations in Sixteenth Century Anatolia", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 30, pp. 231-248. Özel O. (2004), "Population Changes in Ottoman Anatolia During the 16th and 17th Centuries: Ottoman 'Demographic Crisis' Reconsidered", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 36, pp. 183-205. In addition, considering the variety of populace according to the registers compiled towards the end of the 16th century, Faroqhi gives the ratio of non-Muslim communities to the total population in the Aegean urban centers. Faroqhi (1984), pp. 275-276.

³⁶³ For a comprehensive discussion on Tire see Chapter 5, Tire in the Making (14th – 16th Centuries)

nomads living in the rural surroundings.³⁶⁴ As an example of towns, those prosper through the 16th century, Lazkiye can also be mentioned. Lazkiye which is renowned for its industry of fine quality cloths grew hastily during the 16th century into a medium sized town. It had a *bedesten* constructed, together with the nearby stores and workshops, the town constituted a trade center encompassing 150 shops as commercial units.³⁶⁵ As for the fair sized towns, they can be listed as; Edremit, Ayazmend, Tarhala, Akhisar, Menemen, Nif, Birgi, Alaşehir, Nazilli, Demirci, Lazkiye, Muğla and Üzümlü during the first half of the 16th century. The number increased with the growth of Simav, Milas, Ula and Pınaz, most of which were settlements located in the Menteşe province. Among these centers, Alaşehir is a center risen into the level of fair sized towns from a rather rural center under the Principalities rule. The recognition of Alaşehir for its special red-cloth industry, upsurge in dying workshops and the already existing surrounding of the settlements rich in agricultural cultivation contributed to the development of Alaşehir.³⁶⁶ (Figure 2.26)

With these in mind, it is possible to analyze and evaluate inland towns in Western Anatolia with emphasis on trade activities according to the type of trade that is a classification as overseas trade, interregional trade, manufacture and production centers. Hierarchically, at first place are the overseas trade centers, which actually reduced in number after the capitalization of İstanbul, to serve this great city's needs. Bursa, the former Ottoman capital is the most significant center in this respect.³⁶⁷ With its population of approximately 60.000 inhabitants and over 3.500 tax payers, Bursa far exceeds the other Western Anatolian urban centers in its intense trade activities as well. The colorful variety in the populace of not only Muslim Ottomans but also non-Muslim Ottomans in addition to Latin merchants of the West and Iranian merchants of the East enriched and enlivened the market places and commercial spaces in Bursa. Hence, regarding its built environment responding to the thriving markets of Bursa, it housed a great number of commercial edifices of not only shops but also *hans* and *bedesten* of greater scale and specialized buildings. These *hans* and *bedesten*, which, for the

³⁶⁴ Goffman (1999), p. 93.

³⁶⁵ Faroqhi (1984), p. 28.

³⁶⁶ For the dying industry in Anatolia in the 16th century, Faroqhi (1984), pp. 146-153, and for particularly Alaşehir, p. 149.

³⁶⁷ For a detailed account on Bursa, as a thorough recent study, Ergenç Ö. (2006), *XVI. Yüzyılın Sonlarında Bursa*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. Although cover the subsequent period, Gerber's research is also helpful in discussing Bursa, Gerber H (1988), *Economy and Society in an Ottoman City: Bursa 1600-1700*, Jerusalem: Hebrew University. In addition, Çızakça (1980a), Çızakça (1980b), Dalsar (1960), İnalçık (1960b), İnalçık (1960c), İnalçık, Quataert (2000), I, pp. 269-309, provide comprehensive analysis volume of trade, rise and decline in trade and commodities in the markets in Bursa referring to archival sources.

most part, specified for a certain commodity such as silk, grain, metals, and alike positioned in the heart of the old Bursa.³⁶⁸ (Figure 2.27) They together constructed the central business district of the classical Ottoman urban center, where it hosted concentrated trade activities.

Considering the Western Anatolian urban centers, in terms of trade activities, second and foremost are the interregional trade centers, particularly after the conquest of İstanbul, as import and particularly export left its place to the commodity flow to İstanbul. After Bursa, the largest center was Tire in terms of population. However, the nearby port of İzmir housed more number of commercial buildings and market spaces than Tire.³⁶⁹ This means rather than or in addition to direct flow from Tire to İstanbul, goods were also collected here and then channeled to İstanbul from the docks of İzmir. In other words, trade routes encompassed both the caravan, land routes and the maritime, sea routes leading to İstanbul.

Similar arguments can be made for Manisa, the largest interregional trade center after Tire, at the same time a medium sized town in the region. Similar to Tire, Manisa accommodated considerable number of markets, where commodities were either sold in these markets for feeding the town and its surrounding or funneled to the capital following the caravan routes or through İzmir port. Even so, Manisa was not as big as Tire in its population and as active as Tire in commerce. (Figure 2.25) At this point, it has to be remembered that Manisa, together with Amasya, was the seat of the imperial princes to make them acquainted with the governmental issues. Expectedly, Manisa was endowed with a great number of architectural complexes, and thus having attractions for a large populace. Yet, Tire was still ahead of Manisa for population growth, increase in the volume of trade, and also had a considerable number of architectural complexes built. Thus, it can be said that, the administrative character of an urban center may not be as influential as the intensity of trade it took in for urban growth. In this manner, Faroqhi and Erder claim that even though certainly valid, the heavily administrative character of Ottoman urbanization should not be overstressed for trade and trade routes are far more significant in determining the urban network.³⁷⁰ Accordingly Faroqhi adds that, “important market centers may at certain times have no administrative function and administrative centers may be commercially dependant on a nearby non-administrative town”.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Ergenç studied the still standing as well as the documented *hans* in the sources, Ergenç (2006), pp. 28-40.

³⁶⁹ Faroqhi states that the number of the taxpayers in Tire rised to 2400 in 1575 from 1600 in 1528-29. Faroqhi (1979c), pp. 61, 64.

³⁷⁰ Faroqhi, Erder (1980), p. 282.

³⁷¹ Faroqhi (1979c), p. 32.

After Tire and Manisa, which are larger interregional trade centers, Lazkiye can be mentioned. As the volume of textile manufacture and trade and additional commodities like pomegranate and wine increased in Lazkiye, this had its impacts in the rise of the population. In other words, as Lazkiye attained the level of medium sized towns by the end of the 16th century, it was recognized as a manufacture center and yet renowned for interregional commerce.³⁷²

Subsequently, third are the manufacture centers of fair-sized towns, such as Nazilli, Alaşehir, Birgi, Muğla, and some others. For instance, Nazilli developed into a fair sized town with almost 950 taxpayers by the end of the 16th century from a village of approximately 250 taxpayers at the end of the 15th century, due to its developing commercial activities.³⁷³ Similar to a smaller nearby settlement, Yenişehir, cotton might have been significant in trade of Nazilli. Towards the Southwestern Anatolia, Muğla, Milas and Çine were the noteworthy manufacture centers, which had markets places serving the local industry in the towns.³⁷⁴ Muğla housed by far the largest population than the other two. Actually apart from Lazkiye, Southwestern Anatolia had evenly scattered centers, which engage in similar volume and type of trade, not as urbanized and as varied as in Aydıneli province. This fact is probably due to the more number of nomad groups living in the territory. (Figure 2.24)

At this juncture, it is possible to mention the fourth group of settlements with regard to trade activities, as production centers. In other words, those centers which hosted local industries for the most part due to the heavy nomadic element in their population, such as in Menteşe province can be discussed.³⁷⁵ Most of the places in Menteşe between 1562-1587 had marketing centers for the exchange between peasants and nomads and, in this sense, there was a good deal of commercial activity in this area.³⁷⁶ Production centers of small settlements, mostly within the countryside, were not only present in southern parts of Western Anatolia. For instance, there was a small village named as Yarhisar near Alaşehir, where there were periodic market places.³⁷⁷ These market places may very much be likened to *panayırs* [fairs taking place

³⁷² At this point it has to reminded that, manufacture of goods was an integral part of interregional trade centers of inland settlements. For instance, the above mentioned largest town Tire in Western Anatolia, had spaces for cotton cloth manufacture, where it took thread from its nearby smaller settlements of production centers such as Aydın, Güzelhisar and Akçeşehir. Likewise, Bergama had a woven textile manufacture, where thread was spun in Ayazmend and Tarhala, in the relatively smaller and rural centers. Faroqhi (1984), pp. 29, 128.

³⁷³ Faroqhi (1979c), p. 62.

³⁷⁴ Faroqhi (1979c), pp. 65-67.

³⁷⁵ Faroqhi (1979c), pp. 65-70.

³⁷⁶ Faroqhi, Erder (1980), p. 286.

³⁷⁷ Faroqhi (1979c), pp. 62-63.

in the countryside] mostly, during the Principalities rule in Western Anatolia. The tradition probably continued during the Ottoman rule, which at the same time persisted on through the early modern age not only in Anatolia and Rumelia within the Ottoman borders but also outside the Ottoman territory, like in Italy.³⁷⁸

The network of these centers were woven habitually regarding the trade relations and flow of trade, which was both influential on and influenced by the road network, exhibiting the connections not only through the land routes but also through the maritime routes. In view of that, it can be articulated that the trade flow pattern treaded a path from the smallest units of production centers to the manufacture centers. Whether in these towns the commodities are sold or from these inland towns they are transferred to either to the capital, following the caravan routes by the land, or to the ports along the Aegean coast first, and then to the capital following the maritime routes. Not surprisingly, the urban centers close to this road network, in parallel to the trade flow pattern gradually developed. The closer the towns to the major routes, the more urbanized and the more trade engaged they are. In such a system that there is the capital at top, with heavy population to feed and clothe which to a great extent attracts the major trade flow and determines the hierarchy of the routes. Considering the road network, before and after the capitalization of İstanbul, the impacts of the shifts in trade flow and patterns can be detected on the either decline or rise in certain towns. For instance, in Northwestern Anatolia İzmit and İznik declined, while Bursa continued to prosper. However, there may be exceptions in such a construction as well. For certain cases, rather than proximity to the road network, isolation, just as the opposite, may be significant. For instance, Kayseri, a well flourished self-sufficient town, concerning the contribution of the surrounding smaller settlements in its vicinity did not have a crucial location within the trade road network. As the center is far from the capital and had enough trade activities and agricultural and alike production to meet its own needs to thrive and grow, it displayed remarkable development not because of but despite this system of trade flow and trade routes.³⁷⁹ (Figure 2.28)

³⁷⁸ For a comparison of not only small markets, fairs, but also market places in the comparatively big centers to the Ottoman towns, evaluate Faroqhi S. (1978), "The Early History of Balkan Fairs", *Südost-Forschungen*, 37, pp. 50-68. Lanaro P. (2003), "Economic Space and Urban Policies: Fairs and Markets in the Italy of the Early Modern Age", *Journal of Urban History*, 30/1, pp. 37-49.

³⁷⁹ For a more detailed discussion of the growth of Kayseri, Faroqhi S. (1990), "Towns, Agriculture and the State in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Anatolia", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXXIII, pp.138-140.

2.5. Conclusive Remarks

In this chapter, an extensive analysis of trade, trade relations, trade centers and road network in Western Anatolia under the Principalities and successively the Ottoman rules, is provided to be able to set the ground for rebuilding the spatial characteristics of Western Anatolian urban centers. In other words, within the context of socio-economic history, the changes and developments in the urban network and the possible attributes of trade in the physical setting of Western Anatolia between the 14th and 16th centuries are discussed. Accordingly, for the role of trade in shaping the built environment, particularly the urban scenery, the below arguments can be asserted.

First, roughly it can be stated that the increase and intensity of the trade activities stimulated urban growth, where populace engaged in commercial business is attracted to these centers. The more concentrated the trade activities and the larger the volume of trade, the more urbanized and the bigger the settlements. Second, type of trade, like overseas, interregional and local, had its impacts in determining the urban development. Accordingly, the urban centers in Western Anatolia can be classified with respect to the trade activities that took place there, which can be listed as selling, manufacture and production centers, hierarchically from the most urbanized to the least. Yet, and third, the type of trade at the same time determined the flow of trade, like commodities were produced in the production centers, then were channeled to manufacture centers and either sold here or were brought to larger urban centers, and marketed here. This flow pattern corresponded to the pattern of the road network. Where the smaller settlements of production were located on the tertiary routes, the manufacturing centers were on the secondary and finally, the towns, which had larger commercial markets on the major routes. Expectedly, the closer the urban center to the major routes, the more privileged it becomes in terms of ease of transportation, commercialization and thus urbanization. Last, spatial formations in these urban centers ensued responding to the needs of the commercial activities they accommodated. Where open markets, bazaars were frequented in each town, there were *hans*, mostly specified in certain commodities and in larger settlements a *bedesten*, housing luxurious items as well, which functioned as spaces serving for commercial purposes. Shops, within the property of pious foundations were hired for the most part to merchants. The shops were generally configured along the streets, which were specialized in the commerce of a specific commodity, similar to *hans*. Even so, there were shops scattered in any parts of the settlement area.

Focusing on Western Anatolia particularly, it can be concluded that this part of Anatolia is a significant and of a most proper region to display the interrelations of trade, route and urban network. Due to its geographical location, the region held considerable commercial activities in its ports as well as inland towns. Thus, regarding road network, the region stood at the intersection of both caravan, land and maritime, sea routes. Under the Turkish rule, from the Principalities till the Classical Ottoman era, the region housed extensive trade activities not only in producing, manufacturing, and selling but also in the wide variety of the traded commodities. However, the type of trade turned into interregional from overseas, the flow of trade shifted towards the capital, İstanbul from the West, Latin city states, where in this regard, the road network changed and finally some centers prospered while some declined from the Principalities till the Ottoman period, as can be detected within a discussion on the region from the perspective of its socio-economic history. Hence, where it is claimed that trade was a significant stimulant in the urban development and spatial formation in particularly Western Anatolian urban centers, there were other factors like topographical conditions, administrative and military features and political upheavals for influencing their rise and decline. Consequently, following this broad discussion of Western Anatolian towns with respect to their socio-economic constructs, these centers will be covered in detail in terms of their physical properties. In so doing, the probable influential town models, and their urban form and the constitutive components of their urban form such as building groups are studied in the subsequent chapters to realize a synthetic analysis on spatial formation, changes, and developments in Western Anatolian towns.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN DEVELOPMENT and INNER STRUCTURE in WESTERN ANATOLIAN URBAN CENTERS (14th- 16th Centuries)

In this chapter, Western Anatolian towns between the 14th and 16th centuries are discussed in terms of their physical properties, where their urban forms are analyzed and probable town models are investigated. While analyzing the urban form, the role of constitutive components of urban centers, that is, the role of architecture in the making of these towns is also taken into consideration. By this way, Western Anatolian urban centers are not only examined as towns as a whole, in other words, urban forms in complete patterns but also explored in relation to their constitutive components, in other words, special emphasis is given to the constituents of urban forms.³⁸⁰ Such an attempt will lead the way for a thorough spatial analysis of these towns between the 14th and the 16th centuries subsequent to a broad evaluation of them in terms of their socio-economic constructs. Yet, it will be shown on one hand, that towns are more than the sum of their constitutive components and on the other hand, that a synthetic, in other words integrated analysis on spatial formation, changes, and developments in Western Anatolian towns is simply possible by considering their both socio-economic constructs and physical setting and the interrelation between the two.

First, probable town models, which are likely to be either influential, or are influenced for their chronological, regional or cultural proximity, are analyzed. Second, a discussion on the development of urban form of Western Anatolia in history, with special emphasis on the medieval era, between the 14th and 16th centuries, is provided. Third, whether and how Western Anatolian towns can be related to these proposed urban forms in complete patterns, and whether a Western Anatolian Principalities town model can be proposed, is discussed. Then, the urban form of the towns is analyzed in relation to the constituents of these urban centers. Clearly speaking, the role of architecture in the making of Western Anatolian towns is briefly

³⁸⁰ See in Chapter 1: Introduction, 1.1. Approach and Main Arguments of the Dissertation and in 1.4. Scholarship to Date, 1.4.2. Studies on Urban History of Western Anatolia for how the methodology of the thesis is derived and what the approaches are in urban history studies.

mentioned. In this sense, particularly building groups are emphasized for they acted as “urban artifacts” generating urban functions and contributing to urban developments. Hence, throughout this chapter, it is attempted to take in a comprehensive analysis on the urban formation, changes and developments in Western Anatolian towns, where at the same time, keeping in mind the outcomes of the previous chapter, which endeavored to reconstruct the Western Anatolian urban and road network conditional on the political, and particularly economic and social forces of urban life.

3.1. Urban Models

Probable urban models for Ancient, Byzantine, Seljuk within which the discussion on the probable Central Asian and Iranian and Islamic town models is included, and Ottoman towns are examined below. Ancient towns are discussed because some urban centers in Western Anatolia lived through their most prosperous times, hence their climax in terms of urban setting during the ancient era. Then, the Byzantine towns of are examined, because it is the former settlement just before the Turkish rule in Western Anatolia, where Turkish groups settled. Next, Seljuk towns are analyzed because the Principalities, which were located in between the borders of the Byzantines and Seljuk, were half-independent and half-vassal communities of the Anatolian Seljuk State before. Hence, Seljuk settlements in Anatolia were the examples of Turkish-Islamic towns, with which the Turkish settlers initially met. Needless to say, Central Asian, Iranian and even Islamic towns were indirectly influential, through the Seljuk towns in making the Western Anatolian urban centers. To end with, Ottoman towns are studied to shed light on the probable makeovers these centers underwent through the subsequent centuries after the Principalities rule in the region.

All this discussion paves the way to track the continuous transformation of urban form in Western Anatolia. Moreover, it will be possible to distinguish characteristics of a Principalities town and its development or change towards the classical Ottoman age. In other words, the below analysis establishes the ground to discuss whether specific urban models can be figured out such as a Principalities, an Ottoman, or regionally speaking a Western Anatolian town model.

3.1.1. Ancient City

The urban evolution of the ancient city had its roots in the Bronze Age settlements.³⁸¹ As far as the emergence of the ancient Greek city is concerned, pre-ancient settlements of the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures can be explored at the outset.³⁸² Considering particularly Western Anatolia, rather than the Minoan, Mycenaean settlement patterns which display similar urban characteristics with the Hittites, who ruled in Anatolia, might have been more effective in these pre-ancient towns.³⁸³ Mycenaean settlements in the center of which the ruler's palace was situated comprised a strongly fortified area with an assortment of units, among which *megaron* is the leading architectural type.³⁸⁴ Yet, these compact, densely knit, robustly fortified settlements underwent significant evolution during the subsequent post-Mycenaean period. They were replaced with loose, less concentrated urban arrangements, which suggested patterns of scattered and sporadic patterns of growth. During this post-Mycenaean and all at once pre-ancient era, corresponding to the period between the 11th and the 9th century B.C., the level of urbanization in the early communities in the Aegean was extremely low. Particularly, through the 8th century B.C. the Aegean settlements gradually recovered, for the most part, due to increasing contacts with the higher civilizations in the Near East, and the subsequent rapid developments and changes in the living conditions.³⁸⁵

These developments had their influences, whether affirmative or not, in the urbanization process in the early Greek towns. For instance, Smyrna had been occupied by Greeks from 1000 B.C., and steadily increased in population and expanded in an uncontrolled manner through the 8th century B.C. Unlike those settlements in the Greek Mainland, Smyrna suffered from unplanned urban growth. The inhabitants of Smyrna built the oldest urban fortifications in the region, due to the lack of natural defenses offered by the site.³⁸⁶ There was

³⁸¹ R. E. Wycherley emphasizes the role of the Minoan and Mycenaean settlements in the emergence and development of the Greek cities, yet, in certain aspects, even though there are strong diversities in between the two. Wycherley R. E. (1993), *Antik Çağda Kentler Nasıl Kuruldu?*, (N. Nirven and N. Başgelen trans.) (3rd Revised Edition) İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, pp. 1-3. See also Aktüre S. (1994), *Anadolu'da Bronz Çağı Kentleri*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

³⁸² For a more comprehensive account on the Minoan and Mycenaean settlements see Gates C. (2003), *The Archaeology of Urban Life in the Ancient Near East and Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 121-139. Kostof S. (1985), *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 91-113.

³⁸³ For further discussion on pre-historic settlements in entire Anatolia see Aktüre S. (1994), *Anadolu'da Bronz Çağı Kentleri*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp. 91-177.

³⁸⁴ Gates (2003), pp. 131-139, Kostof (1985), pp. 91-113, Owens E. J. (1991), *The City in the Greek and Roman World*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 12-14.

³⁸⁵ Owens (1991), pp. 14-16.

³⁸⁶ Owens (1991), p. 15.

serious overcrowding within these city walls, and the unplanned expansion of the town resulted in the worsening of the living conditions of the city by the end of the century.³⁸⁷ Yet, an earthquake destroying the settlement paved the way for the implementation of an urban project in the re-establishment of Smyrna in the 7th century B.C. The town plan was earliest in the West in its organization within a dominating grid pattern, where buildings laid along the north-south axis –Athena Street, the major street of the town- facing to south to make use of sun and breezes from the sea.³⁸⁸ (Figure 3.1)

Finally, the urban developments continued through the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. The archaic period witnessed an upheaval in public concerns and in betterment of living conditions. Miletus is the leading archaic city in the Aegean in this respect, which was the most prosperous and the most uniformly urbanized.³⁸⁹ Even though these attempts in urbanization came to a halt aftermath the Persian attacks, the Aegean settlements soon recuperated. Towards the midst of the 5th century B.C., corresponding to the Classical period, the major components of the *polis*, Greek city and urban planning principles, nevertheless to a certain extent, were resolutely outlined. There was the *acropolis* that became a cultic center dedicated to the deity of the city, which was fortified on the defensive part of the settlement site and accommodated citizens in times of trouble. The *polis* grew by the *acropolis* and the *agora* was the heart of the *polis*, by inviting public buildings and events, housing commercial activities and attracting residential units nearby.

Architecturally speaking, there was brisk increase not only in the number of edifices constructed in order to cope with the needs of the growing population but also in the achievements for the sake of establishment and perfection of an architectural style. The progress and enlargement of the Athenian acropolis and Classical Athens is significant for this instance. Articulating from the urban point of view, it is, for the most part, not possible to mention straight, uniformly designed urban projects. Due to the expansion of the cities, evidently, the road network was developed and urban facilities were enhanced. However, regular and homogenous urban patterns dating back to the Classical era is few to observe. Miletus is a prominent example, which substantiates the use of grid arrangement of *insulae* units as the main principle in building up a city. (Figure 3.2) Even, this port town by the eastern Aegean coast is regarded to serve as one the key cities towards the improvement of rational

³⁸⁷ Owens (1991), p. 15.

³⁸⁸ Akurgal E. (1996), "Housing, Settlement and Urban Planning in Western Anatolia (3000-30 BC)", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia, A Historical Perspective, Habitat II*, (Y. Sey ed.) İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 139-141.

³⁸⁹ Gates (2003), pp. 215-216.

planning during the subsequent Hellenistic age. Hippodamus, the significant ancient thinker and planner from Miletus, instigated the use of grid, by proposing to divide cities into particular units. He was not an inventor of the grid system but a successful urbanist in making use of grid to implement his urban theories not only in Asia Minor and the colonial cities by the Black Sea coast like in Olbia but also in the Greek mainland like in Piraeus.³⁹⁰

To sum up, the Classical city underwent significant social, political and legislative developments. These were physically corroborated in the built environment with the attempts of improving urban life, ameliorating public facilities, revising infrastructure, and beautifying the city.³⁹¹ The worthiest contribution of the Classical city to the evolution and development of the ancient urban patterns, particularly, the leading one in the subsequent Hellenistic period, is the enhancement of the grid planning and the emergence of the ores of scenographic planning. The first comprised moving the use of grid arrangement to a step forward with making use of *insulae* units instead of the street system only, which resulted in more cohesive and uniform urban design. The second pointed towards the initial experimentations of scenic planning, by contriving the terrain, in other words, suggesting an urban design principle, that made use of picturesque landscapes and scenic topographies.

As noted above, Hellenistic period witnessed the culmination of both rational and scenographic urban planning. The reason lied in the newly emerging political, social, and economic conditions, which differed from the Classical ones of the city-states in this new age, beginning with the conquests of Alexander the Great. The Hellenistic Kingdoms took advantage of cities not only as a means to Hellenize the lands they conquered but they also exploited the cities as propagandistic means. Hence, at first place, grid planning was the most appropriate, the easiest, and the fastest method for founding new cities in potentially hostile territories.³⁹² Second, because of the use of cities as a medium for propaganda, control over and Hellenize the annexed territories, the Hellenistic ruler not only founded new cities but also modified the existing ones. They particularly transformed urban architecture and the related urban patterns. For instance, individual building types like theaters as entertainment spaces became apparent; defense structures like fortifications were restructured and fostered; urban

³⁹⁰ Kostof (1985), pp. 139-143. Owens (1991), pp. 55-57. Wycherley (1993), pp. 16-18. For further information on Miletus see also in this chapter, 3.2.2. Transformation of Urban Form of Balat.

³⁹¹ For a more comprehensive discussion on the characteristics of the Classical city both in social, political and administrative terms and in physical aspects, with reference to specific examples see Owens (1991), pp. 51-73. For Classical Athens, see Gates (2003), pp. 241-258, and for the developments from the 400 B.C. to 323 B.C., the so-called, late Classical period, in the Greek cities see Gates (2003), pp. 259-275.

³⁹² Owens (1991), pp. 74-75.

facilities like infrastructure and streets, particularly major ones were bettered; and even new routes feeding the main arteries were built.

In particular, the building and reinforcement of the fortifications denotes that, the Hellenistic city was remodeled not only due to mere defensive purposes but also to make the visitor or viewer admire and get impressed by the city both from outside and from within.³⁹³ (Figure 3.3) Yet, evaluated as a whole, fortifications start to relate to the city plan, in other words, parallel and coordinate with the street system by the Hellenistic period in comparison to the loose connection city walls and the plan layout when regular planning was first introduced in the Classical period.³⁹⁴ For instance, the original fortification of Miletus was to the south of the town proper, around Kalabaktepe, and regularly planned street system was not coordinated with the city gates before the Hellenistic period, when the new wall was constructed.³⁹⁵ (Figure 3.2)

Likewise, while reshaping the urban environment, monumentality was of paramount importance, both in the architecture of the individual buildings and as an urban design concept, which promoted the scenographic planning in cities whose topography and landscape consented. Especially, the Hellenistic Kingdoms of Western Anatolia were in the vanguard to work out settlement sites of steep slopes and irregular contours into astounding townscapes, like in Pergamon. While remodeling the existing cities in order to cultivate them as Hellenistic establishments, the rulers removed these settlements from their original locations. For instance, Smyrna was moved from the mouth of River Hermos to the slopes of Pagos Mountain and Ephesus was moved from Coressus harbor to the slopes of Bülbül and Panayır Mountains by Antigonos and Lysimachus, who were quite ambitious in the urban development and prosperity in these cities.³⁹⁶ Last but not least, the restructuring of the Hellenistic settlements was not limited with monumentalizing the already existing, traditional town. With urban planning strategies of rational and scenographic arrangements in mind, the Hellenistic settlement patterns were transformed in a way paying significant attention to aspects of symmetry and axiality in plan layouts. Before the end of the Hellenistic Age, there was already a tendency

³⁹³ Kostof argues about this twofold function of the fortifications and adds the contribution of the construction of monumental gates as well in establishing the Hellenistic city. Kostof (1985), pp. 174-175.

³⁹⁴ Owens (1991), p. 150.

³⁹⁵ Owens (1991), p. 150. See also in this chapter, 3.2.2. Transformation of the Urban Form of Balat.

³⁹⁶ Owens (1991), pp. 84-85. Scherrer P. (ed.) (2000), *Ephesus, the New Guide (authorised by Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut & Efes Müzesi Selçuk)* İzmir: Ege Yayınları, p. 17. For further information on Ephesus see also in this chapter, 3.2.1. Transformation of the Urban Form of Ayasoluk.

towards a primary, central axis in some of the Seleucid settlements of grid plans, as the major articulating component of the urban fabric.³⁹⁷ Still, in settlements like Asklepios at Cos or Lindos at Rhodes, exploitation of axial planning can be detected even independent of grid plan.³⁹⁸ (Figure 3.4) However, it was by the end of the Hellenistic Age and particularly the commencement of the Roman phase that these main axes, in other words, major arteries appeared in the form of colonnaded streets, giving way to crucial perspectives and vantage points to those strolling in the streets. Actually, it was during the Roman era that colonnaded streets realized individuality as monumental, significant public spaces of their own, apart from circulation routes or subsidiary spaces.³⁹⁹ They all at once acted as the main axes, through which the urban form took shape and grew.

The Roman town planning approach and design of urban space was for the most part based on the former achievements of the Greeks and the Etruscans, who ruled in Italy before the Roman domination.⁴⁰⁰ The Roman success and improvement in town planning and enhancing the urban environment was because they not only made use of the existing traditions of urban architecture and form but also combined these innovative contributions. They introduced new ideas, attempted to adapt these to any particular town, which led to a standardized, but, at the same time, a flexible approach to town planning.⁴⁰¹ To begin with, even in earlier examples of Roman urban architecture, there is both the improvement of the axial and symmetrical planning, which was introduced during the former Hellenistic Age and the exploitation of new architectural language with the use of additional curvilinear forms and an intense level of tendency towards systematization. In this respect, the Sanctuary of Fortuna in Praeneste in Italy is a very appropriate example, especially when compared with Asklepios at Cos or Lindos at Rhodes.⁴⁰²

As the Roman State grew into an Empire from a Republic, extended its territories wide enough to include the Mediterranean basin, the ruling elite had to deal with administrative issues for maintaining the central, imperial authority throughout its territories. The Roman rulers resolved this problem by altering and developing their administrative system. The imperial lands were divided into provinces, which had their provincial capitals, to which every

³⁹⁷ Owens (1991), p. 91.

³⁹⁸ Owens (1991), pp. 92-93.

³⁹⁹ Wycherley (1993), p. 29.

⁴⁰⁰ For a more detailed discussion on Etruscan architecture and planning and early Roman planning in particularly Italy, see Owens (1991), pp. 94-120. Gates (2003), pp. 297-334.

⁴⁰¹ Owens (1991), p. 120.

⁴⁰² See Kostof (1985), Fig. 9.19, p. 206.

city of the province was legally dependent.⁴⁰³ The central authority loaded a great deal of responsibility to the governors who are assigned in these centers. The governors and leading citizens were in a competition both within themselves and with the ones of other cities, to improve urban facilities, commission significant works of urban architecture and explicitly speaking to bring ‘Roman civilization’ to the cities they govern and live in. These circumstances paved the way for the Romans to establish and develop a concept and execution of urbanism comprising not only urban patterns of individual cities but also urban network and its supplementary facilities within the borders of the Empire.

Hence, during the imperial period the road network linking the urban centers and water supplying systems feeding these centers were renovated and developed. The road network, in other words, the street pattern holding together the components of the Roman town was also remodeled and worked out.⁴⁰⁴ Particularly, the *cardo*, major artery running north-south and the *decumanus*, major artery running east-west characterizing the Roman identity in a settlement layout started to be emphasized and adjusted. Independent of the planning approach, whether it is rational or scenographic, these main axes running through a Roman town was the dominating constituent of the urban project. (Figure 3.5) In that sense, the settlement plans of Miletus for regular, grid plan and Pergamon for the scenic plan can be given as examples, both of which had the contribution of main colonnaded streets in their Roman phases. (Figure 3.2, 3.4)

These axial streets, already established in the Hellenistic period, were widened, paved with prestigious cladding material like marble, their colonnaded proliferated, and they were monumentalized as well with the construction of new, imposing Roman edifices nearby. Where the colonnaded street achieved a monumental and all at once, individual spatiality, new structures of Roman urban architecture like triumphal arches, *propylaea*, arcades occupied the towns of Roman provinces. Yet, while making use of axiality, laying out of the street patterns, locating the buildings and urban structures in the settlement sites point to the vital aspects of Roman planning, which are notions of perspective and vista.⁴⁰⁵ Plus, the structural revolution with the invention of new building materials that the Romans worked out opened their way to try further with the existing physical environment and helped to show the lavish and imposing

⁴⁰³ See Mitchell S. (1993), *Anatolia Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor, Vol II the Rise of the Church*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, Map 6, p. 156.

⁴⁰⁴ While discussing “urban armatures” and “connective architecture” MacDonald touches upon streets as providing coherence among different structures essential to the identity of the towns. MacDonald (1986), p. 256.

⁴⁰⁵ Owens (1991), p. 145.

to the visitor, while hiding unsightly and the awkward within the townscape.⁴⁰⁶ In other words, it was of paramount importance to Romans to impress and strike with their architecture and urban setting. The Roman identity spoke out through the Roman buildings of baths, amphitheaters, basilicas, and alike; the use of axial roads, colonnaded streets, monumental arches; the lavish, plentiful decorations of civic structures; and finally the way these come together and combine in a unity.

Finally, Roman urban form was shaped to provide spectacular perspectives and vistas of the townscapes, indicating the imperial power and civic pride to astound those approaching the town as well as those strolling within. For instance, urban setting of Ephesus was remodeled and developed in a similar way to show the Roman grandeur.⁴⁰⁷ (Figure 3.6) In addition, whenever they built, Romans integrated urban defenses, architecturally speaking fortifications with the urban pattern and the street network.⁴⁰⁸ The fortifications besides their military function contributed to the powerful Roman image of these settlements and had a fervent visual impact for the outsider. Yet, apart from the frontier territories of the Roman lands, the towns either newly settled or subsequently developed, had no more defense issues especially before the 3rd century.⁴⁰⁹ Accordingly, these settlements stayed unwalled and open, where they represented ostentation, luxury and privilege of Roman prosperity and growth. Even, they could not be fortified, since that would be conceived as a rebellious act against the central authority, in other words, a rejection of the emperor.⁴¹⁰

Nevertheless, by the beginning of the 3rd century, troubled years for the Roman authority came up, the situation changed, and defense requirements led to remodeling including the construction of fortifications. The Roman Empire was dissolving not only politically and socially but also weakened in its economic strengths. The Empire was gradually disintegrating

⁴⁰⁶ Owens (1991), p. 145.

⁴⁰⁷ In addition to the parts arguing about Roman Ephesus in this chapter in 3.2.1. Transformation of the Urban Form of Ayasoluk. See also Scherrer (2000), pp. 20-23, for a more thorough discussion on Roman Ephesus see Scherrer P. (1995), "The City of Ephesos from the Roman Period to Late Antiquity", *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: an Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*, (H. Koester ed.) Valley Forge - Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, p. 1-25, Scherrer P. (2001), "The Historical Topography of Ephesos," *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor: New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, (D. Parrish ed.) Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement no: 45. (8-41), Dexter; Michigan: Thompson-Shore, pp. 57-87. White L. M. (1995), "Urban Development and Social Change in Urban Ephesos," *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: an Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion and Culture*, (H. Koester ed.) Valley Forge - Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, pp. 27-79.

⁴⁰⁸ Owens (1991), pp. 150-151.

⁴⁰⁹ Gregory T. E. (1982), "Fortification and Urban Design in Early Byzantine Greece", *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era*, (R. L. Hohlfelder ed.) New York: Columbia University Press, p. 44. Owens (1991), p. 121.

⁴¹⁰ Gregory (1982), p. 44. Owens (1991), p. 121.

both internally and externally due to the military losses to the Persians in the East and Goths to the West. There emerged the period of Tetrarchy, which could only be a temporary solution for the survival of the Empire. Even though Diocletian came up with reforms not only in the military, administrative issues but also to enhance and develop the built environment and urban setting, the beginnings of the 4th century witnessed fresh new occurrences and Empires embracing Asia Minor. Accordingly, Anatolia underwent significant transformations in the urban patterns under the subsequent Christian rule, established by Constantine and renowned as Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire.

3.1.2. Byzantine City

The foundation of Constantinople by Constantine I (324), and the birth of the new Roman State, Eastern Roman Empire brought together changes in terms of political - administrative and socio-cultural constructs. The founder of the new Empire was of traditional, ancient Roman origin. Yet, he endeavored two major reforms to verify and reinforce his authority as a founder and ruler of a new Empire. First, instead of Rome, he replaced the new capital to Constantinople, İstanbul, which is located at a crucially important intersecting location, closer to the East, and easy to defend since it is a peninsula. Second, Constantine accepted Christianity as the State religion and legalized his rule on the basis of his divine authority assigned by God. Both above had consequences in building up a new Empire not only in administrative and socio-cultural means but also in shaping the physical setting. Eastern Roman, in other words, Byzantine traces gradually effected the imperial borders, Anatolia in particular, where the dominance of the Empire lasted almost a millennium.

The period starting with Constantine's foundation of the new State (324) and ending after the rule of Justinian (527-565) can be regarded as Late Antique or Early Byzantine period among medievalists. In this duration, the Eastern provinces of the former Roman Empire, clearly speaking settlement centers in Asia Minor witnessed certain transformations in various fields of ancient life.⁴¹¹ Traditional urban pattern of the classical Roman city persisted, yet inevitably, the urban form both as a whole and with reference to its components remodeled step by step.

⁴¹¹ Liebeschuetz W. (1999), "Antik Kentin Sonu", *Geç Antik Çağda Kent*, (J. Rich ed.) (S. Güven and E. Güven trans.) İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, pp. 23-33.

To begin with the components of urban form, first, typical Roman buildings such as baths and aqueducts continued to exist and function in the former, conventional way.⁴¹² Second, *fora* as significant gathering spaces, put differently, as urban nodes, and *curiae* as administrative buildings for the meetings of the city councils, survived and served for similar purposes until the 6th century. For instance, *fora* stayed as a social and commercial center, where judicial hearings were held, imperial letters were declared to the public and even statutes were still dedicated on particularly in the late 4th and early 5th centuries and in settlement centers such as Ephesus, Aphrodisias, Antioch, and Lepcis Magna.⁴¹³ There is suffice textual, epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the repair of the existing *fora*, like in Ephesus, and even building of new *fora*, like in the capital, Constantinople during the same years.⁴¹⁴ The city councils, on the other hand, suffered the loss of by the end of the 5th century and replaced by committees of high-ranking notables.⁴¹⁵ Just like city councils turned into notables led by bishops, the meeting spaces of the administrative cadre shifted from *curiae* to Episcopal palaces. That is why, the building of Episcopal palaces initiated and increased in time in Byzantine centers, like in Miletus, or as called under the Byzantine rule Palatia, named after her renowned palaces.

Third, as significant examples of urban architecture, former Roman buildings such as temples and to a considerable extent *curiae* were either converted for other uses or neglected or demolished. Concurrently, edifices for entertainment like theaters lost their importance by time and slowly disappeared towards the end of the 6th century.⁴¹⁶ Hence, apart from temples and administrative buildings there are other typical elements of a Roman settlement which continued to exist but definitely transformed in its physical setting. For instance, Roman colonnaded street was modified due to the temporary structures of commercial units constructed on both sides of these streets and also because of the decrease of their ceremonial function, which means reduction in the number of rituals, ceremonies and processions taking place here. The wide, spacious open spaces narrowed and as a result the ceremonial character

⁴¹² Zanini E. (2003), "The Urban Ideal and Urban Planning in Byzantine New Cities of the Sixth Century A.D.", *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, (L. Lavan and W. Bowden eds.) Leiden, Boston: Brill, p. 200.

⁴¹³ Lavan L. (2003b), "The Political Topography of the Late Antique City: Activity Spaces in Practice", *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, (L. Lavan and W. Bowden eds.) Leiden, Boston: Brill, pp. 317-318.

⁴¹⁴ Lavan (2003b), p. 317.

⁴¹⁵ Lavan (2003b), pp. 319-320.

⁴¹⁶ Lavan (2003b), pp. 320-321. Liebeschuetz (1999), p. 28. Zanini (2003), p. 200.

of the street for the most part replaced with commercial services.⁴¹⁷ (Figure 3.7) Accordingly, beginning with the street patterns, the regular, rational urban layouts of the cities set out for alterations. The grid steadily dissolved and left for rather organic, intertwined plan organizations.

Fourth, the newborn Early Byzantine settlements, remodeled after ancient urban form, enhanced with the introduction of new building types, which further emphasized the changes in urban architecture. In other words, the re-emergence of fortification walls and the emergence of churches as the foremost significant public buildings enriched the Early Byzantine townscapes. The rise of the church caused former public spaces like *forum* and administrative buildings like *curiae* to lose its importance in the social and political life of the towns. For instance, imperial letters and imperial decrees, those including even some on secular matters, were found in the Churches in Ephesus, which implies that these activities took place inside or in the atria of the churches.⁴¹⁸ (Figure 3.8) Adding to the Christian image of the Late Antique towns, pagan statues were replaced with medieval statues of denotes a rather general authority that derived from the imperial court than the specific attributes of an ancient governor.⁴¹⁹ Or, they were simply replaced with crosses emphasizing Christianity in the public sphere as the State's religion.⁴²⁰

After all, beginning from Constantine's period and particularly increasing under Justinian's rule, Christianization of East Roman territories reached almost its completion.⁴²¹ In other words, the new Christian towns under the rule of the Byzantine Empire finalized transformation from an ancient into an Early Byzantine settlement not only in their urban architecture and image but also in their entire pattern of plan layouts. These towns, for the most part, were not as advanced in public amenities, urban facilities as a former Roman town. Their street network and the plan layout suggested a relative or complete lack of a regular and overall planning approach.⁴²² Last but not least, the use of spolia, re-used material in the construction

⁴¹⁷ Foss F. (1979a), *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, London: Cambridge University Press, p. 97. Liebeschuetz (1999), p. 28.

⁴¹⁸ Lavan states that even beggars could be found by the churches instead of the *fora*. Lavan (2003b), p. 325.

⁴¹⁹ Lavan (2003b), p. 323.

⁴²⁰ For instance Foss mentions about the transformation of the urban image of Ephesus from a pagan into a Christian city with reference to use of sculptures in the open spaces. Foss (1979a), pp. 36-37.

⁴²¹ Zanini (2003), p. 217.

⁴²² Haldon J. (1999), "The Idea of the Town in the Byzantine Empire", *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, (G. P. Brogiolo and B. Ward-Perkins eds.) Leiden, Boston, Cologne: Brill, pp. 8-9.

and repair of many of the public edifices provided a different architectural image and urban space development.

Yet, the subsequent period covering the 7th and 8th centuries were to face severe problems both in the political and military power of the Empire and in its economic strength, which together resulted in considerable shifts and decline in urban life. The warfare caused by Persian, Arab, and beginning with the 11th century, Turkish attacks weakened the central authority in the provinces, particularly in Anatolia. During these dark ages corresponding to 7th and 8th centuries, there was dissolution of the imperial power, demographic decline and almost an economic collapse. These had their consequences in the urban structuring in terms of investment for the public use, financial supply and administrative matters. All these suggested major change in the quality of urban life and public facilities. The maintenance of infrastructure, public edifices and residential quarters were gradually ignored. Yet, the only architectural, building activities for the public welfare included fortification work, construction or repair of churches or buildings associated with monastic centers, from the 7th to the midst of the 9th centuries.⁴²³

The difficulty for establishing security in those eventful times of Persian, Arab and later Turkish attacks together with the severe decline in economy and population, led to shrinkage and transformation of urban centers into fortified and fragmented towns. That is when the settlement patterns altered and *castrons* and *dioiskismos* as the two basic settlement types came out.⁴²⁴ (Figure 3.9) *Castrons* are the settlements centers around fortified castles and *dioiskismos* are dispersed settlements. Actually, *dioiskismos* can be defined as the process of the disintegration of a town into its component parts, which is just the reverse of *synoikismos* that is the unification, constitution of a town from a number of settlements.⁴²⁵ U. Tanyeli's statements support these descriptions of Middle and Late Byzantine towns, where he emphasizes a distinction between the two town models, those of the scattered settlements, and centered on *castrons*.⁴²⁶ Plus, he compares urban life in the capital to the rest of the other urban

⁴²³ Haldon (1999), p. 4.

⁴²⁴ Bryer A. (1986), "Structure of the Late Byzantine Town; Dioikismos and the Mesoi", *Continuity and Change in the Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, (ed. A. Bryer – H. Lowry) Birmingham: University of Birmingham & DOP Press, pp. 274-275. Foss C. (1979b), "Explorations in Mount Tmolos", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 11, pp. 21-60. Foss C. (1996), *Cities, Fortresses and Villages of Byzantine Asia Minor*, Aldershot: Variorum.

⁴²⁵ Bryer (1986), p. 274.

⁴²⁶ Tanyeli U. (1987), *Anadolu Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci (11. – 15. yy.)*, Ph. D. Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, pp. 20-32.

centers and citing from C. Mango, underlines that every settlement was named as *castron*, except for the capital, Constantinopolis.⁴²⁷

Likewise, J. Haldon argues about the process through which the ancient *polis* transforms into a *castron*, and he tries to articulate a physical description of the Middle Byzantine settlements between the 9th and 10th centuries. He claims that *castrons* bearing the name of ancient *poleis*, acted as sheltering spaces in case of attack, where they were not necessarily permanently occupied and still less permanently garrisoned.⁴²⁸ Especially during the troubled times from the 7th to the 9th centuries, the inhabitants resided in the distinct villages within the area outlined by the fortifications, yet, they regarded themselves belonging to the town itself rather than small villages named after their churches or oldest suburban quarters.⁴²⁹ Hence, by the middle of the 10th century, *castron* as a term, was preferred in the Byzantine literary accounts and due to their quantitative supremacy in Byzantine territory, was the prevailing expression to describe a Middle Byzantine urban settlement.⁴³⁰

At this point, Bryer's formulation of medieval cities during the Middle and particularly Late Byzantine period supports the arguments of Haldon. Considering the transformation of the towns, Bryer further claims that this disintegration process was not a haphazard procedure, that socially and functionally the populace divided and formed knot of settlement units.⁴³¹ For instance, in terms of functional allotment, units specialized as monastic, maritime or military whereas socio-culturally speaking, they were separated as Venetian or Genoese quarters. In the physical setting these were reflected as distinct, fragmented foci of settlements for the most part by or around fortified areas. The port towns of Miletus and Ephesus; and inland settlements of Sardis, Laodiceia, and Nyssa, experienced this process during the Middle as well as Late Byzantine periods.⁴³² (Figure 3.10) Yet, they lacked an overall, regular planning understanding, where the physical development and transformation of the settlement layouts responded and

⁴²⁷ Citing from C. Mango, Tanyeli highlights that, Constantinopolis was the only center that continued urban activity and dynamism since *polis*, meaning city was only used to refer to Constantinople. Tanyeli (1987), p. 18. Tanyeli U. (1996), "Housing and Settlement Patterns in the Byzantine, Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Periods in Anatolia", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia, A Historical Perspective*, (Y. Sey ed.) İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, p. 409. Mango C. (1980), *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, pp. 73-74.

⁴²⁸ Haldon (1999), p. 16.

⁴²⁹ Haldon (1999), p. 16.

⁴³⁰ Haldon (1999), p. 16.

⁴³¹ Bryer (1986), p. 274.

⁴³² For instance, for the transformation of the Byzantine settlement in Sardis, Foss C. (1976), *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 50-89. Foss C., Scott J. A. (2002), "Sardis", *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, (A. E. Laiou ed.) Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Press, pp. 615-622. Plus, for very brief information on Byzantine Nysa, Sultanhisar, İdil V. (1999), *Nysa and Acharaca*, İstanbul: Yaşar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı.

adjusted to the changes in the administrative levels, defensive purposes and remodeling of socio-cultural groups within urban modes of living.

There are various viewpoints among the scholars about identification and classification of Byzantine urban centers during the Middle and Late phases of the Empire.⁴³³ As of the earliest explorations on Byzantine urbanism, works of G. Ostrogorsky and A. P. Khazdan represent differing methodological and contextual approaches on the issue. Khazdan bases his argument on numismatic evidence and the historical accounts of an Arab traveler, Ibn Khordadbeh from the early middle Ages.⁴³⁴ He suggests that depending on the considerable amount of decrease in coins used in everyday life and Ibn Khordadbeh's illustration of only five settlements in Anatolia as urban centers, there was a severe decline in Byzantine economy and thus settlement centers, which possibly led to conversion of towns into small villages and even abandonment of these settlements.⁴³⁵ Ostrogorsky, on the other hand, bases his assumption on the critique of Khazdan, and on the existence of a bishopric to define a settlement as an urban center.⁴³⁶ Accordingly, opposed to Khazdan, he claims that there were 128 towns in Asia Minor during the by the 9th and 10th centuries.⁴³⁷ Yet, the existence of a bishopric to qualify the necessities of a settlement to become an urban center is a controversial issue. In this sense, S. Vryonis proposes a classification according to hierarchy of the religious authority and size of the settlements as metropolitanates, such as Nicaea, Ephesus, Sardis and Laodiceai; archbishoprics like Miletus and many suffragant bishoprics.⁴³⁸ Thus, even though not as exaggerated as Ostrogorsky he, as well, claims the continuity of urban life in Anatolia through the Middle and Late Byzantine Ages.

In view of the above, it is possible to mention hierarchically differing size of Middle Byzantine settlements, which more or less continued in size, function and urban form through the Late Byzantine period. Not to surprise, larger settlements comprised more population, more

⁴³³ The below secondary sources on Byzantine settlements by A. P. Khazdan, G. Ostrogorsky, and S. Vryonis was naturally also included in Tanyeli and K. Özcan's studies for they both search on Pre-Ottoman settlement models in Anatolia. Yet, this particular discussion for an attempt to illustrate a Byzantine settlement ends in a different evaluation than the two. Özcan K. (2005b), *Anadolu'da Selçuklu Dönemi Yerleşme Sistemi ve Kent Modelleri*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in City Planning, Konya: Selçuk University, pp. 53-54. Tanyeli (1987), pp. 16-17.

⁴³⁴ Khazdan A. P. (1954), "Vizantijskie Goroda v VII-XI Vekach", *Sovetskaja Archeologija*, 21, pp. 164-183. Cited from Ostrogorsky G. (1959), "Byzantine Cities in the Middle Ages", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13, p. 62.

⁴³⁵ Khazdan (1954), p. 165. Cited from Ostrogorsky (1959), p. 62.

⁴³⁶ Ostrogorsky (1959), pp. 45-66.

⁴³⁷ Ostrogorsky (1959), pp. 61-62.

⁴³⁸ Vryonis S. Jr. (1971), *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, London, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 34-35.

extended territories and more advanced urban facilities like in Ephesus, whereas the smallest settlements were almost like rural villages like Anastasiopolis (Beypazarı) in Central Anatolia. Even so, C. Foss referring to medieval written accounts claims that Saint Euthymius appointed as bishop to Sardis described the settlement almost like a small and deprived village with scattered residential units by the ancient ruins.⁴³⁹ In the end, it can be suggested that an average medieval Byzantine city had to face severe troubles those prevented continuity in urban development and even resulted in a reverse movement towards fragmentation, draw back and ruralization.

Subsequent centuries witnessed times of trouble due to Turkish attacks beginning in the 11th century and resulting in the establishment of a Turkish-Islamic State, namely the Seljuk Sultanate ruling in the Central and Eastern Anatolia, in these former Byzantine territories. Yet, by the 13th century, Constantinople was lost to Latins in the West, then the Byzantine capital moved to Nicaea, İznik, where the Seljuks were concurrently stabilizing their authority and surpassing Byzantine State in economic strength.⁴⁴⁰ In these circumstances, the central authority of the Byzantine Empire was almost collapsed, the State economy dissolved, the territorial borders shrank, population declined and unavoidably the urban life nearly hit the bottom line. The remaining settlement centers in Western Anatolia surrounded with the Latin threat in the West and Seljuk rule in the East witnessed brutal urban disruption, where they turned into small fortified settlement units, losing their urban characteristics and rapidly ruralizing instead. As K. Özcan states, Byzantine urban centers like Amorium and Side were even abandoned.⁴⁴¹ By the 14th century, the conditions even worsened for the Byzantine authorities for keeping Western Asia Minor under control and recovery could only be temporary. For the reason that, Seljuk Sultanate fell apart, however, each of the federal units ruled by Turkish dynasties fostered, and those governing in the Western Anatolian territories gradually took over the Byzantine settlement centers.

Accordingly, due to these continuous declines in ruling the imperial territories, there was a reduction in providing public facilities and improving urban amenities. All finalized in major diminution of urban life, decrease in construction activities of urban architecture and the rapid remodeling of urban patterns either as *castrons*, fortified settlements, or as *diokisized*,

⁴³⁹ Foss (1976), pp. 64, 68-69.

⁴⁴⁰ Actually due to the Seljuk's handling the trade activities for the most part, the local peasants relieved to a certain extent, could continue survival by annexing to the Seljuk State, who succeeded to enliven Anatolian trade. Tankut G. (2007), *The Seljuk City*, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture Printing Workshop, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁴¹ Özcan (2005b), p. 56. Tanyeli also mentions about the abandonment of Side, Tanyeli (1987), pp. 19-20. Tanyeli (1996), pp. 408-409.

dispersed, fragmented urban divisions or both. In the end, whether grouped according to population or territorial size or classified according to function as religious centers like Ayasoluk; trade ports, like Ayasoluk, Balat, and Phocaea, or bishopric centers like Sardis, Pyrgion, Nyssa, and Laodiceai, the urban form Medieval and Late Byzantine settlements comprised any of these two or the combination of these two settlement patterns. Most prominent components of Byzantine urban form in these ages comprised fortifications, churches, monastic complexes, and to end with street networks, which transformed from regular, axial geometries to organic, intricate patterns. In this respect, people wandering in the Byzantine towns, through the streets possibly no longer experienced wide, colonnaded axes of main streets, defined by elegant, surfaces of Roman façades. Instead, they walked through streets, which are narrowed, circumscribed by walls built up with re-used materials in addition to stone and brick courses, and the major ones articulated with bits and pieces of projecting commercial units, and finally which altogether lacked continuous, monumental perspectives, ceremonial sceneries.

3.1.3. Seljuk City

Beginning with the 12th and culminating in the midst of the 13th and most probably, influencing the succeeding ruling states in the same region through the 14th centuries, Seljuks left their imprints not only in the socio-cultural structure and economic recovery and growth, but also in the urban network of Anatolia. The administrative configuration of the Seljuk State differed from the former Byzantine polity of central government. The Seljuk government system was rather a federal one, which held together the other Turkish origin communities settling in Anatolia under their very roof, benefited from taxation, and at the same time allowed them autonomy in certain administrative aspects. Opposed to the collapsing Byzantine central authority, the succeeding Seljuk rule refreshed economy and brought along recovery and vitality to urban life, particularly in Central and Eastern Anatolia during the 13th century. Actually, local inhabitants of Anatolia, fed up with Latin invasions, Crusades on one hand and Turkish infiltration on the other hand, plus, the weakened Byzantine authority to protect its subjects, for the most part welcomed Seljuk rule, which relieved their economic survival to a certain extent, and enlivened Anatolian trade.⁴⁴² In so doing, Seljuks settling in Anatolia inevitably remodeled urban life and the physical setting of urban environment just like they reworked the socio-cultural, administrative and economic makeover in their ruling territories.

⁴⁴² Tankut (2007), pp. 23-24.

At this point, to what extent the Seljuk settlement centers took shape and developed regarding the already existing Byzantine or ancient settlement centers in Anatolia, or the possible impacts of Central Asian, Iranian or Arab city models, can be discussed.

To begin with, the basic features or in other words, the urban culture of Central Asian, Iranian, and Arab cities, those may be influential in shaping the Seljuk city, can be outlined very briefly. The Central Asian urban setting was generally composed around an *orduğ*, inner citadel situated on an artificial mount.⁴⁴³ The residential units, those transformed into permanent buildings from tents in time, were distributed around the inner citadel, later fortified and even encircled with a moat to enhance defense. This section, named as *balık*, city was mostly surrounded with commercial areas and other open public spaces, which was called as *kıy*, outer city. Finally the outer city was encircled with agricultural, rural lands. İdikut, Karahoca are examples for this kind of settlement organizations. (Figure 3.11)

The Iranian city, which was accepted as the Turkish-Islamic settlements in Iran and in some parts of Central Asia through the 11th and 12th centuries within the scope of this thesis, comprised a similar tripartite division.⁴⁴⁴ First, like in the Central Asian city, there was an inner citadel in which the ruling elite resided and the spaces needing utmost security took place. *Şehristan*, corresponding to *balık* in Central Asia, was the outer fortified area, in which Friday mosque, other public edifices like madrasas, baths, commercial spaces and the residential units of aristocrats or high-ranking officials were situated. *Rabad*, corresponding to *kıy* in Central Asia, was the outer city, which comprised certain spaces of trade activities, or in other words production activities, those required to be located outside the city due to hygiene conditions.

⁴⁴³ The basic characteristics of the Central Asian city are summerized from Baykara T. (1980), "Türk Şehircilik Tarihinden: Hatun Şehirleri", *Belleten*, XLIV/175, pp. 497-510. Cezar M. (1977), *Anadolu Öncesi Türklerde Şehir ve Mimarlık*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, pp. 21-87. Esin E. (1972), "Orduğ; Başlangıçtan Selçuklulara Kadar Türk Hakan Şehri", *Ankara Üniversitesi, Dil, Tarih, Coğrafya Fakültesi, Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, VII/10-11, pp. 135-215. Esin E. (1980), "Türklerin İç Asya'dan Getirdiği Üniversalist Devlet Mefhumu ve Bunun Ordu (Hükümdar Şehri) Mimarisindeki Tezahürleri", *Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071-1920)*, (H. İnalcık, O. Okyar eds.) 11-13 July 1977, Ankara, pp. 9-25. Kuban D. (1995), "Anadolu-Türk Şehri Tarihi Gelişmesi, Sosyal ve Fiziki Özellikleri Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler", *Türk İslam Sanatı Üzerine Denemeler*, İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, pp. 168-169, (reprinted from (1968) *Vakıflar Dergisi*. 7, pp. 53-73.) Özcan (2005b), pp. 59-64, Özcan K. (2005d). "Orta Asya Türk Kent Modelleri Üzerine Bir Tipoloji Denemesi (VIII. Yüzyıldan – XIII. Yüzyıla Kadar)", *Gazi Üniversitesi Mühendislik Mimarlık Fakültesi Dergisi*, 20/2, pp. 251-265.

⁴⁴⁴ The basic characteristics of the Iranian city are summerized from Barthold W. (1963), *İslam Medeniyeti Tarih*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. Barthold V. V. (1990), *Moğol İstilasına Kadar Türkistan*, (H. D. Yıldız trans.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. Can Y. (2002), "Anadolu Öncesi Türk Kenti", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 3, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 150-160. Cezar (1977), pp. 88-95, 369-381. Kuban (1995), pp. 168-169. Özcan (2005b), pp. 64-67. Tanyeli (1987), pp. 11-15.

Plus, the residential area of the workers, agricultural lands and gardens were located in this section. Samarqand and Taşkent are significant examples of Iranian settlements in this respect. Yet, Samarqand and Bukhara adjusted an axial planning organization with monumental works of architecture in much later years, during the reign of Timur, so did Isfahan during the reign of Shah Abbas.⁴⁴⁵ (Figure 3.11)

The Arab city, which comprised the Early Islamic settlements around Middle East between the 7th and 12th centuries within the scope of this thesis, displayed two basic urban patterns; those continuing the earlier settled centers such as Jerusalem, Damascus, and Aleppo and those newly built such as Kufa, and Baghdad.⁴⁴⁶ To begin with, the urban transformation and development in Medieval-Islamic Damascus can be pointed out. The already existing ancient and the subsequent Early Christian Damascus turned into an Arab-Islamic city with the construction of a Friday Mosque, enriched with commercial units within its surrounding, foundation of significant educational edifices, madrasas, renovation of the existing city walls, and remodeling of the wide, spacious avenues into *suqs*, covered bazaar of the Arabs. (Figure 3.12) Plus, the settlement was divided into quarters, both physically and socially, thus better to state as divided into neighborhoods, which represented a typical feature of Arab city as segregating into differing units, *harats*, by the inhabitants of differing ethnicities and religions. It is even argued that the borders between the neighborhoods were separated with walls, like also seen in Merv, a later Iranian city.⁴⁴⁷ (Figure 3.11)

When the probable impacts of the Central-Asian, Iranian, and Arab urban forms and urbanization processes on shaping the Seljuk townscape and urban structure in Anatolia are discussed, it is possible to argue that the Iranian city was likely to be the most influential, especially on the urban form of Central and Eastern Anatolia. For the reason that, Anatolian

⁴⁴⁵ Kuban (1995), p. 169.

⁴⁴⁶ The basic features of the Arab city are summarized from Alsayyad N. (1991). *Cities and Caliphs; On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism*. New York: Greenwood Press. Bacharach (1991), pp. 111-128. Can Y. (1995), *İslam Şehirlerinin Fiziki Yapısı H. I.-III./M. VII.-IX.yy*, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı. Carvey M. O. H. (1996), "Transition to Islam: Urban Roles in East and South Mediterranean, Fifth to Tenth Centuries AD.", *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in the Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Suffolk: Ashgate Publishers, pp. 184-212. Elisséeff N. (1992), "Fiziki Plan", *İslam Şehri*, (R. B. Serjeant ed.) (E. Topçugil trans.) İstanbul: Ağaç Yayıncılık, pp. 121 – 140. Hourani A. H. (1970), "Introduction: The Islamic City in the Light of Recent Research", *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*, (A. H. Hourani, S. M. Stern eds.) Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 9-24. Jairazbhoy R. A. (1964), "The Character of Islamic Cities", *Art and Cities of Islam*, London: Asia Publishing House, pp. 52-79. Kuban (1995), pp. 165-168. Lapidus I. M. (1967), *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Petruccioli A. (1997-98-99), "The Arab City: Neither Spontaneous nor Created", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 22-33.

⁴⁴⁷ Barthold (1963). Elisséeff. (1992), pp. 137-138. Kuban (1995), p. 166. Tanyeli (1987), p. 14.

Seljuks, to a certain extent, inherited administrative systems, military structures, social and even palatial cultures of the Great Seljuk tradition grew in Iran. Accordingly, it is expected to trace similarities in the urban modes of living between these two chronologically succeeding yet regionally neighboring communities.

First, the tripartite urban division, hierarchically substantiated with Inner Citadel, *Şehristan* and *Rabad* formulation in Iranian city had its equivalent as the Inner Citadel, Outer Citadel and the outermost settlement components. Where Kuban, Özcan and Tankut support this argument, Tanyeli points at its questionability since this kind of tripartite divisions are also commonly traced in European examples of pre-industrial cities.⁴⁴⁸ Yet, Tanyeli also argues about continuity of a settlement culture, of former urban traditions for the Turkish settlers in Anatolia. In other words, he emphasizes that Turkish settlers infiltrating Anatolia under the Seljuk dominance were already familiar with the urban modes of living of Central Asia and Iran.⁴⁴⁹ In this sense, even though contradicts in his claims for the possible influential mediums, Tanyeli, as well, points at the traces of Great Seljuk urban traditions. Because he asserts that a conception and experience of urban image had already been present in Anatolian Seljuks who made use of these former traditions in remodeling the urban network in Anatolia. Returning the physical setting in this respect, a comparison on the land-use patterns of an Anatolian Seljuk and Great Seljuk city have similar urban patterns, which are repeated in a larger scale in the settlement patterns, displaying how caravanserais, villages and urban centers are connected. (Figure 3.13)

Second, attempts for construction of alike edifices of urban architecture, alike treatments of renovation and conversion of already existing buildings, and alike management systems for the commissioning and running of architectural complexes for the public use are attentive, when the two traditions are compared. For instance, the founding of Friday mosques and mosque centered building complexes, the alteration of the former monumental religious buildings into mosques and the *vakıf* [foundation] system which provides architectural and urban initiations for public use, for the welfare of the citizens are characteristic both for Anatolian and for Great Seljuk States. Hence, such features of the Iranian city, might have its roots, not only in the pagan Central Asiatic traditions but also in the rising value of the Middle Ages in these geographies, namely in Islamic traditions, which were by now established in the

⁴⁴⁸ Tankut (2007), p. 29. Özcan (2005b), p. 68-69. Tanyeli (1987), p. 15. For a more detailed account on pre-industrial city Sjoberg G. (1965), *The Preindustrial City; Past and Present*, New York: The Free Press.

⁴⁴⁹ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 11-13.

Arab cities in the Middle East. For instance, where the tripartite division of the Iranian city resembles urban forms of Central Asian cities, foundation of mosques and madrasas, modification of earlier temples or churches into mosques and even the *vakıf* system can be noticed in Arab cities. In the end, it is inevitable for the Seljuks settling in Anatolia to bring with familiar traditions of urban life, whatever the influential medium is and whether it is direct, as in the case of Iranian, or indirect, as in the case of Central-Asian and Arab Cities.

At this point, opening a parenthesis, it has to be drawn attention to Özcan's arguments exemplifying direct Central Asiatic influences in shaping the urban form like barrowing the scheme of development of the urban fabric around an artificial mount. Accordingly, he claims that Seljuk settlements like Konya, Niğde, Aksaray and Kırşehir resemble Central Asian cities for they grow around an artificial mount.⁴⁵⁰ Yet, for direct impacts of an Arab city for instance, the urban form and divisions of Damascus and Diyarbakır in Southeastern Anatolia can be compared that the Arab influence in the architectural and decorative medium in this part of Anatolia extended even as far as the urban environment. (Figure 3.14)

Seljuk achievement in reshaping the urban environment in Anatolia had also made use of the former Anatolian urban culture, urban form and even urban architecture. Seljuks primarily infiltrated in Anatolia and conquered as far as the Western Anatolian coasts by the end of the 11th century. Yet, they stabilized their political authority by the 12th and especially the 13th centuries, which paved the way for them to foster urban and architectural initiatives. To begin with the larger, in other words, regional scale in order to show the Seljuk contribution to the urban network, they met with an already established caravan road network, which was modified after the Roman road network following the founding of Constantinople as the new capital of the ruling Byzantine Empire. As Seljuk State succeeded to become a central power in Central and Eastern Anatolia, and held together their territorial borders in security, they had controlled this road network. Seljuks annexed also significant ports of Sinop in the Black Sea and Alaiyye in the Mediterranean, which helped the rapid increase in trade activities and economic growth of the State. The Seljuk rulers, led by Alaeddin Keykubat at the outset, initiated the construction of caravanserais along these routes both to meet the requirements of the growing trade flow and to promote economic development. Hence, it was likely for the Seljuk rulers and military officials to settle in or by the already existing Byzantine outposts, those located within the existing road network.

⁴⁵⁰ Özcan (2005b), p. 68.

Accordingly, Seljuk State remodeled the former Byzantine settlement centers and transformed them into Seljuk settlements. However, Seljuk impacts and imprints differed in degree, depending on size, urban form, urban divisions or urban image. Some Byzantine settlements such as Konya, Kayseri and Sivas, came to forefront as major urban centers, where they displayed rapid urbanization and growth and significant transformation into Seljuk urban centers. Some settlements like Kastamonu did not drastically alter, at least in size when annexed and developed by the Seljuk rule.⁴⁵¹ And some very few, such as Kubadabad were newly built Seljuk settlements.⁴⁵² At this point, Tanyeli stresses the above three modes of transformation and emergence of the Anatolian cities under the Seljuk rule, which is accepted by O. Eravşar, and which somewhat parallels Kuban's emphasis of three developmental modes of an Anatolian Seljuk town; development of the old towns and emergence of a new urban physiognomy, settlement of new urban centers and nomads turning into city dwellers.⁴⁵³ In similar lines, Tankut proposes formation and transformation of a Seljuk city through two major ways; by introducing Turkish-Islamic institutions within the existing Byzantine urban fabric and by building public edifices on vacant land in peripheral locations.⁴⁵⁴ While the former ends up as an overlapping settlement, the latter does as a partially overlapping and partially adjoined urban pattern.

An evaluation of the above viewpoints discussing the Anatolian Seljuk contribution in relation to the already existing Byzantine urban patterns, can be finalized in a classification of the settlement centers according to size and form, which together point to the urban growth or decline or steadiness. When size is the criterion to hierarchically classify the transformation of the Byzantine settlements into Seljuk ones, the following groups can be contended. First, there are the largest towns like Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, which overlapped and expanded the existing Byzantine settlements. Second, there are the medium-sized ones like Kastamonu which did not significantly alter under the Seljuk rule in size of population and extension of the borders, and thus which almost thoroughly overlapped the already existing urban borders. Third, there are again medium-sized settlements such as Laodiceai, which declined in time, yet gave way to the

⁴⁵¹ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 40, 52-53. Bilici K. (1991), *Kastamonu'da Türk Devri Mimarisi ve Şehir Dokusunun Gelişimi (18.Yüzyıl Sonuna Kadar)*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Art History, Ankara: Ankara University.

⁴⁵² For further discussion on Kubadabad and in relation Seljuk towns and landscape understanding see Redford S. (2008), *Anadolu Selçuklu Bahçeleri (Alaiyye / Alanya)*, (S. Alper, E. Fetvacı trans.) İstanbul : Eren Yayıncılık, pp. 83-127, and on Kubadabad particularly pp. 103-110.

⁴⁵³ Eravşar O. (2002), "Ortaçağ Anadolu Kentleri", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 7, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 333-343. Tanyeli (1987), p. 40. Kuban (1995), pp. 172-173.

⁴⁵⁴ Tankut (2007), pp. 39-41.

growth of a nearby Turkish-Islamic settlement Ladik (Lazkiye) later Denizli. For this case, rather than overlapping, the building up of new ones next to, or adjoined to the already existing settlements can be traced. Fourth, there are the small-sized settlements like Afyon-Karahisar and Sivrihisar, those formerly small *castrons*, almost reduced into a citadel, into an insignificant center and they were re-built up under the Seljuk rule. Fifth, there are the declining settlement centers such as Side, which was gradually abandoned during the Seljuk rule. Last, the newly built urban centers can be mentioned which are developed from the beginning, independent of a former settlement like Kubadabad.

At present, before going into urban models of Seljuk towns according to form, the role of the *uc* [frontier] territories in influencing the growth of these settlements has to be indicated. Considering the differing conditions like security and stability of the *uc* territories, Tanyeli even proposes an individual town model for frontier settlement centers, where he claims that the socio-political circumstances in here prevented rapid urbanization in these towns such as Eskişehir, Kütahya.⁴⁵⁵ He further claims the role of the nomads in shaping these centers, where they are likely to be found in greater amounts due to the less urbanized situation in comparison to other urban centers located in either Central or in Eastern Anatolia.⁴⁵⁶ In this respect, Tanyeli repeats in a sense, Kuban's arguments for the frontier territories and the role of the nomads in the urban development –in addition to the settlers migrating from Iran- and their turning into city dwellers in later periods subsequent to the Seljuk rule in Anatolia.⁴⁵⁷ Hence, all these claims are valid and recently repeated in current research as well.⁴⁵⁸

As far as the urban models are concerned, when analyzing the Seljuk city according to urban patterns, Braudel's formulation of "closed" and "open cities" seems to establish a basis for later scholars focusing on urban history of Anatolia.⁴⁵⁹ Closed cities imply fortified settlements which include most of the urban functions and settlement units within the fortifications. Open cities, on the other hand, entail unfortified settlements, yet, for the case of Anatolian settlements, Tanyeli identifies those as settlements, which have fortifications, however, most of the urban functions and settlement units are located outside these fortifications.⁴⁶⁰ While Tanyeli pronounces three basic categories of Seljuk towns as "closed",

⁴⁵⁵ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 88-96.

⁴⁵⁶ Tanyeli (1996), pp. 414-415.

⁴⁵⁷ Kuban (1995), pp. 174-175, 177-179.

⁴⁵⁸ Özcan (2005b), pp. 174-175.

⁴⁵⁹ Braudel F. (1993), *Maddi Uygarlık, Ekonomi, ve Kapitalizm: XV. – XVIII. Yüzyıllar*, (M. A. Kılıçbay trans.) I, Ankara: Gece Yayınları, pp. 453-457. Braudel F. (2004), *Maddi Uygarlık, Gündelik Hayatın Yapıları*, (M. A. Kılıçbay trans.) Ankara: İmge Yayınları, pp. 464-468.

⁴⁶⁰ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 64-65.

“open” and “*uc*” and the possibility of conversion of the first two through the urbanization process, Özcan further articulates these categories as; “citadel-city models”, grouped as administrative centers and remaining others, and “open city models”, grouped as trade centers and growing and transforming Byzantine *castrons*, plus, “outer citadel focused developing city models” which correspond to *uc* cities.⁴⁶¹ At this point, Tankut primarily argues the closed organism of the Seljuk cities, composed by the outer city and inner citadel fortifications and supported with the *cul-de-sac* street pattern, and attempts to develop urban models according to city shapes, in other words, geometric organizations taking into account the topographical conditions as well as the already existing urban patterns.⁴⁶²

By this means Tankut’s study can be regarded as the most revealing to unfold a Seljuk city.. For the reason, that Tankut proposes a rather spatial analysis and focuses on urban experiences, where she accepts each urban center as a unique case. Plus, she explores the urban form depending on its components, and the way they shape the urban pattern not only observed as a whole and but also detected through the composition of its components. Still, there are generalized *a priori* judgments such as accepting every Seljuk urban center as a closed organism or linking the Seljuk traditions to as far as ancient Egypt or Hittite cultures without strong connecting evidences in Tankut’s study, most probably, because her research is the earliest one conducted, even though published recently. In this respect, Tanyeli achieves to fulfill a rather schematic evaluation of urban models, where he examined the towns as a whole, in complete patterns, and touched upon the role of the components of the urban form in its shaping. Yet, taken altogether, Tankut’s formulation of a spatial town analysis is more revealing than Tanyeli’s work. Özcan, alternatively, rather than focusing on architectural evaluations primarily aims to focus and search on the city models, urban schemes of Seljuk cities. In the end, within the scope of this thesis, which emphasizes the study of urban space as a socio-spatial process on one hand, and attempts to analyze urban form not only as a whole, in complete patterns but also in relation to its constitutive elements, components as the main methodological approach, an evaluation of the Seljuk cities synthesizing the earlier literature is presented below.

On the whole, most of the Seljuk cities in Anatolia repeat the tripartite division of urban form. For instance, Konya, Kayseri and Sivas founded on fairly flat topographies have an inner citadel, outer citadel and more rural and open spaces for the most part including open market areas outside the fortifications. The location of urban functions may differ in each, for

⁴⁶¹ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 41-96. Özcan (2005b), pp. 183-185.

⁴⁶² Tankut (2007), pp. 27-72.

instance, the Friday mosques are in the outer fortified area in Kayseri and Sivas, while in the Inner Citadel in Konya. Density of the elements of urban architecture and the way they are distributed within the town may differ, for instance, the madrasas and masjids are scattered within the urban fabric in outer citadel of Konya, whereas concentrated on certain locations in Sivas and both concentrated and spread outside the fortifications in Kayseri. The street network connecting the elements of urban architecture may differ in detail, for instance, all three cities display an organic street pattern enhanced with *cul-de-sacs* [blind alleys], however, Kayseri also embodies a through going street indicating to comparatively regular understanding of urban divisions than Konya and Sivas displays and even stronger regular urban design understanding with the continuing radial arteries. Eventually, all these three Seljuk centers are larger sized centers, with similar urban division patterns and complete urban forms, which develop and grow concentrically and thus have similar geometries of polygons and rounds, situated on flatter, easier topographies. (Figure 3.15)

The second type of urban forms of Seljuk cities again develops by the already existing Byzantine settlements, hence their urban divisions and developmental patterns are mostly shaped in relation to the necessities emerged due to the topographical conditions of the settlement sites. Where the banks of the river in the middle of the steep valley determined the elongated, linear urban form of Amasya, which later grew stretching out the river banks, the urban form of Divriği took shape and later developed according to the topographic imposition of the site. As the political authority and administrative control in the town gradually stabilized, the settlement extended from the steepest and thus more defensive division of the fortress on the north and grew from the eastern slopes, where the Great Mosque and Hospital was constructed, towards the flatter lands. Eğirdir is an example of another linearly laid out Seljuk city, which developed and grew towards the concentrically decreasing topographical contours, yet, in this layout the city maintains the tripartite urban divisions as inner, outer citadels and outside settlement expansion. (Figure 3.16)

At this point, the possible earlier and contemporary neighboring urban traditions as well as those of already existing earlier settlements, classification of urban centers according to size, function and form and indicating the increase or decline in their urbanization process under the Seljuk rule can all be taken into account. Accordingly, some deductions can be made for an attempt to illustrate the Seljuk urban spaces, put another way, for an attempt to visualize

urban experiences of the visitors walking within these urban centers.⁴⁶³ To begin with, for those approaching the Seljuk cities, each city provides distinct silhouettes, yet, in stylistic aspects and architectural language similar urban images. For instance, due to topographical conditions of the settlement site, impressive city walls and gates ornamented with Seljuk motives welcomes the visitor in Konya, whereas the fortress, citadel attracts attention of those entering Divriği, or Niğde, which is articulated with monumental examples of Seljuk urban architecture, catches the notice of the visitor. (Figure 3.17) However, the Seljuk architectural language and forms, of conical caps, bulky minarets, solid walls, monumental portals, and the somewhat horizontal distribution of the urban architectural elements within the townscape presents an urban image composed of pointed forms balanced with horizontally elongated structures.

After entering the town, the visitor finds himself strolling through an organically laid out, irregular street network, which lacks continuous urban perspectives of wide, spacious avenues, instead, narrow routes surrounded with bare exterior surfaces built up of stone for the most part and enriched with re-used materials, where the portals project as the only monumental architectural elements of the entrance façades. (Figure 3.18)

The open urban spaces in a Seljuk town are generally not identified in relation to the existing buildings masses of urban architecture. Even the organization principals and compositional aspects of Seljuk architectural complexes reflect a sense of negligence in articulating the exterior spaces when compared to the layout of Ottoman building complexes of a later period, where the buildings are designed in a way to create positive open spaces in between these masses.⁴⁶⁴ Comparatively wider open spaces are only produced at the junction of routes, where they meet with building groups or monumental public edifices like Friday mosques. Accordingly, architecturally well-defined volumes as in the *agora* or *fora* of ancient cities or in the *piazas* of medieval cities, corresponding to public squares do not exist in Seljuk urban patterns. The most spacious and widest open urban spaces comprise the open market areas or the open-air bazaars within the settlement borders. One is most likely to face such open spaces nearby the Friday mosques or just outside the city walls as can be seen in Kayseri.

In addition, flat, wide lands, or pastures next to the Seljuk towns also functions for congregational open air purposes. The Sultan is welcomed or the Sultan welcomes significant royal foreigners or ambassadors in these areas, which offers enough space to hold an open-air

⁴⁶³ For the interpretation of urban experiences of a Seljuk town, as an introductory attempt see Tanyeli (1987), pp. 188-195, and as a more thorough guide discussing the urban design values of these towns see Tankut (2007), pp. 111-119.

⁴⁶⁴ This issue will be discussed in a much more detailed manner in the next chapter, 4.4. Evolution and Development of Building Complexes and their Relation with their Urban Contexts.

banquet and accommodate a royal personality accompanied by an army in a camp.⁴⁶⁵ More intriguing than that, these pastures in the form of vast gardens not only accommodated hunting activities for the royal class and the nobles but also allowed for agricultural cultivation of the townspeople.⁴⁶⁶ Hence, Seljuk landscape is produced with reference to these two distinct social classes as providing open urban spaces shared by the two.

Nevertheless, urban experience, in other words, perception of urban space inside the Seljuk towns are mostly realized with sharp forms of roof covers of tombs, which are as well repeated above the enclosed courtyards of mosques, madrasas, and even baths; with bulky minarets, with heavy, stone and partially *spolia* used walls, which in turn help to define narrow streets of irregular patterns; and finally with monumental gate structures projecting on the entrance façades as the major façade element. These monumental gateways, those articulated and enriched in a highly detailed fashion, both in composition and in ornamentation, provide clues for how opposite the Seljuk interior space conception is in comparison to exterior space design, which is also reflected in their urban patterns and forms.

3.1.4. Ottoman City

The disintegration and collapse of the Seljuk authority in Anatolia brought along the growth of Turkish dynasties into Turkish Principalities, which aimed to become dominating powers in the region like once Seljuks had been. Ottomans, the former *uc beyliđi*, frontier principality settled primarily in the northwestern Anatolia in 1299 expanded towards as further West as Central Europe, towards as further East as the Middle East, and towards as further south as North Africa. Distinguished as the most powerful Principality, the Ottomans achieved to become not only a central authority governing in Anatolia but also a World Empire dictating its supremacy particularly during the 16th century. Yet, the Ottoman policies of settlement and urbanization neither followed the Seljuk administrative makeover and urban remodeling nor continued the same policies and practices beginning from the establishment to the rise of the State.

Nevertheless, if it is possible to pronounce an ‘Ottoman city’ developed under the Ottoman rule, there has to be basic, shared features those continuing from the beginning of the State to her rise as a world Empire between the 14th and 16th centuries in making the urban form of the ruled territory. The ruled territory of the Empire is quite extensive expanding from West,

⁴⁶⁵ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 166-170.

⁴⁶⁶ For further details and discussions on the issue see Redford (2008), pp. 55-71, 93-121.

Central Europe and particularly, the Balkans to East, to Middle East as mentioned before. Accordingly, the wide-ranging territories of the Ottoman Empire had been of primary issues among the scholars while discussing the ‘Ottoman city’. For instance, F. Acun articulates her arguments on the portrait of Ottoman cities by analyzing them in three distinct groups according to their particular historical backgrounds and geographical conditions as: Balkans, autonomous cities; Anatolia, Turkish cities; and Middle East and North Africa, “Islamic cities”, still attempting to point out the interconnections, correlations between them.⁴⁶⁷ Similarly, the collective work by E. Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters, provides an extensive critique and evaluation of the earlier research on Ottoman urban studies handling the issue in dissimilar geographical regions as: the Middle East and North Africa, discussing the “Arab-Ottoman city”; Anatolia, “Anatolian-Ottoman city” and singling out the Capital.⁴⁶⁸ Their aim is not only limited with suggesting their distinctive personalities, and insisting that there exist a multitude of ways in which to imagine them both as unique sites and types but it also includes the discussion on the various ways in which Arab and Anatolian cities are also Ottoman cities.⁴⁶⁹

Then again, there are studies of scholars, who take into account the distinctiveness of Ottoman cities according to their particular historical backgrounds and geographical conditions and focus on particular geographical regions. For instance, L. Klusáková argues about the urban settings in the Balkans and the integration of these former Christian towns into Ottoman system during the 16th century, where as her major source she makes use of a sketchbook of a Christian traveler from the very same century.⁴⁷⁰ B. Jezernik has a similar methodology however he discusses the town views of the later periods.⁴⁷¹ K. A. Ebel’s research bears a resemblance to these two studies, yet, she makes use of Ottoman manuscripts, namely the renowned “Histories of the House of Osman” by Matrakçı Nasuh.⁴⁷² Attempting to evaluate the Ottoman city from the Ottoman imperial eye instead of a European understanding of

⁴⁶⁷ Acun F. (2002), “A Portrait of the Ottoman Cities”, *The Muslim World*, 92, pp. 255-285.

⁴⁶⁸ Eldem E., Goffman D., and Masters B. (1999), “Introduction: Was there an Ottoman City?”, *The Ottoman City between East and West*, (E. Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-16.

⁴⁶⁹ Eldem, Goffman, and Masters (1999), pp. 12, 14.

⁴⁷⁰ Klusáková L. (2001), “Between Reality and Stereotype: Town Views of the Balkans”, *Urban History*, 28, 3, pp. 358-377.

⁴⁷¹ Jezernik B. (1998), “Western Perceptions of Turkish Towns in the Balkans”, *Urban History*, 25, 2, pp. 211-230.

⁴⁷² Ebel K. A. (2008), “Representations of the Frontier in Ottoman Town Views of the Sixteenth Century”, *Imago Mundi, The International Journal for the History of Cartography*, 60, 1, pp. 1-22. See also Ebel K. A. (2002), *City Views, Imperial Visions: Cartography and Visual Culture of Urban Space in the Ottoman Empire 1453-1603*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Geography, Texas: University of Texas at Austin.

representation, Ebel discusses the frontier Ottoman towns of the 16th century not only in the Balkans but also in the Middle East. In the end, these above researches are important first, for they provide information on Ottoman Balkan urban form. Second, they offer methodological insights in using manuscripts of differing parties as Ottoman and European, thus keeping in mind the possible drawbacks of these sources substantiated in the variety of perception in revealing the urban form.

For the Ottoman urban studies comprising the Middle East and North Africa, there is well-established literature as early as the beginnings of the modern scholarship in the field.⁴⁷³ Among the recent studies, B. Masters' research, focusing on the socio-cultural history and H. Z. Zeitlian - Watenpaugh's research discussing the urban and architectural space, and city image are significant studies on Aleppo under the Ottoman rule.⁴⁷⁴ Particularly, Zeitlian - Watenpaugh's study can be taken into account for she especially concentrates on the Ottoman imprints in reshaping Aleppo's urban setting. She not only discusses the means, both urban and architectural, in Ottomanizing Aleppo, thus contributes to arguments for what makes an Ottoman city, but also has a critical standpoint for the earlier literature on Arab-Ottoman cities.

Last but not least, for the Ottoman cities in Anatolia, there is a rapidly developing list of scholarly studies. A few number of these, which particularly give emphasis to the physical setting, in other words, studies urban space of Ottoman Anatolia, -except İstanbul since there exist extensive researches on İstanbul- can be singled out. The works of S. Aktüre, Kuban, and Tanyeli explore the Anatolian cities undergoing the Turkification and Islamization process began in the 11th century.⁴⁷⁵ Y. Oğuzoğlu touches upon the changes in the urban environment in the Anatolian cities under the Ottoman rule, where A. Kuran studies the spatial organization and urban form in three specific Ottoman cities, namely the capitals.⁴⁷⁶ Finally, F.

⁴⁷³ Sauvaget J. (1941), *Alep: Essai sur le Développement d'une Grand Ville Syrienne, des Origines au Milieu du XIX^e Siècle*, Paris: P. Geuthner., and Raymond A. (1984), *The Great Arab Cities in the 16th – 18th Centuries: An Introduction*, New York: New York University Press. Raymond A. (1985), *Grandes Villes Arabes à l'Époque Ottomane*, Paris: Sindbad., are among significant contributions of the French Islamists. For a broad discussion on the literature of "Arab-Ottoman City" see Eldem, Goffman, and Masters (1999), pp. 2-8.

⁴⁷⁴ Masters B. (1999), "Aleppo: the Ottoman Empire's Caravan City", *The Ottoman City between East and West*, (E. Eldem, D. Goffman, and B. Masters eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 17-78. Zeitlian - Watenpaugh H. (2004), *The Image of an Ottoman City, Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Boston and Leiden: Brill.

⁴⁷⁵ Aktüre S. (1989), "The Islamic Anatolian City", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 1-2, pp. 68-79. Kuban (1995). Tanyeli (1987).

⁴⁷⁶ Kuran A. (1996b), "A Spatial Study of the Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and İstanbul", *Muqarnas*, 13, pp. 114-131. Oğuzoğlu Y. (1987), "Anadolu Şehirlerinde Osmanlı Döneminde Görülen Yapısal Değişiklikler", *V. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 6-10 April 1987, Ankara, pp. 1-10.

Müderrişođlu studies the urban setting of Ottoman Anatolia according to the already existing physical environment of each settlement sites.⁴⁷⁷

Yet, turning back to the scope of this study, it attempts to establish a basis to distinguish characteristics of a Principalities town and its development or change towards the classical Ottoman age in Western Anatolia. While discussing the determinants of an Ottoman city, the distinctiveness of its urban form and its components, and the characteristics of urban architecture, special emphasis is given to examples from this part of Anatolia as well as Rumelia. Because, like Bursa, and İznik, from where the State stemmed, Rumelian towns such as Edirne are significant to display urban development and remodeling of urban setting during the Early Ottoman period. Plus, Western Anatolian towns are formerly Principalities towns in general which displayed either substantial transformations or developments or even decline under the Ottoman rule by the Classical period. Accordingly, where it is possible to trace the Ottoman identity in the urban environment of Western Anatolian towns during the 14th and first half of the 15th centuries, it is also possible to sketch the remodeling of those from particularly the second half of the 15th to the 16th century.

To begin with, for the most part Early Ottoman urban settings were shaped on former Byzantine settlement centers.⁴⁷⁸ Both Bursa and İznik in northwestern Anatolia and Edirne in Rumelia are examples of such settlements. Bursa, the first capital of the Ottoman State is a proper town to display how Ottomans appropriated, reformulated and developed the socio-spatial structure of a former Byzantine town into an Ottoman capital.⁴⁷⁹ The conquest of Bursa started Ottoman urbanization not only in attracting substantial Turcoman populations from inland Anatolia but also in remodeling and developing the physical setting particularly by the initiatives of the early Ottoman sultans. At the outset, the Ottomans settled inside the fortified former Byzantine area. This part comprised the Byzantine palace, monastery units as well as the residential quarters. Ottoman ruler, Orhan Bey accommodating the Turkish groups in the abandoned divisions inside the fortifications, had his palace constructed as Bey Sarayı here,

⁴⁷⁷ Müderrişođlu F. (2001), “Osmanlı Şehirciliđi Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler”, *Prof. Dr. Zafer Bayburtluođlu Armađanı*, (M. Denkaş, Y. Özbek eds.) Kayseri: Erciyes University, pp. 386-397.

⁴⁷⁸ Müderrişođlu (2001), pp. 392-393.

⁴⁷⁹ The discussion on the urban form and architecture of Bursa is for the most part articulated with reference to Crane (1991), pp. 173-178. Gabriel A. (1958), *Une Capitale Turque: Brousse*, Paris: E. De Boccard., ____ (undated) *Tarih İinde Bursa*, Bursa Municipality Publications. Kuran (1996b), pp. 114-118, Müderrişođlu (2001), pp. 392-393, Pancarođlu O. (1995), “Architecture, Landscape, and Patronage in Bursa: The Making of an Ottoman Capital City”, *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 19, 2, pp. 40-55, Tanyeli (1987), pp. 135-138. Plus, for the elements of urban architecture in Bursa Ayverdi E. H. (1966), *İstanbul Mimari ađının Menşei, Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri 630-805 (1230-1402)* Ertuđrul, Osman, Orhan Gaziler, Hüdavendigâr ve Yıldırım Bayezid,1, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası.

even founded his father's tomb on the grounds of the baptistery of St. Elias Monastery. He was later buried in tomb within the vicinity of another monastic complex.⁴⁸⁰

Orhan Bey also founded a building complex outside the fortifications in order to make an urban nucleus that generated urban growth around. The succeeding sultans continued similar architectural initiations to facilitate urban growth and substantiate the Ottoman imprint within the urban environment.⁴⁸¹ Alternatively, there was ongoing building activity for founding necessary spaces for trade activities in the commercial center nearby the fortifications. Also encouraged and accordingly developed during the subsequent classical period, the commercial center of Bursa enhanced due to the initiations of each Ottoman sultan. The highly demanding and dynamic trade business accommodated in Bursa brought along a rapid increase in urban population, urban life, and urbanization process to the city. Hence, both in founding commercial structures and in founding urban nuclei in the form of dervish lodges, the contribution of the *ghazis*, *ahis*, and dervishes in Ottomanizing the urban environment is to a great extent.⁴⁸² For instance, similar to the neighborhoods named as Muradiye and Yıldırım after the name of the building complexes generating those, the neighborhood by the Emir Sultan edifices takes its name after.

In view of the above, for the making of Ottoman Bursa in the early period of Ottoman history, it is possible to suggest several arguments. The Ottoman city initially settled inside the former Byzantine fortified area. Later, the city grew outside the fortifications on one hand by the growing commercial center, on the other hand by the architectural complexes founded by the Ottoman sultans as well as wealthy, high-ranking officials and plus *ghazis*, *ahis*, and dervishes. Hence, it can be said that the urban elite engaged in making the first Ottoman capital included not only orthodox *ulema* among the Ottoman sultans but also heterodox *Sufi*. The development pattern of the settlement was for the most part shaped according to the architectural complexes, which generated neighborhoods around. These urban nuclei together with the commercial center spatially identified with the *hans* and the *bedesten* next to the Friday mosque, in other words, Great Mosque, characterized the multi-centered nature of the early Ottoman town. (Figure 2.27)

⁴⁸⁰ Eyice S. (1962), "Bursa'da Osman ve Orhan Gazi Türbeleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 5, pp. 131-147. This was also repeated in urban studies on Bursa by various scholars mentioned above.

⁴⁸¹ The role of architecture in shaping the urban form is more comprehensively discussed in the next coming pages of this chapter. 3.4. The Role of Architecture in Town Making, plus in Chapter 4, 4.4. Evolution and Development of Building Complexes and their Relation with their Urban Contexts.

⁴⁸² For more detail see Kuran (1996b), pp. 114-118, Pancaroğlu (1995), and Tanyeli (1987), pp. 135-138.

At this point, Tanyeli describes the early Ottoman town model as exemplified in Bursa as “counter-focused”, which grew not only outwards the old center, in this case, the citadel, but also towards inside from the urban nuclei.⁴⁸³ He further claims that Bursa did not expand in the east-west direction connecting these nuclei.⁴⁸⁴ However, Tanyeli’s arguments have their drawbacks. Clearly speaking, he states that topography did not necessitate extension only in east-west direction, and also that there was not significant axes to link the urban nuclei around the architectural complexes to the center and even that these complexes were self-sufficient thus needn’t to be connected to each other. Yet, urban development both along the topographical contours and towards the flatter areas particularly growing from the commercial center can be widely seen not only in early Ottoman towns but also in the settlement pattern of their contemporary Turkish Principalities in Western Anatolia like in Tire and Peçin. This is one of the development modes of urban form in harmony with the settlement site and more important than that for defensive purposes before the ruling authority guarantees the continuity and certainty of its power. Next, the geographical conditions together with the courses of urban development may encourage making of axes according to nuclei. The complexes are self-sufficient units and need not interconnect with each other, yet, they are functioning as the nuclei at the center of the neighborhoods they facilitated. As these neighborhoods grow in time within the urbanization process not only in population increase but also in spatial expansion and urban division of the settlement, they inevitably connect to each other, and since they are small urban centers the infrastructure thus the mentioned axes develop accordingly to link these at least to the commercial business center. To sum up this study suggests that Bursa particularly developed in the east-west direction in line with the topographical contours and also extended towards the northern flatter areas, based mostly from the commercial center.⁴⁸⁵ (Figure 2.27)

As for the urban image of Bursa under the early Ottoman rule, it can be stated that domed masses and slender minarets articulated the city silhouette as can be traced in the historical visual depictions and the existing townscape. The Ottoman image comprised rather gentle and slender forms in comparison to the Seljuk one with pointed forms balanced with horizontally elongated structures. (Figure 3.18, 2.27, 3.19) Yet, the Ottoman masses were arranged in a way to create open public spaces as those defined by the buildings of the architectural complexes. Even though there are not architecturally defined public squares in the

⁴⁸³ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 128-147.

⁴⁸⁴ Tanyeli (1987), p. 138.

⁴⁸⁵ This assertion is well supported in the studies such as Kuran (1996b), pp. 114-118, Müderrisoğlu (2001), pp. 392-393.

Early Ottoman city as in the European examples, open urban spaces can be found particularly in architectural complexes like in their gardens, courtyards, and terraces of buildings in differing levels. For instance, the garden including royal tombs in Muradiye Complex, the courtyard around the tomb in Yeşil Complex and terraces of buildings on different levels of the sloppy topography of the site in Yıldırım Complex can be mentioned as examples of open spaces in Bursa. (Figure 3.19)

The open, extraverted character, opposed to the closed, solid masses and hidden colorful interiors of Seljuk spaces, is also effective in the articulation of the façade designs of Ottoman buildings. Now that the audience faces more enriched, more perforated and more colorful walls built up of alternating courses of brick and stone, as in the Byzantine construction technique and material, while strolling through an Early Ottoman town. The entrance façades become welcoming architectural elements as a whole with the construction of *son cemaat yeri*, late comers' portico sections like intermediary and preparatory spaces in comparison to Seljuk solid façades of with the portal as the only welcoming, impressive and monumental façade component. The entrance façade of Hüdavendigâr Mosque and Madrasa is a proper case not only in displaying the addition of *son cemaat yeri*, late comers' portico as a semi-open space in front but also exemplifying a more intact and open relationship between interior and exterior in the openings of its upper storey level corresponding to madrasa. (Figure 3.20) The comparative openness of the Ottoman urban architecture is furthermore accentuated in structures such as *zaviyes*, dervish lodges. Reflecting the substantial role of *ghazis*, *ahis*, and dervishes in rendering an Early Ottoman urban environment, the heterodox *Sufi* populace had far more open, extraverted building groups constructed. For instance, even though everyone is not allowed to each and every space of a dervish lodge, the window levels, particularly those belonging to prayer spaces and tombs indicate to quest for visual or sometimes at least audible contact of a visitor walking through an early Ottoman urban setting.⁴⁸⁶

Before moving to Classical Ottoman period beginning with the conquest of İstanbul, a few words can be uttered on the urban form, architecture and image of İznik and Edirne, for they, too, developed on former Byzantine settlement centers. The Ottomanization of İznik begins with the annexation of this former, very significant Byzantine settlement that even

⁴⁸⁶ The issue of dervish lodges in transforming the urban space is undertaken in a more detailed fashion in the next chapter, 4.2. Definitions, Origins, Design, and Management of *Zaviyes* [Dervish Lodges], and their Relation with Their Urban Contexts. For the time being see Wolper S. E. (2003), *Cities and Saints, Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 42-71.

functioned as her capital for almost half a century by Orhan Bey in 1331.⁴⁸⁷ Even though a significant late Byzantine town, İznik for the most part continues the regular, grid organization in the settlement layout inside the fortified area. Still, the Roman ceremonial axes, running in the east-west and north-south directions divide the city into four major segments. (Figure 3.21) As for the Ottoman period, İznik as a rule maintained the regular, earlier urban pattern, where the majority of the Byzantine edifices were kept, and appropriated to function as Ottoman buildings. For instance, Church of Hagia Sophia was converted into Orhan Bey Mosque after the conquest. New buildings to imprint Ottoman impact were also constructed in harmony, parallel with the street network. Most of the examples of urban architecture are founded by the royal family, like Nilüfer Hatun İmareti by the wife of Orhan Bey, in the early years and by the significant ruling elite like the Çandarlı family, who held substantial position within the government even challenging the sultans. Plus, the role of the *ghazis*, *ahis*, and dervishes are all attentive in articulating the early Ottoman urban environment, as seen with Hospice of Yakup Celebi, Tomb of Ahiveyn Sultan, Tomb of Sarı Saltuk, and Mosque of Şeyh Kutbettin.

In terms of urban image and urban experience of the audience approaching early Ottoman İznik, it can be said that the city silhouette was outlined with soft curvilinear forms of the domes, slender minarets and for sure the city walls in İznik. (Figure 3.22 – 3.23) The open, extraverted wall surfaces of urban architectural constructions rendering the street elevations prevailed just like in Bursa. However, the size of İznik was considerably small when compared to Bursa. İznik did not much grow outside the fortifications of the former Byzantine settlement, which means the increase in population and urban growth did not necessitate for such

⁴⁸⁷ This brief discussion on the urban form and architecture of İznik is for the most part articulated with reference to Alioğlu (1999). Angold M. (2003), “The City Nicaea ca. 1000-1400”, *İznik Throughout History*, (I. Akbaygil, H. İnalçık, O. Aslanapa eds.) İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, pp. 27-55. Foss C. (2003), “The Walls of İznik 260-1330”, *İznik Throughout History*, (I. Akbaygil, H. İnalçık, O. Aslanapa eds.) İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, pp. 249-262. Lowry H. (2003b), Ottoman İznik (NICAEA) through the Eyes of Travelers and As Recorded in Administrative Documents, 1331-1923”, *İznik Throughout History*, (I. Akbaygil, H. İnalçık, O. Aslanapa eds.) İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, pp. 135-174. Şahin S. (2003), “İznik (Nicaea) in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods”, *İznik Throughout History*, (I. Akbaygil, H. İnalçık, O. Aslanapa eds.) İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, pp. 3-23. Tanyeli (1987), pp. 144-147. Alioğlu F. (undated), “Establishing the Sustainable Identity of a Historical City Fiel of Research: İznik”, <http://www.unesco.org/archi2000/pdf/alioglu2.pdf>, last accessed February 2009. Alioğlu F. (undated), “Similarities between Early Ottoman Architecture and Local Architecture or Byzantine Architecture in İznik”, <http://www.unesco.org/archi2000/pdf/alioglu1.pdf>, last accessed February 2009.

Plus, for the elements of urban architecture in İznik, Aslanapa O. (2003), “Turkish Architecture at İznik”, *İznik Throughout History*, (I. Akbaygil, H. İnalçık, O. Aslanapa eds.) İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, pp. 223-234. Ayverdi (1966), pp. 160-183, 309-335. Ayverdi E. H. (1972), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi Mehmed ve Sultan Murad Devri 806-855 (1403-1451)*, 2, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası. pp. 504-511, Ayverdi E. H. (1973), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri 855-886 (1451-1481)*, 3-4, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, pp. 767-769.

expansion. Even, towards the classical period following the conquest of Constantinople and the making of the capital İstanbul, İznik gradually declined. The reasons for that can be twofold. One, with the capitalization of İstanbul and her growth into a world city thwarted urbanization in İznik, which is very close to the capital. Thus, İznik could not resist a competition with İstanbul as a population attracting urban center. Two, Mehmet II's getting rid of the Çandarlı family, who had strong influence in state business until then, and restructuring for a more centralized system resulted in a decrease in urbanization initiatives due to the elimination of these urban elite particularly in İznik.

Edirne conquered by the Ottomans in 1361 displays a more geometrical and regular layout like a typical Roman garrison town and like İznik compared to the rather organic, irregular organization of urban fabric of most typical late Byzantine settlement patterns.⁴⁸⁸ Ottoman Edirne for the most part retained this regular urban form particularly inside the fortified quadrilateral area as late as the 17th century, as recorded by Evliya Çelebi, who provided significant information on the urban patterns of the city.⁴⁸⁹ (Figure 2.24) Similar to Bursa, Edirne expanded outside the fortifications as the population increased and new urban facilities were realized, where the fortified area no more met the requirements of a rapidly growing town. Except for the commercial center, which overlapped the already existing Byzantine location in the fortified area, multiple urban centers were founded outside the fortifications around building groups of architectural complexes. Thus, similar to Bursa, Edirne displayed a multi-centered urban modeling, where there was one, leading commercial center that altogether assisted the shaping of the development pattern. The Ottomanization of Edirne began with its conquest however urbanization process was largely developed and expanded especially at the beginning of the 15th century with the founding of the Old Mosque and the *bedesten* establishing the commercial nuclei, in terms of urban center, located at the foot of the Royal Palace. As Kuran states, during the Classical period with the building of Üç Şerefeli Mosque in the midst of the 15th and Selimiye Complex towards the end of the 16th centuries Edirne finalized the urban patterns and image of a Classical Ottoman urban center, by means of

⁴⁸⁸ This brief discussion on the urban form and architecture of Edirne is for the most part articulated with reference to Crane (1991), pp. 176-179. Klusáková (2001), pp. 368-369. Kuran (1996b), pp. 118-122. Müderrisoğlu (2001), p. 393. Tanyeli (1987), pp. 139-144.

⁴⁸⁹ Evliya Çelebi (2005), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, (Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman, and R. Dankoff trans. and analysis) Book 9, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 83, 277. See also in the other books of Evliya's travel accounts.

these three great mosques underlining the corners of the densely populated, compact settlement.⁴⁹⁰ (Figure 3.25)

The image of a Classical Ottoman town bears the same Ottoman mode of formal and visual elements like domes, slender minarets giving shape to gentle city silhouette of Early Ottoman cities. Yet, the stability of imperial authority led to triviality of city walls, and strong fortifications due to lessening of defensive needs and the emphasis of the imperial power became rather intense and obvious.⁴⁹¹ For instance, Selimiye Complex is highlighted at the uppermost level of the topography flanked by gradually smaller and lower architectural complexes defining the urban nuclei within the cityscape. (Figure 3.26) The urban experience of those entered the city and strolling through its streets is probably similar to those in Bursa or İznik from the point of emphasis given to open spaces designed in between the distinct Ottoman masses as well as the open, extraverted façade understanding compared to Seljuks. Concerning the regularity of the urban pattern, Edirne stood in between Bursa and İznik that it was neither as organic and knotty as in Bursa nor as regular and gridal as İznik.

Stepping forward to Classical Ottoman city, the transforming and developing social and particularly administrative forces in shaping the urban modes of living has to be revealed. The imperial growth and continuity of the absolute central Ottoman authority in the territories they annexed was possible through two main institutions; *ghaza*, military conquest on one hand, and *timars*[fiefs], whose holders hand over revenue in return for military service on the other hand.⁴⁹² *Timar*, providing the incorporation of the newly conquered territories into Ottoman administration system by way of revenue allocation at the same time paved the way to divide the settlement units hierarchically.⁴⁹³ For instance, the settlements were included in the imperial domains of the Sultan as *has*, or allocated to military and ruling elite as *has*, *zeamet*, and *umar*, or were part of the *vakıfs* serving for religious and charity purposes. Accordingly, as Acun also pronounces, the use of *umar* led to a making of an Ottoman city, actually a “dependant city of the Ottoman type”. In these circumstances, urbanization attempts of the Ottomans in their newly dominated lands proceeded through three major methods.⁴⁹⁴ First,

⁴⁹⁰ Kuran (1996b), p. 122.

⁴⁹¹ For sure, in frontier regions, the provincial centers and towns continued the tradition of city walls and even fostered. For examples of Belgrade, and Baghdad see Klusáková (2001), pp. 365-369, and Ebel (2008), pp. 5-8.

⁴⁹² Tekeli İ. (1980), “Urban Patterns in Anatolia: Organization and Evolution”, *Conservation as Cultural Survival*, (R. Holod ed.) Philadelphia: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, p. 15.

⁴⁹³ Acun (2002), p. 262.

⁴⁹⁴ For a systematic evaluation of these three ways to establish and transform Ottoman cities, see Acun (2002), pp. 261-266. For not only urbanization but also Ottomanization attempts of the State in

settlement and development activities by the *ghazis*, *ahis*, and dervishes fostered urbanization in the Ottoman lands, particularly during the early period before the centralization and making of the imperial authority by Mehmet II. Second, forced migration as extensively applied by Mehmet II in particular, for instance in capitalizing İstanbul afterwards the conquest facilitated urban development and growth.⁴⁹⁵ Third, *vakıf*, system, in which urban elite founds and autonomously governs buildings supplying the religious, social, educative, medical, and even accommodative and gastronomic facilities for the public with no financial gain in return, to a great extent made possible the expansion and shaping of the urban form.

Physically speaking, it was mostly due to this *vakıf* system to urbanize the settlement through foundation of public buildings by the ruling elite, which pointed to the role of the significant individual initiatives in remodeling the urban setting. Administratively speaking, it was by the local government yet by the *kadıns*, administrative judges as well, establishing a control mechanism for the central government, who at the same time provided reconciliation with these *vakıfs*.⁴⁹⁶ In this way, little is left for the citizen initiatives in shaping the urban environment as least in the city scale, which may be valid to a considerable extent in the neighborhood scale. Hence, as Tekeli states, public solidarity is achieved through the evocations of the urban elite in dervish lodges, mosques, guilds, etc., probably not in the city level, and sense of community could be achieved within the *mahalles* [neighborhoods] for the most part based on religious allegiance.⁴⁹⁷

With all these in mind, now it can be returned to the Ottoman modes of urban transformation and attempt to distinguish between the Early and Classical Ottoman understanding and shaping of urban space. At the outset, the Early Ottoman town models displayed similarities with the typical Seljuk models in terms of urban divisions. There was a fortified area, which for the most part included the palace of the ruling elite, the administrative buildings, and residential units of some upper class inhabitants. Outside the fortified area, towards which the settlement expanded to meet the needs of the increasing population and opened the way for accompanying required spaces, generally comprised the market place,

their newly conquered territories see İnalçık H. (1954), "Ottoman Methods of Conquest". *Studia Islamica*. 2. pp. 104-129.

⁴⁹⁵ Vryonis (1991), pp. 20-21.

⁴⁹⁶ Tekeli shows the running of the Ottoman city for the classical period in a detailed and comprehensive discussion, Tekeli (1980), p. 18.

⁴⁹⁷ Tekeli (1980), p. 18. For further discussion on Ottoman *mahalles* see also, Ergenç Ö. (1984), "Osmanlı Şehrindeki 'Mahalle'nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları – The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, IV, pp. 69-78. Bayramoğlu-Alada A. (2008), *Osmanlı Şehrinde Mahalle*, İstanbul: Sümer Kitabevi.

building groups in the form of either *külliye* or *zaviye*, those generating new neighborhoods around and other individual public edifices such as mosques, baths, and alike. However, apart from this urban division, the Early Ottoman town differed from the Seljuk one not only in terms of her elements of urban architecture and particularly their architectural language but also urban image.

A visitor approaching an Early Ottoman town initially meets a city silhouette articulated with soft forms of domical roof tops, slender minarets generally located at the outskirts of increasing topography, the encircling city walls, which are repaired and reinforced for defensive purposes, and finally welcoming city gates. (Figure 3.19, 3.20, 3.22, 3.23, 3.26) Yet, entering the Ottoman town and strolling through leads to a differing urban experience than a medieval Seljuk town. The solid, compact Seljuk forms were replaced with individual masses organized together to provide defined open spaces in between. Ottoman buildings were more extraverted, establishing more direct and stronger connection with the outside. The building façades identifying the street façades were more open to the audience in the streets. For instance, dervish lodges had comparatively open, perforated façade designs, starting not only visual but also audible relation between inside and outside. The mosque façade, in particular, was more open and articulated with openings, plus had a welcoming intermediary, semi-open space in its front, which supports the idea of open urban architecture of the Ottomans compared to the enclosed Seljuk ones. At this point, it may even be suggested whether this comparative openness was due to the promotion of heterodoxy, in other words to the incorporation of the Sufi orders in stately administrative business in the Early Ottoman state opposed to the Seljuks. Last but not least, the construction materials and techniques of the Early Ottomans of the building façades were different from the Seljuk façades, indeed displayed similarities with the local architectural tradition of the former Byzantines. The audience faced more colorful and patterned walls, composed with alternating courses of brick and stone. (Figure 3.20)

From the middle of the 15th century onwards, there appeared alterations in the urban divisions, elements of urban architecture, and urban image of the Ottoman towns. Yet, there was still a continuing Ottoman identity improving and even enhancing during the Classical period. The market place, the area reserved for trade activities was gradually planned and built as the commercial center, the core of the town. *Bedesten* [covered bazaar] is a significant commercial building type which appeared concurrently with these developments in commercial business, economic growth that augmented hand in hand with the increasing stability of the imperial power. As the imperial power grew and stabilized, so did economic prosperity, population rise, spatial expansion and improvement in particularly 16th century Ottoman towns.

In these towns former defensive requirements diminished, city walls gradually lost their prominence, except for the frontier and strategic territories, urban patterns essentially developed outside the fortifications. For instance, the fortifications in Bursa steadily lost significance. The town continued to grow outside the fortified area and extended on the gentle contours rather than the slopy lands of topography. The urban nuclei of building groups already constructed during the early period generated the shaping and development of the urban pattern. Each one facilitated the development of self-sufficient neighborhoods around, which resulted in the multiplication of the urban centers and hence the urban divisions in the Classical Ottoman city. In the end, Bursa comprised a commercial core including *hans*, *bedesten* and nearby Friday mosque and comparatively smaller urban centers grew around buildings groups. Urban divisions and the street network pattern were shaped according to this multi-centered urban model. Because the land in the city were either *mülk*, privately owned or *vakıf*, foundation owned and the surrounding countryside was *miri*, state owned land, the growth of the city patterned on these multiple urban centers, to link those and divide those even further.⁴⁹⁸ Explicitly speaking, this systematization of land ownership in Ottoman towns resulted in division of land even into smaller urban plots, facilitated the interconnection in between these plots, fostered *cul-de-sac* circulation network, and prevented the existence of vast green urban spaces. The open public spaces were identified with those within the architectural complexes, and by the individual public edifices such as their courtyards, gardens, and terraces. At this point, Acun mentions the existence of *meydans*, open spaces acting as places of assembly for parades, consultations, or contests, generally situated by the fortifications.⁴⁹⁹ However, except for the *meydans* in the capital, İstanbul such as *Ok Meydanı*, *At Meydanı*, and alike, there is no evidence for the existence of such huge, well-defined open spaces in other Ottoman cities, at least inside the urbanized area.

Experiencing the Classical Ottoman city, the audience no longer meets impressive constructions of fortifications, excluding those frontier and strategically significant towns. Yet, he/she faces a city silhouette outlined with gentle curvilinear forms of domes and slender, tall minarets imprinting the Ottoman imperial power. (Figure 3.19, 3.20, 3.22, 3.23, 3.26) I. Bierman exemplifies this insertion of architectonic signs of Ottoman power to the existing Venetian Christian built environment in Crete emphasizing the siting of building complexes and sultan mosques in the urban setting to be seen at first sight by those approaching the city.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ Tekeli (1980), p. 17.

⁴⁹⁹ Acun (2002), pp. 266-267.

⁵⁰⁰ Bierman (1991), pp. 53-75.

Those moving through a transformed Ottoman city experience Ottoman imprints in placement of these new constructions as well as the transformed structures. In general, architectural complexes functioning as urban nuclei display improvements not only in the geometry of layout and organization but also in their integration with the belonging urban context and most important of all, in creating an Ottoman imperial image in designing the street elevations. The Early Ottoman open façades transformed and developed into monumental instances both in design schemas, scales, and construction materials, at the same time labeled with inscription panels dictating the Ottoman imperial power through epigraphy in the conquered territory, whether frontier or not, during the Classical period. In Western Anatolian towns like in the remaining provinces of the Empire as far as the Balkans or the Middle East or North Africa, Ottoman signature was revealed visually and spatially through these means of building and development attempts by the Ottoman urban elite. Similar to Bierman, Ü. Bates and Ç .Kafesçioğlu touch on these issues of transforming the former Arab Middle Eastern and North African towns into Ottoman ones by related ways of architectural and urban endeavors.⁵⁰¹

Back to Anatolian-Ottoman towns it can be said that those were formerly Principalities towns in Western Anatolia annexed within the Ottoman territory by the first half of the 15th, those in Central Anatolia in the 15th and those in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia became part of the Ottoman Empire by the 16th centuries. Accordingly, the process and extent of transformation into an Ottoman city differed even within the Anatolian territory. Most of the Anatolian towns east of the Sinop, Ankara, and Antalya axis were formerly Seljuk cities. The urbanization of these towns into Ottoman types diverged in some points from those Ottoman towns built on former Byzantine settlements.⁵⁰² The Seljuk urban image was enriched with softer Ottoman architectural forms and these cities such as Konya, Amasya and even the earlier *ahi* town Ankara revived and continued urban growth especially during the 16th century. Konya, the former Seljuk capital is nearly the foremost Anatolian city that continued the Seljuk image even though prospered and further urbanized as an Ottoman town. Amasya maintained its growth as a linearly developing town with the Ottoman architectural and urban contributions, particularly with building complexes like Bayezid Külliyesi throughout the

⁵⁰¹ Bates Ü. (1991), “Façades in Ottoman Cairo”, *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 129-171. Kafesçioğlu Ç. (1999a), “‘In the Image of Rum’: Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus”, *Muqarnas*, 16, pp. 70-96.

⁵⁰² Müderrisoğlu (2001), pp. 393-394. Tanyeli (1987), pp. 103-108.

Classical Ottoman period.⁵⁰³ The rise of Amasya as a *Şehzadeler Kenti*, town for the training of the Royal heir to the throne, fostered the architectural and urban attempts to render the town as a typical Ottoman town. On the other hand, different from Konya and Amasya, Ankara as an earlier *ahi* town developed around the citadel by the commercial core and around the small mosques and masjids encouraging urban expansion.⁵⁰⁴ Due to the stabilizing political authority and imperial power achieved by the Ottoman Ankara gradually improved as a Classical Anatolian Ottoman town and continued expansion on the flatter lands outside the fortified area on the rising topography. Trade activities enlivened and the particular *sof* production resulted in the growth of Ottoman Ankara as a significant urban center, where her commercial area by the citadel developed with the construction of a considerable number of *hans* and the previously built *bedesten* during the 15th century as part of an Ottoman urban project.⁵⁰⁵

Considering the Principalities towns in Western Anatolia and their transformation into Ottoman towns, the shaping of the Ottoman townscape on the already existing Principalities settlement differed from both the towns built on former Byzantine and Seljuk towns and the Central and Eastern Anatolian Principalities towns.⁵⁰⁶ In fact, the urban patterns in these Western Anatolian towns alternately bore a resemblance to the Early Ottoman ones. These towns, as discussed more in detail in the coming paragraphs, settled on former Byzantine towns like the Ottomans, initiated similar architectural and urban attempts to the Ottomans such as the foundation of building complexes, dervish lodges, displayed similar architectural language and to a considerable extent an urban image close to that of the Ottomans. Probably the settlement and construction policies in these towns under the Classical Ottoman rule were shaped synchronically with the stabilization of central authority and imperial power of the Ottoman State. Accordingly, similar to what happened as an example in Bursa, the necessity for defensive architectural elements and urban development strategies gradually disappeared, fortifications were given no more paramount importance, urban growth was realized towards the flatter lands, and more growth pattern was rather more planned and organized. New

⁵⁰³ For a detailed discussion on Amasya see Urak G. (1994), *Amasya'nın Türk Devri Şehir Dokusu ve Yapılarının Analiz ve Değerlendirmesi*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Architecture. Ankara: Gazi University.

⁵⁰⁴ For a detailed account on pre-Ottoman, Turkish Ankara see Aktüre S. (2000), "16. Yüzyıl Öncesi Ankara'sı Üzerine Bilinenler", *Tarih İçinde Ankara Sempozyumu*, (A. T. Yavuz ed.), 28-29-30 September 1981, Ankara, pp. 14-23.

⁵⁰⁵ For a detailed discussion on the urban development of the commercial center in Ankara see Bakırer Ö., Madran E. (2000), "Ankara Kent Merkezinde Özellikle Hanlar ve Bedestenin Ortaya Çıkışı ve Gelişimi", *Tarih İçinde Ankara Sempozyumu*, (A. T. Yavuz ed.), 28-29-30 September 1981, Ankara, pp. 105-127.

⁵⁰⁶ Müderrisoğlu (2001), pp. 394-395. Tanyeli (1987), pp. 108-112.

neighborhoods formed around the urban nuclei, namely the building complexes, urban divisions increased in number, and most importantly an organized commercial center with a *bedesten*, yet only in larger sized towns borders expanded, urban and spatial facilities improved to meet the needs of the growing population of these prospering towns during the Classical Ottoman rule.

For instance, as explained and discussed extensively in the next coming chapters, in Tire the settlement expanded towards the flatter lands rather than the edges aligned on the contours of the sloppy topography.⁵⁰⁷ The commercial center, already existing but not yet architecturally defined with enduring edifices organized as the commercial core of the town, which is formerly enhanced with the nearby Friday Mosque, plus new *han* structures and a *bedesten* showing the Ottoman imprints. Urban divisions increased in number around the newly built small urban centers, namely around architectural complexes and significant works of public architecture. Urban facilities improved with the foundation of larger scale building complexes in terms of additional functions like baths, *tabhane*, observatory, and the like. Infrastructure and water supply systems developed. Residential neighborhoods became more segmented and articulated in terms of varying ethnic and religious groups. Hence, the urban image of Tire persisted to a considerable extent due to the formal aspects with the use of similar curvilinear soft forms, organization of buildings masses within the complexes, and open façades built up of alternating brick and stone courses. Yet the town grew, monumentalized and in other words, imperialized to stand as a provincial center proper for a powerful Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. Even though not as intensely as Tire, Western Anatolian towns like Birgi and Peçin displayed considerable urban development and enhancement of the townscape during the Classical Ottoman period until the 17th century, Balat and Ayasoluk on the other hand, mostly due to geographical conditions and decline in trade activities declined as settlement centers even in the 16th century.

Now that, in the previous chapter, these urban centers in Western Anatolia were classified considering their type and size, with respect to trade, as well as regarding their location within the land and sea road network. Taking into account this grouping, significant urban centers in Western Anatolia are introduced below. The scrutiny on the development of urban form of the significant urban centers in the region will establish a ground to discuss whether there is a Principalities Western Anatolian town model after this discussion on urban models. Besides, these towns are analyzed taking into consideration the role of architecture in

⁵⁰⁷ See Chapter 5. Tire in the Making (14th – 16th Centuries), particularly 5.2.2. Making of the Urban Form of Tire.

shaping the urban environment. Such evaluation will set a preliminary basis for a more detailed, and thorough analysis of the urban form of Tire in the next coming chapters.

3.2. History of Urban Form in Western Anatolia

The significant urban centers analyzed are Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi, since all of them were important settlement foci during the Principalities period. Ayasoluk and Balat were the essential overseas port towns revitalized during the Aydınoğulları and concurrently Menteşeoğulları rule. Beçin and Birgi, located inland were the capitals of these Principalities and hence flourished under their rule.

3.2.1. Transformation of the Urban Form of Ayasoluk

Ayasoluk, is located at the outskirts of a mount named Ayasoluk, on the southeast of *Caystros*, Küçük Menderes Plain. Today's center is 9 km inland from the western coast and the town is developed towards the south and east. Actually, the famous city Ephesus was in this territory in the ancient times. Later as the center of the settlement moved to the surrounding of the Ayasoluk hill, Latins called the town as Theologos or Altolougo and Turks named as Ayasoluk or Ayasuluğ until the 19th century, when the town was finally called as Selçuk. (Figure 3.27)

The earliest settlement of Ayasoluk was established on the northeast slopes of Ayasoluk hill, according not only to recent archaeological but also to geo-morphological research.⁵⁰⁸ Scholars claim that this settlement bore the Hittite name *Apasa* at first and *Apasa* became Hellenized and turned into Ephesus by time.⁵⁰⁹ The initial Greek Ephesus settled on the

⁵⁰⁸ The history of these lands along *Caystros* dates back to 5000 B.C. The earliest archaeological remains were found approximately 400 m of the southern fringes of *Pion*, Panayır Mountain. The findings date to late Chalcolithic Age, which indicates a prehistoric settlement to the south of *Pion*, Panayır Mountain. Yet, the earliest settlement in the region was claimed to lie along the north-east flank of the Ayasoluk hill, depending on the discovery of ceramics from the middle bronze age. During the late Bronze Age (1450 B.C.), the area housed significant prehistoric cultures. On this issue, Scherrer mentions the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures referring to the pottery findings, whereas Büyükkolancı emphasizes the role of the Anatolian people in the establishment of the earliest settlement in the region. Scherrer P. (ed.) (2000), *Ephesus, the New Guide (authorised by Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut & Efes Müzesi Selçuk)*, İzmir: Ege Yayınları, p.14. Büyükkolancı M. (2001), "Apasas, Eski Efes ve Ayasoluk", *From Past to Present Selçuk, First International Symposium*, (Ş Işık, M. Mutluer eds.) 4-6 September 1997, Selçuk: Selçuk Belediyesi, pp. 31-38. See also Kayan İ. and Kraft J. C. (2001), "Selçuk Ovasında Efes Kültürünün Gelişimine Coğrafi Çevrelerin Etkileri" *From Past to Present Selçuk, First International Symposium*, (Ş Işık, M. Mutluer eds.) 4-6 September 1997, Selçuk: Selçuk Belediyesi, pp. 113-123.

⁵⁰⁹ Büyükkolancı (2001), pp. 31-38. Scherrer (2000), p. 14.

southwest of Ayasoluk hill, along the northeastern slopes of Panayır Mountain, close to the harbor of Coressus.⁵¹⁰ During the subsequent Hellenistic period, Ephesus flourished and became the leading port in wool production and export together with Pergamon and Miletus.⁵¹¹ In the same years, the Coressus harbor was already silted up and the area around Artemision, thus the nearby residential quarters had slowly been flooded. Thus, a new town was founded, not only in a different style, in terms of Hellenistic town planning with the grid pattern, but also in a different location than the already existing Ephesus, by then on, old Ephesus.⁵¹² To wrap up, the ancient Greek settlements extended towards the south of the *Caystros*, Küçük Menderes River, next to the gradually silting harbor, and moved in between the hills of Panayır Dağ, Bülbüldağ and Ayasoluk Hill, encircling the southern borders of the settlement. (Figure 3.28)

The subsequent Roman city witnessed the climax of the urban prosperity within the town's history.⁵¹³ Crucially located, Ephesus was the center of trade, where western commodities were exported from here and then distributed elsewhere in Asia Minor or to further East and eastern imports were collected to be sent to the West. Functioning as a trade center and having a prominent position on the major sea and land trade routes, opened the way to Roman Ephesus to grow, develop and prosper. The town became a Roman metropolis,

⁵¹⁰ Athenian armies, Carians and Cimmerians ruled in the area (11th - 7th century B.C.). A tyrant had the first temple of Artemis, built at the southwest foot of Ayasoluk hill (2nd half of the 7th century). Towards the west, along the northeastern slopes of Panayır Mountain, close to the harbor of Coressus, which was silted gradually beginning from the Hellenistic period, a settlement was founded. He initiated the construction of many public endowments and he founded Artemision, the great marble temple. The Lydian domination was challenged with the Ionian revolts (494 B.C.) and ephemeral rules of Ephesus continued, during the wars between the Greeks and the Persians. Scherrer (2000), pp. 11,15-16. See also, Büyükkolancı (2001), p. 37.

⁵¹¹ The Macedonian King, Alexander the Great put an end to the transient governments of the town and declared his rule (334 B.C.), as he paraded in honor with his army in Ephesus. The early death of Alexander (323 B.C.) caused anarchy for some time until Alexander's commander Lysimachus took control (300 B.C.) and brought back order, continuity and development to the urban life of the Ephesians aftermath the Persian wars. Scherrer (2000), pp. 17-18. Lysimachus was quite ambitious in the urban development and economic prosperity of the town and in his age Ephesus became a leading port. Arıkan Z. (1991), "XIV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda Ayasuluğ", *Belleten*, LIV/209, p. 122. Malay H. (1983), "Batı Anadolu'nun Antik Çağdaki Ekonomik Durumu", *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, 2, pp. 51-61.

⁵¹² Lysimachus founded a new Ephesus named Arsinoe after his wife. Where he initiated a new town planning understanding with the application of a grid pattern, and moved the location of the settlement, he also ordered the construction of fortifications along the slopes of Bülbül and Panayır Mountains, which can be seen in many Hellenistic towns. Scherrer (2000), p. 18.

⁵¹³ After the death of Lysimachus, Ephesus fell under the rule of the Seleucids and then was annexed as a military district of Kingdom of Pergamon (2nd century B.C.). Although the Pergamene Kingdom annexed to the Roman State (133 B.C.), it took rather a longer time for Ephesians to pass over turbulent events and establish a developing and peaceful period under the absolute Roman rule. Ephesus became the permanent seat of the Roman governor and replaced Pergamon (29 B.C.). The town was cleverly re-established according to the new political intentions. Roman architectural elements were used cautiously to turn Ephesus into a Hellenistic-Roman city. Scherrer (2000), pp. 20-22.

flourishing not only in its socio-economic but also in physical constructs like in its urban form and architecture. The town developed regularly around the Arcadien, the major colonnaded street, leading from the harbor up to the theater. Roman elements of urban architecture dominated both the plan layout of the urban fabric and the urban image of the city for those approaching from outside as well as for those strolling around inside. In other words, in addition to Arcadien, spaces such as those of administrative buildings around the Domitian Square, monumental *nymphae*, Library of Celcius, monumental gates and the luxurious residential units known as Terrace Houses called attention to the supremacy of Roman rule in the city.⁵¹⁴ Not surprisingly, Ephesus lived through its most brilliant times of wealth and urban upswing under the Roman rule becoming the fourth largest city of the East of the Empire, after Alexandria, Antioch and Athens.⁵¹⁵ (Figure 3.6-3.7)

Later, the town underwent significant transformations during the Late Antique, and Byzantine periods. In the early Byzantine times, Ephesus maintained its importance as a great city that could continue its trade activities and its well-developed ancient culture and traditions. Many of the public services and entertainments of the ancient city were maintained, where late antique or early Christian Ephesus can be regarded as the successor of the classical.⁵¹⁶ However, there was great physical change in the architecture of the city considering its transformation from a pagan into a Christian metropolis. While the church replaced the temple, so did the decorative arts of pagan content and forms to Christian ones. For instance, the Roman market basilica was converted into Cathedral dedicated to Virgin Mary, and Temple of Serapis into a church, and crosses took the place of pagan statues along the streets.⁵¹⁷ Yet, Ephesus was still a thriving metropolis due to trade, though not as lively and wealthy as in the Roman times. Under Byzantine rule, new commercial units behind colonnades were built instead of the isolated and neglected open-market spaces. Hence, the elegant, open, regular classical city was corrupted to certain degree, where wide streets were narrowed, open squares were filled with squatter housing and finally the spacious appearance of the city in the classical period was lost.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁴ Scherrer (2000), pp. 74-117.

⁵¹⁵ This was when Ephesus reached its climax during the reign of Augustus (the midst of the 2nd century A.D.) Scherrer (2000), p. 23.

⁵¹⁶ Foss (1979a), p. 96.

⁵¹⁷ The building activity in the period not only encompassed the restoration and renovation of the already existing remains and structures like the Theater, the Stadium, baths and so on but also included constructions of new edifices like Churches of St. Mary and St. John, the Arcadiane, governor's Palace, the Baths of Scholastica, and other smaller buildings. Foss (1979a), pp. 36-37.

⁵¹⁸ For further details on this issue see Foss (1979a), p. 97.

In time, the military concerns combined with the worsening of the geographical conditions of the settlement like the steadily silting up of the harbor.⁵¹⁹ These resulted not only in a decline of commercial strength and urban life in the town, but also in alteration in the urban form. The borders of the town shrank, the regular layout transformed into comparatively smaller, separate, fortified units. In other words, the flourishing city shrank and developed into two separate fortified centers: one by the Harbor and the other on the Ayasoluk hill.⁵²⁰ The city, once laid-out by Lysimachus became less populated and no longer defensible. Ephesus by the Harbor reduced to the area enclosed by the so-called Byzantine city walls.⁵²¹ Most of the inhabited area drew back the fortress developed around the Church and Tomb of St. John on the Ayasoluk Hill. By the 11th and 12th centuries, the ancient settlement by the Harbor was abandoned and the center in Ayasoluk hill grew. In addition to the imposing fortifications encircling the hill, much work was carried out in and around the Basilica of St. John. As the new city gained more importance, it extended beyond the limits of fortifications. On the area, in which Temple of Artemis was burnt down, many residential units were erected. In short, medieval Ayasoluk under Byzantine domination partially moved next to, partially overlapped ancient Ephesus. (Figure 3.29) Now that, the Byzantine town was also supported by the nearby ports of Phygela, Scala Nuovo, which is known as Kuşadası and Anaea, Kadı Kalesi today, as the old Harbour fell into disuse.⁵²² (Figure 3.30) These ports were already housing inhabitation of Venetian and Genoese merchants, who established close commercial contacts with the western coasts of Asia Minor under the Byzantine rule by the 11th century.⁵²³ This shows the beginning of variations in the populace dwelling in the same lands at the same times that the western Latins joined the dominating population of the local Greeks.

The subsequent Turkish penetration in the region resulted in urban transformations in Ayasoluk, once again.⁵²⁴ After the conquest some local inhabitants migrated or forced to

⁵¹⁹ Ephesus had to face rather severe and discordant times because of the Persian and Arab attacks in Asia Minor (7th - 9th centuries). Plague and rebellion doubled the trouble and disturbed trade and production, on which urban life had been based. Like many other provincial towns of the Byzantine Empire like Sardis, Pergamon, Magnesia on the Maeander, Ephesus suffered considerable decline in terms of its size and prosperity.

⁵²⁰ Foss (1979a), p. 103. Foss C. (1982), "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks", *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 27, p. 195.

⁵²¹ Scherrer (2000), p.33.

⁵²² Foss (1979a), pp. 119-123, 185-187, 124.

⁵²³ It was in the early 9th century that Ephesus began to be mentioned as Theologos and Alto Luogo in medieval western sources and Ayasoluk in Turkish and Arab sources. Scherrer (2000), p. 34, Foss (1979a), p. 121.

⁵²⁴ From the 11th century onwards the gradual Turkish infiltration within Western Anatolia resulted in the restructuring in these urban centers in socio-cultural terms and, in relation, urbanization

migrate to Thyrea, Tire and total populace began to change due to the new Turkish settlers and the lack of some local residents.⁵²⁵ Hence, besides Turks and Greeks, the Latins as well as a few Arab merchants took part in total population. Accordingly, these different socio-cultural groups, where the Turkish group prevailed, had their impact on shaping the urban environment and the architectural setting of Ayasoluk. As stated in the previous chapter, each group had their own quarters, in which they had their own residential units and public buildings.⁵²⁶ Articulated according to the neighborhood names cited by Akin from undated *Fatih Defteri*, Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry in İstanbul, No:2, file no: 445; *Mahalle-i Yegân ve Şeyhlü, Kayacık ve Bey Hamamı, Karafakih, Burakbey, Kadı, Pembegân, Kemer, Beylisüle, Satılmış Fakih, Kubbeli Mescid, and Hatib ve Sarı Sinan* were the Turkish neighborhoods; *Cemâat-ı Kefere-i Fi Mahalle-i Kemer, Mahalle-i Küfferân Eskihsarın Haremi* and *Mahalle-i Küffâran Hisaryakası* were the Greek neighborhoods, and the Latin neighborhoods gathered around the so-called St. Paul Prison by the Ayasoluk Harbor.⁵²⁷ (Figure 3.31, 3.29, 2.10)

Eventually, under the Aydınoğulları rule, economic developments and intense commercial activities encouraged the increase of cultural and artistic events in Ayasoluk, where renowned scholars, artists and architects were invited to and welcomed. The ruling elite in Ayasoluk instigated the foundation of architectural works serving for the public and in so doing contributed to the urban upswing of the town. They endowed architectural complexes and public edifices like mosques, masjids, tombs and baths.⁵²⁸ By this way, the Turkish-Islamic

patterns. After Çaka Bey's short-lived rule in the region (1081-1097) and the following times of trouble, during which ruling authorities continuously replaced each other, Aydınoğulları succeeded to take over Ephesus among the key cities on the Aegean coasts by the end of the 13th century. Akin H. (1968), *Aydınoğulları Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, p. 18. Arıkan (1991), p.130. Stewig R. (1970), *Batı Anadolu'nun Kültürel Gelişmesinin Ana Hatları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture. pp. 123-140. Vryonis (1971), pp. 143-155, 194-216, 223-244, 285-287.

⁵²⁵ Wittek P. (1944), *Menteşe Beyliği: 13. – 15. Asırda Garbi Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, (O. S. Gökyay trans.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, p. 32.

⁵²⁶ In this respect, the travel accounts of the German pilgrims, Wilhelm von Boldensele and Ludolf von Suchem, Arab traveler İbn-i Batuta, Florentine merchant Pegolotti and Byzantine statesman Demetrius Kydones provide significant information about the built environment of Ayasoluk in the middle ages. Plus, the illustration by J. Covel is highly important in attempting to picture the demographically cosmopolitan town in physical terms, or in other words, concerning its urban divisions. See in Chapter 2, under 2.3. Trade and Trade Relations in the Principalities Period 2.3.2. Trade Agreements and Peace Treaties.

⁵²⁷ Akin (1968), pp. 134-135. See also Foss (1979a), pp. 149-150 for the location of the Latin quarters.

⁵²⁸ İsa Bey Mosque, Akıncılar, Kale, İshak Bey, Alparslan, Karakolyanı, and Kılıçarslan Masjids, Bath buildings are among the significant edifices constructed under the Turkish rule. For a more detailed research on the architectural heritage in Ayasoluk dating from Aydınoğulları period, Çakmak Ş. (2001), "Selçuk Türbeleri", *From Past to Present Selçuk, First International Symposium*, (Ş Işık, M. Mutluer eds.) 4-6 September 1997, Selçuk: Selçuk Belediyesi, pp. 375-384. Daş E. (2001), "Selçuk'daki

architectural entities were introduced and by time, increased in number. At the same time, Christian edifices were converted into Turkish-Islamic buildings and spaces serving for differing functions than the earlier Byzantine ones. For instance, as detected in the travel accounts of the German Pilgrims Wilhelm von Boldensele and Ludolf von Suchem, Church of St. John was changed into a mosque, and some part of it and some spaces around the Tomb were altered to commercial units.⁵²⁹ Hence, trade also influenced the spatial modes of urbanization in the town.⁵³⁰ The archaeological findings of shops to the north of the Church, dated to the Turkish period support this argument.⁵³¹ Consequently, under the Aydınoğulları rule revival of trade activities and relations attracted further population to reside in Ayasoluk. While the variety in population shaped the urban divisions as separate quarters for each socio-cultural groups, trade, as well fostered urban development. Architecturally speaking, spaces serving for commercial activities were produced, even though mostly in the form of open air markets, and the auxiliary spaces, serving to the public like prayer areas, baths were constructed to supplement them, which all together had an effect in the shaping of the urban form. (Figure 3.31, 2.10, 3.9)

However, under the Ottoman rule, Ayasoluk gradually declined and urban life witnessed considerable regression. On one hand, the Ottoman State's growth into a world empire resulted in Ayasoluk's change from an overseas into an regional port town. On the other hand, the steady silting up of the harbor resulted in an increase in swamp formation as well as

Türk Hamamları”, *From Past to Present Selçuk, First International Symposium*, (Ş Işık, M. Mutluer eds.) 4-6 September 1997, Selçuk: Selçuk Belediyesi, pp. 385-397. Ertuğrul S. K. (1995), *Anadolu'da Aydınoğulları Dönemi Mimarisi*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Art History, İstanbul: İstanbul University. Öktem G. (2002), *Selçuk Kent Alanı İçinde Bizans, Selçuklu, ve Osmanlı Yapıları, Koruma ve Onarım Sorunları*. Unpublished Master's Thesis in Restoration, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül University. Uğur T. (2006), *Selçuk (Ayasoluk) Cami ve Mescitleri*, Unpublished Master's Thesis in Art History, İzmir: Ege University. Plus, Akın gives a list of Aydınoğulları foundations under the light of written documents, Akın (1968), pp. 216-220.

⁵²⁹ Buch W. (1982), “14./15. Yüzyılda Kudüs'e Giden Alman Hacılarının Türkiye İzlenimleri”, (Y. Baypınar trans.) *Bulleten*, XLVI/183, pp. 516-517.

⁵³⁰ “Spaces serving for commercial activities dominated and the auxiliary spaces, serving to the public like prayer areas, baths supplemented them in constructing the urban fabric. There are not surviving examples of *hans* dating to 14th -15th centuries in Ayasoluk. However, there should be vast spaces reserved for the markets. Probably, these were not enduring edifices, or easy to construct and deconstruct structures like open air bazaars. Yet, for instance, İsa Bey Mosque, the most imposing building of the Aydınoğulları contribution, has shops inserted to its entrance façade, making use of the level difference in the topography. Although, this is associated with the Syrian influences on its architecture, this may well point to the intense trade activities, and the need for commercial spaces in the town.” See in Chapter 2, 2.3. Trade and Trade Relations in the Principalities Period, 2.3.2. Trade, Road Network, and Urban Centers.

⁵³¹ Büyükkolancı M. (1980), “Ayasoluk (St. Jean) Çevresinde Yapılan 1980 Yılı Çalışmaları”, *III. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, pp. 126-127.

degeneration of the living conditions. Neither an overseas port and nor a cosmopolitan medieval metropolis anymore, Ayasoluk was slowly and surely replaced by other ports, particularly by İzmir and then turned into an abandoned settlement. Unavoidably, Ayasoluk lost its significance as an urban center, population reduced, the borders shrank, and most of the earlier settled quarters were abandoned. As Evliya Çelebi stresses in his travel accounts, Western travelers depict in their illustrations, Ayasoluk ended up a small, deprived village by the 17th century.⁵³² (Figure 2.21)

3.2.2. Transformation of the Urban Form of Balat

Balat, the important port center of Western Anatolia during the medieval era, is today an abandoned village of Söke, which is a town of Aydın. Located on the south of the *Maiandros* Valley, Büyük Menderes Vadisi, the center today is approximately 9 km inland from the western coast. (Figure 3.32) In fact, the medieval settlement overlapping the ancient famous city of Miletus, which used to cover the former peninsula known as the Milesian territory. Towards the middle ages, due to the gradual silting of the harbors by the alluvial of *Maiandros*, topography changed, so did the settlement patterns of subsequent periods. As Milesian territory shrank and broke into detached centers, the land became an integrated part of Western Asia Minor rather than a peninsula. (Figure 3.33)

The urban form of Balat transformed concurrently with the alterations in the social, economic, and political constructs as well as the topographical and geographical conditions through its history. The prehistoric settlements inhabited in the town located around the hilltops of Humeytepe and Kaletepe, and by the natural harbors, Theater and Lion Harbor as well as the area encompassing the Temple of Athena by the Stadium Hill.⁵³³ As A. M. Greaves claims

⁵³² Evliya Çelebi (2005), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, (Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman, and R. Dankoff trans. and analysis), Book 9, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 75-76. See also the engraving, Corneille Le Bryun (1698), *Reisen van Cornelis de Bryun*. Delft, pl. 16 in Sevim M. (prep). (2002). *Turkey in Gravures V, Anatolia 2*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları. pl. 91.

⁵³³ Archaeological research identified earliest settlement sites in the province either on hilltops or along the coasts, dating even to Chalcolithic period (5000 BC – 4000 BC). These sites include Assessos; a high headland overlooking the east end of the northern plain, Killiktepe; a high and relatively inaccessible hill overlooking Miletus on its south, Kümüradası; a small peninsula by the coast, Tavşanadası; a small island, and Altinkum Plajı, a beach along the coast. Concerning the findings in the settlement of Miletus itself, the earliest evidences are discovered from the area on which the later Temple of Athena stood, which in fact, indicates inhabitation of Miletus from Chalcolithic period onwards. Greaves A. M. (2000), “The Shifting Focus of Settlement at Miletos”, *Further Studies in Ancient Greek Polis*, (P. Flensted-Jensen ed.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, p. 63. Greaves A. M. (2002), *Miletos, A History*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 40, 42. See also Greaves (2000), Fig. 3, p. 65. and Greaves (2002), Fig. 2.1, p. 49 and Fig. 3.5, p. 83.

these hilltops were actually islands in the prehistoric times and later integrated with the peninsula.⁵³⁴ The choice of these locations seems to do quite well, concerning that they meet the needs of ease of defense, transportation and communication, and most probably availability of water. Eventually, Miletus was of the most significant Bronze Age settlements in Western Anatolia. Its uniqueness lied in its functioning as a bridging spot between Aegean and Anatolia as well as in its displaying the degree of the Minoan, Mycenaean, and Central Anatolian Hittite presences.⁵³⁵ Subsequently, in the 9th century BC, for the first time, Kalabaktepe was also occupied, and it was a fortified spot opposed to the already settled sites by the harbor.⁵³⁶ (Figure 3.34)

During the afterward Archaic Age the town lived through its brilliant times. The settlement covered all parts of the peninsula including Kalabaktepe and even encompassed a peri-urban site by Zeytintepe outside the city walls.⁵³⁷ The size of Archaic Miletus is impressive, which pointed toward its significance in terms of its wealthy, fertile agricultural lands and active trade interests given that Miletus was the primary city of Ionia throughout the 7th and 6th centuries BC.⁵³⁸ Accordingly, the Archaic town is worth to mention as the principle port settlement considering intense trade activities taking place and fertile agricultural lands and the consequent urban upswing witnessed. Urban prosperity brought along development of the urban form, particularly the extension of the territory, increase in the number of examples

⁵³⁴ Greaves (2000), pp. 57-58, 64. Greaves (2002), p. 42, 76.

⁵³⁵ Particularly the late Bronze Age period can be articulated into three important development phases in architecture and particularly in crafts, during which three successive cultures were influential within Miletus terrain. The earliest level of the late Bronze Age Miletus displayed strong impacts of the Minoan Crete, yet Miletus by that date is argued to be a Minoan colony. Second level corresponded to Mycenaean dominion on Milesian culture, especially in pottery, which is distributed in a wider territory including the hinterland of the settlement in contrast to the coastal distribution by the formerly influential Minoan culture. The last level of prehistoric Miletus also displayed Mycenaean impacts, however with the addition of city walls of the Hittite type. Greaves (2002), pp. 48-5-59, 65-69. Göksel D. (undated), *Didim, Milet, Priene*, Ankara: Odak Ofset Matbaacılık. p. 34. Greaves, depending on the matching of Miletus with *Millawanda* in the Hittite sources and the mention of conquest and the subsequent destruction over the *Millawanda* lands in those sources, argues that the city fell under the Hittite authority after the Mycenaean presence and plus the construction of the fortifications were a Hittite contribution. Greaves (2002), pp. 59-65, 69-71. In addition, A. Durukan emphasize the correspondence of Millawanda to Miletos in Hittite literature Durukan A. (1988), *Balat, İlyas Bey Cami*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 1. However, Göksel accepts the last level as the Late Mycenaean and claims that the city walls were by the Mycenaean. Göksel (undated), p. 44.

⁵³⁶ Miletus witnessed the earliest architectural evidences dating to the Geometric Age, 9th century BC, specifically oval structures over the prehistoric city walls and beneath the archaic Temple of Athena by the Theatre Harbor and the occupation of Kalabaktepe. Greaves (2000), p. 64, Fig.3 p.65. Greaves (2002), p. 76.

⁵³⁷ Greaves (2002), p. 78.

⁵³⁸ Owens E. J. (1991), *The City in the Greek and Roman World*, London and New York: Routledge, p. 33.

of monumental urban architecture and regularity in the layout of the urban fabric. However, due to the pillage of the settlement by Persians (494 B.C.), there are no standing remains of the former archaic constructions endured as all the sanctuaries and temples of the period were ruined.⁵³⁹ Nevertheless, the archaic town comprised parts, which were regularly laid out even though orientation of different districts displayed slight deviations instead of uniformity.⁵⁴⁰ Hence, as Owens also claims, the new, 5th century town shows similar alignments with some earlier districts.⁵⁴¹ This, in fact, yields to an assertion that the gridded composition, in other words, articulation of *insulae* – units of the urban fabric of Classical Miletus had its roots in the archaic period. Yet, it was during the Hellenistic Age that the port town recovered and attained once more uniformity with the articulation of *insulae* – units of the urban fabric. In other words, Hellenistic city displays the grid-iron composition of the Hippodamian plan. The most impressive monuments of Miletus were built and the city was embellished with new structures such as temples, theatre, and others.⁵⁴² However, Hellenistic Miletus (334 BC – 31 BC) could only rival those of Pergamon, Ephesus, and Halicarnassos.⁵⁴³ (Figure 3.2)

The subsequent Roman city for the most part continued the Hellenistic urban form regarding the territory and the dominating grid plan as the main concept of its urban design.⁵⁴⁴ Yet, examples of Roman urban architecture emphasizing the Roman rule in the city inevitably prevailed. Hence, Romans improved the existing urban facilities, renovated the old buildings

⁵³⁹ The only remaining archaic ruins are by Kalabaktepe and Zeytintepe which stayed behind the fortifications of the Hellenistic city. Actually, after the Persian War, during the Classical period (494 BC – 334 BC) Persians took over the lower lands of the territory along the coast and handed the highlands to the Carians. This, in a way, points to the significance of these lower areas probably not only because of agricultural facilities but especially also maritime activities within the harbors. Until the conquest of the city by Alexander the Great, people of Miletus were either dominated by the Delian League – Athenians or Persians. Naturally, Classic Miletus witnessed considerable decline in comparison to its lively days and enormous territory of the archaic period. Now that the city was divided between the Persians and the Carians, its significance as a Western Anatolian port was challenged by Pergamon and particularly Ephesus to the north and Halicarnassos to the south displayed remarkable progress. Greaves (2002), pp. 82, 132-133. Göksel (undated), pp. 38-41.

⁵⁴⁰ Greaves (2002), p. 81, Owens (1991), p. 33.

⁵⁴¹ Owens (1991), pp. 33, 54.

⁵⁴² Göksel gives a detailed list of the historical structures in Miletos. Those dating to the Hellenistic period are indicated among them. Göksel (undated), pp. 44-80.

⁵⁴³ First, the Gulf of Latmos was continuously silting, which resulted in the process of pregradation and replacement of swamps with some harbors along the Milesian territory. Second, as Greek authority in the region became gradually stabilized, new centers inland, rather than the only coastal ones, gained prominence as settlement cores such as Tralles. For further discussion see Greaves (2002), p. 137.

⁵⁴⁴ The Lion Harbor was still the main focus and the Sacred Way led from here towards the South Market. Greaves (2002), p. 137.

and added new ones.⁵⁴⁵ Increasing trade activities resulted in the increase in the number of markets by the Theatre and particularly the Lion Harbor.⁵⁴⁶ The Theatre building and the Stadium were enlarged in order to allow seat for more spectators.⁵⁴⁷ The most significant Roman contribution is the baths of Faustina, which broke up the grid scheme due to the plan organization in the layout.⁵⁴⁸ In the end, Miletus began to compete with Ephesus; the significant port, and Aphrodisias; a prominent inland settlement northeast of the Maiandros Valley, under the Roman rule. (Figure 3.2, 3.34, 3.35)

The Byzantine period of Miletus is not easy to visualize and it is detect its boundaries depending on the established archaeological research. First, concerning the architectural edifices, it can be claimed that, the older structures of the Hellenistic and Roman period continued to be used, however, with changes and adaptations for new functions. Similar to what happened in Ephesus, temples and basilicas were converted into churches. For instance, Temple of Dionysus was transformed into the church of St. Michael.⁵⁴⁹ The newly built structures comprised palaces for the most part like the Episcopal Palace. For that reason and more than that owing to the earlier built palace structures, Miletus began to be called as Palatia; “the Palaces” from 13th century onwards by the Latins frequented in the city for commercial purposes.⁵⁵⁰ Second, the castle constructed on top of the Theatre is a significant Byzantine contribution. Located around a courtyard and three storey high, the Castle overlooks the city and also has controlling view of the harbors.⁵⁵¹ (Figure 3.36) Third, a new city wall, the so-called Justinian Wall was built (538), which showed the reduction in the size of the enclosed settlement, centered around the new castle built on Kale Tepe.⁵⁵²

The construction of these fortifications and the building of city walls by the Theater Harbor in addition, point to decline throughout the Byzantine rule in this part of Anatolia. The Persian and Arab invasions in Asia Minor (7th - 9th centuries), plague, rebellion and especially the were the reasons behind the weakening of Byzantine Miletus in terms of its size and prosperity. Through the 7th - 9th centuries, similar to Ephesus, Miletus witnessed stagnation in

⁵⁴⁵ For instance, Trajan commissioned a monumental *nymphaeum* in front of the Hellenistic *bouleuterion* and Marcus Aurelius had the Theater renovated and enlarged during his reign, where his wife, Faustina founded the illustrious baths in the city. Owens (1991), p. 141.

⁵⁴⁶ Greaves (2002), p. 141.

⁵⁴⁷ Göksel (undated), pp. 45, 49-50.

⁵⁴⁸ While an orthogonal grid giving shape to the urban fabric was the dictating urban design principle in building up Miletus, the baths of Faustina, as a significant Roman contribution to the city dispersed from the grid pattern. Greaves (2002), p. 137. Göksel (undated), pp. 46-48.

⁵⁴⁹ Greaves (2002), p. 142. Göksel (undated), p. 73.

⁵⁵⁰ Greaves adheres the name Palatia with “Palaces”, Greaves (2002), p. 142.

⁵⁵¹ Göksel, p. 77.

⁵⁵² Greaves (2002), p. 143.

urban life and the formation of an urban fabric as a response. Hence, due to the military conditions, namely to the Arab and Persian attacks and the gradual silting of the harbors, which resulted in decline in commercial activities, agricultural prosperity and population of the town displayed its consequences in the shrinkage in the borders of the city and its draw back towards the more secure hilltop locations.⁵⁵³ In the end, it can be said that the regularity and uniformity of grid composition in the plan layout of the ancient city deformed and dispersed. Separate fortified units, which concentrated on certain spots within the shrinking city, dictated the shaping of the urban form under the Byzantine rule. (Figure 3.34)

Menteşeoğulları Principality took over Byzantine Miletus, or in other words Palatia, and the port town began to be called as Balat by the Turks from 1261 onwards. The wealth and prosperity of Balat once again revived with the stimulation of the increase in trade activities and agricultural production. Even though natural harbors were gradually silting up, overseas trade enhanced, in this significant Aegean port. Accordingly, where trade to a considerable extent influenced the shaping of the urban form, Mentēşeoğulları contributed to the shaping of the townscape with the construction of commercial buildings like the two *hans* by the Theater Harbor.⁵⁵⁴ As a signature of the prevailing Turkish rule in the city, the members of the ruling family also commissioned the building of public edifices, which indicated to the conversion of the Byzantine - Christian urban image into Turkish – Islamic one. The founding of İlyas Bey Complex to the south of the city, dervish lodges by the Lion Harbor on the slopes of Humeytepe, Kırk Merdiven Mosque and the conversion of a church to Mosque with Four Columns on Kaletepe, is worth to point out, in this respect.⁵⁵⁵ These Mentēşeoğlu structures

⁵⁵³ Separate fortified settlement units developed by and behind the Theater Harbor as well as by Kale Tepe. Yet, extensive repairs and new constructions of fortifications were of the primary building activities during this period.

⁵⁵⁴ In addition, the economic revitalization and increase of trade in the port of Balat was also represented on the civic structures of Mentēşeoğulları in the depictions of ship-graffiti, most probably illustrating Genoese or Venetian ships on the walls of baths. For further details see Meinardus O. F. A. (1973), "Testimonies to the Economic Vitality of Balat, the Medieval Miletus", *Bellekten*, XXXVII / 147, pp. 289-296. In addition Meinardus claims that similar graffiti was depicted on the bath near İsa Bey Mosque in Ayasuluk, which still existed in the beginnings of the 20th century. Meinardus (1973), p. 295

⁵⁵⁵ For a more detailed description of the Turkish monuments in Balat see Arel A. (1970), "Batı Anadolu'dan Birkaç Yapının Tarihlendirilmesi ve XV. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarisi Hakkında", *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları*, II, pp. 82-96. Arel A. (1993), "Menteşe Beyliği Mimarisinde Latin Etkileri", *Uluslararası Üçüncü Türk Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri*, (A. K. Birgül ed.) 25-29 Eylül 1993, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, pp. 167-179. Duran R. (2001), "Mimari Eserleri, Sikkeleri ve Arşiv Belgeleriyle Mentēşeoğulları Tarihine Yeni Bir Bakış", *Prof. Dr. Zafer Bayburtluoğlu Armağanı*, (M. Denктаş, Y. Özbek eds.) Kayseri: Erciyes University, pp. 221-247. Duran R. (2002), "Menteşeoğulları Mimarisi", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 8, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 133-142. Durukan A. (1988), *Balat, İlyas Bey Cami*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları. Greaves (2002), pp. 144-147, Göksel (undated), pp. 48, 55-60, 65,

scattered within the territory suggests a continuation of the late Byzantine urban forms composed of separate, detached fortified divisions instead of persistence of the ancient grid plan. In other words, Turkish town extended around the fortified hills and by the harbors maintaining the principle urban pattern already transformed during the medieval era under the late Byzantine rule. (Figure 3.34, 3.37)

The conquest of the region by the Ottomans and subsequently Ottoman State's growth into a world empire during the 16th century had its impacts on the Aegean ports. Like in Ayasoluk, active overseas trade with the Latins, those having consulates and quarters in the city, turned into regional trade, in other words, one way trade to feed İstanbul in Balat. What's more, the town suffered from its silted-up harbors, swamps around and the resultant problem of malaria, which arrived at severe limits by the 17th century.⁵⁵⁶ In other words, adding the alterations in the geographical and the turning down of the healthy living conditions as well as the decrease in agricultural prospects, it was unavoidable for Balat to face decline both in its urban life and the related deprivation in its urban form towards the 17th century.

3.2.3. Transformation of the Urban Form of Beçin

Beçin is a modest settlement, a village of Milas, which is a urban center of the city, Muğla in southwestern Anatolia, today. It is approximately 5 km from Milas and 65 km from Muğla. Beçin is established on an approximately 200 m high plateau, overlooking the Milas plain. It is surrounded with steep slopes on the east, west and north. (Figure 3.38, 3.39) The probable reasons for the location of this medieval settlement, which served as the capital of Menteşeoğulları Principality, were these topographical conditions which help to respond to security concerns and the availability of water sources. The medieval, neglected town of Beçin is reached through 500 m, rather sloppy road from today's Beçin. The last dwellers of Beçin, who resided in the Inner Citadel moved to today's town in 1950s.⁵⁵⁷

In comparison to overseas port towns such as Ayasoluk and Balat by the Aegean coast, the inland settlement Beçin, located on the steep hills next to Milas, was more modest in terms

74, 77-82. Necati D. (1972), *Miletos Caravanserai*, Unpublished Master Thesis in Restoration, Ankara: Middle East Technical University. Where the most imposing Turkish – Islamic architectural remains are founded during the Menteşeoğulları rule in the town, Durukan states that most of these remains were dug and damaged by the archaeologists excavating the site for ancient remains. Durukan A. (1982), "Milet: Turkish Ceramic Finds", *Istanbulur Mitteilungen*, 32, p. 27. See also Greaves (2002), p. 143.

⁵⁵⁶ Faroqhi (1984), p. 116. Faroqhi (1979c), p. 62. Faroqhi, Erder, (1980), p. 276.

⁵⁵⁷ Ünal R. H. (2006), "Beçin", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygurlığı*, II, (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.) Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 211.

of its population, of its territorial size and of its urban growth. The only traces of the earliest settlement in the area, which date to the prehistoric times, comprise findings of archaeological objects of these dates.⁵⁵⁸ Yet, for the subsequent ancient town, there are also remaining architectural evidences which help to figure out the location, borders, and to a little extent architectural imagery of the settlement.⁵⁵⁹ Referring to the ancient temple and the walls excavated by the Inner Citadel and the *necropolis* [ancient cemetery] on its eastern slopes, it can be claimed that ancient Beçin was located inside the Inner Citadel.⁵⁶⁰ Yet, the town most probably developed around the Inner Citadel and extended towards the eastern slopes of the plateau. Ünal claims that the eastern slopes for the most part housed rural settlement in comparison to the area by the Inner Citadel not only during the Roman but also throughout the subsequent Byzantine rule.⁵⁶¹ (Figure 3.40-3.42)

During the Byzantine period, the town extended outside the Inner Citadel, the eastern slopes of which might have continued as rural areas, and most probably remained within the borders of the Outer Citadel. The Byzantine chapel in between the eastern fortifications and the center is the only remaining building in good condition from the Byzantine times. In addition, there is the Domed Fountain in the center, where the later Turkish monuments were constructed. Yet, there is use of *spolia* from Byzantine period in the constructions of Orhan Mosque and in *Küçük Hamam*, Small Bath.⁵⁶² Thus, it is very probable that, the center of Medieval Beçin under the rule of Menteşeoğulları Principality was also the center of the Byzantine Beçin. Yet, it can be suggested that, similar to other medieval, Byzantine settlements in Asia Minor, this comparatively small, secure inland settlement displayed an urban setting composed of dispersedly laid out plan organization. In other words, the urban pattern did not develop regularly, following an organized grid pattern. Since the settlement is considerably

⁵⁵⁸ According to recent archaeological reports, Beçin was home to prehistoric settlements dating as early as the Late Neolithic ages. Ünal mentions a stone axe within the archaeological findings in the area, which is claimed to date to Late Neolithic Age, approximately 6000 B.C. On the other hand, G. E. Bean depending on an obsidian knife states that the settlement was also occupied during the Early Bronze (2000 B. C.) Nevertheless, inhabitation in Beçin continued through the ancient era. Akarca A. (1971), “Beçin Altındaki Eskiçağ Mezarlığı”, *Belleten*, XXXV/137, pp. 1-24. Bean G. E. (1966), *Aegean Turkey, an Archaeological Guide*, London: Ernest Benn Limited. Ünal (2006), p. 211.

⁵⁵⁹ Although there are scholars like J. M. Cook claiming that Beçin was the first location of the antique town *Mylasa* others like Akarca state that Mylasa and Beçin were separate settlements depending on the archaeological evidences found in these sites. See Cook J. M. (1961), “Some Sites in the Milesian Territory”, *Annual of the British School in Athens*, 56, pp. 98-100. On the contrary see Akarca (1971), pp. 29-20.

⁵⁶⁰ For the architectural remains and the location of the ancient town see Akarca (1971), pp. 24-29, and Akarca A., Akarca T. (1954), *Milas Coğrafyası, Tarihi ve Arkeolojisi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Matbaası, pp. 11-121. For the location of the ancient town see also Ünal (2006), p. 211.

⁵⁶¹ Ünal (2006), p. 211.

⁵⁶² Ünal R. H. (2003), “Beçin 1999 Kazısı”, *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, XII, pp. 131-135.

smaller in size in comparison to other inland settlements such as Tralles, Milas etc., most probably, the fortified area was suffice to accommodate the population of the town. There was no other separate fortified divisions, which are physically detached, however administratively dependant to this urban center. (Figure 3.40)

Nevertheless, today's abandoned medieval settlement, for the most part, took its final urban form under the rule of the Mentешеoğulları Principality. Located on a highly defensive hilly spot and a relatively remote settlement, Beçin also functioned as the capital of the Principality.⁵⁶³ This political aspect brought with remarkable attempts of architectural developments and mostly urban growth of the town.⁵⁶⁴ Witnessing the shaping of the medieval city by and large under the Turkish rule, İbn-i Batuta provides the hints for Beçin's urban form with his words; "a newly assembled, small town, which encloses new buildings and masjids".⁵⁶⁵ Analyzing the urban form of Beçin during the Mentешеoğulları rule, the settlement area can be examined with reference to the fortifications. There are building remains in the Inner Citadel, Outer Citadel and outside the fortified area. The fortification walls are lined with regard to topography on the east, west and north. Topography decreases towards the south and thus the buildings outside the fortifications gather around here. The fortified area is approximately 550 m in length in east-west and 450 m in length in north-south direction. The Inner Citadel is located in the middle of the northern edge on the highest spot. The walls of the outer citadel probably met with the inner citadel on its southeast and southwest edges. However, there is considerable amount of discontinuity of the fortification walls in these areas. It can be supposed that, there were entrance gates on the southwestern edge of the Inner

⁵⁶³ Turkish rule in the town began with the annexation of the southwest Anatolia by Mentеше Bey (1261). Mentеше Bey (1261-1291) and his son Mesud Bey (1291-1358) chose Mylasa, Milas as the capital and ruled the Principality and resided in here. The capital Milas was replaced by Beçin under the reign of Orhan Bey (1319-1337) until Yıldırım Bayezid annexed the Mentешеoğulları lands (1391). Arab traveler İbn-i Batuta, who visited Anatolia in the 1330s provide significant information in this respect. He calls Orhan Bey with the title, Milas Beyi and states that he resided in his palace in Berçin, Beçin, which is two miles away from Milas. He added that, the Sultan, Orhan Bey commissioned the mosque known as Orhan Bey Mosque in this city, however, the building was not yet completed. İbn-i Batuta (2004), *İbn Battuta Seyehatnamesi / Ebu Abdullah Muhammed İbn Battuta Tancı*, (A. S. Aykut trans. and analysis) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, p. 412. For the Mentешеoğulları rule and replacement of Milas by Beçin as the capital see also Umar B. (1998), *Türkiye Halkının Ortaçağ Tarihi, Türkiye Türkleri Ulusunun Oluşması*, İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, p. 140. Wittek P. (1944), *Menteşe Beyliği: 13. – 15. Asırda Garbi Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, (O. S. Gökyay trans.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, pp. 24-26, 39-41. For the monumental architectural construction of Milas dating to the Mentешеoğulları period, Akarca, Akarca (1954), pp. 95-98.

⁵⁶⁴ Particularly, beginning from the reign of Orhan Bey, early 14th century until the midst of the 15th century, the town acted as the capital.

⁵⁶⁵ İbn-i Batuta (2004), p. 412.

Citadel, which corresponds to the road to the medieval settlement from today's Beçin.⁵⁶⁶ The other gate is on the south east of the Outer Citadel. It is known as *Seymenlik* Gate and opens to the *Seymenlik* Site, which embodies a group of buildings.

To begin with, the Inner Citadel still in use, for the most part contained the residential units.⁵⁶⁷ From the Inner Citadel, the present sloppy road leading to medieval Beçin continues towards the area encircled by the Outer Citadel, in whose center Ahmet Gazi Medresesi is located.⁵⁶⁸ (Figure 3.41) This center is at the same time the town center. In other words, this is the urban core, where most of the urban architecture substantiating the Turkish authority both in visual and in functional terms was commissioned by the ruling elite. This core encompasses; Ahmet Gazi Madrasa and *Bey Konağı*, *Bey Hamamı* to its west, Orhan Mosque, Tomb II (Orhan Tomb) and *Hanikah* (Ahmet Gazi *Hanikahı*) to its south, *Muallimhane* and *Sofuhane* to its southeast and the nearby Kızıl Han.⁵⁶⁹ Towards the south of the Outer Citadel, there are two buildings known as Orman Tekkesi and Karapaşa Medresesi.⁵⁷⁰ (Figure 3.40)

Due to population growth and urbanization attempts of the rulers, medieval Beçin under Menteşeoğulları rule extended outside the Outer Citadel. The settlement grew in two major directions. First, towards the gentle slopes, rather plainer lands to the south, where educational edifices were located. Second, just leaving from the Seymenlik Gate towards the Seymenlik Quarter, beneath the sheer slopes on the south-east, where a building group, which probably functioned as an urban generator, was situated. The building group included a meeting hall, a kitchen, an undefined room, a maşjid with two *hazires* on its north and south

⁵⁶⁶ Ünal supports the argument that, there was a gate on the southwest of the Inner Citadel, which linked Milas Plain to the town. Ünal (2006), p. 212.

⁵⁶⁷ The list of the buildings in the Inner Citadel can be given as; 20 residential units, a vaulted building dating to Menteşeoğulları period, a cistern and a nearby private bath building. Ünal (2006), p. 212.

⁵⁶⁸ Leading from the Inner Citadel to Ahmet Gazi Madrasa, architectural remains of the medieval edifices can be listed as; the fountain, the tomb named as Tomb I, *Zaviye*, dervish lodge, and *Büyük Hamam* (Ahmet Gazi Bath), 100 m northwest of the *Zaviye*. These are scattered between the Inner Citadel and the center of the Outer Citadel. Ünal R. H. (2001a), "Beçin 1998 Kazısı", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, XI, pp. 183-201. Ünal R. H. (2000b), "Beçin 1997 Kazısı", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, X, pp. 139-153. Duran (2002), p. 141. For the bath building, too, see again Duran (2002), p. 141.

⁵⁶⁹ Ünal (2006), pp. 213-215. See also Arel A. (1968), "Menteşe Beyliği Devrinde Peçin Şehri", *Anadolu Sanatı Araştırmaları*, I, pp. 69-98. Baş A. (2002), "Beylikler Dönemi Hanları", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 8, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 38-45. Duran (2002), pp. 137, 140. Ünal R. H. (1998), "Beçin 1995 Kazısı", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, IX, pp. 135-146. Ünal R. H. (2000a), "Beçin 1996 Kazısı", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, X, pp. 123-131. Ünal (2003), pp. 131-144. Ünal R. H., Demir A. (2004a), "Beçin 2000 Kazısı", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, XIII/1, pp. 132-152. Ünal R. H., Demir A. (2004b), "Beçin 2001 Kazısı", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, XIII/2, pp. 139-155. Ünal R. H., et. all. (2005), "Beçin 2002 Kazısı", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi. Yrd. Doç. Dr. Lale Bulut'a Armağan*, XIV/1, pp. 331-334.

⁵⁷⁰ Duran (2002), p. 137. Ünal et. all. (2005), pp. 344-350. Ünal (2006), p. 217.

and a bath which define a *zaviye* planned around a courtyard.⁵⁷¹ Next, to the east, following the steep topography, there was one other new quarter founded, known as the Kepez Quarter. In between Seymenlik and Kepez divisions, the cemetery of the town was placed.⁵⁷² Yet, it can be argued that, the establishment of the Kepez Quarter might be later than the building of the cemetery. The location of the cemetery might have chosen outside the town, towards the rural areas. However, the possible population and urban growth in the town necessitated expansion outside its borders, and altering the cemetery site to a peri-urban location, the settling of the Kepez Quarter, to the further southeast was initiated. Similar to the development of the Seymenlik Quarter, Kepez grew by the Yelli Complex, which generated the development in this site. Yelli Complex and is composed of a mosque, madrasa and a bath.⁵⁷³ The date of construction of Yelli Complex can be given as end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th centuries similar to the buildings constructed outside the Outer Citadel. (Figure 3.40, 3.43)

In the end, it can be said that, towards the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th centuries, the growing population of the town possibly necessitated urban growth in spatial terms. The borders of the town expanded so that building groups were constructed outside the fortifications. Architectural edifices constructed during this period aligned with the steep topographical contours of the southeast. Whether under the rule of Menteşeoğulları or of Ottoman State, the building activity took place in these lands between the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th centuries, probably points to a conscious concern for security purposes and location preference. Apart from the building aligned with the contours of topography, Beçin expanded towards east, to the gentle slopes of rather plainer areas. Under the Ottoman rule, until the beginning of the 17th century, Beçin continued to be occupied, yet, gradually lost its importance and abandoned as the coins found during the excavations point to.⁵⁷⁴

Finally, it is possible to claim that, Beçin's urban form was determined and developed effected both by physical and by socio-political conditions offered in the setting. First, the

⁵⁷¹ Ünal (2006), pp. 215-217. Ünal et. all. (2005), pp. 350-356. Ünal R. H., et. all. (2006), "Beçin 2004 Kazısı", *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi*, XV/2, pp. 90-96. The earliest research on this part of the site is Arık M. O. (1984), "Beçin Kalesi ve Kenti Örenlerindeki 1982 Yılı Çalışmaları", *V. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 23-27 Mayıs 1983, İstanbul, pp. 311-312.

⁵⁷² Within this Menteşe Cemetery in addition to the gravestones, a masjid and an unidentified rectangular space are found. Ünal et. all. (2005), pp. 334-344. Ünal et. all. (2006), pp. 97-103. Ünal (2006), p. 217.

⁵⁷³ Arel (1993), p. 175. Duran (2002), p. 139. Ünal (2006), p. 217.

⁵⁷⁴ The coins found during the excavations took place in 2000, belong to the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), Selim II (1566-1574), Murat III (1574-1595), Mehmet III (1595-1603) and Ahmet I (1603-1617) of the Ottoman Empire, to Giray Han II (1588-1596) of the Crimea State and to Europeans from Austria, Venice, Spain, Poland and Bavaria of the latest date of 1608. Ünal, Demir. (2004a), pp. 150-152.

topographical layout of the site, the high defensive quality in between the sloppy hills had its impacts on the plan layout of the urban fabric, where the site elevation contours can be followed in within the plan organization of the site. Second, the settlement served as the capital of the Principality for considerable period of time. This both brought with examples of urban architecture indicating to the prestige of the settlement and yielded to population growth, which resulted in the expansion of the territorial borders. Whether under the rule of Menteşeoğulları or subsequently, of Ottoman State, the building activity took place in these lands between the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th centuries, probably points to a conscious concern for security purposes and location preference. Apart from the building aligned with the contours of topography, Beçin expanded towards east, to the gentle slopes of rather plainer areas. However, under the Ottoman rule, Beçin gradually declined, lost its significance as a center and turned into an abandoned settlement by the beginning of the 17th century. Hence, it was Milas, the neighboring settlement of Beçin instead, which continued to develop for its easier accessibility and location on the trade routes.

3.2.4. Transformation of the Urban Form of Birgi

Birgi, which was an important center of Western Anatolia during the medieval era, is today a village of Ödemiş, an important town of İzmir. It is 9 km away to the northeast of Ödemiş. Located on the south of *Tmolos* Mountains, Bozdağlar, Birgi overlooks plain of *Kaystros*, Küçük Menderes. The town settles on a slopy land piece full of water channels due to the east-west elongated Birgi River, which connects to Küçük Menderes River. The earliest settlements around Birgi date back to antiquity. (Figure 3.44)

The earliest ancient settlement nearby Birgi is Hypaepa, which was established on the outskirts of *Tmolos* Mountains, on the border of *Aipos* Mount.⁵⁷⁵ Kiel states that the name *Aipos* was later changed to *Tapai* and continued during the Turkish rule as well, as *Dadbey*, which was the old name of Günlüce Village.⁵⁷⁶ According to V. Sevin and C. Foss the

⁵⁷⁵ The coins minted in Hypaepa is the primary evidence for the existence of this town. Referring to ancient scholars, the area was known to gain special prominence during the Roman times. M. Kiel lists these scholars as Strabon, Pliny, Pausinias and Ovidius. Kiel M. (2001), “Birgi Tarihi ve Tarihi Coğrafyası”, (R. H. Ünal trans.) *Birgi*, (R. H. Ünal ed.) Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁷⁶ Altınoluk citing from Texier, mentions the name and the possible remains reused in Birgi of nearby ancient center Hypaepa. Altınoluk Ü. (2007), *Geleneksel Kent Dokusu Birgi*, İstanbul: Ege Yayınları, pp. 46-47. Texier C. (1882a), *Asie Mineure, Description Géographique, Historique et Archéologique des Provinces et des Villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*. (2nd Edition, 1st Edition in 1862)

remaining fortification walls of the ancient town can still be traced and there were additions to the settlement, under the Byzantine rule as well.⁵⁷⁷ However, Hypaepa was not the ancient settlement, which later grew into the important urban center Birgi.⁵⁷⁸ This argument is also supported in the travel accounts of Charles Texier, who visited Birgi in the 19th century. He gives information on the characteristic houses, the bridges, the landscape of the town, the construction materials of the historical buildings and finally indicates the utilization of re-used material, which he relates to the remains from the ancient town, Hypaepa.⁵⁷⁹ Consequently, near Hypaepa there was another important but small settlement named as *Dios Hieron* around a Zeus Temple, which particularly grew during the Roman period.⁵⁸⁰ Accordingly, Dios Hieron continued to be a significant town in Roman Asia Minor, which was connected to Sardis, the capital of the Lydian province through the Royal Road.⁵⁸¹ Hence, next to a former ancient settlement another one was established and the new one soon replaced the old.

Later, the area was annexed by the Byzantine Empire. It was in this period that the name Dios Hieron was changed into *Christopolis*.⁵⁸² The Arab invasions during the 7th and 8th centuries must have damaged these settlements to a certain extent. Where the *Chalcedon* Council records had signature of the bishop of Christopolis in 451, 6th Eucemenic Council records had signature of the bishop of *Pyrgion* in 680 and *Trullo* Council records had signature of the bishop of *Pyrgion* in 879 again.⁵⁸³ This shows that the settlement was named as *Pyrgion* from 7th century onwards until the annexation of the area by Aydınogulları and the conversion

Paris: Librarie de Firmin-Didot, pp. 246-252. See also, Kiel (2001), p. 4. Foss C. (1979b), "Explorations in Mount Tmolos", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 11, p. 32.

⁵⁷⁷ Sevin V. (1974-75), "Bati Anadolu'nun Antik Bir Kenti Hypaepa Üzerine Bir Araştırma", *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Dergisi*, 28-29, pp. 41-53. Foss (1979b), pp. 27-37.

⁵⁷⁸ Yet, the area including Hypaepa and Dios Hieron was ruled by Lydians and Persians respectively until the conquest of the region by Alexander the Great. Altınoluk (2007), p. 22, Yavuz B. G. (1990), *Birgi Coğrafyası, Tarihçesi, Tarihi Yerleri*. İzmir: Ayma Matbaası. p. 20. Yet, according to Kiel Phrygians also rule in these lands, however, he does not refer to a source to prove his claim in Kiel (2001), p. 5.

⁵⁷⁹ Texier's travel accounts were also given in Hamamcıoğlu M. (1994), *Restoration Project for Derviş Ağa Medresesin Birgi, Ödemiş, İzmir*, Unpublished Master's Thesis in Restoration, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, p.89. Texier C. (1882b). *L'universe Histoire et Description des Tous les Peuples Asie Mineure*. Paris : Librarie de Firmin-Didot, pp. 248-250. Kiel (2001), pp. 5-6.

⁵⁸⁰ Altınoluk (2007), pp. 32-33. Kiel (2001), p. 5. Yavuz (1990), pp. 17-19. Ancient coins are found, which have the name *Dios Hieron* pointing to the place where they are minted during the Roman period. See figure in Altınoluk (2007), p. 32.

⁵⁸¹ Altınoluk (2007), p. 27.

⁵⁸² Ramsay W. M. (1890), *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, (J. Murray trans.) London: Royal Geographical Society, p. 114. Uzunçarşılı gives the name as Hristopolis. Uzunçarşılı I. H. (1929), *Afyonkarahisar, Sandıklı, Bolvadin, Çay, İshaklı, Manisa, Birgi, Muğla, Milas, Peçin, Denizli, Isparta, Atabey ve Eğirdir'deki Kitabelerce Sahip, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe, İnanç ve Hamitoğulları Hakkında Malumat*. İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, pp. 116-145. See also, Altınoluk (2007), p. 32. Kiel (2001), p. 5.

⁵⁸³ Kiel (2001), p. 5.

of the name of the town into Birgi. Actually the name Pyrgion originates from the Greek word, *Pyrgos*, which means tower or fortification.⁵⁸⁴ Accordingly, the changes in the name of the town in subsequent periods provide clues about the changes and developments in the urban structures and image of the town. There is not sufficient archaeological evidence yet arguments on the transformation of the urban form in the medieval era can still be suggested.

To begin with, as the name of the ancient town Dios Hieron converted into Christopolis, so did the urban image of a pagan town into a Christian one. The temples and monumental civic structures were changed into churches and new churches were also built. Pagan monuments situated in the public places such as statues were probably replaced with crosses and alike which stand as the symbol of Christianity during the early years of the Byzantine rule. Later, the power of the Empire was challenged because of the Arab invasions, the authority of the State in the Anatolian territory was shaken and economy mostly collapsed. In these circumstances, the urban life and pattern in Byzantine centers were inevitably affected. The difficulty for establishing security in those eventful times led to transformation of urban centers into fortified and fragmented forms. In other words, the probably unified and integrated previous urban form changed into fragmented and dispersed settlement units, which were fortified. Most likely, the long, narrow slopply land, on which today's urban center is situated, was surrounded with fortification walls.⁵⁸⁵ The remains of these fortifications can still be seen on the east and west of the plain that the town settled on, and on the south of the Great Mosque. Like the other Byzantine fortifications of Western Anatolia, the construction material is rubble stone and brick, bound with mortar.⁵⁸⁶ (Figure 3.45)

Aydinoğulları ruler Mehmet Bey conquered Pyrgion in 1307-8, as inscribed in the panel above the entrance of the town's Great Mosque commissioned by him.⁵⁸⁷ He chose this town as the capital of his Principality and then on Pyrgion began to be named as Birgi. Not surprisingly, the image of Birgi rapidly transformed into a Turkish-Islamic city. Islamic edifices of mosques, madrasas, masjids, tombs as well as bath buildings reshaped the silhouette of Birgi. In this respect, the commissioning of Birgi Great Mosque, Güdük Minare Mescidi, tombs of Şah Sultan and Aydınoğlu Mehmet Bey, and Sasalı Bath by the Aydınoğulları rulers is worth to mention. For instance, Birgi Great Mosque commissioned by Mehmet Bey, is the

⁵⁸⁴ Altınoluk (2007), p.33. Altınoluk Ü., Yavuz B. G. (1994), "Küçük Menderes Havzası ve Ödemiş", *İlgi Dergisi*, 79, p. 32.

⁵⁸⁵ See also Kiel (2001), p. 6.

⁵⁸⁶ Kiel (2001), p. 6. For further information on Byzantine settlements and particularly fortifications in Western Anatolia, the collected studies of Foss can be referred. Foss (1996). See also in this chapter, the previous discussion on Byzantine urban models, 3.1.2. Byzantine Town.

⁵⁸⁷ Kiel (2001), pp. 10-11. Uzunçarşılı (1929).

most significant and core edifice of public space and urban space in Birgi. It is the heart of a building complex composed of a madrasa, a bath and a tomb structure, of which the madrasa does not survive today. However, it can be discussed whether İmam Birgivi Medresesi, a 16th century Ottoman building was constructed in place of the madrasa donated by Mehmet Bey. The location and placement of the buildings forming the group indicate a deliberate understanding of plan layout in terms of forming a well-defined open space, almost like a square, around which the buildings are organized. This area can be regarded as an important central spot, in other words, a vital node in the capital of Aydınoğulları. (Figure 3.46, 3.47, 3.48)

In addition to the transformation of urban image of Birgi from a Christian into a Turkish-Islamic town, urban growth during the Turkish period can be pointed out. When the gradually growing and strengthening Turkish rule replaced the disintegrating Byzantine authority in the region, the borders of the town expanded and spread out the boundary of the fortifications. In other words, Birgi grew and transformed with the conversion of the already existing and the newly emerging neighborhoods on the eastern banks of Birgi River. There are Aydınoğulları neighborhoods especially on the slopy borders of Birgi. For instance, Sasalı neighborhood around Sasalı bath is located on the increasing topography on the eastern borders of the medieval town. Sasalı bath is constructed close to the remains of a fortress-like structure, probably nearby an early established district of the Byzantine era. On the other hand, İsa Bey Street is also located on these eastern slopy borders. Probably the neighborhood newly developed during the Aydınoğulları period, most likely under the reign of the successive ruler İsa Bey in the beginnings of the 14th century. (Figure 3.48)

Traveler İbn-i Batuta spent 14 days in Birgi during his visit in Anatolian lands. His observations and experiences throughout his stopover witnessed a great deal of the social life and physical setting in Birgi. He mentions about the *ahi dergahs*, dervish lodges, in which travelers like him are welcomed like in other Anatolian Turkish towns.⁵⁸⁸ What is interesting is his being hosted in a *medrese* by its *müderris*, for he provides information about the architecture and the usage of medreses and their prominence within the townscape.⁵⁸⁹ İbn-i Batuta is then received by the Aydınoğulları ruler Mehmet Bey, first in his summer residence in the rural surroundings of Birgi and next in his palace, which was probably located within the

⁵⁸⁸ İbn-i Batuta (2004), p. 418.

⁵⁸⁹ For instance, he mentions about the lecture of the *müderris*, the space he lectures, then his movement through the medrese rooms, the setting of the students and other people in the courtyard of the madrasa and alike. İbn-i Batuta (2004), p. 419.

previously fortified area in today's Asartepe. (Figure 3.45, 3.49) Hence, he points out the palace life referring to how he was received by the Ruler and what kind of banquets and gatherings were held including the elite of the town, so that he pictures the social life both in the palace and the other public spaces of the capital.⁵⁹⁰ In doing that, he, at the same time brings up the architectural setting of not only the palace but also the surrounding.

After the Aydınoğulları period, Birgi maintained its significance as the second largest town of Aydıneli and one of the largest towns of Western Anatolia under the Ottoman rule between the 15th and 16th centuries.⁵⁹¹ In these centuries, Birgi did not face turmoil, inconsistency in authority or wars. It was the period of development and growth, and Birgi was a significant center in Western Anatolia due to its population, yet, there is not an evident trace of considerable amount of architectural and planning activities.⁵⁹² Still, Birgi went on developing with the initiation of a few monumental works of urban architecture like İmam Birgivi Medresesi, construction of commercial edifices, which are known to exist depending on the written sources and formation of new residential areas and districts. Yet, when compared to Tire, the important urban center in Aydıneli and in Western Anatolia, it is seen that, Tire is almost twice as large as Birgi, concerning its population and growth.⁵⁹³ In addition, a brief comparison on the urban development and architectural works initiated between Birgi and Tire during that period points to similar results. Not only the amount of the architectural remains but also the number of the names of the edifices mentioned in foundation charters and travelers' accounts are more in Tire compared to the ones in Birgi. (Figure 3.45, 5.1, 5.2)

The beginning of the 17th century brought unfortunate events for Birgi. The leader of the *Celali* Rebellion was from Birgi and resided in Birgi.⁵⁹⁴ When the leader was defeated by the Ottoman army, Birgi had to face a great amount of damage and devastation. This wealthy Ottoman town was demolished and could very slowly recover until the end of the 17th century. The only evidence for the recovery of Birgi is the *vergi defterleri* [tax accounts] of the Ottoman Empire for they inform about the districts, the number of houses in each district and their

⁵⁹⁰ İbn-i Batuta (2004), pp. 422-423.

⁵⁹¹ Kiel (2001), p. 20.

⁵⁹² Birgi did not face turmoil for the reason that, these centuries corresponded to the most successful times within the history of the Ottoman State, where they were to establish absolute authority both in Anatolia and in Rumelia. See also Kiel (2001), pp. 20-25.

⁵⁹³ Faroqhi, Erder (1980), pp. 267-303. Kiel (2001), p. 20.

⁵⁹⁴ Griswold W. J. (1983), *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1000-1020: 1591-1611*, Berlin: K. Schwarz. İlgürel M. (1993), "Celali İsyanları", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 7, İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 252-257. Kiel (2001), pp. 34-35.

distribution within the town.⁵⁹⁵ Even the travel accounts of Evliya Çelebi are not sufficient to fill in necessary information about the town.⁵⁹⁶ Only individual attempts contributed to the urban recovery of Birgi. For instance Derviş Ağa, an Ottoman bureaucrat and possibly a wealthy native of Birgi, had a bath, a madrasa and a mosque constructed. However, as a geographically and topographically isolated, neglected and notorious town because of the rebels, in comparison to other Western Anatolian towns, Birgi could not cope with those newly developing centers such as İzmir, Aydın and Ödemiş. The town subsisted as a small, still settlement, and never gained its significance back again as in the medieval times during the Aydınoğuları rule and in the 15th-16th centuries during the prosperous times of the Ottoman State.

3.2.5. A Comparative Analysis on the Transformation of Urban Form in Western Anatolia

The above analysis on the history of urban form of Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi sets off a basis to discuss whether there is a general tendency on the development, transformation, or emergence of Western Anatolian urban centers between the 14th and 16th centuries. Yet, it is questioned below, if there is a continuity or, on the opposite, autonomy in the development and transformation of the urban form of Western Anatolian towns. For this purpose, depending on the above cases of Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi, it is attempted to evaluate their urban form, from the points of settlement pattern in plan, settlement size in territorial borders, urban image and urban architecture of the town, both in terms of religious – administrative and of socio-cultural impacts. By this way, it is possible to illustrate a general picture on the development of urban form in Western Anatolia in physical terms, both regionally and temporally.

To begin with, the earliest inhabitations in each of these towns date back to prehistoric era. Even though it is not easy to trace the settlement patterns during the prehistoric period, their ancient phases witnessed quite significant urban life. Particularly Ephesus and Miletus, ancient settlements of Ayasoluk and Balat, on the Aegean coast, experienced utmost urban

⁵⁹⁵ Kiel (2001), pp. 35-36. However, there is a considerable gap on the situation of Birgi in this period due to both the lack of written sources and the little amount of architectural remains.

⁵⁹⁶ Evliya Çelebi describes a citadel structure, which he attributes to belong to the leader of Celali Rebellion. He also mentions about the approximate number and type of architectural pieces like 400 residential buildings within the fortifications, 2400 more at the lower districts, seven schools, a *bedesten*, two *hans* and bridges. Evliya Çelebi (2005), pp. 92-94.

prosperity and growth among other Aegean cities both in Asia Minor and in the Greek mainland.

First, Ephesus and Miletus were highly populated metropoleis, accommodating intense trade activities due to their natural harbors, thus, were centers easy to communicate. Second, they were also situated within a mountainous topography, which provided ease of protection when security needed. Third, the fertile agricultural lands on the banks of *Caystros* and *Maiandros* and water availability facilitated urban growth and contributed to urban economics in these centers. Accordingly, these geographical and socio-economical setting effected and displayed its reflections in shaping the built environment. As populous metropoleis of their time, they had wide territorial borders, well-organized and unified urban planning, and urban fabric enriched with monumental public buildings and open-squares. Especially Miletus is worthy of mention, because the regular planning of its settlement site, with a grid composition of *insula* units are of the earliest examples of rational planning.

Under the subsequent Roman rule, the urban form of the ancient Greek city was for the most part maintained, yet, altered to some extent, all at once. Ephesus prospered even more and lived through its most brilliant times. In comparison to its former urban form, Roman elements of urban architecture such as monumental gates, monumental *nymphae*, administrative buildings, and Roman temples, transformed the townscape. Most of all, the Roman Arcadien, colonnaded street, leading from the harbor through the public monuments of the town was the principle design concept of the Roman urban project. Miletus kept on developing under the Roman authority, too. With its steady growth and enhanced trade activities, the town rivaled Ephesus. Its urban form during the Roman period displayed a continuance due to the dominating orthogonal grid plan of the settlement pattern. However, as a Roman contribution, the Sacred Way, leading from the Lion Harbor to the South Market can be pointed out. This attitude is similar to, what is repeating in Ephesus, a colonnaded street, acting as the main axis on the sides of which, the other primary spaces are organized. Similar to Ephesus again, the buildings of Roman urban architecture such as Trajan's *nymphaeum*, Marcus Aurelius' markets, and more important, Faustina's Baths were commissioned and urban facilities were improved. (Figure 3.2, 3.6, 3.29, 3.34, 3.35)

Apart from these port settlements which functioned as lively metropoleis in antiquity, inland settlements of ancient Beçin and Birgi can be evaluated. These two settlements are rather less populous, less urbanized and less significant not only in comparison to Ephesus and Miletus bur also among other inland settlements centers such as Aphrodisias, Tralles, Sardis, Mylasa etc. Geographically speaking, ancient Beçin and ancient Birgi whose ancient history

lied in the nearby settlement Hypaepa, were established on highly defensive sites. Beçin was set up on top of a hilly topography close to ancient Mylasa, which was a larger town than Beçin. The hilly topography served well for defensive purposes, however, prevented easy transportation and communication. This resulted in a lethargy concerning trade activities and economic dynamism, and sparse population. Within these geographical and socio-economical setting, it is not possible to mention urban growth, but instead, the settlement remained rather rural, almost like a small village, enclosed in itself. Accordingly, due to the settlement size, the urban form did not extend wide enough in its territorial borders and did not necessitate monumental enough, buildings of urban architecture. Depending on the excavation findings, the settlement spread out within the Inner Citadel, whose ancient cemetery was located outside the borders. In these circumstances, it is not possible to have the regular planning understanding or a dominating axis within the site composition in Beçin. As for Hypaepa, it did not settle on as mountainous lands as Beçin, yet, located by the *Caystros* Valley. It was located on the road linking Sardis to Ephesus during the Late Antique period.⁵⁹⁷ Hence, Hypaepa was more advantageous in terms of ease of transport and communication, compared to Beçin. It might have been a larger settlement center than Beçin, more populous, accommodating more commercial activities. Yet, urban form of Hypaepa was not as developed as to compete with its contemporaneous urban centers.⁵⁹⁸ (Figure 3.40)

The subsequent Byzantine rule in Asia Minor brought along modifications in the urban patterns of settlement centers both in administrative and socio-economic means and in physical setting. In addition, medieval period witnessed alterations in geographical conditions of the settlement sites as well. To begin with, the natural harbors of Ephesus and Miletus were gradually silting up because of the alluvia *Caystros* (Küçük Menderes) and *Maiandros* (Büyük Menderes) rivers brought together. Yet, they were still significant ports to transfer Eastern commodities to the West and make Western trade of the leading Latin States, reach Eastern lands. The substantiation of the trade activities in the architectural and urban embodiment was different in comparison to ancient era. The wide, open spaces in between the colonnaded streets, which were the main axes of urban patterns were replaced by the rather narrow streets, on both sides of whose colonnades shopping units were inserted. The open, spacious public spaces, markets of the ancient town were steadily abandoned. Administrative policy of the

⁵⁹⁷ However, contrary to other ancient historians cited within this thesis, according to Foss, it is not certain, whether this route existed during the ancient times. Foss (1979b), pp. 29-30.

⁵⁹⁸ Sevin (1974-75), pp. 41-53. See also Sevin V. (2007), *Anadolu'nun Tarihi Coğrafyası I*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, pp. 186, 188-189, 191.

Byzantines differed from the ancient rulers. There was a central authority in Constantinople appointing governors rather than the city councils. The consequences of this system in the urban patterns were the increase in the number of governmental palaces and abandonment of civic buildings of city councils, etc. Christianity, as the State religion had its impacts in the urban imagery as well as urban divisions concerning functional aspects. Initially, pagan temples and huge civic structures were converted into churches and pagan sculptures and statues were replaced with Christian symbols like crosses in the open public spaces. Even, the public announcements once took place in the agoras, moved to church surroundings, which emphasized the neglect of the usage of former wide, open spaces. In addition to churches becoming the new foci of communal meeting and urban life in Christian towns, Christianity had its impact in redefining the communal life in the former pagan towns. Hence, as Owens emphasizes pagan culture and rituals comprising mass gatherings were replaced with smaller, more intimate gatherings of the Christians.⁵⁹⁹

These changes in the urban modes were accompanied by major shift in the urban form towards the middle and late Byzantine periods. The difficulty for establishing security in those eventful times of Persian, Arab and Turkish attacks, led to transformation of urban centers into fortified and fragmented forms. The regular, rational, unified ancient city now turned into dispersed settlement centers around fortified castles, for the most part on and by hilltop locations, just like in Ephesus and Miletus. (Figure 3.29, 3.34) Fortifications are of primary urban elements in this respect. Under the former ancient Roman rule, fortifications in the provinces were avoided to a considerable degree. Roman authority were capable to secure their territories and the imperial power desired direct control of the cities, even keeping away from protection against himself from the city itself. However, the troubled years of warfare during the Late Antique period by the Persians and the later Arab, and subsequently Turkish attacks shook the power of the central authority and fortifications regained significance for defensive purposes as a major urban component. In addition to Ephesus and Miletus, urban forms of the settlements nearby them, Anaia and Didyma, transformed into a composition of fragmented, fortified units.⁶⁰⁰ Hence, the medieval Byzantine settlement partially moved and partially overlapped the already existing ancient pattern. (Figure 3.29, 3.34)

⁵⁹⁹ Owens (1991), pp. 147-148.

⁶⁰⁰ For detailed information on the fortifications of Didyma and Anaea see Foss (1982a), pp. 157-158, 184-185. He also mentions about the fortifications of Pergamon and Adramyttion on northern Aegean coast, Foss (1982a), pp. 166-167.

As for Beçin, the same argument seems to be valid, and even the borders of the Byzantine settlement extended opposed to the shrinkage of Ephesus and Miletus. Since Beçin was already fortified and highly defensive due to the topographical conditions of its site, it is not surprising to suggest an increase in population growth and development in urbanization during the eventful medieval era. (Figure 3.40) Finally, the Byzantine phase of Birgi differs from the transformations traced in Ephesus, Miletus and Beçin. Even though these medieval settlements either developed by or extended the existing ancient towns, Birgi grew in a nearby settlement other than Hypaepa. Actually, Hypaepa was already replaced with Dios Hieron, the later Christopolis and Pyrgion during the Late Antique period. Most probably, the town Hypaepa underwent severe damage either because of natural like earthquake, plague or of military disasters and the townspeople moved to nearby Dios Hieron. Thus, urban continuity concerning location is not strong for ancient Hypaepa and medieval Birgi. Yet, ancient Dios Hieron has turned out to become Christopolis and later Pyrgion, which shows continuity on the location of the settlement site, which for the most part overlapped and extended the ancient settlement. (Figure 3.45, 2.2)

Turkish infiltration in this part of Western Anatolia resulted in a reorganization of the socio-cultural structure and administrative traditions in medieval urban centers under the Principalities authority. These social, cultural and political alterations inevitably prompted adaptations in the urban patterns of these centers. Medieval Ayasoluk and Balat still making use of the steadily silting harbors mostly developed by and partly overlapped the existing Byzantine settlement. Under the Principalities rule Ayasoluk and Balat accommodated a colorful variety of socio-cultural groups. The residential neighborhoods of Latins, local Greeks, Turks and a few Arab merchants were arranged to occupy differing self-sufficient urban divisions in the settlement pattern. (Figure 2.10) Still, the dominating Turkish-Islamic authority was the most effective in establishing the urban image of the urban centers. Similar to what Byzantines did with the former pagan structures, Turkish rulers commissioned the conversion of basilicas or churches into mosque buildings or had new ones constructed. Moreover, the ruling elite initiated the construction of building complexes, which generated urban growth as important examples of urban architecture. Yet, dervish lodges flourished in each of these cities, particularly in their rural hinterland accelerating the Turkification and Islamization process not only socially but also architecturally.⁶⁰¹

⁶⁰¹ On this issue of Turkification and Islamization via foundation of dervish lodges a wider discussion is proposed in the next chapter, 4.2. Definitions, Origins, Design, and Management of *Zaviyes* [Dervish Lodges], and their Relation with Their Urban Contexts. See also, Barkan Ö. L. (1942), “İstila

Accordingly, the built environment in these centers were set to reflect the Turkish Principalities rule both in visual terms, in other words, from the eye of the visitor and in functional terms, in other words, concerning the usage of the visitor. Thus, activated due to commerce, the overseas ports along the coasts of Western Anatolia continued the former Byzantine traditions, in partially maintaining and partially moving the settlement location. They also continued the fragmented, fortified composition of the urban form. Like in the late Byzantine period, fortifications were of paramount importance within the townscape. (Figure 3.8, 3.9, 3.36, 3.24, 3.45, 3.49)

Considering the inland settlements of Beçin and Birgi, it can easily be stated that, they witnessed the most prosperous and vivid times during the Principalities rule. In the 14th century, the settlement areas gradually became attraction spots due to their administrative status as the capitals. It is not surprising to find that Menteşeoğulları and Aydınöğulları rulers vigorously activated commissioning of new public structures, monumental edifices such as mosques, madrasas, baths, masjids, and alike. As a result, both Beçin and Birgi thrived and outgrew rapidly, taking into account its increasing population, urbanization and building activities. The evaluation of these settlements in their ancient, medieval Byzantine, and medieval Turkish periods; shows that the most impressive urban developments took place under the Principalities rule. (Figure 3.40, 3.48, 3.51)

The prestigious status of Ayasoluk and Balat due to intense overseas trade, and Beçin and Birgi due to their urban growth as capital of Menteşeoğulları and Aydınöğulları, gradually declined under the Ottoman rule. They, for the most part, turned into abandoned, deprived villages of small, poor settlements, particularly in the beginnings of the 17th century. To begin with, the recession of urbanization in Ayasoluk and Balat were mainly because of two reasons. First, these overseas ports turned into regional, local ports, which principally served to meet the needs of the capital, İstanbul, when Ottomans grew into a world empire. Now they were challenged by the freshly and hastily developing İzmir port. Second, the geographical setting modified so that the settlement no longer provided basic, healthy living conditions. Speaking explicitly, silting of the harbors by the alluvia brought by Küçük Menderes and Büyük Menderes, caused formation of swampy lands, which also brought forth malaria problem. Thus,

Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 2, pp. 279-304, Barkan Ö. L. (1962-63), “Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişafı Tarihi Bakımından Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar”, *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XXIII/1-2, pp. 239-296. Wolper (2003).

fertile agricultural lands reduced, hygiene stipulations diminished and Ayasoluk and Balat step by step deserted.

On the part of Beçin and Birgi, there were different instances going on during the Ottoman period. It might be Ottoman's polity to raise rival urban centers to the former Principalities capitals. Beçin and Birgi continued to be occupied and even developed under the Ottoman authority. Yet, the topographical setting of Beçin, and the resulting difficulty of transportation and communication, caused Beçin slowly but surely decline. Besides, the growing neighbor town Milas speeded Beçin's loss of significance as an urban center, particularly during the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. For Birgi there was one more additional reason that the town housed leaders of the *Celâli* rebels, who set their headquarters in Birgi. When the Ottoman State suppressed the rebellion and punished their chiefs, they gave considerable damage to Birgi, where they destroyed most parts of the town. Then, urban development in Birgi did never recover.

It is possible to argue that, under the Ottoman rule, these Western Anatolian centers could grow and prosper, and even the urban forms could have yielded to rather unified and compact settlement patterns than the fragments of fortified units. This assumption would have been valid particularly regarding the most powerful times of the Ottomans, which corresponds to Classical Ottoman era. However, each of these towns had their specific physical as well as political, economical and social input; those prevented them from regular prospering. Yet, Tire, as studied in the next coming chapters, is a proper example to trace continuity, development and transformation in the urban setting throughout of the Early and Classical Ottoman periods.⁶⁰²

Eventually, it can be argued whether there is a continuity or, on the opposite, autonomy in the development and transformation of the urban form of Western Anatolian towns. Questioning the issue within a wider framework, tracking continuity between ancient and the subsequent emergence of medieval towns both in Europe and in Near East, there are diverse viewpoints among scholars. This is even reflected in their methodologies, in terms of making use of and evaluation of data, for they conceptualize cities either as compositions of social, cultural, economic and political constructs or just as a collection of physical entities. These insufficient and confusing approaches, which prevent to obtain a nearly whole picture probably stems from historians depending on written accounts only and archaeologists only on excavation findings. Yet, continuity or autonomy can be searched within the entire heritage of

⁶⁰² See Chapter 5 Tire in the Making (14th – 16th Centuries).

the towns, together with socio-cultural, economic as well as physical constructs, and the most promising discussions can be reached with the inclusion of as many parameters as possible.

At this point, in order to formulate an argument whether there can be traced an urban continuity in Western Anatolia or not and if so in which means and to what degree, it seems helpful to state stances of particular scholars those questioning the urban continuity from the ancient to the medieval eras. M. Whittow asserts that, it is possible to mark out continuity comparing the Roman and Byzantine, especially Early Byzantine cities in terms of the “role of the cities” and of “the elites who lived in”.⁶⁰³ In other words, he basically argues that the administration and urban development of cities might have changed in appearance but in fact, they are “confirmation of traditional patterns in new guises” and the cities have continuous histories.⁶⁰⁴ M. Hammond, on the contrary claims that there are major breaks in history, especially in urban history, when one focuses on the emergence of medieval towns.⁶⁰⁵ Hammond emphasized autonomy for each phase of development and revival of ancient cities either in the West or in the East, for instance under the rules of Byzantines, Arab invasions, Seljuks, Principalities and Ottomans in Asia Minor.⁶⁰⁶ He maintains that there are elements of continuity like the population of the town-dwellers, continuance in trade and crafts, in some public buildings, urban patterns and to a little extent in simple administrative functions. Yet, he concludes, these are trivial in comparison to elements of change, like in religion, life styles, institutions, viewpoints and even populations, hence emergence of the medieval town is an independent process more than a continuous one.⁶⁰⁷ Another approach is by J. E. Vance, who explores the process, through which the Western cities took shape.⁶⁰⁸ Since he considers shaping of cities as processes rather than formation of distinct intervals, names this as “morphogenesis – the creation and subsequent transformation of city form”, he assumes and maintains continuity of the city throughout his research.⁶⁰⁹ Last but not least, B. Ward-Perkins discusses first, what makes a town a town, and then structures his argument referring to these

⁶⁰³ Whittow M. (1990), “Ruling the Late Roman and Early Byzantine City: A Continuous History”, *Past and Present*, 129/1, pp. 3-29.

⁶⁰⁴ Whittow (1990), p. 29.

⁶⁰⁵ Hammond M. (1974), “The Emergence of Medieval Towns: Independence or Continuity?”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 78, pp. 1-33.

⁶⁰⁶ Opening a parenthesis, it should here be stated that, Hammond’s arguments regarding the Turkish rule in the region seems a little trivial, unconvincing for he refers to Vryonis as the only source concerning the medieval history of Anatolia. Hammond (1974), pp. 29, 31.

⁶⁰⁷ Hammond (1974), pp. 32-33.

⁶⁰⁸ Vance J. E. (1990), *The Continuing City. Urban Morphology in Western Civilization*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

⁶⁰⁹ For a detailed discussion on urban morphogenesis, Vance (1990), pp. 4-39.

components of the towns tracking continuities and pointing out changes amongst them.⁶¹⁰ He infers in the end that there may be remarkable continuity in the towns considering their certain aspects like location, population and even former public edifices and street patterns, yet, there is still striking change in the functions and physical forms of the settlements and the issue seems to be unique for every particular case.⁶¹¹

Taking into account these suppositions on the issue of urban continuity, an argument, which emphasizes continuous transformation and at the same time allowing for individual contribution in shaping the urban form, rather than direct formulations of continuity and autonomy, can be suggested. In other words, speaking particularly on the development and modification of urban form in Western Anatolia, it can be claimed that the urban centers in this part of Anatolia had been continuously transformed, either developed, or weakened, or moved, or else. This continuous transformation in the built environment was due to the continuous transformation in social, economic, administrative modes under the changing ruling communities, respectively Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Turkish Principalities and Ottomans; military occurrences; and also due to possible gradual transformations of the natural setting, the geographical alterations on the settlement sites.

In the end, the transformation of urban form of significant Western Anatolian town centers with emphasis on the Principalities and Ottoman periods corresponding to 14th and 16th centuries is analyzed. Hence, this analysis, subsequent to the discussion on the urban models completes the basis to question whether a particular urban model can be figured out such as a Principalities town model in Western Anatolia. Accordingly, below is an attempt to analyze whether it is feasible to suggest an urban model for Principalities towns in Western Anatolia. The criteria in exploring these possible urban models can include; the relationship with the already settled urban environment, the urban form in its complete patterns and its urban divisions, elements of urban architecture and finally architectural language and urban image.

3.3. Is there an Urban Model for Principalities Towns in Western Anatolia?

Before going into the modes of reshaping of the physical setting within their ruling territories, it has to be repeated that the Western Anatolian Principalities, namely the Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları Principalities remodeled urban life and in relation the built

⁶¹⁰ Ward - Perkins B. (1996, 1998), "Urban Continuity", *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (N. Christie and S. T. Loseby, eds.) Suffolk: Ashgate Publishers, pp. 4-17.

⁶¹¹ Ward - Perkins (1996, 1998), pp. 14-16.

environment all at once with the revival of overseas trade at the juncture of the maritime and land routes, rearrangement the administrative echelons, and reconfiguration of the socio-cultural structure.⁶¹² In other words, the imprints of Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları in the socio-cultural, economic and administrative components of Western Anatolian towns, articulated as well the socio-spatial structuring and the related urban environment.

In line with the above criteria, the shaping of the urban form of a Principalities town can first be studied according to the relationship with the already settled urban environment. First, there are Principalities towns, which are established overlapping the formerly existing Byzantine settlements. For instance, Aydınoğulları capital Birgi settled on the earlier Byzantine Pyrgion and even expanded the borders of Pyrgion, like Menteşeoğulları capital Beçin overlapped the former Byzantine town and extended the borders still further. (Figure 3.40, 3.45, 3.48, 3.51) In these towns, the urban development pattern for the most part outlined depending on the geography and topographical conditions of the settlement site. In Birgi, growth of the settlement pattern followed the elongation by the banks of the river with the construction of public edifices generating urban growth around. In Beçin, expansion continued on the decreasing contours of topography both inside and outside the outer fortifications with foundation of building groups as well as public buildings to encourage urban development. The irregularity in plan organization and street network and fortifications guaranteeing defensive needs, which started during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods carried on while making a Principalities town.

Second, there are Principalities towns, which partially overlap and partially settle next to, adjoined to the formerly existing Byzantine settlements. Ayasoluk and Balat, the significant overseas port towns of the Principalities are examples for this type of settlements. Both the geographical conditions and the defensive purposes influenced the quality of urban life in these centers and thus effected the development of the settlement pattern. Due to the gradual silting of their harbors, both Ayasoluk and Balat moved away from the site of their ancient predecessors. Hence, the military concerns added to the necessity of the shrinkage and retreating of these settlements on high locations protected with fortifications already during the Byzantine rule. The Turkish phase of these settlements maintained their already existing localities yet expanded further towards the safer and flatter lands within the territory not only due to defense reasons but also taking into account the geographical and topographical

⁶¹² For a recall of detailed discussion on the attempt to reconstruct Western Anatolian towns during the Principalities period according to their socio-cultural features see in Chapter 2, under 2.3. Trade and Trade Relations in the Principalities Period.

conditions. (Figure 3.29, 3.34, 3.51) Nevertheless, the steady malfunctioning of the harbors step by step paved the way for the emergence and development of alternative port towns along the Aegean. For instance Anaea (Kadikalesi) and Scala Nuovo (Kuşadası) nearby Ephesus were already flourishing small port towns, where Anaea was a former Byzantine and Scala Nuovo by and large a former Latin settlement. However, İzmir was the actual rival of Ayasoluk for she succeeded as an overseas port particularly towards the end of the Classical Ottoman period, where most of the Aegean ports turned into interregional ports serving to İstanbul.

Accordingly as the third group, towns like Kadikalesi and Kuşadası, and especially İzmir and Foça to the north can be discussed. These towns also partially overlapped the existing settlements and even expanded within these territories. Yet, these towns had double centered urban settlements having two different administrative centers governed by Turkish rulers on one hand and Latins on the other hand. As a result, the urban form developed separately in two dissimilar parts, one as the Latin and the other as the Turkish city. (Figure 3.50) At this point, Tanyeli claims that all Ayasoluk, İzmir and as another town from the Black Sea coast Samsun comprised detached urban settlements one governed by Latins, and the other by the Turkish rulers.⁶¹³ However, it is not possible to match Ayasoluk with İzmir and state that both are double centered settlements. Surely, Ayasoluk included a Latin quarter and this is located detached from the Turkish quarters. Yet, the town was governed only by Turkish rulers and Latins only had privileges given to them by these rulers to have their own quarters. Still, Latins resided in the quarters not in a neighboring, rival settlement as clearly stated in the peace treaties and trade agreements signed between Aydınoğulları and the Venetians and the Genoese.⁶¹⁴ The situation was different in İzmir than in Ayasoluk, where Aydınoğulları rulers could not conquer the town completely and struggle between them and Genoese continued throughout the 14th century. In these circumstances, fortifications had paramount importance and the each part mostly developed within the borders of the fortifications for the safety of its inhabitants. In addition, it is not possible to imagine foundation of monumental examples of urban architecture shaping these townscapes in such slippery grounds of shifting authorities, agreements and warfare. Supporting these arguments, there is not much architectural evidence for an attempt to restructure the urban spaces and urban form of these towns. Hence, in this respect the physical setting of İzmir and Ayasoluk can be compared in their settlement plan layouts. (Figure 2.10, 3.50)

⁶¹³ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 111-112.

⁶¹⁴ See in the previous chapter, 2.3.2. Trade Agreements and Peace Treaties.

Fourth, there are Principalities towns established next to the existing settlements rather than overlapping. For instance, Byzantine Laodiceai, which declined in time, yet gave way to the growth of a nearby Turkish-Islamic settlement Ladik, which later developed into Denizli. Similarly, Byzantine Nyssa was replaced with the establishment of a new settlement by the Turkish Principalities named as Sultanhisar during the 14th century.⁶¹⁵ It is possible to trace the borders of the ancient town and today's Sultanhisar emerged and developed in the 14th century. Sultanhisar is located on the south of Nyssa, whose circumference is defined by the northern edges of the settlement adjoined to the ancient city. (Figure 3.10)

Generally speaking, Western Anatolian towns continued the earlier urban form in its complete patterns, in other words analyzing the settlement plan layout and the street network viewing from above, after they conquered and settled on this settlement centers in this part of Anatolia. Fortifications were maintained like in the earlier urban tradition, former public edifices were converted into Turkish ones, new buildings were constructed, yet in harmony with the existing pattern whether expanding the borders or not. Since trade activities enlivened in this territory subsequent to the Principalities annexation, these rulers encouraged appropriation of required spaces to respond to the needs of commercial businesses ongoing in these towns. As previously mentioned, in Ayasoluk even some spaces of the Church of St. John was reserved for commercial purposes by Aydınoğulları. Yet, there was probably a big market place, possibly just outside the fortified area which was architecturally defined with less-enduring, temporary structures built up of related materials. Accordingly, it can be suggested that similar to Seljuks and opposed to the Ottomans, Principalities in Western Anatolia could not succeed in establishing well-organized, permanent commercial centers within their urban borders. At this point, the development of the commercial center in Tire can be mentioned as the nearly foremost planned one. Rulers of Aydınoğulları founded the Great Mosque and two *hans*, two *hamams*, [baths] and shops near the Mosque in this area. Most of the commercial activities were realized around this spot, in the bazaars of specified trade items, which took its final, thoroughly developed form under the later Ottoman rule with an increase in the number of *hans* constructed, a *bedesten* and a few nearby building complexes.⁶¹⁶ Thus, the suggestion can further be articulated that even though the Principalities were not as successful as the Ottomans in establishing well-planned and enduring commercial centers, they started these attempts for the commercial spaces used by them later improved and developed into urban divisions planned with durable structures.

⁶¹⁵ İdil (1999), pp. 27-30.

⁶¹⁶ For further details, see Chapter 5. Tire in the Making (14th – 16th Centuries)

Considering the functional and social organization of urban space separation can be noticed not only in terms of commercial and residential quarters, but also according to ethnic and religious origins opposed to the Seljuk and similar to the Ottoman urban traditions.⁶¹⁷ For instance, the historical visual and verbal accounts, namely the illustration by J. Covell and travelogues of the German pilgrims Wilhelm von Boldensele and Ludolf von Suchem on Ayasoluk provides significant information to picture a Western Anatolian Principalities town according to its quarters inhabited by differing ethnic and religious groups.⁶¹⁸ Plus, H. Akın gives the names of the neighborhoods referring to archival documents, which supports the argument that there were different quarters.⁶¹⁹ Turks probably settled on the outskirts of the Ayasoluk Hill expanding outwards the fortified area, in the quarters nearby the medieval harbor Venetians were located, and finally some of the Greek population resided within the abandoned old Ephesus, some did inside the fortified area and some in the neighborhoods just outside the fortifications. Akın gives the names of these Greek neighborhoods respectively as, *Cemâat-i Kefere fi Mahalle-i Kemer*, by the ancient aqueduct, *Mahalle-i Küffaran Eskihişar'ın Haremi*, within the citadel, and *Mahalle-i Küffaran Hisaryakası*, by the citadel.⁶²⁰ (Figure 3.31) Furthermore, referring to archival documents Tire is also known to be structured with differing neighborhoods of Turks, Greeks, and Jews comprising distinct urban divisions. M. Armağan also lists the names of the Greek and Jewish quarters existing under the Aydınoğulları rule in Tire as; *Küffaran* [Greek] and *Yahudi* [Jewish] quarters.⁶²¹ In the end, urban divisions materialized and developed first, as a commercial one, and next as differing self-sufficient ones filled with residential ones.

However, Turkish residents dominated in population. Thus, it is inevitable to have more neighborhoods belonging to Turkish groups, which are either reconstructed over the already existing, abandoned quarters or newly built. Similar to Seljuk and Ottoman strategies of settlement and development, Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları as well, reshaped the urban architecture of the towns they conquered. First, they appropriated the existing public structures into Turkish-Islamic ones. Second, the ruling elite commissioned the construction of new

⁶¹⁷ Tanyeli has similar arguments on this issue of separation according to ethnicity and religion during the Principalities period. Tanyeli (1987), pp. 111-112.

⁶¹⁸ See in Chapter 2, 2.3.2. Trade Agreements and Peace Treaties.

⁶¹⁹ Akın (1968), pp. 134-135. Tanyeli also cites the information and lists the names of the neighborhoods provided by Akın, Tanyeli (1987), pp. 113-114.

⁶²⁰ Akın (1968), pp. 134-135.

⁶²¹ Armağan M. (2003), *Devlet Arşivlerinde Tire*, İzmir: Karınca Matbaacılık, pp. 85-88. In addition, Akın provides the names of the neighborhoods referring to the *tapu tahrir defterleri* [property deeds] during the rule of Mehmet II, Akın (1968), p. 135. This information is also cited by Tanyeli as well. Tanyeli (1987), pp. 123-124.

public buildings and building groups to generate new neighborhoods around. By this way, the founders not only encouraged urban growth and improved urban facilities but also remodeled the urban architecture of these towns by introducing new architectural language and urban image.

Architectural language in Western Anatolian urban centers did not point to shared formal typologies and design principles. For instance, Manisa Great Mosque Complex (1366) commissioned by Saruhanoğlu İshak Bey in Manisa, İsa Bey Mosque (1375) commissioned by Aydınoğlu İsa Bey in Ayasuluk, and İlyas Bey Mosque Complex commissioned by Menteşeoğlu İlyas Bey in Balat display different architectural approaches in terms of mass articulation, plan layout, construction techniques and building materials. Manisa Great Mosque Complex bears a resemblance to Seljuk understanding in the organization of building masses as compact, solid, adjoined units. İsa Bey Mosque, on the other hand, displays an architectural design, which is a synthesis of Early Islamic mosque layout combined with local Byzantine building and construction traditions, yet, more open and extraverted exterior articulation reminding Ottoman façade designs. İlyas Bey Complex stands as an experimental example reflecting the pursuit for monumental scale in its single unit mosque design, organization of building masses on the site to allow defined open spaces opposed to Seljuk and similar to Ottoman style. Use of domes as an alternative of double-shelled conical caps, more open and extraverted building walls as an alternative of solid, bare surfaces prevails in these edifices.

Still, these buildings neither follow Seljuk nor Ottoman and nor local Byzantine features on the whole. Instead, they are unique and different from each other in their architecture in terms of both design principles and details. Yet, they are all in between Seljuk and Ottoman architectural designs. They make use of local construction techniques and building materials at times.⁶²² In this respect, they represent instances, in which spatial experimentation and explorations for new architectural and urban experiences are endeavored. Even, in Beçin, it is possible to trace the encounters with the Latins through the architectural elements, and decorative motives used in the Menteşeoğlu buildings.⁶²³

Keeping in the mind the architectural features and the formal aspects, urban image of a Western Anatolian Principalities town can be suggested as follows. Visitors approaching the town probably face an urban silhouette articulated with domes and minarets of Principalities

⁶²² For further discussion about the construction techniques and building materials in the architecture of the Turkish Principalities in Western Anatolia, Kolay İ. A. (1999), *Batı Anadolu 14. Yüzyıl Beylikler Mimarisinde Yapım Teknikleri*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları.

⁶²³ For further discussion about the Latin influences in the architecture of Menteşeoğulları Principality, Arel (1993).

edifices scattered along the decreasing contours of the topography, yet still on the sloppy outskirts inside and outside the fortified area. Most likely there appeared a fragmented allotment of building groups and neighborhoods around them, and in particular gardens, fields and similar intermediary zones located in between the Turkish and Latin quarters, where Greek ones are not necessarily detached.

Those, who move through the Principalities towns presumably, experienced these divisions, which are both attached and detached from the urban core, the market place and from each other within the settlement borders. Thus, visitors moving in the town, for instance, meet a neighborhood that is defined nearby a building group, then green agricultural fields, and then again a small urban center, another neighborhood, which is also self-sufficient in itself with public buildings. The building groups and public buildings are probably designed to give way to positive open urban spaces which reminds the Ottoman attitude in Bursa. For instance, in Birgi, the Great Mosque, the tomb of Mehmet Bey, the baths, whose remains only survive today and the madrasa building, on which a later one is built create an open space at the twist of the main road, where social gathering spaces are even today located. (Figure 3.46, 3.47) In line with that, the building groups in Balat and Tire are planned in order to allow share open spaces in between, either in the form of courtyards, or gardens or terraces.⁶²⁴ Likewise, the building façades were designed with a significant concern given to establish a more integrated connection between inside and outside opposed to Seljuk and a step forward to Ottoman spatial formulation. There are instances where as a semi-open intermediary space, *son cemaat yeri* [late comers' portico] is constructed in front of the mosques like in Kazirzade and Karahasan Mosques in Tire.⁶²⁵ Furthermore, generally speaking, the façade articulation of the Western Anatolian buildings founded under the rule of the Principalities were more open and perforated and built up of local materials with local construction techniques like the Ottomans and opposed to the Seljuks. Taking into account the building groups in the form of dervish lodges, the openness was probably carried a step further, for not only visual but also audible connection with the audience outside the building is aimed to be achieved.

In the end, the visitors strolling through the Western Anatolian towns during the 14th century underwent similar urban experiences with an Early Ottoman town in terms of sensitivity adhered to establishing comparatively open spaces, extraverted walls and

⁶²⁴ This issue is further studied in Chapter 5, 5.3. Evolution and Development of Building Groups and their Function as Urban Generators in Tire.

⁶²⁵ More detailed information is given about these buildings and more in Tire in Appendices, Appendix A. General Description of the Buildings in Tire. A. 1. Building Groups.

organization of separate masses of buildings within an integrated layouts than the Seljuk ones. Hence, there were still the traces of Seljuk motives both in the continuation of certain architectural elements like the portals and in the design principles of some building groups like Manisa Great Mosque Complex. Adding the contribution of the earlier settled local Byzantine culture, the Principalities architectural language and urban image was shaped with considerable impacts of Byzantine construction traditions. Byzantine traces could also be followed in the appropriated former Byzantine structures and in the re-used material in building up of new Turkish structures. Accordingly, experiencing the urban environment and both urban and individual spaces of a Western Anatolian town almost certainly was not like experiencing a mere Byzantine, or a Seljuk, and or an Ottoman city but like experiencing a fusion of those, where Ottoman approach predominates, yet experimented with further unique architectural details and searching for individual styles.

3.4. The Role of Architecture in Town Making

Until now a discussion on the shaping of the physical setting, in other words the urban form and structure of Western Anatolian towns, particularly under the Principalities and the subsequent Ottoman rule, is provided. The arguments in analyzing the identity of these urban centers depended on specific criteria which comprised; relationship with the already existing urban environment, the shaping of the urban form and structure in its complete patterns and plus, its urban divisions, elements of urban architecture and finally architectural language and urban image. In these lines, it is obvious that the role of architecture is evidently vital in making either Principalities or an Ottoman or any town.

To begin with, architectural edifices, namely elements of urban architecture do not exist in nothingness but instead in a setting, urban context of that town, which they contribute to shaping and are shaped. As D. Preziosi also emphasizes, the formal and functional characteristics of buildings can be comprehensively figured out in relation to those structures which are nearby or separate.⁶²⁶ Hence, architectural structures are significant constituents of urban form, the tangible setting, and they are at the same time of paramount importance as components of urban life, the intangible setting. As mentioned before, at the beginning of this thesis, the cities are defined not only as formal, physical, and visual locales but also identified

⁶²⁶ Preziosi D. (1991), "Introduction to Part II: Power, Structure, and Architectural Function", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, p. 104.

with respect to social, cultural, economic, and administrative mechanisms.⁶²⁷ In this particular study on Western Anatolian towns under the rule of first the Principalities and then the Ottomans, socio-economic constructs on one hand, that is to say in the previous chapter, and physical and built environment on the other hand, namely in this chapter, are highlighted. In so doing, particular public buildings, and more important than that building groups either in the form of *külliyes* [building complexes] or in the form of *zaviyes* [dervish lodges], catch significant attention for they are the very generators in developing, transforming, and shaping the urban context. Referring to A. Rossi, these particular building groups initiating urban nuclei are indeed “urban artifacts”.

Rossi articulates his contemplation of the mutual relationship between architecture and the city based on the concepts of “permanence” and “monuments” and related to those, “urban artifact”, and “collective memory” in his pioneering study *The Architecture of the City*.⁶²⁸ To begin with, he formulates his methodology “as a theory of urban artifacts, stemming from the identification of the city itself as an artifact and from its division into individual buildings and dwelling areas”, where “urban artifacts” can be identified as not meager structures but entities closely connected to urban life; dominating, developing and transforming the city.⁶²⁹ Seen in this light, in building up his argumentation on the concept of space, he emphasizes two major ingredients as “permanence” and “monuments”, which can be associated with “urban artifacts”. He elaborates on “permanency” of “monuments” suggesting a synchronic approach that permanency is established through the monuments, artifacts of the city either as concrete entities or in the “collective memory” of its inhabitants which in turn is also formed by the permanency of its monuments. At the same time, it is “permanency” that attributes particular characteristics of “monuments”, or “urban artifacts” of any given structure. Yet, he further reflects on “types”, which he identifies as constants; neither mere models nor mere functional devices, but the very essence of the architectural structures, that “react dialectically with technique, function, and style, as well as with both the collective character and the individual moment of the architectural artifact”.⁶³⁰ In other words, “type” continues and “permanency” is also in this continuity of the “type”. Accordingly, it’s the “monument”, acting as the “urban

⁶²⁷ See in Chapter 1, 1.1. Approach and Main Arguments of the Dissertation. 1.4.4. At the Intersection of Earlier Studies on Socio-Economic, Urban, and Architectural History of Western Anatolian Towns: Evaluating the Preceding Explorations, Theories on Urban Space.

⁶²⁸ Rossi A. (1982), *The Architecture of the City*, (D. Ghirardo, J. Ockman trans.) Cambridge - Massachusetts: MIT Press.

⁶²⁹ Rossi (1982), pp. 21-22.

⁶³⁰ Rossi (1982), p. 41.

artifact”, through which the city produces and also reproduces itself both in tangible and in intangible constructs.

At this point, the concept of “collective memory”, introduced by M. Halbwachs, and further articulated and interpreted by Rossi in his discussion on the architecture of the city, can be opened up.⁶³¹ Rossi considers “the city itself as the collective memory of its people and like memory it is associated with objects and places”, as he states the city as the “*locus* of collective memory” and continues,

“This relationship between the *locus* and the citizenry then becomes the city’s predominant image both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artifacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge”.⁶³²

Put differently, “collective memory” is a fundamental constituent in making, developing, and transforming the urban settings. Yet, opening a parenthesis it can be stated that the concept stimulated many urban studies not only historical but also design-oriented. For instance, M. Hebbert argued about the streets as particular urban spaces subsisting as locus of collective memory in an attempt to analyze reconstruction of modern Berlin and afterwards, whereas urban morphologist Moudon exploited “collective memory” as a design tool to rediscover the urban form for future studies.⁶³³

Hence, the above mentioned concepts can be substantiated with instances from Western Anatolian urban centers under the Principalities and Ottoman rule to show the apparent association with the scope of this study. Basically, *külliyes*, *zaviyes*, and mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan are among the significant “urban artifacts”, which dominate the making of the towns. Likewise particular public buildings either initiating the formation of these architectural complexes or individually standing such as a Friday mosque, a madrasa, a masjid and alike can all be regarded as “urban artifacts” for they are capable of producing and reproducing their urban contexts. They are the “monuments” that continue and they are “permanent”, in other words, they “persist” either physically or within the “collective memory”. For instance, according to the archival sources; information in the foundation charters and in the written accounts of travelers, it can be asserted that the madrasa of the Birgi Great Mosque complex commissioned by Aydınoğlu Mehmet Bey most likely had stood in the

⁶³¹ Halbwachs basically claims that all memory is assembled socially around a particular concept of space. Halbwachs M. (1980), *The Collective Memory*, (F. J. Ditter, V. Y. Ditter trans.) (1st edition in 1950), New York: Harper Colophon. Rossi later elaborates on urban space as *locus* of collective memory. Rossi (1982), pp. 130-137.

⁶³² Rossi (1982), p. 130.

⁶³³ Hebbert M. (2005), “The Street as Locus of Collective Memory”, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, pp. 581-596. Moudon (1997).

place of İmam Birgivi Madrasa almost two hundred years before. In other words, the madrasa as the “monument” persisted on that location in the “collective memory” of the inhabitants and after it was damaged for some reason, the new one was built instead. Or, *zaviyes* in Tire such as Balım Sultan Zaviyesi or Emir Ali Tekkesi transformed some of their functions in time.⁶³⁴ Only the Balım Sultan tomb survived and people continued to pray to this holy personality yet did not practice the necessities of *Sufi* orders as once had been in Balım Sultan Zaviyesi. Emir Ali Tekkesi no longer functioned as a hospice but continued as only a dervish lodge without supplementary services for accommodation, food, and alike. Even, Yağcızade Zaviyesi in Tire only exists in the foundation charters, do not physically survive, yet, still continues in the “collective memory” of the people, where a tomb is attributed in the town’s cemetery with the name Yağcızade. Last but not least, place may also be “permanent” as mentioned above. For instance, for the most part in Principalities towns, outside the fortifications a Friday Mosque is built. Nearby the Mosque, the commercial spaces gather and a market place is established, which most likely shape the commercial center of the towns. Where the commercial edifices are durable and persisted in Bursa’s commercial center, the situation was somewhat different in Tire. In the surrounding of the Great Mosque, necessary commercial units for establishing a market place already existed under Aydınoğulları rule. Yet, these were temporary structures which did not endure. However, during the subsequent Ottoman rule, monumental *hans* and a *bedesten* was built just in this location which continued in the “collective memory”, put differently, which was already the market place Tire’s urban life.

To wrap up, in the context of Western Anatolian towns particularly between the 14th - 16th centuries, the role of architecture in shaping the urban environment is tried to be outlined within a theoretical framework with specific reference to Rossi’s formulation of the relationship between architecture and the city and his conceptualizations on urban space. Hence, social and economic forces, namely the role of trade in making the towns is underlined and discussed on one hand, and buildings, urban spaces, monuments, namely the role of architecture in producing and reproducing the towns argued on the other hand within the scope of this study. It is evident that, not purely the trade buildings, but, the building groups either in the form of *külliyes*, building complexes or in the form of *zaviyes* dervish lodges, or single buildings combining more than one facility such as mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan are dominating architectural endeavors in developing, transforming, and shaping these towns. In other words, trade buildings like *hans* and *bedesten*, as socio-commercial

⁶³⁴ For further information on the *zaviyes* in Tire see Armağan (2003), pp. 172-183.

establishments, generate the development of the commercial centers, commercial district of the towns, while building groups, as socio-religious establishments, generate the development of residential neighborhoods, small centers in the towns.

Consequently, calling attention to the approach of the architectural historians as already stated in the beginning of this chapter, it has to be remembered that the city is neither purely its architectural components nor is purely urban plan in its complete patterns but a complex system that comprises both, plus the social and cultural forces, economic practices, administrative institutions, which help to reconcile the two above.⁶³⁵ Yet, as put into words by Preziosi,

“The complex set of meanings associated with any one structure is in no small way a function of the urban fabric as a whole, with its overriding associations and connotations. Conversely, the imagery characteristic of a given urban setting may be altered (in either profound or minimal ways) by individual new foundations: a city is more than the sum of its parts.”⁶³⁶

3.5. Conclusive Remarks

In this chapter, Western Anatolian towns particularly between the 14th and 16th centuries under first the Principalities and next the Ottoman rule are analyzed in terms of their urban setting and urban spaces. First, in order to highlight the possible relationship with the already existing urban environments of earlier and nearby contemporaneous settlements probable town models of ancient, Byzantine, Seljuk, and Ottoman cities are examined respectively. The criteria in exploring these possible urban models include; the relationship with the already settled urban environment, the shaping of the urban form and structure in its complete patterns and its urban divisions, elements of urban architecture and finally architectural language and urban image.

With these in mind, second, the history of urban form in Western Anatolian towns; Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi respectively, is considered with special emphasis on the medieval era. It is seen that, the urban centers in this part of Anatolia continuously transformed, either developed, or weakened, or moved, or else. This continuous transformation in the built environment was in line with the continuous transformation in social, economic, administrative modes under the changing ruling communities, respectively Greeks, Romans, Byzantines,

⁶³⁵ M. Gandelonas argues about these characteristics of urban contexts in a rather detailed fashion in his suggestions of the “architectural readings of the urban text” in Gandelonas (1998), pp. 135-140. See also, Çelik, Favro (1988), Favro (1999), Kostof (1991), Kostof (1992), Madanipour (1996) and the initial discussion in Chapter 1 Introduction, 1.4.4. At the Intersection of Earlier Studies on Socio-Economic, Urban, and Architectural History of Western Anatolian Towns: Evaluating the Preceding Explorations, Theories on Urban Space.

⁶³⁶ Preziosi (1991), p. 104.

Turkish Principalities and Ottomans; political shifts and military occurrences; and also due to possible gradual transformations of the natural setting, the geographical alterations on the settlement sites. In other words, questioning urban continuity or change, it can be suggested that there is continuous transformation allowing for individual contribution in shaping the urban form.

Third, it is attempted to evaluate whether it is possible to suggest an urban model for Principalities towns in Western Anatolia. In the end, it is seen that urban experiences of a Western Anatolian town evidently differ from a mere Byzantine, or a Seljuk, and or an Ottoman one, yet Western Anatolian towns borrows some characteristics from all those, where the Ottoman tradition prevails, still experimenting with further unique architectural details and searching for individual styles as well as distinctive urban settings.

Fourth, the role and way of the architectural foundations in shaping the townscape in Western Anatolia particularly between the 14th - 16th centuries is touched upon. In this respect, a theoretical framework referring to Rossi's argumentations on the relationship between architecture and the city and his conceptualizations on urban space is drawn. Then the role of particular public buildings like Friday mosques and mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan, plus, building groups either as *külliyes* or as *zaviyes* are emphasized for they are actually "urban artifacts" those generate the making, or in other words, developing, transforming and shaping these Western Anatolian towns.

Consequently, this chapter is the second step in an endeavor for a socio-economic and spatial analysis of Western Anatolian towns principally under the Principalities and subsequently the Ottoman rule. In the previous chapter, as the first step, it is attempted to reconstruct the Western Anatolian urban and road network conditional on the political, and particularly economic and social forces of urban life. As the second step, throughout this chapter, it is attempted to take in a comprehensive analysis on the urban formation, changes and developments in the physical setting of Western Anatolian towns. In so doing, urban forms of these towns are evaluated both in complete patterns and to a considerable extent in relation to their components. Put differently, the role of the architectural attempts in developing, transforming, and shaping the urban context of these towns is partially touched upon. Yet, it is in the next chapter, as the third step to further articulate the role of architecture, with particular emphasis on building groups, in making Principalities and Ottoman towns, where at the same time argue about them as individual entities through a diachronic approach investigating their evolution from the Principalities towards the Classical Ottoman period.

CHAPTER 4

THE EVOLUTION OF BUILDING GROUPS AND THEIR ROLE AS URBAN GENERATORS

This chapter is the third step in the pursuit of a socio-economic and spatial analysis of Western Anatolian urban centers between the 14th and 16th centuries. Accordingly, subsequent to an evaluation of the urban forms of these towns in complete patterns, plus to a mention about them in relation to their constituents, in this chapter, the role of architecture in developing, transforming, and shaping the urban context of these towns is discussed in depth. Based on Rossi's theories on urban space and particularly on the correlation of architecture to the city, building groups, for the most part as *külliyes* [building complexes] and also as *zaviyes* [dervish lodges], plus particular single buildings with multiple functions such as mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan, are studied in this chapter. For the reason that, they are essentially "urban artifacts" those generate the making of these Western Anatolian towns. Hence, these building groups are significant for they not only dominate and influence the making of their urban contexts but also stand as inseparable parts of these contexts for they produce urban spaces themselves and they are the very instances of urban life in social, cultural, commercial, religious and spatial terms in medieval Western Anatolia.

First, a discussion on the definition of building groups, with particular focus on those in the form of *külliyes*, is given. Yet, how they are designed, managed and how they functioned is explained both in social and in spatial terms, so that it will be possible to arrive at a shared description of building groups as presumed in this thesis. Second, the definition, design, management of *zaviyes*, and then other buildings embodying multi-functions such as mosque comprising additional spaces to a prayer hall in T-type plan is discussed. The role of these buildings, defined as *zaviyes* and mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan in their urban contexts, clearly speaking, their influences in transforming the urban space in their immediate surroundings as well as in shaping the urban form is evaluated. Finally, the building groups in the form of *külliyes* are analyzed to reveal whether and how there is an evolution and development in their architecture from the Anatolian Seljuk towards the classical Ottoman

period. In this respect, building groups particularly dating to the Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları period in Western Anatolia and next, the later Ottoman examples in the very same region are of paramount importance for they can be regarded as evolutionary steps from Anatolian Seljuk towards a Classical Ottoman *külliyeye* in terms of their architectural properties such as functional organization, mass articulation, plan layout, and the like. More important than that, the role of these building groups in making and shaping their urban context is highlighted in its entirety. Hence, the modes of contribution of building groups on the whole to the urbanization process of Western Anatolian towns parallel to the political, socio-cultural, and economic transformations through the Turkish-Islamic rule between the 14th and 16th centuries is evaluated. Yet, with this chapter the fundamental framework is established, or better to say completed for the next chapter, clearly speaking, for an attempt to reconstruct Tire, the significant Western Anatolian urban center, not only socially and economically but also spatially between the 14th and 16th centuries.

4.1. Definitions, Origins, Design and Management of *Külliyes* [Building Complexes]

Külliyeye or building complexes, as used generally within the terminology of architectural history covering the Turkish-Islamic period, refers to a group of buildings with different functions that gather around a mosque.⁶³⁷ Yeşil Külliye in Bursa (1414-1424), Fatih Külliyesi in Istanbul (1463-1471) and II. Bayezid Külliyesi in Edirne (1484-1488) are examples from Anatolia during the Ottoman period for the above description of building complexes.⁶³⁸ The term is also used with reference to the group of buildings, which get together around the tomb of a *veli* [saint] as can be observed in Mevlana Külliyesi in Konya (13th cent.)

⁶³⁷ Akozan F. (1969), “Türk Külliyesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 8, p. 303. Goodwin G. (1986), “Külliyeye”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (E. von Donzel., B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat eds.), 5, Leiden: E. J. Brill, p. 366. İpekoğlu B. A. (1993), *Buildings with Combined Functions in Anatolian Seljuk Architecture (An Evaluation of Design Principles, Past and Present Functions)*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Restoration, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, p. 2. Kuran A. (1971), *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago - London: University of Chicago Press, p. 17. Reyhanlı T. (1976), “Osmanlı Mimarisinde İmaret: Külliye Üzerine Notlar”, *Türk Kültürü*, XV/1-2, p. 121. Say Y. (2006), *Anadolu'nun İslamlaşması ve Türkleşmesi Sürecinde Gazi – Eren – Evliyaların Rolü, Seyyid Battal Gazi ve Külliyesi*, İstanbul: Su Yayınları, p. 11.

⁶³⁸ For further information about these complexes see Ayverdi E. H. (1989), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve Sultan II. Murad Devri 806-855 (1403-1451)*, II, (2nd Edition, 1st Edition in 1972) İstanbul: Damla Ofset, pp. 45-117. Ayverdi E. H. (1973), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri 855-886 (1451-1481)*, III-IV, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası. Kafesçioğlu Ç. (1996), *The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the 15th Century*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Fine Arts, Cambridge - Massachusetts: Harvard University. pp. 105-163. Kazancıgil R. (1997), *Edirne Sultan II. Bayezid Külliyesi*, Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Yayınları.

or Seyyid Battal Gazi Külliye in Eskişehir (13th cent.).⁶³⁹ In this respect, Cantay defines a *külliye* as, “social institutions embodying various functional structural units which are planned together and constructed together”, where Çifte Medrese in Kayseri (1205), Taş Medrese in Akşehir (1216, 1250) are also examples.⁶⁴⁰ Yet, as can be detected in most of these shrines growing around the tomb of saints, *külliye* can also be defined as buildings constructed in the course of time by or around any existing buildings.⁶⁴¹ Hunat Hatun Külliyesi in Kayseri (1237-38) and like Mevlana and Seyyid Battal Gazi Külliyesi, Hacı Bektaş Külliyesi in Kırşehir (13th cent.) display this mode of establishment of an architectural complex in the course of time.⁶⁴²

Accordingly, B. A. İpekoğlu suggests a definition, which in a way combines the above. She identifies building complexes as a group of buildings having different functions, whether religious, educational or social and generally constructed around a mosque either at the same time as original designs or in the course of time displaying an additive approach.⁶⁴³ At this point, the definition offered by R. Hakky further articulates and adds the former definition institutional aspects of a *külliye*. He identifies a *külliye* as, “a set of three or more facilities of religious, educational, social, and commercial nature, built by one patron as a pious foundation for the benefit of a community”.⁶⁴⁴ In the end, the examples of building complexes referred in this thesis can be defined as building groups embodying various functions like religious, educational, social and/or commercial and are constructed around a mosque either at the same

⁶³⁹ İpekoğlu (1993), p. 2, Reyhanlı (1976), p. 122, and especially Say (2006).

⁶⁴⁰ Cantay G. (2002a), “Türk Mimarisinde Külliye” *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*. (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 7, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, p. 836. Cantay G. (2002b), *Osmanlı Külliyelerinin Kuruluşu*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları. p. 1. For further information on Çifte Medrese Akok M. (1969a), “Kayseri’de Gevher Nesibe Hatun Darüşşifası ve Sahibiye Medresesi Rölöve ve Mimarisi”, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, XVII/1, pp. 133-184. Cantay (2002b), p. 21. Kuran A. (1969), *Anadolu Medreseleri*, I, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, pp. 65-67. For further information on Taş Medrese Caner Ç., Şimşek-Kuran G. (2006), “Searching Traces of a Donor: Sahip Ata in Seljuk Architecture”, *1st International CIB Endorsed METU Postgraduate Conference Proceedings*, (S. Andolsun, A. Temizsoy, M. Uçar eds.)17-18 March 2006, Ankara, pp.655-669. Cantay (2002a), p. 842. Kuran (1969), pp. 79-82.

⁶⁴¹ İpekoğlu (1993), p. 2.

⁶⁴² For further information about the development of Hunat Hatun Külliyesi see Akok M. (1968a), “Kayseri’de Hunad Mimari Külliyesi’nin Rölövesi”, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, XVI/1, pp. 5-44, Katoğlu M. (1976), “13. Yüzyıl Anadolu Mimarisinde Külliye”, *Belleten*, XXXI/123, pp. 338-339. For further information about the development of Seyyid Battal Gazi and Hacı Bektaş Külliyesi see Akok (1968b), “Hacıbektaş Veli Mimari Manzumesi”, *Türk Etnoğrafya Dergisi*, 10, pp. 27-58. Say (2006), pp. 23-28, 118-149. Yürekli – Görkay Z. E. (2005), *Legend and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire: The Shrines of Seyyid Gazi and Hacı Bektaş*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in History of Art and Architecture, Cambridge - Massachusetts: Harvard University, pp. 33-37, 93-191.

⁶⁴³ İpekoğlu (1993), p. 3.

⁶⁴⁴ Hakky R. (1992), *The Ottoman Külliye between the 14th and 17th Centuries: Its Urban Setting and Spatial Composition*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Environmental Design and Planning, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, p. 10.

time as original designs or in the course of time which were commissioned as pious foundations by the significant elite of their periods. Because, whether originally designed or developed in the course of time, building complexes are of paramount importance within the urban context, considering their role in the development of the urban centers in Western Anatolia.

Complementing to the above definitions, it can be said that, *külliyes* are social institutions serving for the public welfare commissioned and financially supported by a founder, primarily, a member of the ruling elite. These institutions are *vakıf* [foundation] organizations, or in other words endowments, which aim to promote public services not only religious, but also educational, charitable, commemorative, and even commercial without any expectation of financial gain in return. The founder of the *külliye* was responsible for providing investment both for the construction and later for the management of these establishments. For that purpose the founder had the amount of regular income to be reserved from the revenues of his properties; the numbers, qualifications plus the salaries of the personnel on duty; the details of the services provided in the institutions, for instance the amount and type of food if there is an *aşhane* [refectory or public kitchen] in the *külliye*, indicated in the *vakfiyes* [foundation charters], or in other words endowment deeds of the very same *külliye*.

For example, according to the foundation charter of Yıldırım Külliyesi in Bursa (1390-1395), signed by Mehmed Cezerî as the bystander in Ramadan 802 corresponding to March 1400, the revenues comprise takings from villages; including their gardens, agricultural lands, vineyards, pastures, even mines; and also comprise rents of shops and similar commercial units.⁶⁴⁵ The amount of money reserved for the repair and maintenance of the buildings is given. Plus, the personnel needed in the *külliye* are mentioned indicating their duties and salaries.⁶⁴⁶ As for the *müştemilat* [supplementary spaces] kitchens, storages, bath, two madrasas, *han*, residential units of the personnel, stable, well and hospital is designated. The

⁶⁴⁵ Clearly speaking, the revenues of Yıldırım Külliyesi in Bursa consists of lands of the villages such as Danişmend, Dede Köy, Hasköy, including all their gardens, vineyards, pastures, and a salt mine in Hasköy, the agricultural lands in Samanlı, Dikencik and İnegöl, the shops by the Citadel, and thousands of domestic animals fed around Karacadağ and Sultan Höyüğü and finally a number of mills. Ayverdi E. H. (1966), *İstanbul Mimari Çağının Menşei, Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri 630-805 (1230-1402) Ertuğrul, Osman, Orhan Gaziler, Hüdavendigar ve Yıldırım Bayezid*, 1, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, pp. 421-422.

⁶⁴⁶ For instance, in the charter it is stated 20 *dirhems* for the *şeyh* [sheikh], 4 *dirhems* for the imam, 2 *dirhems* for each of the two muezzins, 2 *dirhems* each for the six *ferraşs* [caretakers] in the mosque, 15 *dirhems* for each of the two *müderriis* [professors], 1 *dirhem* for each of the 20 *talebes* [students] in the madrasa, 12 *dirhems* for the chief doctor and 8 *dirhems* for two of the others, 1 *dirhem* for the *saydalâniyâ* [pharmacist] in the hospital and adding the amount of wheat, oil, bread to be given to them, and the list continues. Ayverdi (1966), pp. 422, 447, 456.

service to be provided for those accommodating in the *külliye*, such as the patients staying the hospital in terms of food, the amount of medication is also decided among the endowment deeds.⁶⁴⁷ Above all, the chief managerial authority is appointed to the *mütevelli* [general executive] and plus the sheikh as agreed within the deeds, which points to the status of the sheikhs even during of Bayezid I, who initiated the earliest attempts towards a centralized authority challenging the administrative roles of these heterodox elite.⁶⁴⁸ Likewise Bayezid II's foundation charter of his complex in İstanbul points to parallel deeds on the appointment of the personnel, detailed stipulations on staffing and services provided by the charitable institution, the accounts on the sources of the regular income of the *külliye*, and finally the structuring of the administrative cadre of the institution.⁶⁴⁹

After shedding some light on the nature of endowment deeds for the institutionalization and managerial hierarchy in the *külliyes*, it can be said that *mütevelli* is the highest ranking executive within this self-sufficient institution. Yet, particularly during the Ottoman rule, the State had a controlling mechanism of the administration in these foundations.⁶⁵⁰ Where Reyhanlı and İpekoğlu very briefly mention about this system, S. Pay opens up the issue in the single case of Hacı İvaz foundations.⁶⁵¹ As Pay states, the responsibility of the *mütevelli* of a *külliye* is more than any of a single edifice and hence, the *mütevelli* divides the administrative work in the institution. In that sense, he appoints imam, *müderris* and alike with additional managerial work and administrative responsibility for the mosques, madrasas and alike. However, there is a strict control mechanism as agreed within the endowment deeds, which assigns a *nazır* [superintendent] to check whether the *külliye* is administered properly. Hence, according to the will of İvaz Paşa his family members, and Emir Buhârî and his sons were the appointed *mütevellis*. Similarly, the *nazırs* were also the members of founders' family and other

⁶⁴⁷ Ayverdi (1966), p. 456.

⁶⁴⁸ For the mention of *mütevelli* and *şeyh* within the deeds see Ayverdi (1966), p. 456.

⁶⁴⁹ H. Crane provides a summary of the endowment deeds with reference to I. A. Yüksel. Crane H. (1991), "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 218-219. See also Yüksel I. A. (1983), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid ve Yavuz Selim Devri*, İstanbul: Günlük Ticaret Gazetesi Tesisleri, pp. 184-185, 204.

⁶⁵⁰ The existence of such a mechanism has not been revealed yet for the Principalities period. It can be suggested that such a system of control was not valid for the Principalities period since the political milieu to settle their institutionalization process was rather short in comparison to Ottomans, and in a little while their foundations were annexed to Ottomans when they took over their lands.

⁶⁵¹ İpekoğlu (1993), p. 3. Reyhanlı (1976), p. 123. Pay provides a detailed account on the administration in the İvaz Paşa Külliye, and lists the *mütevellis* and the *nazırs*, plus their framework of responsibilities. Pay S. (2000), "Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Yönetim, Bursa İvaz Paşa Külliyesi Örneği", *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 9/9, pp. 325-338. See also Pay S. (2003), "İvaz Paşa'nın Bursa Vakfı", *Gümüşlü'den Günümüze Osmanlı Kültüründe Bursa*, (H. B. Öcalan ed.) İstanbul: Sır Yayıncılık, pp. 123-137.

able personalities of the ruling cadre of the time to guarantee the properness of the running of the institution. This ruling cadre was even responsible for the management of some former royal foundations. For instance, vizier Sinan Paşa and as his successor the *kadı* [local judge] of Bursa was appointed both as *mütevelli* and as *nazır* of the Orhan Gazi foundations in Bursa by the rule of Bayezid I, and Hacı Şeyh ibni Ahi Bayezid, who actually was the brother of Hacı İvaz Paşa worked as the *mütevelli* of the same foundation during the reign of Murad II, as stated in the foundation charters dating to 1400 and 1423 subsequently.⁶⁵²

Yet, *külliyeye* or even *manzume*, the definition of which corresponds to building complex, are not contemporaneous terms with these foundations. Instead, these terms have been frequently used afterwards and included within the terminology of architectural history of Turkish-Islamic Anatolia.⁶⁵³ These building complexes were addressed as *imaret* or *cami-i şerif ve imaret* or *cami ve imaret* in their inscription panels, foundation charters, and related written accounts.⁶⁵⁴ For instance, in a document dating from July 1674, Orhan Külliyesi is named as Orhan Cami ve İmaret, or in the foundation charters of Yıldırım Külliyesi dating to March 1400, *imaret* is the term preferred instead of *külliyeye*, and likewise Bayezid II Külliyesi in Edirne is called as *imaret* in its foundation charters.⁶⁵⁵ In addition, *imaret* is widely seen within the charters and property deeds of the foundations in İstanbul dating to 1546.⁶⁵⁶ Nevertheless, such building groups are named as *imaret* even during the Anatolian Seljuk period as can be

⁶⁵² Ayverdi (1966), pp. 63-65.

⁶⁵³ İpekoğlu referring to Sözen and Tanyeli states that *manuzumes* are either smaller *külliyeye*, or referring to Akok, are building groups gathering around the tomb of a saint or referring to Akok and Karamağaralı are building groups developing in the course of time. İpekoğlu (1993), p. 4. Akok M. (1968b), “Hacıbektâş Veli Mimari Manzumesi”, *Türk Etnoğrafya Dergisi*, 10, pp. 27-58. Akok M. (1969b), “Diyarbakır Ulu camii Mimari Manzumesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 9, pp. 113-139. Karamağaralı H. (1976), “Kayseri’deki Hunad Camii’nin Restitüsyonu ve Hunad Manzumesinin Kronolojisi Hakkında Bazı Mülahazalar”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 21, pp. 119-245. Sözen M., Tanyeli U. (2003), “Manzume”, *Sanat Kavram ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, (7th edition) İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, p. 154. However, Ayverdi uses *manzume* synonymously with *külliyeye*. For instance, he says Yıldırım Manzumesi instead of Yıldırım Külliyesi Ayverdi (1966), p. 63. Yeşil Manzumesi instead of Yeşil Külliyesi at times. Ayverdi (1989), p.55.

⁶⁵⁴ Akozan (1969), p. 304. İpekoğlu (1993), p. 3. Reyhanlı (1976), p. 124.

⁶⁵⁵ “Orhan Câmî ve İmâreti vakfından Uzun Çarşu’da vâkı Emir Hanı dimekle mârûf hanın zelzele-i azimede ...” cited in Ayverdi (1966), p. 97, “Ancak kible kapısından şark cidarına kadar kısmın, Orhan Gazi imareti vakfi olduğuna da işaret ediyor.” Ayverdi (1966), p. 422, “...hazâ sûret-i vakfiye el imâret-i el âliye el sultaniye el Bayezid Hâniye...” Aköz A., Yörük D. (2004), “H. 1002 / M. 1594 Tarihli bir Vakıf Defterine Göre Edirne’deki Sultan II. Bayezid Camii ve İmaret Evkafı”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 16, pp. 157-177. Gökbilgin T. (1952), *XV. – XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, Vakıflar – Mülkler – Mukataalar*, İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi, pp. 358-378. Kazancıgil (1997), pp. 71-72. See for more examples Reyhanlı (1976), p. 124. n10.

⁶⁵⁶ Barkan Ö. L., Ayverdi E. H. (1970), *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihli*, İstanbul: Baha Matbaası.

detected from the inscription panels like in Hunat Külliyesi in Kayseri.⁶⁵⁷ At this point, opening a parenthesis, it has to be indicated that *imaret* is also used as a term corresponding to *aşhane*, refectory or public kitchen both in historical and in contemporary sources.⁶⁵⁸ Yet, since the word etymologically originates from ‘*imar etmek*’ [to develop public facilities (of a particular place)], and ‘*mamur etmek*’ [to develop public facilities (of a particular place)] it is likely to see its use for any founded public edifice. For instance, through the chronicles of the Ottoman historian Aşıkpaşazade, Orhan Gazi mosque in İznik is named as Orhan Gazi İmaretî and similarly in the inscription panels of Gök Medrese in Sivas, Ahmet Gazi Mosque in Milas, and Darüşşifa and Bayezid II Mosque in Amasya *imaret* is the word used to address the commissioned public buildings.⁶⁵⁹

Subsequent to the above broad discussion on definitions it can be attempted to picture the social life taking place in the building complexes, since the above mentioned endowment deeds, plus the chronicles of the Ottoman historians and finally the accounts of travelers provide significant clues in this respect. As exemplified beforehand, Yeşil Külliye in Bursa (1414-1424), and Bayezid II Külliyesi in Edirne (1484-88) are models of important building complexes. Considering the siting of these complexes within their urban contexts, it is possible to envisage the ongoing daily life to a certain extent, in these varying functioned, scaled, and located institutions.

Focusing on one of these models, Yeşil Külliye is the earliest and the smallest among them not only in terms of the functions included but also in the scale of the buildings and the dimensions of the construction area. The complex comprises a mosque, a madrasa, a tomb, a public kitchen and a bath. These edifices of differing functions are spread on the slopes of the topography viewing the settlement from a high spot. More important than that, the architectural

⁶⁵⁷ Akozan (1969), pp. 304, 306. See also Akok (1968a). Reyhanlı supports this statement and asserts that the term *külliye* emerged in later periods, and *imaret* was used instead. Reyhanlı (1976), p. 121.

⁶⁵⁸ For the earliest yet a thorough discussion on the implications of *imaret* either as *külliye* or as public kitchen or as any public edifice see, Ergin O. (1939), *Türk Şehirlerinde İmaret Sistemi*, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası. pp. 5-15. For the use of the term with two meanings see also Gökbilgin (1952), pp. 358-362. Güneş A. (2005), “Bir İmar Düzeni ve Hayır Kurumu Olarak Osmanlılarda İmaret”, *Milli Folklor*, 9, 17/66, pp. 26-33. For the use as public kitchen see also, Güneş (2005), pp. 28-33. Singer A. (2005), “Serving up Charity: the Ottoman Public Kitchen”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXXV/3, pp. 481-500. Singer A. (2006), “Soup and *Sadaqa*: Charity in Islamic Societies”, *Historical Research*, 79/205, pp. 306-324.

⁶⁵⁹ Ayverdi citing from Aşıkpaşazade, “Yenişehir’e çıkacak kapuda bir imâret yaptı. Hacı Hasan dirler bir azîz vardı Dedesi Edebâlî’nin mürîdi idi. Şeyhliğini ana virdi. Tâ bu zemâne değin dahî annin neslinin elindedir. İmâret kim yapıldı ta’âm pişdi Orhan Gazî ol kendü mübârek eliyle üleşdürdi Çerâğın dahî ol gıce kendi yakıtı.” Aşıkpaşazade’s, Ali tâb’ı p. 42, in Ayverdi (1966), p. 179. For the writings on the inscription panels see Ergin (1939), pp. 6-7.

units of the complex establish an interrelated whole as long as the interconnection of each structure with the surrounding paths, put differently with the construction site is considered. The buildings of the complex are firmly integrated with their urban context, yet bear loose geometrical associations and organizational entirety in terms of spatial relations of units with each other. Nevertheless, the complex succeeded in starting an urban nucleus or in Rossi's terms "urban artifact" which generated urban growth, dominated the shaping of the cityscape of Ottoman Bursa, and warranted a still continuing "urban place".

In the complex, the mosque is the dominating structure together with the tomb situated on a higher level behind. As recorded in the foundation charters of the complex dating to H. 822 / March 1419; the qualifications, numbers, and salaries of the required personnel in the mosque to some extent provide clues for the spatial use of the mosque.⁶⁶⁰ The lack of a *hatip* [preacher] in the list suggests that the mosque was not used as a Friday Mosque, yet instead functioned as a neighborhood mosque - even like a convent-masjid, which is discussed in the following pages- at least in the early years of its commission, however changed later.⁶⁶¹ Still, the mosque was one of the urban spaces where the public socialized, for the most part the residents of that neighborhood gathered, prayed together and communicated with each other. Hence, there is also the mention of the personnel related with the public kitchen of the complex, in which food is prepared and served for visitors.⁶⁶² Plus, special and better food was ordered to be served on Fridays, during Ramadan and on other religious days.

These endowment deeds even though cannot provide precise information about occupational capacity or use of these spaces in detail, they are still important for they mention the persons working in these spaces, permanent staff and the profile of the temporary users benefiting from the public services offered in the complex. For instance, any visitor, whether he is from the poor folk or a traveler could eat and stay for free in the Yeşil Külliye up to three days, where for more days the decision is left to the *mütevelli* and the sheikh. Thus, it can be imagined that a local or a foreigner Muslim could get cleaned in the baths, could be treated with food and accommodation and could pray in the mosque of Yeşil Külliye. The additional spaces on both sides of the central praying area of Yeşil Mosque, which are still not identified precisely, yet lodged other and extra uses than the main prayer hall such as convent, hospice,

⁶⁶⁰A sheikh, an imam, a muezzin, 30 *hâfiz* [Koran reciters], a *kapıcı* [gate keeper], 2 *kandilcis* [tenders of oil lamps], and a *kâtip* [clerk] were stated with their required qualifications and the amount of money and food deeded to give them regularly. Ayverdi (1989), pp. 49-50.

⁶⁶¹Ayverdi (1989), p. 50.

⁶⁶² 5 *aşçıs* [cooks] one of which is the chief, 2 *ekmekcis* [bread makers], 1 *anbarcı* [storage keeper], 3 *câbîs* [collector of the foundation revenues] and 3 *merkepcis* [donkey riders] are mentioned. Ayverdi (1989), p. 50.

lecture room, or else, most likely enhanced the life in this type of mosques. Clearly speaking, in addition to regular religious practices, daily religious activities in other types of mosques and masjids; the fragmented, or better to say differentiated divisions of Yeşil Mosque suggests a further usage by an additional populace. These varied spaces enrich the spatial whole. Yet, besides lack of substantial architectural evidence there is also no clear historical evidence for the uses of these secondary spaces throughout the written accounts, neither in foundation charters nor in travelogues and nor in chronicles, which is discussed in more detail in the subsequent pages.⁶⁶³

Back to the foundation charters of Yeşil Külliye, more is provided on the social setting in Yeşil, or as renowned Sultaniye Madrasa. A *müderriş* [professor], 2 *muîds* [assistants to professor], a *ferraş* [caretaker], and a *kapıcı* [gate keeper], who are regularly paid and given food, work, and 30 *talebes* [students], who are also paid, given food and plus given lamp oils and beds, live and study in this madrasa.⁶⁶⁴ M. Hızlı states that the madrasa is the first one with two assistants to professor, a very renowned one indeed, whose recognition reaches as far as Central Asia in those times.⁶⁶⁵ Referring to the historical accounts of Edirneli Mehmed Mecdî, he continues that during the first seminar of the first professor Mehmet Şah Efendi, the son of Molla Fenârî, leading scholar of Bursa was also present together with the students in the madrasa and they as well participated in the discussion, which later became a routine to address the students in lectures open to the public.⁶⁶⁶ Accordingly, it is possible to envisage that the social life in the madrasa was not isolated from, yet instead highly incorporated with the urban life not only in the vicinity but also in the city. Furthermore, it can be suggested, that the buildings of the complex became physically integrated with the urban fabric within which they are located just like the spaces became highly interconnected socially with the urban life ongoing within the very same urban fabric. (Figure 4.1)

⁶⁶³ See in the following of this chapter, 4.3 Definitions and Design of Mosques with Additional Spaces in T-type Plan and their Relation with their Urban Contexts.

⁶⁶⁴ "...Şer'iyâtın aksâmında 'âlim, müsta'mel kitabların mu'addal mes'eleleri ve müşkilâtın hâlline kaadir, bâtıllara gayr-ı muhib olan müderriş yevmî 20 dirhem ve her ay 3 müd buğday ve 1 müd arpa, derslerin müzâkeresine muktedir ve vazîfesini mâni'-i şer'îden başka hiçbir sebeble terk etmeyen 2 mu'iddin beherine günde 5 dirhem ve ayda 1 müd buğday verilir, bunlardan en lâyük olan imâmet vazîfesini görecektir. 30 talebeden beherine günde 1 dirhem ve zâviye ekmeğinden 2 âdet, kapıcı ve ferrâşın beherine günde 1 dirhem her ay birer müd buğday, talebenin kandil yağına 3 ve hasırına 1 dirhem tayîn eylemiştir." Ayverdi (1989), p. 95.

⁶⁶⁵ Hızlı M. (1998), *Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Bursa Medreseleri*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, pp. 82-83. Citing from Kepecioğlu K., *Bursa Kütüğü*, IV, Bursa Yazma ve Eski Basma Eserler Ktp., Genel No: 4519-4522, 378.

⁶⁶⁶ Hızlı (1998), p. 83. Mecdî Edirneli Mehmed (1853), *Hadâiku's-Şakâik*, İstanbul, p. 56. Hızlı further lists the *müderrişes* of the Yeşil Madrasa in chronological order Hızlı (1998), pp. 85-88.

Hence, after reviewing what kind of living took place in a *külliye*, in other words a brief outlook to the social life in a *külliye*, now it can be inquired not only the impetus but also the input in establishing a *külliye* and next, the role of a *külliye* in making Turkish-Islamic towns in socio-cultural, economic, political and spatial means. In the earliest study on *külliyes*, Ergin analyzes them in terms of; sanitary, social and economic benefits, contribution to tourism of those periods, and their role in making a city.⁶⁶⁷ Reyhanlı formulates the reasons behind the establishment of a *külliye* as; *imar ve iskân* [settlement and development], culture and higher education, and commercial and political uses.⁶⁶⁸ Cantay emphasizes that the incentive in founding a *külliye* is not limited with charity commotions but, just as Ataman points to, strongly related with their contribution to their urban context as well as road network and trade centers.⁶⁶⁹ In addition, Hakky frames his research within the interrelation of the *külliye* with its urban context.⁶⁷⁰ Yet, H. Crane highlights the iconographic significance of these architectural complexes as “icons of imperial legitimacy” and likewise G. Necipoğlu further articulates their impact as “memorials to victory and fame”.⁶⁷¹

Eventually, the motives in the wake of establishing such architectural complexes can be evaluated under four major categories as; religious, public welfare, symbolic, and settlement and development pursuits. First, the religious drives for founding *külliyes* derive from the Islamic tradition *hayır* [charity] which holds a significant place in Islamic way of life.⁶⁷² Due to this religious dictation for becoming a good Muslim, the Muslims, particularly the ruling elite and wealthy members of the Muslim State commission the construction of building complexes to relieve and improve the living conditions of the public. In other words, as an act of piety

⁶⁶⁷ Ergin (1939).

⁶⁶⁸ Reyhanlı (1976), pp. 122-123. See also Barkan Ö. L. (1962-63), “Şehirlerin Teşekkül ve İnkişafı Tarihi Bakımından Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda İmaret Sitelerinin Kuruluş ve İşleyiş Tarzına Ait Araştırmalar.” *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XXIII/1-2, pp. 239-296.

⁶⁶⁹ Ataman (2000), p. 17. Cantay (2002a), p. 837. Cantay (2002b), pp. 2-3. See also Cantay G. (1993), “16. Yüzyıl Külliyelerinin Şehirlerin Tarihi Topoğrafyasını Belirlemesi”, *Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Önge Armağanı*, Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi, Selçuklu Araştırmaları Merkezi. pp. 75-85.

⁶⁷⁰ Hakky (1992).

⁶⁷¹ Crane (1991), particularly pp. 196-229. Necipoğlu G. (2005), *The Age of Sinan, Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd. pp. 59-70. Similar to these studies and further elaborating on the iconographic aspects of Fatih Complex in İstanbul, see Kafesçioğlu Ç. (1999b), “Heavenly and Unblessed, Splendid and Artless: Mehmed II’s Mosque Complex in İstanbul in the Eyes of Its Contemporaries”, *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar, Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, (Ç. Kafesçioğlu, L. Thys – Şenocak eds.) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp.211-222.

⁶⁷² For further discussion of the notion of *hayır* [charity] in Islam see Berger M. (1978), “Khayr”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (E. von Donzel., B. Lewis and Ch. Pellat eds.) 4, Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 1151-1153. See also Güneş (2005), who touches upon this motive of ‘charity’ for the establishment of building complexes.

these Turkish-Islamic rulers initiated the construction and institutionalization of *külliyes* for the welfare of the public.

Second drive comprises rather the administrative and social responsibilities of the urban elite in the towns to enhance public welfare. The founders of complexes provide public with urban facilities such as responding to their social, cultural and religious needs with commission of mosques, where they can pray, meet the community members, listen to the sermons of the preacher and the like. Plus with the construction of public kitchens and *tabhanes* [guest house] people could accommodate and get fed in these institutions. Similarly, the educational and cultural services for the public are facilitated with the inclusion of madrasas and in some instances dervish lodges. Where education given in the madrasas centered around the orthodox Sunni doctrine taught by the *ulema*, in other words members of the *ilmiye* class, heterodox tenets of Islam were mentored by the leading dervishes in the lodges. Sanitary facilities for the public were also considered in the establishment of *külliyes*. For instance, *darüşşifa* [hospital] is a building type which provided free medical service to the public. Likewise baths were buildings in which people cleaned up and socialized as well. Finally, these building complexes contributed to the public welfare in terms of economic aspects. Some complexes contained commercial units such as shops, *hans*, or even *arastas* [shopping streets], which provided income for these *külliyes* and plus enlivened the commercial business, in other words trade activities in the towns.

The third motive for commissioning a *külliye* suggests symbolic connotations. The Ottoman *külliye* in particular, commissioned by the Ottoman rulers, represented the power of these Sultans as their prestige substantiated in the architectural medium. In other words, these edifices epitomized the authority and the legacy of these commissioners in their ruling territory. In this respect, the titles, those the Ottoman sultans bore together with the rest of the writings on the inscription panels of these building complexes, strengthened the stature implied by these buildings as representations of power.⁶⁷³ In fact, the rulers for the most part ordered establishment of *külliyes* subsequent to or as an anticipation of military victories similar to commissioning of Friday mosques. For instance, Yıldırım Bayezid initiated the construction of the Great Mosque in Bursa after the victory of Niğbolu, (1396), and Murad II had Üç Şerefeli Mosque started in Edirne before a military campaign to Hungary (1437-38) just like Bayezid II laid the foundations of the building complex in Edirne before leaving for a campaign in

⁶⁷³ Crane (1991), pp. 196-229.

Romania.⁶⁷⁴ Obviously military conquests had other significances than being only memorials of victory and representing the political authority of the State like the financial gain due to booty after a military triumph which eased and fastened the foundation of architectural complexes serving for the public welfare. Lastly, as these complexes were named after their founders as a memorial to their very presence and success the inclusion of the tomb of the founder in some *külliyes* pointed to commemorative purposes which eased public pray for the spirit of these charity donors and at the same time powerful leaders. As a final remark on this issue, it has to be kept in mind that the siting of these *külliyes* stood as the imprints of sovereignty and superiority of particularly the Royal founders, and implied symbolic functions like Mehmed II's foundation of Fatih Complex over the former Byzantine church of Holy Apostles.⁶⁷⁵

Forth and the last impetus for the establishment of *külliyes* comprised *imar ve iskan* [settlement and development] pursuits which suggest security, prosperity and growth of public welfare and instigation of urbanization attempts not only in the newly conquered territory but in the entire country.⁶⁷⁶ In other words, building complexes functioned as the urban nuclei those generated urban development and growth of most Anatolian towns under the Turkish-Islamic rule. The urban development patterns of Ottoman capitals Bursa, Edirne and İstanbul as discussed in the previous chapter, and even Tire, a provincial center in Western Anatolia, as will be studied in depth in the next chapter, greatly display this attitude. To strengthen the arguments already touched upon in the previous chapter regarding urban development of early Ottoman centers İznik and particularly Bursa in relation to the establishment of *külliyes*, the chronicles of the Ottoman historian Neşrî can be cited. Neşrî, under the heading of “*Âsâr ve haslet-i Orhan Gazi*” emphasizes the desire of Orhan Gazi to prosper, to develop public facilities in the places he annexed and ruled and lists his major endowments in İznik and Bursa.⁶⁷⁷ Yet, there are also architectural complexes which are founded along the trade road

⁶⁷⁴ Necipoğlu (2005), p. 60.

⁶⁷⁵ For more on Fatih Complex and its imperial implications, see Vryonis S. Jr. (1991), “Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman İstanbul: Evolution in a Millennial Imperial Iconography”, *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (I. A., Bierman R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 13-52. Kafesçioğlu (1996), pp. 105-163. Kafesçioğlu (1999b).

⁶⁷⁶ Barkan (1962-63), pp. 239-241. See also, Barkan Ö. L. (1942), “İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 2, pp. 279-304. And Reyhanlı (1976), pp. 122-123.

⁶⁷⁷ “Rivâyetdür ki, Orhan Gazi iki imâret yapdurdı: biri Bursa'da ve biri İznik'da ve Manastırı Bursa'da, bu medrese itdürdi. Ve dahi muhabbet itdüğü dervişlere zâviyeler yapdurdı. Nitekim Geyikli Baba üzerinde yapdurdı. Evsafın sabıkâ zikr itdük ve her yirleri imâret itmek severdi. *İssuz* yirleri ma'mur idüb, mülimanları urındurdı. Ve Bursa'da yapdurdığı imâret yiri bir *İssuz* yiridi-kim, ikindüden sonra âdem varmaya *vehm* iderdi. Zira Gök-Dere suyu ol eyyâmda Balık-Pazarı'nda akardı. Ol sebebden

network, overlapping with pilgrimage routes. These were located at particular intervals and at remote passageways and for the most part generated the making of small settlement centers around. While the ones built within the towns can be classified as *kent içi* or *kent* [urban] *külliyes*, those built outside the territory of the urban centers and yet subsequently generated the making of small settlement centers around themselves can be categorized as *menzil* [rural] *külliyes*.⁶⁷⁸ Yet, this brief introduction provides clues about how urban concerns were among the motives for establishing building complexes.⁶⁷⁹

Nevertheless, the above discussion on the incentives of founding *külliyes*, in addition, paves the way to start a concise analysis on their architectural origins. There is a general consensus among most scholars that *külliyes* are from mosque and madrasa architecture, since they embodied supplementary spaces of varied functions in their very same building blocks. In this respect, Reyhanlı associates the origin of Turkish-Islamic building complexes in Anatolia first with the so-called *zaviyeli camiler* [convent-mosques], second with the Anatolian madrasa whose roots can be found in the Great Seljuk architecture in Central Asia and Iran, and where the same layout is repeated in Eyyubid, Zengid and even Mamluk architecture in Syria and Egypt. Then again Cantay looks for the origins of the Ottoman *külliyeye* in the architectural pieces of Turkish-Islamic architecture outside Anatolia and yet mentions pre-Ottoman Anatolian examples to examine the transformation towards the Ottoman *külliyeye*.⁶⁸⁰ Hakky, on the other hand, emphasizes the congregational and all at one religious and civic features of mosques, early Islamic ones in particular, where he claims the “mosque as the center”.⁶⁸¹ Yet, he agrees with the part of madrasa architecture and Great Seljuk tradition to be influential in the

dereyi öte yakaya geçmeğe vehm iderlerdi. Sonradan derenün çaydan yana tarafına At-Pazarı olıcak, hisardan yana biraz emîn oldı. Şimdi ol At-Pazarı'nun yiri Sultan-Han'ı olmuşdur.” Neşri Mehmed (1949), *Kitab-ı Cihan-Nüma (Neşri Tarihi)*, I (F. R. Unat, M. A. Köymen eds. and trans.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, p. 187.

⁶⁷⁸ Ataman (2000), on urban complexes pp. 73-140, on rural complexes pp. 141-156. (Cantay (2002a), pp. 847-850, Cantay (2002b), pp. 31-81. Hakky also touches upon this classification though he is concerned with the urban complexes. Hakky (1992), pp. 55-140, For detailed discussion on rural complexes see Müderrisoğlu F. (1993), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnşa Edilen Menzil Külliye*. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Art History, Ankara: Hacettepe University. Müderrisoğlu F. (2001), “Osmanlı Şehirciliği Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler”, *Prof. Dr. Zafer Bayburtluoğlu Armağanı*, (M. Denктаş, Y. Özbek eds.) Kayseri: Erciyes University, pp. 386-397. Müderrisoğlu F. (2002), “Menzil Kavramı ve Osmanlı Devleti'nde Menzil Yerleşimleri”, *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 10, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 920 - 926.

⁶⁷⁹ A rather extensive argumentation on the two-way interrelation between building complexes and their urban contexts is given in the following. See 4.2 Evolution and Development of Building Groups and their Relation with their Urban Contexts.

⁶⁸⁰ Cantay (2002a), pp. 837-845. Cantay (2002b), pp. 7-29.

⁶⁸¹ Hakky (1992), pp. 40-45.

shaping first the Anatolian Seljuk and then the Anatolian Seljuk transforming into Ottoman building complexes.⁶⁸²

However, whether it is possible to mention about any association of the Byzantine monastic complexes with the Turkish-Islamic *külliyes* is not a widely discussed issue.⁶⁸³ In her master's thesis J. A. Franceshini attempts to compare monastic complexes with early Ottoman *külliyes*.⁶⁸⁴ Stemming from the limits of a master's thesis, Franceshini bases her arguments on the possible influences of the two partis, depending on their having spaces for social, charitable, etc. facilities gathered around the major religious buildings; namely churches and mosques. She mentions about the social and charitable characteristics of both, where at the same time touches upon their architectural features. Yet, the means of any substantial influence of the Byzantine monasteries on the making of an Ottoman *külliyeye* remains insufficient except for the possible Byzantine impacts on the architectural language of the early Ottoman edifices.⁶⁸⁵ These mostly comprise formal characteristics and building materials and construction techniques in particular. Furthermore, it can be suggested that monastic complexes bear closer connections to *zaviyes* rather than *külliyes* due to their very nature of rather heterodox, rather independent from the central orthodox authority and most importantly, the kind of living taking place in these establishments.

⁶⁸² Hakky (1992), pp. 46-54.

⁶⁸³ In fact, there exists a literature on probable Byzantine influences on the Ottoman institutions. Most of the Byzantinist and Middle Easternist scholars appearing in the academic stage from the beginnings of the 20th century scientificized their studies either on Middle East or on Anatolia within the Western tradition, explicitly speaking from an "orientalist" perspective like A. Rambaud or C. Diehl. Hence, this approach suggests that institutionalization of the Ottomans whether in political, or administrative or social media had its roots in the former Byzantine institutions. This argument was first challenged by F. Köprülü that he rather explored the basis of Ottoman institutions in the Pre-Ottoman Turkish cultures in Anatolia and Iran and Central Asia, plus highlighted any probable Byzantine impact to be indirect through those before mentioned cultures. Köprülü M. F. (1999), *Some Observations on the Influence of Byzantine Institutions on Ottoman Institutions*, (G. Leiser trans., ed., with an introduction and postscript) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. However, as G. Leiser also indicates, there is a tiny drawback in Köprülü's work. While he criticizes orientalist for not using any Ottoman or related historical sources, he does not compare these sources with any of the Byzantine ones, which may at the same time result in an underestimation of the Byzantine influences on Ottoman institutions. See Leiser's note in Köprülü (1999), pp. 13 - 15. For more recent work on Byzantine – Ottoman interactions Tokalak İ. (2006), *Bizans – Osmanlı Sentezi Bizans Kültür ve Kurumlarının Osmanlı Üzerindeki Etkisi*, İstanbul: Gülerboy Yayıncılık. See also the articles under the heading of "Bizans'ın Gözüyle Türkler / Osmanlı'nın Gözüyle Bizans" in (1999), *Cogito*, 17, pp. 291-366.

⁶⁸⁴ Franceschini J. A. (2002), *Byzantine Monasteries and Early Ottoman Külliyes: A Comparative Study*, Unpublished Master Thesis in Architecture, Ankara: Middle East Technical University.

⁶⁸⁵ Kolay İ. A. (1999), *Batı Anadolu 14. Yüzyıl Beylikler Mimarisinde Yapım Teknikleri*, Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları. Ousterhout R. (1995), "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture", *Muqarnas*, 12, pp. 48-62.

4.2. Definitions, Origins, Design, and Management of *Zaviyes* [Dervish Lodges] and their Relation with their Urban Contexts

A *zaviye* can be defined as a building group belonging to a particular religious sect, in which dervishes reside communally under the leadership of their *şeyh* [sheikh, leader of a Muslim sect], plus in which travelers are welcomed and hosted free of charge.⁶⁸⁶ The origins and emergence of *zaviyes* are most likely contemporaneous with the rise of the *Sufis* by the second half of the 13th century, their developing into more organized communal groups and hence building such structures to continue their communal living and religious acts. This kind of communal living of a religious group also took place in earlier Christian Monasteries in the Middle East and in the Byzantine territories, plus in *Viharas* [Buddhist Monasteries] in Central Asia, both of which the early Muslims gradually familiarized.⁶⁸⁷ Where these culturally distinct institutions most probably had their impacts in shaping the Muslim *zaviyes*, there were other building types, which were already established in the ruling territories of Islam as Muslim entities and in time gradually evolved into *zaviyes*. The more military institutions; particularly *ribats* [fortress, lodge for dervishes] were frequented in the Muslim lands of North Africa, and of Central Asia and Iran for providing protection in case of attacks.⁶⁸⁸ In the end, in each geographical region of the Muslim territories, influenced by the already established building types in each of the conquered territories, *zaviyes* as significant architectural works gradually developed. Named as *zaviye* or *hanikah* [dervish lodge] in North Africa, Middle East, or Iran, and named as *zaviye* or *ribat* in Central Asia and Iran, these shrines flourished in Anatolia from especially 13th century onwards under the Seljuk rule.⁶⁸⁹

These shrines in Anatolia can be identified in two discrete groups. The Sunni orthodox *ulema*, as part of the ruling elite, was powerful in the urban centers such as Konya and Kayseri. Yet, there was another growing authority among the Seljuk subjects in the rural areas, villages

⁶⁸⁶ Ocak A. Y., Faroqhi S. (1986), “Zaviye”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi, İslam Alemleri, Tarih, Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya ve Biyografya Lugati*, 13, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, p. 468. See also Ocak A. Y. (1978), “Zaviyeler”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 12, pp. 247-269.

⁶⁸⁷ Ocak, Faroqhi (1986), p. 468, Tanman B. (1997), “Hânkah”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, XVI, İstanbul: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 43-46.

⁶⁸⁸ For further discussion on *ribats* see Aslanapa O. (1964), “Ribât”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 9, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, pp. 734-738. Köprülü F. (1942), “Ribât”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 2, pp. 267-278. Rabbat N. (1994), “Ribât”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam New Edition*, 8, (C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs, G. Lecomte eds.) Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 493-506. See also the development of *derbends* see Barthold W. (1945), “Derbend”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 3, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, pp. 532-539.

⁶⁸⁹ For further information on the naming of these religious edifices in various Muslim territories see Ocak, Faroqhi (1986), pp. 468-470. Particularly see Ocak (1978), pp. 250-254.

and smaller centers, which comprised the heterodox sects such as Kalenderîlik, Vefâîlik, Yesevîlik, or Haydarîlik.⁶⁹⁰ These heterodox sects in conflict with the orthodox central authority had strong influence on the unlearned, peasantry populace of Anatolia and provoked them against the stately authority. Hence, these dervishes played significant role in the decline of the Anatolian Seljuk State. Particularly, after the Babaî Rebellion led by Baba İlyas (1239), Seljuk rule in Anatolia was defied to a considerable extent.⁶⁹¹ It was after Seljuks were defeated by the Mongols in Kösedağ War (1243) that *zaviyes* of heterodox groups increased and began to transform not only the socio-cultural setting but also the built environment of the urban centers in Anatolia.⁶⁹²

After the end of the Seljuk State, Turkish Principalities, especially those settled in Western Anatolia made use of these people and their masses of followers throughout their conquests to ease their settlement within the region. Hence, with the encouragement and donation of Ayyıldoğulları, Menteşeoğulları and the early Ottoman rulers, the establishment of these dervish built and dervish accommodating structures, in other words *zaviyes* in Western Anatolia was at once facilitated. The increase in the number of *zaviyes*, their enhancement socially and spatially and gaining power in transforming the urban setting parallels with the upsurge in the power of dervishes. The Principalities and Early Ottoman period, except for the rule of Bayezid I, lasting until the centralizing Ottoman State subsequent to the conquest of İstanbul witnessed the climax of heterodoxy in Western Anatolia and in relation construction of

⁶⁹⁰ For further information on these sects in Anatolia, see Ocak (1978), pp. 254-256. See particularly Türer O. (2005), "Osmanlı Anadolu'sunda Tarikatların Genel Dağılımı", *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler, Kaynaklar, Doktrin, Ayin ve Erkân, Tarikatlar, Edebiyat, Mimari, Güzel Sanatlar*, (A. Y. Ocak ed.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, pp. 207-240, and Barnes J. R. (1992), "The Dervish Orders in the Ottoman Empire", *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, (R. Lifchez ed.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 33-48, to have an idea of the emergence and development of religious orders in pre-Ottoman Anatolia referring to later Ottoman era. For further information on a particular, yet marginal heterodox sect, Kalenderîler see Ocak A. Y. (1992), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Marjinal Süfilik: Kalenderîler (XIV. – XVII. Yüzyıllar)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

⁶⁹¹ For further details about the Babaî Rebellion see Ocak (1978), pp. 255-256. Ocak, Faroqhi (1986), p. 470. See especially Ocak A. Y. (1980), *XIII. Yüzyılda Anadolu'da Baba Resul (Babailer) İsyanı ve Anadolu'nun İslamlaşmasındaki Yeri*, İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.

⁶⁹² The works of S. E. Wolper are based on this issue that Wolper further articulates on the dervish lodges built in Central Anatolia between the second half of the 13th and second half of the 14th centuries. See Wolper E. S. (1994), *Patronage and Practice in the Late Seljuk and Early Beylik Society: Dervish Lodges in Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Art History. Los Angeles: University of California. Wolper E. S. (1995), "The Politics of Patronage: Political Change and the Construction of Dervish Lodges in Sivas", *Muqarnas*, 12, pp. 39-47. Wolper E. S. (2003), *Cities and Saints, Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

great many *zaviyes* facilitating Turkification and Islamization, yet settlement and urban development in the region.

Afterwards, during the so-called classical period of the Ottoman rule well through the second half of the 15th and the 16th century, these *zaviyes* of the early period frequented in the rural territories, *derbends*, and small villages, was for the most part replaced by the ‘urban’ *zaviyes*, which can be associated with mosque – dervish lodge, or masjid – dervish lodge combinations.⁶⁹³ Besides, the recuperating central authority supported orthodoxy against the heterodox, half-independent religious authorities and these early period *zaviyes* became more state controlled units.

With these in mind, now can be discussed how these religious establishments were managed, what kind of living took place in these spaces, and how they enhanced social life and fostered urban development. Like in the case of building complexes, endowment deeds, plus the chronicles of the Ottoman historians, and the accounts of travelers as historical sources, plus the recent rich literature on dervish lodges provide significant clues in this respect. As supported with the information provided from these sources, the *zaviyes* can be grouped into two; urban and rural *zaviyes* and accordingly the living taking place in these two different building groups varied from each other.

To begin with, rural *zaviyes* were located in the countryside. They were for the most part self-sufficient units.⁶⁹⁴ In other words, these lodges were the self-providers of income, where additional financial support such as foundation revenues or donations from the royal family or from wealthy individuals remains negligible. The lodges of Hacı Bektaş in Kırşehir and Seyyid Battal Gazi in Eskişehir are significant examples of such rural *zaviyes*. Recent published researches shed considerable light on the daily life in these lodges. They provide information about the permanent residents in these spaces such as the disciples of the order and the employees, the temporary occupants like the traveling dervishes, the expenditures of the institution for basic living standards like supply of food, oil, etc., and most importantly about the communal practices, or religious rituals performed by the dervishes in the lodges.⁶⁹⁵ In this

⁶⁹³ Tanman B. (2002), “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları / Tekkeler”, *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 12, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, p. 149. Tanman B. (2005), “Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları / Tekkeler”, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler, Kaynaklar, Doktrin, Ayin ve Erkân, Tarikatlar, Edebiyat, Mimari, Güzel Sanatlar*, (A. Y. Ocak ed.) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, pp. 306-307.

⁶⁹⁴ Kreiser K. (1992), “The Dervish Living”, *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, (R. Lifchez ed.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p. 49.

⁶⁹⁵ For further details about the dervish living in Seyyid Battal Gazi and Hacı Bektaş lodges, see Faroqi S. (1976), “The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities”, *International*

framework, it is also possible to articulate on the spatial setting which gradually developed in these building groups. The tombs of the Muslim saints which were generally the core of the building group, the communal prayer spaces like the *meydans* [room reserved for the devotional ceremonies of the orders], public kitchens, bakeries as service spaces, dervish living units and alike were organized in a way to respond to the social, religious, and economic practices ongoing in these buildings.⁶⁹⁶ (Figure 4.2)

Urban *zaviyes*, on the other hand, differed not only in their institutional functions but also in their spatial organizations from these rural *zaviyes* at certain points. First of all, the urban lodges were not self-sufficient units. Instead they were financially supported by the foundation revenues of their dependent building complexes in the form of *külliyes* and by the stately donations as well as the individual aids.⁶⁹⁷ These lodges were either integrated with the foundation they are endowed together in terms of income allocation according to their foundation charters and not architecturally integrated like the Fil-Damı Zaviye of Süleymaniye Complex.⁶⁹⁸ Or they were both architecturally and legally dependent on the building complexes such as the lodges of Şah Sultan in Eyüp and Sokollu Mehmet Paşa in Kadırga, both founded in the second half of the 16th century.⁶⁹⁹ Or they themselves established building groups developed through the course of time and retained their own foundations like Sadreddin Konevî lodge in Konya founded in the second half of the 13th century.⁷⁰⁰ Plus, all these lodges were financially aided by the offerings and donations of the ruling elite particularly after the midst of the 15th century.

In this framework, Faroqhi provides a clear picture of the management, administrative hierarchy, allotment of the budget, and daily life and the occupant populace in a dervish lodge in Anatolia in the 16th century, during the classical Ottoman period. She describes the list of the employees and their salaries, the regular expenditures and the food given in the lodge, hence, the managerial aspects and the kind of life taking place in these spaces with particular emphasis on Sadreddin Konevî lodge and another lodge in Ladik referring to foundation registers as well

Journal of Middle East Studies, 7/2, pp. 183-208. Faroqhi S. (1981), "Seyyid Gazi Revisited: The Foundation as Seen through Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Documents", *Turcica*, 13, pp. 90-122. Plus see, Yürekli – Gökay (2005), pp. 145-163, where she elaborates on the life in these lodges referring to historical documents as the primary sources.

⁶⁹⁶ For further information about the architectural developments and transformations, and further articulation on the spatial setting of Seyyid Battal Gazi and Hacı Bektaş lodges see Say (2006), pp. 118-149, Yürekli – Gökay (2005), pp. 94-144, 174-191.

⁶⁹⁷ Kreiser (1992), pp. 49-50.

⁶⁹⁸ Kreiser (1992), pp. 50.

⁶⁹⁹ Kreiser (1992), pp. 50.

⁷⁰⁰ Faroqhi S. (1974), "Vakıf Administration in Sixteenth Century Konya: The Zaviye of Sadreddin-i Konevî", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XVII/2, p. 147.

as cadastral surveys dating to the 16th century.⁷⁰¹ Accordingly she claims that feeding and accommodating outsiders were not among the major functions in these institutions opposed to those lodges founded in rather rural environments.⁷⁰²

Tanman, in addition to the social setting, articulates on the religious practices, namely the rituals and veneration performances taking place in the lodges and discusses the related spaces used by the dervishes and the way these spaces are organized.⁷⁰³ To begin with, it is the tombs of the Muslim saint, or the tombs of the master dervishes of the orders, according to which the veneration and the rituals of the dervishes are established as well as the spaces of the lodges are arranged. Like mosques in *külliyes*, tombs were the essential functions, in relation to which the other facilities required in a *zaviye* were organized. (Figure 4.2- 4.3) The communal prayer spaces, the living units of the dervishes, and the auxiliary service spaces such as the kitchens, bakeries –not necessarily existing in every dervish lodge- and alike were all planned according to the tomb, which was the core, or in other words, the most significant space in a *zaviye*. For the reason that the religious practices of the sects were established in a way to allow the veneration and praying of the dervishes directed towards the tomb, in which the saint or the master dervishes of the sect were entombed. Where only the disciples of the sects were permitted to participate in the performance taking place in the communal prayer hall, the greater masses of populace were allowed to encounter with the tombs, which were the most public spaces of a dervish lodge. (Figure 4.3-4.4)

Hence, this kind of dervish lodges were frequented in Anatolia particularly beginning from the second half of the 13th century and rapidly increasing in number from the 14th to the middle of the 15th century, which corresponded to the Principalities and Early Ottoman rule in Anatolia. This fact was due to the role of the heterodox dervishes in transforming Anatolia into a Turkish-Islamic territory in cooperation with the ruling elite and even as a part of the ruling elite. In these lines, Turkification and Islamization attempts in the annexed lands and in relation, promoting and facilitating settlement and urban development were among the basic driving forces for the establishment of dervish lodges not only in rural but also in urban

⁷⁰¹ Faroqhi (1974).

⁷⁰² Faroqhi (1974), p. 166.

⁷⁰³ Tanman B. (1992), “Settings for the Veneration of Saints”, (M. E. Quigley-Pınar trans.) *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, (R. Lifchez ed.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 130-171. See also Tanman (2002), Tanman (2005), and Tanman B., Parlak S. (2006), “Tarikat Yapıları”, *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.) II, pp. 391-417.

environments.⁷⁰⁴ Accordingly, it is without doubt that these dervish lodges had considerable influences in shaping the social life and in relation the spatial setting in the urban centers, in which they are founded. Recalling that tombs were the key spaces in dervish lodges, how these lodges were integrated within the daily life of the dwellers in Anatolian towns both socially and spatially can be discussed.

Beginning from the late 13th century examples such as Sünbül Baba, Abdullah bin Muhyi, Halif Gazi dervish lodges in Tokat, the architecture of the tombs in these lodges were of paramount importance in production of alternate urban spaces and in establishment of public, social encounters among the resident populace.⁷⁰⁵ Clearly speaking, where the dervish living units and communal prayer halls were private spaces reserved for the use of the disciples of the order, the tombs comprised a more public character. Opposed to the rest of the window openings on the façades of the dervish lodges, the windows of the tombs in the lodges faced the street and had larger openings matching the eye-level of the audience in the street.⁷⁰⁶ (Figure 4. 5) By this means, it was possible for the people outside the order to show their respects and pray for the entombed holy figure, at the same time ascertaining visual connection with the coffin. Furthermore, in addition to the visual connection, the large opening in the tomb allowed for the establishment of an audible connection, so that the people could hear the venerations, prayers, and orderly practices of the dervishes performing in the lodge.⁷⁰⁷ Hence, in front of the façades carrying the windows of the tombs urban spaces were produced, where the public socially encountered with each other and with the significant ratio of the populace, namely with the heterodox dervishes.

Plus, these lodges were also influential in transforming the urban form, where they function as urban nuclei around which small centers were formed. For instance, in the late 13th and early 14th centuries, during the rise of the power of the heterodox groups, the central Anatolian Seljuk towns were transformed due to the increase in the number of dervish lodges constructed. As Wolper claims, the urban form of the Seljuk town, which developed around a central citadel corresponding to the urban core of the towns transformed into a town established

⁷⁰⁴ Barkan (1942). See also the later edition Barkan Ö. L. (2002), “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri”, *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 9, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 133-153. Barkan (1962-63), Erginli Z. (2002), “Osmanlı Devleti’nin Kuruluşunda Türk Dervişlerinin İzleri”, *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 9, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 107-115.

⁷⁰⁵ For further information on these dervish lodges see Emir S. (1994), *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok-İşlevli Yapılar: Kentsel Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zaviyeler*, İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, pp. 42-76. See also Wolper (2003), pp. 48-55.

⁷⁰⁶ Wolper (2003), pp. 60-71. For the later examples see Tanman (1992), pp. 149-167.

⁷⁰⁷ Wolper (2003), pp. 68-69.

around smaller centers generated by the founded dervish lodges.⁷⁰⁸ (Figure 4. 6) Likewise, the same pattern repeated in Western Anatolia under the Principalities and early Ottoman rule in the 14th and early 15th centuries. For instance, Bursa developed around the small centers not only generated by the building complexes but also by the dervish lodges such as the growth of a neighborhood around Emir Sultan Zaviyesi.

Even so, the dervish lodges, particularly those founded in the urban centers of the Principalities in Western Anatolia were not monumental and for the most part not durable structures and instead were humble, modest buildings. Hence, most of these structures did not survive until today, or very few were gradually converted into some other buildings such as masjids or madrasas, which is not possible to trace their original architectural features. All in all, it was the rural dervish lodge encouraging and facilitating the growth of villages around, which were the most likely shrine structures to still stand. They are either in ruinous conditions as in the case of Balım Sultan Zaviyesi in Hisarlık Village in Tire or in extremely altered and rebuilt conditions as in the case of İmam Birgivî in the countryside of Birgi. (Figure 5.33)

4.3. Definitions and Design of Mosques with Additional Spaces in T-type Plan and their Relation with their Urban Contexts

Nevertheless, it is in this same period corresponding to the rise of power of the heterodox dervishes that, a significant building type, in fact, a multi-functional mosque building, which can be defined as mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan came about and frequented in Anatolia, for the most part in Western Anatolia and even in Rumelia. These buildings have been named with various terms such as inverse T-type mosques, convent-mosques, convent-masjids, iwan mosques, mosques with side rooms, multi-functional mosques and even *fütüvvet* [religious and trade guild] mosques.⁷⁰⁹ This was due to the fact that they displayed a particular morphological building type. These mosques comprised a courtyard enclosed with dome at its top and the other spaces were organized around this courtyard. On the axis of the entrance, the prayer hall was situated facing the courtyard. On the sides, there

⁷⁰⁸ Wolper (2003), pp. 41-59.

⁷⁰⁹ Emir and Kuban provide a more detailed discussion on the names given to these mosques within the terminology of referring to particular scholars Ottoman architectural history. Emir (1994), pp. 12, 19. Kuban (2007), pp. 79-80, Among these scholars see for instance, Doğan A. I. (1977), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları, Tekkeler, Zaviyeler ve Benzer Nitelikteki Fütüvvet Yapıları*, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University. Eyice S. (1962-63), "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-İçtimai Bir Müessesesi: Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler", *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XIII/1-2, pp. 1-80. Kuran (1971), Necipoğlu (2005), pp. 49-52.

were iwan and iwan-like additional spaces, whose functions have been a point of discussion among the scholars of Ottoman architectural history.⁷¹⁰ It is most likely to associate these mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan with heterodoxy for these buildings were outspread in specific geographical as well as temporal boundaries. Hence, they came on the scene within the particular socio-religious and political context of the early Ottoman period, through which the heterodox sects were considerably influential in the growth of the Ottoman State and unification of the populace under the Ottoman rule.

In this framework, a closer examination of their architectural features and the written historical accounts giving information about these buildings strengthen the assumption that the additional spaces served for the most part for the use of dervishes. To begin with, the additional side spaces were equipped with built-in cupboards and fireplaces inside.⁷¹¹ This might indicate the function of a guesthouse for traveling dervishes or even for outsiders, or for them to practice specific veneration performances and reside for some considerable time in these spaces.⁷¹² Accordingly, these spaces might be more private units to accommodate dervishes to perform their particular individual religious practices, whereas in the larger spaces in the mosque building, other than these side rooms, and other than the main prayer hall on the south of the courtyard, communal religious activities were practiced by the disciples, and the sympathizers of the particular sect.⁷¹³ Plus, these mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan for the most part comprised dependencies such as guesthouses, public kitchens, baths, and alike as in Orhan Gazi Building Complexes in Bursa and İznik or in Bayezid I Complex in Bursa, so that it is very likely to assume that these side spaces contributed to the socio-religious facilities offered by these building groups.⁷¹⁴ In addition to the architectural setting, the historical accounts provide information to strengthen the argument that these specific type of mosques were associated with the powerful heterodoxy during the early Ottoman rule. For instance, within the endowment deeds of Bayezid I Complex in Bursa, it was the *şeyh* not the preacher, who received the highest wage and thus, hierarchically speaking was in the uppermost rank

⁷¹⁰ See the references in the previous nt.

⁷¹¹ Eyice (1962-63), p. 8.

⁷¹² Necipoğlu supports the argument that these spaces were used as guesthouses due to these built-in cupboards and fireplaces. Necipoğlu (2005), p. 50.

⁷¹³ Kuban supports the argument that these spaces were more individualized units by comparing the size of the volumes contained in the mosque building. Kuban (2007), p. 80.

⁷¹⁴ For further information on these building groups and on more number of similar building groups in the early Ottoman period, see Ayverdi (1966), Ayverdi (1989).

among the religious staff employed in the mosque.⁷¹⁵ All in all, this building type fell out of favor as the State gradually imperialized after the conquest of İstanbul. Even this type was not applied any more just as the Empire reached its peak under the rule of Süleyman I and orthodoxy of the ruling state prevailed over gradually fainting heterodoxy. Hence, it was then that a new architectural style matured under the leadership of the renowned architect, Sinan, and Ottoman architecture stepped into a new course, which was named as ‘classical Ottoman architecture’ within modern scholarship on Ottoman architectural history.

Seen in this light, it is almost certain that these particular mosques were associated with the heterodox dervishes, holding a great deal of legal power in the 14th - 15th centuries. Accordingly, these heterodox groups played a crucial role in transforming the population in terms of their socio-religious life, just like they had considerable impact in shaping and transforming the architectural and hence the urban setting. The frequent construction of this building type contributed to the development of alternative spaces for the public to encounter with each other for these mosques comprised additional facilities than an ordinary neighborhood masjid. It is also due to these additional facilities so that the ground was established for these structures to act as significant urban artifacts to generate urban growth around themselves. Western Anatolian examples of mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan, Firuz Bey Mosque in Milas (1394) and Yahşi Bey Mosque (Yeşil İmaret) in Tire (1441) are significant in this respect that, these edifices produced small centers around themselves and contributed urban growth in these towns.⁷¹⁶ (Figure 4.7, 4.8)

4.4. Evolution and Development of Building Complexes and their Relation with their Urban Contexts

Hence, as touched upon in the beginning of this chapter, in addition to dervish lodges and mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan, building groups in the form of *külliyes* were of paramount importance in developing and transforming their urban contexts. Yet, the architectural evolution and development of these building groups were to a considerable extent influential on and influenced by their urban contexts, in particular by their immediate surroundings. As such, the evolution and development of building groups in architectural terms

⁷¹⁵ Ayverdi (1989), pp. 49-50. See also Necipoğlu (2005), p. 50 for the association of the mosque with dervish used spaces depending on this piece of information.

⁷¹⁶ For further discussion on this issue, see the evaluation of Yahşi Bey Mosque in Tire concentrating on its role in the transformation of the urban setting of the town in Chapter 5, 5.3. Evolution and Development of Building Groups and their Role as Urban Generators in Tire.

beginning from the Seljuk examples in Anatolia until the classical Ottoman period are discussed below. In this way, Principalities examples dating to the Aydınoğulları and Menteşeoğulları period as well as the early Ottoman examples in Western Anatolia are analyzed whether they can be regarded as evolutionary steps in terms of their architectural characteristics such as functional organization, mass articulation, plan layout, and alike. According to these criteria how these building establishing a group affected the shaping and transformation of their immediate surrounding, plus of their greater urban context in general are discussed in the end.

To begin with, the early examples of building groups dating from the Seljuk period in Anatolia are for the most part compact structures, where the spaces of differing functions are organized as physically attached to each other. In this sense, referring to their architectural organization, particularly considering their mass articulation and plan layout, Seljuk building groups can be defined as buildings with multi-functions. It is in this framework that İpekoğlu elaborates on the basic design principles, explicitly speaking, on the probable combinations about how these spaces of various functions are arranged together in Seljuk buildings.⁷¹⁷ In view of İpekoğlu's study, the examples of Seljuk buildings with multi-functions can be classified as; "Combination of Different Functions in the Same Plan", "Combinations of Different Functions: Two Buildings with Different Functions Juxtaposed" and "Building Groups Formed in the Course of Time", depending on their plan layout, spatial organization, functional distribution and mass articulation.⁷¹⁸ Çifte Madrasa (1205) and Hacı Kılıç Complex (1249-50) in Kayseri, as examples of buildings with different functions juxtaposed, and particularly Hunat Hatun Complex in Kayseri (1237) as example of building groups constructed in the course of time, are significant to display the Seljuk architectural tradition in establishing building groups comprising various facilities.⁷¹⁹ In all these examples varying functions, facilities are planned as attached spaces. Çifte Medrese and Hacı Kılıç Complex display a compact plan layout and mass articulation, where both buildings are perceived almost as single buildings, masses from outside. Hunat Hatun Complex, on the other hand, is the most evident example, where the spaces of differing functions are designed principally in the most detached, separated way possible among other Seljuk building groups dating to the same era.

⁷¹⁷ İpekoğlu (1993). See also a concise and updated version of her dissertation, İpekoğlu B. A. (2006), "Birleşik İşlevli Yapılar", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygurlığı*, (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.), II, pp. 111-125.

⁷¹⁸ İpekoğlu (1993), İpekoğlu (2006).

⁷¹⁹ For further information on the architecture of these edifices see Akok (1968a). Akok (1969a). Cantay (2002a), pp. 841-843. Cantay (2002b), pp. 18-21.

Seen in this light, this building can be regarded as having the closest spatial organization and architectural scheme compared to the subsequent building groups founded under the Principalities rule in the 14th century. (Figure 4.9)

As far as Western Anatolia during the Principalities period is concerned, the Anatolian Seljuk impact in the organization of the building groups both in plan layout and in mass articulation can be detected. Manisa Great Mosque (1376) together with the madrasa, tomb and the nearby bath building, built during the rule of Saruhanoğulları, reflects the Seljuk influences in the Principalities period in Western Anatolia.⁷²⁰ Similarly, Birgi Great Mosque (1312-13) and the tomb built next to the mosque, under the rule of Aydınoğulları, bears similar intentions.⁷²¹ Yet, when İlyas Bey Complex in Balat (1404), built during the rule of Menteşeoğulları, is taken into account, the development of and/or shift from the Anatolian Seljuk towards the Ottoman entity, can be marked out not only in the composition of the buildings in plan and mass articulation but also in the architectural features of each building. The architectural approach of constructing adjacent buildings, in other words buildings with multi-functions shifted towards the construction of building complexes composed of structures which are detached, built separate from each other, and surrounded by a retaining wall.⁷²² (Figure 4.10)

Nevertheless, İlyas Bey Complex is not the only architectural production, which seemed to influence Ottoman architectural understanding and practice to certain extents. In other words, Principalities period can be regarded as an exploration period, when particularly the examples of building groups founded in Tire during the Aydınoğulları rule are analyzed, where genuine trials in the architectural practice are experienced, addressing to an already flourishing architectural culture of the Ottomans.⁷²³ The site plans of Hafsa Hatun Complex, Karahasan Mosque and Tomb and Kazirzade Complex founded in Tire in the 14th century by the urban elite of Aydınoğulları Principality display the tendency of building detached, scattered and organically arranged structures in relation to each other in the establishment of building groups. (Figure 5.38) In this way, alternate open spaces are produced in between these

⁷²⁰ See for further discussion on this issue Cantay G. (2002c), “Anadolu Beylikleri Sanatı”, *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*. (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.), 8, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 18, 21-22. Plus, for further information on the architecture of Manisa Great Mosque Complex see Acun H. (1985), “Manisa İshak Çelebi Külliyesi”, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 19, pp. 127-144.

⁷²¹ See for further discussion on this issue Cantay (2002c), p. 22.

⁷²² For further information on İlyas Bey Complex and İlyas Bey Mosque see Durukan (1988).

⁷²³ A detailed discussion on the evolution and development of the building groups in Tire founded by the ruling elite during the Aydınoğulları rule is given in Chapter 5, 5.3. Evolution and Development of Building Groups and their Role as Urban Generators in Tire.

structures, where they all together constitute a whole. Still, during the Aydınoğulları rule however for the most part during the subsequent Ottoman rule, building groups comprised more organized, more geometrical, and more refined spatial organizations in plan layout and mass articulation. The site plans of Karakadı Mecdetin, Yavukluoğlu and Molla Arap Complexes show this tendency of building more precisely defined arrangement of spatial units, and hence the production of more well-defined open, semi-open and closed spaces gathered in an integrated plan scheme. (Figure 5.39)

At this point, the evolution and development of the early Ottoman *külliye* towards the classical Ottoman *külliye* can be examined for its transformation process overlaps with that of the Western Anatolian Principalities both temporally and geographically to a certain extent. While the building groups in Bursa are examples of the early Ottoman *külliyes*, the building groups in İstanbul are for the most part examples of classical Ottoman *külliyes*.

To begin with, early Ottoman building groups display similarities with those in Tire founded during the Aydınoğulları period, in terms of their location on the site, the relation of the buildings in the group with respect to each other and their relation with their immediate surroundings. For instance, building groups commissioned by the Ottoman sultans such as Murad I Complex (1391), Yıldırım Bayezid Complex (1395), Yeşil Complex (1429), and Murad II Complex (1426) embody comparable design principals in spatial organization, plan layout and mass articulation.⁷²⁴ These edifices display significant concerns towards the topographical conditions of the site and the pattern of their immediate surrounding such as the street network and already existing urban parcels around, in the spatial organization and layout of the buildings on the site.

In Murad I Complex buildings in the group, which comprise mosque, public kitchen, bath and tomb, are grouped together in a particular area. There is no other structure except of the facilities in the group, which interfere with the organization of the spaces with respect to each other in that particular area.⁷²⁵ The buildings of the group are aligned in relation to each other, yet are not strongly related in terms their geometric layout, which anyway results in the production of alternative open spaces in between, however not defined in clear-cut manner. Still, the complex is integrated with its immediate urban fabric due to lack of a surrounding

⁷²⁴ For further information on these building groups see Ataman (2000), pp. 80-86. Ayverdi (1966), pp. 61-89, 93-94, 111-116, 231-264, 275, 290-292, 419-440, 447-460, 462, 464-469, 481-482, Ayverdi (1989), pp. 46-118, 298-327. Cantay (2002b), pp. 31-39. Cantay (2002a), pp. 845-846. Hakky (1992), pp. 116-120. Particularly see Ayverdi (1966), pp. 61-89, 93-94, 111-116, 231-264, 275, 290-292, 419-440, 447-460, 462, 464-469, 481-482, Ayverdi (1989), pp. 46-118, 298-327.

⁷²⁵ See the site plans by Ayverdi and Hakky, Ayverdi (1966), p. 243. Hakky (1992), p. 100.

retaining wall.⁷²⁶ (Figure 4.11) Yıldırım Bayezid Complex, on the other hand, comprises structures located on a hilly topography, where at the highest platform, the mosque is located. The tomb, madrasa, and the public kitchen are laid on a lower level on the north of the mosque. These structures all together establish the core of the complex surrounded by a retaining wall, which allows gates for access to the core. (Figure 4.12) Hospital and bath of the complex are located on the lowest level outside this core. Accordingly, the buildings of the complex have terraces in their front as the open spaces, where the buildings are organically laid in plan with reference to topography rather than strong geometrical relations with respect to each other. Plus, there is a hierarchical arrangement of spaces from public to private, considering the facilities included in the complex. The hospital and the bath are more public units, which are located outside the core of the complex, thus more integrated with their immediate urban surrounding. Yet, the madrasa in comparison may be regarded as more private and the mosque as the most monumental, and in a way, the center of gravity in the complex, which is the most secluded from the surrounding urban fabric.⁷²⁷

Yeşil Complex, which comprises a mosque, madrasa, public kitchen, bath and a tomb; and Murad II, renowned as Muradiye Complex, which comprises a mosque, madrasa, bath, and a garden filled with a number of royal tombs display site plans more integrated with their immediate surroundings. In both building groups separate spaces of differing functions have direct relation with the outside, which is most evident in Murad II Complex.⁷²⁸ In other words, access to these spaces is from the street. Yet, while one enters the courtyard of the mosque from the street first and then the building itself in Yeşil Mosque, Murad II Mosque has direct entrance from the street just like Murad II Madrasa next to it. (Figure 4.13) Plus, the relation of the buildings with respect to each other in Murad II Complex pave the way for the production of a more defined open space in geometrical terms and particularly with reservation of a specific facility behind these structures. Namely, in the garden at the back of the mosque and madrasa there are a number of the royal tombs of the Ottoman dynasty located. This is the most private section of the complex, where the other structures are designed more integral with their urban contexts.

⁷²⁶ Hakky classifies such complexes of similar layout as “separated but not isolated” Hakky (1992), pp. 93, 99, 141.

⁷²⁷ Hakky classifies such complexes of similar layout as “partly isolated”, Hakky (1992), pp. 103-104, 141.

⁷²⁸ Hakky classifies such complexes of similar layout as “meshed with its surroundings”, Hakky (1992), pp. 92-93, 141.

Seen in this light, Bursa examples display the Ottoman architectural tradition of designing building complexes with intense sensitivity given to topography and the already existing immediate surrounding of the construction sites. Nevertheless, there was not such intense sensitivity in establishing the relations of the buildings in the group with respect to each other in terms of geometrical and spatial associations. There was a search for looser organization of spaces with respect to each other as opposed to the compact Seljuk ones and similar to the rather free Principalities' designs in plan layout and mass articulation. By this means, there was a tendency to produce alternative open spaces in between and around the masses of the complexes. These open spaces were sometimes the terraces in front of the buildings like in Yıldırım Bayezid Complex, or were gardens defined by the buildings and the surrounding urban pattern of the complex like in Murad II Complex, or they were open gathering spaces as courtyards like in front of the Yeşil Mosque. In this way, the early Ottoman *külliyeye* was more integrated with its urban context in plan like Western Anatolian examples of the Aydınoğulları and Menteşeogulları Principalities compared to the former Seljuk *külliyeler*. (Figure 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, 4.13) Nevertheless, the spatial organizations and production of alternative spaces within and around the complexes were to develop into more geometrical schemes, and developed and refined layout of buildings with respect to each other and with respect to the surrounding urban context in later examples in İstanbul and partially in Edirne after the midst of the 15th century.

Building complexes commissioned by the Ottoman sultans such as Mehmed II (Fatih) Complex in İstanbul (1463-1470), Bayezid II Complex in Edirne (1484-1488) and Selim I (Selimiye) Complex in İstanbul (1520) exemplify comparable design principals in spatial organization, hence in plan layout and mass articulation.⁷²⁹ All these complexes display a tendency towards more geometrical, more integrated, and more strongly related spatial organizations particularly in their overall designs. In this respect, a considerable number of building complexes founded in Tire beginning from the late Aydınoğulları period and particularly frequented during the Ottoman rule mainly from the midst of the 15th century, show the traces of this evolution and development process. For instance, relationship of the mosque and the madrasa of Karakadı Mecdettin Complex (late 14th century) and the organization of spatial units of the Yavukluoğlu Complex (mid 15th century), and Molla Arap Complex (late 15th century) are similar to those building complexes founded between the mid 15th and mid 16th

⁷²⁹ For further information on these building groups see Ataman (2000), pp. 93-115. Ayverdi (1973), 3, pp. 356-406. Cantay (2002b), pp. 41-43, 47-52, Cantay (2002a), pp. 847. Hakky (1992), pp. 120-135, 153-161, Kafesçioğlu (1996), 120-143. Kazancıgil (1997).

centuries, particularly in terms of geometrical arrangements and more precisely defined spatial units with respect to each other. (Figure 5.39)

Back to the most significant example of building complexes with geometrical design schemes, Mehmed II Complex in İstanbul can be mentioned. This royal socio-religious complex, which comprises a mosque, madrasas, primary school, library, public kitchen, hospital, guest house, *han*, and tombs, bear the utmost geometrical relations and even orthogonal layout of the structures included in the complex. In this sense, this imperial foundation of Mehmed II, brings in a vital planning tradition in the layout of the buildings on the site of the complex, vividly differentiating itself from the surrounding urban pattern.⁷³⁰ Even so, the orthogonal layout of the complex is integrated with its immediate surrounding in terms of access from the surrounding streets and adaptation to the topography. (Figure 4.14) The core of the complex, in the center of which the mosque is situated, is encircled with a wall that provides access the gates.⁷³¹ Such enclosure and symmetry paves the way for the establishment of a well-defined open, public space outlined with the façades of the madrasas on the sides and the encircling wall. Hence, there, for the most part, was the movement of the people from the street to this central courtyard functioning as a significant public space, then to the mosque or madrasa structures or just back to another street opening to one of the gates of the complex. This movement facilitates the production of an alternative urban space, which is the courtyard itself and the integration of this particular space with its immediate urban fabric.

Likewise, Bayezid II Complex in Edirne, which comprises a mosque, madrasa, hospital, mental hospital, and public kitchen, display the use of geometry as a main tool in designing the site plan of the complex. Due the location of the structures of the complex in strong geometrical relations with each other and the encircling wall of the complex in harmony with its immediate surrounding ease the production of well-defined open spaces within. Hence, the Bayezid II Complex does not have as strict geometrical organization of spaces as in Fatih Complex, which is further orthogonally, axially and symmetrically arranged in the whole. This is most probably due to the more intense sensitivity given to the existing pattern of the surrounding in comparison to Fatih Complex. By this means, Bayezid II Complex is integrated with its surrounding context in a more intact manner where at the same time achieves to

⁷³⁰ For further discussion on the meaning and the reception of Mehmed II Complex in symbolic terms and its relation with his imperial vision see Kafesçioğlu (1996), pp. 105-163. Kafesçioğlu (1999b). Vryonis (1991), pp. 13-52.

⁷³¹ Hakky classifies such complexes of similar layout as “meshed with its surroundings”, Hakky (1992), pp. 104, 110, 141.

produce well-defined open public spaces in between the buildings of the complex. (Figure 4.15)

In Selim I Complex, which comprises a mosque, madrasa, primary school, public kitchen, guest house, and tombs, the topographical conditions and the immediate urban pattern of the complex seems to prevail against the principles of geometry, and symmetry. Apart from the symmetrically arranged guest houses on the sides and the arcaded courtyard in front of the mosque, geometry is not the most predominant concept in articulating the structures and the open spaces in between these structures in Selim I Complex. (Figure 4.16) Hence, it is during the time of architect Sinan beginning from the 1530s under the rule of Süleyman I that, geometrical concerns in locating the buildings and arranging the spaces with respect to each other, search for alternative open, semi-open spaces in between the structures and the surrounding, sensitivity to immediate urban fabric, and harmony with the topography compromised and the most developed style in the site planning of building complexes was achieved.

Süleymaniye Complex (1557) and Sokollu Mehmet Paşa in Kadırga (1571) in İstanbul are among the significant works of architect Sinan, which display his genius in integrating the above criteria in unique architectural designs.⁷³² Süleymaniye Complex is the grandiose royal socio-religious complex located on a crucial hilly spot in İstanbul, and it comprises a mosque, madrasas, primary school, medical school, hospital, public kitchen, bath, guest houses, *han*, and tombs. In terms of plan layout and mass articulation, the complex can be regarded as the adaptation and a new interpretation of the orthogonal, axial, symmetrical and strictly geometrical planning approach of Fatih Complex. Maintaining the positive, well-defined open spaces in between the buildings of the complex, the site planning of Süleymaniye Complex displays further respect and sensitivity given to the topography and to its immediate urban context. In harmony with the existing urban pattern, the complex is further more integrated with the urban context than Fatih Complex. Yet, the application of geometry and production of

⁷³² For further information on these building groups see Ataman (2000), pp. 124-128. Cantay (2002b), pp. 62-63, 65. Cantay (2002a), pp. 848-849. Hakky (19929), pp. 120-135. Among the great many publications on Sinan's architecture within the concerns of this thesis, see particularly Aslanoğlu İ. (1987), "Siting of Sinan's Külliyes in İstanbul", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 192-197. Erzen J. (1996), *Mimar Sinan, Estetik Bir Analiz*, Ankara: Şevki Vanlı Mimarlık Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 113-127. Kuban D. (1987), "Süleymaniye and Sixteenth Century Ottoman İstanbul", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 62-69. Kuran A. (1987), "Form and Function in Ottoman Building Complexes", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 132-139. Necipoğlu (2005) pp. 108-109, 110, 206-222. Pinon P. (1987), "Sinan's Külliyes: Inscriptions into the Urban Fabric", *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 106-111.

positive urban spaces, concurrently contributes to its incorporation with the urban context in comparison to Bursa examples. The courtyard in whose center the mosque with a secondary arcaded courtyard in its front and a burial ground at its back, is the core, containing the most sacred spaces of the complex and it is defined by a surrounding retaining wall and the streets parallel to this wall. In other words, while the courtyard and the buildings within can be regarded as the most isolated units of the complex, most probably for the sake of sanctity and monumentality, the other dependencies of the complex are designed more intactly with their immediate urban contexts. (Figure 4.17)

Sokollu Mehmet Paşa Complex in Kadırga is another work of Sinan, which is commissioned by a high ranking official rather than the Sultan. That is why, compared with the other royal socio-religious complexes in İstanbul, this complex is more modest in scale and with the number of the facilities it provides. The complex comprises a mosque, madrasa and tomb. The spaces are arranged establishing an orthogonal layout and symmetrical distribution displaying geometrical concerns among the main design principles in the complex. Considering the structures of the complex in terms of their relations with respect to each other, it is possible to state a very intact spatial association between the mosque and the madrasa. The madrasa units share the same courtyard with the mosque, where the courtyard is the core of the complex. The entrance to the complex is provided from the gates on the west and east corners on the south of the courtyard. Plus, there is an entrance on the axis of the mosque, on the north, below the madrasa units making use of the level difference due to the steep topography. Hence, located within a crowded urban parcel, the complex establishes close associations with its immediate urban setting. In addition to the accesses through the gates, spaces which are located on the ground floor on the north side below the madrasa rooms open directly to outside. (Figure 4.18)

In the end, it can be claimed that, particular features of this complex in terms of relationship with its urban context and the planning of the structures in relation to each other, for the most part, repeats in the design of a number of building groups founded in Tire between the late 14th and late 15th centuries. For instance, well-defined open spaces are produced in between the buildings of the complex like in the repetition of the design of a courtyard in front of the mosque surrounded by the madrasa rooms on its three sides. (Figure 5.39, 5.37) Plus, integrity with the urban context is achieved not only in the appropriation according to the urban pattern of the immediate surrounding such as the street network and the urban parcels in between and in adaptation in harmony with the topography like making use of level differences. It is also achieved taking into consideration the street elevations, hence the exterior

articulation of the mass and particularly the façade of the buildings, and the probable connections they establish by way of façade designs.

To begin with, the façade architecture and exterior articulation of the former Seljuk buildings in Anatolia, mostly founded in the 13th century, displays the closed, solid, bare façade understanding, where only the portals are the major, most attentive façade components. In so doing, there was not further connection of the building with its outside neither visual nor functional. There was only entrance, physical access into the building through the monumental gate. Yet, during the subsequent Principalities period in the 14th century, particularly in Western Anatolia, the closed façade understanding just like the compact organization of the buildings forming a group started to change. Where compact plan schemes transformed into detached, separated buildings with in between open spaces in site plans, the solid, bare façades transformed into more articulated, more perforated, more open, and hence in some examples, more functional in terms of producing urban spaces in their front.

For instance, İsa Bey Mosque in Selçuk (1375) displays an open façade understanding not only in the walls of the mosque, but also in the walls of the courtyard situated in front of the mosque. Still, a monumental portal is built as a significant façade element on the main entrance façade on the west, providing access first to the courtyard and then to the mosque. However, the additional ornamented façade elements like the window openings enhance the visual connection between the interior and the exterior. Plus, making use of the level difference, shops in other words small commercial units are inserted on the ground floor level of the main façade, where the entrance is on an elevated level. Even, a fountain is inserted on the ground level of this façade, just beneath the entrance portal. By this means, the main façade of İsa Bey Mosque commissioned by Aydınoğlu İsa Bey becomes a more integrated edifice with its urban context. Now that, through the façade articulation, interior with the exterior is visually connected. More significant than that, with the insertion of additional functions on the façade, such as the shops and the fountain, the space in front of the façade turned into a public space frequented with alternative social and commercial facilities. The understanding of open façade architecture continued in the Ottoman architectural tradition. Yet, for the most part, the façade articulation was limited with the construction of window openings, which establish visual relationship of the inside with the outside like in Murad I (Hüdavendigâr) Mosque and Madrasa in Bursa. Generally, inserted facilities on the façades were not as frequented as in Principalities buildings. (Figure 4.19)

Nevertheless, the public buildings in Tire which were founded during the Aydınoğulları and the Ottoman rule, essentially in the 14th and 15th centuries are also

significant examples to show the role of façade architecture in the transformation of its urban context. For instance, Doğan Bey Mosque commissioned by Doğan Bey under the Aydınoğulları rule in the 14th century is integrated with its urban context, not only due to the window openings articulating its walls, but also due to the additional facilities like the fountain inserted into the retaining wall of its open space adjacent to the mosque. Plus, this open space is also effective in the integration of the mosque with its immediate surrounding and its transforming into more incorporated unit within its urban context. (Figure 4.20) Likewise, Gazazhane Mosque commissioned by Hacı Kemal in 1457 has additional facilities inserted on its façade like the later construction of shopping units on its side wall. Already located within a crowded urban setting, the mosque is direct relation with its urban context. (Figure 4.21) Above all, there are significant building types evolved in Tire, in consideration with their urban contexts such as the combination of shops on the ground floor and mosque on the upper floor of the same building masses.⁷³³ These buildings, in turn, are significant in transforming and enhancing their immediate surroundings, yet their urban contexts. (Figure 5.46)

In addition to their immediate urban contexts, building groups and similar urban artifacts play significant role in transforming and shaping the urban pattern, or better to say, the urban form of the towns. Particularly, building groups act as urban nuclei, which generate the establishment, development, or growth of small centers around themselves. The socio-religious building complexes further the growth of residential neighborhoods as small centers and hence influence the urban development, and transformation and enlargement of the urban form. For instance, in Bursa the continuous foundation of these socio-religious foundations under the rulership of the succeeding Ottoman sultans effected the shaping of the urban form in the course of time.⁷³⁴ Each of these building groups located at strategic spots within the town facilitated the growth of neighborhoods around. They shaped and transformed and accordingly were shaped and transformed by the urban structure, or better to say the street network connecting these central locations in the town. (Figure 2.27)

⁷³³ For further discussion on the evolution and development of this particular type see in Chapter 5, 5.3. Evolution and Development of Building Groups and their Role as Urban Generators in Tire.

⁷³⁴ For similar discussions on Bursa see Kuran A. (1996b), “A Spatial Study of the Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and İstanbul”, *Muqarnas*, 13, pp. 114-131. And for İstanbul in the subsequent 16th century see Cantay G. (1993), “16. Yüzyıl Külliyelerinin Şehirlerin Tarihi Topoğrafyasını Belirlemesi”, *Prof. Dr. Yılmaz Önge Armağanı*, Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi, Selçuklu Araştırmaları Merkezi, pp. 75-78. Crane (1991). See also Aslanoğlu (1987). Guidoni E. (1987), “Sinan’s Construction of the Urban Panaroma”, *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre*, 1-2, pp. 10-19. Pinon (1987).

Yet, when the urban form is studied as a whole it is not only these small centers of residential neighborhoods generated and developed around socio-religious building groups, which are significant urban artifacts in shaping the urban setting. Particularly in Bursa, functional zoning within the urban form is evident that in addition to the small residential centers there is an essential center of the town remodeled at the intersection of the major arteries of the town beneath the formerly existing citadel. This principal center is the commercial center of the town, where the commercial edifices like the *hans*, *bedesten*, plus the open markets and next to them the Great Mosque, in other words, the Friday Mosque is located. In this way, similar to the buildings gathering around neighborhood mosques, and as its dependencies produce building groups in the form of socio-religious complexes, the commercial units and the Friday Mosque produce a building group in the form of a commercial complex, constituting the commercial and the principal center of the town. (Figure 4.22) Likewise, this functional zoning, and the production of an essential commercial district in the center and small centers scattered in strategic locations in the town as the urban model in Bursa, is repeated in a significant Western Anatolian urban center, namely in Tire. Accordingly, the interpretation of this urban model in Tire beginning from the Aydınoğulları and continuing during the Ottoman rule is analyzed in depth in the next chapter through the detailed study on the making of Tire between the 14th and 16th centuries.

4.5. Conclusive Remarks

This chapter is the final step in an endeavor for a socio-economic and spatial analysis of Western Anatolian towns. How and in what ways “urban artifacts”, particularly building groups and mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan evolved and developed and to what degree these architectural initiations are involved in the development, transformation, and shaping of their urban contexts are questioned. In the end, it is deduced that, these building groups are significant for they not only dominate and influence the making of their urban contexts but they also stand as their inseparable parts, for they produce urban spaces themselves and they are the very instances of urban life in social, cultural, commercial, religious and spatial terms. In fact, settlement issues, urban growth and improvement of public facilities are among the driving forces encouraging the foundation of these edifices. Furthermore, both socially and spatially these building groups are designed and functioned to enhance urban life with production of a varied number of urban spaces in their immediate surroundings and with the generation of urban nuclei through which urban form is transformed.

Clearly speaking, building groups commissioned during the Principalities and Ottoman rule in Western Anatolia evolve and develop towards more extraverted and more detached assemblage of structures, allowing in between open spaces. They are transformed into more integral units with their urban contexts in their architectural entirety in comparison to Seljuk examples. Plus, in this manner, they are even likely to be considered as evolutionary steps, even experiments towards the building groups of the Ottoman architectural tradition. Hence, these building groups gradually not only stimulate the production of alternative urban spaces within and around themselves but also further urban growth and modify the shaping of the urban patterns accordingly. Nevertheless, it is also shown that, not only these socio-religious institutions but also the commercial structures gathered in a particular location, stimulate the growth of greater urban units in the towns, where they produce the commercial district, the essential center of the towns such as in the early Ottoman capital Bursa and as repeated in the significant Western Anatolian urban center, Tire.

CHAPTER 5

TİRE IN THE MAKING (14TH – 16TH CENTURIES)

This chapter is an attempt to exemplify an in depth socio-economic and spatial analysis of a particular Western Anatolian town, namely Tire. In other words, in the light of the before-mentioned issues -first, the study of the trade activities, and road network for a reconstruction of the Western Anatolian urban network, second, the evaluation of the urban forms of Western Anatolian towns in complete patterns, plus a mention about them in relation to their constituents, third, a detailed discussion on the role of the architectural attempts in developing, transforming, and shaping the urban context of these towns- the making of Tire, particularly between the 14th and 16th centuries is endeavored to be scrutinized. In so doing, the aim is to justify and substantiate the arguments asserted in the previous chapters, focusing on Tire as the case study. Clearly speaking, the two way relationship of Tire's socio-economic structuring, that is the role of trade and the road network especially in the regional scale in Western Anatolia with its urban development and spatial structuring is palpable and well traced as the still existing urban setting and architecture of the town suggest.

At this point, it seems necessary to repeat the motives behind choosing Tire for an in depth analysis among the other Western Anatolian urban centers of the Principalities period which are Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi. Particularly considering the period between 14th and 16th centuries, Tire is the largest settlement not only with the size of its territorial borders but also with its scale in population and urban functions. (Figure 5.1, 2.24, 2.25, 2.26) As explained in the previous chapters, Ayasoluk and Balat declined in time due to the silting up of their harbors and swamping of their agricultural lands. Hence, they gradually lost their significance as urban centers because not only the volume of trade activities decreased but also the geography of the settlement no more permitted for further growth. Beçin was already a distant settlement established on a high hilly topography far from ease of access, in other words, not located by the major caravan roads within Western Anatolian road network. That's

why Milas the neighboring settlement towards the flatter lands, closer to the road network, developed instead of Beçin through the subsequent centuries. Lastly, Birgi, the former capital of the Aydınoğulları Principality grew significantly during the 14th century. Yet, neither its geographical location and geographical conditions, nor the Ottoman contributions under their subsequent dominion in the town, encouraged further development. For that reason, Birgi remained much behind Tire both concerning the amount of the production, manufacture and particularly trade and concerning the scale of the towns, that is to say the size of its territorial borders and its population. (Figure 5.2)

Accordingly, Tire gradually grew and became the center of the region, where trade activities ongoing in town steadily increased so did the architectural and urban initiations to respond to the progressively increasing dynamism of urban life. The town was the center of the *Aydın Sancağı* during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries under the Ottoman rule. (Figure 2.2) Moreover, Tire displays the significant impact of the road network reflected in the shaping of the town's own road network, urban planning, and urban architecture. In other words, while Tire developed as an important urban center due to its location at the intersection of the important caravan routes in the regional scale, the same pattern repeated in urban scale in the plan layout of the town. Thus, on one hand, the caravan routes determined the major arteries forming the backbone of the town's urban structure. On the other hand, the constituents, which are the elements of urban architecture such as the building complexes, building groups or single public buildings affected the shaping and development of this urban structure in a two way relationship with the road network of the very same urban structure. Hence, in Tire the significance of the elements of urban architecture, in other words, 'urban generators', or 'urban nuclei' or in Rossi's terms "urban artifacts". These particularly include building complexes, building groups or single public buildings, is evident that they not only dominate and influence the making of their urban contexts but also stand as inseparable parts of these contexts for they produce urban spaces themselves and they are the very instances of urban life in social, cultural, commercial, religious and spatial terms. In addition, regarding the evolution of these building groups from the Anatolian Seljuk compact buildings with multi functions towards classical Ottoman building complexes, those organized separately yet in relation to each other, Tire is once more one of the most appropriate towns to exemplify the issue, for the building groups founded in Tire display an evolutionary step in between the Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman styles in their architectural features. Eventually, it is clear why Tire is the most noteworthy urban center and why its is chosen instead of the other important Western Anatolian centers of the Principalities period in terms of its relation with trade routes, urban

development and the contribution of building groups to the shaping of its townscape and finally the evolution of these building groups in Tire within the general context of Turkish-Islamic *külliyes*.

First, Tire is studied highlighting its location and geography within the wider framework of Western Anatolia. Next, the history of the settlements, which are likely to inhabit in its center and vicinity are pointed out. Then, social, political and particularly economical aspects of the town are discussed. In so doing, urban history of Tire, with particular focus on trade activities, trade relations and possible impacts of trade, especially under the Turkish rule, in shaping the spatial structures of the urban setting are considered. Second, the formation and transformation of the urban form of Tire with special emphasis on the period between the 14th and 16th centuries is examined. Hence, it is attempted to analyze the establishment, development or makeover of the urban form of Tire, from the points of settlement pattern in plan, settlement size in territorial borders, urban image and urban architecture of the town, at the same time touching upon the role of the particular “monuments” in shaping and being shaped by its urban context. Third, as the significant “monuments”, building groups are studied more in detail. The architectural evolution and development of the building groups from Anatolian Seljuk towards Ottoman style is argued to have experienced an in-between and experimental phase particularly during the Principalities and early Ottoman periods as attempted to be substantiated with examples in Tire. Fourth and the last, the role of these building groups in shaping the townscape of Tire, put differently, their function as urban generators, or “urban artifacts” is investigated. Hence, the two way relationship of the building groups or single public buildings, those can be regarded as “urban artifacts” with the road network pattern they are connected with, is taken into account for they all together effect the shaping of their urban contexts and structuring of the urban form.

At long last, Tire is analyzed in detail subsequent to an already weaved historical and spatial background of Western Anatolian urban centers in the previous chapters, or in other words, through this very framework already established in these chapters. Yet, what is of paramount importance is, this chapter is an endeavor to exemplify and justify the arguments proposed, or better to say, to substantiate the evaluations reached at in these previous chapters with an attempt to reconstruct Tire, the significant Western Anatolian urban center, not only socially and economically but also spatially between the 14th and 16th centuries.

5.1. Social and Economic History of Tire: Trade, Road, and Urban Network

5.1.1. Location and Geography of Tire

Tire is one of the important administrative districts of the city of İzmir today. It is located on the southeast of İzmir, approximately 80 km away. The town is situated on the south of *Cayster*, Küçük Menderes Plain at the northern outskirts of *Messogis*, Güme (Kestane, Cevizli) Mountains. Tire is surrounded by neighboring administrative districts of Bayındır on its north approximately 18 km away, Ödemiş on its northeast and east approximately 35 km away, and Selçuk on its west approximately 40 km away. These are all settlements, which are established within the Küçük Menderes Plain in between Bozdağlar and Güme Mountains. (Figure 5.3) The geography of the Küçük Menderes Plain allows for settlement developments due to availability of water and wide productive agricultural lands.⁷³⁵ Plus, at the same time, it provides ease of transportation along the river.

Focusing on the geographical conditions of Tire in particular, it can be seen that, the town sits on a hilly topography, at the outskirts of Güme Mountains on its south and develops towards the flatter topography, that is to say, towards the Plain on the north which encompass fertile agricultural lands.⁷³⁶ Actually, the Plain on the north was full of water sources such as lakes and extensions of the Küçük Menderes River even in the beginnings of the 20th century. The lakes, scattered linearly in the east-west direction parallel to the river, towards the north of the settlement can be listed; Akarca, Belevi, Karagöl, Çavuş (Gümüş), Bekirağa, Kireçtepe, Manav, Tomali, Çamurlu, Uzungöl, Dedebaşı in Kahrat, Kocagöl (Gölyatağı) in Yeğenli and Kurşak in Kurşak.⁷³⁷ These lakes dried and shrank in time and some of them such as Kurşak Lake were dried and improved by the government in 1932, as can be followed from the news in “Yeşil Tire”, a local magazine in Tire.⁷³⁸ Similarly Akarca and Belevi were channeled to Kuşadası Bay and improved by the government beginning from 1936.⁷³⁹ The streams flowing through the town and through its villages, those run to Küçük Menderes River can be listed from west to east as; Kuruçay (Kurudere) in Uzgur, Yuvalı, Balım Sultan in Hisarlık, Bedri

⁷³⁵ For further information about the geography of Küçük Menderes Plain and its nearby surroundings see Darkot B. and Tuncel M. (1995), *Ege Bölgesi Coğrafyası*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, pp. 55-55.

⁷³⁶ For further information about the geography of Tire and its nearby surroundings see Darkot and Tuncel (1995), pp. 53-54.

⁷³⁷ The names of the lakes are given in Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 18-19 and Armağan (2003), pp. 32-33.

⁷³⁸ _____ (1932), “Bir Hayırlı İş Daha Kurşak Gölü”, *Yeşil Tire*, 2/24, p. 17.

⁷³⁹ Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 19.

Bey, Beyler Deresi, Kalamos, Havuzlu, Arappınarı (Tabakhane) in the town along the commercial strip, Bademye (Değirmendere) in Bademye, and Karacaali.⁷⁴⁰ (Figure 5.4) Particularly, Arappınarı or in other words Tabakhane River is very significant since it flew through the very center of the town. The riverbed, that was later dried and improved, probably corresponded to the original major artery running from north to south, where most probably the early settlements and the possible fortified area took place. Yet, this issue is discussed more in detail in the proceeding sections of this chapter.

Nevertheless, the physical geography of the town and its vicinity has been effective in determining the flora and fauna of the area and influencing in turn the type of production, manufacture, and trade items. Villages of Gökçen, Yeğenli, Kızılcavlu, Kahrat, Kireli, Peşrefli to the east and Boyyoğun, İniyeri, Mahmutlar, Akkoyunlu, Karateke, and the Plain of Tire along the northern borders contain very productive, fruitful agricultural lands, in which grains, vegetables, and fruits grew.⁷⁴¹ These lands also encourage the growth of hemp, where hemp production, manufacture, hence, rope making and rope trade developed as an important industrial sector in Tire.⁷⁴² Nevertheless, this hemp and rope making industry has its roots in early history of Tire, as can be followed from historical documents.⁷⁴³ Similar to hemp, cotton manufacture consists of another noteworthy division of trade in the town due to the fertile lands in its vicinity.⁷⁴⁴ Yet, in the lands of the rising topography on Güme outskirts, vineyards, olive and fruit gardens take place, where together with gardening; stockbreeding was another way of living of the people settled in these parts of the town.⁷⁴⁵ To the west of the town, namely in the villages of Büyükkale, Küçükkale, Hasan Çavuşlar, Kurşaklar, there are large farms.⁷⁴⁶ In similar lines, an archive document among Aydın *Vakıf Defterleri* [foundation registers] dating

⁷⁴⁰ Ülkü A. (1940a), “Tire Coğrafyası: Umumi Bir Bakış”, *Küçük Menderes*, 1/2, p. 33. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 18. Armağan (2003), p. 33.

⁷⁴¹ Edgüer H. N. (1941b), “Tire’ye Coğrafi Bir Bakış”, *Küçük Menderes*, 2/8, pp. 129-130. _____ (1951), *Tire* (Tire Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası prep.) İzmir: Berrin Matbaası, pp. 17-21. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 8.

⁷⁴² Ülkü A. (1940b), “Tire Coğrafyası”, *Küçük Menderes*, 1/1, pp. 5-7. _____ (1951), *Tire*, p. 20. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 53-58. _____ (2008), *Tire Rehber 2008*, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, p. 104.

⁷⁴³ _____ (1933), “Tire Urgancılığı”, *Yeşil Tire*, 2/29, p. 8. Yelken U. (1941a). “Tire Kendiri Hakkında Bir Ferman”, *Küçük Menderes*, 1/5, pp. 77-78. _____ (1951), *Tire* pp. 27-29.

⁷⁴⁴ _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 20-21. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 58-63.

⁷⁴⁵ Ülkü A. (1940a), pp. 33-34. Ülkü (1940b), p. 7. _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 22-25. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 9.

⁷⁴⁶ Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 9.

to H. 991 / AD. 1583-1584 gives the names of the farms in Yeğenli village, which provide income to the foundations of Ali Han in Tire.⁷⁴⁷

In addition to agricultural work, fishing was a significant source of living around the water resources, particularly in Akarca, Belevi, Karagöl, and Çavuş Lakes.⁷⁴⁸ Plus, by these very same lakes and streams there were rushes, which resulted in the development of a rush mat, or in other words, a wickerwork industry in Tire.⁷⁴⁹ Even, in the commercial district of the town there is a particular place called *Hasır Pazarı*, [Wickerwork Market] and a mosque named Hasır Pazarı Mosque located in the very same area. In addition to wickerwork, hemp production and rope making, felt making, handloom and textile manufacture and tanning were significant industrial sectors contributing to the economy of the town.⁷⁵⁰

Subsequent to this brief introductory description on the physical, administrative, and socio-economic geography of Tire, the history of the settlements established in the close vicinity of the town is analyzed below. Accordingly, studying the socio-political history of the town, plus its location within the road and urban network, through history, paves the way for a more thorough discussion on the socio-economic history of the town between the 14th and 16th centuries. Hence, below is an attempt to reconstruct Tire, both socially and economically and, in the following, spatially in particular, between the 14th and 16th centuries.

5.1.2. History of Settlements in Tire

Apart from Ephesus on the southwest edge of the Küçük Menderes Plain, the history of only the two settlements, namely Birgi and Tire, those located within the territory of the Plain, date back to prehistoric periods. For the reason that, the area included rather swampy lands and did not have numerous routes leading to inner Anatolia due to the geographical conditions during the prehistoric times, most of the inland urban centers by the area of the Plain such as Bayındır, Torbalı, Ödemiş were comparatively later settlements than Birgi and Tire.⁷⁵¹ Focusing on Tire, neither the earliest foundation nor the chronology of settlements inhabiting in its territory is precisely stated before.

⁷⁴⁷ “Vakf-ı zaviye-i şeyh Ali Han der karye-i Yeganlu fi tevabi’-i Tire Karye-i mezbure sınırında üç pare yerler ki birine Hakimoğlu yeri ve birinw Kızılca çiftliği ve birine Kırımlı çiftliği dimekle marufdur. Aydınoglu kızlarından Hundi Hatun vakfeylemiştir, [...]”, cited from Aydın *Vakıf Defteri*, H. 991 / M. 1583-1584, No: 571, Doc. No: 118, Y. 65a, Archive of General Directorate of Property and Land Registry in Ankara, in Akın (1968), p. 157.

⁷⁴⁸ Armağan (2003), p. 33.

⁷⁴⁹ Armağan (2003), p. 33. _____ (2008), *Tire*, pp. 104-105.

⁷⁵⁰ _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 26-32. _____ (2008), *Tire*, pp. 100-105.

⁷⁵¹ Darkot and Tuncel (1995), p. 52.

The lands accommodating Tire today are asserted to be part of the Hittite Empire. According to Armağan, people known as *Turşa*, in other words *Tirha* fought on the side of the Hittites during the Battle of Kadesh (1274 BC.).⁷⁵² Hence, the region including *Turşa* was called as *Ahyova* during the Hittite rule.⁷⁵³ This assertion is supported, yet corrected, then re-challenged and claimed in recent research by R. Meriç.⁷⁵⁴ Meriç particularly mentions the Hittite military campaigns into Western Anatolia in the 14th century BC. referring to the epigraphic information on the terracotta tablets found during the excavations in Hattusha.⁷⁵⁵ The Hittite inscriptions of the period significantly delineate the settlement history of the area. For instance, the Hittite King's conquest of the *Arzawa* lands, which was named as *Turşa* and *Ahyova* before in previous researches; takeover of the capital *Apasa*, prehistoric Ephesus, and other settlement centers like *Puranda* by the Bademgediği Hill, are stated in these sources.⁷⁵⁶ Plus, in some villages of Tire, those called Büyükkale and Halkapınar today, architectural remains such as fortification leftovers in Büyükkale and archaeological remains such as bits and pieces of pottery in Halkapınar have been found.⁷⁵⁷ (Figure 5.5) Subsequent to the annexation of the *Arzawa* territory to the Hittite Empire (1318 BC.), a new administrative authority under the Hittite domination, named as Mira Kingdom ruled in the region until the disintegration of the Empire in Anatolia.⁷⁵⁸

After the collapse of the Hittite Empire (around 1200 BC.), Phrygians replaced them in Western Anatolia. The archaeological remains in the nearby surrounding of Tire, namely the findings of the excavation in *Almoura* (Eskioba Village), point to the Phrygian dominion for some time close by Tire.⁷⁵⁹ Similarly, B. Gürler referring to J. Keil and A. V. Premerstein claims that Eskioba Village witnessed Phrygian rule and the inhabitants took up seriously the

⁷⁵² Armağan M. (1989), *Tüm Yönleriyle Tire II*, İzmir: Uğur Ofset, p. 13. Necip also states the name “Tirha” among the subjects of the Hittites. Necip M. (1932d), “Tetkik ve Tetebbü Notları I: Tire'nin Tarihçesi”, *Yeşil Tire*, 2/20, p. 13. For the mentioning about the Hittite rule in the region see also Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 5. Tokluoğlu (1964), p. 23. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 32. Armağan M. (1991), *Yeşil Tire*, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, p. 64. Armağan (2003), p. 28.

⁷⁵³ Hazan Y. (1986), *Restoration Project of Yavukluoğlu Complex in Tire*, Unpublished Master Thesis in Restoration, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, p. 38.

⁷⁵⁴ Meriç R (2002), “Metropolis Yakınındaki Hitit Çağdaş Bir Arzawa Kenti: Puranda”, *İzmir Kent Kültürü Dergisi*, 5, pp. 230-234.

⁷⁵⁵ Meriç (2002), p. 230.

⁷⁵⁶ Meriç (2002), pp. 230-233.

⁷⁵⁷ Meriç (2002), pp. 230, 234, nt. 9.

⁷⁵⁸ For further information on the Mira Kingdom see Meriç (2002), p. 233, and particularly see Hawkins J. D. (1998), “Tarkasnawa King of Mira, ‘Tarkondemos’, Bogazköy Sealings and Karabel”, *Anatolian Studies*, 48, pp. 1–31.

⁷⁵⁹ Armağan (1989), p. 14. See also Necip (1932d), p. 13. Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 5. Tokluoğlu (1964), p. 23. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 32. Armağan (1991), p. 64. Armağan (2003), p. 28.

cult of the Phrygian local God Men in that time.⁷⁶⁰ During the subsequent Lydian rule (950 BC.), Tire became more important due to its location on the Royal Road connecting Sardis to Ephesus.⁷⁶¹ (Figure 2.2) In addition, Necip attributes Tire as an economic node within this transportation network, for it not only functioned as a trade center but also as a summer resort of the Ephesian rich.⁷⁶² Supporting this argument, Gürler states the existence of an ancient settlement on the north of Küçükale Village in between Belevi and Tire today, by the ancient Royal Road from Ephesus to Sardis.⁷⁶³ Yet, Lydian rule in the town faced a break with the Cimmerian attacks within the territory (652 BC), when they defeated the Lydian ruler Gyges, also known as Prince of *Thira*.⁷⁶⁴ The Cimmerian control was soon overcome however, during the reign of King Croesus the Lydian sovereignty ended with the Persian take over of the region (540 BC.), which lasted almost 200 years.⁷⁶⁵

At this point, opening a parenthesis, the names attributed to today's Tire through history and the possible sources of these names as well as the possible locations of the mentioned earlier settlements have to be stated. The earliest explorations considering Tire and the past of its vicinity in the ancient times in by W. M. Ramsay in 1890 and K. Buresch in 1898, who claim that the name *Teira* was mentioned as a part of Ephesian territory in the *Caystros* Plain.⁷⁶⁶ Buresch further argues that Tire comes from the name *Thyrai*, which is a Lydian word in origin, after a family name *Tyrris* and after the former Lydian capitals *Tyrra*.⁷⁶⁷ The scholars and historians later than Buresch continued his arguments, where some completely agreed and some claimed the name to originate from the name of a hero *Tyrrhenos*

⁷⁶⁰ Gürler B. (2002), "Arkeolojik Değerleriyle Tire ve Çevresi", *İzmir Kent Kültürü Dergisi*, 5, pp. 91-92. See also Keil J. and Premerstein A. V. (1914), *Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien*, Wien: Hölder, pp. 85, 97.

⁷⁶¹ Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 32. Göksu E. (1986), *Formation and Alteration Process of the Small Town Centres in Anatolia, The Case Study of Tire*, Unpublished Master Thesis in City Planning, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, p. 10. Armağan (1989), p. 14. Gürler B. (2002), "Arkeolojik Değerleriyle Tire ve Çevresi", *İzmir Kent Kültürü Dergisi*, 5, p. 90. Göksu E. (2006), "Tire", *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, II, (A.U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.) Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 279.

⁷⁶² Necip (1932d), pp. 13-14. See also _____ (1951), *Tire*, p. 6.

⁷⁶³ Gürler (2002), p. 90.

⁷⁶⁴ Necip (1932d), p. 14. Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 5. Tokluoğlu (1964), pp. 23-24. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 32-33. Evren A. (1985), *Tire ve Çevresinde Bulunan Pişmiş Toprak Lahitler*, İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, p. 3. Armağan (1989), pp. 14-15.

⁷⁶⁵ Necip (1932d), p. 14. _____ (1951), *Tire*, p. 6. Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 5. Tokluoğlu (1964), pp. 23-24. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 32-33. Evren (1985), p. 3. Armağan (1989), pp. 14-15.

⁷⁶⁶ Ramsay W. M. (1890), *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, (J. Murray trans.) London: Royal Geographical Society, pp. 104-105. Buresch K. (1898), *Aus Lydien, Epigraphisch-Geographische Reise Früchte*, Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, pp. 32, 59, 165, 213.

⁷⁶⁷ Buresch (1898), pp. 59, 165, 213.

of the *Tyrrhen* dynasty ruling in the region.⁷⁶⁸ In either case, there is a consensus among these researchers that the Lydian name *Tira*, *Tyra* is pronounced as *Teira*, *Tyrra*, or *Thyra* in Greek and turned into *Thyra(i)* in native language which meant ‘citadel’ or ‘town’.⁷⁶⁹ Hence, along the Royal Road, there is supposed to be fortified settlements on the routes connecting Ephesus to Sardis during the ancient times. Actually, Armağan asserts that there were two routes, where the river bed of Küçük Menderes used to be rather south, closer to the Aydın Mountains than today.⁷⁷⁰ The first was the northern route, which connected Hasan Çavuşlar, Eskioba, Akkoyunlu and Derebaşı fortified villages, while the second one, the southern route continued from west to east as Halkapınar, Küçükkale, Büyükkale, Alaylı, Çavuş, Hisarlık, Tire, Peşrefli, Fota, all in earlier times fortified villages leading to Kiraz, where Tire was most probably a larger and central settlement. (Figure 5.6) Hence, when Greek or Lydian, *Teira* or *Thyrai* underwent Persian dominion, the Persian imprints, at least verbally, continued through the much later Principalities and Ottoman rule in the region that, within his travel accounts Evliya Çelebi gives the name of the town as Tire together with *Siryé* or *Sire* after the name of the Persian princess *Siryé*.⁷⁷¹

Now, turning back to the history of the ancient settlements by the town, and stepping forward in chronological order, it can be said that the conquest of the town by Alexander the Great (331 BC.) opened a new period in her history. Within the villages in the territory called as Halkapınar, Küçükkale, Büyükkale, Alaylı, Uzgur, Hisarlık, Akçaşehir, Hasan Çavuşlar, Kurşak, Kumtepe, Ayaklıkırı, Yenioba, Eskioba, Doyranlı, Yeni Çiftlik, Mahmutlar, Turgutlu, and Ali Paşa today, ancient settlements or cemeteries flourished.⁷⁷² Hellenistic rule continued after Alexander’s early death and his commander Lysimachus took control of Tire (300 BC). He brought back order, continuity and development to the urban life of the townspeople aftermath the Persian wars.⁷⁷³ He sustained the architectural and urban developments for the improvement of the living quality of his people. Küçükkale, Büyükkale, Hasan Çavuşlar,

⁷⁶⁸ For the arguments of those scholars agreed with Buresch see Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 5. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 32-33. Gürler (2002), p. 90. For the arguments of those scholars referring to *Tyrrhenos* of the *Tyrrhen* dynasty ruling in this territory see Evren (1985), p. 3. Armağan (1989), pp. 14-15.

⁷⁶⁹ Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 5. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 32-33. Evren (1985), p. 3. Armağan (1989), pp. 14-15. Gürler (2002), p. 90. Armağan (2003), p. 28.

⁷⁷⁰ Armağan (2003), p. 30.

⁷⁷¹ Evliya Çelebi (2005), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, (Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman, and R. Dankoff trans. and analysis) Book 9, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 85-86. See also Armağan (1989), p. 15.

⁷⁷² Gürler (2002), p. 90.

⁷⁷³ Tokluoğlu (1964), p.24. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 33. Evren (1985), p. 3. Armağan (1989), pp. 14-15.

Ayaklıkırı, and Halkapınar are the villages, by which significant remains dating to the period are found.⁷⁷⁴ The monumental mausoleum in Halkapınar, the sarcophagi and archaeological pieces of inscribed stones in Büyükkale, and ancient ceramics in Ayaklıkırı can be given as examples.⁷⁷⁵ Afterwards, the territory was occupied by the Kingdom of Pergamon until it was annexed by the Roman Empire according to the will of its last king (133 BC).⁷⁷⁶

There are a number of documents, which give information about Tire during the period it was governed by the Roman Empire. For instance, the town was within the holy lands of the Artemis Temple of Ephesus during Roman rule. It was in the very same period that the authority of the Temple was increased, the border of its lands was extended, and the Temple was financially supported furthermore.⁷⁷⁷ The Temple had large, significant manor areas within the Küçük Menderes Plain. Evren states that the first one comprised Büyükkale and Hasan Çavuşlar Villages, beginning from Belevi on the west, and the second area included Fırınlı, Çatal, and Turgutlu Villages to the north.⁷⁷⁸ (Figure 5.6) At this point, Armağan claims that north of the Tire Plain towards *Tmolos* (Bozdağlar) and west of the town towards Belevi and *Ephesus* (Ayasoluk) were all part of the lands of the Temple, donated particularly by the Roman Emperors like Julius Caesar, Augustus, and Trajan.⁷⁷⁹ Hence, Gürler defines the territory of the holy lands of the Artemis Temple in the area as taking place in between today's Tire, Bayındır and Halkapınar referring to the epigraphic evidences.⁷⁸⁰

There are milestones found in the vicinity of Tire and particularly in its villages, which were made to mark the borders of the territory of the holy lands of the Temple. Some of these are in display in Tire Museum today, yet, the most intriguing of all is the *altı birlik steli* [stone piece of unity of six]. In this particular stone, *Teira*, as a settlement name is inscribed.⁷⁸¹ (Figure 5.7) In addition, architectural and archaeological remains dating to the Roman period of the environs of Tire comprised fortification remains and glassware findings in Hisarlık, gravestones nearby Büyükkale and in Uzgur, glassware and ceramic findings in Ayaklıkırı, Eskioba, Çobanköy, Yeğenli, Kahrat, Büyükmendere, Dağyeri, Kocaaliler, Çayırılı, Özbey,

⁷⁷⁴ Evren (1985), pp. 3-16. Gürler (2002), pp. 90-91.

⁷⁷⁵ For Halkapınar, Armağan (1989), p. 15. For Büyükkale Keil and Premerstein (1914), pp. 86, 99-101. For Ayaklıkırı Gürler (2002), p. 91.

⁷⁷⁶ Necip (1932d), pp. 13-14. Tokluoğlu (1964), p. 24. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 33-34. Evren (1985), p. 3. Armağan (1989), pp. 14-15. Armağan (2003), p. 28. Gürler (2002), p. 90.

⁷⁷⁷ Evren (1985), p. 3. Armağan (2003), p. 28.

⁷⁷⁸ Evren (1985), p. 3.

⁷⁷⁹ Armağan (1989), pp. 16-17. Armağan (2003), 28-29.

⁷⁸⁰ Gürler (2002), p. 90. See also Robert L. (1980), *A Travers L'Asie Mineure Poetes et Prosateurs, Monnais Grecques, Voyageurs et Geographie*, Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, p. 342.

⁷⁸¹ Armağan (2003), p. 29.

Gökçen, and gravestones and stone pieces with inscriptions in Peşrefli, Ali Paşa, Kürdüllü, Falaka, Buruncuk and Çatal.⁷⁸² Accordingly, almost surrounding the territory of today's Tire ancient settlements and cemeteries scattered within Halkapınar, Küçükale, Büyükkale, Alaylı, Uzgur, Hisarlık, Akçaşehir, Hasan Çavuşlar, Kurşak, Kumtepe, Ayaklıkırı, Yenioba, Eskioba, Doyranlı, Yeniçiftlik, Mahmutlar, Turgutlu, and Alipaşa on its west and Kürdüllü, Kireli, Peşrefli, Çobanköy, Gökçen, Yeğenli, Kahrat, Falaka and Çatal on its east.⁷⁸³ (Figure 5.3, 5.4, 5.6) As a final point, it has to be once more highlighted that Tire was among the noteworthy settlement centers within Küçük Menderes Plain in Western Anatolia, particularly with its smaller settlements centers, in other words villages in its territory, for it not only was a summer resort of the rich but also, and more important than that, for it located by the connection of significant routes between Ephesus and Sardis.⁷⁸⁴

When the Roman Empire was divided into two, Tire became part of the Eastern Roman, namely the Byzantine Empire. Buresch relates the settlements named as *Tarra*, *Torrebos*, and *Tyros* within the bishopric lists with *Teira*.⁷⁸⁵ Nevertheless, Keil and Premerstein claim that *Tyrra*, *Apateira*, and *Arkadiapolis* mentioned within the written accounts are all related with Tire.⁷⁸⁶ In view of that, some scholars tended to associate Tire with *Arkadiapolis*, whatsoever, it seems almost certain that they are separate nearby settlements.⁷⁸⁷ For the reason that, both names are given in the bishopric lists participating in the Fourth Ecumenical Council gathered in Chalchedon (451) and Seventh Ecumenical Council gathered in Nicaea (787).⁷⁸⁸ In

⁷⁸² Evren (1985), pp. 3-16. Gürler (2002), pp. 91-93. For glassware and ceramics in particular see Gürler B. (1999), "Tire'de Bulunmuş Erken Roma Devrine Ait Cam Eserlerden Oluşan Mezar Grubu", *Bellekten*, LXIII/236, pp. 15-21. Gürler B. (2000), *Tire Müzesi Cam Eserleri*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

⁷⁸³ For further information see Evren (1985), pp. 3-16. Armağan (1989), pp. 16-17. Gürler (2002), pp. 90-93. From earlier researches see Buresch (1898), pp. 135-136, 187-188, 212-213. Keil and Premerstein (1914), pp. 82-101.

⁷⁸⁴ This fact was also underlined by French in addition to the above mentioned scholars engaged in researches on Tire. French D. (1981), *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor; the Pilgrim's Roads*, London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Press, BAR International Services: 107, Maps 6, 11. See also the discussion in Chapter 2, 2.2. Historical Road Network in Western Anatolia before the Turkish Infiltration.

⁷⁸⁵ Buresch (1898), pp. 32, 59, 165, 213.

⁷⁸⁶ Keil and Premerstein (1914), pp. 82-83, 86.

⁷⁸⁷ While Ramsay in displaying the bishopric lists and referring to him Tanyeli claim that the two are the same settlements, where Armağan claims that Arkadiapolis was a separate settlement founded on today's Hisarlık Village. Ramsay (1890), pp. 104-105, see also the table of the bishopric lists facing p. 104. Tanyeli U. (1987), *Anadolu Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci (11. – 15. yy.)*, Ph. D. Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, p. 122. Armağan (1989), pp. 17-18. Armağan (2003), p. 31.

⁷⁸⁸ For more detailed information about the bishopric lists and councils see Ostrogorsky G. (1959), "Byzantine Cities in the Middle Ages", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 13, pp. 45-66.

similar lines, Armağan state that Hisarlık Village on the west of Tire corresponded to Byzantine *Arkadiopolis* and Tire was another individual Byzantine settlement.⁷⁸⁹

Hisarlık Village was not the only Byzantine center in the vicinity. Yeğenli Village on the east most probably witnessed a Late Antique and/or Byzantine period, for the reused materials on the walls of later built Turkish edifices display.⁷⁹⁰ More intriguing than Yeğenli is the Falaka Village on the north of Tire. Depending on the architectural remains from the medieval age such as the remains of fortifications and a Byzantine church, plus on the findings of inscribed stone pieces, the scholars suggest this village and its nearby surrounding presumably was called as *Thyaria* or *Thyria* and was the significant center.⁷⁹¹ Furthermore, Armağan mentions three more names which are likely to be Byzantine villages during that period, Akmesit or Tekfurlu, Akyurt or Zeamet Kilise, and Osmancık or Kiliseli, indicating the existence of churches in these settlements.⁷⁹² (Figure 5.3)

At this point, it seems that most of the findings dating to ancient and Byzantine periods, which are prior to the Turkish infiltration into the region, are from the nearby villages and countryside and uninhabited areas of Tire. The reason is the steady construction activities took place in Tire particularly in recent times, and the currently inhabited areas, which prevent the necessary excavations those, could provide more information about the town's ancient and Byzantine history. Still, it seems almost certain that the territory of today's Tire developed within this current urban settlement. There is a considerable lack of archaeological research in this very center, and there is limited amount of re-used materials exploited in the later Turkish foundations in the town. Yet, the written accounts, both primary sources and secondary sources of the memories of the locals of Tire suggest that Tire was the center of its territory during the Byzantine period. First, Hisarlık Village might have grown as almost a rival to Tire, particularly under the rule of Emperor Arkadius. However, it is the name of Tire, as *Teira*, *Tyrra*, *Thyaira*, and *Thyeira*, continuously used in the Byzantine sources of both inscribed stones and bishopric lists. Second, the town kept its prominence as a center located at the junction of ancient routes, namely on the Royal Road connecting Ephesus to Sardis. Plus, it was still the summer resort of Ephesian rich and the territory of Tire was part of the Ephesian territory, of which Ephesus was the center.⁷⁹³ Third, Turkish commanders settled their headquarters in Tire during their attacks into Western Anatolia in the ends of the 13th and

⁷⁸⁹ Armağan (2003), p. 31.

⁷⁹⁰ Gürler (2002), pp. 92-93.

⁷⁹¹ Buresch (1898), pp. 212-213. Keil and Premerstein (1914), p. 84. Gürler (2002), p. 93.

⁷⁹² Armağan (1989), pp. 19-20.

⁷⁹³ Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 7. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 34.

beginnings of the 14th centuries.⁷⁹⁴ In addition, within the territory it was Tire again, where most of the local inhabitants of Ayasoluk were deported during the Turkish siege of the town in 1300s.⁷⁹⁵ Forth and last, the subsistence of historical churches in the town still in the 1900s is mentioned in the memories and narrations about Tire by its recent locals.⁷⁹⁶ In the end, it can be summarized that, even though Hisarlık Village grew and rivaled Tire for some time under Byzantine rule, today's Tire is the most probable location for the Byzantine center in its vicinity rather than its nearby villages, which were smaller, *dioiscized* settlements of middle and late Byzantine periods before the Turkish rule in the region.⁷⁹⁷

The earliest Turkish infiltration into the region is by the Turkish commander Çaka Bey (1081-1097). Yet, the Turkish rulers including Çaka Bey and the Seljuk commanders had to wait until the end of the 13th century to takeover the key settlements like Tire and take the control in Western Anatolia. Through this period, the ongoing turmoil in the Byzantine Empire gave way to the Turkish tribes to increase their attacks within Western Anatolia. Aydınoğlu Mehmet Bey and Sasa Bey occupied Selçuk and took over Tire and Birgi (1307).⁷⁹⁸ Mehmed Bey declared the foundation of Aydınoğulları Principality around this region (1308) after the explicit loss of power of the Anatolian Seljuk State.⁷⁹⁹ He chose Birgi as the capital of the Principality and assigned the rule of Tire to his son, Süleyman Şah just before his death in 1333.⁸⁰⁰

Tire then became one of the important urban centers in Western Anatolia under the Aydınoğulları rule. The town not only gradually prospered and grew in population and in the volume of trade activities taking place here, but also developed in its cultural and artistic

⁷⁹⁴ Foss C. (1979a), *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, London: Cambridge University Press, p. 143.

⁷⁹⁵ Foss (1979a), p. 143-144.

⁷⁹⁶ Armağan (1989), pp. 17-19. Filiz L. (2006), *Evveli Nokta Ahiri Nokta (Noktadan Noktaya Ömr ü Hayatım)*, İstanbul: Pan Yayınları, pp. 86-87.

⁷⁹⁷ For a more detailed discussion on *dioiscized* settlements see Chapter 3, 3.1.2. Byzantine City.

⁷⁹⁸ Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 7. Akın (1968), p. 18. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 34. Aslanoğlu İ. (1978), *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, p. 1. Armağan (1989), p. 18. Armağan (2003), p. 29. Although Sasa Bey is known as the first Turkish commander taking control, after the conquest of the region by Mehmet Bey, the Beys went into a fight in between them for the sake of power and Mehmet Bey defeated Sasa Bey and then ruled over the lands. Akın (1968), p. 18. Armağan (1989), pp 18-19. Armağan (2003), p. 29. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 1.

⁷⁹⁹ _____ (1950), "Aydinoğulları", *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, 4, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, p. 377.

⁸⁰⁰ Mehmet Bey appointed the command of Selçuk and Sultanhisar to Hızır Bey, İzmir to Umur Bey, Bademiye to İbrahim Bahadır Bey, Tire to Süleyman Şah and kept his youngest son with him in Birgi. Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 7. Akın (1968), pp. 29-30. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 34. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 1. Arıkan Z. (1991), "XIV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda Ayasuluğ", *Belleten*, LIV/209, p. 130.

milieu, enhanced architectural productions and urbanization attempts, as explained more comprehensively in the subsequent sections of this chapter. The growth and improvement under the Aydınoğulları authority was replaced with Ottoman power, when Bayezid I annexed the Principalities' lands in Western Anatolia, including Tire (1390). The Ottoman sultan forced the Aydınoğulları ruler of the time, İsa Bey settle in Tire and leave the capital dependent on the rule of the Ottoman State.⁸⁰¹ Yet, this first Ottoman rule in Tire was not to last long, almost a decade until Tamerlane defeated Ottomans in Ankara War in 1402. Breaking Bayezid's ambition of an Ottoman unity in Anatolia into pieces, Tamerlane gave the authority of their lands back to the Principalities. Now that Tire was once again ruled by Aydınoğulları who welcomed Tamerlane in the winter of 1402-1403 during his military campaigns.⁸⁰² During his long stay in Tire, it is mentioned among the historians that he was received in the Aydınoğulları palace, in the east of Tire, in today's Ekinhisarı Neighborhood, performed his Friday prayers in Karakadı Mecdettin Mosque again in this eastern province, and bathed in Taşpazarı Bath.⁸⁰³ Armağan even states that he had an obelisk constructed commemorating his victories and establishment in the town, which not extant today.⁸⁰⁴

The revival of Aydınoğulları rule in Tire and the whole Aydıneli region could not endure for a long time. Both the disputes in between the Aydınoğulları heirs, sons of İsa bey namely Musa and Umur II Beys on one side and the sons of İbrahim Bey namely Cüneyt and Karahasan beys on the other side, and the increasing Ottoman interruptions in Western Anatolian Principalities lands weakened and subsided the authority of Aydınoğulları.⁸⁰⁵ Subsequent to Mehmet I's attempts to takeover Western Anatolia back after the interregnum, Murad II finalized to bring back absolute Ottoman authority in Aydıneli including Tire (1425).⁸⁰⁶ Afterwards, Tire maintained its significance as a cultural and commercial centre, during the reign of Mehmet II, the next sultan and the succeeding sultans until the beginnings

⁸⁰¹ Uzunçarşılı İ. H (1929), *Afyonkarahisar, Sandıklı, Bolvadin, Çay, İshaklı, Manisa, Birgi, Muğla, Milas, Peçin, Denizli, Isparta, Atabey ve Eğirdir'deki Kitabelerce Sahip, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe, İnanç ve Hamitoğulları Hakkında Malumat*, İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, pp. 116-145. Tokluoğlu (1957), pp. 7-8. Akın (1968), p. 60. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 34-35. Armağan (1989), p. 22. Arıkan (1991), p. 137.

⁸⁰² For a more detailed discussion on the relation of Tamerlane to Aydınoğlu rulers of the period see Akın (1968), pp. 64-68. See also, Necip M. (1932a), "Timurlenk Tire'de I", *Yeşil Tire*, 1/11, pp. 6-7. Necip M. (1932b), "Timurlenk Tire'de II", *Yeşil Tire*, 1/12, pp. 6-7. Aka İ. (1994), "Timur'un Tire'ye Gelişi ile İlgili bir Kitabe", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.) 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 21-23.

⁸⁰³ Necip (1932b), pp. 6-7. Armağan (1989), pp. 22-23. Armağan (2003), 35-36.

⁸⁰⁴ Armağan (1989), pp. 22-23. Armağan (2003), 35-36.

⁸⁰⁵ Akın (1968), 68-77. Armağan (1989), pp. 22-23.

⁸⁰⁶ Tokluoğlu (1957), pp. 7-8. Akın (1968), pp. 78-83. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 34-35. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 1. Armağan (1989), p. 22.

of the 17th century. Tire together with other Western Anatolian urban centers witnessed substantial decline in the beginning of the 17th century because of the Celâli Rebellions threatening the consistency and authority of the Empire particularly gathering followers in this region. Aftermath the rebellion, even though the rebels were suppressed, the region suffered for some considerable time getting rid of its consequences in the urban life of these centers including Tire. Hence, it was in the same century that Ottoman Empire entered into a new era in its history, with changes accelerating towards the 18th century, especially in the administrative, economic, social, and spatial modes of living, which necessitates another framework to deal with and not included in this particular research.

Turning back to the temporal focus of this thesis, it can be highlighted that Tire continued to grow and prosper between the 15th and 16th centuries unlike most of the former Principalities centers such as Ayasoluk, Balat along the coast, and Birgi and Beçin inland. This was not only due to its geographical setting allowing ease of expansion and cultivation but also to its strategic location within the trade road network in Western Anatolia. Tire was the center of Aydineli, or in other words Aydın Sancağı until replaced by Aydın, Güzelhisar in the 18th century, which was later replaced by İzmir as the administrative center of the *sancak* [subdivision of a province].⁸⁰⁷ (Figure 5.8) After İstanbul became the capital, the general trade road network and in relation urban network altered in Anatolia.⁸⁰⁸ Yet, in these circumstances, within the regional network of Western Anatolia, Tire sustained its position, finding its particular space in the newly established network as well. Clearly speaking, as the overseas port of Ayasoluk declined and abandoned in time and smaller nearby ports of Kuşadası and further north İzmir in particular replaced this port, Tire became a part of İzmir's hinterland instead of Ayasoluk. Yet, the north - south axis in the town became more determinant in the development of its urban form towards the 16th century under the Ottoman rule, as explained in the morphological analysis subsequent to the discussion on the social and economic history of the town below. In other words, below is given the analysis of Tire between the 14th and 16th centuries, concentrating on its social and economic setting within the context of trade, road, and urban network of Western Anatolia. This study paves the way for an in depth inquiry into the establishment and development of Tire's urban form, settlement pattern, urban image and finally a touch upon its urban architecture and its role in this context.

⁸⁰⁷ Akın (1968), pp. 86-96. See also Evliya Çelebi, who witnessed that Tire was the center of the Aydın Sancağı during his visit in the late 17th century. Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 86.

⁸⁰⁸ For further discussion on this issue see Chapter 2.

5.1.3. Social and Economic History of Tire (14th – 16th Centuries)

Beginning from the rule of Aydınoğulları Principality in early 14th century and continuing well through the Ottoman period until the ends of the 16th and beginnings of the 17th century Tire is known to be one of the largest towns in Anatolia not only due to its population but also to the extensive activities ongoing in the economical and cultural fields.⁸⁰⁹ Under the rule of Aydınoğulları Principality, namely during the first period of the Aydınoğulları regime (1308-1390), Tire was among the important Anatolian cities like Konya, Kayseri, Sinop, Ankara, Kütahya, Bursa, Niğde, Sivas, Kastamonu, Kırşehir, Amasya and İznik.⁸¹⁰ Yet, Tire was the prevalent urban center in Western Anatolia in terms of its amount of populace and of volume of trade activities occurring in here, which in turn stimulated its urban growth and prosperity.

Hence, the location of the town at a crucial position within the trade routes and urban network in Western Anatolia and also within a wider framework concerning the entire Anatolia facilitates its steady development and enlargement. Both as a reason and as an outcome of its location Tire flourished as the most significant commercial hub in the region, which in turn aroused production, manufacture, and trade activities it lodged. Not surprisingly, the increase and enhancement in the town's economy fulfilled its inhabitants' necessities of good quality of living standards and even attracted further population to settle in this very center. Since as of the most significant stimulants of urban growth and prosperity, trade road network and trade activities is suggested, it seems most explicable to begin with a discussion on trade, kinds of trade items, and major trade sectors in Tire.

At the outset, food production and trade took in a crucial portion of commercial activities in Tire both during the Aydınoğulları rule and during the subsequent Ottoman rule, especially between the 14th and 16th centuries. Benefiting from the geography of the site, where the town settled on the outskirts of the Güme Mountains and concurrently embraced the highly productive Küçük Menderes Plain, a considerable variety of grains, vegetables, and fruit was planted in here and in its nearby surroundings. In this respect, İbn-i Batuta, Arab traveler who visited Anatolia during the early 14th century, described Tire as “full of vineyards, gardens, and abounding in water!”⁸¹¹

⁸⁰⁹ Akın (1968), pp. 86-96. Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 1-2.

⁸¹⁰ Göksu (1986), p. 15.

⁸¹¹ İbn-i Batuta (2004), *İbn Battuta Seyahatnamesi / Ebu Abdullah Muhammed İbn Battuta Tancı*, (A. S. Aykut trans. and analysis) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, p. 424.

Considering food production and trade, just like in the entire Anatolian Peninsula, grain was the most significant trade item in Tire.⁸¹² Particularly under the Aydınoğulları rule, grain; wheat, barley, and corn, produced in Tire and in the settlements within its hinterland was exported to Western city-states, namely to Genoa and Venice. Yet, Tire was not the chief grain producing center in Anatolia; nevertheless, it was located on the land routes connecting inner Anatolia to Aegean coast. In this way, the town also functioned as a transit market of grain to be exported to Genoa from overseas ports of Ayasoluk and Foça and to Venice from southern ports.⁸¹³ After the Ottoman takeover of Western Anatolia, Tire kept its prominence as a source and transit market of grain, however, now that it served to İstanbul, the huge capital of the Empire both through maritime routes, from the transformed interregional ports from overseas ones and through land in other words, caravan routes. Whatsoever, like in many Western Anatolian centers, planting; put differently, the production of vegetables and fruit occupied considerable space within the town's economy rather than grain trade. Through the 14th and 16th centuries the fertile lands towards the Küçük Menderes Plain within Tire's territory allowed agriculture of vegetables, leguminous plants, rice, and sesame.⁸¹⁴ The vineyards towards the gentle slopes were grape collecting spaces promoting both cultivation of grape and production of grape molasses.⁸¹⁵ Finally, the gardens on the rising topography elongated on the southern edges of Tire, fostered garnering of especially apple, olive, chestnut, and walnut trees and contributed to the food production and trade in the region.⁸¹⁶

Accordingly, each of these commodities had their own places of sales, in other words bazaars specialized in the trade of these very same items. For instance, Faroqhi and later Telci mention the existence of apple, fruit, grape and grape molasses, vegetables and rice bazaars in

⁸¹² Edgüer (1941b), pp. 129-130. _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 17-21. Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 8.

⁸¹³ For the kinds of grain cultivated in Tire see Ülkü (1940b), pp. 6-7. Edgüer (1941b), p.129. For further discussion on grain trade in Western Anatolia see in Chapter 2, 2.3.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers and Flow of Trade, 2.4.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers and Flow of Trade with the related footnotes, and also for further detail see Zachariadou E. A. (1983), *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1330-1445)*, Venice: Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies, p. 159, 163-164, and Fleet K. (1999), *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 59-63.

⁸¹⁴ Ülkü A. (1940a), pp. 33-34. Ülkü (1940b), pp. 6-7, Edgüer (1941b), p.129. _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 22-25. See also Zachariadou (1983), p. 157. Faroqhi S. (1984), *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 29, 31-33. Fleet (1999), p. 27.

⁸¹⁵ Ülkü A. (1940a), pp. 33-34. Ülkü (1940b), pp. 6-7. Edgüer (1941b), p.129. _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 22-25. Faroqhi (1984), pp. 29, 31-33.

⁸¹⁶ Ülkü A. (1940a), pp. 33-34. Ülkü (1940b), pp. 6-7. Faroqhi (1984), pp. 29, 31-33.

Tire in the 16th century.⁸¹⁷ Plus, there was also a *han* named as Piriñ Han [Rice market], which is not extant today, within the rice bazaar, in the commercial district of Tire. The Han belonged to the foundations of Lala Sinan Paşa, whose charter dates to H. 931 / AD. 1524-1525.⁸¹⁸ This piece of evidence suggests that there was actually a market place, a commercial center during the Principalities period, which extended and enhanced under the subsequent Ottoman rule.

It was not only food production and trade, particularly food based agriculture in the plain and gardening on the slopes of Güme Mountains, towards the southern fringes of the town. Stockbreeding within the mounting lands, put another way, trade in livestock of animals and the related commodities such as leather and tanned leather in particular, had a crucial role in the trade activities in Tire.⁸¹⁹ As for trade of livestock animals, like in other regions in Anatolia, and especially in the trade centers of Western Anatolia, Tire had an Animal Bazaar, and a renowned Horse Market located outside its town center.⁸²⁰ The Animal Bazaar probably corresponded to the area to the east of Yeni Han, next to Leyse Mosque, whose site was outside edge of the commercial district during the Aydınöğulları and early Ottoman rule. (Figure 5.9) In addition to livestock trade, related commodities such as leather, tanned leather, and hide took prominent place in the commerce of Tire. (Figure 5.10) Arappınarı, or Tabakhane River, or with its recent name Derekahve River splat the town into two, which is parallel to its commercial strip aligned in the north-south direction. By this river, a neighborhood outside the town center, which is named as *Tabakhane* or *Debbağlı* [Tanner House, Tannery], was established in the first half of the 14th century on the north of Derekahve today, to the east of the Great Mosque.⁸²¹ (Figure 5.11) Actually, this was most probably the exact location of the tanner houses those determined the name of the neighborhood, where tanner houses were generally established outside the town centers, by the flowing waters due to sanitation issues.⁸²² The very same location by the river accommodated the tanners and their market place until the

⁸¹⁷ Faroqhi (1984), Table 3, pp. 29, 31-33, 306-307. Telci C. (2008), “XV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda Tire Şehri”, *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 34-35. Both scholars gather the information from *Aydın Vakıf Defteri*, H. 991 / AD. 1583, No. 571, *Archive of General Directorate of Land and Property in Ankara*.

⁸¹⁸ Armağan (2003), p. 169.

⁸¹⁹ Ülkü (1940a), pp. 33-34. Ülkü (1940b), p. 7. _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 22-25, Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 9. See also, Fleet (1999), p.30. Zachariadou (1983), p. 167.

⁸²⁰ For further information about horse markets and trade of horses in Western Anatolia see in Chapter 2, 2.3.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers and Flow of Trade, 2.4.3. Trade Items, Trade Centers and Flow of Trade, and the related footnotes, and for horse trade in Tire see Telci (2008), p. 35.

⁸²¹ Armağan (2003), p. 86.

⁸²² Göksu has similar viewpoints for the location of the tanner houses, Göksu (1985), 62-63, and for further information about the tanners and tanner industry in Tire see Telci (2008), pp. 32-33.

riverbed of Tabakhane was dried and improved and the tanner market was moved to another place during the early years of the Republic.

Over and above leather and tanning industry, textile and rope manufacture and trade prevailed in Tire. For the reason that, first, the fertile agricultural lands opened the way for significant amount of hemp growth and production.⁸²³ Hence, Tire was renowned for its hemp manufacture and rope making particularly under the Ottoman rule. Historical accounts show that rope trade occupied a crucial space of the town's industry. The ropes and other hemp based naval commodities were traded to İzmir and İstanbul, particularly for the use of the Ottoman Navy, and some was even exported abroad from the smaller Western Anatolian ports.⁸²⁴ Where hemp production and related rope industry most likely had its roots even in the Aydınoğulları rule, since Aydınoğulları were the leading maritime Turkish Principalities of the period, the hemp sector kept its eminence in Ottoman economy through the later centuries. An imperial edict by Mahmud II, in H. 1258 / AD. 1842-1843 on hemp manufacture and rope trade in Tire is highly meaningful in this respect.⁸²⁵

Along with textile and rope trade, cotton manufacture consisted of another significant division of labor in Tire.⁸²⁶ Cotton was produced not only in the plains of Tire, scattered on the north of the town and in its villages but also in greater amount, in its nearby centers within Aydıneli such as Güzelhisar and Akçeşehir. Yet, cotton thread was woven into cotton cloth and a cotton manufacturing industry was established for the most part in Tire.⁸²⁷ (Figure 5.12) There used to stand a *han*, named Pamuk Hanı [Cotton Market] in the Cotton Bazaar within its commercial district. This extinct *han* was part of the Lütü Paşa foundations according to its charter dating to H. 950 / AD. 1543, and it was located next to the Cotton Bazaar on its west.⁸²⁸ The cotton produced and manufactured in Tire was also traded here serving for both the regional and the overseas market. For instance, F. Dalsar argues that, Tire is among the Western Anatolian urban centers, from which cotton used for sailcloth in the Arsenal in

⁸²³ Ülkü (1940b), pp. 5-7. _____ (1951), *Tire*, p. 20. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 53-58. Faroqhi (1984), Map. 7, p. 34.

⁸²⁴ _____ (1933), "Tire Urgancılığı", p. 8. _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 20, 27-29. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 53-58.

⁸²⁵ Yelken (1941a), pp. 77-78.

⁸²⁶ _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 20-21. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 58-63. Faroqhi (1984), Map 7, pp. 134-135. For more information about cotton trade in a wider region in Anatolia see Faroqhi S. (1979b). "Notes on the Production of Cotton and Cotton Cloth in 16th and 17th Century Anatolia", *The Journal of the European Economic History*, 8/2, pp. 405-417.

⁸²⁷ Faroqhi (1984). p. 29. Telci (2008), pp. 34-35.

⁸²⁸ Cited from "Lütü Paşa bin Abdülmuin" Vakfı Defteri, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations, H. 950 / AD. 1543, in Ertekin L E. (2007), *Lütü Paşa, Tire Lütü Paşa Vakıfları ve Vakıfnamesi*, Ankara: Pozitif Matbaacılık, pp. 25, 36.

İstanbul was supplied.⁸²⁹ Plus, even though overseas sales are forbidden, Faroqhi, depending on a collection of *mühimme defterleri* [stately registers in the name of Sultan] claims that, Venetians exported cotton together with *sahtıyan* [fine leather] and wax from the Aegean coasts.⁸³⁰ Tire was one of the centers which accommodated illegal cotton trade to foreigners. By the end of the 16th century, the port of İzmir, having Tire in its hinterland, grew so vigorous in terms of cotton trade that in the beginning of the 17th century export of cotton was legally permitted here.⁸³¹

Last but not least, wool production and felt making within textile trade held an important place in Tire's industry of the period.⁸³² Plus, there are mat manufacturers, who process the rushes, which are abundant in number in the watery lands around the lakes in Tire Plain. Hence, a sector based on mat production, or in other words, a wickerwork industry developed in the town Tire.⁸³³ Similar to the establishment of specialized spaces and places for specific trade items, the rush mat manufacturers, wickerworkers gathered in a particular place called *Hasır Pazarı*, [Wickerwork Bazaar] within the commercial district and a mosque named as Hasır Pazarı Mosque located in this very same area. (Figure 5.9) Finally, where sword making was the most common metal crafts in Tire, there were also a limited number of coppersmiths and blacksmiths.⁸³⁴ Predictably, these craftsmen and traders had their particular places in the town.⁸³⁵ (Figure 5.13)

Eventually, it can be stated that the frequented trade items and the variety and richness of industries in the town not only indicated to the dynamism and vast volume of trade in this particular center of Western Anatolia but also pointed to the influence of trade items, trade activities, trade relations and trade routes in the spatial structuring of the urban fabric. Clearly speaking, trade was a driving force in facilitating urban growth and improvement of urban life in the making of Tire between the 14th and 16th centuries. First, as mentioned before, the location of Tire within the urban network and route network of Western Anatolia set the ground for its recognition and distinction as a rapidly flourishing urban center in the region. Second, enforced by its location and geographical conditions, Tire accommodated essential production,

⁸²⁹ Dalsar F. (1960), *Türk Sanayi ve Ticaret Tarihinde Bursa'da İpekçilik*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, İktisat Fakültesi Yayınları, p. 55.

⁸³⁰ Faroqhi (1984), p. 136.

⁸³¹ Faroqhi (1984), pp. 136-137.

⁸³² Faroqhi (1984), Map 7, p. 34. Telci (2008), pp. 34-35.

⁸³³ Armağan (2003), p. 33.

⁸³⁴ Faroqhi (1984), p. 33. Telci (2008), pp. 32-33.

⁸³⁵ Telci (2008), pp. 34-35.

manufacture, and trade activities, which brought forth its steady urbanization process in terms of economic growth.

The economic growth can well be traced in the amount of trade activities, evidenced by the number of craftsmen, tradesman, guilds, shops, bazaars and commercial edifices like *hans* and *bedesten*. *Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri*, [Account registers of Province of Anadolu] H. 937 / AD. 1530, No. 166, *Vakfiyeler* [Foundation charters], and *Tire Şer'iyeh Sicilleri* [Court records] in Archive of Tire Museum, plus travel accounts of Polish Simeon, Kâtip Çelebi and particularly Evliya Çelebi, as historical written sources, and the actual existing commercial buildings and spaces, as architectural sources provide significant information in this respect.⁸³⁶ For instance, the total number of shops and depots were given as 792 within the Account Registers of Province of Anadolu during 1530s, as 1 *bedesten*, 8 *hans*, 425 shops in the town center and 207 outside, totally 632 by Faroqhi 1550-1600, and as more than 560 during the reign of Süleyman I by Telci.⁸³⁷ Likewise, the foundation charters and court records may provide information on these numbers that there were 48 shops in Tire and more than 120 shops in its wider vicinity providing income for Yahşi Bey Foundations in 1441 and 632 shops in Tire and 704 shops in its wider vicinity within the borders of Aydınli Province providing income for Lütfü Paşa Foundations.⁸³⁸ Furthermore, foundation charters and the court records report on the changes in administration, property and related details about the existing markets and agricultural lands financially supporting the foundations, like in the

⁸³⁶ For historical written sources, Account registers of Province of Anadolu is published by Özkılınc A. et. all (prep.) (1995), *166 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530), Hüdvendigâr, Biga, Karesi, Saruhân, Aydın, Menteşe, Teke ve Alâiye Livâları (dizin ve tıpkıbasım)*, Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı Yayın No: 27, Defter-i Hâkânî Dizisi: II. pp. 42-43, 368-373, 376, 378-391, 418-419, 455. Some foundation charters are published by Ertekin (2007), Ertekin L. E. (2008a), *İbn-i Melek (İzzeddin Abdüllatif) Vakıfları ve Vakfiyesi*, Ankara: Pozitif Matbaacılık, Ertekin L. E. (2008b), *Tire'de Aydın Sancağı İlk Sancakbey Halil Yahşi Bey Vakıfları ve Vakfiyesi*, Ankara: Pozitif Matbaacılık, some by Akın (1968), pp. 172-173. See also Demirbaş M. A. (1994), "XVI. Yüzyılda Tire Vakıflarına Ait Notlar", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildileri*, (M. Şeker ed.) 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 25-29 on this issue. Court records are published by Akın and Armağan, Akın (1968), 179-180, 193-197. Armağan M. A. (1983), *Beylikler Devrinde Tire*, İzmir: Uğur Ofset, pp. 53-79. Armağan (2003), pp. 337-361. For travel accounts see, citations from Katip Çelebi's Cihannüma, 1145 Tâbi, p. 636, in Yelken U. (1941d), "Tire Hakkında Muhtelif Eserlerde Görülen Yazılar I", *Küçük Menderes*, 2/8, p. 126. See also Evliya Çelebi (2005), pp. 85-92. Related to these historical sources see also the recent researches, Faroqhi (1984), pp. 29, 31-33, 306-307, and Telci (2008), who endeavor to reconstruct Tire in terms of its socio-economic facets. As for the architectural sources and the existing commercial setting of Tire see the next section, 5.2 Urban Development in Tire: A Morphological Analysis (14th – 16th Centuries, and in Appendix A, A.2.3. Hans.

⁸³⁷ Faroqhi (1984), Map 4, pp. 39, 40-41, Table 4, pp. 304-305. Özkılınc et. all (prep.) (1995), p. 390. Telci (2008), p. 34.

⁸³⁸ For the translation of the foundation charters Ertekin (2007). Ertekin (2008a). See also Faroqhi (1984), pp. 40-41. Göksu (1985), Map 5, pp. 44, 47-49.

court records stating about Hafsa Hatun Foundations.⁸³⁹ Last but not least the travel accounts of Polish Simeon, Kâtip Çelebi, and Evliya Çelebi, who visited the town in the 1610s, 1650s, and 1670s respectively support the statements that Tire had been an active trade center and hence a wealthy, developed, and populated urban center. Over and above, there was also a mint in Tire, where Ottoman coins were minted, which further underlines the significance of the town concerning economical aspects in the region. The mint of Ayasoluk was in time replaced by the mint in Tire, particularly under the initiative of Mehmet II, and from then on, the copper plus silver coin needs of the Western Anatolia was afforded from the mint in Tire.⁸⁴⁰

To sum up, these economic developments had their impacts in the establishment of the trade related spaces, which is above partially touched upon and is studied in depth while discussing the urban form of Tire in the following pages. In addition to this kind of spatial setting, the economic endeavors ongoing in Tire influenced the structuring of its social setting, as reflected in the population growth, and articulation of this populace in terms of religion and/or ethnicity, and profession and/or social status. *Tapu Tahrirleri* [Property deeds] particularly dating to the reigns of Mehmet II (1432-1481) and Süleyman I (1520-1566) provide significant information on the demographical articulation of Tire.⁸⁴¹ The information gathered from these, and the previously mentioned primary sources and more recent studies making use of these sources as well, which are the researches by Akın, Göksu, Faroqhi, Armağan, and Telci, all together, can be evaluated. For the reason that, an articulation of the

⁸³⁹ *Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri*, H. 1327, No. 36, pp. 65-66, cited in Akın (1968), pp. 194-195, doc. 262; H. 1256, *Cilt 4*, pp. 232, 261, cited in Armağan (1983), p. 59, doc. 16-17 and in Armağan (2003), p. 344, doc. 32; H. 1324, *Cilt 32*, p. 105, cited in Armağan (1983), p. 60, doc. 18; H. 1311, *Cilt 27*, cited in Armağan (1983), p. 60, doc. 19; H. 1235, *Cilt 4*, p. 289, cited in Armağan (2003), pp. 342-343, doc. 29; H. 1311, *Cilt 27*, p. 261, cited in Armağan (2003), pp. 343-344, doc. 30-31.

⁸⁴⁰ Kabaklarlı N. (2007), *Tire'de Darbedilen Osmanlı Bakır Paraları, Ottoman Copper Coins Minted in Tira 1411-1516*, İstanbul: Baran Ofset ve Matbaacılık, pp. 29-30, for the description and drawings of the coins, pp. 38-118. For the Ottoman coins minted in Tire in the 15th century see also Akın (1968), pp. 123-126. Armağan also touches upon the issue and argues about the Ottoman coins bearing eagle motives, which were minted in Tire Darphanesi in 1425. Armağan M. A. (1994), "Tire'nin Türk Tarihindeki Yeri", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.), 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, p.18. He further discusses about the probable location of the mint as in Darphane Neighborhood next to Alacamescit Neighborhood, at the intersection of today's Sarıca Yusuf and Türk Ocağı Street. Armağan (2003), pp. 56-58.

⁸⁴¹ *Tapu tahrirleri*, Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry in İstanbul, No. 87, pp. 105-122, no. 148, pp. 270-288, no. 35M, pp. 1-3. Plus, *Mufassal Aydın ve Civarı Tımar Defteri*, Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry in İstanbul, H. 855, No: 1/1, *Fatih Defteri*, Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry in İstanbul, No:2, 8, file no: 445, Undated. *Tapu tahrirleri (Aydın Vakıf Defteri)*, Archive of General Directorate of Land and Property in Ankara, H. 991, No. 571, Doc. 97-149. Plus, *Aydın Mufassalı*, Archive of General Directorate of Land and Property in Ankara, H. 981, No. 129. The originals of these primary sources were not consulted by the author. However, they were studied through the works of Akın, Göksu, Faroqhi, Armağan, and Telci, publishing these sources. Therefore bibliographic information of these primary sources was not included in the bibliography.

populace within the context of Western Anatolian urban network, with respect to trade, tradesmen, and trade related spaces can be proposed, and the ground for the subsequent socio-spatial inquisition through a morphological analysis of its urban form can be set.⁸⁴²

The population in Tire during the Aydınoğulları period cannot be estimated because of the lack of sources dating to the 14th century. Yet, due to its rapid development and growth, it can well be claimed that Tire was among the most populous Aydınoğlu centers like Ayasoluk and Birgi and even within a wider framework, among the Western Anatolian centers. Next, under the Ottoman rule, the undated property deeds from the reign of Mehmet II are the earliest sources to picture the population growth and articulation during the second half of the 15th century. Tire seems to accommodate a number of 1194 *nefers* [single individuals], that is a total of *hanes* [households], in other words, married men and *mücerreds*, *cabas* [bachelor men], in other words, unmarried men deemed to pay taxes, where this number corresponds to approximately a quantity of between 3582 and 4776 inhabitants during the reign of Mehmet II.⁸⁴³ Yet, Tire was stated to have two distinct *nefses* [settlement centers], one of which is the center of Tire and the other is Bademiye on the east, that accommodated the early Aydınoğlu inhabitations in the town as stated in *166 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530), Hüdâvendigâr, Biga, Karesi, Saruhân, Aydın, Menteşe, Teke ve Alâiye Livâları* prepared and published by A. Özkılınç et. all in 1995.⁸⁴⁴ Armağan and Telci agree with this issue of double centers of the town in their studies, and Armağan, depending on the travel accounts of Evliya Çelebi, further mentions a third center of focus on the west of the center of Tire, named as Yenice and sorted out within *Nefs-i Tire* in the sources.⁸⁴⁵ Hence, when Bademiye is also included in the calculation of the population in Tire, it is seen that, the

⁸⁴² Akın (1968), pp. 86-103. Faroqhi (1984), pp. Map 4, pp. 39, 40-41, Table 1-3, pp. 299-303. Göksu (1985), pp. 42-67. Armağan (2003), 63-104. Telci (2008), pp. 24-37.

⁸⁴³ The calculation of the numbers of taxpayers are based on the information from *Fatih Defteri*, Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry in İstanbul, No:2, file no: 445, Undated, which gives the number of 26 neighborhoods and the number of taxpayers in these neighborhoods, cited in Akın, Akın (1968), p. 135. Yet, the calculation of the number of inhabitants according to the number of taxpayers are based on the formulation by Faroqhi and Erder. Faroqhi S., Erder L. (1980), "The Development of the Anatolian Urban Network during the Sixteenth Century", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXIII, pp. 266-267. See also Telci for these numbers, where he ends up with similar quantities referring to the same source, Telci (2008), pp. 24-25.

⁸⁴⁴ Özkılınç et. all (1995), pp. 42-43, 368-373, 376, 378-391, 418-419, 455.

⁸⁴⁵ Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 90. Telci (2008), pp. 28-30. Armağan (2003), p. 87. Armağan M. A. (2008), "Tire Adı ve Merkez Yerleşim Planı", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 131-132. See also Gökçe T. (2008), "XVIII. Yüzyıl Başlarında (1700-1718) Tire'nin Demografik Yapısı", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 43-44.

number of taxpayers is about 1378, which corresponds to a number of inhabitants between 4135 and 5512 towards the ends of the 15th century.⁸⁴⁶

The population in Tire gradually increased in the 16th century. The total number of taxpayers in *Nefs-i Tire* and *Nefs-i Bademiye* was about 2120, which corresponded to about 6360 – 8480 inhabitants in the early 16th century, in other words according to the statistics recorded around 1512.⁸⁴⁷ Later, as maintained by the property deeds, in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* [Ottoman Archive of Prime Ministry] in İstanbul, No: 148, pp. 270-280, the total number of taxpayers in *Nefs-i Tire* and *Nefs-i Bademiye* was about 2635, which corresponded to about 7905 – 10540 inhabitants.⁸⁴⁸ Hence, towards the ends of the 16th century, it is claimed that the number of taxpayers rose to about 2400 around the 1575s, yet, including only the residents in *Nefs-i Tire*, which corresponds to a number between 7200 – 9600 inhabitants residing in the center.⁸⁴⁹ In these circumstances, it can be estimated that the total number of taxpayers, including *Nefs-i Bademiye* was about 2800, which suggested a resident population in Tire almost 8400 – 11200, where Faroqhi argues that it was still the largest town in the region.⁸⁵⁰ (Figure 2.25, Table 5.1)

In addition to population increase, articulation of the populace inhabiting in the town according to religion and/or ethnicity and profession can be discussed referring to these very same primary and secondary sources. To begin with, there seems to be consistency in the Orthodox, Greek population in the town, not much fluctuating, yet, to a limited extent decreasing from the 15th towards the ends of the 16th century.⁸⁵¹ A Jewish community, on the other hand, seems to settle in Tire beginning from the 15th century and slowly increase.⁸⁵² As for the populace articulation according to profession, it can be said that a variety of producers, craftsmen, and traders shaped the social, besides the economic setting of Tire. Related to the frequented trade items and crafts in the town, there is a remarkable number of *urgancı* [rope maker], corresponding to hemp producers, rope makers and traders; *hallaç* [cotton or wool fluffer], *bezci* [linen, cotton manufacturer], *yorgancı* [quilt maker], *peştemalci* [large bath towel

⁸⁴⁶ See Telci who ends up with similar results. Telci (2008), pp. 29-30.

⁸⁴⁷ The numbers are cited from Telci and then calculated, Telci (2008), pp. 29-30.

⁸⁴⁸ The numbers are cited from Telci and then calculated, Telci (2008), pp. 29-30. These calculations matches with Faroqhi's findings that she states an increase in the number of the taxpayers approximately to 1600 in 1528-1529, yet, probably only including *Nefs-i Tire*. Faroqhi S. (1979c), "Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets in Various Anatolian *Sancaks*: İçel, Hamid, Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Aydın and Mentеше", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXII, p. 61.

⁸⁴⁹ Faroqhi (1979c), p. 61. Faroqhi and Erder (1980), p. 272, Map 1. Faroqhi (1984), Table 1, p. 299.

⁸⁵⁰ Faroqhi (1979c), p. 61

⁸⁵¹ For the precise numbers of inhabitants see Telci (2008), pp. 29-30.

⁸⁵² For the precise numbers of inhabitants see Telci (2008), pp. 29-30.

maker], *terzi* [tailor], *tülbentçi* [muslin, gauze maker], and *bezzaz* [linen draper], which can be counted within cotton producers, manufacturers and textile traders; *debbağ* [tanner], *pabuççu* [*pabuç* maker], *keçeci* [felt maker], *tarakçı* [comb maker], *saraç* [saddler, leather worker] which is relevant to leather producers, tanners, and manufacturers; *demirci* [ironworker], *bıçakçı* [knife maker], *kılıççı* [sword maker], *bakırcı* [coppersmith], *nalbant* [blacksmith, farrier], matching with metal workers display the colorful picture of the variety of producers, craftsmen, and traders in Tire between the 14th and 16th centuries. Moreover there are bazaars, markets and even commercial buildings, such as chestnut, rice, grape, grape molasses, vegetable, fruit markets; fish, animal, and horse markets; cotton, wool, rope, and textile markets; tanners, shoes, and conical hat markets. Spatially speaking, these markets are located in certain places, for instance, tanners within the fringes of the city nearby a water source, and most of them within the commercial district in the town, for instance rush mat makers, in other words wickerwork craftsmen. In addition, the names of the neighborhoods display this variety in populace with respect to profession. For instance, neighborhoods such as Debbaglar, Veled-i Çanakçı, Mescid-i Tarakçı, Darphane, İpekçizade, and Urgancılar are some of the examples which suggest that neighborhoods as socio-spatial units reflect the articulation of the social setting of Tire. Articulation of the populace according to profession establishes a kind of solidarity, that is substantiated in the foundation of guilds, the former *ahi* organizations, yet this feature is also represented not only socially but also spatially in the neighborhood units, which is further discussed in the proceeding paragraphs.⁸⁵³

Nevertheless, besides trade, trade routes, location and geography, and socio-economic background, patrons, in other words founders, or better to say the urban elite, holding the political and economic power, have an important role in producing and shaping the physical environment. Hence, before going into an in depth analysis of the physical setting of the urban culture in Tire in relation to its socio-economic setting, the actors influencing the making of the urban form and the cultural and artistic background which developed parallel with the economic cultivations and together fostered urbanization processes is pointed out below. Then,

⁸⁵³ For further discussion on this issue of guilds see Baer G. (1977), "Ottoman Guilds: A Reassessment", *Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071-1920)*, (H. İnalcık, O. Okyar eds.), 11-13 July 1977, Ankara, pp. 95-102, Çağatay N. (1997), *Bir Türk Kurumu Olan Ahilik*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, and the shaping of the neighborhoods and the urban setting in relation to guilds see at the moment, Ergenç Ö. (1984), "Osmanlı Şehrindeki 'Mahalle'nin İşlev ve Nitelikleri Üzerine", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları – The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, IV, pp. 69-78, and particularly see Ergenç Ö. (1977), "Osmanlı Şehirlerinde Esnaf Örgütlerinin Fiziki Yapıya Etkileri", *Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071-1920)*, (H. İnalcık, O. Okyar eds.), 11-13 July 1977, Ankara, pp. 103-109.

the making of the urban form of Tire is analyzed with particular focus on the relation with the already settled urban environment, urban form in complete patterns and with respect to urban divisions, elements of urban architecture, and architectural language and urban image.

5.2. Urban Developments in Tire (14th – 16th Centuries)

5.2.1. Actors Influencing the Making of the Urban Form in Tire

The persons engaged in the production of arts and sciences in the period either as makers, namely as artists and scholars or as patrons, were the very same actors who effected the spatial articulation in the town and the shaping of its urban form by founding significant works of architecture and encouraging urban facilities. Put differently, the ruling elite, the powerful class in terms of its higher rank of socio-economic status, valued both the artists, scholars, philosophers, literature experts on one hand, and initiated the construction of public edifices and endowment of public services on the other hand, which all together enhanced the quality of urban living, in other words living standards of the citizens in the town.

At the outset, substantial improvements in both arts and sciences and architectural practice instigated under the leadership of Aydınogulları. Like in the other Principalities such as Menteşeoğulları and Osmanogulları, Aydınoglu rulers welcomed the immigrants of scholars, scientists, artists, craftsmen as well as traders and wealthy people, who escaped from the chaotic political situation of the east and tried to make use of these people as much as possible.⁸⁵⁴ For instance, Aydınoglu Mehmet Bey, who regarded himself as an affectionate of arts and sciences and in a way a scholar on his own, initiated the translations of some earlier religious, literary as well as medical works into Turkish.⁸⁵⁵ In addition, the sons, successors of Mehmet Bey, who are the subsequent rulers of Aydınogulları Principality, emulated him in this respect. There are evidences indicating that translations of some works were also undertaken in the name of Umur Bey and İsa Bey.⁸⁵⁶ It was particularly during the second half of the 14th

⁸⁵⁴ Baktır M. (2002), “Beylikler Döneminde Anadolu’da Ulema – Ümera Münasebetleri”, *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 7, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, p. 562.

⁸⁵⁵ The works of “Araisü’l-Mecalis” concerning the history of the prophets by Salebi, and “Kitabü Tuhfe-i Mübarizi” concerning medicine, and “Tezkire-i Evliya” can be pointed among the works translated into Turkish in the name of Mehmet Bey. Baktır (2002), p. 562. Uzunçarşılı I. H. (1983), *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri*, (1st Edition in 1937) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, p. 105. Armağan (1983). p. 22

⁸⁵⁶ Uzunçarşılı (1983), pp. 109, 212. The book on medicine “Kitabün nübüvve Ahkamı Tıp” by İbn Baytar was translated into Turkish in the name of Umur Bey and Mesud Semarkandi dedicated his work “Semarkandi Divanı” to İsa Bey. Armağan (1983), pp. 24, 26.

century that, Western Anatolian centers, similar to entire Anatolia turned into cultural hubs, in which most of the scholars of the east resided or at least visited, and yet, in this respect these urban centers rivaled those in Egypt and Damascus.⁸⁵⁷

Focusing on Tire again, İbn Melek can be given as an example of one of the most prominent scholars, jurists, philosophers of the period, who was welcomed by Mehmet Bey, and resided in here.⁸⁵⁸ İbn Melek spent his life in Tire, lecturing Islamic jurisprudence, theology, and linguistics in Tire madrasas, particularly in the one founded by Mehmet Bey, at the same time educating his sons, and producing significant works in that period, such as *Şerhu Menari'l-Envâr*, *Mebâriku'l-Ezhâr Fi Şerhi Meşâriki'l-Envâr*, *Şerhu Mecma'ul Bahreyn*, *Şerhu'l-Vikaye*, *Manzum Lugât*, and *Bedru'l-Vaizin ve Zuhru'ul-Abidin*. These works were later included in the curricula in the scholarly institutions of the Ottomans. İbn Melek also founded public buildings and services such as madrasa, fountain, and baths for the betterment of town dwellers.⁸⁵⁹ In this respect, İbn-i Batuta witnessed the accompaniment of İbn Melek to Aydınoğlu Mehmet Bey, a significant figure within this entourage in his summer palace in Birgi in the beginnings of the 14th century.⁸⁶⁰ Likewise, Evliya Çelebi, during his visit to Tire wrote that İbn Melek was among the Muslim saints resided, worked, and then buried in the town, who further left his imprints in the shaping of the later Ottoman higher education

⁸⁵⁷ Baktır (2002), p. 562.

⁸⁵⁸ Baktır (2002), p. 564. Armağan (1983), pp. 22-23.

⁸⁵⁹ For further details on İbn Melek, his scholarly personality and his works in particular, see the proceedings of the sessions on İbn Melek in Tire Symposiums; Baktır M. (1994), "Tire'li İbn Melek ve İlmî Muhiti Hakkında Bazı Tesbitler", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.), 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 33-41, Şener M. (1994), "İbn Melek'in Hukukî Yönü ve Menar Şerhi", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.), 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 43-47, Muhtar C. (1994), "Dilci İbn Melek", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.) 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 49-51, Elmalı H. (1994), "Ferişteoğlu Sözlüğü", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.) 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 53-61, Baktır M. (2008), "İbn Melek'in Meşariku'l-Envar Şerhinde Hadisleri Tahlil Metodu ve Bazı Yeni Tesbitler", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 209-216, Arıkoğlu İ. (2008), "Ferişteoğlu Abdülmecid B. İzzüddin ve İşk-Name", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 217-224, Kurmuş Ö. S. and Efe D. (2008), "TC. Bursa Yazma ve Eski Basma Eserler Kütüphanesinde Bulunan İbn Melek'e Ait Eserler", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 225-241. See also, Şişikoğlu F. (1941), "Tire Bilginleri I: Abdülatif İbni Melek", *Küçük Menderes*, 2/10, pp. 157-158. Ertekin L. E. (2008a), *İbn-i Melek (İzzeddin Abdülatif) Vakıfları ve Vakfiyesi*, Ankara: Pozitif Matbaacılık, pp. 1-8, 37-48. See also Appendix A for his foundations.

⁸⁶⁰ İbn-i Batuta (2004), pp. 419-423.

system.⁸⁶¹ Without doubt, the important personalities of Tire were not limited with İbn Melek during the Principalities period.

To begin with, Kurt Bey, or in other words Kadı Kurt and Şeyh Şücaeddin were among the *ghazis*, maintaining Aydınoğlu infiltration in the region and particularly in Tire. These half military and half religious figures founded hospices, facilitated water resources and their distribution in the town. Hence, they worked not only in the Turkification but also in the improvement of the urban living in medieval Tire to a considerable extent that two of the Aydınoğlu neighborhoods are named after them, which are Kadı and Şücaeddin neighborhoods.⁸⁶² Ali Han Baba was one of the important leaders of the *ahi* organization during the Aydınoğulları rule. He not only contributed to the establishment of the bases of the guild organization in Tire and its vicinity maintaining the town's socio-economic growth but he also founded a mosque, hospice, madrasa, bath; and shops and markets to finance his foundations within the commercial strip of Tire.⁸⁶³ Hence, he gave his name to this particular part in the commercial district as Ali Han Neighborhood, the earliest Aydınoğlu neighborhood in the town center.⁸⁶⁴ Plus, Kazirzade or in other words Kadızade was a significant musician renowned for his practice of *mevlevi* music in particular during the late 14th century.⁸⁶⁵ Kazirzade founded a building group including a mosque and a madrasa next to the mosque in front of which there is a shared open space with a fountain.⁸⁶⁶ The building group is close by the town center on its west, after which, the neighborhood was named as Veled-i Kadı.⁸⁶⁷ Finally, Karakadı Mecdetin can be given as the last prominent personality of the period. Karakadı was among the important theologians and jurists of the late Aydınoğulları period in the town, whose foundations of mosque, madrasa, and baths were claimed to accommodate and serve Tamerlane and his army during the early 15th century.⁸⁶⁸ Even, Evliya Çelebi attributes the surrounding of Karakadı Complex as “Evsâf-ı kasaba-i Kara Kadı” in his descriptions of the physical setting and urban

⁸⁶¹ Evliya Çelebi (2005), pp. 88, 91.

⁸⁶² For further information on these personalities see Armağan (1983), pp. 31-32, and for the neighborhoods see Armağan (2003), pp. 85-86. The spatial representation of the neighborhoods are provided in the subsequent section of this chapter.

⁸⁶³ Yelken U. (1942b), “Aydınoğullarına Ait Kitabeler IV: Tire’de Ali Han Medresesi Kitabesi”, *Küçük Menderes*, 2/12, p. 189. Armağan (1983), pp. 33-34.

⁸⁶⁴ Armağan (2003), p. 85. The spatial representation of the neighborhoods are provided in the subsequent section of this chapter.

⁸⁶⁵ Tokluoğlu F (1959), *Tire’de Yetişen Alim, Şair, Mütefekkkir, ve Mutasavvıflar*, Tire: Ragıp Basımevi. Armağan (1983), pp. 34-35.

⁸⁶⁶ See in Appendix A, A.1.2. Kazirzade Complex.

⁸⁶⁷ Armağan (1983), pp. 34-35. Armağan (2003), p. 88.

⁸⁶⁸ Tokluoğlu (1959). Armağan (1983), p. 36. See also Necip (1932a), Necip (1932b).

life in Tire in the 1670s.⁸⁶⁹ Yet, there were quite more number of philosophers, *ahis*, scholars, authors, poets, etc. welcomed by the Aydınoğlu rulers.⁸⁷⁰ (Table 5.2)

As already stated, Aydınoğulları rulers welcomed, supported, and even patronized significant scholars and artists of the period in their lands. Nevertheless, this elite class of newcomers became part of the ruling institution and held both political and economical power to a certain extent. Hence, with the encouragement of the Aydınoğlu rulers, they founded significant works of architecture and contributed to the shaping of the built environment and enhancement of urban life in Tire. Without doubt, Aydınoğlu rulers and their family members were the leading figures as actors initiating monumental works of architecture, founding public buildings, and improving public amenities. In other words, the royal class was in the first place as significant patrons of architectural production and urbanization endeavors during the 14th and early 15th centuries. For instance, in addition to the first ruler Mehmet Bey; Süleyman Şah, İsa Bey, Musa Bey, Hafsa Hatun, the daughter of İsa Bey and spouse of Bayezid I, Gürcü Melek, Azeri Melek, the daughters of Gazi Umur Bey, Cüneyd and Karahasan Beys, the sons of İbrahim Bey, and Hundi Paşa Hatun and her son Ahmet Bey of the Aydınoğulları heir established noteworthy foundations either as single public buildings or as building groups, commenced the improvement of water supply sources and system, initiated the cultivation of the agricultural lands and gardens in the territory.⁸⁷¹ In short, they endeavored to increase the

⁸⁶⁹ Evliya further continues that “Şehrin şarkında yine şehre muttasıl câmi’li ve müte’addid hânli ve hammâmlı ve imâret ve mescid [ve] medreseli ve çârsû-yı bâzârlı binden mütecâviz sûk-ı sultânli bir bâğ-ı İrem-misâl bâğu bâğçeli ve uyûn-u enhârî firâvânli üç bin kiremitli ma’mûr ve âbâdân hıyâbânli evlerdir. Cümle Tire şehri halkının ba’d-e’l-asr teferrüçgâhları bu Kara Kadı semtidir. Ve yakın olmak ile her gün cümle yârân-ı bâ-safâ ve erbâb-ı ma’ârif-i ehl-i vefâ ve zümre-i zurefâ gürûh gürûh gelüp bu Kadı bâğlarında cilveler ederek kesb-i tarâvet edüp kelleler germ ve sineler nerm olup kavli edvâr üzre ilm-i mûsikîye ri’âyet edüp her âşıkân bülend-âvâz-ı muhrik ile hoşelhânlık edüp nevâhânlık ederek makâm-ı uşşâkda uşşâkda uşşâka âşıkâne kavli uşşâk terennümâtların terennüm edüp birbirlerine müselsel âheng olurlar. Ve bu kasabanın her köşesinde niçe yüz yerde gülistân [u] bostânlar içre Hüseyin Baykara fasılları olur. Ve cümle mahallâtları çârsû-yı bâzârları içre çemenzâr soffalar üzre çınâr-ı ra’nâ ve bîd-i semigûnlar sâyesinde cümle yârân [u] ihvân zevk [u] safâ ederler. Böyle bir cây-ı sürûr kasaba-i ra’nâdır.” Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 90.

⁸⁷⁰ Tokluoğlu (1959). Armağan (1983), pp. 31-40. Armağan (2003), pp. 105-121.

⁸⁷¹ Akın (1968), pp. 216-220. Armağan (1983), pp. 45-46. Armağan (2003), p. 29. For further information about the architectural works of Aydınoğulları rulers, see also Appendix A General Description of the Buildings in Tire, and the studies such as Aslanoğlu (1978). Önkâl H. (1991), *Tire Türbeleri*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları. Aslanoğlu İ. (1994), “Tire Beylik Dönemi Camileri, Çağdaş Beylik Örneklerle Kıyaslamalı Bir Değerlendirme”, *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.), 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 89-96. Önkâl H. (1994), “Türk Türbe Mimarisinde Tire Türbelerinin Yeri”, *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.), 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 113-117. Kalfazade-Ertuğrul S. (1995a), *Anadolu’da Aydınoğulları Dönemi Mimarisi*, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Art History, İstanbul: İstanbul University. Çakmak C. (2002), *Tire Hamamları*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları. Çakmak C. (2008), “Tire Hamamlarının Mimari Özellikleri ve Korunma Durumları

living standards and environments of their citizens For instance Hafsa Hatun founded a building complex including a mosque, a bath, a dervish lodge, and a public kitchen in Bademiye. Yet, she had the income of a considerable number of mills, agricultural products and rents for the management of this foundation. She also had fountains constructed and the water supply system improved particularly in Bademiye, on the east of the center of Tire.⁸⁷² Likewise, Gürcü Melek founded a mosque in Sofuköy, plus a bridge within Ekinhisari.⁸⁷³ Considering the contributions of the male members of the Royal family, the foundations of the last two *beys*, namely of Cüneyd and Karahasan Beys can be mentioned. While the Great Mosque of Tire, located towards the southern slopes of the commercial district, is among the foundations of Cüneyd Bey, Karahasan Mosque and Tomb located in Miskince Neighborhood, on the west of the commercial district is among the foundations of Karahasan Bey.⁸⁷⁴ (Table 5.2)

This tradition of the Aydınoğulları rulers continued through the Ottoman rule in the town, in the second half of the 15th and 16th centuries by the Ottoman statesmen. For the reason that while Tire was one of the three major towns of Aydınoğulları, it was only the center of the Aydın *Sancağı* of the Anadolu *Vilayeti* during the Ottoman rule until it was replaced by Aydın, Güzelhisar as the *sancak* center in the 17th century. Hence, as the sancak center replaced the capital, so did the upper rank officials and *sancak beys* [head of the sancak] Aydınoğlu rulers as the highest ranks of the ruling institution in the town. Similar to Aydınoğulları rulers these upper rank Ottoman officials and distinguished statesmen not only worked to donate significant public buildings and building groups, and to improve urban facilities and public services, but also they welcomed the prominent intellectuals, scholars, and artists of the period to settle in Tire. They encouraged these individuals to contribute to both the cultural and artistic activities related to their fields of expertise and to architectural and urban development in the town for the betterment of the citizens.⁸⁷⁵

Hakkında Gözlemler”, *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 279-299.

⁸⁷² For further information about Hafsa Hatun and her foundations, namely to see the primary sources such as foundation charters, and court records on one hand and to an architectural analysis of the works she initiated see in Appendix A, A.1.1. Hafsa Hatun Mosque and Complex and the related bibliography in the same part.

⁸⁷³ Gürcü Melek Mosque is totally demolished and an entirely new structure is rebuilt instead of the old edifice in the beginnings of the 20th century. For the bridge, which is not extant today see the inscription panel, whose writings are published in Akın (1968), p. 116.

⁸⁷⁴ For the Great Mosque see in Appendix A, A.2.1.3 Great Mosque, and for Karahasan Mosque and Tomb see A.1.4. Karahasan Mosque and Tomb with the related bibliographies in the same parts.

⁸⁷⁵ For further information about the architectural works of Ottoman statesmen, see also Appendix A, and the studies such as Aslanoğlu (1978). Ayverdi E. H. (1989), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde*

To begin with, the earliest Sancak Beyi of Aydınli and the commander of Murad II, namely Halil Yahşi Bey was the first Ottoman upper rank official to reside in Tire, enhance its built environment and improve the public amenities and life quality of its inhabitants. According to the foundation charter dating to H. 845 / AD. 1441, Yahşi Bey Mosque (Yeşil İmaret), the mosque with additional spaces in T-type plan, a significant example through the Ottoman architectural history, Çöplü Han, Kutu Han, Tahtakale Bath, and a considerable number of shops all articulating and developing the commercial district, plus vast areas of agricultural lands and gardens, are among the foundations of Halil Yahşi Bey.⁸⁷⁶ Chronologically speaking, Rum Mehmet Paşa, one of the viziers of Mehmet II can be mentioned as the founder of a building group, composed of a mosque, tomb and a fountain in Bademiye, plus commercial edifices such as Ali Hanı and Destemal Hanı and Tabaklar Bath in Tabakhane neighborhood which not extant today.⁸⁷⁷ Next, Lütfü Paşa, former *Sancak Beyi* of Aydın, the groom and grand vizier of Selim I, and at the same time the renowned Ottoman historian and the author of *Tevârih-i Âli Osman* can be discussed. Lütfü Paşa is the person who owned the largest number of foundation shops not only in Tire but also in the entire Western Anatolia of that period, as can be detected in his foundation charter dating to H. 950 / AD. 1543.⁸⁷⁸ Yet, he founded the Paşa Mosque in the Animal Bazaar marking the borders of the extended commercial district to the north, Bakır Han in the very center of the commercial district, Yeni Han next to, on the south of the Mosque and the probably previously existing Lütfü Paşa Madrasa. Plus, he commissioned the Emir Ali and Pamuk Hans, which are not extant today, and the Eski-Yeni Bath together with other water based public services such as building of fountains and improvement of water resources and supply systems.⁸⁷⁹ Finally, Abdüsselam Efendi, *defterdar* [head of treasury] of Süleyman I, and his foundation of Ali Efe

Çelebi ve Sultan II. Murad Devri 806-855 (1403-1451), 2, (2nd Edition, 1st Edition in 1972) İstanbul: Damla Ofset, pp. 196-201, 540-548. Çakmak (2002). Çakmak (2008). Çulcu S. (2005), *Evaluations of Alterations in Ottoman Hans in Tire for their Restitution*, Unpublished Master Thesis in Restoration, İzmir: İzmir Institute of Technology. Önkal (1991). Özer M. (1992), *Tire'deki Ticaret Yapıları*, Unpublished Master Thesis in Art History, Ankara: Ankara University. Önkal (1994). See also, Ertekin (2008a), Ertekin (2008b).

⁸⁷⁶ For the Yahşi Bey Mosque (Yeşil İmaret), see in Appendix A, A.2.1.9 Yahşi Bey Mosque and for the Hans A.2.3.1. Çöplü Han, and A.2.3.2. Kutu Han with the related bibliographies in the same parts. See also Ertekin (2008b) for further details on Halil Yahşi Bey, his personality, career, and foundations and works.

⁸⁷⁷ For the foundation of Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb and the related buildings within his foundations see in Appendix A, A.1.5. Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb with the related bibliography in the same part.

⁸⁷⁸ Ertekin (2007).

⁸⁷⁹ For the existing architectural works of Lütfü Paşa, see in Appendix A, A.2.1.15 Lütfü Paşa Mosque, A.2.3.3. Bakır Han, and A.2.3.4. Yeni Han with the related bibliographies in the same parts.

Hanı on the south of Bedesten, and the core of the commercial district, in addition as a later figure Behram Kethüda, one of the *kethüdas* of Selim II and his foundation of the Yeni Mosque in Alacaçesme Neighborhood can be stated in pointing out the contributions of the Ottoman statesmen to the improvement of the built environment and public services in Tire.⁸⁸⁰ (Table 5.2)

Yet, it was also mentioned above that the important intellectuals, scholars and artists of the time played significant roles in the shaping of their environment and developing public facilities as founders in addition to their production in their particular fields of expertise. For instance, Alaeddin Ali Arabi, or Zeynuddin Ali Arabi or with his renowned name Molla Arap is one of these significant intellectuals, who lived, and worked in Tire in the second half of the 15th century. Where Evliya Çelebi mentions his name among the noteworthy personalities of Tire, as a well-informed, experienced scholar, Armağan claims that he even worked as the *Şeyhülislam* [Chief religious official] of Bayezid II.⁸⁸¹ Whatsoever, Molla Arap, in addition to his scholarly endeavors initiated the foundation of a complex, including a mosque, a madrasa, a bath, and most probably a public kitchen, which is not extant today, outside Tire, towards the countryside, on its northwest in the plain named as Yahşibey Plain.⁸⁸² Yet, whether he aimed so or not, with his foundations, it was only possible to give public services in the countryside, where his establishments could not contribute to the urbanization of the town itself. The other significant figure is Şeyh Nusrettin (Nasureddin) Efendi, brother of the renowned Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi, and father of the renowned *müderris* of Piri Mehmet Paşa Madrasa in İstanbul, who was also called as Molla Nasrullah Rumi epitheted Abdülfetha Efendi of the late 16th century. Like Molla Arap, Şeyh Nusrettin founded a complex comprising a mosque, a madrasa, a bath, and a *hazire* in Tarakçızade Neighborhood, on the rising slopes, where the neighborhood became more populated, grew and developed after the construction of the complex even though the establishment of the district dates back to the Principalities period.⁸⁸³ (Table 5.2)

⁸⁸⁰ For Yeni Mosque, see in Appendix A, A.2.1.16 Yeni Mosque, see also Necip M. (1931), “Tire Asarı Hayriyesinden Yeni Cami ve Behram Kethüda”, *Yeşil Tire*, 1/6, pp. 6-8. For Ali Efe Hanı A.2.3.4. Ali Efe Hanı, with the related bibliographies in the same parts.

⁸⁸¹ Evliya Çelebi states that “Ve kurbunda Kurd Baba ve Balım Baba Sultân ve Babadağı’nda Velî Baba ve Hacıköyü’de Alî Baba ve Monlâ Arab hazretleri dahi tekmîl-i fûnûn etmiş müfessirîn [ü] muhaddîn ve musannifinden ulu sultândır kim ilm-i ledünde dahi bî-bedel gavvâs-ı bahr-i ma’ânîdir.” Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 91. Armağan (1983), pp. 7-8.

⁸⁸² See in Appendix A, A.1.8. Molla Arap Complex with the related bibliography in this part.

⁸⁸³ See in Appendix A, A.1.9. Şeyh Mosque, Madrasa, and Bath with the related bibliography in this part.

Accordingly, Tire, as an important town of medieval Western Anatolia expanded and developed with the initiatives of these individuals' efforts right after the establishment of the Turkish authority in the its vicinity. In other words, this ruling, put differently urban elite consisted of the actors, who founded significant works of urban architecture, facilitated public services and amenities and endeavored to improve the living environment and living qualities of the citizens of Tire. Hence, it is time for an in depth analysis of the formation, evolution, and development, in short, the making of the urban form of Tire with particular focus between the 14th and 16th centuries. In so doing, it will be possible to associate the physical setting with the already discussed socio-economic background and cultural and artistic milieu, and study the spatial weaving of the urban form of Tire.

5.2.2. Making of the Urban Form of Tire: A Morphological Analysis

As mentioned within the discussion on the history of settlements in Tire and its nearby vicinity in the previous sections, the earliest habitations date back to 14th century BC, yet, only in two villages, Halkapınar and Büyükkale on the west of the town. The traces of the subsequent Phrygian culture ruling in the 10th century BC. in the vicinity are founded in a slightly western location to the two villages, plus, closer to today's town, namely in Darmara Village. The consecutive Lydian (950-652 BC.), Cimmerian (652-642 BC.), Lydian (642-540 BC.), and Persian (540-331 BC.) administrations in the territory witnessed habitation nodes concentrated particularly on the west of the town for instance, first in Küçükkkale Village during the first Lydian rule. (Figure 5.3, 5.6) Through these periods, the location of these settlements had an increasing importance not only due to its placement at the junction of the transportation network, to be precise by the Royal Road between Ephesus and Sardis but also to its functioning as a summer resort of the Ephesian rich. Thus, it is not surprising to detect most of these small settlement centers established on the west, close to Ephesus, the major city of the period. Hence, as a result of the raise of Sardis as another center, and fostered by this Royal Road, along the two routes leading to Sardis, where the riverbed of *Caystros* was more to the south in that period than its current location, the route on the north following Hasan Çavuşlar, Eskioba, Akkoyunlu and Derebaşı Villages and the route on the south following Halkapınar, Küçükkkale, Büyükkale, Alaylı, Çavuş, Hisarlık, Tire, Peşrefli, Fota Villages from west to east set off the basis for the establishment of these additional settlement centers. (Figure 5.3, 5.6) Now that, Tire also appears as a small village in the ancient times by itself. During the subsequent Hellenistic rule instigated with the conquest of the territory by Alexander the Great,

new villages such as Akçeşehir, Kurşak, Kumtepe, Ayaklıkırı, Uzgur, Yenioba, Doyranlı, Yeniçiftlik, Mahmutlar, Turgutlu and Ali Paşa appeared in these lands between Ephesus and Teira. Aftermath the Persian wars, it is seen that, Küçükkale, Büyükkale, Hasan Çavuşlar, Ayaklıkırı, and Halkapınar Villages gain more significance and improve more in comparison to the aforementioned settlement centers by the 3rd century BC. (Figure 5.3, 5.6)

The rise of Tire during the ancient period begins with Roman rule in the territory, as Ephesus, to which Tire is bounded administratively, lived through its most brilliant times. The town was within the holy lands of the Temple of Artemis, a crucially important cult in the Roman Asia Minor, whose borders comprised a vast area including Tire, Bayındır and Halkapınar Villages. Hence, the territory gradually grew under the Roman rule, extending towards the east with the foundation of new villages like Kürdüllü, Kireli, Çobanköy, Yeğenli, Kahrat, Falaka and Çatal and development of the already existing ones like Peşrefli and Gökçen, and growth of the villages like Halkapınar, Küçükkale, Büyükkale, Alaylı, Uzgur, Hisarlık, Akçeşehir, Hasan Çavuşlar, Kurşak, Kumtepe, Ayaklıkırı, Yenioba, Eskioba, Doyranlı, Yeniçiftlik, Mahmutlar, Turgutlu, and Alipaşa on the west. In this network of settlements Tire maintained and even enhanced its significance as of the favorite summer resorts of the Ephesian rich. (Figure 5.6)

After the disintegration of the Roman Empire into two, the territory of Tire became part of the Byzantine Empire. As can be followed from the lists of the bishopric centers participating in Ecumenical Councils held in the 6th and 8th centuries, *Arkadiopolis*, Hisarlık Village and *Teira* or *Thyaria*, Tire represent the territory as the leading settlement centers in the area. Yeğenli on the east and Falaka Village on the north of Tire are the other centers, displaying the architectural and archaeological traces of the medieval age under the Byzantine rule. There are three more villages, which have significant Byzantine imprints, namely Akmescit or Tekfurlu, Akyurt or Zeamet Kilise, and Osmancık or Kiliseli according to Armağan, who mentions about the subsistence of churches in these settlements.⁸⁸⁴

Now, within this framework, focusing on Tire in particular, the traces of the ancient and Byzantine periods through the currently existing urban form of the town can be searched. Hence, the morphological analysis supported with written sources and previous research suggests significant arguments and evaluations below and conclusions drawn for the pre-Turkish period of Tire. At the outset, it is stated before that most of the archaeological findings and architectural remains dating to this period of the town are gathered from the villages and

⁸⁸⁴ Armağan (1989), pp. 19-20.

the nearby countryside and the uninhabited areas of Tire, because it is not possible to conduct excavations in the currently inhabited town, which would likely provide further information. Even so, that is to say, even though an archaeological research in this very center is lacking, and the amount of re-used materials exploited in the later construction in the town initiated by the Turkish rulers is limited, the information gathered from the written sources and recent researches on one hand and from the morphological analysis of the urban pattern on the other hand suggest the foundation of an earlier settlement than the Principalities.

As at first claimed by Tanyeli, the grid-iron pattern within the commercial district and particularly around Tahtakale Mosque and Square, distinguishing itself from the rather organic layout of the urban fabric of the rest of the town suggests the dating of this vicinity back to pre-Turkish period.⁸⁸⁵ (Figure 5.14) In this respect, he hints at Evliya Çelebi's description of the commercial center of Tire built as "a chess board".⁸⁸⁶ Plus, he associates the etymology of Tahtakale (*Taht al Kal'a* meaning *Kale altı*, under the citadel) and the neighborhood named as Hisariçi, dating the reign of the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmet II, with the existence of a fortified area, a citadel before the Turkish rule in the town and argues about a continuity in the urban form of the town beginning from antiquity.⁸⁸⁷ Whether the town had a citadel or not is a point of discussion, because Evliya Çelebi states that there was no citadel in Tire during his visit in the 1670s and besides Paul Lucas does not depict any fortifications his engraving of Tire in the 1700s.⁸⁸⁸ (Figure 5.14) More important than all, there are not substantial leftovers of the fortifications those can clearly be identified in today's town.

Nevertheless, there are more scholars in addition to Tanyeli who support the argument that Tire had a fortified area before the Turkish infiltration in the territory. In fact, as mentioned before the ancient name of the town, *Thyra(i)* meant 'citadel' and/or 'town'. In this respect, S. Vryonis referring to the writings of Byzantine Pachymeres, mentions that the sieges of the fortified regions by the Turks were entirely successful and that Turkish commanders tried hard to make *Thyraia* fall, the citizens of the town surrendered because of starvation and then some Ephesians were deported to this town after it was annexed by the Turkish commanders.⁸⁸⁹ In

⁸⁸⁵ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 122-123.

⁸⁸⁶ Tanyeli (1987), p. 122.

⁸⁸⁷ Tanyeli (1987), pp. 122-123.

⁸⁸⁸ Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 86, Lucas P. (1719), *Troisième Voyage de Sieur, Paul Lucas*, 3, Roven: Robert Machuel, Figure for p. 220.

⁸⁸⁹ Vryonis S. Jr. (1971), *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, London and Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 251-252.

similar lines, Wittek and Akın agree that to takeover Tire was not an easy, instead, a difficult task.⁸⁹⁰

Likewise, Baykara, Armağan, and Telci have related arguments and claim that there was a fortified area to the south of the commercial district, towards the slopes of the rising topography. In addition to etymological analysis of Tahtakale and Hisariçi, Baykara suggests that Narin Mosque is another significant evidence for the previous existence of a citadel.⁸⁹¹ He continues that the word is mentioned through the historical sources dealing with the fortified settlements, associating Narin-kale with İç Kale [Inner citadel]. Yet, he further claims that in Tire it is architecturally substantiated in the mosque building named Narin, which is situated to the southwest of the commercial district, on the slopes of the Güme Mountains, where the probable fortifications were located.

After Baykara, both Armağan and Telci repeat the etymological evidence of Tahtakale and Hisariçi, and support the evaluation on the Narin Mosque and the probable location of the fortifications.⁸⁹² Telci further argues about the use of the word “*mahrûse*” [protected] within the property deeds in 1528, where the term was introduced and associated with fortifications by Baykara beforehand in his research on the Turkish-Islamic cities in Anatolia.⁸⁹³ Telci distinguishes between the uses of “*der-Tire*” in the earlier property deeds with “*an Mahallât-ı Tire el-Mahrûse*”, which means the neighborhood within the protected area, namely the citadel, where he continues to claim that “*Tâbi-i Tire*” is used for those neighborhoods outside the citadel. Finally, referring to these surveys, where both “*Nefs-i Tire*” and “*Nefs-i Bademiye*” are used, Telci claims that the town actually had two settlement centers, which is as well seen in the *166 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530)* noting down relevant accounts to Tire in two *nefses*.⁸⁹⁴

Accordingly, Armağan further argues that, Tire comprised three major settlement centers, all fortified and aligned along the outskirts of the Güme Mountains.⁸⁹⁵ These settlement centers from west to east are Hisarlık Village, central Tire, and Ekinhisarı, the so-called

⁸⁹⁰ Wittek P. (1944), *Menteşe Beyliği: 13. – 15. Asırda Garbi Küçük Asya Tarihine Ait Tetkik*, (Orhan S. Gökyay trans.) Ankara: Türk Tarik Kurumu Basımevi. Akın (1968), pp. 18-19.

⁸⁹¹ Baykara T. (1994), “Türk Şehircilik Geleneğinde Tire”, *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildileri*, (M. Şeker ed.) 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 9-13, Baykara T. (2005), “Osmanlı Kale Tahkimatı ve Narin Kale”, *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey*, 20-23 August 2002, Dubrovnik-Croatia, pp. 25-29.

⁸⁹² Armağan (2003), pp. 30-31. Armağan (2008), pp. 131-132. Telci (2008), pp. 21-24.

⁸⁹³ Telci (2008), p. 23. See also Baykara T. (2000b), *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve İktisadi Tarihi (XI. – XIV. Yüzyıllar)*, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 97, 103-104.

⁸⁹⁴ Özkılınç et. all (1995), pp. 42-43, 368-373, 376, 378-391, 418-419, 455. Telci (2008), pp. 22, 28-30.

⁸⁹⁵ Armağan (2008), pp. 131-132.

Bademiye. Hence, the names of all three settlements, Hisarlık Village, Hisariçi in Tire and Ekinhisarı in Bademiye, established just beneath the hilly spots of the territory, denote the subsistence of a citadel after *hisar* [citadel]. (Figure 5.27) In the end, depending on the scarce archaeological remains in Hisarlık and Ekinhisarı, Armağan claims that these settlement foci have their roots earlier than the Turkish inhabitation in the region. He adds that, other than the etymological clues, the earlier Byzantine buildings, the most significant of which is the St. Katherine Church, the converted Great Mosque and the Bedesten as Armağan attributes, scattered within this center of Tire.⁸⁹⁶ In this respect, L. Filiz, a local of Tire, through his childhood memories in the early 20th century, mentions two churches, still in use one in the commercial center and the other on its east in the Greek Neighborhood, plus, a chapel whose ground floor functioned as a church whereas its upper floor functioned as a masjid.⁸⁹⁷ Hence, the Greek Neighborhood located next to the commercial district within the same area are all proofs for tracking down the Byzantine Tire in this very same location, towards the rising slopes of Tahtakale District, towards Buğdaydede Hill, and finally towards the most probably existing citadel.

When the above discussions are reconsidered and associated with the morphological analyses of the urban form of the town, similar, yet further conclusions can be drawn. The analyses are molded and corroborated taking into account the major arteries, the main roads in the north – south and east – west directions, through which the backbone of the urban fabric of the town is materialized. Plus, the secondary road network, that is to say, street network and in relation the pattern of building lots, and finally the nodal locations, put differently, the intersection of these roads, streets and the existing structures at these knots are also considered. Shortly, the study of the urban morphology of Tire provides further parameters in the search for whether fortifications existed before the Turkish inhabitation or not, and whether the traces of early settled cultures can be detected in the urban pattern of the medieval Turkish town or not.

To begin with, first, the existing major arteries, which are the Selçuk – Ödemiş Road passing through the west - east axis and the İzmir via Bayındır Road cutting the town in the north – south axis, entering the town from the north and continuing through the steep slopes on the south edges of the town, likely have their roots dating to ancient and medieval periods. It seems very legible from the street network and building lot patterns that the south of the Selçuk

⁸⁹⁶ Armağan (1989), pp. 17-19. Armağan (2008), p. 131. For further discussion on these particular edifices of Great Mosque and Bedesten, see in Appendix A, A.2.15 Great Mosque, and A.2.3.6. Bedesten with related bibliographies in the same parts.

⁸⁹⁷ Filiz (2006), pp. 13-87.

– Ödemiş Road comprised the old settlement in the town, whereas the north of this road is planned recently, in the 20th century. This north section, in other words, the new town displays a deliberately planned, purposefully organized network of streets and divisions of urban parcels. Yet, the south section, in other words, the old town displays an organic, intricately weaved network of streets connected with blind alleys. The streets are aligned in harmony with the steadily rising topography to the south and blind alleys and secondary streets are attached to these in an arbitrary manner, varied according to each particular building lot and its particular building and circulation layout. Whatsoever, the commercial district, which has been the market place of the town from the very beginning together with its adjacent building lots, displays a clearly decipherable grid pattern. (Figure 5.15)

Before going into detail on this grid pattern of the commercial center, the second major artery, İzmir via Bayındır Road cutting the town in the north – south axis has to be mentioned. The present road most probably to a considerable extent coincided, partially built next to and partially overlapped the medieval road. The present highway apparently overlaid the already existing old one, the northernmost entry to the town. Yet, its continuity in the town was later modified particularly in the 20th century together with the new section of the town on the north of the Selçuk – Ödemiş Road, as proposed in the urban development plans. At this point, it seems necessary to clearly point out the recent interventions in the urban form and structure of the town and then separate them to sketch the earlier urban form, structure, and image of Tire. In so doing the urban morphological analysis on Tire will be more graspable, and it will be easier to associate the earlier spatial setting with the geographical conditions and relevant historical accounts and previous research on the town. (Figure 5.16)

Tire has been subject to significant modifications and remaking of its urban settings subsequent to not only replacement of succeeding cultures ruling in the region but also to the remarkable natural and man-made disasters substantially damaging the town. These events have to be considered as break points in the history of Tire, when notable changes occurred in the urban and spatial setting of the town. The most recent damage was given during the Greek occupation in the town between 1919 and 1922 and then a new era started with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Hence, the town witnessed destructive earthquakes 1846 – 1850, 1778, 1739, 1688, 1664, 1653, 1048, and 177, disparaging floods such as in 1832, deadly plague outbreaks in 1866, 1838 and severe fires in 1916, 1880, and 1857.⁸⁹⁸ Particularly the fires caused major damages in the town. While the 1880 and 1857 fires

⁸⁹⁸ Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 8. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 35-36. Armağan (2003), pp. 40-41.

destroyed some parts of the commercial district, namely the surrounding of Tahtakale and Uzun Çarşı, the 1916 fire was named as the “big fire” by the citizens and was the most destructive one that encompassed not only the commercial district but also the residential neighborhoods of the Greeks and the Turks.⁸⁹⁹ Filiz provides a detailed description of the 1916 fire and the damaged neighborhoods and buildings of the town. He says that the fire starting in the Greek Neighborhood on the east of the district spread out rapidly towards the wider areas in the town and even reached and surpassed to the south of the Great Mosque damaging the Mosque, its domes, and the piled stuff which citizens brought from their homes to the mosque for protection from the fire, plus destroyed many of the shops, markets, commercial buildings and the nearby Turkish neighborhoods including their own house.⁹⁰⁰

As this information is evaluated considering the gridal formation both within the commercial strip and the adjacent building lots on its both sides, it can obviously be related with the urban redevelopment and renewal projects on the very same areas corresponding to the location that was mostly damaged during the 1916 fire. In Tire Urban Redevelopment Plan, proposed by Vedat Erer in 1950 the use of the grid scheme with wide and continuous boulevards organizing the urban pattern as the major dominating elements, and re-organization towards a more open and axial plan, are apparent as the leading principles of the redevelopment concepts.⁹⁰¹ (Figure 5.17) The implementation of this redevelopment plan, the derived urban rehabilitation works in relation, and related new building projects in reshaping the urban form of Tire were executed by architect Can Egeli, who worked in Tire Municipality between 1952 and 1955.⁹⁰² (Figure 5.18) For a deliberate morphological analysis of the earlier urban form in Tire three issues can be highlighted, as significant, in this particular study through the works conducted by these architects. One of them is the grid pattern in and by the commercial center. The other is the Atatürk Boulevard, axial and continuous with the İzmir highway to the north and constructed adjacent to the west edge of the commercial strip. The last one is the Gümüşpala Street re-planned and built partially overlapping the already existing Selçuk – Ödemiş Road. (Figure 5.19)

To begin with, when the new grid pattern implemented in the commercial district and the street network and the pattern of the urban parcels of the old town, which corresponds to the

⁸⁹⁹ See also Armağan (2003), pp. 41-42.

⁹⁰⁰ Filiz (2006), pp. 57-59, 66.

⁹⁰¹ The Urban Redevelopment Plan of Tire in 1950 by Vedat Erer is taken from _____ (1955), *Beş Yılda Tire 1950-1955*, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları.

⁹⁰² For Can Egeli's works in Tire see Tuna D. (2006), “Unutulan Bir Mimar: Can Egeli”, *Mimarlık*, 330, pp. 42-44.

south of the Selçuk – Ödemiş Road the tripartite division from west to east can be detected. First is the west of the commercial district, the vicinity known as Yeniceköy, second is the commercial district in the center, or in other words commercial strip, which extends to north beyond the Selçuk – Ödemiş Road and third is the so-called Bademiye on the east of the center. The prevailing common feature, except for the grid area, is the increasing frequency of the streets organically connected in harmony with the rising topography to the south. Hence, when analyzed separately certain variations in each of these three divisions in terms of their street network and the building lot pattern can be seen. (Figure 5.15, 5.20)

First, in the west division, apart from the increasing number of the streets towards the south, a varying articulation can be seen towards the flatter areas, to the north. Three different districts can be identified according to differing patterns in this part of the division. The northernmost district is most probably a later settlement area, because there is a secondary road, namely Yeniceköy Road running in the west- east axis and almost intersects with the currently existing Selçuk- Ödemiş around the commercial district and continues more or less parallel to the Gümüşpala Street and continues to east rather than directly to north as in today's highway. Actually, it can well be stated that this road was the earlier Selçuk- Ödemiş Road, which was later reconsidered in the redevelopment plan and took its final form in the 1950. For that reason in both west and east divisions of the town, the historical edifices are gathered on the south of this road. (Figure 5.20, 5.21)

Hence, the street network and the pattern of the urban parcels suggest another variation in between the north and south districts. This part can be divided into two districts, where the west one is most likely the later and the east one, by the commercial district is the earlier established districts, as the dates of the public edifices indicate. The surrounding area of Yahşi Bey (1441) and Karahasan Mosque (first half 15th century) near the center was inhabited earlier than the west part grew around Hamza Ağa (second half of the 17th century) and Hacı Mehmet Ali Ağa Mosques (1799).⁹⁰³ The comparatively more intricate and organic street network pattern and the frequented number of blind alleys in the later area than the relatively more open plan with continuous streets and less fragmentations in the earlier area indicate to another motive than chronological variety behind. Depending on the descriptions by Armağan and Filiz, it is known that the Jewish community, beginning from the 15th century had settled

⁹⁰³ For further details on these Karahasan and Yahşi Bey Mosques see in Appendix A, A.1.4. Karahasan Mosque and Tomb, and A.2.1.9 Yahşi Bey Mosque with the related bibliography in this part, and for Hamza Ağa and Hacı Mehmet Ağa Mosques, see Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 75-78, Armağan (2003), pp. 245-246.

around the vicinity of the Yahşibey, Karahasan and Alaybey Mosques across the Alay Park today.⁹⁰⁴ The life style and daily culture of a different ethnic group might have resulted in a variety in its spatial setting, which likely displayed its imprints in the urban pattern. Unlike the introverted family life of the dominating Turkish population in the town, the Jews led a more open and extraverted life, where it was likely to see both the Jewish boys and girls strolling together in the streets, as can be quoted through the memories of Filiz.⁹⁰⁵ (Figure 5.20, 5.21)

Second, in the east division, in the so-called Bademiye and Ekinhisarı, a further articulation in terms of the number of districts, which are defined according to their distinctions of street network and building lot patterns, can be seen. Like in the entire plan layout of the town, the frequency of the streets increases with the rising topography towards the south edges of the east division. Yet, as can be seen from the secondary road determining the north borders of these south districts, there are two separate settlement foci. One is the district next to the commercial district on its east and the second is developed at the end of this secondary road on the eastern edges of the town. This particular spot is the probable location of the governmental center of the Aydınoğulları Principality, where they most likely had their palace built.⁹⁰⁶ A similar articulation of layout pattern can be seen just on the north of this governmental center in the district continuing the eastern borders of the town towards the north. The same pattern repeating can also be detected as three distinct districts, defined by secondary roads towards the west within the flatter lands on the north. These districts are all located on the south of the old Selçuk – Ödemiş Road in the old town. (Figure 5.22)

Yet, closer to the commercial district on the flatter lands, the organic pattern defined by blind alleys and introverted building lots in the eastern districts are replaced with a rather loose and open street network and less fragmented building lot pattern. This difference in the morphology of the urban layout points to a reason for such variation behind. Associating with the descriptions by Armağan and Filiz, this district is known to accommodate the Greek community of Tire.⁹⁰⁷ The Greek community having its roots back in the Byzantine rule in the town were initially settled adjacent to the commercial center, on its east, and then gradually extended to both east and north in time as their populace increased. In this respect, Armağan says that the Greek Neighborhood originally settled in this very center of the town, and named

⁹⁰⁴ Armağan (2003), pp. 93-94, Filiz (2006), pp. 19-21, 82.

⁹⁰⁵ Filiz (2006), pp. 19-20.

⁹⁰⁶ See the previous discussion in this chapter, 5.2.1. History of Settlements in Tire for the welcoming of Tamerlane in Aydınoğulları Palace in Ekinhisarı, see also Armağan (1989), pp. 22-23, Armağan (2003), p. 37.

⁹⁰⁷ Armağan (2003), pp. 91-93, Filiz (2006), pp. 57-58, 87.

as *Gebran*, *Küffaran* or *Rumiyan* Neighborhood in the historical accounts.⁹⁰⁸ Filiz, then again, mentions about the later location of the Greek community in the town. He says that their neighborhoods extended much to east as well as to the north with the extension of the commercial center to the north, passing behind the border of the Selçuk – Ödemiş Artery, and yet, two Greek Neighborhoods are finally mentioned as Lower Neighborhood on the north and Upper Greek Neighborhood on the south.⁹⁰⁹ (Figure 5.20, 5.22)

The location of the Greek Neighborhood and their differing street network and building lot pattern make sense in three respects. Initially, the Greek population was more into trade as traders rather than producers as agriculturists, or manufacturers, so it is likely to have their neighborhoods in next to the commercial center. Next, both due to this closeness with trade business and comprising it as a part of their daily life and due to their more open and extraverted life style and family culture than the Turkish populace probably resulted in the more open and less fragmented plan layout in their particular neighborhoods.⁹¹⁰ Finally, if the commercial center was the earlier inhabited area than the Turkish infiltration, its history dating back to ancient and Byzantine periods, it is very likely to have the local Greeks developing their neighborhoods from this very spot.

Lastly, as the third division, central Tire in between the west and east divisions and extending from south to north axially, which display a gridal articulation of the plan layout can be discussed. It is already mentioned that this grid is a later implementation in the midst of the 20th century after the area has been harshly damaged with the big fire in 1916 starting from the Greek Neighborhood and destroying most of the vicinity. Yet, when closely analyzed, it can be seen that the grid layout displays three different patterns and divisions in itself. The eastern grid articulation at the intersection of the commercial district and the Greek Neighborhood indicates a more regular pattern and almost a completely recently implemented plan. The western grid articulation separated with the Atatürk Boulevard from the commercial district displays a less regular and more fragmented layout compared to the east. Finally, the commercial center in between the two has the most irregular grid, pointing to a smaller scale division of units, which are later articulated in varying, yet, bigger and distorted units. (Figure 5.20, 5.23)

Hence, it is possible to suggest certain arguments on this differentiation. First, the eastern grid overlapped the mostly damaged, almost totally destructed part aftermath the big fire in 1916, plus was evacuated subsequent to the success in getting rid of the Greek

⁹⁰⁸ Armağan (2003), p. 91.

⁹⁰⁹ Filiz (2006), p. 87.

⁹¹⁰ Filiz (2006), pp. 19-20.

Occupation between 1919 and 1922. Thus, it was almost built from scratch as proposed in the redevelopment plan and has the most regular layout. Second, the western grid overlapped not so damaged area, in which Turkish, plus Jewish populace resided, and furthermore the commercial district partially overlapped this area as explained in the proceeding discussion. That is why it is less regular than the eastern grid and still newly built, however built, in taking into account the already existing layout to a considerable extent. Third, the commercial center itself has the most fragmented and the most distorted grid, which shows that it accommodated the most of the earlier settled area. In other words, it is the area, where most monumental public buildings, which least suffered from the fire and where the building lots and the small streets connecting these mostly maintained their original layout regarding the overlapping recent grid. Nevertheless, the articulation of this grid pattern in the area seems to have its roots earlier than the 20th century redevelopment plan. In fact, this commercial strip most probably displays a distorted version of an already existing grid, which was articulated with smaller units. This argument supports the thesis that the earlier ancient and subsequent Byzantine cultures had been the dwellers in this central spot.

Actually, Evliya Çelebi witnessed and unintentionally described the continuation of an already existing grid pattern within the commercial district of Tire even in the ends of the 17th century. He likens the plan layout of the commercial district to chessboard pattern, plus mentions the white, clean stones covering the streets and finally straight streets continuing directly to north, downwards. In his words,

“[...] Ve cümle tarîk-ı âmların üstâd mühendis satranc nakşı tarh edüp vaz’-ı esâsı bu üslûb üzre tezyîn olunmuşdur. Ve serâpâ pâk ve beyâz taş ile mefrûş kaldırımdır. Ve her sabâh tathîr edüp gird-i kûdûretden bir zerre gubârdan nişâân kalmaz pâk reh-i râstlardır. Ve cemî-i esvâkları şimâle eniş aşağı vâki’ olup fevkinden aşağı nazâr etsen gûyâ bu râhlar içre âdem deryâsı telattum-ı deryâ gibi temevvüc edüp izdihâm-ı benî âdemden omuz omuzu sökmez bir gulgule-i Tire’dir.[...]”⁹¹¹

Accordingly, the traces of the grid, the possible ongoing use of ancient stones on the street covers, and the straight, continuous streets point to the characteristics of ancient cities, remodeled during the subsequent Byzantine and Islamic periods, rather than Seljuk or Ottoman features.⁹¹² At this point, in order to substantiate this argument, the traces of the original north - south axis, in other words, the continuation of the İzmir Highway in the town, which establishes the north – south major artery of the town can be searched. The currently existing

⁹¹¹ Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 89.

⁹¹² In order to recall the discussion on these issues see the evaluation on the urban models in Chapter 3, 3.1. Urban Models.

major artery is the Atatürk Boulevard, which was obviously a later intervention. Just like the new patterns of the east and west adjacent urban parcels, which to a considerable extent did away with the formerly existing pattern after the big fire, the Atatürk Boulevard cleared out the earlier pattern of partially the west edge and partially the urban parcels of the commercial district itself. For instance, Bakır Han the most significant of the currently half standing historical buildings, situated in the same building lot with Çöplü and Kutu Han and Hüsametdin Mosque was partially pulled down to allow the construction of the boulevard. (Figure 5.24) Hence, it seems all at once obvious that, the earlier major artery, running in the north – south direction of the town did not overlap with this modern boulevard.

As the plan layout of the commercial strip suggests, the earliest artery might lead from the east of Lütfü Paşa and Leyse Mosques, crossing Selçuk – Ödemiş Road and continuing from the east of Hüsametdin Mosque, Hasır Pazarı [Wickerwork market], cutting away Kutu Han, leading through Uzun Çarşı, then the street between the Bedesten and Gazazhane Mosque, finally cutting through Ali Efe Hanı continues from the east of Great Mosque and intersects Uzun İrim Street today. (Figure 5.25) Actually, this road noticeably parallels the riverbed of Tabakhane River. Tabakhane River was the continuation of Derekahve, which still exists today. Actually, it was around this Derekahve environs that the neighborhood of the tanners called as Tabakhane of Debbaglı was located and most of the tanner houses took place here until very recently, namely until the early years of the Republic. In these years the riverbed, which carried significant number of bridges on, was converted into a sewage system for sanitary concerns and the riverbed functioned as street from then onwards. As the topographical contours, put differently, the geographical traces suggest, the river almost overlapped Fevzi Paşa Street and paralleled the suggested earliest north – south artery of the town. Hence, it can further be argued that the earliest road, most probably dating to the ancient times moved eastwards after the crowding of the commercial buildings and public edifices, shortly after the development, growth, and shaping of this commercial district. (Figure 5.26, 5.11, 5.15)

Another interrelated argument is that the final destination of this old major artery, which more or less paralleled today's artery was the fortified area, in other words the inner citadel of the town. Yet, as mentioned before, there are no substantial architectural or archaeological evidences, that is, no physical remains are found in this vicinity. The only evidences are from the historical written accounts, and etymological attributions for such probability as highlighted in the beginnings of this discussion on the urban form of Tire. Even so, Evliya Çelebi says that Tire did not have a citadel in the ends of the 17th century, just as Paul Lucas illustrated the town without a citadel in the beginnings of the 18th century. Against

all these negations and deficiencies on the earlier existence of a citadel, the thesis that the town was formerly fortified can still be asserted.

First, comparison with similar towns in terms of geographical conditions, urban form and development patterns hints at the possible existence of an inner citadel. For instance, as repeated many times not only in historical sources like the travel accounts of Evliya Çelebi but also in local magazines and publications of Tire like in the description of the town in the publications of Tire Chamber of Commerce, and in recent researches like in studies of Aslanoğlu and Baykara, the urban setting of Tire reminds Bursa.⁹¹³ Hence, it is likely expected that Tire had a citadel at the end of the major artery of the town. Most probably, the major artery continued by the commercial district and finalized at the former Byzantine fortifications of the former Byzantine town. Plus, like previously discussed Western Anatolian urban centers; Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi, Tire overlapped and developed from the former Byzantine *castron* or *dioisized* settlement centers.⁹¹⁴ In other words, even though not very much similar in its geographical and urban setting, the development of Tire with respect to earlier Byzantine settlement, is similar to these towns. Accordingly, when compared with other Principalities or Ottoman urban centers and the prevailing urban continuity is evident in Tire just like in the others. Hence, in questioning the existence of a citadel prior to Turkish rule the grid pattern of the commercial area, and the old major artery suggests the existence of a Byzantine center, yet a fortified inner citadel at its very end. The analysis of the urban morphology of Tire, comparison with other urban centers, with other Western Anatolian urban centers and Bursa in particular, supports this proposed settlement development pattern of the town.

Second, it is said that neither Evliya Çelebi nor Paul Lucas depicts fortifications in Tire. However, it was mentioned while clarifying the time span of analysis as the focus of this study that the urban developments in Tire after the 16th century, yet subsequent to Celâli Rebellions in the beginning of the 17th century in particular, was not included and examined in depth. The reason lied in the consequences of the Rebellion in the repercussions of urban life in Tire, and a remarkable stagnation and decline in the town, after which a new period begins with the modernization attempts initializing in the 18th century. Nevertheless, it is also mentioned that the leaders of the rebels originated from Western Anatolia and the rebellion spread out

⁹¹³ Evliya Çelebi (2005), pp. 86-89. _____ (1951), *Tire*, pp. 5-7. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 1. Baykara (1994), pp. 9-13. See also Caner Ç. (2007), "Townscape and Building Complexes in Medieval Western Anatolia under Turkish-Islamic Culture", *Power, Ideology and Representation* (A. Cimdina and J. Osmond, eds.) Pisa: Plus, Pisa University Press, pp. 27-48. And, for further discussion about the urban setting of Bursa, see in Chapter 3, 3.1.4. Ottoman City.

⁹¹⁴ For a recall on the development of the urban form of these Western Anatolian centers and a comparative analysis between them, see in Chapter 3, 3.2. History of Urban Form in Western Anatolia.

from here, which functioned as the fort of the revolt.⁹¹⁵ Hence, to suppress the rebellion it is also known that considerable damage was given to these urban centers including Tire. In these lines, Evliya Çelebi narrates the destruction of most of the fortifications in Birgi by the Ottoman commanders while defeating the rebels and maintaining control in the city.⁹¹⁶ In view of that, it is possible to argue that the citadel of Tire was demolished while overpowering the revolt in the region, taking into account that the citadel of Tire was most probably less reinforced and less strong than the one in Birgi. Shortly, the exclusion of fortification within the narrations of Evliya Çelebi and depictions of Paul Lucas does not mean that Tire did not have an inner citadel. On the contrary, it can still be argued that the existing citadel was destroyed before they visited the town and was not built again, since there are no remains left today.

Third, reconsideration of the written accounts such as the property deeds, which are previously mentioned, supports the existence of the inner citadel in Tire. Tahtakale, meaning ‘under the citadel’, environs is located below the suggested citadel location. Still, Çanakçı and Neslihan Masjids and Narin Mosque, whose name is associated with the existence of a citadel, by Baykara, are within the borders of this suggested location. Likewise, even though there are exceptions, the uses of “*der-Tire*” and “*an Mahallât-ı Tire el-Mahrûse*” in recording the neighborhoods through the cadastral registers indicate the existence of a citadel in earlier times. For instance, it is noteworthy that the location of the neighborhoods such as Gebran, Ağaççıyan, and Darbhane recorded with “*der-Tire*” and “*an Mahallât-ı Tire el-Mahrûse*” within the property deeds dating to 1528, overlaps with the proposed location of the citadel.⁹¹⁷ (Figure 5.26, 5.27)

In brief, it is almost evident that Tire had an inner citadel, which was formerly the center of the Byzantine settlement in the town, located at the end of the major north – south artery. Most likely, the citadel was by the probable site of the previous ancient settlement, which was the market place that gradually developed and extended in the succeeding Turkish period. Yet, this continuity of location in relation to earlier settled cultures is repeated in the continuity of functions of particular zones. Explicitly speaking, this commercial district probably corresponded to the major street intersecting with the public spaces, vast gathering places in the ancient times. Subsequently, under the Byzantine rule, it was gradually modified

⁹¹⁵ For further discussion on this issue see Chapter 3, Urban Developments in Western Anatolian Town Centers (14th- 16th Centuries), 3.2.4. Transformation of the Urban Form of Birgi.

⁹¹⁶ Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 92.

⁹¹⁷ For the list of the neighborhoods documented in 1528, see Telci (2008), pp. 22-23.

and yet, shrank towards the fortified area during the times when Byzantine authority was challenged by the Arab, Persian and Turkish attacks, consecutively during the middle ages. The public spaces, which are needles to be included in the protected area and functionally necessitating and preferring placement outside the citadel, close to the main roads, namely the commercial edifices, market places, and bazaars, were located in the south parts of today's commercial district before the Turkish rule in the region.

Opening a parenthesis, Armağan's claims that the *bedesten* was originally built under the Byzantine rule and the Great Mosque was in fact converted from the cathedral of the town are worth to mention at this point.⁹¹⁸ Contrary to Armağan's claims, the *bedesten* of Tire was most probably built in early 15th century. For the reason that it was the most convenient time period, where economy in Tire gradually increased and the town displayed significant urban growth and similar to constructions of equal sized towns in terms of population and amount of trade, a *bedesten* was founded in Tire.⁹¹⁹ As for his claims on the Great Mosque that it was converted from a church, there is no definite decision among most of the scholars. It is most likely that the mosque was an Aydınoğulları contribution founded by Cüneyd Bey in the beginnings of the 15th century, yet, presumably overlapping an earlier existing church on the site.⁹²⁰ Hence, it can also be argued that urban continuity prevailed not only in terms of location, that is to say in relation to the location of the earlier settled cultures, but also in the persistence of function and the location of this function, even in architectural scale in addition to urban scale. Accordingly, the commercial district continued to serve as the commercial center below the citadel, where most of the local Greek population accommodated. The market places and commercial edifices continued steadily to develop and increase after Aydınoğulları conquered the territory. The district further developed and expanded and further thrived with the increasing number of *hans*, shops, market places, bazaars, plus mosques and baths under the Ottoman rule and took its final layout after the foundation of Lütü Paşa Mosque and its dependencies in the north borders.⁹²¹ Yet, the evolution and development of the variations of public "monuments", those fostered by trade and trade roads, in turn effected the shaping and

⁹¹⁸ Armağan (2003), pp. 123, 201-202. See also Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 15, for the conversion of the Great Mosque from a church and _____ (2008), *Tire Rehber*, p. 42. For the *bedesten* to be originally built during the Byzantine period, repeated by Armağan again.

⁹¹⁹ For further discussion on this issue and further details on the architecture of the *bedesten* in Tire see in Appendix A, A.2.3.6. *Bedesten* with the related bibliography in this part.

⁹²⁰ For further discussion on this issue and further details on the architecture of the Great Mosque Tire see in Appendix A, A.2.1.5. Great Mosque with the related bibliography in this part.

⁹²¹ For further Discussion on Lütü Paşa Mosque and its dependencies see in Appendix A, A.2.1.15. Lütü Paşa Mosque with the related bibliography in this part.

transforming their urban contexts, which effected even the makeover of the main arteries of the town. Further details and discussions on this issue are provided in the subsequent section of this chapter. For the time being, it is consequential to turn back and put the last touches on the analysis of the urban form of Tire in its complete patterns and examine the town in its entirety.

Hence, as said before, during the Ottoman rule the commercial district of Tire was the liveliest in Western Anatolia, and among liveliest in Anatolia after Bursa.⁹²² The travel accounts of Polish Simeon in 1610s, Kâtip Çelebi in 1650s, and particularly Evliya Çelebi in 1670s illustrates Tire as a significant trade and urban center. (Figure 5.28) In this respect, where İbn-i Batuta described Tire as “full of vineyards, gardens, and abounding in water!” during the early 14th century and highlighted its fertile lands and landscape rather than trade activities during the early Aydınoğulları rule, Polish Simeon portrayed the town as a trade center three centuries later under the Ottoman rule. In his words,

“a *bender* [busy, much frequented trade center] and *mâmur* [prosperous, developed] urban center, where everyday goods are loaded and caravans leave for their way”.⁹²³

Likewise, a few decades later, Kâtip Çelebi mentions that Tire is the center of the Aydın Sancağı, has lead covered mosques, markets, and baths, and thus, is busy, much frequented trade center, whose citizens are wealthy and practice trade. In his words,

“Evsâfî Tire Aydın’ın pâyitahtıdır [...] Kurşun örtülü camî ve evsâk ve hamamları vardır. Bender şehirdir. Halkı mütemevvîl ve tüccardır”.⁹²⁴

Finally Evliya Çelebi provides a rather detailed narration on Tire. After equating Tire with Bursa and comparing with Manisa, he exhaustively describes its commercial center and even likens it to the one in Aleppo, the highly frequented urban center. In his words,

“Ve bu Tire şehrinin çârsû-yı bâzârının çoğu Bursa esvâkları gibi kârgîr kemer ve tonoz kubbeler ile mebnî Temmûz’da serdâb, şitâda germ ü nerm esvâk-ı sultânîlerdir kim cümlesi iki bin sekiz yüz dükkândır [...] Yayladan bu şehre nazar olunsa gûyâ Haleb şehri gibi kurşunlu bir şehir-i benderdir [he describes the plan layout of the commercial district to chessboard pattern, the white, clean stones covering the streets, and straight streets continuing directly to north, downwards] Husûsâ hafta bâzârı günleri âkıl olan temâşâ-yı bâzâra varmamak gerek. Zîrâ ol bâzârda âdem dilâzâr olup zâr-ı izâr olur. Tâ bu mertebe izdihâm çârsûları vardır.”⁹²⁵

⁹²² For a detailed recall see the previous 5.1.3. Social and Economic History of Tire (14th – 16th Centuries) in this chapter.

⁹²³ İbn-i Batuta (2004), p. 424. Polonyalı Simeon (2007), *Polonyalı Bir Seyyahın Gözünden 16. Asır Türkiyesi*, (H. D. Andreasyan trans., R. Bozyel red.), İstanbul: Kesit Yayınları. p. 32.

⁹²⁴ Cited from Cihannüma, 1145 Tâbî, p. 636, in Yelken U. (1941d), “Tire Hakkında Muhtelif Eserlerde Görülen Yazılar I”, *Küçük Menderes*, 2/8, p. 126.

⁹²⁵ Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 89.

Evliya Çelebi's accounts on Tire are also important for they provide similar observations with this study's deductions on the tripartite division of the town as the west, Yeniceköy division, the east, Ekinhisarı or Bademiye division and finally the central division, which corresponds to the commercial district. He describes the east division as "Evsâf-ı kasaba-i Kara Kadı" and the west one as "Evsâf-ı kasaba-i Yenice", both of which are self-sufficient urban units due to their embodiment of basic urban functions, in other words public facilities together with residential neighborhoods.⁹²⁶

At this point, it is possible to examine the neighborhood developments and shifts of settlement gravity detected from the written sources and spatially associate those within the urban form of Tire, chronologically in particular, endeavoring to differentiate between the Aydınoğulları and the Ottoman periods. To begin with, Aydınoğulları rulers mainly inhabited in Bademiye and Ekinhisarı, namely in the eastern division and also settled within the central division, namely within the commercial district, extending little westwards. In other words, rather than the triple foci of settlement centers, two major foci, one in the east and the other in and around the center prevailed during the Aydınoğulları rule in Tire.

Yet, referring to the buildings founded under the Aydınoğulları rule and court records related to the Aydınoğlu foundations of Tire, it is possible to mention the names of the earliest neighborhoods in the town. These neighborhoods were founded in two distinct locations, the first of which is the town center of Tire, the one that had its roots in the former Byzantine period and the second one is Ekinhisarı, accommodating the governmental center of Aydınoğulları, on the east of Tire's town center. To repeat, Tire was a double centered settlement, where on the east, in Ekinhisarı next to Bademiye, Aydınoğulları rulers probably established their palace, most of their foundations, and hence a considerable number of early neighborhoods. These can be listed as Ekinhisarı (Hisariçi), Yunus Emre, Sofuköy, Ahiler (Taşpazarı), Karacaali, Buğdaydede, Tanrıverdi, Ağaççılar (Kadı), Tabakhane (Debağlı) Neighborhoods, whereas those within the center are Alihan, the earliest of them, Hatuniye,

⁹²⁶ For Evliya's descriptions on Evsâf-ı kasaba-i Kara Kadı see the previous section 5.2.1. Actors Influencing the Making of the Urban Form in Tire and in the previous notes citations from Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 90. Likewise Evliya continues on Yenice as, "Bu dahi Kara Kadı kasabası gibi mollâ hükmünde niyâbetdir. Ve başka subaşısı vardır. Hemân bu dahi ta'rîf [ü] tavsîfden müberrâ bir Heştîyân-ı kerrubiyân midhatinde âciz ü kâsır bir şîrîn Sirem ü İrem-misâl bâğ-ı Merâm'dır. Kırım'da Bâğçesarây'ın Aşlama ve Kaçı bâğlarına mu'âdil belki daha bî-mu'âdil hadîka ve ravza-i cinânî kasaba-i bâğ-ı berîndir. [...] Mûte'addid selâtin kurşumlu câmi' ve medrese ve hân u hammâm [ve] mesâcid ve mekteb ve tekye ve imârâtlar ve çeşmesârlar ile ârâste ve murgzâr gülîstân [u] lâle-ızâr bostânlar ile pîrâste olmuş iki bin kiremit örtülü sarây-ı âlîler ve kâ'a-i vâlîler ile tezyîn olmuş bir kasaba-i şîrîndir. Ve bu semte cum'a günü ve gecesi olunca bu şehrin cem'îli nisvânları gürûh gürûh bu cânib mezâristânına gelüp vâdî-i hâmûşânda hâmûş-bâş yatanları gelüp ziyâret ederler. [...] Ve Tire şehrinin cümle mezâristânı bu cânibdedir. [...]"

Murtaza, Çanakçı, Kalamos, Camii Atik, Şücaeddin (Doğancılar), and Gebran (Greek), and Jewish Neighborhoods, and to the west, Mısırlı.⁹²⁷ (Figure 5.29) Later, in the early 15th century, during the so-called second Aydınoğulları rule in the town, the neighborhoods such as Muarref in the east, within Bademiye and Turunç around the center to the east, and Küçük Hafız, Yayla Fakih, Veled-i Kadı, Tekke, Börekçizade, Hacı Fakihlar, Karacaali, and Yeniceköy within the western division grew. Due to the establishments of new neighborhoods such as Küçük Hafız, Veled-i Kadı, and Yayla Fakih to the west of the Great Mosque, which is located in the neighborhood called Camii Atik and towards even further west, due to the foundation of Tekke and Yeniceköy Neighborhoods, the urban pattern of the town evolved towards a three centered settlement and the borders expanded to west division as well. (Figure 5.30)

Accordingly, the characteristics of the urban form of Tire in its complete patterns can be summarized as follows. Beginning with the initial Aydınoğulları period the town developed and centered around Bademiye on the east on one hand, and commercial district in the center on the other hand. The governmental units, for instance the Aydınoğulları palace was located on the rising slopes in Bademiye, where a new settlement was flourishing around here, like one built from scratch. However, most of the commercial units, markets were located in the center, overlapping and hence transforming the already settled area.

The most favorite spots of inhabitation lied along the steep slopes in the east-west direction, where Ekinhisarı occupied the easternmost and Mısırlı Neighborhood occupied the westernmost edge of the town. Security and ease of defense against unexpected attacks are most probably the motives for this kind of development ascertaining a peripheral growth along the south edges of Tire.⁹²⁸

Aydınoğulları settlement also comprised certain spots within the decreasing contours of the steep topography, namely neighborhoods towards the flatter lands. Ahiler, or in other words Taşpazarı and Sofuköy Neighborhoods on the east division on the flatter lands are significant in this respect. Plus, Gebran in other words Greek, and Şücaeddin or Doğancılar Neighborhoods further north of the commercial district and Hatuniye Neighborhood, accommodating the Jewish community, which is located close to the commercial district on its west, are likewise attentive. For the reason that these settlement spots are aligned and elongated in the east – west direction similar to the ones located along the rising slopes. Yet, the motive behind such

⁹²⁷ Armağan (2003), pp. 77, 85-87.

⁹²⁸ For further discussion on the issue of peripheral growth and its association with the peripheral authority, which was the limit of the Aydınoğulları ruling power in Western Anatolia unlike the central, unifying Ottoman rule of the mid 15th and 16th centuries see Caner (2007), pp. 38-42, Göksu (2006), pp. 281-282.

settlement location preference lied in a different drive, which can be described as trade and road network. Hence, all these spots are established and grew along the Selçuk – Ödemiş road, one of the two main arteries of the town running in the east – west axis. At this point, it has to be added that, commercial district overlapping the already existing commercial area and which lied along the north – south, along the major artery of the town entering from İzmir Road, was not the only but the main, prevailing commercial center of Tire. Put differently, the junction of these two main arteries attracted the greatest amount of trade activities around and hence related spatial growth and development. In this way, the commercial center of Tire developed intersecting the earlier existing settlement pattern along by the north- south artery. However, the east –west artery fostered close by trade activities and related commercial establishments instigating from the Aydınoğulları rule. Taşpazarı and Sofuköy, among the earliest Aydınoğulları Neighborhoods accommodated a considerable amount of trade activities, particularly around Karakadı Mecdettin Complex, in the markets around here, in the non-existing Karakadı Hanı today and nearby the Karakadı Bath, which stands in remains today.

Finally, chronologically examining Aydınoğulları territories of Tire it is seen that the town developed in these very same spots, along the rising topography, along the commercial district and along the Selçuk – Ödemiş Road within the flatter lands. Where only Turunç Neighborhood was newly founded and the other already existing ones steadily prospered in the east division, Küçük Hafız, Veled-i Kadı, and Yayla Fakıh Neighborhoods were settled on the on the rising slopes to the west of Çanakçı Neighborhood. In addition, close by the Selçuk – Ödemiş Highway, Tekke and Yeniceköy Neighborhoods were established to further west.

Concerning the subsequent Ottoman period in Tire, property deeds recorded during the reign of Mehmet II in H. 851-852 / AD. 1448, and later during the reigns of Bayezid II in H. 882-883 / AD. 1478, Selim I in H. 917-927 / AD. 1512-20, and Süleyman I in H. 934-935 / AD. 1528, provide significant information about the existing neighborhoods of their periods and the number of households residing in these neighborhoods. (Table 5.1) Hence, speaking in terms of favorite locations, around which neighborhoods gather, unlike those during the previous Aydınoğulları rule, it is seen that, Ottomans preferred to grow their town from the three centers, which may be called as the west division, Yeniceköy; the east division Bademiye, and finally the center, the rapidly developing commercial district. When the data gathered from the property deeds of the 15th and 16th centuries is associated and evaluated with their spatial translations through the urban plans, the following arguments can be proposed.

Because Tire was only a center of a *sancak*, rather than a capital of a State as it once was, and not even a *şehzadeler şehri* [town in which future Ottoman princes practiced

governance] like Manisa or Amasya during the Ottoman rule, there was no more apparent differentiation as governmental center in terms of spatial structuring and urban divisions. Yet, the commercial district and its spatial development and shaping seems to prevail in this period that its spatial structuring was finalized with the establishment of Lütfü Paşa foundations within its outermost north borders in the 16th century. Hence, it is in this very same period that the commercial center outlined its actual layout and its established spatial organization. Nevertheless, the town generated around three distinct settlement units; one the commercial district in the center and west and east divisions on its both sides in the 15th and the 16th centuries.

Accordingly, in the east division, the already existing neighborhoods such as Taşpazarı and Sofuköy, the earliest and the most populated neighborhoods of the Aydınoğulları period survived. Yet, they were divided into smaller neighborhoods whereas the total number of the households including these newly flourishing neighborhoods increased in time through the Ottoman rule. (Table 5.1) Also, new neighborhoods emerged in between the already existing ones, particularly in the rising slopes on the south borders of the east division. For instance, on the south of Bademiye, Işıklı Neighborhood developed and Küp Neighborhood was established in between Ağaççılar and Bademiye. All these neighborhoods are aligned along the steep topographical contours on the south and concurrently paralleled the secondary road leading from Camii Cedid and Alacamescit, passing by Ekinhisarı on the north and reaching Bademiye and then Işıklı on the south. At this point, it also has to be pointed out that the neighborhoods located on the flatter lands in the north developed around the already existing Sofuköy and Taşpazarı and grew in between Selçuk – Ödemiş Road on the north and the above mentioned secondary road on the south. Hence, the neighborhoods on the flatter lands of the east division were still separated from the center, where the area in between the Greek Neighborhood on the west, next to the commercial district and the Taşpazarı and adjacent neighborhoods on the east, were much lately inhabited. Even, Evliya Çelebi describes these centers as distinct, separated ones in the 1670s which suggests that the connection of these settlements through their extensions dated to later periods or even to late 19th and early 20th centuries, because still the morphology of this area in between differs from its adjacent neighborhoods. (Figure 5.31)

The west division grew rather more rapidly than the east one. The recently established Tekke and Yeniceköy Neighborhoods steadily developed and brought forth the foundation of further public edifices facilitating urban functions, and hence newly flourishing neighborhoods around. Debbâğ Sinan and Abdülvehab Neighborhoods were established next to Tekke and Yeniceköy along the Selçuk – Ödemiş Highway. The smaller, perpendicular branches of this

road towards the south encouraged or were accordingly constructed to connect Şeyhköy Neighborhood, centered around Yavukluoğlu Complex, on the southwest fringes of the town. Besides, to the east, Yahşi Bey Neighborhood was established around Yahşi Bey Mosque near the Jewish quarters by this Selçuk – Ödemiş Road, towards its intersection with the commercial district. Even so, the most intriguing development to indicate the rapid urban growth in the west division is the increasing number of new urban establishments both as neighborhoods and as architectural complexes facilitating these establishments. Tarakçızade, Takkacızade, Hasan Çelebi, Yalınayak, Hacı Müderris, and Miskince Neighborhoods, those scattered from the south steep slopes towards the flatter lands near Yahşi Bey, were the newly developing neighborhoods in between already existing Çanakçı, Yayla Fakih, Mısırlı, Küçük Hafız, and Veled-i Kadı Neighborhoods. Hence, referring to the distribution of the neighborhoods in the west division, it is seen that this particular section of the town became gradually inhabited through the Ottoman rule and grew in a way to interconnect Yeniceköy and its adjacent neighborhoods on the west with the others frequented in number on the east, next to the commercial district. Later, in the 18th and 19th centuries respectively Ağa and Alaybey Mosques are founded in this quarter. (Figure 5.32)

Last but not least, as touched upon before, the commercial district attained its final layout that can still be traced under the Ottoman rule in the 15th and 16th centuries. As already said, the commercial district displays continuity in terms of function as the commercial public center from the very beginning, since it was established. Yet, it is during the Ottoman rule that, these market places were architecturally substantiated and made durable due to the foundation of big, enduring commercial structures, the so-called *hans* and the *bedesten*, accommodating and setting forth the trade of rather precious goods. Hence, the dates of the major public edifices, which shaped and were shaped by the urban fabric, point to the development schemes of the spatial organization of this particular part of the city. The spatial organization, which was attained by the closed spaces, in other words durable buildings and the semi-open and open spaces, in other words market places, instigated in two distinct spots, which extended and interconnected in time. On one hand, below the supposedly existing citadel, the Great Mosque and on its north Terziler Bath were already established under the Aydınoğulları rule.⁹²⁹ This vicinity corresponded to the market place of the Aydınoğulları at the end of the major artery on the north –south axis, which finalized at the probable citadel. In a little while the *Bedesten* a little more on the north, and shortly after Gazazhane Mosque next to it, were founded along the

⁹²⁹ For further information on these architectural works and those mentioned below see Appendix A, General Description of the Buildings in Tire.

major artery. On the other hand, at the intersection of the two major arteries of the town, namely at the intersection of İzmir and Selçuk – Ödemiş Road trade related spaces were already frequented during the Aydınoğulları period, since there was Doğancılar Neighborhood established on the north of the Selçuk – Ödemiş Road and or Hüsamettin in other words Hasır Pazarı Mosque built within the so-called Hasır Pazarı.⁹³⁰ By the subsequent Ottoman rule, particularly first with the initiations of Halil Yahşi Bey, the commander of Murad II and the first *sancakbeyi* in Tire, and second during the reign of Mehmed II, this area was highly articulated with the construction of significant architectural works, facilitating the urban functions at this crucial junction. Clearly speaking, while Halil Yahşi Bey had Çöplü and Kutu Han and Tahtakale Bath constructed within this building lot, the area attained its final layout with the definition of the Tahtakale Square and the building of Tahtakale Mosque across. Later, Uzun Çarşı was built to link these two building lots, one on the north and the other on the south. Concurrently, with the foundations of Lütfü Paşa in particular, the area was further articulated with significant architectural edifices, for instance with the construction of Bakır Han next to Çöplü and Kutu Hans. Still, the commercial district was also further extended, where Doğancılar Neighborhood on the north of the main road became spatially organized with the foundations of Lütfü Paşa Mosque and Madrasa, Yeni Han, and Leyse Mosque. Hence, the district attained its final spatial layout in terms of backbone structures with the monumental examples of urban architecture like the durable and comparatively larger scale public buildings, after Ali Efe Hanı, next to Terziler Bath and the Bedesten, was founded during the reign of Süleyman I and Yeni Mosque was constructed next to Gazazhane Mosque across the main road during the reign of the subsequent sultan Selim II. (Figure 5.23, 5.28, 5.33)

Nevertheless, the commercial district transformed into the core, in other words the heart of Tire, similar to the Bursa model. In this very center of Tire, not only mere commerce but also fostered by commerce and fostering commerce in turn, dynamic urban life full of public activities and social encounters took place through the 14th and 16th centuries. Accordingly, the urban structuring and the plan layout of this district transformed within this framework and further re-transformed and challenged this very framework taking as well into account physically existing related factors such as the main roads and the components of the urban form.

Furthermore, it has to be highlighted that it was rather proximity to road network and similar urban functions than security purposes, which acted as the driving forces for urban

⁹³⁰ For further information on these architectural works and those mentioned below see Appendix A, General Description of the Buildings in Tire.

growth, as vividly exemplified in the layout of the neighborhoods in Tire during the Ottoman rule in comparison to former Aydınoğulları period. Yet, as already mentioned, the making of these very same neighborhoods are also encouraged, shaped, and even transformed by the components of these urban units, namely the public buildings, building groups and spaces as particular “monuments” functioning as urban generators, or in other words “urban artifacts” like in Bursa model. These edifices are either built in the beginning to foster establishment of a settlement unit around themselves. Or they are gradually built in a settled unit to respond to the social, religious, and related public facilities of its inhabitants and / or to further enhance the urban living in that unit. For instance, in the west division of the town, Şeyhköy Neighborhood generated after the foundation of Yavukluoğlu Complex, whereas Yeniceköy Neighborhood, which had its roots in the Aydınoğulları period, grew and prospered later and Hamza Ağa Complex was founded in this neighborhood in the late 17th century. Likewise, Tabakhane Neighborhood was established by the flowing water of Tabakhane River, on the south fringes of the town, away from the city center and populated neighborhoods. Tanners accommodated and tanner houses gathered in this neighborhood. Whatsoever, even though developed and shaped due to particular commercial functions, the neighborhood grew after the construction of a masjid.

Yet, what is of utmost importance within this two way encounters of trade, proximity to road network, and other related driving forces for urban development on one hand, and construction of public buildings, building groups and spaces as urban generators on the other hand, is not which one fostered the other. Instead, urban transformation is a dynamic process, which is influenced by and in turn influences these encounters. For example, Taşpazarı Neighborhood for the most part developed due to proximity to main roads, yet concurrently developed due to the foundations of Karakadı Mecdettin, those including the mosque and madrasa, bath, tomb, and nearby *han* as its dependencies. Once occupied by Tamerlane and his army in the beginning of the 15th century, the surrounding of the complex was named after itself and yet, Evliya Çelebi names even the east division of Tire as “kasaba-i Karakadı” in the late 17th century. Just like Karakadı Mecdettin Complex, public buildings and building groups are discussed below, in terms of their evolution and development to function as urban generators and their contribution to the making of the urban form in Tire.

5.3. Evolution and Development of Building Groups and Their Role as Urban Generators in Tire

It is already mentioned in the previous chapters that public welfare and settlement and development pursuits were among the motives in the wake of establishing such architectural complexes, or so to speak, building groups.⁹³¹ Yet, as constantly repeated, building groups and significant public buildings are inseparable parts of their urban contexts, where they dynamically influence, transform, and shape each other through time.⁹³² In other words, they are “urban artifacts”, urban nuclei those generate the making of their surrounding urban fabric, while being spatially evolved and developed with noticeable concern of this very same urban context. Tire is a noteworthy urban center in this respect that it witnessed the evolution and development of building groups and of significant public buildings in close relation with the making of its urban form and socio-economic patterns of daily life during the Aydınoğulları and the subsequent Ottoman rules between the 14th and 16th centuries. Hence, what kind of building groups and public architectural monuments evolved and developed within the increasing trade activities and urban functions of Tire in this particular period, is analyzed below.

First the architectural transformation of the building groups considering the facilities, in other words functions included in the building group; relation of the buildings in the group with respect to each other; the physical properties of the buildings in the group; and finally the use of building materials and construction techniques of these buildings are taken into account. Second, through these architectural characteristics, the integration of these buildings with their urban contexts such as their location in the town and relation to their surrounding urban setting are discussed. Next, the same discussions are conducted for single buildings with multi-functions and single buildings with single functions, both of which generate making of the urban form. Within this framework, probable evolved and/or developed variations of public monuments are suggested. Finally, their role in transforming the urban form of Tire and shaping its townscape, and how this makeover remodeled the spatial layout and/or furthered the architectural design principles of these urban generators in return, or put another way, after a kind of feed-back, is discussed.

⁹³¹ See in Chapter 4, 4.1. Definitions, Origins, Design and Management of *Külliyes* [Building Complexes].

⁹³² For further discussion see in Chapter 4, See 4.4. Evolution and Development of Building Complexes and their Relation with their Urban Contexts.

To begin with, the inclusion of buildings serving other functions than religious ones, like social, educational, commemorative, charitable as well as commercial, displayed new experiences in the architectural practice of the 14th and 15th centuries, which point to the ambition of the founders, in other words the ruling elite to facilitate public welfare, to further settlement and development and to epitomize their power. Among these building groups there were foundations flourished around a mosque serving as social institutions on one hand, and there were hospices, dervish lodges frequented with the rise of Sufi orders and heterodox Islam through the Principalities and the early years of the Ottoman rule on the other hand.

Significant *Sufis*, dervishes, leaders of heterodox Islamic communities, who ran away from the chaotic socio-political milieu of the east just like the significant scholars, philosophers, artists, and scientists of the period, were welcomed by *Aydinoğulları* similar to other Turkish Principalities right after the end of the Seljuk authority in Anatolia.⁹³³ Hence, these people were in the lead in transforming the urban life and the urban form in relation, as well as conducting the settlement of the Turkish communities in the newly conquered lands by the Turkish commanders and rulers. Yet, the transformation in the urban setting due to these figures was not as rigorous and as apparent as in the former Seljuk towns, for instance in Tokat, Amasya, and Sivas in Central Anatolia. For the reason that the Western Anatolian territory was already taken over from the Byzantines and there was kind of a rather united instead of separated transformation of urban life and urban form initiated by heterodox dervishes and orthodox rulers in alliance.⁹³⁴

In these circumstances, the case in Tire was fairly similar to the one in Bursa that, most of the dervish lodges, hospices were founded in the nearby villages of Tire, while the town also accommodated considerable number of these edifices, yet not as durable as mosques and as other building groups gathering around mosques.⁹³⁵ For instance, Balım Sultan Zaviyesi in Hisarlık Village, next to Tire still exists and even continues to function as a sacred precinct. (Figure 5.34) However, Buğday Dede Zaviyesi in Buğday Dede Neighborhood, on the steep

⁹³³ For a recall see in the previous chapters, in Chapter 2, 2.3.1. Historical Outline of Turkish Infiltration and 2.4.1. Establishment and Rise of the Ottoman State. See in Chapter 4, 4.2. Definitions, Origins, Design, and Management of *Zaviyes* [Dervish Lodges], and their Relation with Their Urban Contexts and particularly for Tire see in this chapter, 5.2.1. Actors Influencing the Making of the Urban Form of Tire.

⁹³⁴ For the transformation of the urban setting in Tokat, Amasya, and Sivas fostered by the dervishes and substantiated with the foundation of the considerable number of dervish lodges see Wolper E. S. (2003). *Cities and Saints, Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

⁹³⁵ On the issue of founding dervish lodges during the early Ottoman period and for further discussion on Bursa examples considering their locations in urban and rural contexts see Barkan Ö. L. (1942). "İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler". *Vakıflar Dergisi*. 2. pp. 279-304.

slopes of the south edges of central Tire partially stands, where only part of the tomb, the grave of the dervish survives. Furthermore, the name of Ali Han Zaviyesi continues with in name of the former neighborhood, Ali Han neighborhood of the town. Even, Yağcızade Zaviyesi in Tire only exists in the foundation charters, do not physically survive, however, still continues in the “collective memory” of the people, where a tomb is attributed in the town’s cemetery with the name Yağcızade. Yet, most of these hospices and hospice complexes were less durable and less monumental structures. The still standing ones are actually located in the less accessible, fringed spots of the town or outside the town and frequented only during the Aydınoğulları and early Ottoman rule. In the end, architecturally speaking and concentrating on the urban context, dervish lodges in Tire are not as crucial as the rest of the building groups, which are significant parts, components of the urban setting of the town. Nevertheless, it has to be reminded that, they must have transformed the town, its nearby surroundings and life ongoing in these lands in that period, particularly when compared with the compact, introverted, and even secluded buildings and building groups of the Anatolian Seljuk examples of the former Turkish-Islamic architectural tradition. For the reason that, the dervish lodges were most probably more open, giving way to more social interaction and becoming a part of the daily life of the dwellers in its nearby vicinity, as suggested in the earlier examples from Anatolia.⁹³⁶

Unlike the dervish lodges in Tire, building groups, which embody various functions like religious, educational, social, commemorative, charitable and/or commercial and are constructed around a mosque either at the same time as original designs or in the course of time, influenced, transformed, developed, and shaped their urban contexts. Hence, architectural evolution and development of these building groups in Tire, with particular emphasis on their urban setting is discussed below. Plus, the dynamic relation, in terms of two-way transformation between the building groups and the urban fabric, in which they are located, is highlighted.

First, number of facilities in a building group indicates the variety of urban functions it assists, hence it indicates the probable multiplication of social encounters and production of urban spaces. When compared to other Western Anatolian towns of the same period, the number of building groups is more in Tire than the other towns such as Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi. So is the number of facilities included in most of these building groups in Tire. These groups in Tire mostly in Tire comprise mosques and as its dependencies; tombs, baths, fountains, and/or madrasas and sometimes public kitchens. The *hans* and shops are built as

⁹³⁶ For the earlier examples and their role in enhancing urban space see Wolper (2003), pp. 42-71.

income providers to these building groups, yet, architecturally speaking they are constructed in distant locations than the other buildings in the group and so do not establish a complex all together in architectural terms. In general, there are examples of association of two facilities according to the remaining, still standing edifices in Tire, however, the historical accounts point to at least three facilities getting together. (Table 5.3) Çanakçı Masjid and Bath and Mehmet Bey Mosque together with the fountain inserted on its façade and the attributed madrasa mentioned in the written sources are examples of building groups with least facilities from the Aydınoğulları period.⁹³⁷ Yet, during this early period of the newly settling Turkish-Islamic culture in the region, Hafsa Hatun Mosque and Complex in Bademiye, commissioned by a member of the Royal family of Aydınoğulları, is a significant building group comprising a bath, a tomb, a dervish lodge, a public kitchen, and a fountain as dependencies of the mosque, where no more than some remaining walls of the mosque and bath stand today.⁹³⁸

The only compatible building group with Hafsa Hatun, in terms of the number of facilities included, is Karakadı Mecdettin Complex commissioned by a theologian, jurist of the late Aydınoğulları period. The complex comprises a mosque and a madrasa, a bath, a tomb, and a nearby *han* as its dependencies.⁹³⁹ As mentioned before, the neighborhood in which the complex was founded continued its rapid development and growth, especially subsequent to the foundation of this complex enhancing public welfare and urban functions in the vicinity. Yet, the vicinity took the name of the complex, and even referring to Evliya Çelebi the entire east division of the town was named as “kasaba-i Karakadı” in the late 17th century. Hence, once the neighborhood was established on a rather busy location, which was easy to access, close by the main road, the commissioning of architectural foundations and establishment of social institutions providing public services were fostered. These in return, encouraged the development of this same neighborhood, its urbanization process and furthered the urban life. (Figure 5.35) Then again, Hafsa Hatun Complex was founded on a hilly, rather secluded spot, on the southern fringes of the same, east division. The vicinity rapidly transformed into a significant neighborhood during the Aydınoğulları period due to the urban functions and public facilities assisted by the complex and survived through the Ottoman rule between the 15th and 16th centuries, as a distinct settlement unit bound to Bademiye on the east of Tire. Yet, since not

⁹³⁷ For further details on Çanakçı Masjid and Bath and Mehmet Bey Mosque, see in Appendix A, A.1.11. Çanakçı Masjid and Bath, and, A.2.1.2. Mehmet Bey Mosque, with the related bibliography in the same parts.

⁹³⁸ For further details on Hafsa Hatun Mosque and Complex, see in Appendix A, A.1.1. Hafsa Hatun Mosque and Complex, with the related bibliography in the same parts.

⁹³⁹ For further details on Karakadı Mecdettin Complex, see in Appendix A, A.1.3. Karakadı Mecdettin Complex, with the related bibliography in the same parts.

provided with further urban functions such as trade activities, market places and not closely located to a highway, this settlement unit did not prosper as Karakadı. Not surprisingly, in return, the complex gradually converted into a rural from an urban complex, transforming and transformed by its environmental context. (Figure 5.36)

Apart from the complexes, building groups dating to Aydınoğulları period were comparatively modest foundations regarding the variety of facilities included in the foundations. For instance, Karahasan Mosque and Tomb, which was supposed to include also a madrasa according to historical accounts and Kazirzade Complex, which comprised a mosque and a madrasa and supposedly also a public kitchen referring to historical documents, are among these relatively humble building groups.⁹⁴⁰ (Table 5.3) Still, procuring communal religious activities and educative as well as commemorative and charity purposes, these building groups functioned as “urban artifacts” generating the making and growth of their surrounding vicinities. Where Veled-i Kadı Neighborhood developed around Kazirzade Complex, Miskince Neighborhood grew around Karahasan Mosque and Tomb. (Figure 5.31) Yet, these building groups advanced both social and spatial transformations to a considerable extent that through the subsequent periods, these foundations attracted the construction of additional building groups nearby such as Yahşi Bey Mosque near Karahasan and Yalınayak Complex and Ağa Mosque, towards the flatter lands, on the north of Kazirzade Complex. Accordingly, the street network was gradually shaped to interconnect these urban nuclei, where concurrently these edifices were constructed taking into account their urban contexts. In other words, it was not only the number and variety of the facilities included in a building group, but also, architecturally speaking, the relation of these facilities with each other and more important than that their relation with the urban context, in which they are located. Hence, this issue is discussed right after pointing out the developments in the evolution of building groups through the Ottoman period. (Figure 5.37)

Through the Ottoman period, the number and variety of facilities included in the building groups increased in most cases. For instance, depending on the still surviving edifices and written accounts Kara Hayrettin and Süratli Mehmet Paşa Mosques, both founded in the early 15th century during the Ottoman rule, encompassed madrasa, bath and fountain as their

⁹⁴⁰ For further details on Karahasan Mosque and Tomb and Kazirzade Complex see in Appendix A, A.1.4. Karahasan Mosque and Tomb, A.1.2. Kazirzade Complex, with the related bibliography in the same parts.

dependencies.⁹⁴¹ Likewise, both are located by the secondary roads running in the east – west direction, parallel with the elongation of the town settlement, whereas each was located in differing divisions of the town. Whatsoever, neighborhoods generated around them gradually developed and prospered as Mısırlı in the west and Paşa in the east division, establishing self-contained residential neighborhoods, which are sustained with sufficient urban functions to respond to the needs of such communities. Due their location close by the secondary road and neighboring settlement units, these building groups socially and spatially transformed or better to say developed and provided urban growth, influenced the shaping of the street network in their surrounding neighborhoods. (Figure 5.37)

There were also building groups including a mosque and madrasa, tomb, and public kitchen as its dependencies commissioned during the Ottoman period in the 15th century. Kazanoğlu Complex whose mosque only survived, and Molla Mehmet Çelebi Complex whose mosque and tomb structures only stood still in Ekinhisarı and Ağaççılar Neighborhoods respectively are among these building groups.⁹⁴² Yet, these neighborhoods were already established during the former Aydınoğulları rule. Where Ekinhisarı accommodated the Aydınoğulları Palace and in a way functioned as the governmental center of the town, Ağaççılar Neighborhood was renowned for its woodcrafts masters and located almost outside the town, on one of the highest spots, apparently separated from the town during the Aydınoğulları rule. Yet, in order to facilitate the required public services of these neighborhoods building groups were commissioned in the 15th century under the subsequent Ottoman rule. Not surprisingly, these neighborhoods grew and enhanced in its urban life, where for instance, Ağaççılar became a connected, integrated part of the town soon after the foundation of Molla Mehmet Çelebi Complex.⁹⁴³ (Figure 5.37)

Molla Arap Complex, comprising a mosque, a madrasa, a bath and a public kitchen was founded in Yahşi bey Plain, further from the town to the north.⁹⁴⁴ Hence, due to this extensive distance, it was most probably constructed as a rural building complex on purpose. It can further be suggested that the complex was almost like a self-sufficient monastery, where

⁹⁴¹For further details on Kara Hayrettin and Süratli Mehmet Paşa Mosques, see in Appendix A, A.2.1.7. Kara Hayrettin Mosque, and A.2.1.8. Süratli Mehmet Paşa Mosque, with the related bibliography in the same parts.

⁹⁴² For further details on Kazanoğlu and Molla Çelebi Complexes see in Appendix A, A.1.7. Molla Çelebi Mosque and Tomb, and A.2.1.13. Kazanoğlu Mosque, with the related bibliography in the same parts.

⁹⁴³ For the integration of Ağaççılar Neighborhood during the Ottoman rule see Armağan (2003), p. 85.

⁹⁴⁴ For further details on Molla Arap Complex see in Appendix A, A.1.8. Molla Arap Complex, with the related bibliography in the same part.

the dwellers, most likely the students devote themselves to religious practice, learning, and the kind of life ongoing in the complex and get secluded from the daily routine and crowd of the town. Yet, Yavukluoğlu Complex commissioned earlier than Molla Arap, during the midst of the 15th century was also founded outside the borders of the town during that period. The complex embodied the greatest number, or in other words, the most varied facilities among its earlier or later building groups in Tire. There was a madrasa, an observatory, a public kitchen, a bath, a library, and a *muvakkithane* [lodge of the timekeeper] as the dependencies of the mosque in the building group.⁹⁴⁵ Şeyhköy Neighborhood on the southwestern edge of the town, which developed almost on valley-like lands towards Yeniceköy on the north, generated with the foundation of Yavukluoğlu Complex. Allowed by the topographical conditions, the neighborhoods and particularly Yavukluoğlu Complex functioning as its urban nucleus furthered the development of the street network in order to connect the neighborhood with the entire town. (Figure 5.37, 5.38) The integration with the circulation layout in the town is probably the reason why Şeyhköy survived and Yavukluoğlu Complex was not abandoned through time even though located on the fringes of the town. Nevertheless, the role of the Complex, which embodied the most varied facilities, in other words public services to further urban life in the vicinity must not be underestimated.

After Yavukluoğlu Complex, Lütfü Paşa Mosque, its dependencies and its income providers comprised the greatest number of, in other words, the most varied facilities within a foundation.⁹⁴⁶ The buildings were commissioned by Lütfü Paşa, the groom and grand vizier of Selim I and Süleyman I, who is at the same time the renowned Ottoman historian. Where the only standing building is the mosque of the complex, within the foundation charter of Lütfü Paşa it is stated that the mosque had a madrasa on its north, kitchen, stables and other related service spaces on its west, lodging units for the personnel, and shops on its south across which a *han* is located on the adjacent building lot.⁹⁴⁷ Lütfü Paşa Mosque and its dependant buildings,

⁹⁴⁵ For further details on Yavukluoğlu Complex see in Appendix A, A.1.6. Yavukluoğlu Complex, with the related bibliography in the same part.

⁹⁴⁶ For further details on Lütfü Paşa Mosque and its dependencies see in Appendix A, A.2.1.15. Lütfü Paşa Mosque, and for further details on the income providers to Lütfü Paşa Foundations see A.3.3.3. Bakır Han, and A.2.3.5. Yeni Han with the related bibliography in the same parts.

⁹⁴⁷ “[...] Batı tarafında müştemilatına bitişik bir bina ve bir ekmek fırını ve bir mutfak ve bunlara uzunlamasına bitişik bir ambar vardır. Bunların cümlesi kiremt ile örtülüdür. Doğu ve kuzeyinde yapılmış yedi göz kışlık oda ve ayrıca kapı önünde yine bir kışlık oda mevcuttur. Bunların cümlesi kırak ile örtülüdür. Kible tarafında, bahçe duvarının dışında oniki göz dükkanlar vardır. Bunlar bahçeye bitişiktir. Kuzey tarafına da dış medrese yapılmıştır. Burada onbir derslane ve onbeş hücre bulunmaktadır. Fakat bu caminin mütevellisi olan kişinin içine evli kiracılar koyması veya dilerse evli olmayan kiracılar koyması için derslane ve hücreler birbirinden ayrılıp ayrı odalar haline getirilmiştir. Bu tür kiracılar bulunmadığı takdirde, kiracı bulununcaya kadar mütevellinin kendi ve yakınlarının da

which architecturally speaking, define a building group were located on the northernmost location of the commercial district, the former Şücaeddin / Doğançılar Neighborhood already established during the Aydınogulları period. The neighborhood, promoted still due to its location at the junction of the main roads of the town, was further urbanized after the foundation of Lütfü Paşa Mosque and Madrasa. Also, it developed as a busier trade zone subsequent to the foundation of the building group, which as well included shops within its urban parcel and a *han*, namely Yeni Han across. Furthermore, even though not architectural parts but only income providers of the foundation, Bakır Han and Eski – Yeni Bath encouraged and accelerated the development of urban life in Tire. Bakır Han was constructed at the very heart of the commercial district next to Çöplü and Kutu Hans and Tahtakale Square. Eski -Yeni Bath was founded in İbni Hatip Neighborhood, already established during the reign of Mehmed II, between Camii Atik and Veled-i Kadı, and Küçük Hafız Neighborhoods and it promoted urban life in this neighborhood that the population of the number of households increased to 59 from 44 in the early 16th century.⁹⁴⁸

Stepping through late 16th century in search for the evolution of building groups in terms of variety of functions included, it is said that the general tendency of inclusion of four distinctive facilities in a building group continued well through the 16th century. For instance, Şeyh Complex, comprising a mosque, a bath, a madrasa and according to the written accounts a tomb as its dependencies was founded by Şeyh Nusreddin Efendi, brother of the *Şeyhülislam* [Chief religious official] of the period on the west of Derekahve.⁹⁴⁹ At this spot, there was already a neighborhood established as Tarakçızade as a district of the comb manufacturers and traders in the early 16th century.⁹⁵⁰ Yet, when the number of householders residing in the neighborhood increased from 28 to 37, the neighborhood masjid most probably could not

oturmalarına izin verilmiştir. Yukarıda adı geçen odalar ile camii şerifin haremlerine bitişik batı tarafında bir ahur bina olunmuştur. Koloz yapı ile yapılp üzeri kırakla örtülüdür. Odaların batı tarafında tahminen iki evlek boş bir yer vardır. Bu yerin etrafı kibl , batı ve doğu tarafından umumi yol, kuzeyden camii şerif bahçesi ile çevrilidir.” Cited from “*Lütfü Paşa bin Abdülmuin*” *Vakfi Defteri, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations*, H. 950 / AD. 1543 in Ertekin (2007), pp. 30-31. Plus, the salaries of the personnel, the qualification of the personnel employed, and the other expenses of the foundation are also stated in this charter. See the citation from “*Lütfü Paşa bin Abdülmuin*” *Vakfi Defteri, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations*, H. 950 / AD. 1543 in Ertekin (2007), pp. 45 - 52.

⁹⁴⁸ For the information gathered from the property deeds, on the reign of Mehmed II see Akın (1968), p. 135, and on the reign of Selim I, see Telci (2008), p. 29.

⁹⁴⁹ For further details on Şeyh Nusreddin Complex see Appendix A, General Description of the Buildings in Tire, A.1. Building Groups, A.1.9. Şeyh Mosque, Madrasa, and Bath with the related bibliography in the same part.

⁹⁵⁰ Armağan (2003), p. 90.

suffice.⁹⁵¹ Hence, Şeyh Complex fulfilled the urban functions such as the communal religious acts, educative purposes and social and public services with founding a mosque, a tomb, a madrasa, and a bath and fountains of this neighborhood. Likewise, Yalınayak Complex was founded by Hasan Çavuş, the son of the vizier Ferhat Paşa during the reigns of Süleyman I, and Selim II, in the late 16th century, in a flourishing district of Tire. The building group comprised a mosque and a bath, a madrasa depending on the currently extinct however surviving remains until the 2000s, a tomb and fountain according to the historical accounts.⁹⁵² Yalınayak Complex giving its name to the neighborhood was founded between the physically smaller, yet demographically crowded neighborhoods such as Yayla Fakih, Küçük Hafız and Veled-i Kadı as most populated of all, accommodating 25 – 30 households. It is likely expected that subsequent to the construction of the building group, the quality of urban life and public services were enhanced, hence urban spaces giving way to social encounters of the inhabitants were multiplied.

Thus far, conclusions regarding the variety of facilities included in a building group both through its evolution and concerning its role within the urban context can be summarized. So that, a clearer picture on the issue is illustrated before going into an analysis on the production of urban spaces in relation to the spatial organization in these building groups according to the location of each building and their location in their surrounding urban units. First, it is noticeable that the increase in population is directly proportional with the rate of urbanization, in other words urban growth. Yet, urban growth brings together the foundation of building groups. The diachronic evaluation and comparison between Aydınogulları and the subsequent Ottoman periods suggest that Ottoman period witnessed further urban growth and development so did more number of building groups constructed. Second, the number and variety of facilities included in the building groups is also conditional on the degree of urban growth and enhancement of urban life. Excluding the exceptions, chronologically speaking, the later the building groups, the more and varied facilities they accommodated. Except for Karakadı Mecdettin and Hafsa Hatun, Aydınogulları building groups for the most part comprised two or three different facilities. Yet, during the Ottoman rule, most of the building groups comprised four distinct facilities, except for Yavukluoğlu Complex built in the midst of the 15th century. Third, the kind of facilities altered when the building groups founded in the

⁹⁵¹ For the information about the populace gathered from the property deeds see Telci (2008), p. 29.

⁹⁵² For further details on Yalınayak Complex see in Appendix A, A.1.10. Yalınayak Mosque and Bath with the related bibliography in the same part.

Aydinoğulları and later in the Ottoman period are compared. During the 14th and early 15th centuries, in other words, during the early years of Turkish infiltration in the region dervish lodges and hospices prevailed with other building groups developed around mosques. Even though not a considerable number of these survived as mentioned before, still this kind of facility was likely to be included in some Aydinoğulları building groups such as Hafsa Hatun Complex. Even so, through the mid and late 15th and especially the 16th centuries, when the Ottoman authority in the territory was guaranteed and definitely settled, the commercial functions seem to be included in the building groups and yet they still prevailed as single buildings, too. Nevertheless, it was during the Ottoman period that trade activities furthered and volume of trade increased and hence the architecture, put differently, the spatial organization of the commercial district was remodeled.

Then again, as stated before, some of the buildings in the groups still stand, whereas information about the existence of others can only be collected from historical accounts. Now it can be discussed how these varied facilities came together, in other words, how these differing functions were spatially organized not only in relation to each other in the group but also within the urban contexts. To begin with, the former Turkish-Islamic building groups, particularly those commissioned during the Seljuk rule, are compact, introverted and least communicating with the outside. In comparison, the early building groups founded by the ruling elite of the Aydinoğulları Principality in Tire are obviously more open, extraverted, and in closer contact with the outside due to their façade articulations. Concurrently, they are rather organically and separately organized, where the edifices are spatially related to each other in fairly loose and scattered modes. For instance, as can be seen from the remaining edifices of Hafsa Hatun Complex, the relation of the mosque and bath is fairly interconnected, when their distance from each other and orientation with respect to each other are considered.⁹⁵³ Likewise, even the minaret was built separately in Kazirzade Complex, whereas both the mosque and the remaining madrasa rooms are oriented towards the same direction, which implies that they shared a common open space in their front.⁹⁵⁴ Hence, in later Aydinoğulları example, namely in Karahasan Mosque and Tomb, the location of the mosque and the tomb with respect to each

⁹⁵³ For further details on Hafsa Hatun Complex see in Appendix A, A.1.1. Hafsa Hatun Mosque and Complex with the related bibliography in the same part.

⁹⁵⁴ For further details on Kazirzade Complex see in Appendix A, A.1.2. Kazirzade Complex with the related bibliography in the same part.

other again suggests the production of a shared open space in between, even though they are not yet geometrically well defined.⁹⁵⁵ (Figure 5.39)

Nevertheless, towards the ends of the Aydınoğulları rule, more developed design principles in terms of more integrated spatial organizations in the building groups began to be produced. For instance, in the plan layout of Karakadı Mecdettin Complex, the loose, scattered units of the group gradually get together, and hence display spatial transformations in the period towards formally more geometric and architecturally more well-defined spaces.⁹⁵⁶ Explicitly speaking, where the bath is still not architecturally integrated in the building group, the planning of the mosque and the madrasa units together, sharing the same courtyard, point to refined spatial definitions frequented in particular through the classical Ottoman period. (Figure 5.40)

During the Ottoman rule in Tire, the spatial layouts of the building groups seems to evolve towards more integrated and geometrical designs, while the relation of the buildings in the group with respect to each other becomes more intact and well-defined. For the most part, the facilities, particularly mosque and madrasa structures in Ottoman building groups are designed to share a common open space, namely the courtyard between the two structures, so that a kind of urban space is produced to allow social encounters and interactions among the citizens. Yavukluoğlu, Molla Arap and most probably Molla Çelebi and Lütü Paşa, referring to historical account and conditions of the construction site, are examples of such integrated designs.⁹⁵⁷ (Figure 5.40) Whatsoever, when compared with this intact spatial layout of madrasa and mosques, the relation of the baths in the building groups remain less direct, less integrated and less interconnected with the other structures. For instance, the baths of Molla Arap and Şeyh Nusreddin Complexes are both distant and indifferently oriented considering the rest of the buildings in the group. Plus, in Yalınayak Complex, even though closely located, the mosque and the bath are situated on differing levels, and they neither share a common open space nor they are oriented to each other except for the street passing in between them.⁹⁵⁸ (Figure 5.41, 5.42) Within these rather integrated designs in comparison to Aydınoğulları

⁹⁵⁵ For further details on Karahasan Mosque and Tomb see in Appendix A, A.1.4. Karahasan Mosque and Tomb with the related bibliography in the same part.

⁹⁵⁶ For further details on Karakadı Mecdettin Complex see in Appendix A, A.1.3. Karakadı Mecdettin Complex with the related bibliography in the same part.

⁹⁵⁷ For further discussion on this issue see in Appendix A, A.1.6. Yavukluoğlu Complex, A.1.7. Molla Mehmet Çelebi Mosque and Tomb, A.1.8. Molla Arap Complex and A.2.15 Lütü Paşa Mosque with the related bibliography in the same parts.

⁹⁵⁸ For further discussion on this issue see in Appendix A, A.1.10. Yalınayak Mosque and Bath with related bibliography in the same part.

period, there are exceptions which display organic layouts, where buildings are fairly located irrelevant to each other. Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb and to some extent Şeyh Nusreddin Complex are attentive in this respect.⁹⁵⁹ Particularly in site plan layout, Şeyh Nusreddin Complex displays similarities with early Ottoman Bursa examples in the sense that topography plays an important role in scattered spatial organization of the edifices in varied levels and orientations.⁹⁶⁰

Accordingly, the following can be proposed on the building groups according to the location of each building, plus the location of all in their surrounding urban units, and the probable production of urban spaces derived from these spatial organizations. First, the parting of facilities from each other in separate structures yielding to more organic, more scattered and looser spatial schemes in the Aydınoğulları period, gradually get together in a more intact, more integrated and yet more geometric layouts in the subsequent Ottoman period. Nevertheless, the principles on how these structures were related to each other in their location, still, had its roots back in the Aydınoğulları experiments like in Karakadı Mecdettin Complex. Second, the relation of bath buildings with the remaining structures of the building groups, which are comparatively integrated and geometrical designs of the Ottoman period, is rather indifferent and unconnected when compared with mosque and madrasa structures in the same building groups. This is probably due to the comparative irrelevance and difference of the social, public facility a bath building offers to more religious, educative and hence more spiritual and intellectual facilities a mosque and a madrasa offer. That is probably why the bath building does not have any priority in establishing an integral whole with the mosque or madrasa buildings within the building groups. Third, deriving from the by now mentioned consequences, discrete urban spaces are produced, when the urban context is taken into account, together with the spatial layout of the buildings in the group. Clearly speaking, on one hand, less confined spaces, those more or less dissolving within the entire urban fabric, are produced by the building groups with less integral schemes. For instance, apart from the courtyard of its mosque in the front, Yalınayak Complex does not comprise any other open public spaces. The street passing through the mosque and bath of the complex, in fact separates and at the same time connects the two buildings, while producing a less confined yet still a particular urban space in that vicinity. (Figure 5.41, 5.42) On the other hand, more integral and

⁹⁵⁹ For further details on Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb see in Appendix A, A.1.5. Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb with the related bibliography in the same part.

⁹⁶⁰ For further discussion on this issue see in Appendix A, A.1.6. Şeyh Mosque, Madrasa, and Bath with the related bibliography in the same part.

well-defined urban spaces are created by the building groups with more geometrical and unified schemes. For instance, the courtyards shared by mosques and madrasas concurrently produce more precise urban spaces allowing for getting together for a communal activity, social interaction and public use.

Furthermore, in addition to comprised variety of functions and the relation of these with each other and with the urban unit, the architectural language of the building group, not only as a whole but also with the individual buildings, is remarkably significant in shaping its urban context. The characteristics of each of the architectural works, in terms of extravertedness, relation of the inside with the outside, architectural image and hence building materials and construction techniques influence the making of a town both spatially and socially.

To begin with, mosque architecture acknowledged a new architectural vocabulary, an experimental phase with the introduction of new architectural elements and forms. For instance, single unit domed mosques with the addition of the late comers' portico in the front and/or at the side, and with comparatively more articulated and perforated façade compositions frequented Tire beginning from the Aydınoğulları period and evolving towards Ottoman examples. Similar to mosques, madrasa architecture within building complexes of the time remind the earlier Ottoman examples of İznik and Bursa, as domed units aligned along the courtyards, sometimes having arcades in the front and more open, extraverted façade designs. Likewise, tomb structures as well embody indications of experiments towards a new style than the formerly established Seljuk tradition, especially with the preference of domes instead of the conical caps, enriching the silhouette of the town. Finally, the use of building materials and the construction techniques are effective in molding the spatial perception of the urban setting of Tire for not only the inhabitants but also the visitors. The frequent use of brick as the major building material alternating with stone on the walls -horizontal courses of brick and bricks rising in the joints- and on the certain architectural elements such as the vaults and the arches as well as for decorative purposes is most likely due to the local impacts as well as the ease of availability and cost. Hence, the use of brick alternating with stone within the rather extraverted façade designs makes the people wander through the town along more colorful, and enriched walls rather than bare, solid, stone surfaces. Nevertheless, Tire is also renowned for its brick decorations on the body of its minarets, which add to the above mentioned urban image of the

town both for those wandering through and those already entering the town.⁹⁶¹ (Figure 5.43, 5.44)

After all these discussions and hence the touch upon the interrelation of urban image and the building groups, the evaluation of the evolution of the building groups individually and yet their interaction with the urban context, can be finalized with the deductions on their distributions within the urban fabric, in other words contributions to the urban form and making of the townscape of Tire. It is steadily argued that the urban setting of Tire displays similarities to Bursa in terms of topographical conditions, the horizontal elongation of the town along the mountains, existence of a commercial district dominating the urban form in the center and small scattered centers growing around building groups. Likewise, Tire expanded horizontally on the southern terrain under the rule of the Aydınoğulları Principality. In addition, settlement units were established on the flatter lands by the main roads. At the same time centers were formed in between, at certain points, where topography permitted. These small centers, which are scattered around the commercial district and the east division, were accentuated by the building complexes, around which neighborhoods generated, either newly established or further developed. The Ottoman contributions seem to affect the expansion towards the west as well, in addition to east and north in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the fostering of foundation of building groups. (Figure 5.45)

Nevertheless, as touched upon previously, dervish lodges and building groups, which embody various functions like religious, educational, social, commemorative, charitable and/or commercial and are constructed around a mosque, are not the only significant architectural components of the urban form. In this respect, it is argued before that among the building groups, there no surviving significant examples of dervish lodges, hospices, those leaving concrete imprints within the urban fabric. However, there is one example of mosques with auxiliary spaces, which can most likely be associated with the co-existence of mosque and spaces related to dervish uses. Hence, it is founded in a crucial location within the urban fabric. Yahşi Bey Mosque renowned as Yeşil İmaret was commissioned by Halil Yahşi Bey, the first *sancak beyi* of Tire, during the reign of Murad II, towards the midst of the 15th century.⁹⁶² The foundation comprised the mosque with additional spaces in T-type plan, and a public kitchen

⁹⁶¹ For further discussion on the ornamental features on the body of the minarets in Tire see Önkal H., Özgür Ş. (2008), “Tire Minarelerinin Beylikler ve Erken Osmanlı Dönemi Minareleri Arasındaki Yeri”, Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 245-259.

⁹⁶² For further details on Yahşi Bey Mosque, see in Appendix A, A.2.1.9. Yahşi Bey Mosque, with the related bibliography in the same part.

which is not extant today, and commercial edifices such as Çöplüce and Kutu Hans and Tahtakale Bath as income provides together with shops, agricultural lands and gardens in Tire.⁹⁶³ (Figure 5.46, 4.7, 4.8) As stated in the foundation charter, the edifice was constructed within a garden and designed to be surrounded with a courtyard, which included a kitchen, stables, as well as hospices and a public kitchen serving anyone in need.⁹⁶⁴ The location of this foundation in the town is highly attentive that, it was built close to the Selçuk – Ödemiş Road on its north and close to the commercial district on its east, and at the same time next to the Jewish quarters. Hence, the foundation is meant to serve for public welfare and improve social and charity facilities in the town. In this respect, the choice of the site is remarkably appropriate not only in terms of integration with the public life and being part of the one of the most crowded areas of the urban setting but also in epitomizing and legalizing the authority of its commissioner and of the religious sect represented. Because as already said, it is by the main road and the commercial district, which was developed at the junction of the two main roads. So it is on one of the liveliest and busiest locations crowded with people, who are either inhabitants or visitors in the city. Plus, proximity to the Jewish neighborhood might be discussed whether there are slight propagandistic implications to Islamize the masses in the

⁹⁶³ For further details on Çöplü Han and Kutu Han, see in Appendix A, A.2.3.1. Çöplü Han, and A.2.3.2. Kutu Han with the related bibliography in the same parts.

⁹⁶⁴ “[...] Yahşi Bey bin Abdullah emteai dünyeviyenin kıymetsizliğini ve sadakai cariyeinin kıymetini takdir ettiği için Tire şehrinde ceken bahçesi demekle ma’ruf bahçenin kurbunda bir zaviye yaptırdı. Bu zaviye vakıfı ve banisinin adile memlekette meşhur olduğu için tahditten müstağnidir. Vakıf bu zaviyeyi; etrafındaki avlusu ile ve bu avlunun ihtiva ettiği matbah, mahzen, ahur, bahçe ve buraya gelüp giden fukara ve mesakin, müsafirin ve mukiminin oturmaları için lazım gelen sair müştemilat ile birlikte vakfeyledi.” Cited from *Müceddede Anadolu Sani Vakfiye Defteri*, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations, H. 845 / AD. 1441, No. 586, p. 211, 205 in Ertekin (2008b), p. 35. Plus, the salaries and the kind of food to be served in the public kitchen, shortly the expenses of the foundation is also stated in this charter as “[...] dört humsundan mezkur zaviyede şeyhlik ve imamlik edecek olan zate iki ve imametine ve diğer ikisi kitabetine aid olmak üzere her gün dört dirhem ve buradaki müezzine her gün iki dirhem, aşçıya her gün iki dirhem, ekmekçiye her gün iki dirhem, cabiye her gün iki dirhem verilmesini zaviyenin etine her gün onbeş dirhem, ekmek için alınacak ununa her gün sekiz dirhem, pirincine, buğdayına, biber, kimyon, vesair baharat gibi yemeğe lezzet verecek şeylerine her gün beş dirhem ve sofraya pavzerine her gün üç dirhem, bala, ekşi, turşu ve reçellerine her sene iki bin dirhem, Ramazan gecelerinde ve Cuma gecelerinde, meşhur namazlarda (kandil gecelerinde) iki bayramda yapılan harçlar için her sene üç bin dirhem, oduna, tuza her sene binbeşyüz dirhem sarf edilmesini şart kıldı. Yine vakıf; mezkur zaviyede bir sabah bir akşam olmak üzere her gün iki defa yemek pişirilmesini ve bu yemekten fukara, ağniya, yerliler ve misafirlerden zaviyede hazır olanların kaffesine it’am ve ikram edilmesini [...] şart kıldı”. Cited from *Müceddede Anadolu Sani Vakfiye Defteri*, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations, H. 845 / AD. 1441, No. 586, p. 211, 205 in Ertekin (2008b), pp. 38-39.

foundation of such an Islamic sect, namely the *Mevlevi* order welcoming non-Muslims to Islam.⁹⁶⁵ (Figure 5.21)

Accordingly, commissioned as a consequence of either public welfare concerns, or settlement and development motives, or symbolic or propagandistic connotations Yahşi Bey Mosque persisted as a significant “monument”, in fact as a “type” due to its plan within the urban context. Both spatially and socially, the mosque fostered urban development and growth from this particular spot in the town. The mosque generated the establishment of a neighborhood around, after its name and enhanced urban life and transformed the urban space of this vicinity. Explicitly speaking, with the foundation of this mosque, a social, that is, a particular urban space was produced, which attracted people both for practicing religion with the community and providing them charity, which altogether facilitate social interaction and communal activity in these very spaces. Even though this former *Mevlevî* foundation was converted into a neighborhood mosque through time, as mentioned by Evliya Çelebi in the late 17th century, the mosque with additional spaces in T-type plan spaces persisted as a public “monument” and as an “urban artifact”, altering some of its embodying functions and converting them into some other public functions in time, yet, still transforming and transformed by its urban context.

Speaking of “monuments” and “urban artifacts” of Tire, Great Mosque as a significant urban generator has to be pointed in addition to the above. Either converted from a church, or rebuilt on its site, or built from scratch, Great Mosque of Tire, located by the main road passing through the commercial district, and below the supposedly existing citadel fostered the development of urban life and public interactions both in terms of commercial and of religious activities. Not surprisingly, these improvements were also spatially substantiated with the construction of further public edifices and urban spaces around the Great Mosque in Tire.

Last but not least, whether there are any other types than dervish lodges, building groups, mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan, and Great Mosques in other words Friday Mosques, can be discussed. Proximity to trade roads and intense volume of trade activities in Tire, particularly between the 14th and 16th centuries paved the way for the evolution and development of a specific building type in this particular town. Instigated during the Aydınoğulları period, Tire accommodates two significant examples of mosques, which are two storey high and whose ground floor levels are reserved for shops, in other words for

⁹⁶⁵ Likewise, Evliya Çelebi mentions the building as a former *Mevlevihane*. “Câmi’-i Yeşil İmâret mâ-tekaddem mevlevîhâne imiş. Mahallesinde câmi’ olmamak ile câmi’e münkalib etmişler.” Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 87.

commercial purposes. These are Hasır Pazarı Mosque founded by Hüsametdin Bey, the local judge during the late Aydınoğulları period and Tahtakale Mosque founded by Emir Hacı İsmail Ağa, a significant figure of the ruling elite in the late 15th century Ottoman rule. (Figure 5.47) Neither of these mosques is monumental and large scale buildings like Karakadı Mecdettin, Yalınayak, Yeni and Lütfü Paşa Mosques. Instead, they are comparatively modest in dimensions, built in the very heart of the commercial district, at the junction of the main roads. Then again, since these mosques are serving the masses in the commercial district and these are not neighborhood mosques, their architectural design, or better to say their spatial organizations and characteristics are accordingly worked out.

Hence, a new social facility building, which is likely encouraged and required in these circumstances, evolved in Tire, in other words, in the growing commercial hub in the region of that period, in the form of combination of shops in the ground and mosque in the upper levels. Even though it is in Tire that this mosque plus shopping units most probably evolved, it also has to be pointed out that an earlier derivative of this kind was founded by Aydınoğlu İsa Bey in Ayasuluk as the İsa Bey Mosque, a remarkably much more monumental building, on whose entrance façade shops were inserted, making use of the level difference. More intriguing than that, is the repetition of this particular building type in the commercial district, today's Kemeraltı of İzmir in the later centuries, which is more comparable to Tire in terms of similarities of trade centered urban cores.

5.4. Conclusive Remarks

It is in this chapter that the main arguments of this thesis are thoroughly undertaken by substantially studying the socio-economic and spatial transformations in a specific Western Anatolian urban center, namely in Tire with particular emphasis between the 14th and 16th centuries. In other words, upon the already weaved historical and spatial background of Western Anatolian urban centers in the previous chapters, the urban form of Tire both in its complete patterns and in relation to its components is evaluated. In so doing, first, the role of trade relations, trade road network and urban network in the regional scale and next, the role of trade, street network, public buildings and spaces in the architectural scale are taken into account in making the urban setting of Tire. Hence, substantiating and justifying the hypothesis of this thesis in the final step, which concerns the mutual relationship in between these three and their possible influences in developing, transforming and even remodeling each other, with

particular emphasis on the urban form, the making of Tire, especially between the 14th and 16th centuries is scrutinized not only socially and economically but also spatially.

Accordingly, first, the motives behind choosing Tire for an in depth analysis among the other Western Anatolian urban centers of the Principalities period which are Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi, is once more highlighted. In this manner, the significance and suitability of the town to justify the theses of this thesis is emphasized.

Second, Tire's locational and geographical characteristics within the wider framework of Western Anatolia are discussed. It is claimed that not only the strategic location of the town within the road and urban network of Western Anatolia but also the proper and consistent geographical conditions of the town, some of which are easiness of accessibility at the junction of the roads, at the same time providing protection because of its topography, availability of water sources and agricultural lands, encouraged the establishment and development of settlements through history in this vicinity.

Third, the history of these settlements, those likely inhabited in its center and its vicinity is given. This discussion showed that, even though the settlement history in the region dated back to ancient and even prehistoric periods, the center and the nearby villages of Tire had been inhabited indeed from ancient times onwards. Yet, within the urban network of Western Anatolia in that period, hierarchically speaking, the town came after the premier urban centers such as Ephesus, Miletus, or Sardis. However, the settlement survived still as a significant center and kept its prominence through the late antique and Byzantine times, which points to a continuity in its urban setting in conformity with location, overlap of territorial borders, and to considerable extent urban layout, which was as well inherited in the making of the subsequent Turkish town.

Fourth, social, political and particularly economical aspects of Tire, concentrating on the Aydınoğulları and later Ottoman period of the town, are discussed. Hence, the description of the economic endeavors ongoing in Tire and their probable influences on the structuring of its social setting, as reflected in the population growth, and articulation of this populace in terms of religion and/or ethnicity, and profession and/or social status are studied. In this way, clues are provided, even, the ground is set for the subsequent socio-spatial inquisition through a morphological analysis of its urban form. Still, it is emphasized that varied ethnic groups resided in their specified neighborhoods, just as producers, craftsmen, and traders of particular commodities, gathered, and spatially speaking, developed their particular places in the town.

Fifth, keeping these in mind in shaping the spatial structures of the urban setting, the formation and transformation of the urban form of Tire with special emphasis on the period

between the 14th and 16th centuries is examined. In so doing, initially the role of the founders, in other words the urban elite, holding the political and economic power; not only in producing the cultural and artistic milieu but also, at the same time, in transforming and shaping the physical environment is discussed. Hence, it is stated that, the actors influencing the making of the urban form were, in fact, the members of the ruling institution, who in the uppermost rank were the Royal family and then the high-ranking officials during the *Aydınoğulları* period and the high-ranking officials and wealthy statesmen during the Ottoman period. Yet, this differentiation had certain imprints on the spatial formations and transformations Tire underwent in those periods.

Sixth, the morphological analysis of the urban form of Tire is proposed, by which the probable spatial transformations of the urban form are investigated from the points of settlement pattern in plan, settlement size in territorial borders, urban image and urban architecture of the town, and concurrently finalizing with a touch upon the role of the urban architecture in shaping and being shaped by its urban context. Through this analysis, the role of the road network in structuring the street network in the urban scale is posited. The former main arteries passing through the town in east-west and north-south directions are attempted to be unfolded with respect to the currently existing main roads of the town. In addition to above, according to the street network pattern of the town, the possible overlaps and urban traces of the earlier existing cultures, urban divisions in terms of function, religion and/or ethnicity are scrutinized, where concurrently chronology was taken into account.

And finally, complementing the substantiation of the main argument of this thesis, the components of urban form, for they are inseparable parts of their urban contexts, dynamically influencing, transforming, and shaping each other through time, are evaluated in detail. On the whole, the evolution, development and role of these components, which are particular “monuments”, those acting as “urban artifacts” generating and transforming the making of the urban form and yet, the townscape are investigated. It is seen in Tire that, such public buildings, building groups and spaces as particular “monuments” are either built in the beginning to foster establishment of a settlement unit around themselves or they are gradually built in a settled unit to respond to the social, religious, and related public needs of its inhabitants and / or to further enhance the urban living in that unit. Hence, these “monuments” comprised both some public buildings as single buildings, and as group of buildings. Namely, building groups in the form of dervish lodges, hospices, which were particularly effective in the nearby villages and countryside of Tire rather than the town itself, and more important than that building groups, which embody various functions like religious, educational, social,

commemorative, charitable and/or commercial and are constructed around a mosque either at the same time as original designs or in the course of time were among the significant “monuments” evolved, developed and influenced the making of the urban form of Tire. As for the single buildings, particularly, Great Mosque and mosque with additional spaces in T-type plan are significant among the “monuments” functioning as “urban artifacts” in Tire. Furthermore, it is also in Tire that a particular kind of public building evolved and developed, which is the combination of mosque and shopping units in a single building that is later repeated in similar urban contexts such as in İzmir.

On the whole, throughout this chapter, the two way encounters of trade, proximity to road network, and other related driving forces for urban development on one hand, and construction of public buildings, building groups and spaces as urban generators on the other hand, and the making of urban form at their intersection, is emphasized. Hence, exemplifying with the in depth study of Tire, it is proved that urban transformation is a dynamic process, which is influenced by and in turn influence such encounters in regional as well as architectural scale.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to propose both an understanding and above all a revealing of the making of Western Anatolian urban centers in general and an in depth analysis of the making of one of them, namely of Tire in particular. In so doing, the main arguments of the thesis were articulated in two principal separate, yet interrelated statements and their relevant derivations. On one hand, it was asserted that socio-economic forces, in other words social and economic constructs of these urban centers played a crucial role in their making. On the other hand, it was asserted that particular architectural “monuments”, which were “urban artifacts” effected and even generated their making, too.

These arguments can be translated into more explicit statements with more concrete terms. First, the volume of trade and trade activities, close and distant trade relations, trade roads and thus road and urban network are significant in establishing, shaping, and remodeling the urban forms of the towns. The greater the volume of trade, the busier the trade activities and relations, the more thrived these urban centers are. Likewise, the more proximate to trade routes, main roads the towns are, the more prosperous and developed, hence more urbanized they are. Thus, trade fosters urban growth and necessitates spatial transformations in relation to practice of trade. Plus, trade develops and is developed through the road network, where the regional road network corresponds to the regional urban network. Finally, the long distance roads play a certain role in structuring the urban form.

Second, urban form develops together with its constitutive components, which are in fact significant architectural structures those can be defined as “monuments” which are “urban artifacts”. What is more, urban form transforms in relation to these “urban artifacts”, and at the same time influences the making and makeover of these. The more varied, and the greater number the “monuments”, hence the “urban artifacts” are, the more prospered and again the more urbanized the towns are. Particularly the most prevailing “monuments”, “urban artifacts”

in Western Anatolian towns in the 14th – 16th centuries were; building groups either in the form of *külliyes* [building complexes] or *zaviyes* [dervish lodges, hospices]. In addition to these, there were also mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan and other single buildings with multiple functions such as the combination of mosque and shops, and single public buildings like Friday Mosques, neighborhood mosques, baths, and commercial edifices. Hence, it was these “monuments” which facilitated the development and enhancement of both the urban form and the urban life in these centers.

In view of the above, through the chapters of the thesis what the spatial formations and transformations of Western Anatolian urban centers were, how and in what ways they were established and remodeled, and what the reasons and the influential factors were in the making of these towns and in the shaping of these urban patterns were studied. The focus was in particularly two distinctive, yet consecutive periods of 14th – 16th centuries, under the Principalities and then the Ottoman rule.

In so doing, the thesis was composed of six chapters and the supplementary appendices. Yet, except for the ‘introduction’ and ‘conclusion’ chapters and the appendices, it was structured in two main parts complementing each other. In the first part of the thesis, which comprised Chapters 2, 3, and 4, a broad picture on the socio-economic, and particularly spatial formation and transformation of Western Anatolian urban centers between the 14th and 16th centuries at the intersection of regional and architectural scale was drawn. To begin with, in Chapter 2, the socio-economic background of these urban centers was discussed in general and the role of trade, trade roads and urban network in their making was questioned in particular. At the end of this chapter, it was deduced that the increase and intensity in trade activities attracted further population to reside in the town. It stimulated urban growth and hence encouraged urban developments in great many respects, within the scope of this thesis the most crucial of which were the spatial developments. Plus, the type of trade activities, which were categorized as overseas, interregional, and local on one hand, and as trade, manufacture, and production on the other hand, had their impacts in the hierarchy of towns in Western Anatolia. A classification of these towns from the highly urbanized to the least urbanized was proposed, which corresponded to large, cosmopolitan towns accommodating major, dominant overseas trade activities and small towns in which only a minimum of specific commodities are produced.

Hence, the above-mentioned type of trade at the same time determined the flow of trade, where there was a movement from production centers, to manufacture centers, and then to larger interregional or overseas trade centers and marketed in these very centers. This

movement, in other words the flow pattern of trade corresponded to route pattern, that is to say, to the road network. Larger commercial market towns were located by the major roads, the smaller manufacture centers by the secondary roads and finally the smallest settlements and production centers were located close to the tertiary roads. In these lines, it was also corroborated that road network overlapped with the urban network through the case of Western Anatolia with particular emphasis on the 14th – 16th centuries.

Besides, it was further argued that spatial formations and transformations in these towns were developed according to the trade activities accommodated in these centers and what these trade activities necessitates in terms of space making and production. Not surprisingly, open markets, bazaars, and shops were frequented for the most part in every settlement. Certain markets such as animal markets were generally located towards the fringes of the settlements. In more urbanized settlements, there was usually a commercial center, where *hans*, generally specified in particular trade items such as rice, cotton and alike were located such as in Bursa and Tire. In the end, the most urbanized centers were likely those including the greatest number of commercial units, that is to say, markets, shops and *hans* and even a *bedesten*, a covered bazaar in which luxurious commodities, such as jewels, precious textiles and alike were traded.

In Chapter 3, the Western Anatolian urban centers were studied with particular emphasis on their physical properties. The urban forms and structures of these towns were analyzed to see whether any continuity was inherent in these urban forms, and it was questioned whether they could be evaluated within an urban model. In so doing, urban models which were likely to be influential, or were themselves influenced for their chronological, regional or cultural proximity for the making of the Western Anatolian towns were investigated. Throughout this inquiry; the relationship of these urban centers with the already settled urban environment, the shaping of the urban form in its complete patterns and its urban divisions, elements of urban architecture and finally architectural language and urban image were the criteria for evaluation. Among the urban models, ancient towns were studied for its traces in some urban centers in Western Anatolia were dominant since these settlements had lived through their most brilliant times and climax in terms of their urban setting in the ancient era. Then, the establishment and remodeling of Byzantine towns were examined, for they were the prior settlements just before the Turkish rule in Western Anatolia. Next, Seljuk towns were scrutinized since in the beginning, the Principalities, which were located in between the borders of the Byzantines and Seljuk, were half-independent and half-vassal communities of the Anatolian Seljuk State. Yet, it was through the Seljuk towns that these Principalities became acquainted for the first time with the Turkish-Islamic urban tradition. Hence, needless to say,

Central Asian, Iranian and even Islamic towns were indirectly influential, through the Seljuk towns in making the Western Anatolian urban centers. Finally, Ottoman towns were studied to shed light on the probable changes these centers underwent during the centuries after the Principalities rule in the region.

This general discussion on the probable urban models was followed by a more specific discussion on the comparative physical histories, hence on the structure and structuring elements of urban formation in Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi respectively. Hence, it was revealed that these centers continuously transformed, either developed, or weakened, or moved. This continuous transformation in the built environment was in line with the continuous transformation in social, economic, administrative modes under the changing political powers ruling in the region, respectively the Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Turkish Principalities and Ottomans. Plus, it was effected by military occurrences and possible gradual transformations of the natural setting, the geographical alterations on the settlement sites. Accordingly, Western Anatolian towns underwent continuous transformation, which at the same time allowed for individual contributions in each specific case in shaping the urban form.

Considering the shared features of the towns from the Principalities period in Western Anatolia, it was seen that, they for the most part overlapped or were established next to the existing settlement units. They continued the earlier urban form in its complete patterns, maintaining some significant urban elements such as fortifications, and appropriating some public edifices according to the needs of the Turkish-Muslim settlers. By this means, churches were converted into mosques, new structures were constructed, still little interrupting already the existing pattern. In addition, Principalities in Western Anatolia did not establish well-organized commercial districts, centers with durable commercial “monuments” within their urban borders. In this respect, the Principalities urban centers were similar to Seljuk and different from the Ottoman towns. Hence, the commercial district in Tire was the foremost planned one. It was further argued that the Principalities were not as successful as the Ottomans in establishing well-planned commercial centers with enduring “monuments”. This was most probably because they ruled comparatively short than the Ottoman State, did not achieve to become a central authority ruling in region unlike the Ottomans. Thus, under their rulership, rather than durable commercial buildings, for the most part socio-religious establishments were founded and the already existing and less durable commercial structures were used. Yet, the same places, locations were used as commercial spaces primarily by them, and these spaces were later improved and developed into urban parcels planned with durable structures, as seen in Tire. In addition to spatial segregation in terms of commercial and residential functions,

there was also spatial segregation according to varying ethnic / religious communities. Such articulation is similar to the Ottoman urban traditions. Finally, considering the architectural language and urban image, it was stated that experiencing the urban environment and both urban and individual spaces of a Western Anatolian town had particularities of spatial experiences of Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman towns. Hence, a Principalities town displayed an urban setting, which interpreted all these urban traditions and produced urban spaces peculiar to itself. Nevertheless, the Ottoman urban tradition was the most similar, or better to say the most dominantly comparable to the Western Anatolian Principalities towns, where at the same time in these towns, further unique architectural details were experimented and individual styles were searched during these Principalities rules.

Finally, in analyzing the urban form of Western Anatolian towns, the transformation in relation to its components was pointed out. Drawing the theoretical framework referring to Rossi's assertions on the relationship between architecture and the city and his conceptualizations on urban space, the role of particular "monuments", which were "urban artifacts" in developing, transforming and shaping the towns were discussed. By this means, the ground was set for further scrutiny on the variation of these "monuments", not only on their evolution and development but also more importantly on their role in the making of the Western Anatolian towns.

Chapter 4, which was the last chapter of the first part of the thesis, was also the final step in an endeavor for a socio-economic and spatial analysis of Western Anatolian towns. How and in what ways "urban artifacts" and certain "monuments", particularly building groups in the form of *külliyes* and *zaviyes*, and mosques with additional spaces in T-type plan evolved and developed and to what degree these architectural initiations were involved in the development, transformation, and shaping of their urban contexts were questioned. In the end, it was deduced that, these building groups were significant for they not only dominate and influence the making of their urban contexts but they also stood as their inseparable parts, for they produced urban spaces themselves and they were the very instances of urban life in social, cultural, commercial, religious and spatial terms. In fact, settlement issues, urban growth and improvement of public facilities were among the driving forces encouraging the foundation of these edifices. Furthermore, both socially and spatially these building groups were designed and functioned to enhance urban life with production of a varied number of urban spaces and with the generation of urban nuclei through which urban form was transformed. Clearly speaking, building groups evolved and developed towards more extraverted and more detached assemblage of structures, allowing the production of positive in between open spaces. They

were transformed into more integral units with their urban contexts in their architectural entirety in comparison to Seljuk examples. Plus, in this manner, they were even likely to be considered as evolutionary steps, even experiments towards the building groups of the Ottoman architectural tradition. Hence, these building groups gradually not only stimulated the production of alternative urban spaces within and around themselves but also furthered urban growth and modified the shaping of the urban patterns accordingly.

The second part of the thesis, which included only chapter 5 was an in depth inquiry into the making of the Western Anatolian towns between the 14th and 16th centuries, concentrating on a single town, Tire, after an already interweaved historical and spatial background of these centers. The major concerns of this chapter were both the role of trade relations, trade road network and urban network in the regional scale and the role of trade, street network, public buildings and spaces in the architectural scale; plus the intersection and overlap of these in the urban scale. Yet, the overlap in the urban scale in fact, corresponded to the making of Tire and shaping its urban setting socio-economically and particularly spatially. Hence, the mutual relationship in between these three and their parts in developing, transforming and even remodeling each other, with particular emphasis on the urban form was revealed through a comprehensive study of the singled out town, Tire, among the other medieval Western Anatolian urban centers.

It was noted that, the strategic location of Tire within the road and urban network of Western Anatolia, its proper and consistent geographical conditions such as easiness of accessibility at the same time keeping security, abundance of water sources, and availability of agricultural lands encouraged establishment and development of settlements through history in Tire and in its vicinity. In ancient times, the town was less significant than the leading urban centers such as Ephesus, Miletus, or Sardis. Yet, the settlement survived and its urban setting continued in consistency with location, overlap of territorial borders, and to a considerable extent urban layout, which was as well inherited in the making of the subsequent Turkish town.

In the following, concentrating on the Turkish period, the economic endeavors ongoing in Tire and their influences on the structuring of its social setting, as reflected in the population growth, and articulation of this populace in terms of religion and/or ethnicity, and profession and/or social status were studied. It was seen that, varied ethnic groups resided in their specified neighborhoods such as Greeks and Jew in addition to the predominating Turkish population. Plus, producers, craftsmen, and traders of particular commodities, such as tanners, hemp producers, and cotton manufacturers, gathered and spatially speaking developed their particular places in the town.

Furthermore, it was stated that, the actors influencing the making of the urban form were in fact the members of the ruling institution, who in the uppermost rank were the Royal family and then the high-ranking officials during the Aydınoğulları period and the high-ranking officials and wealthy statesmen during the Ottoman period. Yet, there was a differentiation among their foundations which effected the making of the urban form. Their particular imprints on the spatial formations and transformations, which Tire underwent in those periods, were detected either in the location, or in the number and types of the facilities founded, or in the architectural characteristics of the structures they commissioned. With these in mind, morphological analysis of Tire was carried out. In the end, the role of the road network in structuring the street network in the urban scale was studied. It was seen that, the former main arteries passing through the town in east- west and north-south directions more or less overlapped with the currently existing main roads of the town. Plus, through this morphological analysis the possible overlaps and urban traces of the earlier existing cultures, urban divisions in terms of function, religion and/or ethnicity were revealed.

Finally, the urban form of Tire was studied in relation to its components, which are inseparable parts of their urban contexts, dynamically influencing, transforming, and shaping each other. Deduced after the morphological analysis on this particular issue it was seen that, in Tire certain public buildings and building groups, which could be regarded as architectural “monuments” were either built at the outset to foster the founding of a settlement unit around themselves, or they were gradually built in a settled unit to respond to the social, religious, and related public facilities of its inhabitants and / or to further enhance the urban living in that unit. Hence, these “monuments” included building groups in the form of dervish lodges, hospices, which were particularly effective in the nearby villages and countryside of Tire rather than the town itself. More important than that were the building groups in the form of building complexes gathering around a mosque, which were the most influential in the making of Tire. Plus, single buildings such as Great Mosque and mosque with additional spaces in T-type plan were also significant among the “monuments” functioning as “urban artifacts” in Tire. Finally, it was also in Tire that a probable variation of a public monument, in fact a “type” evolved and developed, which was the combination of mosque and shopping units in a single building. That “type” was later repeated in similar urban contexts such as in the commercial district of İzmir. Yet, this was of paramount importance, for this particular “type” evolved in relation to the socio-economic forces having their imprints in the making of Tire, where in return this “type” doubled in number in time and produced the very core nodes of the commercial district of Tire.

In this chapter, with the detailed evaluation of the making of Tire, the two way encounters of trade, road network, and other related thrusts for urban development on one hand, and construction of public buildings, building groups and spaces as urban generators on the other hand was uncovered. More significantly, the development and remodeling of urban form at their intersection was revealed, where the similarity with Bursa model was corroborated in morphological analysis. Yet, it was also substantiated that urban transformation was a dynamic process, which was influenced by and in turn influenced such encounters in regional and in architectural scale, yet associated and made each over in urban scale.

This thesis, as proposed at the very beginning, aimed at demonstrating that, the towns were neither made only according to road network, nor they were the mere sum of their architectural components, and nor were they pure urban plans, forms in complete patterns. Yet, the towns were complex systems, which comprised all these and in addition the social and cultural forces, economic practices, administrative institutions, which made them reconcile and transform each other steadily in a dynamic relationship. Hence, the thesis repeatedly endeavored to highlight and corroborate especially through the in depth analysis of Tire, the interrelation of these parameters in regional, urban, and architectural scale, while at the same time studying each separately.

Accordingly, this thesis can be recognized as an effort to interconnect and integrate the varied scholarly disciplines of urban geography and architectural history through the explorations on urban space in general. Moreover, this thesis can be understood as an undertaking to shed light on urban space concentrating on medieval Western Anatolia in particular. With these in mind, this thesis attempted to contribute to the existing literature on urban historiography, where currently interaction and incorporation of differing research fields prevailed in this particular sphere. Hopefully, it will pave the way for further research on Western Anatolia, on Principalities and the subsequent Ottoman periods, on trade relations and architectural developments in Anatolia, plus on urban space in Anatolia. Above all, it anticipates to stimulate further interdisciplinary researches on urban space studies both in terms of contribution of additional sources, of additional proper methods, and hence of additional contribution of more research disciplines.

In these lines, future research related to the thesis aims to complete and update the present findings of this study on one hand, and tackle with unfolded aspects on the built environment of Western Anatolia on the other hand. Expectedly, by adding archival research, further information can be gathered and the outcomes of this research can accordingly be revised and additional conclusions can be drawn. For instance, the court records in the Archive

of Tire Museum have been moved to the National Library in Ankara. However, they have not been assorted yet, and not opened for the use of researchers. The analysis of these records, and cross check with the related studies published by the locals of Tire, will surely add to the evaluation of the making of Tire.

Moreover, Western Anatolian urban centers can also be studied concentrating on the later crucial periods through history with similar methodology. For instance, the changing conditions of socio-political and economic background, and yet the road network and the urban network, plus the newly flourishing architectural developments effected, and in turn effected by the urban transformation during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The study of making of the Western Anatolian urban centers, and again particularly Tire during late Ottoman and early Republican periods in relation to the changing dynamics not only socially, politically, and economically, but also spatially in those periods will certainly contribute to the studies of urban space in Western Anatolia.

It is also possible to further articulate the chapters of the first part of the thesis. For instance, the trade, road, and urban network of Western Anatolia can be studied in further detail. Or, urban developments and inner structure of Western Anatolian towns can be studied in depth not only with the examination of more number of examples but also with further detailed morphological analysis. Or, the architectural developments in Western Anatolia either in relation to urban context or only on their architectural entirety can be further articulated, which will expectantly contribute to the architectural historiography related to the region.

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APPENDIX A

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS IN TİRE*

A.1. Building Groups

A.1.1. Hafsa Hatun Mosque and Complex:

Other Given Names: None

Location: Bademiye Neighborhood (old name), Duatepe Neighborhood, Değirmendere District
Date: Mid 14th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 5, 8, Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 18, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 16),

Second half of the 14th century (Çakmak 2002, p. 32)

Late 14th century (Armağan 2003, p. 207)

Founder: Hafsa Hatun, daughter of Aydınoğlu İsa Bey (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 5, 8, Armağan 1983, pp. 15-16, 27-28, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 16, Çakmak 2002, pp. 30-32)

Existing Structures: Mosque, bath

Others / Attributions: Tomb, *tekke*, *imaret* (Aslanoğlu 1978, p.8, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 16)

Zaviye, *imaret*, fountain, (Armağan 1983, pp. 45, 49-50, Armağan 2003, pp. 189, 207-208)⁹⁶⁶

* In this part, the general description of the buildings in Tire is studied. The buildings included in this appendix comprise building groups and single buildings, which are among the significant “monuments” and “urban artifacts” influencing the making of Tire. Hence, these edifices are classified in two major categories as; A.1. Building Groups, and A.2. Single Buildings. Single buildings analyzed in this appendix include A.2.1. Mosques, A.2.2. Masjids, and A.2.3. Hans and Bedesten (Commercial Buildings). Mosques and masjids are taken into account in this analysis for they were significant as religious establishments acting as urban generators and facilitating the growth of neighborhoods around themselves. Within mosques, variations in addition to neighborhood mosques such as Great Mosque, Mosque with Additional Spaces in T-type Plan, and Mosque and Shop Combinations in a Single Building are examined. As for masjids, those having architectural significance and plus those contributing urban development are included among the many number of masjids built in Tire. Finally commercial structures are studied since trade and trade roads were of paramount importance in studying the making of urban form and structure in Western Anatolian towns, particularly in Tire within the scope of this thesis.

In view of that, each of these buildings considered in the appendix, are studied in chronological order, indicating other names given to them, their location in the town, construction date, and founder, plus, existing structures if it is a building group and other attributed dependencies of the building group. In addition, primary sources related to these structures such as inscription panels, foundation charters, foundation registers, court records, and alike are given. Since most of these historical documents are not available for further analysis and cross-check, for the time being, they are only touched upon with pointing to in which publication they are mentioned in this particular study. These secondary sources as well as those early published research studying the architecture of these edifices are given in parentheses. Their full bibliographic information is provided in the bibliography. Finally each of these building studied in this appendix, are discussed in terms of their location in the town, location and relation of the structures with respect to each other if it is a building group, the plan and physical characteristics of the buildings, and building materials and construction techniques utilized in these structures.

Zaviye, imaret, mills (Kalfazade-Ertuğrul 1995, p. 80)

Tomb, tekke, imaret, fountain, mills (Çakmak 2002, pp. 30-32)

Primary Sources: *Bursa, Aydın, Saruhan, Biga, Alaiye, livaları kazalarındaki nüfus ve hasılat ve tımarları ve evkafı ve cebelü ve Aydın kanunnamesini mübeyyin Mücmel Tahrir Defteri*, H. 937 / M 1529, No. 166, *Archive of Prime Ministry in İstanbul*, (Akin 1968, p. 144, doc. 66)

Aydın Vakıf Defteri, H. 991 / AD. 1583, No. 571, *Archive of General Directorate of Land and Property in Ankara* (Akin 1968, p. 181, doc. 193)

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5)⁹⁶⁷

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, H. 1327 / AD. 1909-10, No. 36, pp. 65-66 (Akin 1968, pp. 194-195, doc. 262),

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1256 / AD. 1840, *Cilt 4*, pp. 232, 261 (Armağan 1983, p. 59, doc. 16-17, Armağan 2003, p. 344, doc. 32),

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1324 / AD. 1906, *Cilt 32*, p. 105 (Armağan 1983, p. 60, doc. 18),

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Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1253 / AD. 1837-38, *Cilt 4*, p. 289, (Armağan 2003, pp. 342-343, doc. 29),

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1311 / AD. 1893-94, *Cilt 27*, p. 261 (Armağan 2003, pp. 343-344, doc. 30-31).

Description:

Location of the Building Group:

The complex was built outside the town center, located on the rising topography, namely on a hilly spot to the east of the outskirts of the Güme Mountains aligned on the south of Tire. It is located within Duatepe Neighborhood today, which was known to be part of Bademye Neighborhood during the Aydınoğulları period.⁹⁶⁸ Bademye, similar to most of the other Aydınoğulları neighborhoods, was located on the outskirts of Güme Mountain. Bademye or in other words, Ekinhisarı was regarded as one of the important neighborhoods of the period, where most probably the palace of the royal family, namely the palace of Aydınoğulları dynasty took place, whose remains cannot be traced today. The reasons strengthening this thesis regarding the location of the royal palace are twofold. First, the name Ekinhisarı –*hisar* meaning citadel- points to the probability of the existence of a fortified area around that location. Second, the hilly surrounding of Bademye district, in which significant donations

⁹⁶⁶ Armağan attributes the building as a zaviye, rather than a mosque or a masjid. Armağan M. (2003), *Devlet Arşivlerinde Tire*, İzmir: Karınca Matbaacılık. pp. 207-208. Yet, the group of buildings rather suggests that this is a building complex, where the dependencies gathered around the mosque in its architectural features. For a more detailed architectural analysis, particularly of the mosque, see Aslanoğlu İ. (1978), *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, pp. 8-9.

⁹⁶⁷ “Tire’ye tâbi Bademye’de vâki Hafza Hatun zaviyesi vakfı”, cited in Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5.

⁹⁶⁸ According to Armağan, Bademye is among the districts, which were formed during the second rule of Aydınoğulları (1360-1426). Armağan (2003), p. 87.

dating to Aydınoğulları period take place implies that this particular vicinity took in a prominent portion of Aydınoğulları settlement nearby the ruler's palace. Clearly speaking, the steep topography overlooking the settlement at a strategic position, paves the way for not only ease of monitoring the rest of site but also providing ease of protection and security at a certain distance from the commercial and more crowded quarters of the town.

Yet, Armağan states that Bademye accommodated a significant number of Turkish neighborhoods even during the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror and was more populated than the neighborhoods near the town center.⁹⁶⁹ These neighborhoods included Ahiler and Sofuköy, those established in the 14th century, plus, survived and developed through the 15th and 16th centuries. Nevertheless, Bademye vicinity is even regarded as a separate settlement center independent of Tire within the Ottoman historical accounts dating from the 15th and 16th centuries. Within the property deeds and court records, the settlement centered around Hafsa Hatun complex was recorded as *Nefs-i Bademye*, where in other documents concerning the rest of the town, *Nefs-i Tire* is written.⁹⁷⁰ This shows that Tire developed by its commercial center on one hand, and also grew by the hilly location to its east, which contained Turkish residential quarters beginning with the Turkish infiltration into the region under the Aydınoğulları rule in the 14th century and continued through the Ottoman rule between the 15th and 16th centuries.

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

The only existing parts of the complex dating to the Aydınoğulları period are the walls of the mosque section, which are the late comers' portico, the main praying space, the minaret and the bath.⁹⁷¹ It is not possible to discuss the location of these buildings with respect to each other, to comment on the organization of the functional distribution within the plan layout, and the mass articulation of the buildings in the group due to limited information.

⁹⁶⁹ Armağan M. A. (2008), "Tire Adı ve Merkez Yerleşim Planı", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildileri* (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 131-132.

⁹⁷⁰ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* [Ottoman Archives of Prime Ministry], *Tapu Tahrir Defteri* [Property Deed] No: 166, pp. 371-391 in Telci C. (2008), "XV. – XVI. Yüzyıllarda Tire Şehri", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildileri* (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 22, 28, 34, 37-40. Gökçe T. (2008), "XVIII. Yüzyıl Başlarında (1700-1718) Tire'nin Demografik Yapısı", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildileri* (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 43-44.

⁹⁷¹ Although Aslanoğlu states the mosque as the only existing building of the complex, Kalfazade-Ertuğrul and Çakmak claim that, the ruins of a building 100 m south of the mosque be the bath of the building. Kalfazade-Ertuğrul S. (1995a), *Anadolu'da Aydınoğulları Dönemi Mimarisi*. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis in Art History, İstanbul: İstanbul University, pp. 84-85. For further information on the bath see Çakmak C. (2002), *Tire Hamamları*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pp. 30-32.

However, the functions embodied in the earlier existing structures, as the dependencies of the mosque, which are the tomb, *tekke*, *imaret* and bath buildings indicate richness in functional articulation and an evolution towards more eloquent building complexes surpassing similar examples dating to the 13th century. The introduction of *tekke* and *imaret* buildings can be considered as a contribution of the Principalities period, where more detailed organizations and developed examples are detected in the Ottoman period.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The organization of the building groups in relation to each other cannot be mentioned since most of them are ruined. However, there seems to be explorations concerning the site plan and the architectural features of the buildings themselves. The remaining walls of the mosque, in terms of the separation of the late comers' portico and the main praying space point to shifts from the already established Anatolian examples of the Seljuk approach towards the architecture of the religious buildings founded in the Ottoman period. Thus, it can be argued that, rather than buildings with multi functions, building complexes in the form of building groups were attempted to be constructed during the period.

The prayer hall of the mosque has a cubic structure, whose superstructure is not extant together with the clues of architectural remains whether it was a dome or not. A late comers' portico is attached on the east façade of the prayer hall, larger than the space of the prayer hall. The remaining walls of the portico suggests that it is a more closed space with walls perforated with window openings on the south and partially east sides, in comparison to most of the later late comers' porticoes in Tire and elsewhere in Anatolia and Rumelia during the Ottoman rule in particular. Finally, rather than attached on the corner of the prayer hall or the intersection of the prayer hall and the portico, the minaret is built attached to the southeast corner of the portico, which is a different approach than most of the mosque buildings in Tire of that and later periods.

The bath of the Hafsa Hatun complex is single bath composed of the basic spatial units of a bath, which are *soyunmalık* [dressing room], *ılıklık* [tepid room], and *sıcaklık* [hot room]. The remains of the building suggest that it is a simple and straightforward bath design with no elaboration in plan layout and façade articulation.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is rubble stone alternately used with brick courses both in the mosque and the bath of Hafsa Hatun Complex. Brick is also used in the in the *mihrab* niche

and the body of the minaret in the mosque, plus in the arches and the superstructure in the bath. The alternate use of brick with rubble stone and the construction techniques can be regarded as another contribution of the Principalties period compared to early Seljuk tradition, where local impacts, namely Byzantine building tradition and construction materials were considerably effective in the establishment of the building tradition of Western Anatolian Principalities.

A.1.2. Kazirzade Complex:

Other Given Names: Cazırođlu, Kadızade Complex

Location: Veledi Kadı, İbni Kadı, İbni Gazi Neighborhood (old names), Ertuđrul Neighborhood, Kazırođlu Street

Date: End of 14th century, during Aydınođulları rule (Tokluođlu 1964, p. 18, Aslanođlu 1978, pp. 5, 11, Armađan 2003, pp. 17, 216)

Founder: Kazirzade (Kadızade, Muhiddin Bey) (Aslanođlu 1978, pp. 5, 11, Armađan 1983, pp. 34-35, Armađan 2003, pp. 17, 216)⁹⁷²

Existing Structures: Mosque, madrasa, *şadırvan*

Others / Attributions: *Zaviye, imaret*, caravanserais (Armađan 2003, pp. 189, 216)⁹⁷³

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanođlu 1978, p. 5)⁹⁷⁴

Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armađan 2003, p. 216)⁹⁷⁵,

Tire Şer'ıye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1250-51 / A.D. 1835, *Cilt* 4, p. 272, (Armađan 1983, p.69, doc. 46-47, Armađan 2003, p. 348, doc. 45),

Tire Şer'ıye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1319 / AD. 1901, *Cilt* 29, p. 395, (Armađan 1983, p.69, doc. 45, Armađan 2003, p. 348, doc. 46),

Tire Şer'ıye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1331 / AD. 1913, *Cilt* 39, p.92, (Armađan 1983, p.68, doc. 44, Armađan 2003, p. 348, doc. 47)

Description:

Location of the Building Group:

The complex is situated close to the town center, namely to the west of the supposedly fortified area nearby the Narin Mosque. Kazirzade Complex is built on the western slopes of the decreasing topography towards the north. The location of the complex exemplifies the general tendency of urban growth in Tire. The town develops by the contours of the Güme

⁹⁷² Kazirzade is also a significant musician particularly renowned for his studies of *mevlevi* music. For further information about Kazirzade see Armađan (1983), pp. 34-35.

⁹⁷³ Armađan suggests that Kazirzade mosque was originally a *zaviye* and it was later converted into a mosque. Armađan (2003), pp. 189, 216. However, the plan and architectural characteristics of the building clearly shows that it is founded as a mosque from the beginning. For more detailed architectural analysis of the building see Aslanođlu (1978), pp. 11-14. Moreover, a caravanserais is mentioned within the foundations of the complex as income provider. Armađan (2003), p. 216. Yet it is not located near the mosque complex, which proves that caravanserais are not a part of the architectural complex.

⁹⁷⁴ "Tire'de Kâzir – Kâzirzade Camisi", cited in Aslanođlu (1978), p. 5.

⁹⁷⁵ Without providing the full citation Armađan quotes that "Vakfi Muhiddin Bey be namı Mescid-i Kazırođlu", pointing to the founder of the building group. Armađan (2003), p. 216.

Mountains in a linear way and concurrently expands towards the flatter areas. Yet, the neighborhood generated by the complex named as Veledi Kadı in Aydınogulları period grew into İbni Gazi or İbni Kadı under the Ottoman rule. Plus, this vicinity known as Ertuğrul Neighborhood today, developed highly during the late Ottoman period.⁹⁷⁶

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

Together with the mosque, six rooms of the madrasa building are extant today. They date to the 14th century and of the Aydınogulları Principality. Even though, there are no other existing buildings from the Kazirzade Complex, the location of the madrasa building and the mosque indicate to an organization of other buildings extending on the east-west direction. The minaret constructed separately from the walls of the mosque acts as a bulk in between the two buildings. The mosque and the madrasa rooms are oriented to the same direction. Thus, even though no other structures remained from the complex, the location of the buildings is designed in a way to share the same open space in front of them.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The plan layout of the buildings, embodying religious and educational functions display differences from earlier examples, in terms of preferences such as the construction of separate buildings forming the building groups. The construction of the minaret in between the two buildings further supports this argument. The shifts from the conventional 13th century examples are also evident, when the spatial organization of each building is concerned. As a common feature of these contemporaneous mosques, a late comers' portico section is constructed in the front and the mosque is a single unit type, whose main praying space is surmounted with a dome.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

As for the use of building material and construction techniques, brick is used together with stone. Where on the walls of the mosque, the use of brick is applied alternately with rubble stone, the walls of the madrasa building are made up of stone only. In addition, the use of brick can be observed on certain structural elements such as the arches and the vaults as well as on the body of the minaret.

⁹⁷⁶ Armağan mentions the extension of the district due by Creten immigrants and *Tatars* in 1900s. Armağan (2003), p. 91.

A.1.3. Karakadı Mecdettin Complex:

Other Given Names: Karağazi, Uçlala, Üçlüle, Kocabıyık Complex

Location: Taşpazarı, Ahiler Neighborhood (old names), İpekçiler Neighborhood

Date: 14th century (Kuban 1962, p. 43, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 5, 16, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 22, 56, Çakmak 2002, p. 37)

15th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 220-221)

First half of 15th century (Önkal 1991, p. 66)

Second half of 15th century (Madran 1970, pp. 61-62, Madran 1975, p. 183)

1584 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 18)

Founder: Karakadı Mecdettin (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 5, 16, Armağan 1983, p. 36, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 22, 56, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 220)

Existing Structures: Mosque, Madrasa, Tomb⁹⁷⁷, and Bath

Others / Attributions: Han (Armağan 2003, p. 165, Çulcu 2005, p. 26)⁹⁷⁸

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5)⁹⁷⁹

Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p. 220)⁹⁸⁰

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41, *Cilt 4*, p. 238, (Armağan 1983, p.70, doc. 50, Armağan 2003, p. 350, doc. 55)⁹⁸¹,

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1331 / AD. 1913, *Cilt 39*, p. 246, (Armağan 1983, p.71, doc. 51),

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1331 AD. 1913, *Cilt 39*, p. 172, (Armağan 2003, p.337, doc. 4),

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1324 / AD. 1906-07, *Cilt 33*, p. 1, (Armağan 1983, p.71, doc. 52).

Description:

Location of the Building Group:

The complex is located on the east of the town in today's İpekçiler Neighborhood. This neighborhood was called as Taşpazarı or Ahiler during the Aydınoğulları period and stood as one of the earliest neighborhoods of the period. Plus, this district was the greatest among the others and a highly significant one due to the residing population as well as construction

⁹⁷⁷ There was a discussion among the scholars about the function of this building, as whether a library or a tomb. Yet, the viewpoints of the majority of the scholars studied on this edifice and labeling it as a tomb structure seems to be convincing when considered with respect to the architectural characteristics of the structure, which displays the typical features of a tomb. Armağan (2003), pp. 220-221. Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 16-17. See particularly Madran E. (1970), "Tire'de Üçlüleli Cami Bahçesindeki Türbe", *Önasya*, 6/61-62, pp. 5-6, and Önkal H. (1991), *Tire Türbeleri*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pp. 56-66.

⁹⁷⁸ The han, named as Karakadı Hanı is mentioned within the foundations of the complex as income provider. Armağan (2003), p. 165. Yet it is not located near the mosque complex. The few remains of the building is rather located on the south of the Bedesten, adjacent to the north façade of Terziler Bath. Accordingly, this han is not a part of the architectural complex and it only provided income for the foundation of Karakadı Mosque Complex.

⁹⁷⁹ "Tire'de kain Kara Kadı Mecdettin Camii Şerifi vakfi", cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 5.

⁹⁸⁰ Without providing the full citation Armağan quotes that "Vakfi camii ve medrese-i Mevlana Mecdeddin el marruf bi Karakadı der nefsi Tire". Armağan (2003), p. 220.

⁹⁸¹ Yet, the date is given as H. 1330 / A.D.1912 in the document provided in Armağan (2003), p.350.

activities took place under the Aydınoğulları rule.⁹⁸² Later, under the Ottoman rule as the neighborhoods were divided into smaller units and increased in number. At this time, this vicinity was distinguished as İpekçizade neighborhood, encompassing the surrounding of the mosque complex to its west and including the east of today's State Hospital.⁹⁸³ The current neighborhood is still called as İpekçiler named after the silk manufacturers who settled along this neighborhood during the early Ottoman period.

This neighborhood of the town was positioned towards the eastern border of the town. Evliya Çelebi describes Tire in three distinct parts as; the Central Tire, Yeniceköy neighborhood on the west, and this İpekçizade and even in Armağan's words Karakadı neighborhood on the east.⁹⁸⁴ Accordingly, Evliya perceived this district as the eastern edge, a somewhat detached settlement from the center, which welcomes the visitors entering from the east of the town.

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

The mosque and the madrasa buildings of the complex are integrally designed so that, the madrasa rooms are planned around the courtyard of the mosque. The arcade combines the two buildings, where in front of the mosque becomes the late comers' portico. The location of the tomb, on the other hand, is not as integrally designed together as the madrasa. Its position within the complex reminds the plan layout of building groups in relation to each other as seen on early Ottoman examples from Bursa. It is not possible to make further comments on the planning of the complex including the bath building due to lack of visual material.

Çakmak claims that, the remaining walls and spaces of a building 300 m northwest of the mosque to be the bath of the complex, though she does not provide its location in relation to the mosque, madrasa and the tomb.⁹⁸⁵ Armağan, on the other hand asserts that, the bath is located 100 m south of the mosque and another bath is also mentioned within the *muhasabe kayıtları* [bookkeeping records] Karakadı in 1531, whose location is not given.⁹⁸⁶ Probably, Armağan was right for the location of the bath of the complex, the other building seems to be far away to be included within the building groups. The bath building Çakmak studied probably

⁹⁸² For instance Armağan mentions about the construction activities in the district donated by Hafsa Hatun. Armağan (2003), p. 85.

⁹⁸³ Armağan (2003), p. 89.

⁹⁸⁴ Evliya Çelebi (2005), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, (Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman, and R. Dankoff trans. and analysis) Book 9, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, p. 90.

⁹⁸⁵ Çakmak (2002), p. 33.

⁹⁸⁶ Armağan (2003), p. 221.

was a separate bath building dating to the same period. Yet, as mentioned above, Armağan states another bath building depending on the foundations of Karakadı.⁹⁸⁷

The organization of these buildings as a group, their location with respect to each other, where the bath is the most separate, the tomb is closely situated and most importantly the mosque and the madrasa units are integrally designed indicate to the new searches in architectural practice during the period.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The mosque is a single unit one, whose plan is hexagonal in shape displaying similarities with two other examples from Tire having octagonal plans, namely Leyse and Gucur Mosques. Additionally, the arcade in the front acting as the late comers' portico of the mosque contributes to the integration of the mosque and madrasa spaces around the courtyard. At the same time, it is differentiated with a level difference from the arcade of the courtyard. The minaret is attached on the northeast corner of the prayer hall, which intersects with the southern wall of the late comers' portico. The tomb located on the southeast of the mosque and the madrasa units are pentagonal in plan and covered with an elliptical dome at its top. On the exterior the shape of the dome is exposed.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The use of building materials in the construction of the complex shows similarities with other examples in Tire dating to the same period. The mosque is constructed of rubble stone only in the lower level and brick is used alternately with stone on the upper levels. Together with the brick cornices applied below the roof level, the use of brick may be regarded as a result of the local impacts in the region. Brick is also used on the structural elements like arches in all buildings in the complex. Finally it is used in the saw tooth cornices of not only the mosque but also the tomb structure.

⁹⁸⁷ Within the *kadı sicilleri* [court records] of 1912 foundation accounting incomes of Karakadı Mecdettin, the han and bath are considered among the incomes. Armağan (2003), p. 221, 350. It is not certain whether this bath building is the one that Çakmak studied. Çakmak (2002), p. 33. Because, it may be discussed if the founder ordered the construction of bath buildings so close to each other. The mentioned bath, whose location is not certain, may also be built near the han, which is not constructed as a part of the building complex.

A.1.4. Karahasan Mosque and Tomb:

Other Given Names: Garasen Mosque and Tomb

Location: İbni Miskin, Miskince Neighborhood (old names) Cumhuriyet Neighborhood, Cağaloğlu Street

Date: 14th century (Armağan 2003, p. 186)

Ends of 14th – beginnings of 15th century (Kalfazade- Ertuğrul 1995, pp. 152-153)

Beginnings of 15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 5, 26, Önkal 1991, p. 56, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 16, 53)

1440s (Tokluoğlu 1957, p. 14)

Founder: Karahasan Bey, brother of İzmiroğlu Cüneyt Bey, son of Bademiye Emiri İbrahim Bahadır Bey, grandson of Aydınoğlu Mehmet Bey. Subaşı of İzmir (1390-1402) and Governor of Ayasuluk (1403) (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 5, 26, Kalfazade- Ertuğrul 1995, pp. 152-153, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 16, 53, Armağan 2003, pp. 186, 210)

Existing Structures: Mosque, Tomb⁹⁸⁸

Others / Attributions: *Zaviye*, medrese (Armağan 2003, p. 271, Armağan 1983, p. 61)⁹⁸⁹

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5)⁹⁹⁰

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1321 / AD. 1903-04, *Cilt* 29, p. 368, (Armağan 1983, p. 61, doc. 23)

Description:

Location of the Building Group:

Karahasan Mosque, together with the tomb of Ali Paşa is located in Cumhuriyet Neighborhood, known as Miskince Neighborhood in the early period and developed especially during the 15th century under the Ottoman rule within the center of Tire. The center comprised the fringes on both sides of the commercial strip, which accommodated commercial buildings, namely the *hans*, *bedesten*, market places and shops together with other significant public buildings like mosques and baths. Karahasan Mosque and the tomb was situated towards the western parts of this vicinity, where considerable urban growth took place due to the increased number of constructions during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. Particularly in the 15th century,

⁹⁸⁸ Tomb belongs to Cağaloğlu Ali Paşa, whom the foundation of the mosque also later includes. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 26. Armağan (2003), p. 210. For a detailed analysis of the tomb see Önkal (1991), pp. 48-56.

⁹⁸⁹ Armağan suggests that Karahasan mosque was originally a zaviye and it was later converted into a mosque. Armağan (2003), p. 210. However, the plan and architectural characteristics of the building clearly shows that it is founded as a mosque from the beginning. For more detailed architectural analysis of the building see Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 26-29.

In addition, depending on the *Vakfiye* [Foundation Charter] of Yamukağa dating H. 1130 / AD. 1717-18, where “Karahasan Mektebi” is stated and also referring to the *Şeriyeye Sicilleri* [Court registers] of the Archive of Tire Museum Book 29, p. 368, dating to H. 1321 / AD. 1903-04, in which “Medine-i Tire’de Kara Hasan Medresesinde mukim talebe-i ulumdan [...]” is stated Armağan claims that the building group included a medrese. Armağan (1983), p. 61, doc. 23. He gives the location of the medrese within the building as rooms surrounding the mosque from south, north, and west directions. Armağan (2003), p. 271. However, there are no architectural remains supporting this argument.

⁹⁹⁰ “Tire’de Cağaloğlu Ali Paşa vakfından Kara Hasan Paşa Camii” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 5.

Karahasan Mosque and Tomb played an important role as an urban generator, instigating the development of the neighborhood called as İbni Miskin or Miskince.

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

Combining the remaining architectural evidence with the information from the historical documents, it can be suggested that Karahasan Mosque had a tomb and a madrasa structure as its dependencies. The relation of the mosque with the tomb is physically established by letting them share a common open space, yet not in a strongly integrated manner due to their angular orientations with respect to each other. At this point, it has to be clarified that, even though Cağaloğlu Ali Paşa, who died in the early 17th century, is interred in the tomb, the tomb was constructed contemporaneous with the mosque. As its architectural properties such as the plan, mass characteristics and building material and construction techniques suggest, the tomb was designed and built together with the mosque.⁹⁹¹ Nevertheless, the actual position of these separate buildings and the land piece they are constructed in hints a possible location for the madrasa on the western side of the mosque.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The single unit mosque is a cubic structure in plan, covered with a dome at the top, where this superstructure is linked with the substructure through the Turkish triangles. A minaret is attached to this mass on the northeast corner and a late comers' portico, as a semi open transitory space is constructed in the front. In these ways the mosque displays similarities with early Ottoman examples.

Just like the mosque, the tomb structure, hexagonal in plan, covered with a dome at the top resembles its contemporaneous Ottoman tomb structures. Since Cağaloğlu Ali Paşa is interred in this tomb, it is also called as Cağaloğlu Ali Paşa. Hence, the architecture of the tomb displays strong similarities with a later one, namely with the tomb of Yavukluoğlu Complex.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The alternate use of rubble stone and brick courses prevails on the walls of Karahasan Mosque and the tomb of Cağaloğlu Ali Paşa of the building group. Like, for instance in Leyse Mosque as well, brick is also used vertically in the rising joints. Plus, as a typical feature of

⁹⁹¹ Önkal (1991), pp. 55-56.

Tire buildings of the period brick is also used in the arches, body of the minaret and in this mosque even on the upper walls, above the arches of the late comers' portico.

A.1.5. Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb

Other Given Names: Kestaneli Mosque and Tomb

Location: Bademye Neighborhood (old name), Duatepe Neighborhood

Date: H. 877 / AD. 1472 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 18, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 48, Önkal (1991), pp. 84-88, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 29, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 230)⁹⁹²

Founder: Rum Mehmet Paşa, one of the viziers of Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 48, Önkal (1991), pp. 84-88, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, pp. 29, 59, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 230)⁹⁹³

Existing Structures: Mosque, Tomb, Şadırvan (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 49-51, Armağan 2003, pp. 230-231, 319)

Others / Attributions: *Han*, Bath (Armağan 2003, pp. 189, 230-231)⁹⁹⁴

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel above the Mosque entrance (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 99, nt. 60, Önkal 1991, pp. 84-85, Armağan 2003, p. 230)⁹⁹⁵

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)⁹⁹⁶

Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p. 230),

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1315-16 / AD. 1898, *Cilt* 28, (Armağan 2003, p. 353, doc. 63),

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1287 / AD. 1870-71, *Cilt* 18, p. 102, (Armağan 2003, p. 353, doc. 64)

⁹⁹² The scholars give the construction date as 1472 according to the inscription panel. See nt. 993 below.

⁹⁹³ Armağan gives the name of the donor as Rum Mehmet Paşa according to the inscription panel above the entrance, which states,

“Beyt-i hakkane fi hayrul enam amerallahu ila yevmil kıyam Mehmet Paşa

Temmet hazel mescide tarihe hu abbidet benihi fi makam. (H. 877 / AD. 1472)” Armağan (2003), p. 230.

⁹⁹⁴ Armağan mentions a *han* and a bath among the dependencies of the mosque, yet these buildings are income providers to the mosque and architecturally speaking, due to their unrelated locations with respect to each other they are far from establishing a building group. Moreover, the mentioned dependencies, those providing income to the mosque, Ali Hanı and Destimal Hanı and Tabaklar Bath in Tabakhane District did not survive today. Armağan (2003), pp. 230-231, 353, doc. 63-64. See the Primary Sources on the building group above.

⁹⁹⁵ Aslanoğlu gives the what is readable in the inscription panel as follows;

“Kalâlahü sübhanehü ve Taalâ (İnnemâ ya'muru mesâcidallâhi men âmene billâhi ve'l-elyevmi'l-âhir Kalennebiyyü salâllahü aleyhi ve selleme Men benâ lillâhi mesciden benallahü lehü kasran filcenneti Kad benâ hâzel-cami-eş-şerif Elmübareki sahib-ül-hayrat vel-hasenat....”, Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 99, nt. 60. Yet, Armağan gives some part of what is written in the inscription panel somewhat differently. Still, Önkal gives the text of the inscription panel even differently. Nevertheless, the theme of the text is same in all scholars transcriptions that it is a tribute to the founder of this mosque. Önkal (1991), pp. 84-85, Armağan (2003), p. 230. See Primary Sources above.

⁹⁹⁶ “Tire’de Kestaneli Camii Şerif demekle maruf Rum Mehmet Paşa Camisi” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

Description:

Location of the Buildings:

The group of buildings composed of the mosque, tomb and *şadırvan* are located in Duatepe Neighborhood, on the outskirts of Güme Mountain near Hafsa Hatun Complex. It seems that, Duatepe Neighborhood, known as Bademye under the Aydınoğulları rule, kept its prominence and continued to develop under the Ottoman rule, particularly during the reign of Mehmet II. Hence, one of his viziers Rum Mehmet Paşa founded a building group in the vicinity, which contributed to the development and growth of the area. Nevertheless, even though Bademye was of the significant neighborhoods during both the Aydınoğulları and the Ottoman period particularly between the 15th and 16th centuries, today it can be regarded as the urban fringes, even the countryside of Tire on its southeast.⁹⁹⁷

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

The mosque, tomb and the *şadırvan* establish the building group as the existing structures. Where Armağan also mentions a *han* and bath building within the foundations of Rum Mehmet Paşa, these are not included within the complex. Concerning the relation of the buildings in the group with respect to each other, it can be said that, the buildings are not as closely related, or in other words, are not strongly connected as for instance, in Karahasan Mosque and Tomb. For the reason that, the tomb and mosque are designed to face different orientations and there is not a common open space linking the two buildings, as the entrance to each is considered.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Like many of the other mosques of that period, Rum Mehmet Paşa is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure, where a belt of Turkish triangles is used to make the transition from the dome to the cube. A late comers' portico divided into three units covered with domes is attached to this prayer hall in its front. The above the central unit on the *mihrab* axis is smaller than the ones flanking on its both sides. The minaret is attached on the northwest corner of the mosque projects westward as a separate mass.

Similar to the Cağaloğlu Ali Paşa Tomb of Karahasan Building Group, the tomb of Rum Mehmet Paşa is a hexagon in plan. Yet, different from Cağaloğlu Ali Paşa Tomb topped

⁹⁹⁷ For further information Bademiye District between the 14th and 16th centuries see Telci (2008). See also Armağan (2003), pp. 85-91. Plus, for particularly the nearby vicinity of Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb Armağan (2003), pp. 230-231,353, doc. 63-64 with the primary sources above.

with a dome this tomb is covered with a pyramidal cap at the exterior above its dome at the interior.⁹⁹⁸ The *şadırvan* is roofed with a timber, tile covered, square structure, which is similar to the one of a later mosque, namely Şeyh Mosque in Tire.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone in the mosque, particularly on the walls of the prayer hall. In the late comers' portico section, stone is used alternating with courses of brick, where the pattern continues as a single row of stone follows a double row brick tiles. Brick is more intensely used in the tomb structure, not only on the walls but also on the arches above the openings and the niches. Plus, as a typical feature of the minarets of Tire of that period, the body of the minaret is articulated with brick patterns.

A.1.6. Yavukluoğlu Complex

Other Given Names: Yoğurtluoğlu Complex

Location: Şeyhköy Neighborhood (old name) Turan Neighborhood, Beyler Deresi District

Date: Before 15th century (Sayılı 1948, pp. 684-686)

15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 51, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 36)

1442 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20)

1461 (Armağan 2003, p. 229)⁹⁹⁹

Founder: Yoğurtluoğlu / Yavukluoğlu Mehmet Paşa (Sayılı 1948, p. 684, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 51, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 36),

Mustafa Paşa or Mehmet Paşa (Hazan 1986)

Yoğurtluoğlu Mustafa Paşa / Emir Mustafa, son of İvaz Paşa (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 229)¹⁰⁰⁰

Existing Structures: Mosque, Madrasa, Observatory, Public Kitchen

Others / Attributions: Bath, ablution fountain, library (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 51-54)

Bath, ablution fountain, *muvaqqithane*, cemetery (Armağan 2003, pp. 190, 229-230)¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁸ For a further discussion on the architecture of the tomb structures and particularly a comparison between Çağaloğlu Ali Paşa and Rum Mehmet Paşa Tombs in Tire, see Önkal (1991), pp. 48-56, 77-88.

⁹⁹⁹ Armağan referring to the inscription panel of the mosque found in Tire Museum today gives the construction date as 1461. Armağan (2003), p. 229.

¹⁰⁰⁰ See also the inscription panel in the Primary Sources.

¹⁰⁰¹ Both Aslanoğlu and Armağan mention about the existence of a bath as one of the dependencies of the mosque, where the remains of the bath building is towards the northeast of the complex, which cannot be seen today. Hence, Aslanoğlu attributes the adjacent room on the east of the mosque as a library. However, since this room has a *mihrab* niche inside, it can also be argued whether this space served as a guest house, or a place reserved for particular praying practices. The *muvaqqithane*, which Armağan attributes as part of the complex can in fact be corresponding to the same structure functioning possibly both as an observatory and a *muvaqqithane*. Most probably, an ablution fountain

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel (Armağan 2003, p. 229)¹⁰⁰²

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰⁰³

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, (Undated and unclassified), (Armağan 2003, p. 229)¹⁰⁰⁴,

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, Undated, *Cilt 4*, p. 291, (Armağan 2003, p. 353, doc. 62)

Description:

Location of the Buildings:

Yavukluoğlu Complex is located in Turan Neighborhood, Beyler Deresi district, established as Şeyhköy Neighborhood during the early Ottoman period, on the western edge of the town. As Telci and especially Armağan also argued, Tire can be comprehended having three distinctive quarters, aligned on the topographical contours of the elongated town as Western, Central and Eastern.¹⁰⁰⁵ The central quarter corresponds to the commercial district and its nearby vicinity, which can be regarded as the most populated and urbanized parts of Tire. The Eastern quarter corresponds to neighborhoods settled in Bademiye, hilly location to its east, which contained Turkish residential quarters beginning with the Turkish infiltration into the region under the Aydınoğulları rule in the 14th century and continued through the Ottoman rule between the 15th and 16th centuries. Finally, the Western quarter corresponds to the vicinity particularly generated from the neighborhood founded around architectural complexes such as Yavukluoğlu or single buildings like Selvili Masjid named as Şeyhköy. Şeyhköy, located on the urban fringes of Tire, extended further north to the later established Yeniceköy Neighborhood.

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

Except the bath, the other buildings of the complex are still standing. Hence, Yavukluoğlu is a building complex, which comprises the largest number of dependencies to a

and a cemetery were among the dependencies of Yavukluoğlu Complex. For further details, see Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 51-54. Armağan (2003), pp. 190, 229-230.

¹⁰⁰² The inscription panel in the Tire Museum reads as;

“Ünşie haze’l camii el mübareke’l emir-ül azam
Sahibül hayratı naşirül hasenatı Hacı Mustafa bin İvaz avsalahullah
Mutalebehu fi şehri Recep min’am hamsü ve sittin semane mie.
Hicretihi vel hamdüllahi vahdehu.” (H. 865 / AD. 1460-61) cited in Armağan (2003), p. 229

¹⁰⁰³ “Tire’de Gölü Mahallesinde kain Yoğurtluoğlu Camii Şerifi vakfı” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The register cited by Armağan is as follows; “Aydın vilayeti dahilinde medine-i Tire mahallatından Güciler (?) Mahallesinde vaki ashabi hayrattan Yoğurtluoğlu nam kimsenin bina ve inşa eylediği Yoğurtluoğlu Camii Şerifi demekle arif camii şerif [...]” Yet, Armağan does not give the date or the number of the register he cites. Armağan (2003), p. 229.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Armağan (2008), pp. 131-134. Telci (2008), pp. 21-40.

mosque not only among its contemporaries but also among both its predecessors and its successors. The relation of these dependencies with respect to each other, or in other words, the location of the buildings in the group as regards each other indicates to significant developments in plan organization and mass articulation in comparison to earlier examples. The mosque, which has an additional room attached on the east and the madrasa rooms are organized around a courtyard in the middle, providing an open space shared by them. The domed space at the north of the madrasa rooms, which are located in the east functioned as the public kitchen. On the other hand, the one at the end of the west ones end with the double storeyed observatory, which probably accommodated a *muvakkithane* as well. These two buildings on the north, in a way, correspond to the mosque across, where together with the madrasa rooms in between, flanking on both sides, the complex acts as an integrated whole of a group of building organized around a well defined open space.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The building group is an enriched and elaborate example among its contemporaries in Tire not only due to the variety of dependencies it includes, but also to the architectural and spatial features of the buildings, and particularly of the mosque. The mosque is a single unit type with a cubic structure, where transition from the dome to the cube is provided by the squinches. A late comers' portico of five units, covered with domes is attached to the prayer hall in the front. Plus, there is another cubic space attached to the prayer hall on the east. This room approximates one unit of the late comers' portico in scale, where its function cannot be definitely stated. It is either a library as stated by Aslanoğlu, or a guest house, or a specified space for particular praying practices, or else.¹⁰⁰⁶ Hence, the minaret attached on the north corner of west wall establishes a balance in the plan layout and façade composition approximating the edge unit of the late comers' portico on the west just like the room on the east. Yet, architecturally speaking, both in its spatial organization, and concerning its scale Yavukluoğlu is more articulate in comparison to the other mosques in Tire of that period.

The madrasa rooms are located on the east and west sides of the courtyards are all cross vaulted units in front which arcaded porticos are placed. The bigger domed room attached on the north wall of the eastern row of madrasa units is the public kitchen. Finally, the barrel

¹⁰⁰⁶ Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 52.

vaulted, double storeyed rectangular space on the north, across the mosque and attached to the north wall lied perpendicular to the western row of madrasa units is the observatory.¹⁰⁰⁷

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone and brick in the structures of Yavukoğlu Complex. The mosque walls are of small-scaled stone courses alternating with brick courses of the same height. These wall patterns display high quality of workmanship in masonry among the other examples in Tire. The other structures of the complex are all built of rubble stone as can be seen in their exterior articulation. Yet, brick is the other dominating building material that the arches in all the structures including the mosque and the body of the minaret are of brick, continuing the widespread tradition in medieval Tire.

A.1.7. Molla Mehmet Çelebi Mosque and Tomb

Other Given Names: Toptepe, Şeyh Celil Mosque

Location: Toptepe, Paşa Neighborhood

Date: Ends of 15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 57)

1489 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 18, Armağan 2003, p. 188, 235-236,)

Beginnings of 16th century (Önkal 1991, p. 109, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 58)

Founder: Molla Mehmet Çelebi, (Tokluoğlu 1959, p. 58, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 57, Önkal 1991, pp. 105-109, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 235-236,)¹⁰⁰⁸

Existing Structures: Mosque, tomb (Tokluoğlu 1959, p. 58, Aslanoğlu 1978, 57-59, Önkal 1991, 99-109, Armağan 2003, 190, 235-236, 320)

Others / Attributions: Zaviye, madrasa, public kitchen, (Armağan 2003, pp. 190, 235-236)¹⁰⁰⁹

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel, gravestone of Molla Çelebi (Önkal 1991, pp. 105-109, Tokluoğlu 1959, p. 58)¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁷ For further discussion on the observatory, see Sayılı A. (1948), “Rasathane Konusu ile İlgili Olarak Tire’de Kısa Bir Araştırma”, *Belleten*, XII/47, pp. 684-686.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Molla Çelebi is among the significant Ottoman elite. Tokluoğlu provides the most extensive information about Molla Çelebi. Tokluoğlu (1959), p. 58.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Armağan claims that the mosque is originally built as a zaviye and then converted into a mosque. Armağan (2003), p. 235. However, the architectural features of the building suggest that it is definitely built as a mosque from the beginning. As for the dependencies of the mosque, the tomb of the founder still stands, the madrasa rooms supposedly gathered on three sides of the courtyard in front of the mosque, and finally Armağan mentions the remains of the public kitchen, which cannot be figured out at the site. Armağan (2003), p. 235.

¹⁰¹⁰ Tokluoğlu gives the inscription on the gravestone of Molla Çelebi as follows; “Kad intekale’ elmerhum el’mağfur el’muhtac İla rahmetillahi taala Eşşeyh Mehmed Çelebi rahmetullahu” and also “Yevme selase vakti gurubuşşems Şehri zil’kade sene hamse ve tis’a mie 905”, Tokluoğlu (1959), p. 58.

At this point, Önkal mentions about another gravestone in Tire Museum with inventory no: 2007, which he claims to be the actual gravestone of Molla Çelebi. The inscription can be translated as follows;

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰¹¹
Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, Undated, Cilt 4/II, p. 273,
(Armağan 1983, pp. 12-13)¹⁰¹²

Description:

Location of the Buildings within the Town:

The mosque is located in one of the old neighborhoods of the town, towards the southeast. It is positioned on the steep slopes of Toptepe Hill on the northern outskirts of Güme Mountains. The neighborhood in which the mosque takes place is Paşa, where Süratli Mehmet Paşa Mosque is also located to its northwest decreasing slopes. The Paşa neighborhood was settled in early 15th century and mainly developed during the rule of Mehmet II in the Ottoman period next to a very early neighborhood around Toptepe district towards the steepest and outermost fringes of the town named as Ağaççılar or Kadı Neighborhood.

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

Molla Çelebi is the center of the building group, which had other dependent structures, whether still standing or not. The tomb of the founder, Molla Mehmet Çelebi still stands and it is positioned on the courtyard of the mosque. According to Armağan, the madrasa rooms were organized in a way to surround the three sides of the courtyard in front of the mosque.¹⁰¹³ Not only the little remaining architectural evidence but also a comparison to the contemporaneous examples like Yavukluoğlu and Molla Arap Complexes suggests that Armağan's arguments might be true, yet still a point of discussion. Plus, even though Armağan claims that the *imaret* of the complex is still standing partially, however it is not possible to detect its traces on the site. Thus, it is possible only to certain extent to argue about the relation of the dependencies of the mosque with respect to the mosque itself and with respect to each other.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The mosque is a hypostyle type of mosque, having four columns articulating the interior space, which is covered with a timber roof at the top. The aisles align perpendicular to

“Merhum, mağfur, âlim, âmil, kâmil Molla Mehmed Çelebi bin Müderris Ahmed Çelebi 937 senesi Cemaziyel evvelinde, aziz ve başışlayıcı Rabbinin rahmetine intikal etti. Allah her ikisinin de toprağını temiz yerlerini cennet kılsın. Peygamber, müminler ölmez fâni dünyadan bâki dünyaya intikal ederler buyurdu. Peygamber aleyhisselâm, ölümü çokça anınız buyurdu.” Önkal (1991), pp. 109.

¹⁰¹¹ “Tire’de merhum Molla Çelebi Camii Şerifi vakfi” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

¹⁰¹² Armağan does not give a full citation of the historical document, yet points out that the name of the building was pronounced among the other buildings founded by Hasan Çelebi, Hekim Çelebi etc. Armağan (1983), pp. 12-13.

¹⁰¹³ Armağan (2003), p. 235.

the *qibla* wall, yet, due to the square-like geometry of the mosque in plan, the space is not perceived as a elongated one. Still, the aisle on the *mihrab* axis is wider than the side ones. There is a late comers' portico attached to the prayer hall of the mosque. Due to recent renovations, it is not possible to mention about the original state of this semi-open, intermediary space. The minaret of the mosque is located on its northeast corner. The tomb of the building group is a double storeyed tomb, capped with dome reflecting the typical Ottoman covering systems of these structures.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone and brick in the structures of Molla Çelebi Mosque and Tomb. Rubble stone is used alternating with brick. Brick is also used in the arches above the openings and niches of the mosque and the tomb and in the body of the minaret, which is a widespread tradition in medieval Tire.

A.1.8. Molla Arap Complex

Other Given Names: None

Location: Yahşibey Plain

Date: Ends of 15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 61, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 26)

1481 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 57)

H. 897 / AD. 1491-1492 (Armağan 2003, pp. 188,233).

Founder: Alaeddin Ali Arabi, Zeynuddin Ali Arabi, Molla Arap, Arap Şeyh, the *Şeyhülislam* [??] of Bayezid II. (Tokluoğlu 1973, p. 41, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 61, Armağan 1983, pp. 7-8, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 26, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 233)

Existing Structures: Mosque, madrasa (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 61)

Bath (Armağan 1983, pp. 7-8, Armağan 2003, pp. 190, 233, Çakmak 2002, 57-60)¹⁰¹⁴

Others / Attributions: Shops (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 61)

Public Kitchen (Armağan 2003, pp. 190, 233)

Primary Sources: None

¹⁰¹⁴ Aslanoğlu mentions the existence of a bath among the dependencies of Molla Arap Mosque. Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 6, 61. Yet, she does not attribute any still standing structure as the bath of the complex. Çakmak, however, claims that, the building 25-30 m northwest of the mosque, was the bath of the complex and today it functioned as a storage space. Çakmak (2002), pp. 57-60. Armağan, on the other hand states that the building 100 m beneath the mosque was the bath of the complex and currently it is used as a residential unit Armağan (2003), pp. 190, 233. Çakmak's arguments seem to be correct, where the restitution plan of the building she claims to be the bath also proves. Çakmak (2002), p. 58, fig. 10.

Description:

Location of the Buildings:

The complex is located outside the urban center, approximately 5 km to the northwest, in Yahşibey Plain. Concerning the urban form and the extension of the town today, the complex still remains outside the town. It may be argued that, the surrounding of the complex did not much develop as a district, and that it always remained somehow outside the center. It is not known, whether it was planned to generate an urban development, a neighborhood in this area. If it was so, it is possible to claim that, the attempt was not accomplished during the period and later. Focusing on the contrary situation on the other hand, it possible to state that, the construction of the complex was deliberately initiated outside the town. The reason behind such intention may be the search for some isolation specific to the madrasa education of the complex. The commercial activities mentioned to be embodied in the complex might have required production and commerce of such materials that have to be collected outside the town. Plus, the complex might have been designed and built as a *menzil* [rural] *külliyesi* from the beginning.¹⁰¹⁵

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

The still standing structures of the complex are the mosque and as its dependencies the madrasa and the bath. The mosque and the madrasa units are organized around a courtyard, displaying a geometrical layout similar to relation of the mosque and the madrasa structures in Yavukluoğlu or Karakadı Mecdettin Complexes. Yet, the relation of the bath to the other existing structures of the complex is not as integrated as in the location of the madrasa with respect to the mosque. Clearly speaking, the bath building is comparatively separated regarding

¹⁰¹⁵ For further discussion on *menzil külliyesi*, see in Chapter 4, 4.1. Definitions, Origins, Design and Management of *Külliyes* [Building Complexes]. See also, Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliye - Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantiği*, İstanbul: Mimari Tasarım Yayınları, on urban complexes pp. 73-140, on rural complexes pp. 141-156. Cantay G. (2002a), "Türk Mimarisinde Külliye", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 7, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 847-850. Cantay G. (2002b), *Osmanlı Külliyelerinin Kuruluşu*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, pp. 31-81. Hakky also touches upon this classification though he is concerned with the urban complexes. Hakky R. (1992), *The Ottoman Külliye between the 14th and 17th Centuries: Its Urban Setting and Spatial Composition*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Environmental Design and Planning, Virginia: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, pp. 55-140. For detailed discussion on rural complexes see Müderrisoğlu F. (1993), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnşa Edilen Menzil Külliyesi*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in Art History, Ankara: Hacettepe University. Müderrisoğlu F. (2001), "Osmanlı Şehirciliği Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler", *Prof. Dr. Zafer Bayburtluoğlu Armağanı*, (M. Denктаş, Y. Özbek eds.) Kayseri: Erciyes University, pp. 386-397. Müderrisoğlu F. (2002), "Menzil Kavramı ve Osmanlı Devleti'nde Menzil Yerleşimleri", *Türkler Ansiklopedisi*, (H. C. Güzel, K. Çiçek, S. Koca eds.) 10, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, pp. 920 – 926.

its location within the building group. Still, there were other additional dependencies of the mosque such as the commercial units, serving for economic purposes those providing income to the foundation of the complex, and a public kitchen serving for charitable and social purposes those providing food to the public.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

As can be figured out depending on the existing architectural remains, the mosque is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure like most of the mosques in Tire. The minaret is attached on the northwest corner of the mosque. Most probably, the mosque had a late comers' portico attached in front of the cubic praying hall. Plus, most probably, the late comers' portico and the arcaded portico placed in front of the madrasa rooms located on both sides of the courtyard were covered with domes like in Yavukluoğlu Complex and in many other contemporaries those were constructed during the Ottoman rule between the 15th and 16th centuries.

The madrasa rooms on the east and west sides of the courtyard consist of six rooms each. These spaces are small, barrel-vaulted, cubic volumes articulated with niches and window openings on their outer walls. The remains of the bath are approximately 25-30 m northwest of the mosque and madrasa. As the architectural remains of the edifice suggest, this bath is a single bath building, whose still standing units are the *ılıklik* [tepid room], two domed *halvets* [bathing cubicals], water depot, and the *külhan* [boiler room].¹⁰¹⁶

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is rubble stone, where brick is also used, such as in the arches, as can be observed in the still standing remains of the structures of the building group.

A.1.9. Şeyh Mosque, Madrasa, and Bath

Other Given Names: Şeyh Nusreddin Building complex

Location: Tarakçızade Neighborhood (old name), Bahariye Neighborhood, Keskin Street

Date: Ends of 16th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 65-68)

H. 992 / AD. 1584 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 18, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 236, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 31, Çakmak 2002, p. 73-74)¹⁰¹⁷

¹⁰¹⁶ For a more detailed architectural analysis of Molla Arap bath, see Çakmak (2002), pp. 57-60.

¹⁰¹⁷ Çakmak mentions that according to the index card no 16 in the Archive of İzmir Regional Directorate of Pious Foundations and according to Aslanoğlu the foundation date of the building group is given as 1584. Yet, she claims that depending on its architectural features and comparing them with contemporaneous others, bath of the building group is constructed in the ends of the 15th and beginnings

Founder: Şeyh Nusrettin (Nasureddin) Efendi, Brother of the renowned Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi, father of the renowned *müderri*s of Piri Mehmet Paşa Madrasa in İstanbul, Molla Nasrullah Rumi epitheted Abdülfetha Efendi (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 65-68, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 31, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 236)

Existing Structures: Mosque, bath, *hazire*, tomb or madrasa room, (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 65-68, Armağan pp. 189, 236, Çakmak 2002, 71-74)

Mosque, bath, *hazire*, madrasa room, (Armağan pp. 189, 236, 304, 321, Çakmak 2002, 71-74)¹⁰¹⁸

Others / Attributions: Tomb (Armağan pp. 189, 236, 321, Çakmak 2002, 71-74)

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰¹⁹

Tire Vakfiyeleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 937 / AD. 1531 (Armağan 2003, p. 236)¹⁰²⁰

Mehmet Tahir ibni İsmail Ağa Vakfiyesi, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1260 / AD. 1844-45 (Armağan 2003, p. 236)¹⁰²¹

Description:

Location of the Buildings:

Şeyh Mosque and its dependencies are located in one of the old neighborhoods of central Tire dating back to Aydınoğulları rule. The neighborhood was called as Tarakçızade, which means the son of comb maker due to the comb producers within the very same district just on the west of Derekahve.¹⁰²² This steep site situated on the rising slopes of the topography, on which Şeyh Mosque, bath, *hazire* and the remaining walls of the madrasa are located particularly gained its prominence, in other words, became more populated, developed, and

of the 16th century. Çakmak (2002), pp. 73-74. Hence, Armağan claims that this is the second construction phase of the building group, where the building is mentioned among the foundations of Nefise Hatun in the foundation charters. Accordingly, as these historical accounts dating to 1531 and plus, the date when the founder of the building group lived through, displays, Aslanoğlu and Armağan suggestions of a later date seems more correct. Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 6, 65-68. Armağan (2003), p. 236. See also the Primary Sources above.

¹⁰¹⁸ Aslanoğlu argues that the remaining structure on the north east of the mosque can either be the tomb of its founder or a part of the madrasa structure, which was mentioned among the dependencies of this mosque. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 66. Armağan and Çakmak, however, claim that the remaining structure on the northeast of the mosque is actually a part of the madrasa, the walls of one of the madrasa rooms. Armağan (2003), p. 236. Çakmak (2002), p. 71. Armağan and Çakmak's arguments are to the point since the remaining walls are of the part of a adjacent structure instead of a self standing one. In this way, remembering the other tomb structures in Tire, which are all self standing, the remaining structure can be asserted as part of the madrasa. Plus, this structure is not included within the monographical research of Önkal analyzing the tombs in Tire. Önkal (1991).

¹⁰¹⁹ "Tire'de Şeyh Camisi vakfi" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

¹⁰²⁰ Without providing the full citation, Armağan summarizes the information in the registers as; this was formerly supposed to be part of the foundations of Nefise Hatun, "Vakfı mescid-i Nefise Hatun der nefsi Tire", 12.000 *akçe* was donated to the masjüd, the *mütevelli* of the foundation was Seydi and his children as appointed in that date. Armağan (2003), p. 236.

¹⁰²¹ Without providing any citation and giving inventory numbers, Armağan only mentions that there is this vakfiye related to Şeyh Mosque, madrasa, and bath. Armağan (2003), p. 236.

¹⁰²² Armağan (2003), p. 90.

grew as a significant neighborhood during the Ottoman rule, even though its establishment of the district dates back to the Principalities period.

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

The still standing structures of the building group today are the mosque, the *şadırvan*, remaining walls of a madrasa unit, and the nearby bath on the north of the mosque. Referring to the existing parts of the complex, whether it was organized similar to Bursa examples of the earlier period can be discussed. The position of the mosque in relation to the *şadırvan* and the remaining room on the northeast indicate to an organic layout in plan, where the buildings are orientated towards different directions due to the topographical conditions on the undulating site. Like, for instance, Yıldırım Complex in Bursa, the remaining structures of the building group are not oriented to each other and cannot establish an integrated spatial arrangement considering sharing of common open spaces. Instead, each structure has an open space of its own at its entrance façade and in this sense the buildings in the group are not as closely and as strongly related as in Yavukluoğlu or Molla Arap Complexes in Tire.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Şeyh Mosque has been subject to severe alterations in the recent centuries and in 1962 at the latest.¹⁰²³ The mosque is originally supposed to be a single unit mosque with a cubic structure and an attached semi-open late comers' portico in its front. Yet, currently the mosque displays a very different spatial schema, where it is covered with a timber gabled roof standing on wooden columns. Furthermore, its late comers' portico is a single space covered with a vault rather than the typical division of the late comers' portico. Still, the cubic based minaret attached on the northwest corner of the mosque is original.

The bath of the complex, located on the north of the mosque and the hazire, is a single bath building, whose all units of a public bath of that period still stands. The entrance to the bath is from its north façade, where one enters the dressing room of the bath, which was, most probably a domed space regarding the architectural evidence on the site. This leads to a barrel vaulted tepid room that opens to two bathing cubicals. The water depot and the boiler room is built on the south side of the building.¹⁰²⁴

¹⁰²³ Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 66.

¹⁰²⁴ For a more detailed architectural analysis of Molla Arap Bath, see Çakmak (2002), pp. 71-74.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

With the recent restoration works the walls of the mosque are faced with mortar which prevents any observation for the major building material used in the construction of the mosque. Yet, it is possible to suggest that, the major building material is rubble stone as can be seen in the remaining structures of the building group and similar to the building tradition in Tire of that period. For instance, the walls of the bath are of rubble stone together with brick. Brick is the other significant building material used, which is also used in the architectural elements like arches, vaults and in the articulation of the body of the minaret.

A.1.10. Yalınayak Mosque and Bath

Other Given Names: Hasan Çavuş Mosque and Bath

Location: Yayla Fakih, Yalınayak Neighborhood (old name), Ertuğrul Neighborhood, Kaplan Çeşme Street¹⁰²⁵

Date: 16th century (İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, pp. 35, 75, Çakmak 2002, pp. 75-80, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 242-243, 305)¹⁰²⁶

Ends of 16th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 71-74)

Founder: Hasan Çavuş, son of Sadrazam Ferhat Paşa, during the rule of Süleyman I and Selim II (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 71-74, Tokluoğlu 1964, p.20, İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, pp. 35, 75, Çakmak 2002, pp. 75-80, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 242-243, 305)

Existing Structures: Mosque, bath, *şadırvan*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 71-74, Armağan 2003, pp. 242-243, 305, Çakmak 2002, pp. 75-80)

Others / Attributions: Madrasa, *hazire* (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 71-75, Çakmak 2002, pp. 75-80) Madrasa, tomb, *sebil* (Armağan 2003, pp. 242-243)¹⁰²⁷

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel above the entrance door, (Armağan 2003, p. 243)¹⁰²⁸ Gravestone of a later administrator of the Yalınayak foundation, (Ülker 2008, p. 276)¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²⁵ Yayla Fakih is the name of the neighborhood during the Aydınoğulları rule, whereas Yalınayak is the name of the neighborhood during the Ottoman rule, most probably after the name of the mosque subsequent to its construction. For the description of the neighborhoods see Armağan (2003), pp. 87, 90.

¹⁰²⁶ Çakmak also states that the building is dated to 17th century according to the file index no:26 in the Archive of the General Directorate of Pious Foundations.

¹⁰²⁷ Both Aslanoğlu and Armağan argue that the remains the madrasa is located on the south of the mosque. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 71. Armağan (2003), p. 243. However, it is not possible to detect the remains of the madrasa units today.

¹⁰²⁸ This inscription panel pointing to the restoration patronized by Yesari Mehmet Nazif Efendi in H. 1292 / AD. 1875-76 is read as; “La ilahe illallah sene 1292

İnnas salate kanet alel müliline kitaben mevkuta Sadakallahülazim Ketebehü el fakir Mehmet Nazif el Yesari rabievvel” cited in Armağan (2003), p. 243.

¹⁰²⁹ Even though this inscription on the gravestone of Hüseyin Efendi, an administrator of Yalınayak Hasan Çavuş Mosque, does not directly provide information on the building group, it states that Hüseyin Efendi was responsible for the foundations of Yalınayak in during the late 18th century. The gravestone is in Tire Museum today, and the writing on it reads as;

“Hûve'l-Hallâk'ül – Bâkî
Derdime dermân aradım bir ilâcın bulamadım
Hasretâ fâni cihânda tûl ömür sürmedim

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 7)¹⁰³⁰
2003, p. 243)¹⁰³¹ *Tire Vakfiyeleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1253 / AD. 1837-38 (Armağan
2003, p. 243)¹⁰³² *Tire Vakfiyeleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1253 / AD. 1837-38 (Armağan
2003, p. 243)¹⁰³² *Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41, *Cilt*
4/II, p. 253, (Armağan 2003, p. 356, doc. 80)

Description:

Location of the Buildings:

The building group is on the west, in between Yeniceköy quarter and the commercial district, comparatively closer to this central quarter, where extensive construction activities, and thus urbanization attempts in the 14th and 15th centuries can also be observed. It is positioned towards the north, towards the gentle slopes of the increasing topography to the south, beneath Kazırzade, along almost the same contours with the later construction Yamuk Ağa Masjid and Eski – Yeni Bath on its east. Hence, the building group is located in old Yayla Fakih, Yalınayak Neighborhood, which was later called as Ertuğrul Neighborhood. The earliest neighborhood, Yayla Fakih dates back to ends of Aydınoğulları rule and takes its name after one of the significant *ghazi* fighters, dervishes of the period, Yayla Baba.¹⁰³³ Yayla Baba founded a masjid in this area and the district developing around the masjid is called as Yayla Fakih after the masjid and its founder. Then, during the Ottoman rule, the vicinity becomes to be named as Yalınayak probably after the name of an *aşiret* [tribe] inhabiting in here.¹⁰³⁴ Yet, the building group later founded by Hasan Çavuş took its name after the neighborhood, where it is located unlike its former name Yayla Fakih.

Firkatâ takdîr bu imiş tâ ezelden bilmedim

Yalınayak Hasan Çavuş Câmîi mütevellisi

Ve [...] merhûm Hüseyin Efendi

Ruhuna Fâtîha sene 1215 / 1800-1", cited in Ülker N. (2008), "Tire Kitabeleri ve Türk Tarihindeki Yeri", *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker, A. Taşcan eds.) 17-18 Kasım 2006, Tire, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, p. 276.

¹⁰³⁰ "Tire mahallatından Yayla Fakihlar Mahallesinde kain Hasan Çavuş Camisi vakfi" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 7.

¹⁰³¹ Armağan without providing the full text of the foundation charter states that the building is also stated among the foundations of Yüzdırhemoğlu Hacı Mehmet Efendi in H. 1253 / AD. 1837-38. Armağan (2003), p. 243.

¹⁰³² Armağan without providing the full text of the foundation charter states that according to the foundation charter of Hacı Mustafa ibni Abdullah in H. 1253 / AD. 1837, 10 rooms of the madrasa are repaired. Armağan (2003), p. 243.

¹⁰³³ Armağan (2003), p. 88.

¹⁰³⁴ According to Armağan the name Yalınayak comes from an *aşiret*. Armağan (2003), p. 90.

Relation of the Buildings in the Group:

The mosque, bath, and *şadırvan* of the building group survived. There are probable remains of the madrasa across, which are argued to be the madrasa rooms. Plus, both Aslanoğlu and Armağan argue that the remains the madrasa is located on the south of the mosque.¹⁰³⁵ However, it is not possible to detect the remains of the madrasa units today. Yet, the relation of the mosque, *şadırvan*, and the bath with respect to each other can be discussed. The mosque is located on a higher level to the south of the bath. It has a *şadırvan* in its courtyard, which faces the mihrab axis. A street on the west separates the mosque and the courtyard on the north in its front from the bath. Both buildings are aligned east-west axis facing principally north. The entrance to the mosque is indirectly provided from the street, first to the courtyard and then to the mosque. As for the bath, on the other hand, since it is a double bath, it has separate entrance both for women and for men. There is a small open space opening to the street, where it is possible to enter the women's as well as the men's sections. Men's section has also another entrance on its north façade from a different courtyard in its front. Accordingly, the relation of the mosque and the bath is not strongly established, even though they are closely located. The buildings neither share a common open space nor oriented to each other.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The mosque is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure. Yet, the interior articulation is different from other mosques in Tire of that period. In Yalınayak Mosque, the prayer hall is extended on the east, west and north walls with deep niches established by deep arches. Plus, opposed to most of the mosques of Tire, the minaret is not a separate, attached mass, instead an integrated one included in the mass of the payer hall on the northwest corner. The late comers' portico in the front is an elegant one of its type among its contemporaries, which is composed of five domed units. Finally, there is a domed space, accessible from the late comers' portico and also has an opening on its south wall, which is attached to the mosque on its north-east corner. The function of this space is not known, yet it can be asserted that, it must have been a relevant function near a mosque because of its close, integrated relation with this building. Hence, Yalınayak mosque can be regarded as one of the significant examples in Tire, considering not only its spatial attributes such as the serene articulation of its interior but also its scale where it has larger dimensions in comparison to most of the others.

¹⁰³⁵ Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 71. Armağan (2003), p. 243.

The bath building is also a prominent example of baths of that period in Tire. It is a double bath including both women's and men's sections. Hence, it is among the articulately designed baths with elaborate spatial organizations like in Eski – Yeni Bath or in a little later example of Mehmet Ağa Bath dating to the second half of the 17th century.¹⁰³⁶

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The walls of the mosque even the body of the minaret is faced with white wash. Hence, comparing the building material with the one used in the bath of the building group and taking into account the general tendency and building tradition in Tire of that period, it can still be claimed that the mosque is built of stone alternately used with brick courses. Expectedly, the major building material is rubble stone alternately used with brick courses in the bath, where brick is also used in the arches. Finally, as Aslanoğlu also states, it can be argued that the body of the minaret, which is currently white washed is made of brick tiles.

A.1.11. Çanakçı Masjid and Bath

Other Given Names: None

Location: Çanakçı Neighborhood, (old name), Bahariye Neighborhood, Çatalçeşme, Naimoğlu Street

Date: H. 738 / AD. 1338 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20, Akın 1968, p. 116, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 82-83)

1339 (Armağan 2003, pp. 186, 198)

Founder: Bahadır bin Seyf - ed- Dînül - Baytar, (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 82-83, Armağan 2003, pp. 186, 198)

Existing Structures: Masjid, bath

Others / Attributions: None

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel, in Tire museum today (Akın 1968, p. 116, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 82-83, 103, nt. 91, Armağan 2003, p. 198)¹⁰³⁷

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 7)¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³⁶ For a more detailed architectural analysis of Yalınayak Bath, see Çakmak (2002), pp. 75-80.

¹⁰³⁷ The inscription panel, which is in Tire museum today, reads as;

“Bismillahirrahmanirrahim Eüşee hazâ

El-Mescid el-Mübarel el-abd'ül fakir ilâ

Allahi Teâlâ Bahadır ibn Seyfeddin el-Baytâr

Gafere all mahu lehu veli valideyhi velicemir'1 müslimin

Bi tarihi Şehri Rebiyülevvel sene tisa ve selasun seba mie (739)” in Akın (1968), p. 116, and in Kalfazade-Ertuğrul (1995a), p. 160.

And as; “Bismillahirrahmanirrahim Enşe hazel mescid-il mübarek

El abdül fakir el Allahi taala Bahadır ibn-i Seyfeddin Baytar

Gaferallahi leh-ü livalideyn ve cemili müslimin

Tarih şehr-i rebiyül evvel tis'a ve selasin ve seba

mie.” in Armağan (2003), p. 198.

¹⁰³⁸ “Tire İlçesinde Çanakçızade Mescidi vakfi” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 7.

198)¹⁰³⁹ *Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları*, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p.

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1253 / AD. 1837-1838, *Cilt 4/II*, p. 279, (Armağan 2003, p. 340, doc. 18)

Description:

Location of the Building:

The mosque is located on the slopes of the Güme Mountains towards the southwest of the Great Mosque and on the decreasing topography to the northeast of Narin Mosque. The neighborhood, which bore the same name with the masjīd, was one of the three oldest neighborhoods of the town, dating to the Aydınoğulları period. Hence, even though the nearby Narin Mosque is thought to be standing by the supposed fortifications, which are not extant today, it is a point of discussion whether the masjīd and the neighborhood generated around it stood inside or outside the fortified area. Yet, the location is still highly strategic, on a hilly spot, where the major artery running through the north - south axis, beginning from the entry to the town from İzmir and following the formerly improved riverbed adjacent to the commercial strip, is almost finalized at these steep slopes.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The masjīd is a single unit type with a cubic structure, where the dome sits on the walls by way of pendentives similar to medieval and early modern mosques in Tire. There also is a late comers' portico attached on the west façade of the masjīd. Yet, the relation of the late comers' portico to the prayer hall of the masjīd is somewhat different than these mosques, however similar to Doğanbey Mosque. The open space defined by the west façade of the prayer hall and north façade of the portico is a shared open space by the both. The entrance to the prayer hall and the entrance to the portico is provided from here.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is rubble stone in the walls of Çanakçı Masjīd. Yet, the arches are of brick. The exterior of the dome of the masjīd is faced with a special local type of stone known as slate stone.

¹⁰³⁹ "Vakfı mescid-i ibni Çanakçı der nefsi Tire", cited in Armağan (2003), p. 198.

A2. Single Buildings

A.2.1. Mosques

A.2.1.1. Doğanbey Mosque

Other Given Names: Doğancıyan, Güdük Minare Mosque

Location: Dere Neighborhood, Kayalık District

Date : 14th century

Ends of 14th – beginnings of 15th century (Kalfazade-Ertuğrul 1995, pp. 265-267)

Founder: Doğan Bey of Doğancılar, an Aydınogulları *aşireti*

Existing Structures: Mosque (Aslanoglu 1978, p. 9)

Others / Attributions: Zaviye (Armağan 2003, pp. 200-201)

Primary Sources: *Tire Vakfiyeleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41 (Armağan 2003, p. 340, doc. 20)

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1252 / AD. 1836-37, *Cilt 2*, p. 8, (Armağan 2003, p. 340, doc. 21),

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1263 / AD. 1846-47, *Cilt 4/II*, p. 227, (Armağan 2003, p. 341, doc. 22)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Doğanbey Mosque is located on the steep slopes of Toptepe Hill towards the southeast of Tire. It is in between Bademiye and Tire's commercial center developed just underneath the Great Mosque, which is underneath Narin Mosque. The quarters of the town which grew by Narin Mosque is argued to be the location of the fortified center of Tire. Baykara and repeating him Telci and Armağan claim that this part of the town accommodated the inner citadel, whose remains cannot be seen today.¹⁰⁴⁰ Yet, the urban morphological analysis of Tire suggests that even though there are not archeological and architectural remains of the citadel, the road leading from the entry to the town from İzmir and continuing through the commercial district, following the path above the recently improved bed of Tabakhane River probably ended below the Great Mosque and Narin Mosque, those presumably stood by the citadel.¹⁰⁴¹ Still, the placement of Doğan Bey Mosque in between Bademiye and central Tire generated urban growth around itself and a new neighborhood developed by the mosque during the Aydınogulları period.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Baykara T. (1994), "Türk Şehircilik Geleneğinde Tire", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, (M. Şeker ed.), 4-5 September 1993, Tire, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, p. 11. Baykara T. (2005), "Osmanlı Kale Tahkimatı ve Narin Kale", *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Economic and Social History of Turkey*, 20-23 August 2002, Dubrovnik-Croatia, p. 29. See also Armağan (2008), pp. 131-132. Telci (2008), pp. 23-24.

¹⁰⁴¹ See the discussion in Chapter 5. 5.2.2. Making of the Urban Form of Tire: A Morphological Analysis.

Relation to Probable Dependencies:

The mosque did not have additional dependencies, which would point to the foundation of a group of buildings. However, within its foundation charters dating to 19th century its income is mentioned together with that of Kurt Bey Masjid, which is not extant today. This masjid was supposed to stand in Şücaeddin Neighborhood close to Lütfü Paşa Complex and Leyse Mosque. Thus, it is possible to speak of a correlation regarding the founders of each building, who belonged to the same *aşiret* called as Doğancılar. Yet, even though the two buildings belong to the same foundation they are very far from forming an architectural unity in the means of an architectural complex.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

As far as the architectural characteristics of the Doğan Bey Mosque are concerned, the plan and physical properties of the building can be mentioned. It is a single unit mosque, which has an attached late comers' portico section on its west façade. This double unit late comers' portico is a similar application to other mosques in Tire dating to the Principalities period.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

Building materials are stone and brick, which were used alternately on the building walls. Saw-tooth cornices and re-used materials together with the alternate use of stone and brick courses can be considered as features of local impacts in construction materials and techniques.

A.2.1.2. Mehmet Bey Mosque

Other Given Names: None

Location: Alacamescit Neighborhood (old name), Dere Neighborhood, Alacamescit District, Sarıca Yusuf Street

Date: 14th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 14)

15th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 88, 213-214)

Founder: Mehmet Bey¹⁰⁴²

Existing Structures: Mosque, Fountain (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 9, Armağan 2003, p. 214)

Others / Attributions: Madrasa (Armağan 2003, p. 214)

Primary Sources: *Tire Vakfiyeleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 937 / AD. 1531 (Armağan 2003, p. 347, doc. 41).

Kütük Kaydı (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5) same with *Tire Vakfiyeleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1326 / AD. 1908-09, *Cilt* 43, p. 3903, (Armağan 2003, p. 214)¹⁰⁴³

¹⁰⁴² According to Armağan, the founder, after whom the mosque took its name, was Mehmet Bey, the son of Hüsam Dede (Hüsametdin) and actually he was the second founder who repaired the mosque, whose original founder is not certainly known. Armağan (2003), p. 213.

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1254 / AD. 1838-39, Cilt 4, p. 286, (Armağan 2003, p. 347, doc. 42, Armağan 1983, p. 55, doc.7)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Mehmet Bey Mosque is located by the intricately knit streets on the steep topography just near the most crowded setting of urban life. This part can be defined as a commercial strip, which was later marked with Lütfü Paşa Complex on the north and finalized with Şemsi Mescidi and *Haziresi* on the southern slopes, on whose place Derekahve, a popular excursion spot, stands today. In other words, Mehmet Bey Mosque was close to the supposedly main artery of the medieval town, which led from the town entrance on İzmir road, continued through the commercial district, and traced the course of the bed of Tabakhane River.¹⁰⁴⁴ Nevertheless, the Aydınoğulları and the subsequent Ottoman periods of Tire witnessed serious divisions of neighborhoods, where the number of neighborhoods was bountiful while their land borders were small. Likewise, Mehmet Bey Mosque with the inserted fountain on its courtyard wall generated the development of Alacamescit neighborhood during the medieval era.¹⁰⁴⁵

Relation to Probable Dependencies:

The only existing dependency of the mosque is the fountain inserted on the courtyard wall facing the street. The lost madrasa building founded by Osman Bey, the brother of Mehmet Bey, might be regarded as an attempt for establishing a group of buildings rather than founding single buildings with single, specific functions. Since the madrasa is not extant, it is only possible to argue about the location of the mosque and fountain with respect to each other and with respect to their surrounding site conditions. The topography of the site is a significant input to determine the placement of the edifices. The entrance to the mosque is from the late comers' portico which is heightened from the ground level. The level difference is solved with the construction of retaining wall acting as the courtyard wall of the mosque section. The very same wall facing the street had the fountain inserted into. Accordingly, it may be asserted that,

¹⁰⁴³ "Tire'de Alacamescit Mahallesinde Mehmet Bey Camii Şerifi için Halim Efendi ibni Kâmil'in Gödelli köyünde altı sak zeytin eşçarı vakfı" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 5. Armağan (2003), p. 347, doc.47.

¹⁰⁴⁴ See the discussion in Chapter 5. 5.2.2. Making of the Urban Form of Tire: A Morphological Analysis.

¹⁰⁴⁵ While Aslanoğlu suggests that this mosque was an Aydınoğulları work, Armağan includes the mosque and particularly its nearby developing vicinity as a contribution of the Ottoman period between the 1426 and 1500. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 14, Armağan (2003), p. 88.

in addition to an evolution towards the establishment of building groups, there is also an increased interest in communicating with the outside and founding more extraverted buildings.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The architectural characteristics of Mehmet Bey Mosque can be summarized as; a single unit mosque with a double unit late comers' portico in its front, on the north. The courtyard wall and the fountain defines another transitional space, coping with the steep topography and the surrounding streets yet not parallel to the contours of the plan of the mosque and the portico.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The utilized building material is mainly stone. Brick is used in the cornices, and the body of the minaret as widely seen in Tire mosques dating to Principalities and early Ottoman periods.

A.2.1.3. Gucur Mosque

Other Given Names: Kucur, Kacur Mosque

Location: Taşpazarı, Ahiler, Seydi Neighborhood (old names), İpekçiler Neighborhood, between Gürcü Melek and Kucur Camii Şerifi Streets

Date: 14th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 214)

End of 14th beginning of 15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 20)

15th century (Erat 2008, pp. 303-304)

Founder: Gucur Bey (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 214)

Şeyh Ahmet Efendi (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5)

Existing Structures: Mosque (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 20-21, Armağan 2003, p. 214, Erat 2008, pp. 301-304)

Others / Attributions: Zaviye (Armağan 2003, p. 214)

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5)¹⁰⁴⁶

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1304 / AD. 1886-87, *Cilt* 24, p. 49 (Armağan 2003, p. 347, doc. 43)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Gucur Mosque is located in İpekçiler, former Taşpazarı neighborhood, which takes place on the eastern terrain of the town. It is positioned on the southeast of Karakadı Mecdettin Complex, towards the southern slopes of Güme Mountains. In fact, beginning with Karakadı Mecdettin and continuing with Gucur Mosque, then a later construction Gürcü Melek Mosque

¹⁰⁴⁶ "Tire'de me'seydi İpekçiler Mahallesinde vâki Kacur Camisi" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 5.

and finally reaching Karagazi Bath on the higher levels of the increasing topography, a significant road leading towards the steep slopes of the urban borders is defined.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Supporting what Aslanoğlu and Erat agree and as the architectural language of the building suggests, the building embodied only the function of a mosque.¹⁰⁴⁷ The mosque is a single unit mosque with an octagonal plan, where polygonal prayer halls in plan are widespread among Tire mosques, like in Karakadı Mecdettin, Yavukluoğlu and Leyse Mosque. Due to the insufficiency of the architectural remains and recent restorations, it is not possible to detect the traces of a late comers' portico, which most probably existed when the mosque was originally built similar to other contemporaneous mosques in Tire.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Major building material is rubble stone, where brick was also used in making up the structural elements such as arches above the window openings and on the body of the minaret.

A.2.1.4. Leyse Mosque

Other Given Names: Pir Ahmet Mosque

Location: Şücaeddin, Doğancılar Neighborhood (old names), near old Animal Bazaar, Yeni Neighborhood, Paşa Cami District

Date: 14th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 22-23)

15th century (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 18, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 233-234)

Founder: Leysezade Pir Ahmet Çelebi, son of Mevlana Leysi Çelebi (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 22, Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 18, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 233-234)¹⁰⁴⁸

Existing Structures: Mosque (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 22, Armağan 2003, p. 233)

Others / Attributions: None

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5)¹⁰⁴⁹

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1254 / AD. 1838-39, *Cilt* 4, p. 289, (Armağan 2003, p. 354, doc. 67)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Leyse Mosque located in Yeni neighborhood, by the former bazaar area, which was named as Sipah Bazaar, Horse Market, or Animal Bazaar in the historical registers.¹⁰⁵⁰ It is

¹⁰⁴⁷ On the contrary to Armağan see Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 20-21. Erat (2008), pp. 303-304. For Armağan's arguments see Armağan (1991), p. 76. Armağan (2003), 214.

Plus, Boyalı Mehmet Paşa, who is the son of Pir Ahmet Çelebi was among the viziers of Murat III. Armağan (2003), p. 234.

¹⁰⁴⁹ "Tire'de vâki Leysezade Camisi Şerifi vakfı" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 5.

located on the flatter lands to the north of the commercial stripe leading from the entry to the town from İzmir through the major artery and finalizing at the supposedly existing citadel. As trade developed, Tire grew into a larger and more significant urban center in Western Anatolia, particularly through the Ottoman era. Yet, this commercial strip defined leading from south to north below the Great Mosque extended further north with the initiation of Ottoman notables like Pir Ahmet Çelebi founding Leyse Mosque and a little later Lütü Paşa founding his complex marking the end of the strip.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The mosque is a single unit mosque, octagonal in plan with a late comers' portico in its front. The polygonal prayer hall is similar to other Tire mosques founded between the 14th and 16th centuries. Yet, unlike Gucur Mosque for instance, the late comers' portico of Leyse Mosque is still extant. Even though the upper structure does not exist, the remaining thick walls defining this rectangular space suggests the existence of a roof cover in such closed spatial organizations of late comers' portico designs.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Major building material is stone used alternately with brick courses. In addition to the horizontal courses of brick and stone, brick can also be seen as vertically utilized and functioning as joining components. Like the other contemporaneous edifices in Tire brick is also used in the body of the minaret and in the architectural elements like the arches. The singularity of the building material of Leyse Mosque among the other Tire mosques is the marble used in the walls of both the prayer hall and the late comers' portico.

A.2.1.5. Great Mosque

Other Given Names: Cami-i Atik, Cami-i Kebir, Cami-i üş Şehir

Location: Cami-i Kebir, Cami-i Atik Neighborhood (old names), Yeni Neighborhood, Atatürk Street

Date: Before 14th century under Byzantine rule (Armağan 2003, pp. 186, 201-202)

Beginnings of 15th century (Kuban 1962, p. 43, Akın 1968, pp. 112-113, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 2, 24-26, Kalfazade-Ertuğrul 1995, p. 136, 142-144)

Founder: İzmiroğlu Cüneyt Bey (Kuban 1962, p. 43, Akın 1968, pp. 112-113, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 2, 24-25, Kalfazade-Ertuğrul 1995, pp. 136, 142-144, Armağan 2003, pp. 186, 201-202,)

Seljuk Sultan Keyhüsrev (Evliya Çelebi)¹⁰⁵¹

¹⁰⁵⁰ Armağan gives the names given to the markets held in this district. Armağan (2003), p. 234.

¹⁰⁵¹ Referring to an inscription panel placed on the left of the door to the minaret, Evliya Çelebi states that, "Benâ hâze'l-câmia's-şerîf, sultânu'l-Arab ve'l Acem Keykubâd bin Keyhüsrev bin

Existing Structures: Friday Mosque (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 24-26, Armağan 2003, p. 201-202)
Others / Attributions: Church, Medrese (Tokluoğlu 1957, p. 15, Armağan 2003, pp. 201-202)
Primary Sources: Inscription Panel above the entrance (Kalfazade-Ertuğrul 1995, pp. 144-145)¹⁰⁵²

Vakfiye, Archive of Ankara General Directorate of Pious Foundations, No. 8/5, 441

Aydın Livası Kazaları Vakıf Kayıtları, H. 967 / M. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p. 341, doc. 24)

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5, Armağan 2003, p. 341, doc. 25)¹⁰⁵³
Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41, *Cilt 4*, p. 263, (Armağan 2003, p. 341, doc. 26, Armağan 1983, p. 60, doc. 21)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Great Mosque of Tire is located towards the rising slopes continuing on the south of the town's commercial district. In the nearby vicinity of the Great Mosque, to its further south on steeper topography Çanakçı and Neslihan Mescidi and to their southwest Narin Mosque are situated. Yet, this area is the possible locality of the earlier fortified area dating from the former Byzantine era.

First, an etymological analysis regarding the meaning of the name Tahtakale of the commercial district suggests that Tahtakale, originating from *Taht-al Kala* corresponds to Kale Altı [Under the Citadel].¹⁰⁵⁴ Plus, the neighborhood circumscribing this area is named as Hisariçi, even during the rule of Mehmet II, as the property deeds of the very same period display.¹⁰⁵⁵ Second, the urban morphological analysis supports the argument that there was an earlier fortified area dating from the former Byzantine period just above the commercial district next to the Great Mosque and the Çanakçı and Neslihan Masjids and the Narin Mosque. Third, a comparison with the other contemporaneous Turkish settlements in Anatolia implies that subsequent to the Turkish conquest of a Byzantine town, the existing inner citadel together with its including Byzantine structures are converted into Turkish edifices. Moreover, new Turkish-

Kılıçarslan. Sene sitte ve sittin ve seb'i mie". Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 86. However, Evliya's claims cannot reflect the truth because the Seljuk Sultans could not settle in these lands for enough time to initiate the construction of monumental works of architecture to imprint their signatures.

¹⁰⁵² These inscription panels indicate to the restorations dating to H. 1287 / AD. 1870-71 and later H. 1340 / AD. 1921-1922. Kalfazade-Ertuğrul (1995a), pp. 144-145.

¹⁰⁵³ "Tire'de kain Yeni ve Ulu Camii Şerifleriyle Hasan Çelebi mektebi hüddamına vazife tayin etmiş olan Medine-i mezkure mahallatından Hekim Çelebi Mahallesi sakinlerinden Solakizade Elhac Mustafa Ağa inbi Elhac İbrahim Ağa'nın malul – miktar zeytin eşçarı vakfı" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 5. Armağan (2003), p. 341, doc. 25.

¹⁰⁵⁴ For further discussion see in Chapter 5, 5.2.2. Making of the Urban Form of Tire: A Morphological Analysis.

¹⁰⁵⁵ For further discussion see in Chapter 5, 5.2.2. Making of the Urban Form of Tire: A Morphological Analysis.

Islamic structures such as Great Mosques are founded just outside this fortified area and a market place is enlivened next to it.¹⁰⁵⁶ Beçin and especially Bursa are very appropriate examples to compare with Tire in this respect. Supporting these arguments, Baykara proposes that Great Mosques are built just outside the fortifications due to the conquered town's growth and extension outside the already existing fortified area.¹⁰⁵⁷ Baykara further asserts that where there are mosques named as "Narin", there, for the most part, stood the former fortified inner citadel.¹⁰⁵⁸ In the end, on one hand, it can be assumed that, the Great Mosque of Tire was founded outside the formerly fortified area just above the town's commercial district, which gradually developed and extended towards north.

These arguments support Aslanoğlu and Kuban's claims that Great Mosque is a contribution of Aydınöğulları Principality opposed to what Armağan and some local inhabitants of Tire assert. This brings one to the second assumption that Great Mosque was originally built under the Byzantine rule as St. Catherine Church as claimed by Tokluoğlu, Armağan and local inhabitants of Tire today.¹⁰⁵⁹ Since a hypothetical reconstruction of the probable fortified area was proposed in the final urban morphological analysis of the town because of the insufficiency of remaining architectural and archeological evidence, Great Mosque can be assumed to take place just beneath the fortified area. This suggestion supports the claim that Great Mosque was originally built as a church under the Byzantine rule. Hence, it is a tradition or in other words, a method of conquest to convert the most significant religious edifice of the conquered town into a mosque as can well be seen other Anatolian or even Rumelian towns.¹⁰⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Kalfazade-Ertuğrul mentions about the mosaics on the ground floor cover of the mosque during her site survey in 1995, yet, still agreeing with Kuban and Aslanoğlu she asserts that the building is an Aydınöğül contribution, nevertheless most probably was constructed on the earlier existing church.¹⁰⁶¹

However, concerning both of the above assumptions, there is one very significant fact that, the building was highly damaged under the great fires in 1916 and 1932.¹⁰⁶² Thus, there

¹⁰⁵⁶ For further details see the discussion provided in the Chapter 3, 3.1. Urban Models and 3.2 History of Urban Form in Western Anatolia.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Baykara T (1996). "Ulu Cami: Selçuklu Şehrinde İskanı Belirleyen Bir Kaynak Olarak", *Belleten*, LX/227, pp. 33-59.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Baykara (2005), p. 29

¹⁰⁵⁹ Tokluoğlu (1957), p. 15. Armağan (2003), pp.201-202.

¹⁰⁶⁰ İnalçık H. (1954), "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", *Studia Islamica*, 2, pp. 104-129.

¹⁰⁶¹ Kalfazade-Ertuğrul (1995a), pp. 142-144.

¹⁰⁶² Armağan (2003), p. 202. Başaran M. (2000), *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Tire*, İzmir : Dokuz Eylül Yayınları. Plus, through the personal memoirs of Lütfi Filiz, a significant local of Tire the

are not sufficient original remains displaying the original architectural and stylistic features of the mosque to reach decisive deductions on whether it was initially built as a church or a mosque. Nevertheless, for the most part, the building displays the characteristics of an Aydınoğulları mosque structure due not only to the inscription panels writing the Aydınoğulları contributions architectural properties but also to the displayed architectural properties of the building.¹⁰⁶³

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Great Mosque displays the typical plan of Friday mosques, as a columned or in other words, a hypostyle prayer hall. The prayer hall is composed of five parallel and five perpendicular aisles to the *mihrab* axis. The hall is covered with an inclined roof reaching 8,60 in the center and decreasing to 6,80 meters on the sides. The main entrance to the mosque is from the door placed at the center of the north façade accompanied by a semi open late comers' portico section in the front. There are secondary entrances from the side façades corresponding to the central aisle perpendicular to the mihrab axis. The minaret is attached on the northeast corner of the mosque, at the intersection of the north wall and the late comers' portico.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Since the building is faced with white wash both inside and outside including the body of the minaret, it can only be guessed that major building material is stone and probably brick was also used in addition to stone, which is the case in the contemporaneous Turkish-Islamic monuments in Tire.

A.2.1.6. Hüsamettin Mosque

Other Given Names: Gön Pazarı, Hasır Pazarı, Balık Pazarı Mosque

Location: Hasır Pazarı (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Market Place

Date: End of 14th century beginning of 15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 29, Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 18)

14th century (Armağan 2003, p. 186, 208-209)

Founder: Hüsamettin Bey, Hüsam Dede, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 29, Armağan 2003, p. 186) *kadı* [local judge] of the late Aydınoğulları rule (Armağan 1983, p. 35)

Existing Structures: Mosque, shops (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 29-31), Armağan 2003, p. 233)

fires and their consequences are mentioned. Filiz L. (2006), *Evveli Nokta Ahiri Nokta* (Noktadan Noktaya Ömr ü Hayatım), İstanbul: Pan Yayınları.

¹⁰⁶³ For further information about the inscription panels check Ülker N. (1994), "Tire'de Osmanlı Dönemi Türk Kitabeleri", *Türk Kültüründe Tire I, Sempozyum Bildileri*, (M. Şeker ed.), Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 97-112. Ülker (2008), pp. 261-278.

Others / Attributions: *Zaviye* (Armağan 2003, pp. 208-209)¹⁰⁶⁴

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 5)¹⁰⁶⁵

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41, *Cilt* 4, p. 234, (Armağan 2003, p. 345, doc. 35, Armağan 1983, p. 70, doc. 49)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Like the other mosques such as Gazazhane and Tahtakale built within the commercial area, Hüsametdin Mosque is located in the market place and functioned as a mosque in the market rather than a residential neighborhood mosque. The building is constructed in the same lot of land with Çöplüce, Bakır and Kutu Han and Tahtakale Bath. Strengthening this public and for the most part the commercial character of this particular division of the town, the mosque is built above the ground level. Clearly speaking, the mosque, namely the prayer hall and the late comers' portico was built on the first floor, where the spaces on the ground floor level functioned as shops providing income to the foundation of Hüsametdin Mosque. Hence, the entrance to the mosque is from a staircase leading from the ground level.

Relation to Probable Dependencies:

The only existing dependencies of the mosque are the shop units occupying the ground floor level of the mosque. Accordingly, there are accessible from the ground level, where the entry to the mosque is comparatively indirect, through a staircase leading to the upper floor. Hence, the two functions use the same building mass, yet not closely related in terms of physical accessibility.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The mosque is a single unit mosque, cubic in plan with a late comers' portico in its front. Turkish triangles providing transition from the dome to the cubic structure is common to other single unit, cubic Tire mosques. The late comers' portico in the front is a semi open double unit space on whose northeast corner the minaret is attached. This is different from

¹⁰⁶⁴ Armağan claims that this mosque was also founded as a *zaviye* and it was later converted into a mosque. Armağan (2003), p. 208. However, the plan and architectural characteristics of the building clearly shows that it is founded as a mosque from the beginning. For more detailed architectural analysis of the building see Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 29-31. The written historical accounts support this argument that in a court register dating to H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41, the building is named as *masjid* "Muhasebe-i vakfi Mescidi Hüsameddin der medine-i Tire der zamanı Mehmet el müteveli [...]" See primary sources above.

¹⁰⁶⁵ "Tire'de Balık Pazarında Hüsametdin Mescidi vakfi" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 5.

other mosques in Tire of that period, where the minaret is generally attached to the mass of the prayer hall rather than the late comers' portico.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Predominating building material is cut stone used alternately with brick courses. Brick is also used on the saw tooth cornices, arches and the body of the minaret, reflecting the typical building practice of the period in Tire.

A.2.1.7. Kara Hayrettin Mosque

Other Given Names: Gdk Minare Mosque

Location: Mısırlı Neighborhood (old name), at the junction of Cumhuriyet, Dumlupınar, and Ertuğrul Neighborhood

Date: Early 15th century (Aslanođlu 1978, p. 32)
14th century (Armađan 2003, p. 86, 186, 209-210)

Founder: Kara Hayrettin (Aslanođlu 1978, p. 32) heir of andarlı dynasty, grand vizier (1368), (Armađan 2003, pp. 186, 209-210)

Existing Structures: Mosque (Aslanođlu 1978, pp. 32-33)
Mosque, fountain (Armađan 2003, p. 210)

Others / Attributions: Zaviye, medrese, bath (Armađan 2003, pp. 208-209)¹⁰⁶⁶

Primary Sources: *Ktk Kaydı*, (Aslanođlu 1978, p. 5)¹⁰⁶⁷
Tire Őer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, (Undated and unclassified) (Armađan 2003, p. 209)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Kara Hayrettin Mosque is located between central Tire and Yeniceky, when the town is analyzed within three basic settlement divisions as Yeniceky on the west, central Tire along the commercial strip, and Bademiye on the east. On the further west of the mosque Hamza Ađa Complex, to its north Ađa Mosque and on its east Yalınayak Complex and Yamuk Ađa Mescidi are situated. In fact, the mosque and the fountain -according to Armađan even including the

¹⁰⁶⁶ Armađan claims that this mosque was also founded as a *zaviye* and it was later converted into a mosque. Armađan (2003), pp. 209-210. However, the plan and architectural characteristics of the building clearly shows that it is founded as a mosque from the beginning. For more detailed architectural analysis of the building see Aslanođlu (1978), pp. 32-33. Even the written historical accounts cited by Armađan support this argument. Without specifying in which register, Armađan states that, the mosque is mentioned as; "Aydın Vilayeti celilesi dahilinde Tire kasabası mahallatından Mısırlı Mahallesinde vaki Kara Hayreddin Camii Őerifi [...]", or in the Aydın Livası *muhasabe kayıtları* [account registers] as; "Mescid-i Mısırlı" Armađan (2003), p. 209. As for the existence of a medrese and a bath as part of this building complex, there are no architectural remains or written documents.

¹⁰⁶⁷ "Tire'de Mısırlı Mahallesinde kain Kara Hayrettin Camii Őerifi vakfı" cited in Aslanođlu (1978), p. 5.

non-existing medrese and the bath- were probably the urban nucleus instigated during the Aydınoğulları period.¹⁰⁶⁸ Mısırlı neighborhood, which developed by the Kara Hayrettin Mosque was among the early neighborhoods dating back to the first ruling period of Aydınoğulları Principality. Accordingly the neighborhood grew along the gradually rising terrain to the west of the Güme Mountains around Kara Hayrettin Mosque.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Kara Hayrettin is a single unit mosque, cubic in plan with a late comers' portico in its front. Like in Karahasan or Hüsametdin Mosque, Turkish triangles are used in between the dome covering the top and the cubic structure functioning as the prayer hall. The late comers' portico in the front is a semi open space, divide into three units. Where the central unit is covered with a dome, the units are topped with cross vaults. The minaret is attached to the northeast corner of the mosque. In this way, the minaret shares the walls of both the prayer hall and the late comers' portico.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Alternate use of stone and brick courses on the walls of the mosque can be seen. Brick is also used on the arches. Yet, since the body of the minaret is covered with white wash, it is not certain whether reflecting the typical building practice of the period in Tire the body of the minaret is of brick.

A.2.1.8. Süratli Mehmet Paşa Mosque

Other Given Names: Suretli, Suratlı Mehmet Paşa Mosque

Location : Paşa Neighborhood, Suratlı District¹⁰⁶⁹

Date : 1384 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20)

Beginnings of the 15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 34)

15th century (Armağan 2003, p. 187)

Founder: Süratli Mehmet Paşa (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20, Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 34), Beyzade Mehmet Bey (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 223)¹⁰⁷⁰

Existing Structures: Mosque

Others / Attributions: Bath, Fountain, *Sebil* (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 33)

Zaviye, madrasa, bath (Armağan 2003, pp. 223-224)¹⁰⁷¹

¹⁰⁶⁸ Armağan (2003), p. 209.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Armağan suggests that the neighborhood took its name after "Paşa", the name of a significant Turcoman dynasty during the Ottoman period. Yet, during the reign of Mehmet II, the neighborhood had the same name. Armağan (2003), p. 89.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Armağan points to a probability that Beyzade Mehmet Bey was actually the grandson of Hafsa Hatun, who is the daughter of Aydınoğlu ruler İsa Bey. Armağan (2003), p. 223.

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰⁷²
Aydın Livası *Tahrir Defterleri* [Property deeds], H 937 / AD. 1531,
(Armağan 2003, p. 223)

Description:

Location of the Building:

The mosque is located in one of the old neighborhoods of the town, towards the southwest. It is positioned on the slopes of the rising topography of the western terrain of the northern outskirts of Güme Mountains. Süratli Mehmet Paşa Mosque nearby Doğan Bey Mosque on its northwest. The neighborhood was named after the founder of the mosque as Paşa neighborhood beginning from the early 15th century and mainly developing during the rule of Mehmet II in the Ottoman period. Nevertheless, the mosque together with its dependencies, as mentioned in the sources yet not extant physically, acted as an urban generator and instigated the development of this neighborhood. The mosque was not constructed as a single building, but instead together with a bath and a medrese according to Armağan and a bath, a fountain and a *sebil* according to Aslanoğlu. The travel accounts of Evliya Çelebi witness the existence of the bath, however, the support for the subsistence of other dependencies those claimed by the scholars remains quite vague.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The mosque is a single unit one, cubic in plan with a late comers' portico in its front. In these respects, it is similar to Karahasan, Hüsamettin or Kara Hayrettin Mosques. Plus, like in Kara Hayrettin Mosque the minaret is constructed on the northeast corner attached not only to the wall of the prayer hall but also to the wall of the late comers' portico. The late comers' portico once again similar to the one of Kara Hayrettin Mosque is a semi open space, composed of three equal units. Yet, in the same way, the central unit is covered with a dome and the units flanking on its both sides are topped with cross vaults. However, Turkish triangles are replaced with squinches in Süratli Mehmet Paşa Mosque.

¹⁰⁷¹ Armağan claims that this mosque was also founded as a *zaviye* and it was later converted into a mosque. Armağan (2003), pp. 223-224. However, the plan and architectural characteristics of the building clearly shows that it is founded as a mosque from the beginning. For more detailed architectural analysis of the building see Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 33-35.

¹⁰⁷² "Tire'de Paşa Mahallesinde Süratli Camisi demekle maruf Mehmet C." cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Continuing the general tendency in contemporaneous Tire buildings, the major construction materials in Süratlı Mehmet Paşa Mosque is stone and brick. Brick is particularly used in the arches and in the body of the minaret.

A.2.1.9. Yahşi Bey Mosque

Other Given Names: Yeşil İmaret

Location : Yeni Neighborhood

Date : 1429 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p.20)

H. 845 / AD. 1441 (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 36, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 224)

Founder: Halil Yahşi Bey bin Abdullah, Commander of Murat II, First Sancak Beyi of Aydın (Tokluoğlu 1964, p.20, Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 36, Armağan 2003, p. 224, Ertekin 2008b, p. 11)

First Sancakbeyi of Aydın İli (1424) (Ertekin 2008b, pp. 2, 6-7)

Existing Structures : Mosque with additional spaces in T-type plan (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 36-39, Armağan 2003, pp. 224-226, Kuban 1962, pp. 41-42, Ertekin 2008b, pp. 21-27)

Others / Attributions: Çöplüce Hanı, Kutu Han, Tahtakale Bath (Çakmak 2002, Ertekin 2008b, p. 11, Armağan 1983, p. 7, Armağan 2003, p. 225)¹⁰⁷³

Primary Sources: *Müceddede Anadolu Sani Vakfiye Defteri, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations*, H. 845 / AD. 1441, No. 586, p. 211, 205 (Ertekin 2008b, pp. 35-43)

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰⁷⁴

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41, (Armağan 2003, pp. 351-352, doc. 58)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Yahşi Bey Mosque is located towards the gentle slopes, or better to say towards the flatter lands within the center of Tire. It is positioned on the southwest of the very core of the commercial district, established with Çöplüce and Kutu Han as well as Tahtakale Bath, commissioned by Halil Yahşi Bey again not only acting as the focal node of the market place but also providing income for the foundation of the Mosque. Nevertheless, even though these buildings do not form an architecturally integrated group, the circumference surrounding them marks one of the very significant nodes of Tire. Yet, the mosque is located close by the major artery running through the north-south axis, the road from the entry to the town approaching

¹⁰⁷³ Even though Çakmak and Ertekin attribute Tahtakale Bath and the market place defined by Çöplüce and Kutu Han all together with the mosque as a building group, regarding the relation of these buildings with respect to each other, they cannot be described as a building groups since they are not integrated, yet, instead positioned highly separated and unrelated. Çakmak (2002), p.46. Ertekin (2008), p. 28.

¹⁰⁷⁴ "Tire'de vâki merhum mağfurun-leyh Yahşi Bey Camii Şerifi ve İmaret Vakfi" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

from İzmir and leading towards the probably existing citadel, to the steep slopes following the formerly improved river bed. At the same time, the mosque was located on a secondary route, which is the closest parallel to the other major artery of the town, this time on the east – west axis, linking Birgi, Ödemiş to Ayasuluk.

This strategic location of the mosque close to the city center, at the intersection of the major arteries seems highly meaningful and related with the architecture of the building itself. Hence, as an example of mosques with additional spaces, the edifice embodied additional public services compared to a single mosque building. Similar to mosques dating from the early Ottoman period in Bursa or to Firuz Bey Mosque in Milas, Yahşi Bey Mosque includes additional spaces attached to its prayer hall, those probably functioned as guest houses for traveling dervishes, or specified spaces reserved for either individual or congregational religious praying practices according to the dictations of a particular sect.¹⁰⁷⁵

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Yahşi Bey Mosque is a significant mosque building in terms of its architectural features not only among other mosques in Tire but also among the ones of the Early Ottoman period in Anatolia and Rumelia. The mosque is a multi-unit one, with a central domed hall flanked by two adjacent rooms on both sides, and a semi-domed iwan-like space opening to the central hall from the *mihrab* niche. In addition to these closed spaces, there is a semi-open late comers' portico section inserted in the front. Repeating the system of the superstructure of the building, late comers' portico is also a domed space. Actually, this five unit space is covered with five domes, where the central one facing the entrance in the mihrab axis is the smallest and the two ones on its east are smaller than the two on its west due to the construction of the minaret attached to the northeast corner. Besides the minaret, renowned with its glazed tile ornamentation, the portal of the mosque is an exceptional one among the others in Tire for its comparatively elaborate design.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is cut-stone, where is also used. The regular sized stones are preferred on the late comers' portico, while the differing sized ones are used on the walls. These stone courses are alternated with courses of brick. In addition to its usage in the

¹⁰⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion on 'Mosques with Additional Spaces in T-Type Plan', see in Chapter 4, 4.3 Definitions and Design of Mosques with Additional Spaces in T-type Plan and their Relation with their Urban Contexts.

horizontal courses, brick is also used in the rising joints on the exterior walls. As for the interior, brick is again a dominating building material alternately used with stone. The saw tooth cornices, the chimneys of the hearths, plus the body of the minaret are all of brick. Moreover, marble is used on the beams above the window openings.

A.2.1.10. Gazazhane Mosque

Other Given Names: Alacaçeşme Pazarı Mosque

Location: İpekçiler, Kazazlar Neighborhood (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Fevzipaşa Street

Date: H. 862 / 1457 (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 39-40, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 227)¹⁰⁷⁶

Founder: Hacı Sinan oğlu Hacı Kemal (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 39-40, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 227)¹⁰⁷⁷

Existing Structures: Mosque

Others / Attributions: None

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 39-40, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 227)¹⁰⁷⁸

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰⁷⁹

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, (Undated and unclassified) (Armağan 2003, p. 352, doc. 60)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Gazazhane Mosque is located two lots north of the market place, which is defined by Çöplüce, Bakır, and Kutu Han and Tahtakale Bath next to the Tahtakale Square. Actually, Gazazhane Mosque together with *Bedesten*, Karakadı and Ali Efe Hanı, and Terziler Bath southwest of the building lot make the continuation of the commercial district. These two market places are connected with an in-between commercial area, which accommodates the *arasta* unites the two. In this sense, just like Hüsametdin Mosque, located in the northern area of the commercial strip and Gazazhane Mosque was built next to the *Bedesten* in the southern market area and functioned as a mosque in the market place rather than a neighborhood mosque.

¹⁰⁷⁶ The date of construction is given in the inscription panel, which reads as “Bu şerefli mescidi Allah rızası için Ferraş oğlu diye tanınmış Hacı Sinan oğlu Hacı Kemal sekiz yüz altmış iki yılında yaptırmıştır.” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 41, Armağan 2003, p. 227.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See Primary Sources above.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See Primary Sources above.

¹⁰⁷⁹ “Tire’de Gazazlar sukunda kain Gazazhane Camii Şerifi Vakfi” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Gazazhane Mosque is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure surmounted with a dome at its top, from which the load is transferred through a belt of Turkish triangles to the walls of the cube. The closed prayer hall has an attached late comers' portico in its front similar to other Tire mosques. Yet, this late comers' portico is divided into two successive units which sets up a doubled space of preparation or transition. Plus, this part is further separated from the street level with the elevation of this very same space with five steps of stairs.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Continuing the tradition of building and construction in Tire, Gazazhane Mosque was build of stone and brick mainly. Similar to its contemporaries the body of the minaret of the mosque is articulated with patterns of brick courses.

A.2.1.11. Tahtakale Mosque

Other Given Names: Hacı İsmail Ağa Mosque

Location: Tahtakale Neighborhood (old name), Yeni Neighborhood

Date: H. 904 / 1498-1499 (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 42, Armağan 2003, p. 218)

Founder: Emir Hacı İsmail Ağa, Hoca Emir (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 42, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 218)

Existing Structures: Mosque

Others / Attributions: Shops

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 42, Armağan 2003, p. 349, doc. 51)¹⁰⁸⁰

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰⁸¹

Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p. 218)¹⁰⁸²

Description:

Location of the Building:

Tahtakale Mosque is located in the old Tahtakale Neighborhood, bearing the same name. The mosque is centered in the commercial district, facing the northwest corner of Kutu Han on its north, and connecting it to the southern market place through the *arasta* attached to

¹⁰⁸⁰ The original inscription panel is Persian and the translation into Turkish is as follows;
"Güzel bir bina, ferahlatıcı ve can verici bir yer

Bak ve yaptırana (hayrat edene) dua et

Burası Hacı Emir Hoca'nın yapıtıdır.

Kurban olayım dilerim ki tarih de bunu ispatlasın". Cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 42. Armağan (2003), pp. 349, doc. 51. The scholars also claim that the date of construction is stated in the Persian verses, hidden in *ebced hesabı*. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 99, nt. 58, Armağan (2003), pp. 349, doc. 51.

¹⁰⁸¹ "Tire'de Tahta Kal'a Camii Şerifi Vakfı" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

¹⁰⁸² The register reads as; "Vakfi mescid-i Hacı İsmail der mahalle-i eski Tahtakale" from *Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları*, H. 937 / AD. 1531, cited in Armağan (2003), p. 218.

it. It is the third mosque placed in between of the commercial district in addition to Hüsamettin and Gazazhane Mosques.

Relation to Probable Dependencies:

The mosque is raised from the ground level, where the ground floor is reserved for shop units directly accessed from the street. The entrance to the mosque is through a staircase leading to the upper floor in two separate landings providing with two platforms of differing levels. In this way, the two functions use the same building mass, yet not directly related in terms of physical accessibility in the same horizontal plane.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Similar to most of its contemporaneous mosques in Tire, Tahtakale Mosque is a single unit type with a cubic structure, where Turkish triangles are used to make the transition from the dome to the cube. Like in Gazazhane Mosque, a doubled late comers' portico is attached in the front. In this mosque, the doubled portico is divided into two units in each and those units are covered with cross vaults. The semi open space defined by the doubled portico approximates the closed prayer space in size in plan. The allover plan layout of the mosque is composed of a single rectangle, divided almost into two square units corresponding to the prayer hall on one hand and late comers' portico on the other. Adding to the continuity and precision of the rectangle the minaret attached on the northwest corner of the mosque does not project in plan, instead remains in the boundaries of the rectangle at the intersection of the north wall of the prayer hall and the west wall of the portico.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is cut-stone worked with alternating brick courses on the walls. Yet, brick is also used in the saw tooth cornices, in the arches and in the articulation of the body of the minaret.

A.2.1.12. Narin Mosque

Other Given Names: Hacı Sinan, Yassı Yol Masjid

Location: Bahariye Neighborhood, Narin Street

Date: 14th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 215)

15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 45)

Founder: Hacı Sinan Efendi (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 45, Armağan 2003, p. 187, 215)¹⁰⁸³

Existing Structures: Mosque

Others / Attributions: Tomb, *hazire*, madrasa (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 45)

Zaviye, *muallimhane*, bath (Armağan 2003, p. 215)¹⁰⁸⁴

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 45, 99, nt. 60, Armağan 2003, p. 215)¹⁰⁸⁵

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰⁸⁶

Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p. 215)¹⁰⁸⁷

Description:

Location of the Building:

The mosque is located on the slopes of the Güme Mountains towards the southwest of the Great Mosque. This nearby vicinity of Çanakçı Masjid was one of the three oldest neighborhoods of the town, dating to the Aydınoğulları period. Hence, Narin Mosque is thought to be standing by the supposed fortifications, which are not extant today. This is almost the spot, where the major artery running through the north-south axis, beginning from the entry to the town from İzmir and following the formerly improved riverbed adjacent to the commercial strip, is finalized at the steep slopes. In this way, the mosque is situated at a strategic position watching the town from above.

¹⁰⁸³ In *Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları*, H. 937 / AD. 1531, the name of the founder is given as “Vakfı Mescidi ve Muallimhane-i Takkacızade Hacı Hüsam bin Bazarlu” cited in Armağan (2003), p. 215. Plus, the name is also given in the *Kütük Kaydı*, see nt. 1085 below.

¹⁰⁸⁴ The mosque is attributed as a *zaviye* by Armağan, which was late converted into a mosque. Armağan (2003), p. 215. Yet, the architectural features together with the historical accounts prove the building was originally built as a mosque. See Primary Sources above. Nevertheless, Aslanoğlu and Armağan have different arguments for the probable dependencies of the mosque. Aslanoğlu claims that the mosque was the center of a building group composed of a madrasa, a tomb, and a *hazire*. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 45. Armağan states that the mosque had a *muallimhane* and a bath as its dependencies. He further continues that the baths are occupied as residential units today. Armağan (2003), p. 215. However, there is no substantial evidence for the existence of a bath and a tomb today. Still it is expected to depend on the scholars on the issue that the mosque had its dependencies and was founded as a center of a building group for its location and the nearby surrounding support their arguments. Yet, what the actual dependencies were remains a point of discussion anyway except of a madrasa or *muallimhane*, which is clearly stated in the *Kütük Kaydı*, see Primary Sources above.

¹⁰⁸⁵ The inscription panel reads as follows;

“Her noksanlıktan arınmış olan Hazreti Allah buyurmuştur ki:

Allah’ın Mescidlerini –O’na ibadet edilecek yerleri – Ahiret gününe ve kendisine inananlar yaptırır ve bayındır kılar.

Hazret-i Peygamber buyurmuştur ki: - Allah’ın salat ve selamı O’nun üzerine olsun – Kimki Allah rızası için bir mescid – cami yaptırır ise, Allah da O’nun için Cennet’de bir köşk yaptırır.

Şu mübarek mescid-i şerifi, hayırlar ve iyilikler sahibi [...] yaptırmıştır.” Cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 45. Armağan (2003), p. 215.

¹⁰⁸⁶ “Tire’de Takyecizade Mahallesinde Pazarlızade Hacı Sinan Bey ve namı diğer Narin Camisi ve muallimhanesi vakfi” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6. Armağan 2003, p. 215

¹⁰⁸⁷ Vakfı Mescidi ve Muallimhane-i Takkacızade Hacı Hüsam bin Bazarlu” cited in Armağan (2003), p. 215. See Primary Sources above.

Relation to Probable Dependencies:

There are not any extant dependencies of the mosque, where they all together create a building group. Armağan claims that the remaining divisions of the bath of the complex are currently occupied as residential units, which are scattered around the mosque.¹⁰⁸⁸ However, there is no substantial architectural evidence because of the present dense inhabitation within the area whether for the existence of a bath, a madrasa, or a tomb. Only the existence of a madrasa or *muallimhane* is clearly stated in the *Kütük Kaydı*.¹⁰⁸⁹ Still, it is not possible to discuss the relation of these dependencies with respect to the mosque and to each other in the group since they did not survive.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Like Tahtakale and many of the other mosques of that period, Narin is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure, where a belt of Turkish triangles is used to make the transition from the dome to the cube. A late comers' portico divided into three units covered with domes is attached to this prayer hall in its front. The above the central unit on the *mihrab* axis is smaller than the ones flanking on its both sides. The minaret is attached on the northeast corner of the mosque projecting eastwards at the intersection of the prayer hall and the portico.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Stone and brick are the predominating building materials utilized in the construction of Narin Mosque. The pattern of ornament articulated with brick courses on the body of the minaret is similar to those minarets of Kadızade, Süratli, and Tahtakale mosques.

A.2.1.13. Kazanoğlu Mosque

Other Given Names: None

Location: Hacı Fakihlar Neighborhood, Çeşme Alanı District (old name), İstiklal Neighborhood

Date: 15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 54-55, Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 227-228)

Founder: Kazanoğlu / Kazganoğlu Mehmet Bey / Hacı Fakih, son of Halil Bey, (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 54, Armağan 2003, p. 187, 227-228, Sayılı 1948, p. 685)¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁸⁸ Armağan (2003), p. 215.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See Primary Sources above.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Sayılı claims that Kazanoğlu is a contemporary of Yavukluoğlu. He continues that, where Yavukluoğlu controlled the Western quarters of the town, Kazanoğlu was dominant in the Eastern quarters. Sayılı (1948), p. 685. Armağan, depending on written accounts claims that Kazanoğlu Mehmet Bey is the same person with Hacı Fakih, who was a highly significant figure in the 15th century Tire, and

Existing Structures: Mosque

Others / Attributions: Madrasa, tomb, public kitchen (Armağan 2003, pp. 189, 227-228)¹⁰⁹¹

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰⁹²

Defter-i Hakani, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p. 229)¹⁰⁹³

Aydın Livası Muhasebe Kayıtları, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p. 227)¹⁰⁹⁴,

Vakıf Registers, Archive of the İzmir Branch of Directorate of Pious Foundations, (Undated and unclassified) (Armağan 2003, pp. 227-228)¹⁰⁹⁵

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1315-16 / AD. 1898, (Armağan 2003, p. 352, doc. 61)

Description:

Location of the Building:

The mosque is located in earlier Hacı Fakihler Neighborhood, which took its name after the founder of the mosque. It is one of the earliest Turkish neighborhoods of Tire that developed in the Eastern quarters. As stated before, the Eastern quarter corresponds to neighborhoods settled in Bademiye, hilly location to its east, which contained Turkish residential quarters beginning with the Turkish infiltration into the region under the Aydınoğulları rule in the 14th century and continuing through the Ottoman rule between the 15th and 16th centuries. The vicinity of the mosque, thus the neighborhood nearby Hafsa Hatun and Rum Mehmet Paşa building groups was possibly proximate to the probable site of the Aydınoğulları Palace. Hence, according to anonymous information of oral history, this is also the very same area where Timur pitched his camp in the winter he stayed in Tire.¹⁰⁹⁶

who gave his name to a neighborhood that generated around his foundation. Armağan (2003), pp. 88, 227-228. See also the primary sources above.

¹⁰⁹¹ Armağan states that the remains on the northwest of the mosque is the tomb, a dependent of the mosque. Plus, referring to historical accounts, he claims that a madrasa founded by the son of Kazanoğlu Mehmet Bey is the other dependent of the mosque. Yet, there is no evidence for the existence of a public kitchen. Armağan (2003), pp. 189, 227-228. See also the primary sources above. Nevertheless, since the so-called dependencies cannot be documented, only the comparatively better-conditioned mosque is studied within the single buildings. Hence, Aslanoğlu does not mention about any dependencies of Kazanoğlu Mosque. Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 54-56.

¹⁰⁹² "Tire'de Kazanoğlu Mehmet Bey Camisi" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

¹⁰⁹³ The mosque is mentioned as "Vakfi zaviye-i Ahi Halil der Mahalle-i Taşpazarı", cited in Armağan (2003), p. 229.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Without giving exact citation Armağan states that vineyards and shops were among the income of the foundation.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Armağan cites from a *vakıf* register, whose classification file number he does not provide, that "Mehmet bin Halil namı diğer Hacı Fakih". Plus, he mentions another *vakıf* register without a classification file number as "Tire Kazasının Hacı Fakihler Mahallesinde Seyyid Şeyh Ahmet Efendi ibni Seyyit Mehmet", which he attributes as a dependency of the mosque, namely a madrasa founded by the son of Kazanoğlu Mehmet Bey.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See also Armağan (2003), p. 88.

Relation to Probable Dependencies:

Armağan mentions a tomb, whose remains are to stand northwest of the mosque, a madrasa supposedly stand next to the mosque according to the primary sources, and a public kitchen, which has not left any architectural or written traces behind.¹⁰⁹⁷ Hence, with these purported dependencies of the mosque, he further asserts that Kazanoğlu mosque was the center of a building group. Yet, there are not substantially extant dependencies of the mosque, those can well be documented to analyze their relation with respect to the mosque and to each other.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Similar to most of the other mosques of that period, Kazanoğlu Mosque is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure, pendentives provide the passage from the dome to the cube. A late comers' portico divided into three units is attached to this prayer hall in its front. The central unit is covered with a dome, whereas the ones on its both sides are rather extended in comparison to the central in plan and they are topped with cross vaults connected to semi-domes at the edges. In this way, like in Yavukluoğlu Mosque, the late comers' portico projects in plan in east-west directions as well, which enhances the mass articulation. The minaret is attached on the northwest corner of the mosque projecting westwards at the intersection of the prayer hall and the portico.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The predominating building material is stone alternately used with brick courses. Brick is additionally used vertically in the rising joints, in the arches above the windows and niches and finally, repeating the building tradition of that period in Tire, in the body of the minaret. Yet, there is no ornamentation pattern established with brick tiles on the body of the minaret opposed to the minarets of Doğanbey, Hüsamettin, Yavukluoğlu, Karahasan Mosques and alike.

A.2.1.14. Fadiloğlu Mosque

Other Given Names: Araplar, Sarı Ali Mosque

Location: İpekçizade, İhsaniye, Hamidiye Neighborhoods (old names), İstiklal Neighborhood, Karagazi Street

Date: 15th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 222)

Ends of 15th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 59-61)

¹⁰⁹⁷ For further details see Armağan (2003), pp. 227-228.

Founder: Fadilođlu, Sarı Ali, Fazlızade (Aslanođlu 1978, pp. 6, 59, Armađan 2003, pp. 187, 222)

Existing Structures: Mosque

Others / Attributions: None

Primary Sources: *Tire Őer'ıye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1249-1253 / AD. 1833-1837, *Cilt 4/II*, p. 273, (Armađan 2003, p. 350, doc. 56)

Description:

Location of the Building:

The mosque is located in İpekçizade, with its more current name İstiklal Neighborhood, within the eastern urban fringes of the town. Yet, the mosque is placed towards the flatter areas, clearly speaking to the northeast of Tire. It is near Kazanođlu Mosque and close by agricultural lands, on which mulberry trees grew, were among the income providers of the both foundations. Hence, it is not surprising that, in the very same surrounding that silkworms were grown and silk industry in Tire centered in this vicinity. The name of the neighborhood İpekçizade takes its name after this silk manufacture in the area.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Similar to most of the other mosques of that period, Kazanođlu Mosque is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure. Pendentives provide the passage from the dome to the cube. A late comers' portico divided into three units is attached to this prayer hall in its front. These units are also covered with domes. The minaret having a base in the form of a cube is attached to the mosque on its northwest corner.

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

Even though the faades of the mosque are faced with white wash, it can be detected that he major building material is rubble stone alternately used with brick courses, repeating the widespread tradition of building construction in Tire.

A.2.1.15. Ltf PaŐa Mosque

Other Given Names: PaŐa

Location : in old Animal Bazaar, Yeni Neighborhood

Date: Beginnings of 16th century (Aslanođlu 1978, pp. 6, 62-65)

1510 (Tokluođlu 1964, p. 18)

1519 (*YeŐil Tire* 1933, 30, p. 9, Ertekin 2007, p. 13-15)

H. 926s / AD. 1520s (Armađan 2003, pp. 188, 237-238)

Founder: Ltf PaŐa, former *Sancak Beyi* of Aydın, the groom and grand vizier of Yavuz Sultan Selim, the renowned Ottoman historian and the author of *Tevrih-i li Osman*,

(Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 6, 62-65, Armağan 1983, pp. 8-9, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 237-238, Ertekin 2007, 1-15, Tokluoğlu 1964, p.48)¹⁰⁹⁸

Existing Structures: Mosque, *şadırvan*

Others / Attributions: Madrasa, hospital, bath, *han* (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 62-65)

Madrasa, hospital, bath, *hans*, public kitchen, fountains (Armağan 1983, pp. 8-9, Armağan 2003, pp. 190, 237-238, Ertekin 2007, pp. 13-26, Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 48)

Primary Sources: “*Lütfü Paşa bin Abdülmuin*” *Vakfi Defteri*, *Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations*, H. 950 / AD. 1543, (Ertekin 2007, pp. 27-53)

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 6)¹⁰⁹⁹

Tire Şer’iye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41, (Armağan 2003, pp. 354-355, doc. 70)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Lütfü Paşa Mosque is located in old Animal Bazaar, which corresponds to today’s Yeni Neighborhood. This 16th century mosque, together with its dependencies took place in the northernmost borders of central Tire. In other words, it is situated towards the flatter lands, towards the plain at the northern end of the commercial strip aligned by the main artery in the town. As mentioned before, the main artery is the road leading from the entry to the town from İzmir direction and continuing to the steep slopes of the Güme Mountains, and finally reaching the supposedly standing fortifications of the inner citadel. This road probably followed the river-bed of the recently improved Tabakhane River. By this way, Lütfü Paşa Mosque defines the northern borders of the commercial district and the very center of the town, where concentrated construction activities, which contribute to urbanization attempts of the 14th and 15th centuries continuing well through the 16th century took place and particularly extended towards the flatter lands.

Relation to Probable Dependencies:

The Mosque and the *şadırvan* across, which are the only existing structures of the building group today, was constructed together with a madrasa, hospital. Plus, as mentioned in the written accounts, a bath and *hans* were built nearby, those providing income to the

¹⁰⁹⁸ For further information on Lütfü Paşa, see Necip M. (1933a), “Tire’nin Ümrânına Hizmet Etmış Büyük Adamlardan Lütfü Paşa ve Bıraktığı Eserler I”, *Yeşil Tire*, 2/29, pp. 4-5, 11. Necip M. (1933b), “Tire’nin Ümrânına Hizmet Etmış Büyük Adamlardan Lütfü Paşa ve Bıraktığı Eserler II”, *Yeşil Tire*, 2/30, pp. 6-10. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 118-121. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 102, nt. 74. Armağan (2003), pp. 237-238. And particularly see Ertekin L. E. (2007), *Lütfü Paşa, Tire Lütfü Paşa Vakıfları ve Vakıfnamesi*, Ankara: Pozitif Matbaacılık.

¹⁰⁹⁹ “Nefsi Tire’de vâki merhum Lütfü Paşa Camisi vakfı” cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 6.

foundation.¹¹⁰⁰ The inclusion of an increased number of dependencies functioning for particularly commercial purposes, the bath and the *hans*, as well as social and educational services such as founding a madrasa and hospital indicate to a development and enhancement in building program. The existing structures like the bath and the *hans* took place within the commercial strip, aligned in a way extending in the north – south direction. The madrasa was supposedly located on the across parcel of the mosque on its north. However, there is no clue for the hospital building considering either its location in the site or its architectural features. Hence, it is not possible to argue on the plan organization of these buildings in relation to each other in further detail due to lack of sufficient architectural evidence.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Lütfü Paşa Mosque is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure, where the dome sits on the walls with the help of squinches. There is a late comers' portico attached to the prayer hall in its front. This portico consists of five units in rectangular plan opposed to the square portico units of Yavukluoğlu Mosque as a n example. Hence, only the central unit is covered with small dome situated in the center, where the flanking units on the sides are topped with vaults due to the geometrical necessities of the rectangular plans. The minaret of the mosque is attached on its northwest corner, which is accessible both from inside the mosque and from outside. Lastly, the *şadırvan* is hexagonal in plan, whose brick tiled roof stands on six pillars connected to each other by arches.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

Exemplifying the general tendency in building tradition in Tire, the major building material is stone alternately used with brick courses in Lütfü Paşa Mosque. Brick is also used in the arches and the body of the minaret similar to most of its contemporaries in Tire.

A.2.1.16. Yeni Mosque

Other Given Names: None

Location : Alacaçeşme Yukarı Bazaar District, (old name), Kurtuluş Neighborhood

Date: Ends of 16th century (Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 68-71)

1589 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20)

1597 (Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 244-245)

¹¹⁰⁰ Eski-Yeni Bath Yeni Han, Bakır Han, Emir Ali Hanı and Penbe Han were mentioned among the foundations of Lütfü Paşa. See Primary Sources above and also see Armağan (2003), p. 238 and particularly Ertekin (2008), pp. 13-53.

Founder: Behram Kethüda, one of the kethüdas and viziers of Selim II, former Beylerbeyi of Diyarbakır and Sivas, governor of Yemen, and finally governor of Kahire, (Necip 1931, pp. 6-8, Tokluoğlu 1941, p. 112, Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 68-71, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 244-245)¹¹⁰¹

Existing Structures: Mosque, *şadırvan*

Others / Attributions: None

Primary Sources: Inscription Panel on the copper band of the column on the right of the late comers' portico, (Tokluoğlu 1941, p. 112, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 69, 103, nt. 81, Armağan 2003, p. 244)¹¹⁰²

Inscription Panel above the door of the prayer hall, (Tokluoğlu 1941, p. 112, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 68-69, 102-103, nt. 79, Armağan 2003, p. 244)¹¹⁰³

Kütük Kaydı, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 7)¹¹⁰⁴

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1246- 1254 / AD. 1831-1838, *Cilt 4*, (Armağan 2003, pp. 356-357, doc. 81)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Yeni Mosque is located in old Alacaçeşme Yukarı Bazaar District, today's Kurtuluş Neighborhood just across Gazahane Mosque, on the land lot to its east. Hence, it is within the most crowded and cosmopolitan quarters of Tire, that is, the mosque is next to the commercial strip. In the 16th century, central Tire not only extended towards the flatter lands, to the north but also expanded to the eastern and western directions, such as construction of Yeni Mosque on its east, where the mosque functioned as a core to facilitate urban growth around it.

¹¹⁰¹ For further information on the founder of the mosque, Behram Kethüda, see Necip M. (1931), "Tire Asarı Hayriyesinden Yeni Cami ve Behram Kethüda", *Yeşil Tire*, 1/6, pp. 6-8.

¹¹⁰² The incription pointing to the date of construction as H. 1005 / AD. 1597, and the *nakkaş* engaged in the construction of the building as Kasımpaşalı Osman is read as;

"La teküm bilişi mecruhül fuadi innemelrızkı alállah ülkerim

Ketebehülfakir Osman Kasımpaşalı. Ramazan sene 1005" cited by Tokluoğlu F. (1941), "Tire'de Yeni Cami", *Küçük Menderes*, 2/7, p.112, and also in Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 69, 103, nt. 81 and in Armağan (2003), p. 244.

¹¹⁰³ The incription indicating to the restoration in 1665 is read as;

"Barekallah bu imaret ferruh revnak feza
Zahininin merciidir bu mekan-ı pür-safa
Kevkeb-i dürri gibi revnak verir her nazıra
Cayıgir abidandır kim gelirse merhaba
Zatı bani pür huludur ismi Behram Kethüda
Payidar olsun anın kim bu binası daima
Hateme tamiri hem bu ikinci mertebe söyledim
"Nazmi bedi"dir çun ana tarih ola" cited by Tokluoğlu 1941, p.112, also in Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 68-69, 102-103, nt. 79 and in Armağan (2003), p. 244.

¹¹⁰⁴ "Tire'de Behram Kethüda vakfi" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 7.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The mosque is a single unit mosque with a cubic structure, where the dome sits on the walls by way of squinches. There is a late comers' portico composed of three domed units attached in front of the prayer hall. The minaret is attached on the northwest corner of the mosque. Even though the plan layout and the general architectural features of the mosque repeats the building tradition of most of the mosques in Tire, Yeni Mosque can be differentiated from most of its predecessors and his successors with its comparatively larger dimensions, or in other words, bigger scale. The şadırvan is in the courtyard of the mosque axially placed towards the mihrab niche. The lead covered roof, just like the outer face of the dome of the mosque, sits on ten columns of the polygonal structure sheltering the polygonal pool.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is cut-stone on the walls of Yeni Mosque. The minaret, which seems to date from a later period, is also of cut-stone opposed to most of the minarets in Tire. Brick is also used building material such as in the saw tooth cornices and in articulating the frame of the portal. Yet, marble is also used in the facing of the portal.

A.2.2. Masjids

A.2.2.1. Neslihan Masjid

Other Given Names: Hasan Çelebi

Location: Hasan Çelebi Neighborhood (old name), Bahariye Neighborhood, Derekahve District

Date: H. 916 / AD. 1510 (Tokluoğlu 1959, p. 24, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 83-85)

AD. 1523 (Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 234-235)

Founder: Hasan Çelebi, brother of Sinaneddin Yusuf, a significant ruling elite during the reign of Mehmet II (Tokluoğlu 1959, p. 24, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 83-85, Armağan 2003, pp. 188, 234-235)

Existing Structures: Masjid

Others / Attributions: Madrasa (Tokluoğlu 1959, p. 24, Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 7)

Zaviye, Madrasa (Armağan 2003, pp. 190, 234-235)¹¹⁰⁵

Primary Sources: *Kütük Kaydı*, (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 7)¹¹⁰⁶

Defter-i Hakani, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, p. 234)¹¹⁰⁷

¹¹⁰⁵ Armağan suggests that Neslihan Masjid is a *zaviye* displaying the architectural features of this building type. Armağan (2003), pp. 234-235. The attached domed space to the prayer hall might have a specific function to support the needs of a *zaviye*. Yet, in the written sources the existence of a madrasa, or primary school, or *muallimhane* is mentioned. Thus, in any case, it will be most appropriate to attribute this attached space a space serving for educational purposes. See the primary sources above. Plus, for more detailed architectural analysis of the building see Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 83-85.

¹¹⁰⁶ "Tire'de Hasan Çelebi şerif ve mektebi Mescidi vakfı" cited in Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 7.

*Tire Vakfiyeleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 937 / AD. 1531 (Armağan 2003, p. 236)*¹¹⁰⁸

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H 1253-54 / AD. 1838, (Armağan 2003, p. 354, doc. 68)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Neslihan Masjid is located in old Hasan Çelebi Neighborhood, after the name of its founder, established in the 15th century under the Ottoman rule. The neighborhood included the area extending from Derekahve to Tabakhane, or in other words to the surrounding of the Great Mosque. The Masjid is nearby Çanakçı Masjid and Narin Mosque. Clearly speaking it is on the southeast of Çanakçı Masjid towards the steeper topography and on the east of Narin Mosque. Neslihan Masjid is situated on a highly strategic location, just like Narin Mosque and Çanakçı Masjid, on a hilly spot. It is almost within the final destination of the major artery of the town running through the north - south axis, beginning from the entry to the town from İzmir and following the formerly improved riverbed adjacent to the commercial strip.

Relation to Probable Dependencies:

Neslihan Masjid is composed of three distinct spaces, which are attached to each other. There is a prayer hall, a closed domed space similar to the most of the domed halls of Tire mosques and masjids of that period. There is also another domed yet, rectangular space, whose dome cannot be seen due to the timber ceiling today. These two spaces have an access in between, which is closed today. They are designed together within a single rectangle in plan, whereby they share the same late comers' portico in their front. Hence, Neslihan Masjid displays a compact unification of differing spatial units, where in that sense it reminds the compact spatial organization of Anatolian Seljuk buildings. Thus, Neslihan Masjid can be classified in between compact organizations of Anatolian Seljuk buildings and Ottoman building complexes.

¹¹⁰⁷ “Vakfi mescid-i Hasan Çelebi bin Seferşah ve muallimhanesi der mahalle-i Çanakçı tabii Tire”, cited in Armağan (2003), p. 234. Yet, Armağan continues that “Hasan Çelebi bin Seferşah” is stated as “Hasan Çelebi bin Sungurşah” on the epitaph on the gravestone, which is in Tire Museum today. Armağan (2003), pp. 234-235. For the inscription on the gravestone see also Tokluoğlu (1959), p. 24.

¹¹⁰⁸ Without providing the full citation, Armağan claims that there is the foundation charter of the masjid, which dated H. 929 / AD. 1523, according to which he gives the construction date of the building. Armağan (2003), p. 234.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Neslihan Masjid is a single unit, domed masjid with a cubic structure, where the dome sits on the walls of this cubic prayer hall through a belt of Turkish triangles. Even though it is a masjid, its scale is close to mosques and even surpasses some small mosques in Tire of that period. It has an attached domed space on its east wall. Previously, there was a door providing access in between these spaces, which is currently closed. It is most possible that this room functioned as a seminar room or a space serving for educational purposes depending on the historical accounts on this building.¹¹⁰⁹ Finally, the masjid has a late comers' portico, a semi-open space in front of these attached room and the prayer hall. The portico is composed of three domed units, which is different from the one of Çanakçı Masjid and other earlier examples, instead which reminds those porticoes of most of the late 15th and 16th century mosques and masjids in Tire.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone alternately used with brick courses on the walls. Brick is also used in the rising joints and in the arches and finally the saw tooth cornice is entirely of brick.

A.2.2.2. Dar-ül Hadis Masjid

Other Given Names: Aydınlı Galip Masjid

Location: Yeniceköy Neighborhood (old name)¹¹¹⁰, Ketenciler Neighborhood

Date: H. 866 / AD. 1461 (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 231)

H. 974 / AD. 1566 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20, Aslanoğlu 1978, pp. 7, 85-86)

Founder: Alaeddin Sultan, Hoca Alaeddin known as Alaeddin Halveti, who was sent as an exile with Molla Arap to Tire by the ruling sultan of the period, Mehmet II or Alamadan Dede as called among the public (Armağan 2003, pp. 187, 231)

Existing Structures: Masjid

Others / Attributions: Zaviye¹¹¹¹

Primary Sources: *Tire Vakfiyeleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 866 / AD. 1461-62 (Armağan 2003, p. 236)¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁹ See primary sources above.

¹¹¹⁰ Actually the name of Yeniceköy Neighborhood still continues. Ketenciler is the Neighborhood within Yeniceköy.

¹¹¹¹ Armağan suggests that Dar-ül Hadis Masjid is founded as a zaviye of *Halveti* order originally and later functioned as a masjid. Armağan (2003), p. 231. Yet, as the architectural characteristics of the building suggest, it is originally built as a masjid, however, after its founder, it might be founded as a masjid for members of *Halveti* order. Still, as the architecture of the building suggest it is a masjid rather than a zaviye. For more detailed architectural analysis of the building see Aslanoğlu (1978), pp. 85-86.

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1252-1254 / AD. 1836-1839, Cilt 4, p. 270 (Armağan 2003, pp. 353-354, doc. 66)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Dar-ül Hadis Masjid is located in the Yeniceköy quarter, one of the three major quarters of Tire. In fact, the neighborhood founded during the Aydınöğulları rule, bearing the name Yeniceköy is the largest district in Tire, and thus was called as a large village other than a quarter by Evliya Çelebi.¹¹¹³ As mentioned before the town can be analyzed within three basic settlement divisions as Yeniceköy on the west, central Tire along the commercial strip, and Bademiye on the east, which Evliya supports as well. Accordingly, the masjid is situated towards the eastern edges of the town, on the gentle slopes towards the flatter lands.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Dar-ül Masjid is a single unit, domed masjid with a cubic structure, where the dome sits on the walls of this cubic prayer hall with the help of squinches. The masjid does not have a late comers' portico in front of its prayer hall unlike the other mosques and masjids of Tire of that period.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone, where differing dimensions and types of stone, namely cut-stone and rubble stone are used alternately. The walls are faced with plaster and brick is used in the arches.

A.2.2.3. Yayla Fakih Masjid

Other Given Names: None¹¹¹⁴

Location: Yayla Fakih Neighborhood (old name), Ertuğrul Neighborhood, Öncü Street

Date: 14th Century (Armağan 2003, pp. 186, 212-213)

Ends of 14th, Beginnings of 15th century (Gök-Gürhan et.all 2008, pp. 332-333)

¹¹¹² Without providing the full citation, Armağan claims that there is the foudation charter of the masjid, which dated H. 929 / AD. 1523, according to which he gives the construction date of the building. Armağan (2003), p. 231.

¹¹¹³ Evliya Çelebi (2005), p. 90.

¹¹¹⁴ Yayla Fakih Masjid is also called as Yamuk Ağa Masjid and Küçük Hafız Masjid by scholars. Yet, depending on the historical documents, Armağan claims that Yamuk Ağa is the name of a 300 years late building. Plus, he differentiates this masjid from what he formerly called as Küçük Hafız Masjid. Armağan (1983), p. 37. For the description of these two different masjids see Armağan (2003), pp.211-213. After all, as Gök-Gürhan et.all suggests, the masjid was only named as Yayla Fakih. Gök-Gürhan et. all (2008), pp. 319-341.

Founder: Yayla Fakih or Yayla Baba (Armağan 2003, pp. 186, 212, Gök-Gürhan et. all 2008, pp. 332-333)

Existing Structures: Masjid

Others / Attributions: Zaviye¹¹¹⁵

Primary Sources: *Defter-i Hakani*, H. 937 / AD. 1531, (Armağan 2003, pp. 212-213)¹¹¹⁶

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1256 / AD. 1840-41, *Cilt* 4/II, p. 284 (Armağan 2003, p. 346, doc. 39)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Yayla Fakih Masjid is located in former Yayla Fakih Neighborhood during the Aydınoğulları period, after the name of its founder. Today, the vicinity is within Ertuğrul Neighborhood, in which the masjid takes place to the northeast of Yalınayak Mosque, on the gradually decreasing slopes towards the flatter lands.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Yayla Fakih is a single unit, domed masjid with a cubic structure, where the dome sits on the walls of this cubic prayer hall through a belt of Turkish triangles. The masjid has a late comers' portico in front of the prayer hall. The portico is a double unit one, whose units are covered with paneled vaults at the top. Even though a semi-open space, the sides of the portico are enveloped with walls.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is a special local type of stone, named as slate stone, alternately used with courses of brick in building up the walls. Brick is also used in the arches both above the window openings and in the arcade of the late comers' portico. Plus, the interior surfaces of the masjid are coated with plaster, paving the way for obtaining elaborate surfaces articulated with various ornamentation motives.¹¹¹⁷

¹¹¹⁵ Armağan claims that this mosque was also founded as a zaviye and it was later converted into a mosque. Armağan (2003), pp. 212-213. However, the plan and architectural characteristics of the building clearly shows that it is founded as a mosque from the beginning. For more detailed architectural analysis of the building see Gök-Gürhan et. all (2008), pp. 319-341.

¹¹¹⁶ "Vakfı mescid-i Yayla Fakih der nefsi Tire", cited in Armağan (2003), p. 212. Armağan continues and cites from the same document that "Ketencizade Hacı Muhiddin nam sahibülhayr mescidi tamir edüp bu kadar akçe vakfelemiştir." This citation gives information on one restoration phase of this buildings at the very same date. Armağan (2003), p. 212.

¹¹¹⁷ For a detailed analysis on the ornamental features of Yayla Fakih Masjid, see Gök-Gürhan et. all (2008), pp. 324-331.

A.2.3. *Hans*

A.2.3.1. *Çöplü Han*

Other Given Names: *Çöplüce Han*, *Hacı İlyas Hanı*, *Kapan Hanı*¹¹¹⁸

Location: *Hasır Pazarı / Gön Pazarı* (old name), *Yeni Neighborhood*, *Market Place*, *Gümüşpala Street*

Date: 14th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 160, 162-163)

H. 830-846 / AD. 1426-1442 (Özer 1992, pp. 54-59, Çulcu 2005, pp. 33-34, Ertekin 2008b, pp. 12-14)

Founder: *Hacı İlyas Bey* (Armağan 2003, pp. 160, 162-163)

Halil Yahşi Bey bin Abdullah, *Commander of Murat II*, *First Sancakbeyi of Aydın İli* (1424) (Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 36, Özer 1992, pp. 54-59, Armağan 2003, pp. 186, 212, 224, Çulcu 2005, pp. 33-34, Ertekin 2008b, pp. 2, 6-7, 11, 12-14)

Existing Structures: *Han*

Others / Attributions: *Stables* (Özer 1991, pp. 57-58, Ertekin 2008b, p. 14)¹¹¹⁹

Primary Sources: *Müceddede Anadolu Sani Vakfiye Defteri*, *Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations*, H. 845 / AD. 1441, No. 586, p. 211, 205 (Ertekin 2008b, pp. 35-43)

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1257 / AD. 1841-42, *Cilt* 1, pp. 10-11 (Özer 1992, p. 137, nt. 302)

Tire Şer'iyeye Sicilleri, *Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1257 / AD. 1841-42, *Cilt* 2, p. 292 (Özer 1992, p. 137, nt. 302)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Çöplü Han is located in the very center of *Tire* within its commercial district. It is situated on the decreasing slopes towards the north. The *han* is within the borders of old *Hasır Pazarı*, which is today's *Yeni Neighborhood*. *Çöplüce Han* is located in a highly significant position, where the current major arteries of the town, *Atatürk* and *Gümüşpala Streets* intersected. Even though did not overlap *Atatürk Street* corresponded to the already existing major artery of medieval *Tire*, the *İzmir road*, running the north-south axis, parallel with the

¹¹¹⁸ *Kapan Hanı* is the other name of the *han* mentioned in the *Foundation Charter of Halil Yahşi Bey*, H. 845 / AD. 1441, No. 586, p. 211, see *Primary Sources* above. Yet, *Armağan* is the only scholar claiming that these two are not the same building and *Kapan Hanı* did not survive until today. *Armağan* (2003), pp. 160, 162-163, 165. However, as both historical accounts and the arguments of the other scholars engaged in the issue suggest, *Çöplü Han* was also named as *Kapan Hanı* or *Kapan Caravanserai*. Plus, the location of the both buildings in *Armağan's* discussion points to the same spot. See also, *Özer M.* (1992), *Tire'deki Ticaret Yapıları*, *Unpublished Master Thesis in Art History*, *Ankara: Ankara University*, pp. 54-59, *Çulcu S.* (2005), *Evaluations of Alterations in Ottoman Hans in Tire for their Restitution*, *Unpublished Master Thesis in Restoration*, *İzmir: İzmir Institute of Technology*, pp. 33-34, *Ertekin L. E.* (2008b), *Tire'de Aydın Sancağı İlk Sancakbeyi Halil Yahşi Bey Vakıfları ve Vakfiyesi*, *Ankara: Pozitif Matbaacılık*, pp. 12-14.

¹¹¹⁹ *Özer* depending on the existence of stables in this *han* and its location in such crowded commercial quarters of the town suggests that the *han* was built as a *caravanserais* to respond to the accomodation needs of the travellers and merchants in addition to commercial business rather than a reserved for the trade of some particular item. *Özer* (1992), pp. 57-58.

recently improved riverbed of Tabakhane river adjacent to the commercial strip. Likewise, as the urban morphological analysis suggests, Gümüşpala Street, almost overlapped with the other major artery of Tire, Selçuk – Ödemiş road, running in the east-west axis. Hence, it is not surprising to see the location of the most monumental commercial edifices just established at this intersecting urban block together with Çöplü Han. Speaking in more detail, Çöplü Han is surrounded by Gümüşpala Street on its north, Bakırhan Street across which Bakır Han took place on its west, Gön pazarı Street across which the mosque of the vicinity, namely Hüsamettin Mosque took place on its east, and finally Gündüz Street on its south, across which Tahtakale Bath and Kutu Han took place. As supported by the arguments of Armağan as well, this strategic location at the intersection of the two main arteries of the town accommodated the entrance to the commercial strip, bearing the other name Kapan Hanı, after the *Kapan*, the first entry, where trade transactions related to taxes took place.¹¹²⁰

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Çöplü Han is a single storey *han*, rectangular in plan. It has an open courtyard in the center, which does not have an encircling arcaded portico, to which the rooms located on the south, east, and west sides, and the stable located on the north open. The entrance to the han is provided from its south façade, whereas on all its exterior façades the building is in close contact with the outside due to the shops inserted on these façades.¹¹²¹

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone, where both rubble stone and slate stone are used in the walls. Slate stone is also used in the facing of the floor of the closed spaces. Brick is another significant building material and it is used alternately with stone on the walls. Plus, it is used in the arches and in the vaults covering the rooms of the *han*. In this way, the building tradition and construction techniques seems to repeat in most medieval buildings, particularly dating between the 14th- 16th centuries regardless of building type.

¹¹²⁰ Armağan (2003), p. 165.

¹¹²¹ For more detailed architectural analysis of Çöplü Han see Özer (1992), pp. 54-59. Çulcu (2005), pp. 33-48.

A.2.3.2. Kutu Han

Other Given Names: Kütahya Hanı

Location: Market Place, Tahtakale Square (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Tahtakale Square¹¹²²

Date: 15th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 160, 163)

H. 833 / AD. 1429 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p.22, Özer 1992, pp. 66-67, Çulcu 2005, p. 49, Ertekin 2008b, pp. 11, 14)

H. 845 / AD. 1441 (İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 64)

Founder: Halil Yahşi Bey Halil Yahşi Bey bin Abdullah, Commander of Murat II, First Sancakbeyi of Aydın İli (1424) (Tokluoğlu 1964, p.22, Tokluoğlu 1973, p. 36, Aslanoğlu 1978, p. 36, Özer 1992, pp. 60-67, Armağan 2003, pp. 160, 163, 186, 212, 224, Çulcu 2005, p. 49, Ertekin 2008b, pp. 2, 6-7, 11, 12-14)

Existing Structures: Han

Others / Attributions: Shops, stables, masjid (Özer 1992, pp. 60-67, Ertekin 2008b, pp. 14-20)

Şadırvan, shops, stables, masjid (Çulcu 2005, pp. 50-52)

Şadırvan, sebil, shops, stables (Armağan 2003, p. 163)

Primary Sources: *Müceddede Anadolu Sani Vakfiye Defteri, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations*, H. 845 / AD. 1441, No. 586, p. 211, 205 (Ertekin 2008b, pp. 35-43)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Similar to Çöplü Han, Kutu Han is located in the very center of commercial quarters of Tire. It is in the same urban block with Çöplü Han, situated on the decreasing slopes towards the north. Kutu Han faces Tahtakale Square on its south, Tahtakale Bath on its west and Gündüz Street, across which Çöplü Han and Hüsamettin Mosque take place on its north. On the east of the *han*, an *arasta* is attached. The *arasta* connects Gündüz Street to Tahtakale Square on the eastern edge of this urban block. Where Çöplü Han has a strategic location at the intersection of the two main arteries of the town accommodating the entrance to the commercial strip, Kutu Han has also a strategic location from other respects. It just faces the very core of the commercial district, namely faces Tahtakale Square. Moreover, it is loaded with an *arasta* attached on its east wall.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Kutu Han is a double storey *han*, rectangular in plan. It has an open courtyard in the center, to which the rooms located on the south, east, and west sides, and the stable located on the north open. The entrance to the *han* is provided from its west façade, whereas on all its exterior façades the building is in close contact with the outside due to the shops inserted on these façades, east of which belongs to one wing of the *arasta*. As for the inner articulation, on

¹¹²² Since the function of the commercial district still continues, the name also continues. Tahtakale Square as named before currently bears the same name.

the west wing, next to the entrance, there are few barrel vaulted rectangular rooms directly opening to the courtyard in the center. On the south and east wings, there are rooms in double row. The first row of rooms in front of the inner rooms, defined by thick walls, was most probably the arcaded portico in the original design and later converted into separate rooms extending in front of the original ones. Both the arcaded portico and the rooms on the east and south façades are covered with cross vaults opposed to the ones on the west façade and the shops encircling the *han* on all sides on the exterior. The section of the stables situated on the north is more elaborate in spatial articulation in comparison to Çöplü Han and cross vaulted. The access to the first floor is through the stairs in the middle of the stables section and on the east of the entrance. Most likely, this second storey housed the rooms for the stopover of traveling merchants, where the ground floor housed the shops and depots. There is also a masjid, constructed on the cross vaulted space above the southwest corner in the first floor.¹¹²³

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone, where both rubble stone and cut stone are used in the walls. Brick is also used together with stone on the walls. Plus, it is used in the arches and most probably in the vaults covering the rooms and the arcaded portico of the *han*, because the inner spaces are faced with white wash.

A.2.3.3. Bakır Han

Other Given Names: Kurşunlu Han

Location: Saraçlar Market Place (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Atatürk Square

Date: 15th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 160, 163)

H. 916 / AD. 1510 (Tokluoğlu 1964, p.22, Oğuz 1975, p. 157, Özer 1992, pp. 68, 74-75, Çulcu 2005, p. 67)

Founder: Abdüsselam Efendi (Armağan 2003, 160, 167)¹¹²⁴

Lütfü Paşa, former *Sancak Beyi* [Governor] of Aydın, the groom and grand vizier of Yavuz Sultan Selim, the renowned Ottoman historian and the author of *Tevârih-i Âli Osman*, (Tokluoğlu 1964, pp. 22, 48-50, Oğuz 1975, p. 157, Özer 1992, 68-75, Çulcu 2005, p. 67, Ertekin 2007, pp.20-21)¹¹²⁵

¹¹²³ For more detailed architectural analysis of Kutu Han see Özer (1992), pp. 60-67. Çulcu (2005), pp. 49-65.

¹¹²⁴ Armağan is the only scholar, who claims that Abdüsselam Efendi is the original founder of the building and he later handed the *han* into foundations of Lütfü Paşa. Yet, he does not provide any evidence for his argument, and it seems reasonable to agree with the other scholars who reached a consensus as Lütfü Paşa, the founder of the Han engaged in studies related to Tire. Armağan (2003), pp. 160, 167, on the contrary see Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 48, Oğuz 1975, p. 157, Özer 1992, 68-75, Çulcu 2005, p. 67, Ertekin 2007, pp.20-21.

¹¹²⁵ For further information on Lütfü Paşa, see Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 118-121. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 102, nt. 74. Armağan (2003), pp. 237-238. Particularly see Ertekin (2007).

Existing Structures: Han

Others / Attributions: Stables, *şadırvan* (Özer 1992, p. 74)

Primary Sources: “*Lütfü Paşa bin Abdülmuin*” *Vakfı Defteri, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations*, H. 950 / AD. 1543, (Ertekin 2007, pp. 27-53)

Tire Şer’iye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1253 / AD. 1837-38, *Cilt* 47, pp. 1-10 (Özer 1992, p. 138, nt. 319)

Description:

Location of the Building:

Bakır Han is the third commercial edifice founded within the core of Tire’s commercial quarters. It is located on the decreasing slopes towards the north, around Tahtakale Square. Bakır Han faces Bakır Han Street on east, perpendicular to which is the Gündüz Street ending with the entrance to the Han. On the south and north there are adjacent buildings to Bakır Han. Yet, the west side faces Atatürk Street, during the construction of which, Bakır Han lost the half of its building. Ertekin’s transcription and translation of “Foundations of Lütfü Paşa” provides significant information regarding the construction site, within which Bakır Han was founded around 1510s. In the section, mentioning about the incomes of the foundations, the name of “Kurşunlu Han” is uttered. According to this historical information, the *han* includes 34 rooms on the first floor and 19 rooms on the ground floor. There exist the stables and a *şadırvan* to the south of the building. The *külhan* [boiler room] of Yahşibey Bath on its south, saraçhane on its east, through whose center a street passes, another street on its north and the adjacent Hoca Kemal Caravanserais on its west surround Bakır Han. The *meyhane* [unpretentious restaurant serving alcohol] and 7 shops on both sides of the entrance are included to the *han* on its east façade.¹¹²⁶ This information shows that, this particular urban block, the very center of the commercial quarters extended more to the west, overlapped today’s Atatürk Street. Hence, most probably this land piece had a more organic layout in plan considering the circulation network within these buildings rather than the later imposed grid plan and the wide Atatürk Boulevard.

¹¹²⁶ The Turkish translation continues as; “Bu açıklanan vakfın faydalanması için vakfedilen ve bu amaç için ayrılan akarlardan biri, adı geçen Tire şehrinde Saraçlar içinde Kurşunlu Han adıyla bilinen handır ki, üst katında 34 oda, alt katında 19 oda mevcuttur. Kible tarafında bir athanesi ve içinde suyu olan şadırvanı yer alır. Sınırları kible tarafından Yahşibey Hamamının külhanı, doğu tarafından ortası umumi yol olan saraçhane, kuzeyden yine umumi yol ve batıdan Hoca Kemal’in kervansarayı ile bitişiktir. Doğu tarafında bulunan meyhane ve kapının iki yanında bulunan 7 adet dükkan, hanın duvarında ve sınırları içindedir.” Ertekin (2007), p. 31. See also Özer, who has given the translation of this particular part as well. Özer (1992), p. 74.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

As far the still standing part of the building suggests, Bakır Han is a double storey *han* building, rectangular in plan. It has an open courtyard in the center, to which the rooms located on the north, and east, and rooms plus, partially the stables on the south side open. The entrance to the *han* is provided from its west façade, it is this very same façade that the building is in close contact with the outside due to the shops inserted on it. The entrance space includes two distinct spaces both of which are covered with paneled vaults. In the second vestibule after entering the *han*, there are stairs on both sides leading to the upper floor of the building. The rooms are gathered around the courtyard behind the arcaded portico, which is turned into a closed space, like an extension of the barrel vaulted rooms behind. There is an arcaded portico in front of the rooms on the upper floor as well, and this functions as a gallery providing circulation in this floor, which most likely housed the rooms for the stay of the traveling merchants. Accordingly, the shops, depots, and other trade and manufacture related spaces took place on the ground floor.¹¹²⁷

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone, where all rubble stone, cut stone and slate stone are used in the walls. Slate stone is also used in the facing of the floor of the closed spaces as well as the courtyard. Brick is another significant building material and it is used together with these varied types of stone on the walls. Plus, it is used in the arches and in the vaults covering the rooms of the *han*.

A.2.3.4. Ali Efe Hanı

Other Given Names: Abdüsselam, Kara Hüseyin, Serban, and Savran Hanı

Location: İpekçiler, Kazazlar Neighborhood (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Bedesten Street

Date: 14th century (İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire 2001, p. 66)

16th century (Armağan 1983, p. 8, Özer 1992, pp. 85, 89-90, Armağan 2003, pp. 160, 164, Çulcu 2005, p. 67)¹¹²⁸

Founder: Abdüsselam Efendi, *Defterdar* [Head of Treasury] of Süleyman I (Özer 1992, pp. 85, 89-90, Armağan 2003, 160, 164, Çulcu 2005, p. 67)

Existing Structures: Han

Others / Attributions: Stables

¹¹²⁷ For more detailed architectural analysis of Bakır Han see Oğuz (1975), pp. 157-182. Özer (1992), pp. 68-75. Çulcu (2005), pp. 67-84.

¹¹²⁸ Armağan has given the construction date as 15th century in the list of the Hans in Tire Armağan (2003), p. 160. Yet, this is probably a small printing mistake, since 16th century is the construction date given in both Armağan (1983), p. 8, and in the very same research Armağan (2003), p. 164, where the description of the building is given.

Primary Sources: *Abdüselam Efendi Vakıf Defteri*, H. 930 / AD. 1524, (Armağan 2003, p. 164)¹¹²⁹

Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1264 / AD. 1847-48, *Cilt* 5, (Armağan 1983, p. 8, nt. 17, Armağan 2003, p. 164)¹¹³⁰

Description:

Location of the Building:

Ali Efe Hanı is located two urban blocks south of the core of the market place, namely south of the Tahtakale Square. The *han* is in the same lot with the *Bedesten*, yet on the southern contours of the increasing topography. Ali Efe Hanı faces the Bedesten Street on its north, across which the *Bedesten* and Gazazhane Mosque take place and Paşa Suyu Street on its west, across which Terziler Bath and the few remains of the Karakadı Hanı take place. On the south and north façades of Ali Efe Hanı there are adjacent buildings standing, which are currently used as residential units. Plus, on the south Ankara Street parallel to the south façade of the building and Yeni Köprü Street, a blind alley, perpendicular to the south façade are located. There are shops inserted only to the west façade of the han, those facing Terziler Bath and Karakadı Hanı in the same urban block, in between whom Paşa Suyu Street, and hence the most crowded street of the block take place.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Ali Efe Hanı is a double storey *han*, rectangular in plan. It has an open courtyard in the center, partially surrounded with an arcaded portico. For the reason that, only the south and west sides of the *han*, are part of the original design and most of the spaces on the north and east sides are later interventions and additions. Hence, they display a different spatial arrangement than the traditional plan layout of *hans*. It may be argued that, the east and north sides of the *han* repeated a similar plan organization, where there existed rooms opening to the courtyard through the arcaded portico. Plus, as can be detected from the remains, there existed the stables section on the southeast corner of the *han*. The entrance to the *han* is provided from

¹¹²⁹ Without providing the full bibliographical information of the source, Armağan claims that the foundation charter related to this *han* is extant. Armağan (2003), p. 164.

¹¹³⁰ Without providing a full citation Armağan explains that, in this court register complains of the public about the administrator of the Ali Efe Hanı, to İstanbul due to the increasing theft events is mentioned. The administrator is asked to close the gate of the *han* after the shops are closed. Yet, the traveling merchants staying during their stopover in the *han* rejected that, this early locking of the gates prevented them from their daily religious practices and they wanted to go to Gazazhane and yeni Mosques nearby to do their prayer activities. A reconciliation of these parties was finally reached at that, a secondary entrance on the south façade close to the west corner is constructed. Partially cited in Armağan (2003), p. 164.

its north façade, continuing the axis leading from the market place, close to the east corner. At this point, opening a parenthesis it has to be pointed that a secondary entrance built on the south façade of the *han* near its southwest corner during the midst of the 19th century.¹¹³¹ The major entrance space includes two distinct spaces, where in the second vestibule after entering the *han*, there are stairs leading to the upper floor. There is also a staircase in the middle of the western arcaded portico, which provide access to the upper floor, where most probably the traveling merchant resided during their stopover. Accordingly, it is most possible that the rooms on the ground floor functioned as shops, depots, and other trade and manufacture related spaces like in the other double storey hans in Tire of that period.¹¹³²

Building Material and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone, where all rubble stone, cut stone and slate stone are used in the walls. Slate stone is also used in the facing of the floor of the closed spaces as well as the courtyard. Brick is another significant building material and it is used together with these varied types of stone on the walls. It is also used in the arches and in the vaults covering the rooms of the *han*.

A.2.3.5. Yeni Han

Other Given Names: Matyos, Dellaloğlu Hanı¹¹³³

Location: In old Animal Bazaar, Yeni Neighborhood, Lütfü Paşa Street

Date: 15th century (Armağan 2003, pp. 160, 166)

16th century (Çulcu 2005, p. 106)

H. 916 / AD. 1510 (Özer 1992, pp. 76, 83-84)

Founder: Abdüsselam Efendi, *Defterdar* [Head of Treasury] of Süleyman I (Çulcu 2005, p. 106)

Lütfü Paşa, former *Sancak Beyi* [Governor] of Aydın, the groom and grand vizier of Yavuz Sultan Selim, the renowned Ottoman historian and the author of *Tevârih-i Âli Osman*, (Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 48, Tokluoğlu 1973, p. 30, Armağan 1983, p. 8, Özer 1992, pp. 76, 83-84, Armağan 2003, pp. 160, 166, Ertekin 2007, pp.21-24)¹¹³⁴

Existing Structures: Han

Others / Attributions: Stables

¹¹³¹ See Primary Sources above, particularly, *Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum*, H. 1264 / AD. 1847-48, *Cilt 5*, partially cited in Armağan (2003), p. 164.

¹¹³² For more detailed architectural analysis of Ali Efe Hanı see Özer (1992), pp. 85-90. Çulcu (2005), pp. 85-105.

¹¹³³ In İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire (2001), Yeni Han is also named as Lütfü Paşa Hanı, which is actually the other name of Kutu Han. See _____ (2001), *İzmir Kültür Envanteri, Tire, İl Özel İdaresi Kültür Yayınları 3*, İzmir: İzmir Valiliği İl Kültür Müdürlüğü.

¹¹³⁴ For further information on Lütfü Paşa, see Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 118-121. Aslanoğlu (1978), p. 102, nt. 74. Armağan (2003), pp. 237-238. Particularly see Ertekin (2007).

Primary Sources: “*Lütfü Paşa bin Abdülmuin*” *Vakfı Defteri, Archive of General Directorate of Pious Foundations*, H. 950 / AD. 1543, (Ertekin 2007, pp. 27-53)

Tire Şer’iye Sicilleri, Archive of Tire Museum, H. 1282 / AD. 1865-66, *Cilt* 13, (Armağan 2003, p. 164)¹¹³⁵

Description:

Location of the Building:

Yeni Han is located in old Animal Bazaar area, which is within the boundaries of today’s Yeni Neighborhood. It is towards the northern flatter lands and in a way the northern edge of the commercial strip of the town. Yeni Han is surrounded by two newly built adjacent buildings on its west and south façades. It faces Lütfü Paşa Mosque across a narrow route on its north and Lütfü Paşa Street, across which Leyse Mosque is located on its east. Ertekin’s transcription and translation of “Foundations of Lütfü Paşa” provides significant information regarding the construction site, within which Yeni Han was founded around 1510s. According to this historical account the *han* was built to the south of Lütfü Paşa Mosque. It includes 37 rooms in the upper floor and 24 rooms in the ground floor level. There is a *şadırvan* in its courtyard towards the west. In this western part on the ground floor, there is the stables section with the capacity of housing 100 horses. On its east and north façades there are 20 and on its south façade there are 2 shops inserted, which open to the streets. The site of the *han* is bounded with the vegetable garden lended from Halil Yahşi Bey foundations on its south, with streets on its east and north and with shops bought from Mevlana Leysi Çelebi oğlu Pir Ahmet Çelebi on its west.¹¹³⁶

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

Yeni Han is a double storey *han*, rectangular in plan. It has an open courtyard in the center. As the few remains of columns on the south east of its courtyard suggest and the practical reasons for circulation in the upper floor necessitates, the courtyard is at least, partially, surrounded with an arcaded portico. The entrance to the building is provided from the

¹¹³⁵ Without providing a full citation Armağan mentions that the architect Mustafa Ağa restored the building and 9905,5 kuruş is spent for its restoration. Partially cited in Armağan (2003), p. 166.

¹¹³⁶ The Turkish translation continues as; “[...] adı geçen camii şerifin kible tarafında yapılan yeni bir handır ki, üst katında 37, alt katında 24 odası vardır. İçinde akarsuyu ile şadırvanı mevcuttur. Batı tarafında odaların altında yaklaşık 100 baş at konabilecek at ahuru ile duvarlarının doğu ve kuzey dışına bitişik 20, kible tarafına bitişik 2 olmak üzere toplam 22 adet dükkan bulunur. Bu yerin sınırları kible tarafından merhum Yahşibey Vakfından kiralanan sebze bahçesi ile doğusu ve kuzeyi umumi yol, batısı merhum Yahşibey bahçesine uzanan Mevlana Leysi Çelebi oğlu Pir Ahmet Çelebi’den alınan dükkanlara uzanır.” Ertekin (2007), pp. 23, 31. See also Özer and Armağan, who have given the translation of this particular part as well. Özer (1992), pp. 83-84. Armağan (2003), p. 166.

center of its east façade, which at the same time has the inserted shops on its both sides opening to Lütü Paşa Street and Leyse Mosque across. Similar to the other *hans* of the period the entrance is composed of two distinct, yet consecutive spaces. Both of these vestibules are covered with cross vaults. The rooms on the north and south sides, which probably functioned as shops and other trade and manufacture related spaces, are covered with barrel vaults. On the west side, the stables in two aisles, including 16 vaulted units are situated. The staircase leading to the upper floor is located to the north of the west side. The upper floor consisted of barrel vaulted rooms, which most probably served as the hostels for the travelers stopover in Yeni Han.¹¹³⁷

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone, where both rubble stone and slate stone are used in the walls. Brick is the other building material used in the walls together with stone. It is also used in the arches and in the vaults covering the rooms of the han inside yet, the stops and the entrance vestibule is plastered which prevents to detect the construction material. Finally, as for the facing of the floor slate stone is used both in the closed spaces and in the courtyard and stables sections.

A.2.3.6. Bedesten

Other Given Names: None

Location: Old Bazaar, Upper Market Place (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Uzun Çarşı, Gazahane Street

Date: 8th – 9th century (Armağan 2003, p. 123, Tire Rehber 2008, p. 42)¹¹³⁸

Second half of the 14th century (Yücesoy 1972, p. 32)

Beginnings of 15th century (Tokluoğlu 1973, p. 12, Ayverdi 1989, pp. 196-199, Özer 1992, pp. 91, 94, Ertekin 2008a, pp. 24-28)

Ends of the 15th, beginnings of the 16th century (Riefstahl 1941)

¹¹³⁷ For more detailed architectural analysis of Yeni Han see Özer (1992), pp. 76-84. Çulcu (2005), pp. 106-127.

¹¹³⁸ Even though Armağan claims both in his own book and in the recent “Tire Guide” published by the municipality that the Bedesten was originally built during the Byzantine period between the 8th and 9th centuries, there are no convincing evidence to prove their assertions. It is most likely that the bedesten was founded in the early 15th century. Plus, this is the most convenient time period, where economy in Tire gradually increased and the town displayed significant urban growth and similar to constructions of equal sized towns in terms of population and amount of trade, a bedesten was founded in Tire. On the date of construction see the scholars Riefstahl (1941). Tokluoğlu (1973), p. 12. Ayverdi (1989), pp. 196-199. Özer (1992), pp. 91, 94. Armağan (2003), p. 123. Tire Rehber (2008), p. 42. Ertekin (2008a), pp. 24-28.

Founder: Abdüllatif İbn-i Melek, İzzeddin Ferišteoğlu, Abdüllatif Ferište (Tokluoğlu 1959, p. 4, Tokluoğlu 1964, p. 20, Tokluoğlu 1973, p. 12, Ayverdi 1989, pp. 196-199, Özer 1992, pp. 91, 94, Ertekin 2008a, pp.24-28)¹¹³⁹

Existing Structures: Bedesten

Others / Attributions: None

Primary Sources: *Aydın Vakıf Defteri*, H. 991 / AD. 1583-84, No. 571, no 116/1, Y. 59 b, *Archive of the General Directorate of Cadastration, Ankara*, (Ertekin 2007, pp. 27-53)

Description:

Location of the Building:

The *bedesten* is located in the Old Bazaar, the so-called Upper Market Place, almost at the southern borders close by the Great Mosque at the end of the commercial strip. On the north it faces the second urban block of the commercial strip after the block including the Tahtakale Square. On its south is the Bedesten Street, across which Ali Efe and Karakadı Hans are located. Gazazhane Mosque is on the east of the Bedesten, whereas on its west a narrow street separates a thin, long building block by the Atatürk Street. The Bedesten is founded to the south of central Tire, on the slopes rising towards the steep topography. Yet, the building sits on two different levels on the ground to cope with the topographical conditions.

Plan and Physical Characteristics:

The Bedesten is a covered bazaar, which has also shops inserted to all its façades. All these units are barrel vaulted except for the vestibules at the center of each façade providing entrance to the building. Inside the bedesten, there are shop and depot units aligned on the south and east sides. The interior of the Bedesten is divided with three huge piers arranged in a line, following the east-west central axis. Hence, this space is covered with 8 domes sitting on these piers as well as the walls of the building.

Building Materials and Construction Techniques:

The major building material is stone, where both rubble stone and cut stone are used. Birek is the other significant building material that it is used on certain architectural elements such as the arches above the window openings and doors.

¹¹³⁹ For further information on İbn-i Melek see Şişikoğlu (1941), pp. 157-158. Tokluoğlu (1964), pp. 42-45. Tokluoğlu (1973), pp. 111-117. Armağan (1983), pp. 21-22. Armağan (2003), pp. 110-111. Ertekin (2008a). See also the proceedings published in the symposiums named “Türk Kültüründe Tire I, II” presented in the sessions reserved particularly on İbn-i Melek, Şeker M. (ed.) (1994), *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 33-61. Şeker M., Taşcan A. (eds.) (2008), *Türk Kültüründe Tire II, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Tire: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, pp. 209-241

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY

*Ancient / Byzantine Terms**

Agora: Civic center of a Greek city

Cardo: Major artery running north-south in a Roman city

Castron: Byzantine settlements centers around fortified castles

Curiae: Administrative buildings in a Roman city

Decumanus: Major artery running east-west in a Roman city

Dioiskismos: The process of the disintegration of a town into its component parts, hence points to Byzantine dispersed settlements

Forum: Civic center of a Roman city

Necropolis: Ancient cemetery

Nymphaeum: Fountain

Salpakis: Lord of the coasts.

Synoikismos: The unification, constitution of a town from a number of settlements

* The glossary on Ancient / Byzantine terms, which are used in the thesis are gathered from Brogiolo G. P., Ward-Perkins B. (eds.) (1999), *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill. Bryer A., Lowry H. (eds.) (1986), *Continuity and Change in the Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*, Birmingham: University of Birmingham & DOP Press. Lavan L., Bowden W. (eds.) (2003), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, Leiden, Boston: Brill. Owens E. J. (1991), *The City in the Greek and Roman World*, London and New York: Routledge.

Latin Terms **

Bailo: Venetian official representative

Bladum: Grain

Duca: Duke, Venetian ruler

Fruentum: Wheat

Granum: Grain

Ordeum: Barley

Piazza: Public squares in Latin cities

Podesta: Genoese official representative

Sancta Unio: Latin Union

Turkish / Arabic / Persian Terms ***

Ahi: Member of semi-chivalric religious fraternities and trade guilds

Anbarcı: Storage keeper

Arasta: Shopping street

Aşhane: Refectory or public kitchen

Bakırcı: Coppersmith

Balık: Central Asian cities

Bedesten: Covered Bazaar for the most part housing luxurious items

Bender: Busy, much frequented trade center

Bey: Ruler of a Principality

** The glossary on Latin terms, which are used in the thesis are gathered from Fleet K. (1999), *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Zachariadou E. A. (1983), *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydın (1330-1445)*, Venice: Library of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies.

*** The glossary on Turkish / Arabic / Persian terms, which are used in the thesis are gathered from Crane H. (1991), "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy", *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, (R. Abou-el- Haj, D. Preziosi, eds.) New York: Aristide D. Caratzas Publisher, pp. 173-243. Eldem E., Goffman D., and Masters B. (1999), *The Ottoman City between East and West*, London: Cambridge University Press. Faroqhi S. (1984), *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Kafadar C. (1995), *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Kuban D. (2007), *Osmanlı Mimarisi*, İstanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları. Lifchez R. (ed.) (1992), *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. _____ (1997), *Redhouse Turkish / Ottoman – English Dictionary*, (17th Edition, 1st Edition in 1968) İstanbul: Sev Yayıncılık.

Beylerbeyi: Provincial governor, higher than *sancakbeyi* in the administrative hierarchy, in charge of a *vilayet*

Bez: Linen of cotton fabrics

Bezci: Linen, cotton manufacturer

Bezzaz: Linen draper

Bıçakçı: Knife maker or seller

Caba: Unmarried men deemed to pay taxes (same with *Mücerred*)

Câbî: Salaried official, employed to collect income on behalf of a pious foundation

Cizye: Head-tax paid by non-Muslims

Çarşı: Market place, shopping district

Çuha: Woolen cloth, of better quality than *aba*

Darüşşifa: Hospital (same with *Şifahane*)

Debbağhane: Tanner house, tannery (same with *Tabakhane*)

Defterdar: Head of treasury, high financial official

Demirci: Iron worker

Derbend: Fortified road-station

Derbendçi: Pass-guard

Ekmekci: Baker

Ferraş: Caretaker of cleaning

Fütüvvet: Religious and trade guilds

Ghaza: Holy war against the infidel in the name of Islam

Ghazi: Turkish fighters, warriors in the name of Islam

Gümrük: Customs

Gümrük mukataası: Combined tax farm

Gümrük vergisi: Customs due

Haffaf: Shoemaker

Hâfız: Koran reciter

Hallaç: Cotton or wool fluffer

Halvet: Partially enclosed bathing cubical

Hamam: Bath

Han: A large commercial building housing merchants' entrepôts and craftsmen's shops, usually grouped around a courtyard.

Hane: Household

Hanikah: Dervish lodge

Harat: Neighborhood in Arab cities

Haraç: Tribute, land tax paid by non-Muslims

Has: Crown lands, also assigned to high state dignitaries, often administered by tax farmers

Hasır Pazarı: Rush mat market, wickerwork bazaar

Hatip: Preacher

Hazire: Enclosed graveyard, especially on the grounds of a mosque or *tekke*

Hüdavendigâr: The all ruling Sultan (same with *hükümdar*)

Hükümdar: The all ruling Sultan (same with *hüdavendigâr*)

Ilıklık: Tepid room

İç kale: Inner citadel

İlmiye: Hierarchy of religious scholars (*ulema*)

İltizam: Tax farm

İmar etmek: To develop public facilities (of a particular place)

İmar ve iskân: Settlement and development

İmaret: Building complex or any public building, also public kitchen

Kadı: Judge, also acting as a notary public and local administrator

Kadı sicilleri: Court records (same with *şer'îye sicilleri*)

Kadife: Velvet

Kandilci: Tender of oil lamps

Kapıcı: Gate keeper

Karamürsel: Small sailing boat for carrying cargo

Kâtip: Clerk

Kaza: Low-level administrative unit, administrative district in which a *kadı* officiated

Keçeçi: Felt maker

Kethüda: 'Headman' in villages, town quarters, religious communities, etc.

Kıy: Outer city of Central Asian cities

Kâfir, kefere, gebr (sing.) or Küffar, küfferan, gebran (pl.): 'unbelievers', non-Muslims

Kılıççı: Sword maker

Külhan: Boiler room in a public bath

Küllîye: Building complex

Lala: Mentor of the Sultan

Mahalle: Neighborhood in Turkish-Islamic cities

Mahrûse: Protected

Mâmur: Prosperous, developed

Mâmur etmek: To develop public facilities (of a particular place)

Manzume: Group of buildings or a small building complex

Menzil: Stopover places by the trade, pilgrimage routes

Menzil külliyesi: Building complex established on the stopover places by the trade, pilgrimage routes, outside the territory of the urban centers, and instead on rather rural lands.

Merkepci: Donkey rider

Meydan: 1) Open spaces acting as places of assembly for parades, consultations, or contests, generally situated near the fortifications.

2) Room or structure where the main devotional ceremonies take place of particularly Mevlevi or Bektaşî orders.

Mîrî: State owned property

Muallimhane: Lodge of the teacher or professor

Mufassal: ‘detailed’, tax registers called *mufassal* contained an enumeration of taxpayers, which has been absent from the *icmal* registers

Muîd: Assistant to professor in the medrese

Mukataa: Tax farm, revenue-producing unit, either administered by a salaried public official or else by a tax farmer

Muvakkit: Time keeper at a mosque

Muvakkithane: Clock room of the *muvakkit*

Mücerred: Unmarried men deemed to pay taxes (same with *Caba*)

Müderris: Teacher or professor in the medrese

Müezzîn: A person calling the community to prayer from the minaret

Mühimme Defterleri: Registers of ‘important affairs’, containing rescripts sent out in the name of the Ottoman Sultan, both to foreign rulers and to provincial administrators

Mülk: Privately owned, freehold property

Mültezim: Tax farmer

Müştemilat: Supplementary spaces

Mütevelli: General executive of a pious foundation

Naip: Deputy judge, adjunct to a *kadı*

Nalbant: Blacksmith, farrier

Nazır: Superintendent in a pious foundation

Nefer: A single individual

Nefs: Settlement center

Orduğ: Inner citadel in Central Asiatic cities

Pabuç: A type of shoe
Pabuççu: Maker of *pabuç*
Panayır: Commercial fair
Pekmez: Grape syrup
Peştemalçı: Large bath towel, waist cloth maker
Rabad: Outer city in Iranian cities
Rasathane: Observatory
Ribat: Fortress, lodge for dervishes
Sahil-Begi: Lord of the coasts.
Sahtiyan: Fine leather
Sancak: Subdivision of a province
Sancak Beyi: Head of a *sancak*.
Saraç: Saddler, leather worker
Saydalâniyâ: Pharmacist
Sıcaklık: Hot room in a public bath
Sicil: Register, particularly the register kept by *kadı*
Sofuhane: Lodge of the devout
Son cemaat yeri: Late comers' portico in a mosque
Soyunmalık: Dressing room in a public bath
Sufi: Muslim mystic, devotee
Suq: Covered bazaars in Arabic cities
Şehristan: Iranian city
Şehzadeler şehri: Town in which future Ottoman princes practiced governance
Şer'iyе Sicilleri: Court records (same with Kadı Sicilleri)
Şeyh: Sheikh, leader of a Muslim sect, leader of a dervish community
Şeyhülislam: Chief religious official, head of the Ottoman *ilmiye* hierarchy
Şifahâne: Hospital (same with Darüşşifa)
Tabakhane: Tanner house (same with Debbâğhane)
Tabhane: Guest house
Tahrir: Tax register, containing names of taxpayers and the amount of certain taxes to be paid by towns, villages, and nomads as collectivities, compiled mainly during the 15th and 16th centuries
Talebe: Student
Tapu tahrirleri: Property deeds

Tarakçı: Comb maker or seller

Tekke: Lodge of a dervish order

Terzi: Tailor

Tımar: Small military fief, in other words, assignment of taxes to a cavalryman in the Ottoman armies

Tülbetnçi: Muslin, gauze maker

Uc: Frontier territories

Uc teşkilatı: Frontier organization of small semi-independent Turkish dynasties on the Byzantine - Seljuk borders

Uc beylikleri: Frontier principalities

Ulema: Civil ruling body of the State plus the educated orthodox Sunni scholars

Urgancı: Rope makers, manufacturers

Vakıf: Foundation, pious foundation or endowment

Vakıf Defteri: Foundation registers

Vakfiye: Foundation charter or endowment deeds

Veli: Muslim saint

Vergi defterleri: Tax accounts, tax registers

Vihara: Buddhist Monastery

Vilayet: Province administered by a *beylerbeyi* and encompassing several *sancaks*

Yahudi: Jewish

Yorgancı: Quilt maker

Zaviye: Dervish hospice, or lodge

Zeamet: Tax grant, the grantee was expected to perform military or administrative service; more valuable than *tımar*

APPENDIX C
INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

| Prehistoric | Ancient | Byzantine / Latin | Seljuk / Principalities/ Ottoman | Modern |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| | Adremyton | Adremyton | Edremit | Edremit |
| | Adrianopolis | Adrianopolis | Edrene | Edirne |
| | Anastasiopolis | Anastasiopolis | Beypazarı | Beypazarı |
| | Ania, Anaea | Ania, Anaea | KadıKalesi | KadıKalesi |
| | Apateira? | Arkadiapolis | Asar, Hisar, Hisarlık | Hisarlık |
| | | Baphaeus | Koyunhisar | Koyunhisar |
| | Boneiton | Boneiton | Küçükkale | Küçükkale |
| | katoikia | katoikia | | |
| | Caere, Kaire | Caere, Kaire | Peşrefli | Peşrefli |
| | Caystros | Caystros | Küçük Menderes | Küçük Menderes |
| | Chalcedon | Chalcedon | Kadıköy | Kadıköy |
| | Chios | Chios | Sakız | Sakız |
| | | Coltai | Kütahya | Kütahya |
| | Dios Hieron | Christopolis, Pyrgion | Birgi | Birgi |
| Ahyova, Arzawa | Ionia, Lydia | Lydia | Aydıneli, Aydın Sancağı | Western Anatolia |
| | Alcaea, Alkea | Alcaea, Alkea | Kürdüllü, Kürtüllü | Kürdüllü |
| Almura | Almura | Almura | Darmara | Eskioba |
| Apasa | Ephesus | Ephesus, Theologo | Ayasoluk | Selçuk |
| | Fota? | Fota | Fota | Gökçen |
| | | Jasmati | Çeşme | Çeşme |
| | | Gallipoli | Gelibolu | Gelibolu |
| | Halicarnassos | Halicarnassos | Bodrum | Bodrum |
| | Hermos | Hermos | Gediz | Gediz |
| | Hypaipa, Hypaepa | Hypaepa | Dadbay, Günlüce Village | Dadbay, Günlüce Village |
| | Ideiphyta | Ideiphyta | Kireli | Kireli |
| | Laodiceai | Laodiceai | Ladik, Lazkiye | Denizli |
| | Larissa | Larissa | Buruncuk | Buruncuk |
| | Magnesia | Magnesia | Manisa | Manisa |
| | | Maiandros | Menderes | Menderes |
| | Mallaina ? | Mallaina ? | Osmaneli, Karacahisar? | Osmaneli, Karacahisar? |

| | | | | |
|------------|---|--|---|--|
| | Messogis Mountains | Messogis Mountains | Güme, Kestane, Cevizli Mountains | Güme, Kestane, Cevizli Mountains |
| Millawanda | Miletus Mobolla Mylassa Nicaea Nicomedia Nyssa Tralles Pergamon Philadelphia Phocaea Mount Pion Smyrna Telmessos Tmolos Mountains Teira, Tyrra, Thyra, Thyrai | Miletus, Palatia Mobolla Mylassa Nicaea Nicomedia Nikopolis Nyssa Tralles Pera Pergamon Pezzona Philadelphia Phocaea Mount Pion Phygela, Scala Nuovo Smyrna Thessaloniki Makri Tmolos Mountains Teira, Tyrra, Thyaira, Theyira | Balat Muğla Milas İzmit İzmit Niğbolu Sultanhisar Güzelhisar, Aydın Pera, Galata Bergama Beçin Alaşehir Foça Panayır Mountain Kuşadası İzmir Selanik Makri, Makre, Mekri Bozdağlar Tire, Sire | Balat Muğla Milas İzmit İzmit Niğbolu Sultanhisar Güzelhisar, Aydın Galata Bergama Beçin Alaşehir Foça Panayır Mountain Kuşadası İzmir Selanik Fethiye Bozdağlar Tire |

TABLES

Table 2. 1 Trade Agreements and Peace Treaties Signed between the Turkish Principalities in Western Anatolia and the Latins of Italian City States

Summarized from Zachariadou (1983), Fleet (1999), and Turan (2000)

| | | |
|------|--|--|
| 1331 | Menteşeoğulları - Venetians | Orhan Bey - Marino Morisini, Duke of Crete |
| 1337 | Menteşeoğulları - Venetians | İbrahim Bey - Giovanni Sanudo, Duke of Crete |
| 1337 | Aydinoğulları - Venetians | Hızır Bey - Giovanni Sanudo, Duke of Crete |
| 1346 | Aydinoğulları - Genoese | Hızır Bey - ? |
| 1348 | Aydinoğulları - Venetians ve Papacy | Hızır Bey - ? |
| 1353 | Aydinoğulları - Venetians | Hızır Bey - Marino Morisini, Duke of Crete |
| 1358 | Menteşeoğulları - Venetians | Musa Bey - Pietro Badoer, Duke of Crete |
| 1371 | Aydinoğulları - Venetians | İsa Bey - Giovanni Gradenigo, Duke of Crete |
| 1375 | Menteşeoğulları - Venetians | Ahmet Bey - Giovanni Gradenigo, Duke of Crete |
| 1403 | Menteşeoğulları - Venetians | İlyas Bey- Leonardo Bembo, Duke of Crete |
| 1414 | Menteşeoğulları - Venetians | İlyas Bey - Pietro Givrano, Captain |

Table 2. 2 Trade Agreements and Peace Treaties Signed between the Ottomans and the Europeans
Summarized from Faroqhi (2002) Fleet (1999), Jensen (1985), İnalçık – Quataert (2000) and Turan (2000)

| | | |
|------|--|--|
| 1352 | Ottoman - Genoese | Orhan Bey - ? |
| 1387 | Ottoman - Genoese | Murad I - Gentile de Grimaldi and Janano de Bascho |
| 1389 | Ottoman - Genoese | Bayezid I - Genoese Podesta of Pera |
| 1391 | Ottoman - Venetian | Bayezid I - Francesco Querini, Venetian Ambassador |
| 1403 | Ottoman - Byzantine, Venetian, Genoese and Rhodian | Süleyman Bey, Son of Bayezid I - ? |
| 1408 | Ottoman - Venetian | Süleyman Bey, Son of Bayezid I - ? |
| 1411 | Ottoman - Venetian | Musa Bey, Son of Bayezid I - ? |
| 1419 | Ottoman - Venetian | Mehmed I - ? |
| 1424 | Ottoman - Byzantine | Murad II - ? |
| 1430 | Ottoman - Venetian | Murad II - ? |
| 1446 | Ottoman - Venetian | Murad II - ? |
| ? | Ottoman - Genoese | Murad II - ? |
| 1451 | Ottoman - Venetian | Mehmed II - ? |
| ? | Ottoman - Genoese | Mehmed II - ? |
| 1454 | Ottoman - Venetian | Mehmed II - ? |
| ? | Ottoman - Florentine | Mehmed II - ? |
| 1479 | Ottoman - Venetian | Mehmed II - ? |
| 1498 | Ottoman - Naples | Bayezid II – ? |
| 1503 | Ottoman - Venetian | Bayezid II – ? |
| 1517 | Ottoman - French and Catalans | Selim I – ? |
| 1540 | Ottoman - Venetian | Süleyman I - ? |
| 1562 | Ottoman – Hapsburg? | Süleyman I – Emperor Ferdinand |
| 1568 | Ottoman – Hapsburg? | Selim II – Emperor Ferdinand? |
| 1569 | Ottoman - French | Selim II - ? |
| 1573 | Ottoman - Venetian | Selim II - ? |
| 1573 | Ottoman – Hapsburg? | Selim II – Emperor Ferdinand? |
| 1577 | Ottoman – Hapsburg? | Murad III – Emperor Ferdinand? |
| 1580 | Ottoman - English | Murad III - ? |

Table 5. 1 Ottoman Neighborhoods and Number of Households in Tire
Summarized from Telci, Faroqi, and Özkılınç A. et. all.

| Name of the Neighborhood | Cadasral Survey in 1448 | Cadasral Survey in 1478 | Cadasral Survey in 1512-1520 | Cadasral Survey in 1528 |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Veled-i Çanakçı | 96 | 86 | 39 | 33 |
| Hisariçi | 34 | 20 | 18 | 11 |
| Yahşibey | 20 | 13 | 19 | - |
| Taşpazarı (Ahiler) | 128 | 104 | 62 | 60 |
| Yaviler | 36 | 34 | 39 | 35 |
| Paşa | 29 | 29 | 46 | 29 |
| Alihan | 26 | 16 | 21 | 15 |
| Veled-i Kadı | 21 | 26 | 28 | 34 |
| Küçük Hafız | 27 | 22 | 32 | 21 |
| Turunç | 54 | 46 | 79 | 29 |
| Kalamos | 46 | 33 | 59 | 37 |
| Cami-i Atik | 70 | 51 | 85 | 58 |
| Doğancılar | 45 | 36 | 77 | 33 |
| Makabir | 60 | 49 | 49 | 17 |
| Miskince | 21 | 17 | 27 | 15 |
| Mısırlı | 37 | 33 | 48 | 40 |
| Alacamescit | 22 | 20 | 18 | - |
| Darbhane | 34 | 29 | 21 | 18 |
| Yayla Fakih | 27 | 22 | - | 16 |
| Sofuköy | 122 | 95 | 94 | 69 |
| Ağaççılar (Kadı) | 43 | 37 | 43 | - |
| Tahtakale | 67 | 59 | 56 | 43 |
| Tabakhane (Debbağlı) | 8 | 6 | 11 | 14 |
| Hatip | 44 | 32 | 59 | - |
| Muarref (Hekim) | 24 | 22 | 32 | 28 |
| Küfferan (Gebran) Greek | 53 | 52 | 37 | 49 |
| Yunus Emre | - | - | 26 | 27 |
| Hoca Behşayış | - | - | 42 | 27 |
| Hacı Ahmed | - | - | 11 | 9 |
| Karahasan | - | - | 13 | 10 |
| Tarakçızade | - | - | 28 | 37 |
| Takkacizade | - | - | 42 | 30 |
| Hasan Çelebi | - | - | 12 | 20 |
| Urgancılar | - | - | 85 | 41 |
| Tengri Verdi | - | - | 67 | 35 |
| İmamzade | - | - | 11 | 9 |
| Mevlana Hacı Muslihiddin | - | - | 16 | - |
| Hacı Mehmed | - | 52 | 37 | 49 |
| Jewish | - | - | 42 | 64 |

Table 5. 2 Architectural Patrons and their Foundations in Tire under the Aydınogulları and Ottoman Rule (14th - 16th Centuries)

| A.1. BUILDING GROUPS | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|--------------------------------|---|
| App. No. | | Name | Founder | Date | Location |
| A.1.1. | A | Hafsa Hatun Mosque and Complex | Hafsa Hatun, daughter of Aydınoglu İsa Bey | Mid 14 th century | Bademiye Neighborhood (old name), Duatepe Neighborhood, Değirmendere District |
| A.1.2. | A | Kazirzade Complex (Caziroğlu, Kadızade Complex) | Kazirzade (Kadızade, Muhiddin Bey), musician | Late 14 th century | Veledi Kadı, İbni Kadı, İbni Gazi Neighborhood (old names), Ertuğrul Neighborhood, Kaziroğlu Street |
| A.1.3. | A | Karakadı Mecdetin Complex (Karağazi, Uçlala, Üçlüle, Kocabıyık Complex) | Karakadı Mecdetin, theologian, jurist | Late 14 th Century | Taşpazarı, Ahiler Neighborhood (old names), İpekçiler Neighborhood |
| A.1.4. | A | Karahasan Mosque and Tomb (Garasen Mosque and Tomb) | Karahasan Bey, brother of Cüneyt Bey, son of Bademiye Emiri İbrahim Bahadır Bey | Early 15 th Century | İbni Miskin, Miskince Neighborhood (old names) Cumhuriyet Neighborhood, Cağaloğlu Street |
| A.1.5. | O | Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb (Kestaneli Mosque and Tomb) | Rum Mehmet Paşa, one of the viziers of Fatih Sultan Mehmet | Late 15 th Century | Bademye Neighborhood (old name), Duatepe Neighborhood |
| A.1.6. | O | Yavukluoğlu Complex (Yoğurtluoğlu Complex) | Yoğurtluoğlu / Yavukluoğlu Mehmet Paşa | Mid 15 th Century | Şeyhköy Neighborhood (old name) Turan Neighborhood, Beyler Deresi District |
| A.1.7. | O | Molla Mehmet Çelebi Mosque and Tomb (Toptepe, Şeyh Celil Mosque) | Molla Mehmet Çelebi | Late 15 th Century | Toptepe, Paşa Neighborhood |
| A.1.8. | O | Molla Arap Complex | Alaeddin Ali Arabi, Zeynuddin Ali Arabi, Molla Arap, Arap Şeyh, the <i>Şeyhülislam</i> of Bayezid II. | Late 15 th Century | Yahşibey Plain |
| A.1.9. | O | Şeyh Mosque, Madrasa, and Bath (Şeyh Nusreddin Building Complex) | Şeyh Nusrettin (Nasreddin) Efendi, brother of Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi, father of Molla Nasrullah Rumi, Abdülfetha Efendi | Late 16 th Century | Tarakçızade Neighborhood (old name), Bahariye Neighborhood, Keskin Street |
| A.1.10. | O | Yalınayak Mosque and Bath (Hasan Çavuş Mosque and Bath) | Hasan Çavuş, son of Grand Vizier Ferhat Paşa of Süleyman I and Selim II | Late 16 th Century | Yayla Fakih, Yalınayak Neighborhood (old name), Ertuğrul Neighborhood, Kaplan Çeşme Street |

Table 5.2 (continued)

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|--|---|--|---|
| A.1.11 | A | Çanakçı Masjid and Bath | Bahadır bin Seyf - ed- Dınül - Baytar | 1338-1339 | Çanakçı Neighborhood, (old name), Bahariye Neighborhood, Çatalçeşme, Naimoğlu St |
| A.2. SINGLE BUILDINGS | | | | | |
| A.2.1. MOSQUES | | | | | |
| App. No. | | Name | Founder | Date | Location |
| A.2.1.1. | A | Doğanbey (Doğancıyan, Güdük Minare Mosque) | Doğan Bey of Doğancılar, an Aydınoğulları aşireti | 14 th Century | Dere Neighborhood, Kayalık District |
| A.2.1.2. | A | Mehmet Bey Mosque | Mehmet Bey | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Alacamescit Neighborhood (old name), Dere Neighborhood, Alacamescit District, Sarıca Yusuf Street |
| A.2.1.3. | A | Gucur (Kucur, Kacur) Mosque | Gucur Bey, Şeyh Ahmet Efendi | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Taşpazarı, Ahiler, Seydi Neighborhood (old names), İpekçiler Neighborhood, between Gürcü Melek and Kucur Camii Şerifi Streets |
| A.2.1.4. | O | Leyse (Pir Ahmet) Mosque | Leysezade Pir Ahmet Çelebi, son of Mevlana Leysi Çelebi | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Şücaeddin, Doğancılar Neighborhood (old names), near old Animal Bazaar, Yeni Neighborhood, Paşa Cami District |
| A.2.1.5. | A | Great Mosque (Cami-i Atik, Cami-i Kebir, Cami-i üş Şehir) | İzmiroğlu Cüneyt Bey, brother of Karahasan Bey, son of Bademiye Emiri İbrahim Bahadır Bey | Early 15 th Century | Cami-i Kebir, Cami-i Atik Neighborhood (old names), Yeni Neighborhood, Atatürk Street |
| A.2.1.6. | A | Hüsamettin (Gön Pazarı, Hasır Pazarı, Balık Pazarı) Mosque | Hüsamettin Bey, Hüsam Dede, kadı late Aydınoğulları period | Late 14 th – Early 15 th C. | Hasır Pazarı (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Market Place |
| A.2.1.7. | O | Kara Hayrettin (Güdük Minare) Mosque | Kara Hayrettin, heir of Çandarlı dynasty, grand vizier (1368) | Early 15 th Century | Mısırlı Neighborhood (old name), at the junction of Cumhuriyet, Dumlupınar, and Ertuğrul Neighborhood |
| A.2.1.8. | O | Süratli Mehmet Paşa (Suretli Mehmet Paşa) Mosque | Süratli Mehmet Paşa | Early 15 th Century | Paşa Neighborhood, Suratlı District |
| A.2.1.9. | O | Yahşi Bey Mosque (Yeşil İmaret) | Halil Yahşi Bey bin Abdullah, Commander of Murat II, First Sancak Beyi of Aydın | 1441 | Yahşi Bey Neighborhood (old name), Yeni Neighborhood |

Table 5.2 (continued)

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|---|---|--|--|
| A.2.1.1 0. | O | Gazazhane (Alacaçeşme Pazarı) Mosque | Hacı Sinan oğlu Hacı Kemal | 1457 | İpekçiler, Kazazlar Neighborhood (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Fevzipaşa Street |
| A.2.1.1 1. | O | Tahtakale (Hacı İsmail Ağa) Mosque | Emir Hacı İsmail Ağa, Hoca Emir | 1498- 1499 | Tahtakale Neighborhood (old name), Yeni Neighborhood |
| A.2.1.1 2. | A ? | Narin Mosque (Hacı Sinan, Yassı Yol Masjid) | Hacı Sinan Efendi | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Bahariye Neighborhood, Narin Street |
| A.2.1.1 3. | O | Kazanoğlu Mosque | Kazanoğlu / Kazganoğlu Mehmet Bey / Hacı Fakih, son of Halil Bey, | 15 th Century | Hacı Fakihlar Neighborhood, Çeşme Alanı District (old name), İstiklal Neighborhood |
| A.2.1.1 4. | O | Fadıloğlu (Araplar, Sarı Ali Mosque) Mosque | Fadıloğlu, Sarı Ali, Fazlızade | Late 15 th Century | İpekçizade, İhsaniye, Hamidiye Neighborhoods (old names), İstiklal Neighborhood, Karagazi Street |
| A.2.1.1 5. | O | Lütfü Paşa (Paşa) Mosque | Lütfü Paşa, former Sancak Beyi of Aydın, the groom and grand vizier of Selim I, renowned historian | Early 16 th Century | old Animal Bazaar, Yeni Neighborhood |
| A.2.1.1 6. | O | Yeni Mosque | Behram Kethüda, kethüda and vizier of Selim II, Beylerbeyi of Diyarbakır and Sivas, governor of Yemen and Kahire | Late 16 th Century | Alacaçeşme Yukarı Bazaar District, (old name), Kurtuluş Neighborhood |
| A.2.2. MASJIDS | | | | | |
| App. No. | | Name | Founder | Date | Location |
| A.2.2.1. | O | Neslihan (Hasan Çelebi) Masjid | Hasan Çelebi, brother of Sinaneddin Yusuf | Early 16 th Century | Hasan Çelebi Neighborhood (old name), Bahariye Neighborhood, Derekahve District |
| A.2.2.2. | O | Dar-ül Hadis (Aydınlı Galip) Masjid | Alaeddin Sultan, Hoca Alaeddin, Alaeddin Halveti, exile with Molla Arap, or Alamadan Dede | Late 15 th Century | Yeniceköy Neighborhood (old name), Ketenciler Neighborhood |
| A.2.2.3. | A | Yayla Fakih Masjid | Yayla Fakih or Yayla Baba | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Yayla Fakih Neighborhood (old name), Ertuğrul Neighborhood, Öncü Street |

Table 5.2 (continued)

| A.2.3. HANS | | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| App. No. | | Name | Founder | Date | Location |
| A.2.3.1. | O | Çöplü (Çöplüce, Hacı İlyas, Kapan) Hanı | Halil Yahşi Bey bin Abdullah, Commander of Murat II, First Sancak Beyi of Aydın | Mid 15 th Century | Hasır Pazarı / Gön Pazarı (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Market Place, Gümüşpala Street |
| A.2.3.2. | O | Kutu (Kütahya) Hanı | Halil Yahşi Bey bin Abdullah, Commander of Murat II, First Sancak Beyi of Aydın | Early - Mid 15 th Century | Market Place, Tahtakale Square (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Tahtakale Square |
| A.2.3.3. | O | Bakır (Kurşunlu) Han | Lütfü Paşa, former Sancak Beyi of Aydın, the groom and grand vizier of Selim I, renowned historian | Early 16 th Century | Saraçlar Market Place (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Atatürk Square |
| A.2.3.4. | O | Ali Efe (Abdüsselam, Kara Hüseyin, Serban, and Savran) Hanı | Abdüsselam Efendi, Defterdar [Head of Treasury] of Süleyman I | 16 th Century | İpekçiler, Kazazlar Neighborhood (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Bedesten Street |
| A.2.3.5. | O | Yeni (Matyos, Dellaloğlu) Han | Lütfü Paşa, former Sancak Beyi of Aydın, the groom and grand vizier of Selim I, renowned historian | Early 16 th Century | In old Animal Bazaar, Yeni Neighborhood, Lütfü Paşa Street |
| A.2.3.6. | O | Bedesten | Abdüllatif İbn-i Melek, İzzeddin Ferišteoğlu, Abdüllatif Ferište | Early 15 th Century | Old Bazaar, Upper Market Place (old name), Yeni Neighborhood, Uzun Çarşı, Gazahane Street |

Table 5. 3 List of Architectural Foundations and their Facilities in Tire under the Aydınoğulları and Ottoman Rule (14th - 16th Centuries)

| A.1. BUILDING GROUPS | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------|--|--|
| App. No. | | Name | Date | Existing Structures | Others / Attributions |
| A.1.1. | A | Hafsa Hatun Mosque and Complex | Mid 14 th century | Mosque, bath | Tomb, dervish lodge, public kitchen, fountain, mills |
| A.1.2. | A | Kazirzade Complex (Cazıroğlu, Kadızade Complex) | Late 14 th century | Mosque, madrasa, <i>şadırvan</i> | Public Kitchen, han |
| A.1.3. | A | Karakadı Mecdetin Complex (Karağazi, Uçlala, Üçlüle, Kocabıyık Complex) | Late 14 th Century | Mosque, madrasa, tomb, bath | Han |
| A.1.4. | A | Karahasan Mosque and Tomb (Garasen Mosque and Tomb) | Early 15 th Century | Mosque, tomb | Madrasa |
| A.1.5. | O | Rum Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Tomb (Kestaneli Mosque and Tomb) | Late 15 th Century | Mosque, tomb, <i>şadırvan</i> | Bath, han |
| A.1.6. | O | Yavukluoğlu Complex (Yoğurtluoğlu Complex) | Mid 15 th Century | Mosque, madrasa, observatory, public kitchen | Bath, şadırvan, library, muvakkithane |
| A.1.7. | O | Molla Mehmet Çelebi Mosque and Tomb (Toptepe, Şeyh Celil Mosque) | Late 15 th Century | Mosque, tomb | Madrasa, public kitchen |
| A.1.8. | O | Molla Arap Complex | Late 15 th Century | Mosque, madrasa, bath | Public kitchen, shops |
| A.1.9. | O | Şeyh Mosque, Madrasa, and Bath (Şeyh Nusreddin Building Complex) | Late 16 th Century | Mosque, bath, <i>hazire</i> , tomb or madrasa room | |
| A.1.10 | O | Yalınayak Mosque and Bath (Hasan Çavuş Mosque and Bath) | Late 16 th Century | Mosque, bath, <i>şadırvan</i> | Madrasa, tomb, fountain |
| A.1.11 | A | Çanakçı Masjid and Bath | 1338-1339 | Masjid, bath | |

Table 5.3 (continued)

| A.2. SINGLE BUILDINGS | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|--|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| A.2.1. MOSQUES | | | | | |
| App. No. | | Name | Date | Existing Structures | Others / Attributions |
| A.2.1. 1. | A | Doğanbey (Doğancıyan, Güdük Minare Mosque) | 14 th Century | Mosque | - |
| A.2.1. 2. | A | Mehmet Bey Mosque | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Mosque, fountain | Madrasa |
| A.2.1. 3. | A | Gucur (Kucur, Kacur) Mosque | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Mosque | - |
| A.2.1. 4. | O | Leyse (Pir Ahmet) Mosque | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Mosque | - |
| A.2.1. 5. | A | Great Mosque (Cami-i Atik, Cami-i Kebir, Cami-i üş Şehir) | Early 15 th Century | Friday Mosque | - |
| A.2.1. 6. | A | Hüsamettin (Gön Pazarı, Hasır Pazarı, Balık Pazarı) Mosque | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Mosque, shops | - |
| A.2.1. 7. | O | Kara Hayrettin (Güdük Minare) Mosque | Early 15 th Century | Mosque, fountain | Madrasa, bath |
| A.2.1. 8. | O | Süratli Mehmet Paşa (Suretli, Suratlı Mehmet Paşa) Mosque | Early 15 th Century | Mosque | Madrasa, bath, fountain |
| A.2.1. 9. | O | Yahşi Bey Mosque (Yeşil İmaret) | 1441 | Mosque including auxiliary spaces | Public kitchen? |
| A.2.1. 10. | O | Gazazhane (Alacaçeşme Pazarı) Mosque | 1457 | Mosque | - |
| A.2.1. 11. | O | Tahtakale (Hacı İsmail Ağa) Mosque | 1498-1499 | Mosque, shops | - |
| A.2.1. 12. | A ? | Narin Mosque (Hacı Sinan, Yassı Yol Masjid) | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Mosque | Madrasa, tomb, hazire, bath |
| A.2.1. 13. | O | Kazanoğlu Mosque | 15 th Century | Mosque | Madrasa, tomb, public kitchen |
| A.2.1. 14. | O | Fadıloğlu (Araplar, Sarı Ali Mosque) Mosque | Late 15 th Century | Mosque | - |
| A.2.1. 15. | O | Lütfü Paşa (Paşa) Mosque | Early 16 th Century | Mosque, <i>şadırvan</i> | Madrasa, hospital, bath, hans, public kitchen, fountains |
| A.2.1. 16. | O | Yeni Mosque | Late 16 th Century | Mosque, <i>şadırvan</i> | - |

Table 5.3 (continued)

| A.2.2. MASJIDS | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|--|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| App. No. | | Name | Date | Existing Structures | Others / Attributions |
| A.2.2.1. | O | Neslihan (Hasan Çelebi) Maşjid | Early 16 th Century | Masjid | Madrassa |
| A.2.2.2. | O | Dar-ül Hadis (Aydınlı Galip) Maşjid | Late 15 th Century | Masjid | - |
| A.2.2.3. | A | Yayla Fakih Maşjid | Late 14 th – Early 15 th Century | Masjid | - |
| A.2.3. HANS | | | | | |
| App. No. | | Name | Date | Existing Structures | Others / Attributions |
| A.2.3.1. | O | Çöplü (Çöplüce, Hacı İlyas, Kapan) Hanı | Mid 15 th Century | Han | - |
| A.2.3.2. | O | Kutu (Kütahya) Hanı | Early - Mid 15 th Century | Han | - |
| A.2.3.3. | O | Bakır (Kurşunlu) Han | Early 16 th Century | Han | - |
| A.2.3.4. | O | Ali Efe (Abdüsselam, Kara Hüseyin, Serban, and Savran) Hanı | 16 th Century | Han | - |
| A.2.3.5. | O | Yeni (Matyos, Dellaloğlu) Han | Early 16 th Century | Han | - |
| A.2.3.6. | O | Bedesten | Early 15 th Century | Bedesten | - |

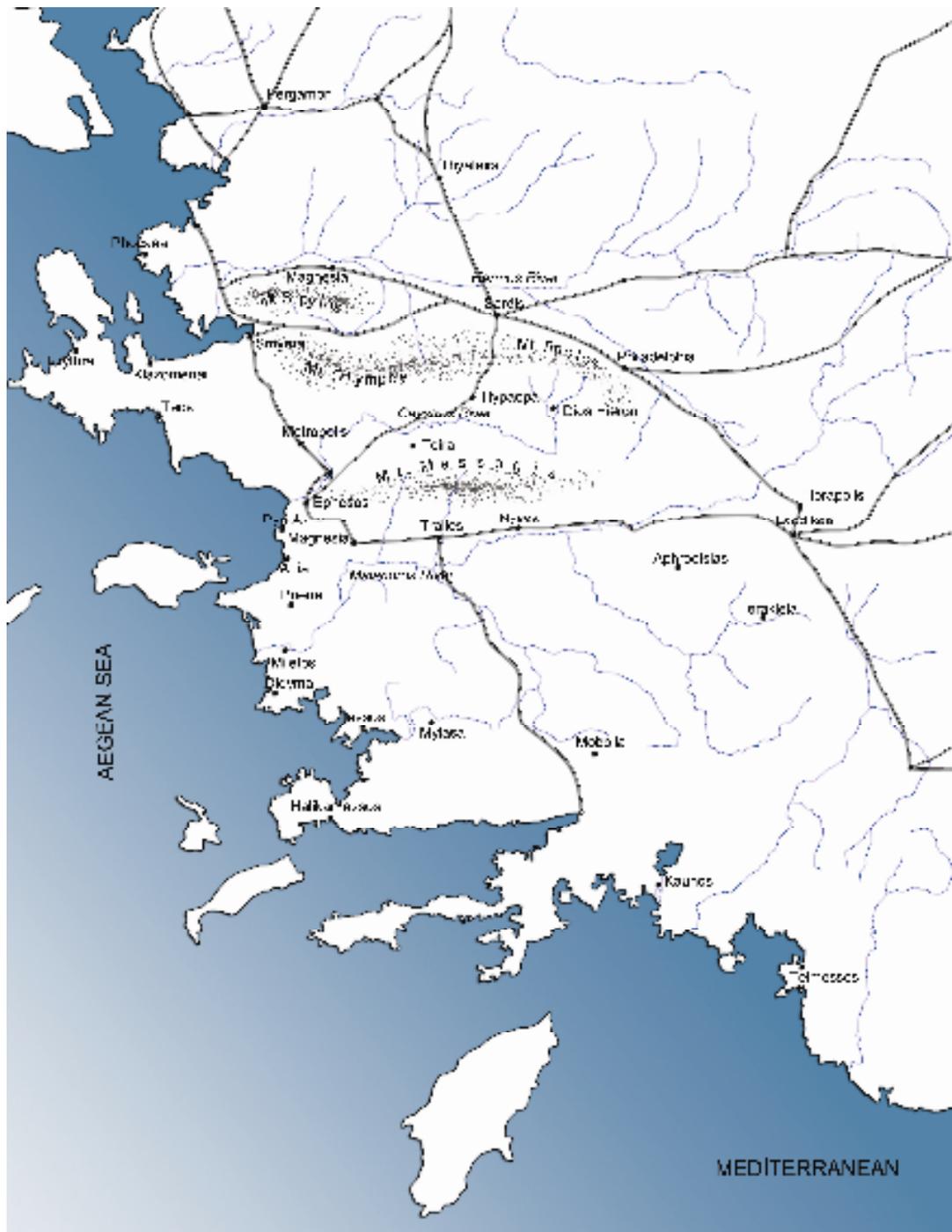


Figure 2. 2 Western Anatolian Road and Urban Network before the Turkish Infiltration (after Ramsay and French)

Source: Ramsay W. M. (1890), *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, (J. Murray trans.) London: Royal Geographical Society (no page number),

French D. (1981), *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor; the Pilgrim's Roads*, London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Press. BAR International Services: 107. Maps 6, 11.



Figure 2. 3 Routes Followed by Crusaders (1147-1148)

Source: Demirkent I. (2002), “Bizans’ın Ege Bölgesinden Güneye İnen Yolları”, *Anadolu’da Tarihi Yollar ve Şehirler Semineri*, (L. Akgünlü, A. Terzi eds.) 21 Mayıs 2001, İstanbul: Globus Dünya Basımevi, Map 3.

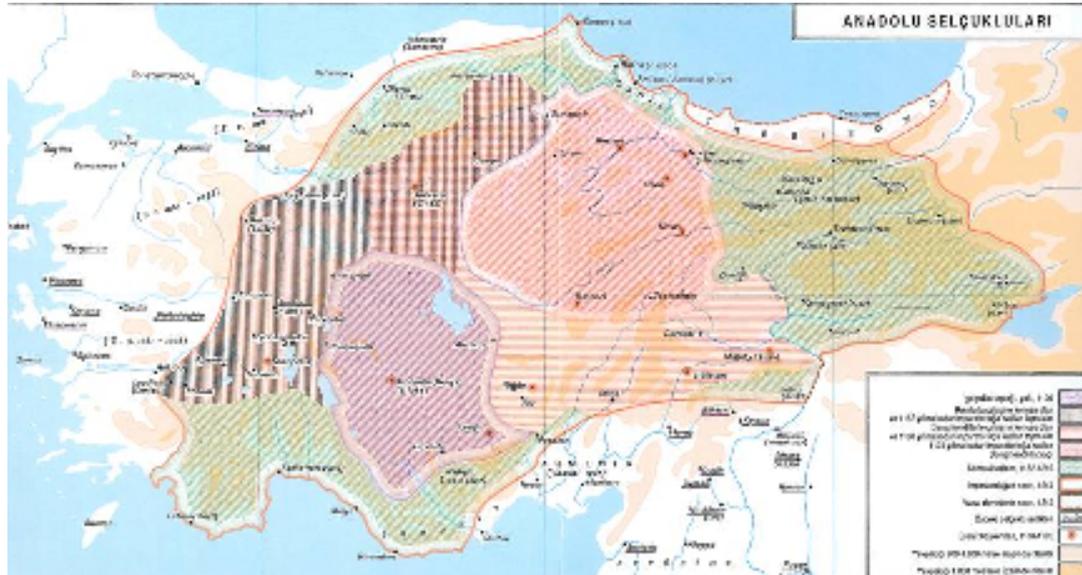


Figure 2. 4 Anatolian Seljuk State

Source: Pitcher D. E. (1972), *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire from Earliest Times to the End of the Sixteenth Century*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, Map. 6.



Figure 2. 7 The Territory of Aydınogullari Principality (redrawn after Akın)

Source: Akın H. (1968), *Aydınogullari Tarihi Hakkında Bir Araştırma*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, p. 18.



Figure 2. 8 Boarding on and Preparations for a Crusade Depicted in a 14th Century French Manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

Source: Abulafia D. (ed.) (2005), *Tarih Boyunca Akdeniz Uygarlıkları*, (N. Elhüseyni trans.) İstanbul: Oğlak Güzel Kitaplar, p. 190.



Figure 2. 9 Latin Merchant Depicted in a 15th Century Florentine Gravure, British Museum London

Source: Abulafia D. (ed.) (2005), *Tarih Boyunca Akdeniz Uygarlıkları*, (N. Elhüseyni trans.) İstanbul: Oğlak Güzel Kitaplar, p. 198.

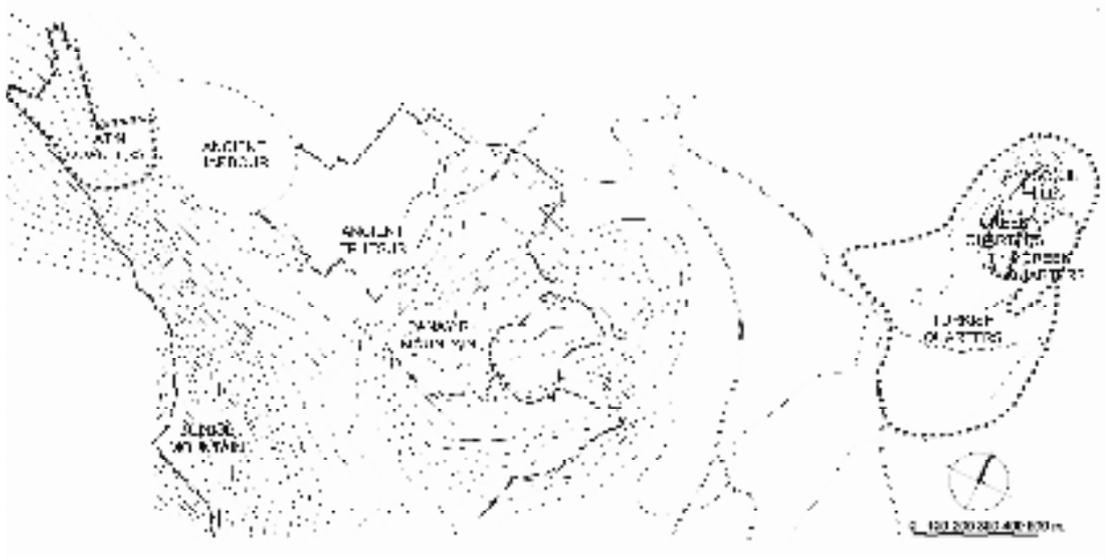


Figure 2. 10 Turkish, Greek, and Latin Quarters in Ayasuluk

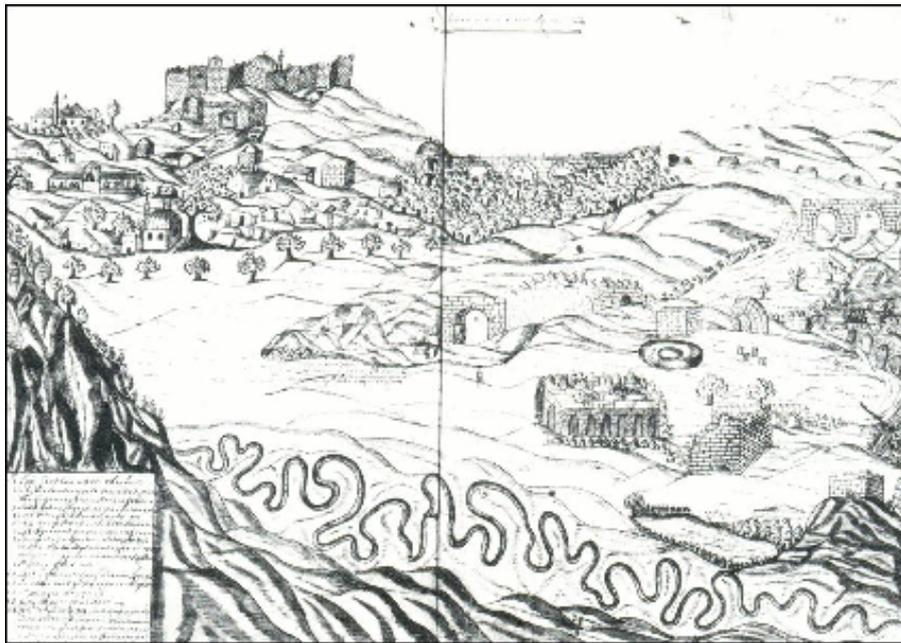


Figure 2. 11 Ayasoluk in 1670, drawn by John Covel in British Library, Add. MS 22912 ff. 43v-44
 Source: Foss, C. (1979), *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City*, London: Cambridge University Press, p. 142.



Figure 2. 12 Trade and Production in Western Anatolia during the Principality Period



Figure 2. 13 Shops Inserted to the Entrance Façade of İsa Bey Mosque in Selçuk

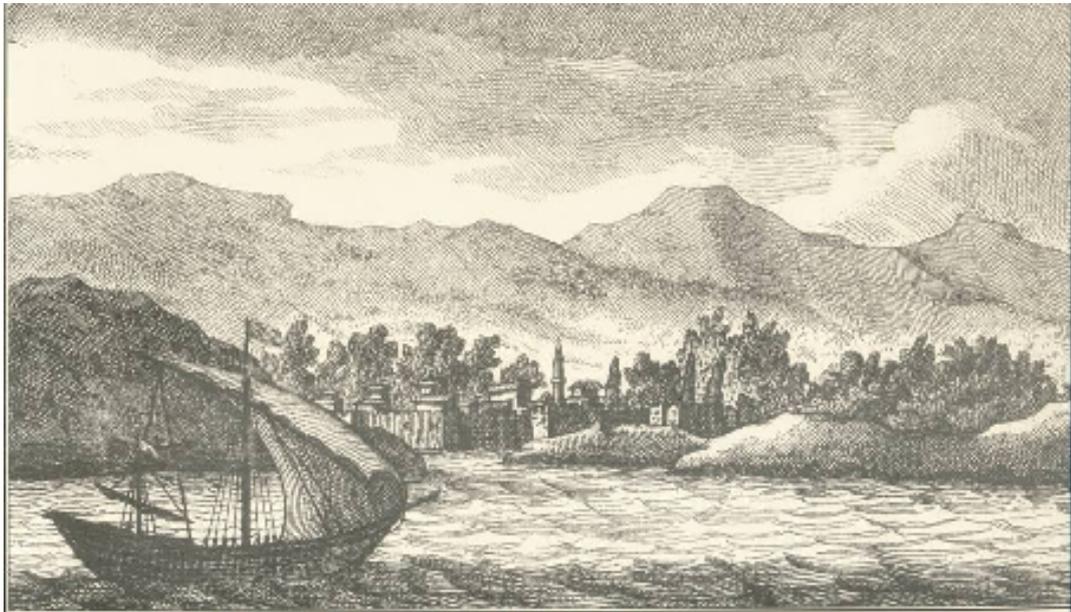


Figure 2. 14 Old Phocaea in the 17th Century Drawn by Corneille Le Bryun, *Reisen van Cornelis de Bryun*, Delft, 1698, pl. 53

Source: Sevim M. (prep) (2002), *Turkey in Gravures V, Anatolia 2*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pl. 87.



Figure 2. 15 New Phocaea in the 17th Century Drawn by Corneille Le Bryun, *Reisen van Cornelis de Bryun*. Delft, 1698, pl. 58

Source: Sevim M. (prep). (2002), *Turkey in Gravures V, Anatolia 2*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pl. 96.

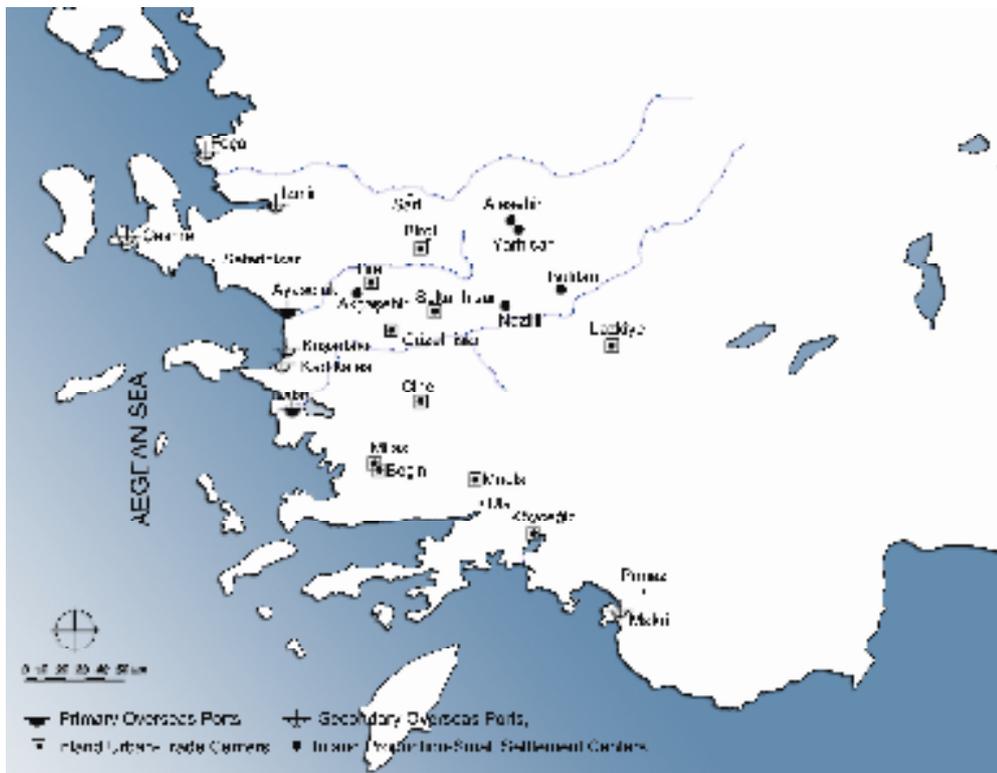


Figure 2. 16 Urban Network of Western Anatolia during the Principality Period (14th – mid 15th Centuries)



Figure 2. 17 View of İstanbul in Late 16th century, by Correr, Cod. Sagredo, PD 5702
 Source: Dursteler E. R. (2006), *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

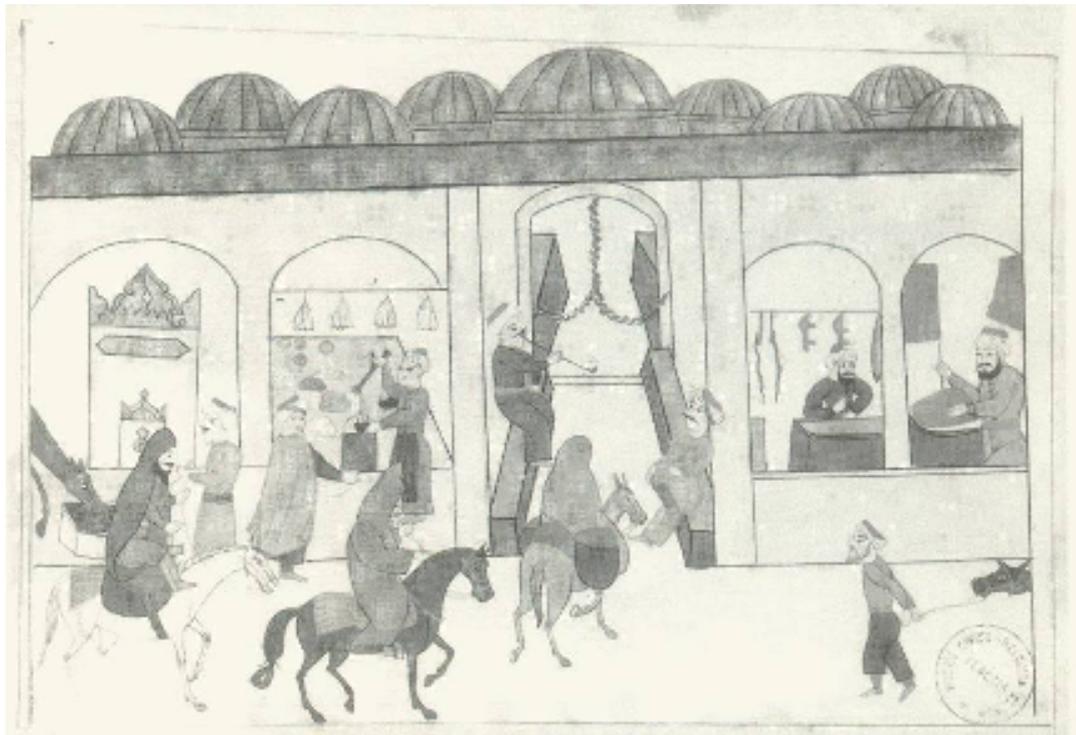


Figure 2. 18 Marketplace Scene in İstanbul, Memorie Turche, Cod. Cicogna, 1971, c.19r
 Source: Dursteler E. R. (2006), *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.



Figure 2. 19 Trade Routes between East and West during the 16th Century

Source: İnalçık H. (2003), *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ (1300-1600)*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, pp. 128-129.

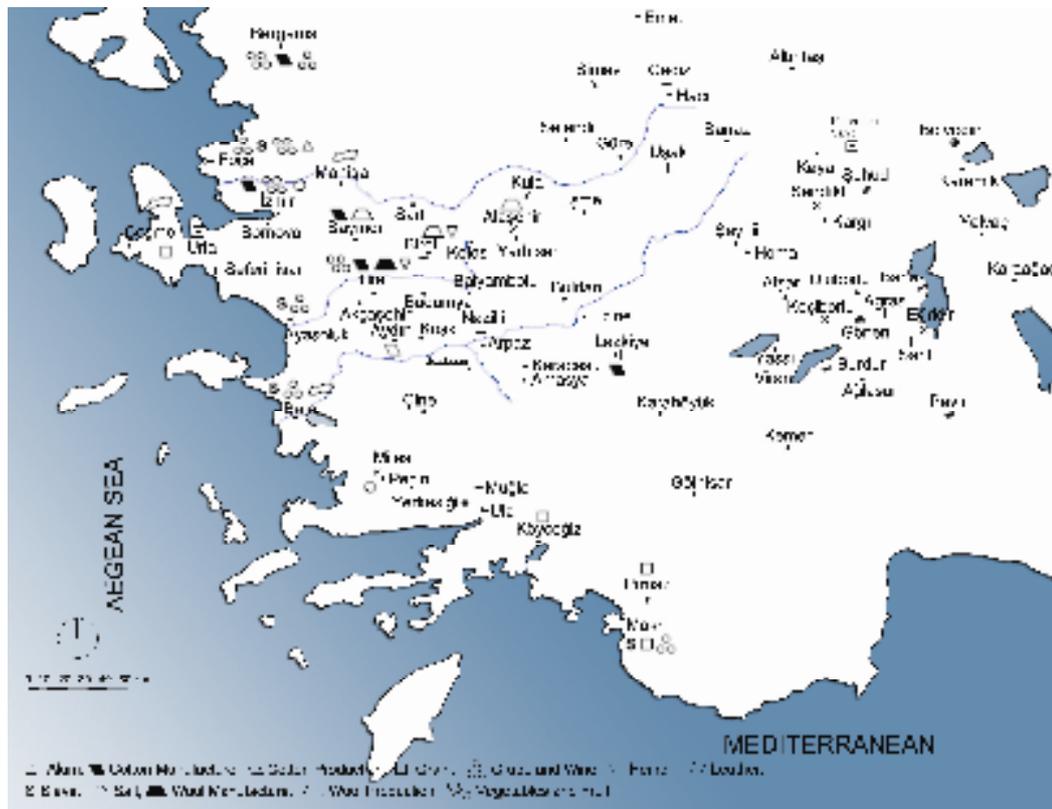


Figure 2. 20 Trade and Production in Western Anatolia during the Ottoman Period

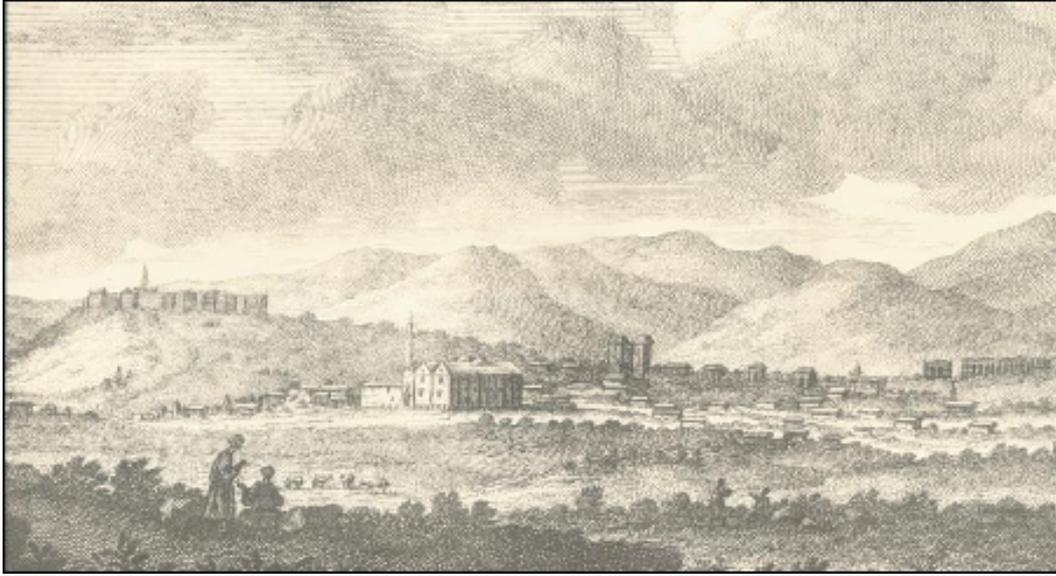


Figure 2. 21 Ayasoluk in the 17th Century Drawn by Corneille Le Bryun, *Reisen van Cornelis de Bryun*. Delft, 1698, pl. 16

Source: Sevim M. (prep) (2002), *Turkey in Gravures V, Anatolia 2*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, pl. 91.



Figure 2. 22 Ragusan, Jewish, Armenian and Greek Merchants in the Ottoman Lands, Drawn by de Nicolay on 16th Century French Wood, *The Navigations* (Special Collections, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago)

Source: Abulafia D. (ed.) (2005), *Tarih Boyunca Akdeniz Uygarlıkları*, (N. Elhüseyni trans.) İstanbul: Oğlak Güzel Kitaplar, p.227, Goffman D. (1990), *İzmir and the Levantine World 1550-1650*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

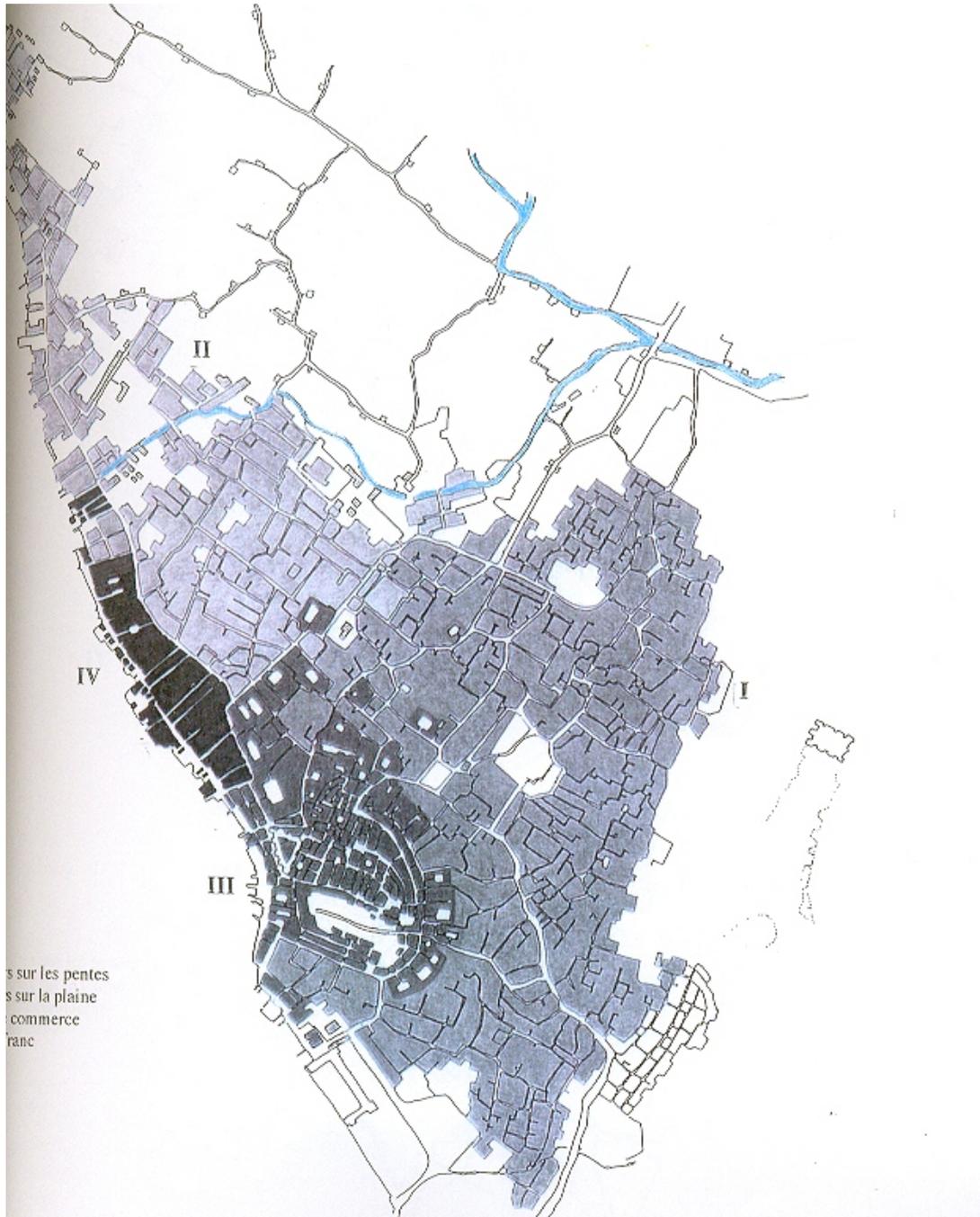


Figure 2. 23 The Configuration of the Urban Fabric of İzmir during the 19th Century

Source: Bilsel C. F. (1996), *Cultures et Fonctionnalités: L'Évolution de la Morphologie Urbaine de la Ville d'İzmir aux XIX^e et XX^e Siècles*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Paris: Université de Paris X – Nanterre, p. 129



Figure 2. 24 Towns and Markets in Western Anatolia (redrawn after Faroqhi)

Source: Faroqhi S. (1979), "Sixteenth Century Periodic Markets in Various Anatolian *Sancaks*: İçel, Hamid, Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Aydın and Menteşe", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, XXII, Map 1, p. 33.

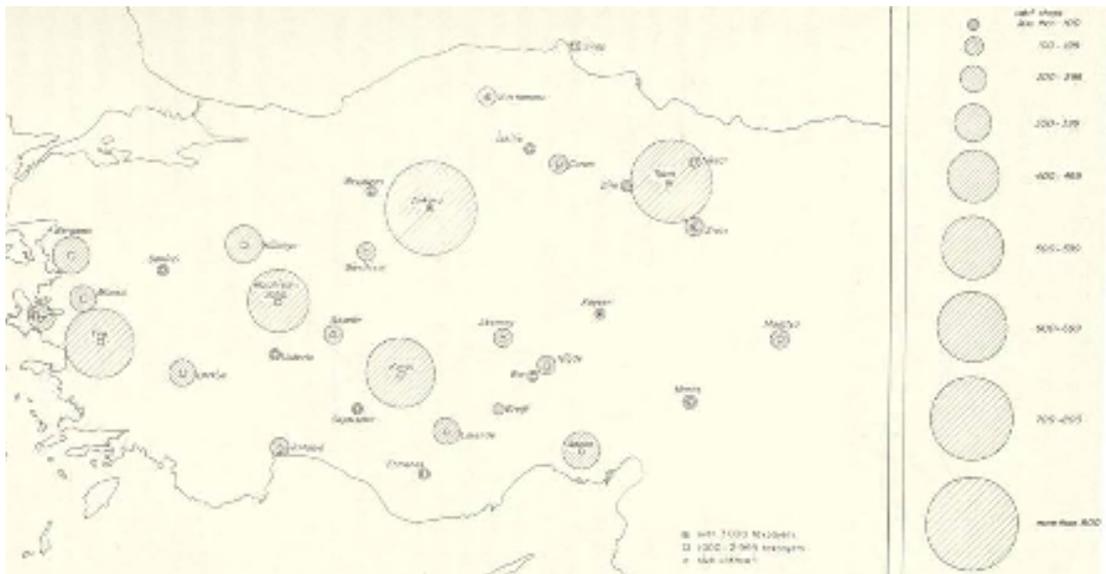


Figure 2. 25 Distribution of Vakif Shops in the Late 16th Century Anatolia

Source: Faroqhi S. (1984), *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting, 1520-1650*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Map 4. p. 39.

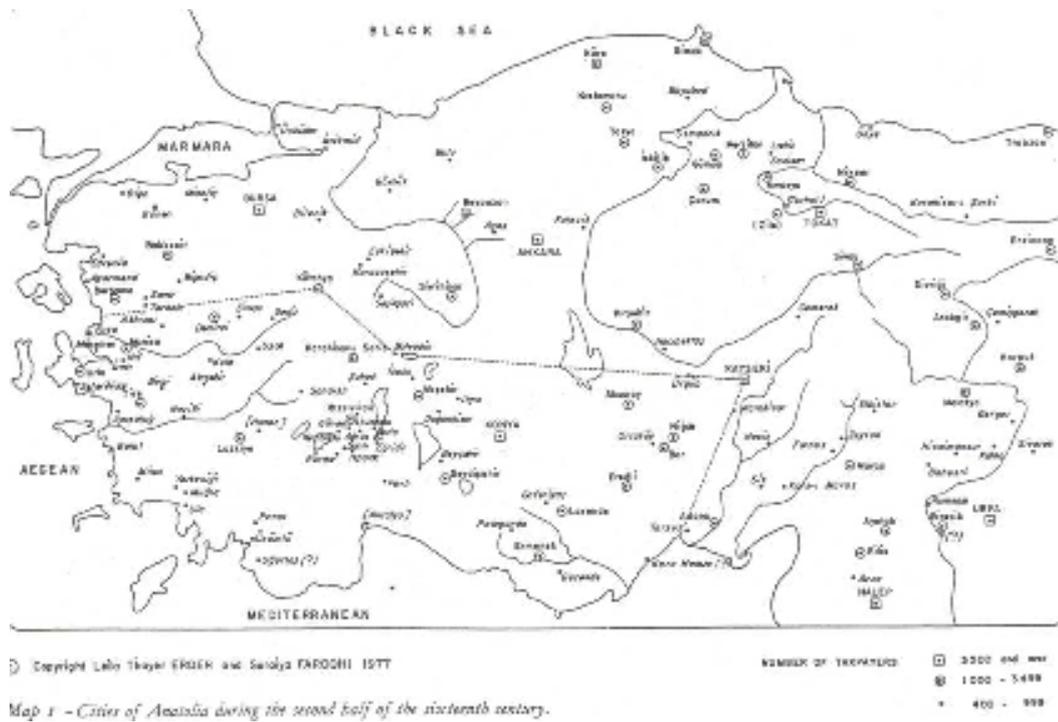


Figure 2. 26 Urban Network of Western Anatolia during the Ottoman Period (second half 16th Century)

Source: Faroqhi S., Erder L. (1980). "The Development of the Anatolian Urban Network during the Sixteenth Century". *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. XXIII. Map 1. p. 273.

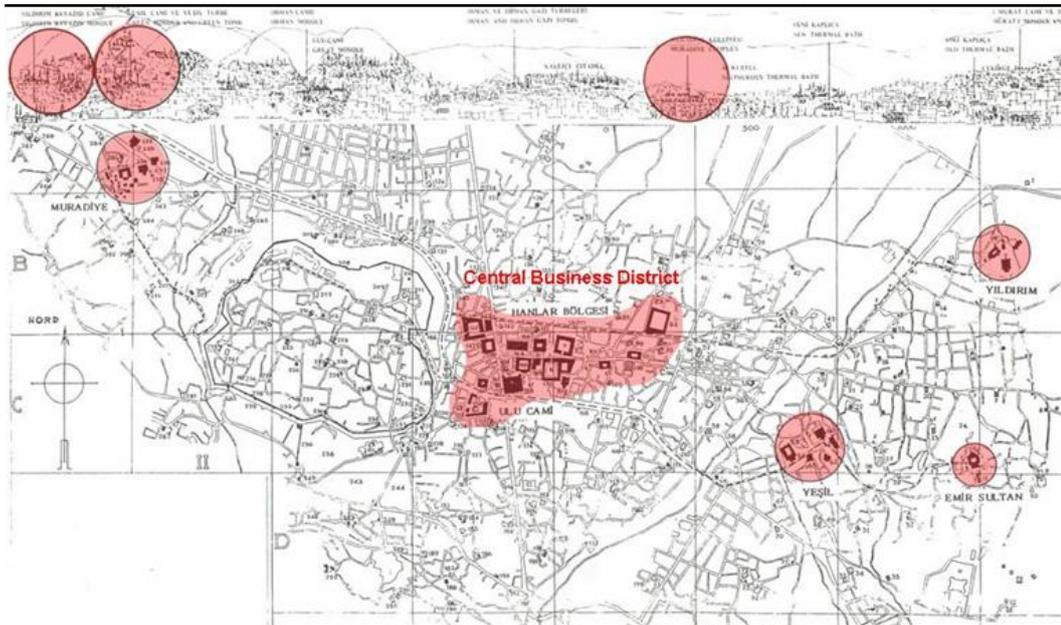


Figure 2. 27 Plan and Elevation of Bursa, after Gabriel and Tarih İçinde Bursa
 Source: Gabriel A. (1948), *Une Capitale Turque: Brousse*, Paris: E. De Boccard. ____
 (undated), *Tarih İçinde Bursa*. Bursa Municipality Publications



Figure 2. 28 Urban Network of Western Anatolia during the Ottoman Period according to Trade Activities (mid 15th – 16th Centuries)



Figure 3. 1 Ancient Smyrna (700-330 B.C.)

Source: Akurgal E. (1996), "Housing, Settlement and Urban Planning in Western Anatolia (3000-30 BC)", *Housing and Settlement in Anatolia, A Historical Perspective, Habitat II*, (Y. Sey ed.) İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, pl. 24, p. 141.

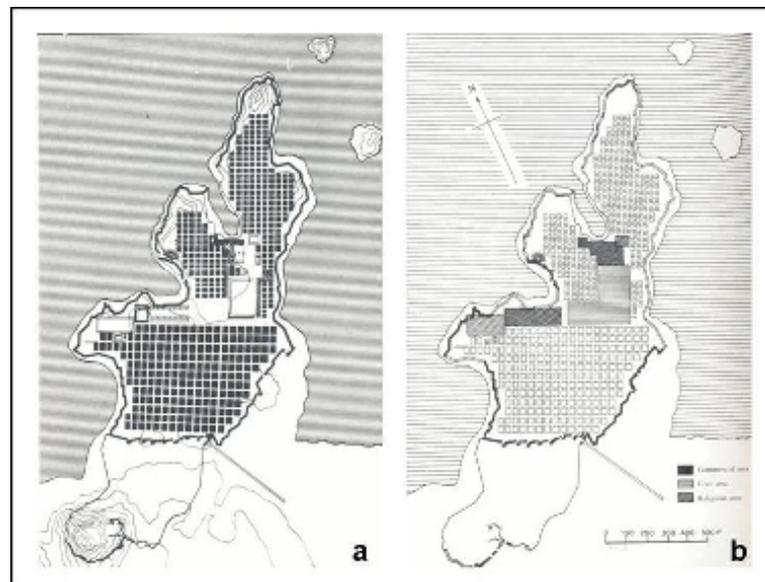


Figure 3. 2 a) Plan of Miletos, Carried about by Hippodamus after the Persian Wars in the 5th century B.C. The Blocks Measure 50*52 mts. b) Diagram Showing the Zonal Divisions of Classical Miletos

Source: Benevolo L. (1981), *The History of the City*, (G. Culverwell trans.) (2nd Edition, 1st Edition in 1980) Cambridge – Massachusetts: MIT Press, Fig. 184-185, p. 110.

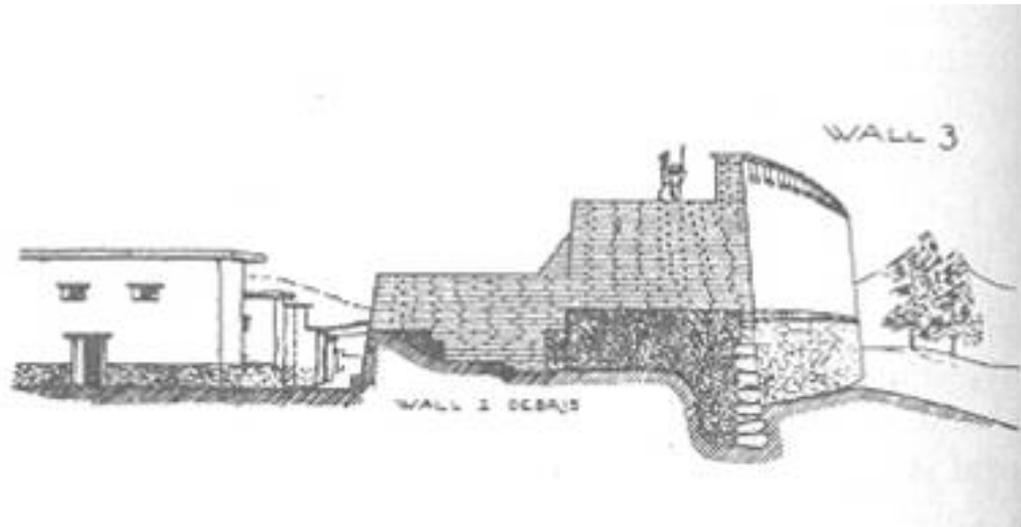


Figure 3. 3 Reconstruction of Fortifications in Smyrna, drawn by R. N. Nicholls, 1958, Annual of British School of Athens, liii-liv, Pl. 7. p. 51

Source: Wycherley R. E. (1993), *Antik Çağda Kentler Nasıl Kuruldu?*, (N. Nirven and N. Başgelen trans.) (3rd Revised Edition) İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, fig. 8, p.38.

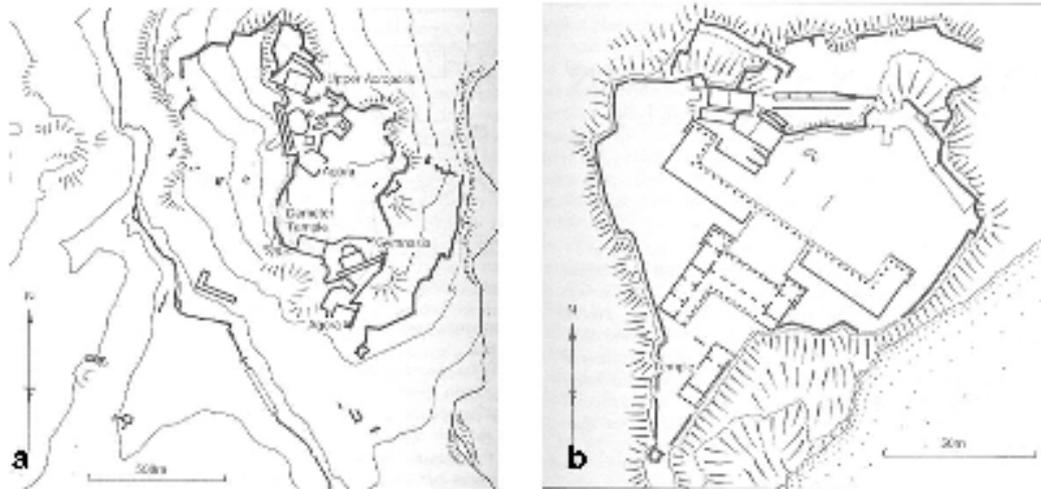


Figure 3. 4 a) General Site Plan of Hellenistic Pergamon, (example for scenographic planning), b) Site Planning in the Acropolis of Lindos, Rhodes (example of rational planning)

Source: Owens E. J. (1991), *The City in the Greek and Roman World*, London and New York: Routledge, Fig. 29, 32, pp. 88, 93.

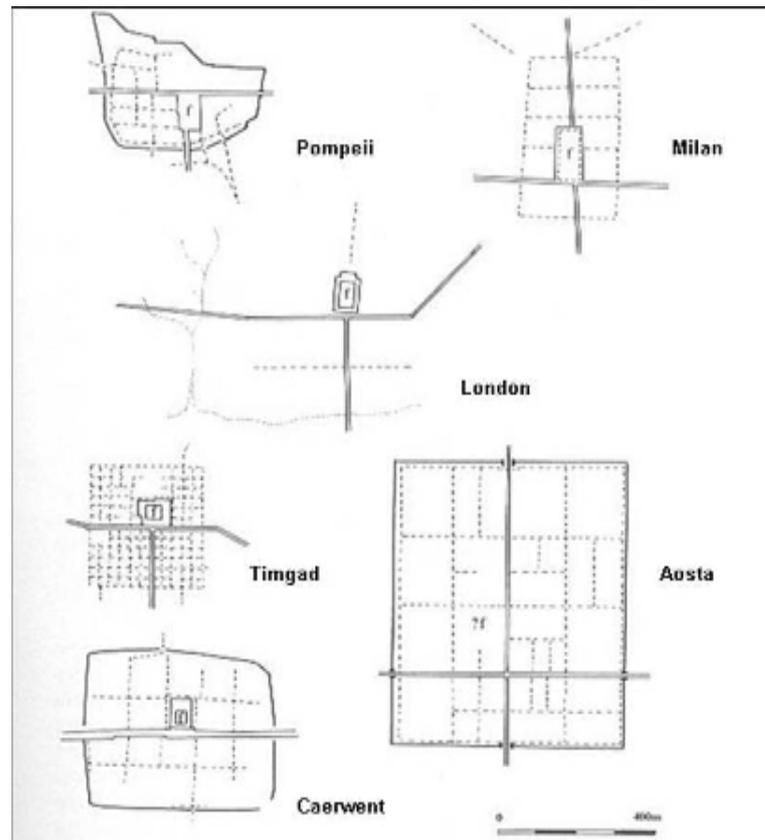


Figure 3.5 Plans of Selected Roman Towns

Source: Perring D. (1994), "Spatial Organization and Social Change in Roman Towns", *City and Country in the Ancient World*, (J. Rich, A. Wallace-Hadrill eds.) Fig. 1, p. 277.



Figure 3.6 Reconstruction Drawing of Roman Ephesus, drawn by E. Falkener in 1859

Source: Scherrer P. (ed.) (2000), *Ephesus, the New Guide* (authorised by Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut & Efes Müzesi Selçuk) İzmir: Ege Yayınları, p.25.

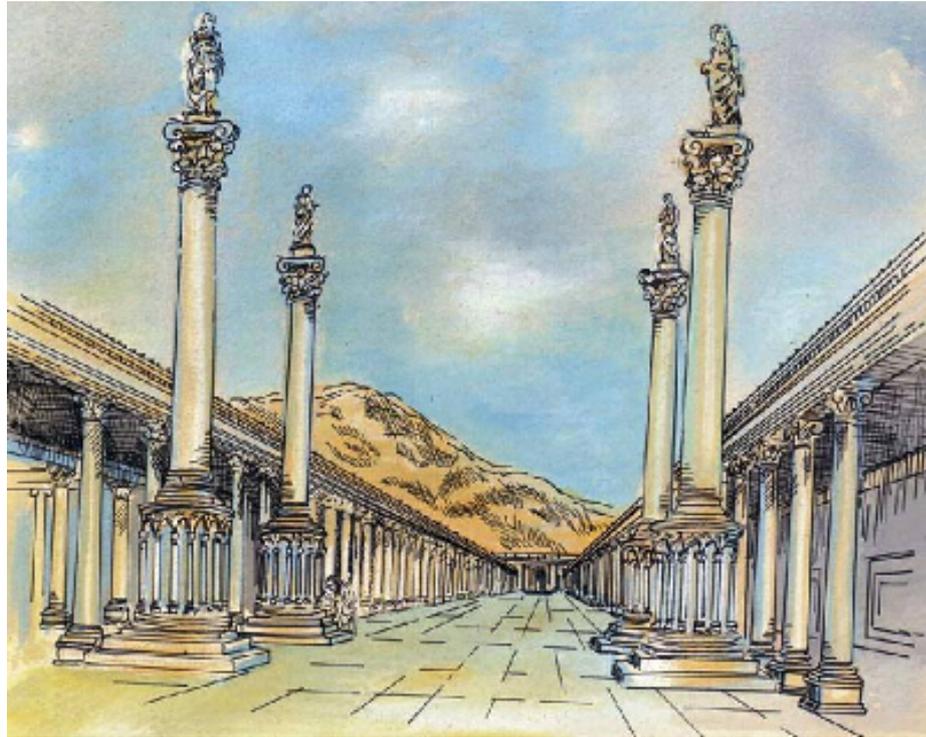


Figure 3. 7 Reconstruction of Roman Colonnaded Street, Arcadiane in Ephesus in Late Antiquity at the Beginning of Gradual Remodeling

Source: Erdemgil S. (1996), *Ephesus, Ruins and Museum*, İstanbul: Net Yayınları, p. 55

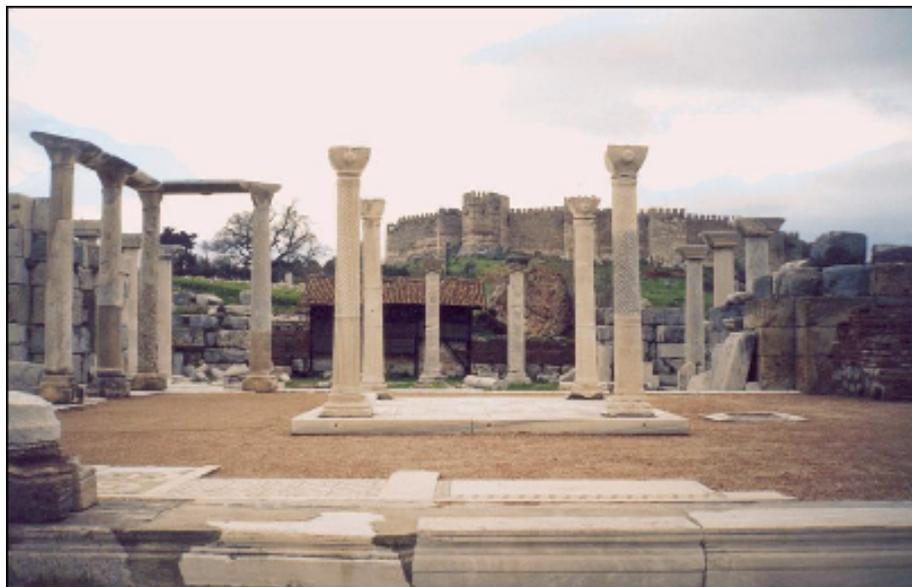


Figure 3. 8 View from the Remains of Church of St. John towards the Citadel in Ephesus



Figure 3. 9 An Aerial View towards Ayasoluk Hill, showing Inner Citadel, Remains of the Church of St. John, and İsa Bey Mosque

Source: Scherrer P. (ed.) (2000), *Ephesus, the New Guide*, (authorised by Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut & Efes Müzesi Selçuk) İzmir: Ege Yayınları, p.3.

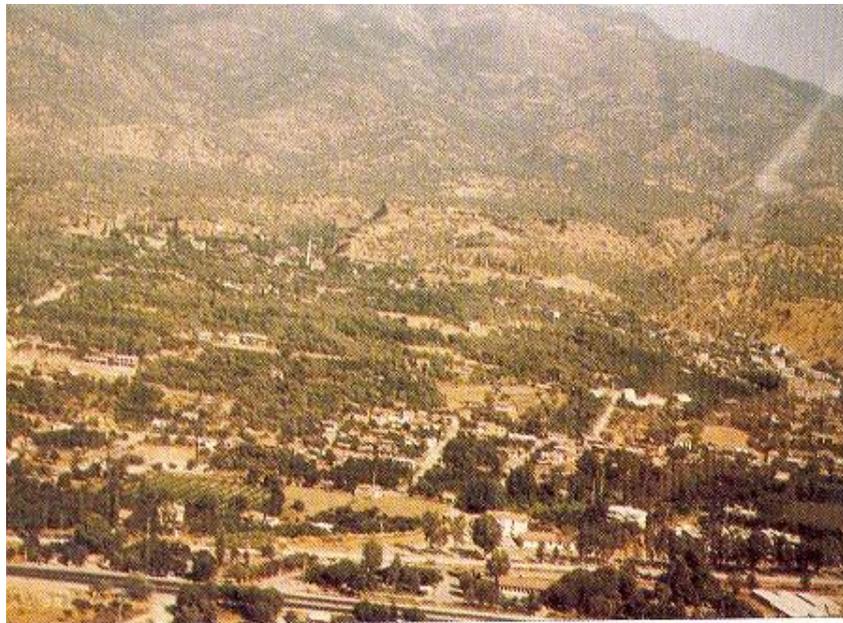


Figure 3. 10 Aerial View towards Ancient Nysa and Modern Sultanhisar

Source: İdil V. (1999), *Nysa and Acharaca*, İstanbul: Yaşar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı, pl. 1, p. 28

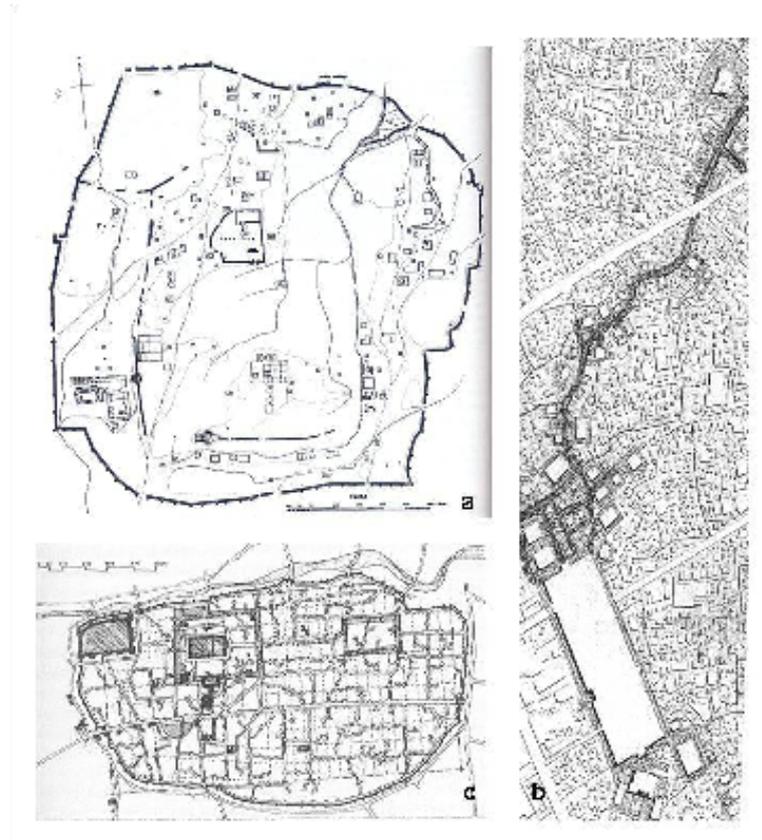


Figure 3.11 a) Plan of İdikut (example for Central Asian city), b) Plan of Isfahan (example for Iranian city), c) Plan of Damascus (example for Arab city)

Source: a) Cezar M. (1977), *Anadolu Öncesi Türklerde Şehir ve Mimarlık*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Fig. 27, p. 66, b) Kostof S. (1992), *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form through History*, Boston: Little Brown, Fig. 80. p. 99, c) AlSayyad N. (1991), *Cities and Caliphs; On the Genesis of Arab Muslim Urbanism*, New York: Greenwood Press, Fig. 4.10, p. 97.

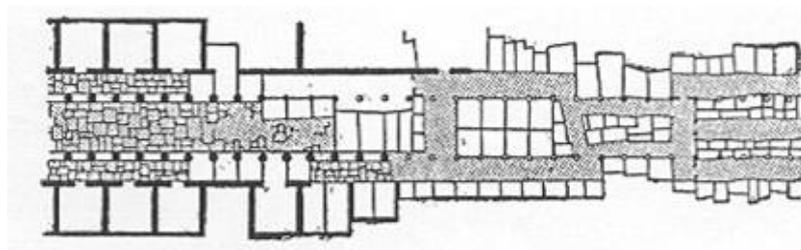


Figure 3.12 J. Sauvaget's Hypothetical Reconstruction of the Process whereby a Colonnaded Street in a City of the Late Antique East was Gradually Transformed into a Medieval Arab Suq. The Drawing Needs to be Read as a Chronological Process from Left to Right: The Monumental Porticoes and Thoroughfare are gradually Dismantled and Engulfed by a Teeming Area of Shops, Workshops, and Alleyways, drawn by Sauvaget, 1934

Source: Ward - Perkins B. (1996, 1998), "Urban Continuity", *Towns in Transition: Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (N. Christie and S. T. Loseby eds.) Suffolk: Ashgate Publishers, Fig. 1-2, p. 11

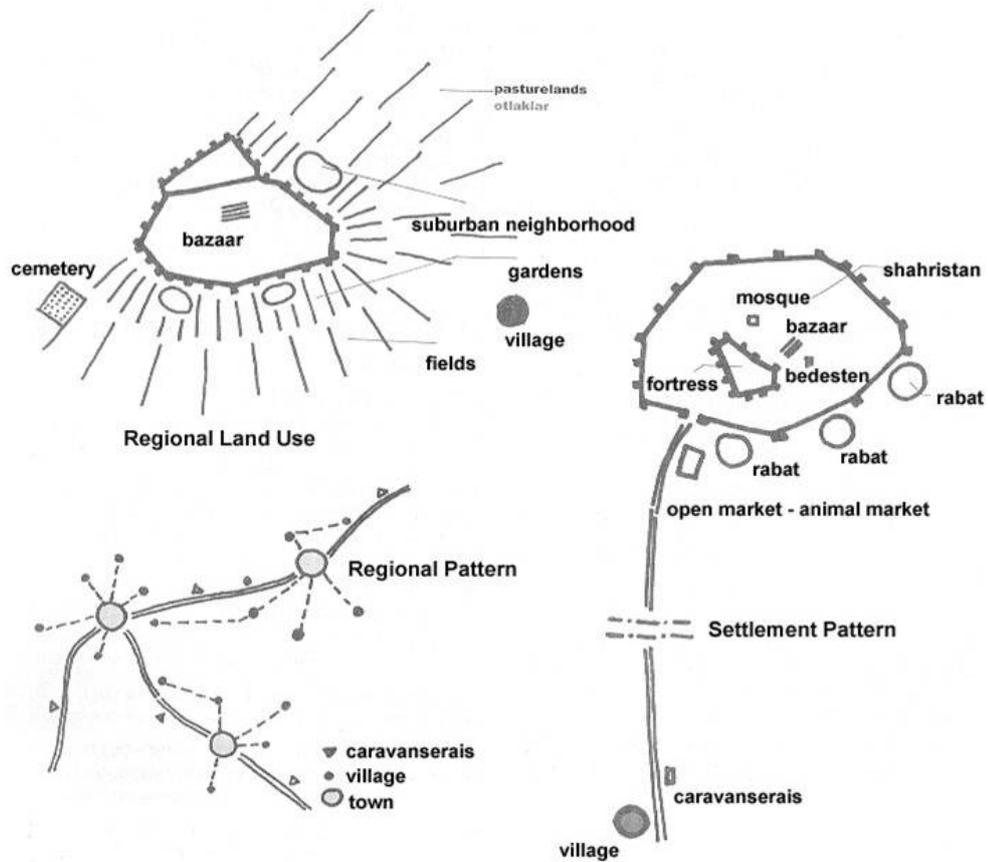


Figure 3.13 Regional Land Use, Regional Pattern and Settlement Pattern of a Typical Seljuk Town

Source: Tankut G. (2007), *The Seljuk City*, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture Printing Workshop. Fig. 4-6, p. 16.

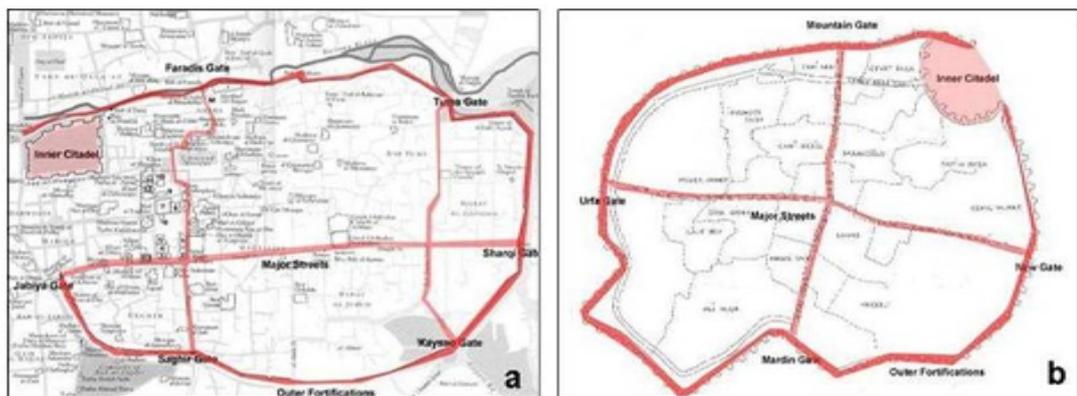


Figure 3.14 Comparative City Plans a) Damascus (after Burns), b) Diyarbakır (after Tuncer)

Source: Burns R. (2005), *Damascus A History*, London - New York: Routledge, Map 1. pp. 312-313. Tuncer O. C. (1999), *Diyarbakır Evleri*, Diyarbakır: Diyarbakır Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür Sanat Yayınları. p. 17.

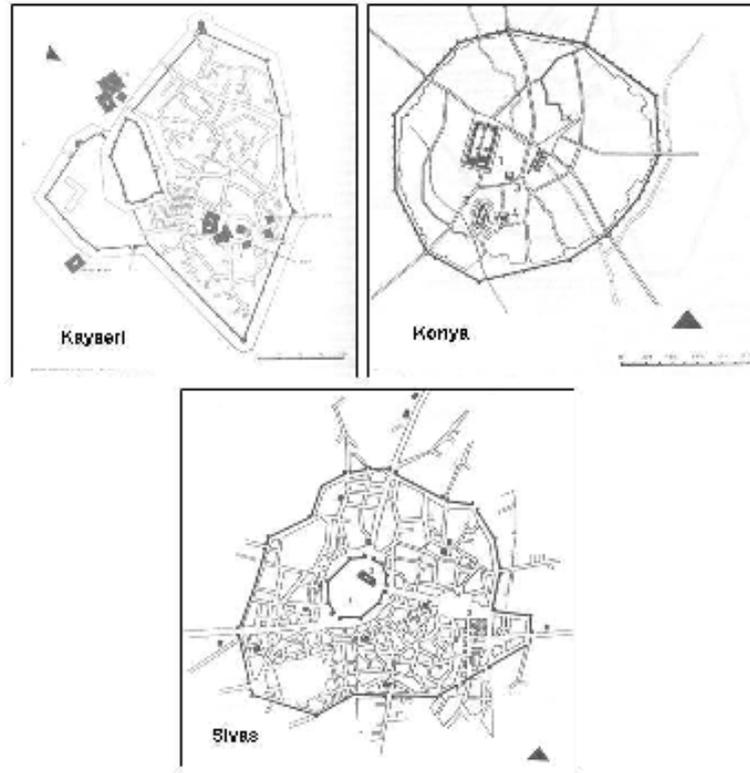


Figure 3. 15 Plans of Kayseri, Konya, and Sivas

Source: Tankut G. (2007), *The Seljuk City*, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture Printing Workshop, Fig. 8, 9, 10, pp. 32, 34-35.

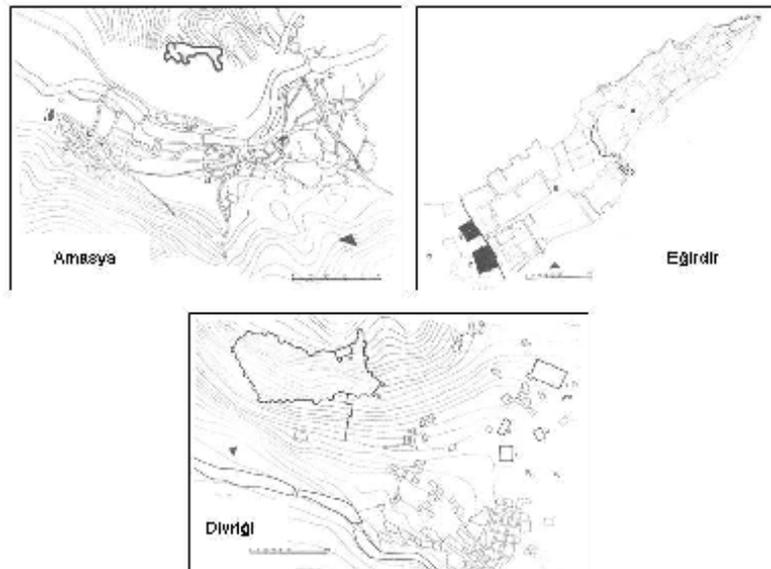


Figure 3. 16 Plans of Amasya, Divriği, and Eğirdir

Source: Tankut G. (2007), *The Seljuk City*, Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture Printing Workshop, Fig. 11,13, 17, pp. 36, 38, 42.

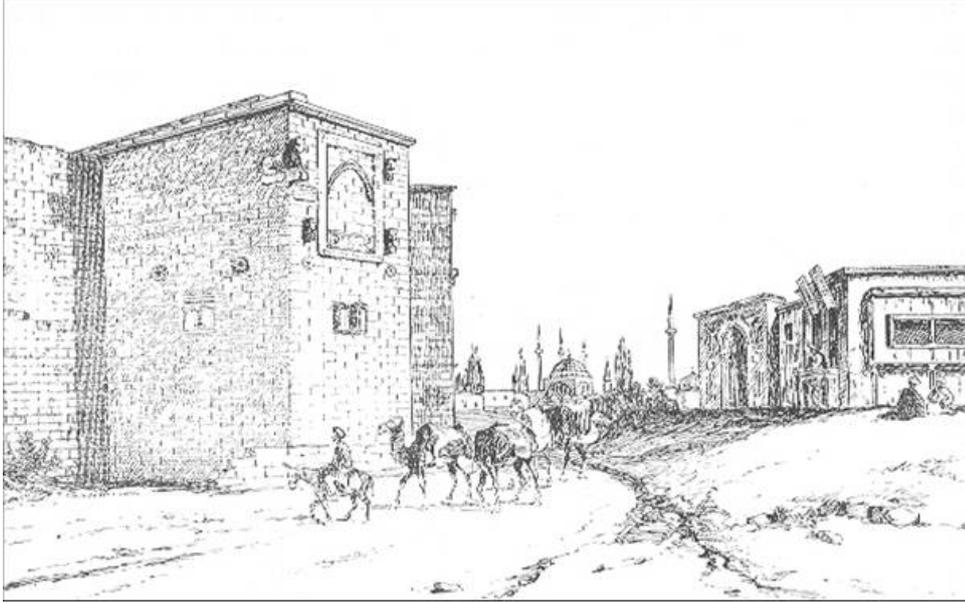


Figure 3. 17 City Walls of Konya, drawn by Léon de Laborde

Source: Sarre F. (1989), *Konya Köşkü*, (Ş. Uzluk trans. and ed.) (2nd Edition, 1st Edition in 1967) Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Pl. 1, p. VIII.



Figure 3. 18 View Towards the Street between Çifte Minareli Madrasa and Keykavus Hospital , the Exterior Articulation and Façades of these Buildings in Sivas



Figure 3. 19 Figure 3. 19 Aerial View towards Muradiye Complex in Bursa
Source: Brochure of Muradiye Complex, 2004, Publications of Bursa Governorship



Figure 3. 20 Entrance Façade of Murad I (Hüdavendigâr) Mosque in Bursa (photograph taken by C. Katipoğlu)

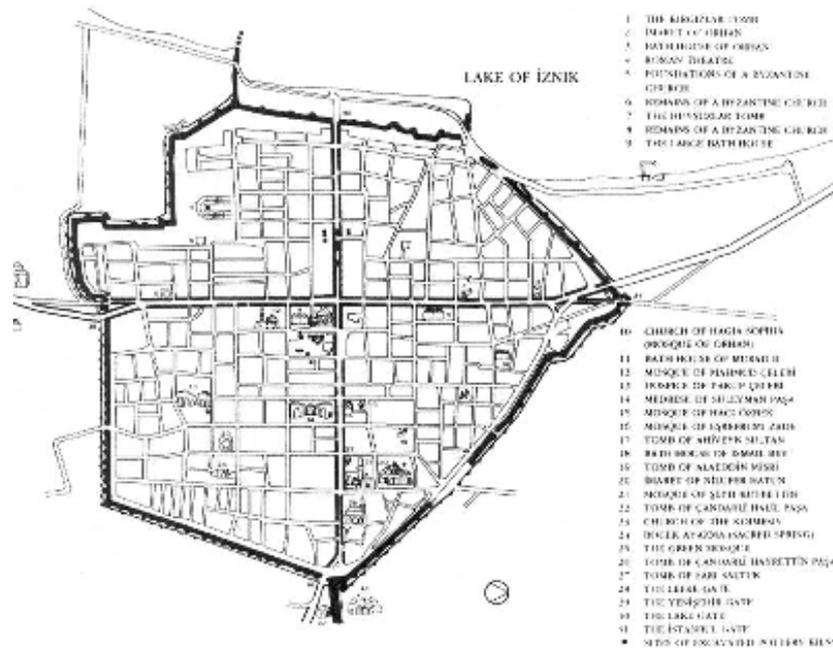


Figure 3. 21 City Plan of İznik

Source: Lowry H. (2003), Ottoman İznik (NICA EA) through the Eyes of Travelers and As Recorded in Administrative Documents, 1331-1923”, *İznik Throughout History*, (I. Akbaygil, H. İnalçık, O. Aslanapa eds.) İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, Fig. 6, p. 165.



Figure 3. 22 Aerial View towards İznik

Source: Brochure of Bursa, 2005, Bursa Chamber of Commerce and Industry Publications.

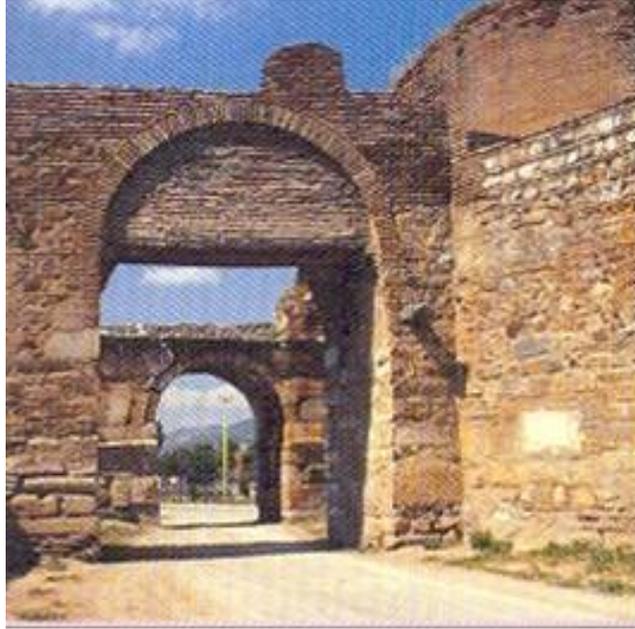


Figure 3. 23 Double Defenses at Yenişehir Gate

Source: Foss C. (2003), "The Walls of İznik 260-1330", *İznik Throughout History*, (I. Akbaygil, H. İnalçık, O. Aslanapa eds.) İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, Fig. 5, p. 261.



Figure 3. 24 Approximate City Plan of Edirne at the Beginning of the 14th Century, from O. N. Peremeci, 1939, Edirne Tarihi. İstanbul.

Source: Kuran A. (1996), "A Spatial Study of the Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and İstanbul", *Muqarnas*, 13, Fig. 4, p. 119.

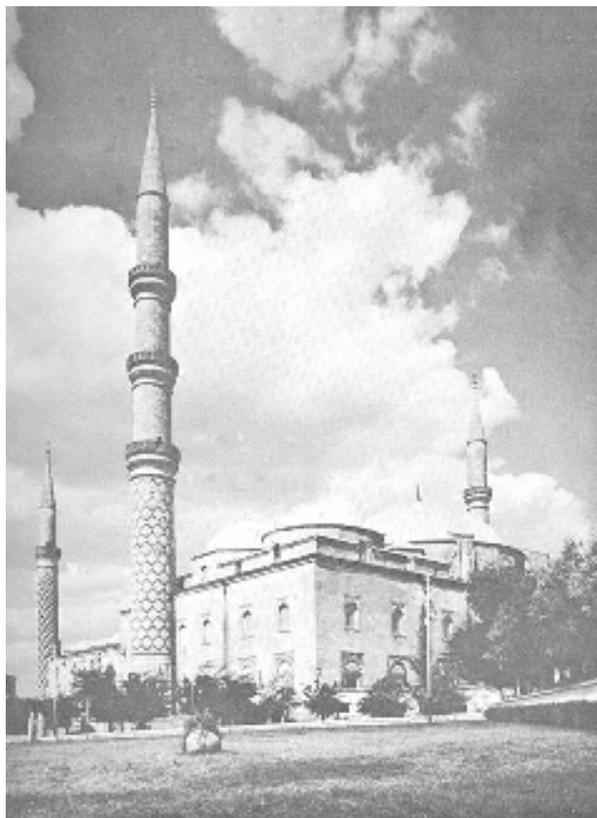


Figure 3. 25 Exterior View of Üç Şerefeli Mosque

Source: Aslanapa O. (1993), *Türk Sanatı*, (3rd Edition), (1st Edition in 1971), İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, p. 235.

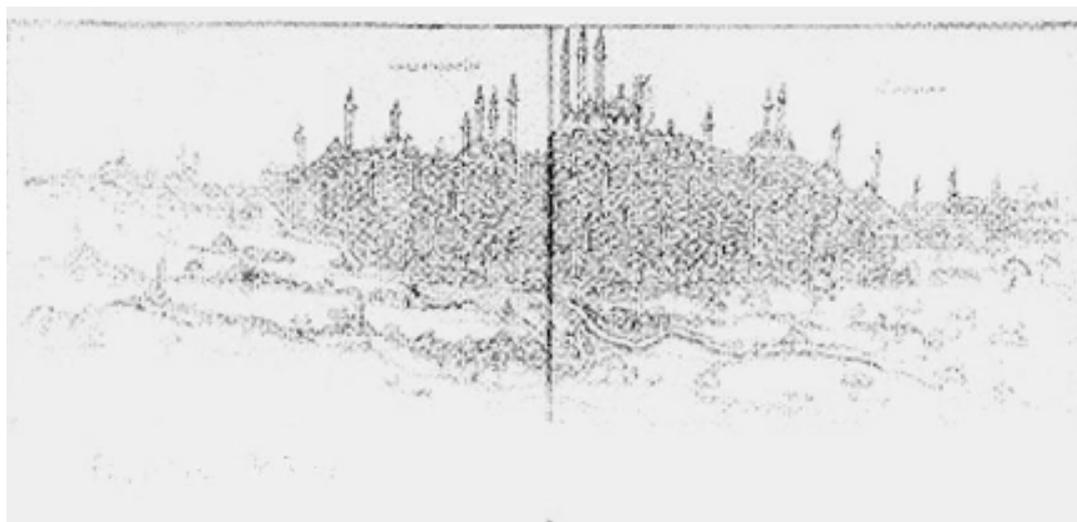


Figure 3. 26 Drawing of the Townscape of Edirne, Leiden Sketchbook, 16th Century

Source: Klusáková L. (2001), "Between Reality and Stereotype: Town Views of the Balkans", *Urban History*, 28, 3, Fig. 5. p. 366.



Figure 3. 27 Aerial View of Ayasoluk; Ayasoluk Hill, and Citadel on the right, above, Remains of Ancient Ephesus and Silted-up Harbor on the left, below
 Source: <http://www.googleearth.com>

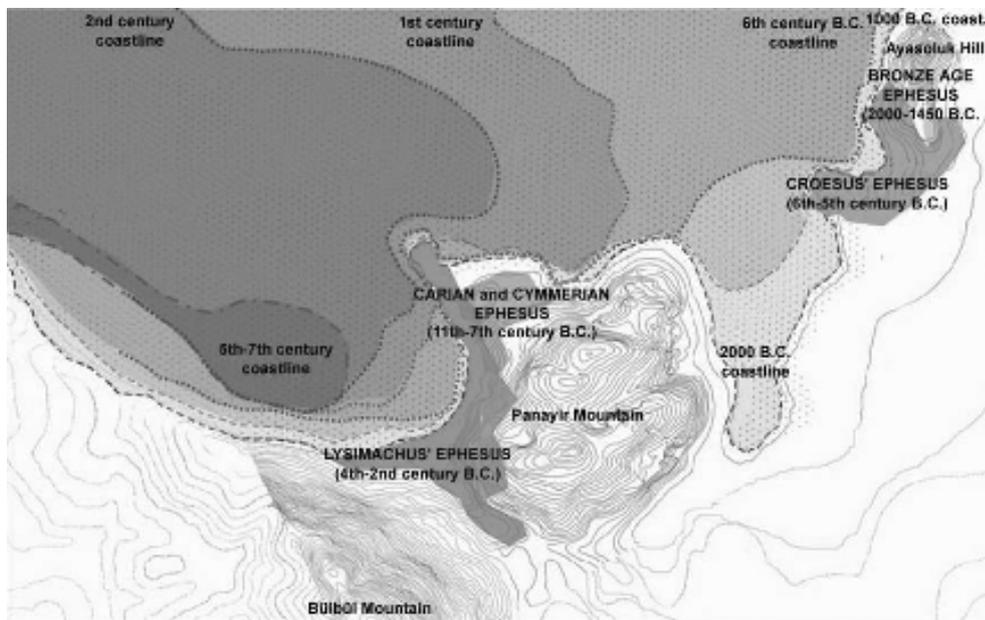


Figure 3. 28 Prehistoric and Ancient Greek Settlements of Ephesus and the Silting up Coastline (after Karwiese)
 Source: Karwiese S. (1995), *Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos: Die Geschichte einer der großen Städte der Antike*, Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

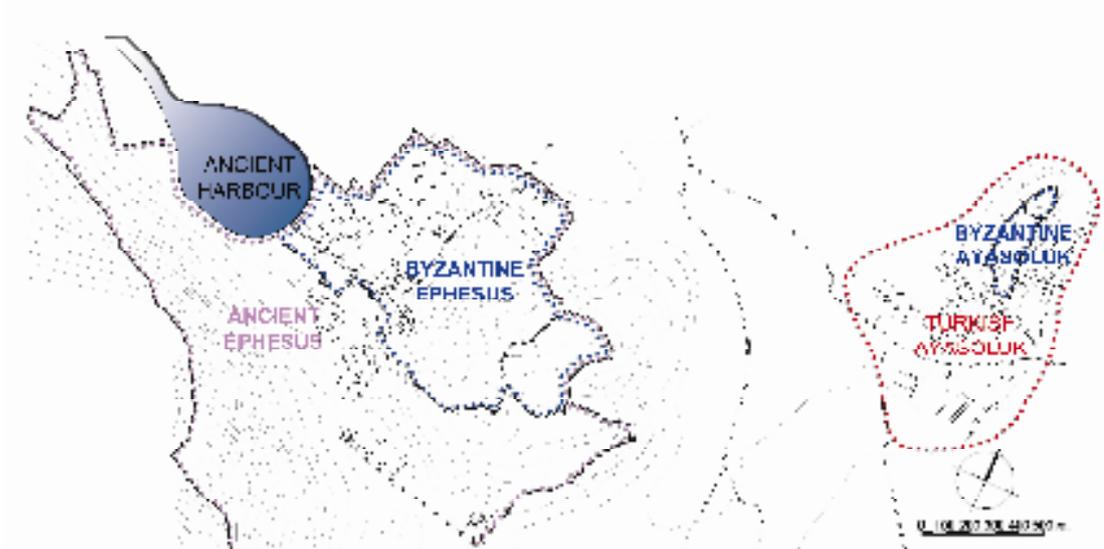


Figure 3. 29 Ancient, Byzantine, and Turkish Ayasoluk (drawn based on Foss, Scherrer, Tanyeli, Uğur)

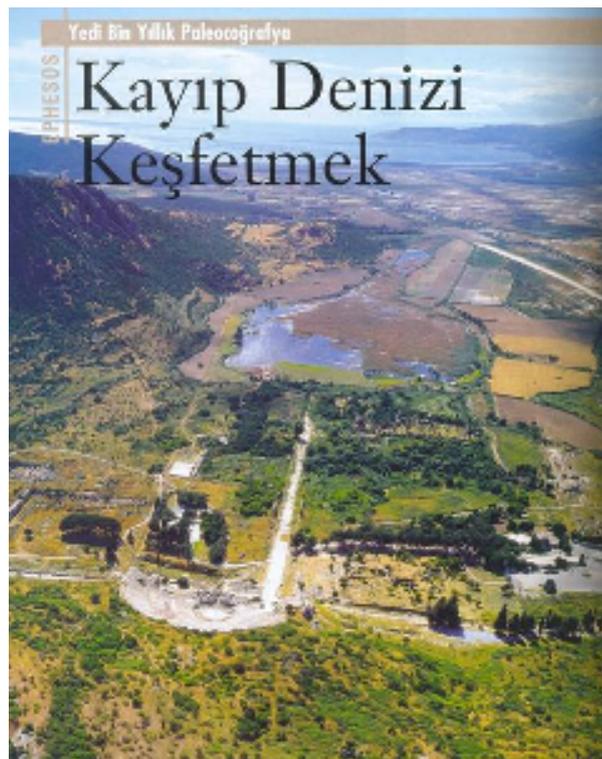


Figure 3. 30 A View from Panayır Mountain towards the Sea that Provides Hints to Imagine How Far the Ancient Harbor Extended

Source: Atlas Magazine, (August, 2006), 161, p. 136.

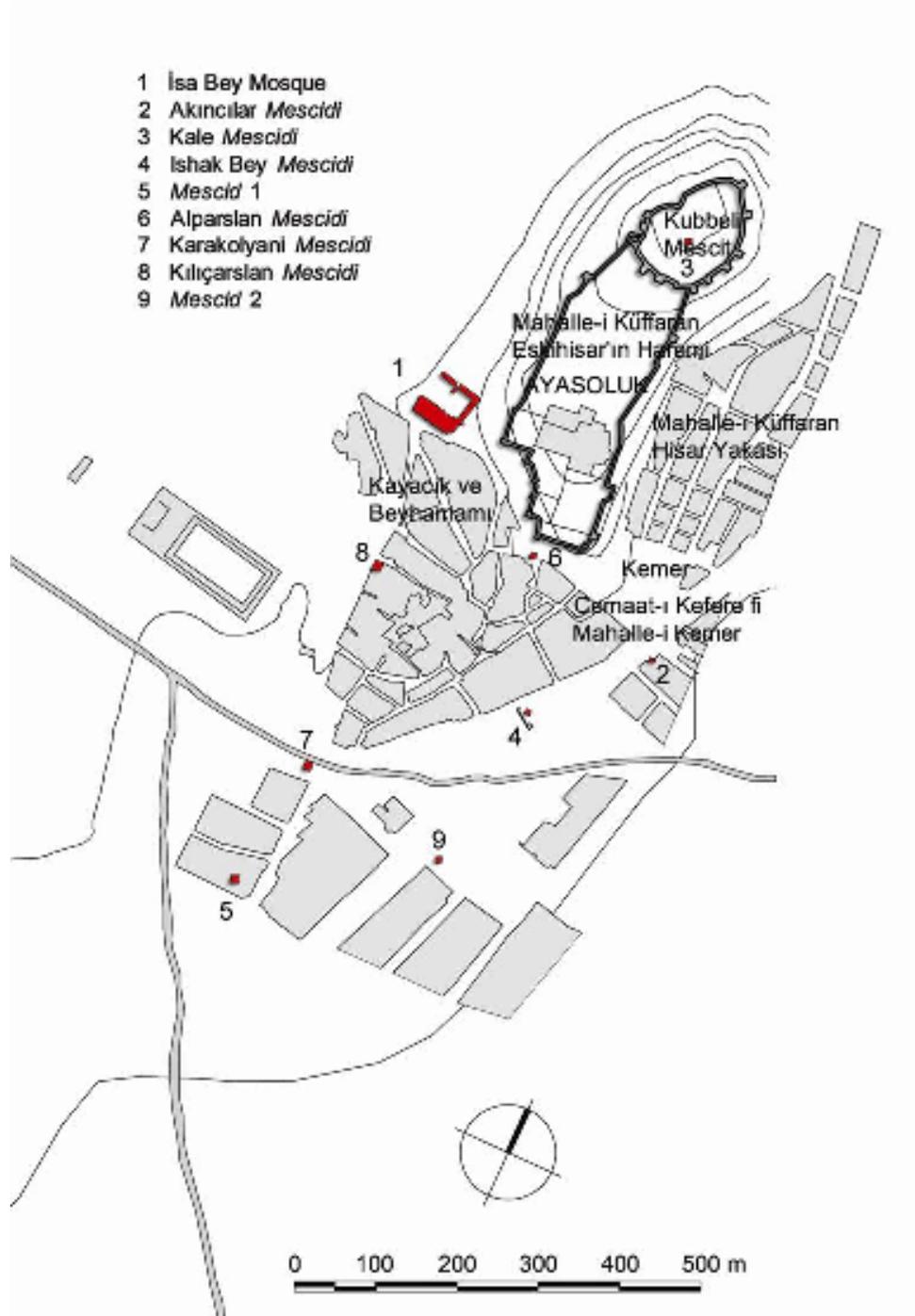


Figure 3. 31 Distribution of Buildings and Neighborhoods in Ayasuluk (14th – 16th Centuries)
 (drawn based on Tanyeli and Uğur)

Source: Tanyeli U. (1986), *Anadolu Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci (11. – 15. yy.)*, Ph. D. Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Map. 3.15.2, Uğur T. (2006), *Selçuk (Ayasuluk) Cami ve Mescitleri*, Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis in Art History, İzmir: Ege University, Fig. 1, p. 236.



Figure 3. 32 Aerial View of Balat; Remains of Ancient Miletus in the middle, above, Silted-up harbor on the left, above, Overlapping the territory of the Ancient Miletus Remains of Turkish Balat in the middle, Turkish Contemporary Village in the middle, below.
Source: <http://www.googleearth.com>

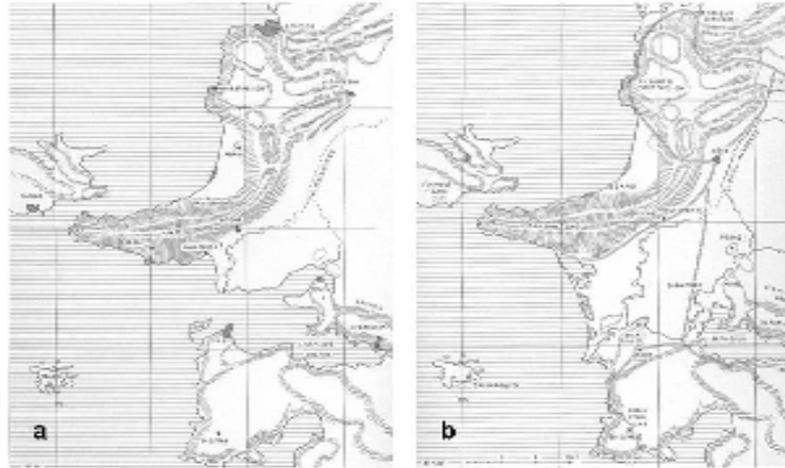


Figure 3.33 a) Ancient Miletian Territory, before Silted up by Maeander, b) Miletian Territory, Silted up by Maeander Today

Source: Göksel D. (undated), *Didim, Milet, Priene*, Ankara: Odak Ofset Matbaacılık.

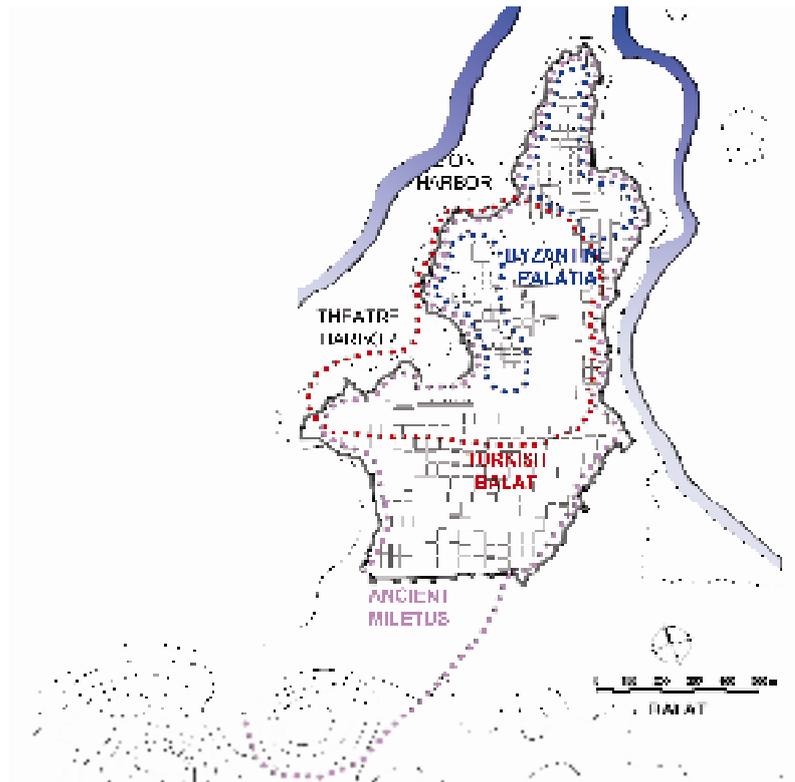


Figure 3.34 Ancient, Byzantine, and Turkish Balat (drawn based on Durukan and Greaves)

Source: Durukan A. (1988), *Balat, İlyas Bey Camii*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları. p. 27. Greaves A. M. (2000), "The Shifting Focus of Settlement at Miletos", *Further Studies in Ancient Greek Polis*, (P. Flensted-Jensen ed.) Fig. 3, p.65.

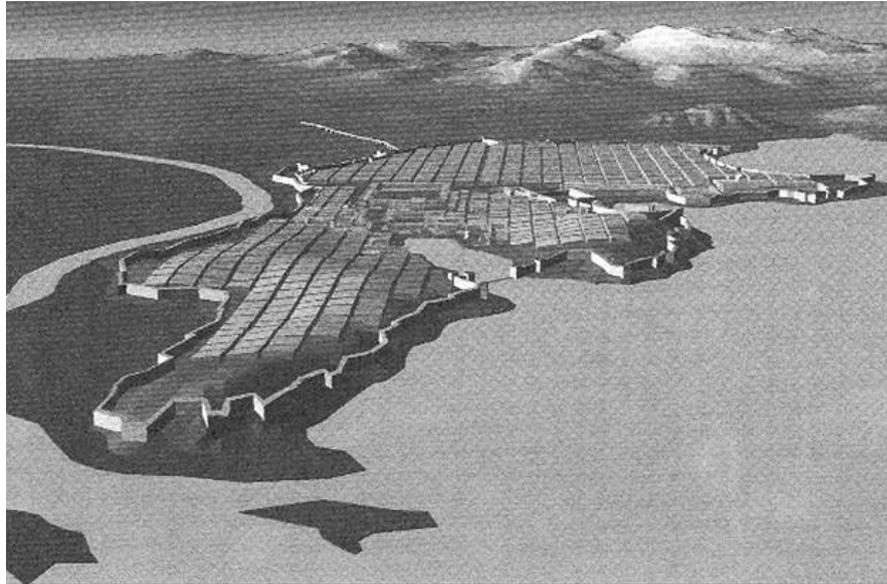


Figure 3. 35 3D Representation of the City of Miletos in Roman Times (© Foundation of the Hellenic World, Athens)

Source: Greaves A. M. (2002), *Miletos A History*, London and New York: Routledge, Fig. 4.4, p. 139.

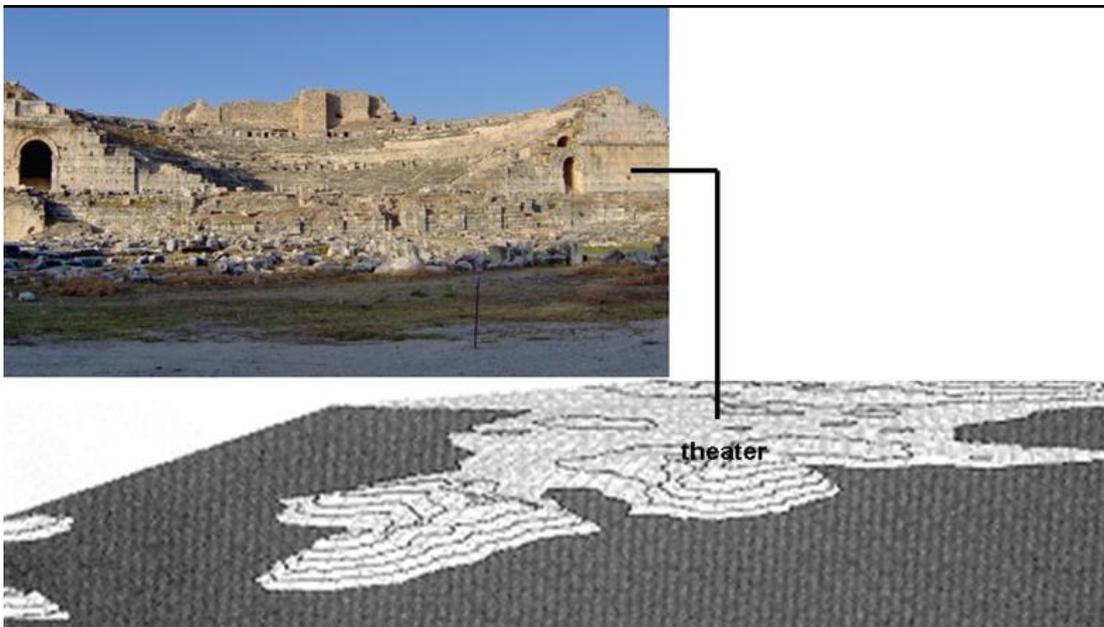


Figure 3. 36 Byzantine Fortifications Behind the Theater Viewing Theater Harbor, superimposed on Greaves 3D Projection of Miletos Seen from Northwest

Source: Greaves A. M. (2002), *Miletos A History*, London and New York: Routledge, Fig. 1.3, p. 6.

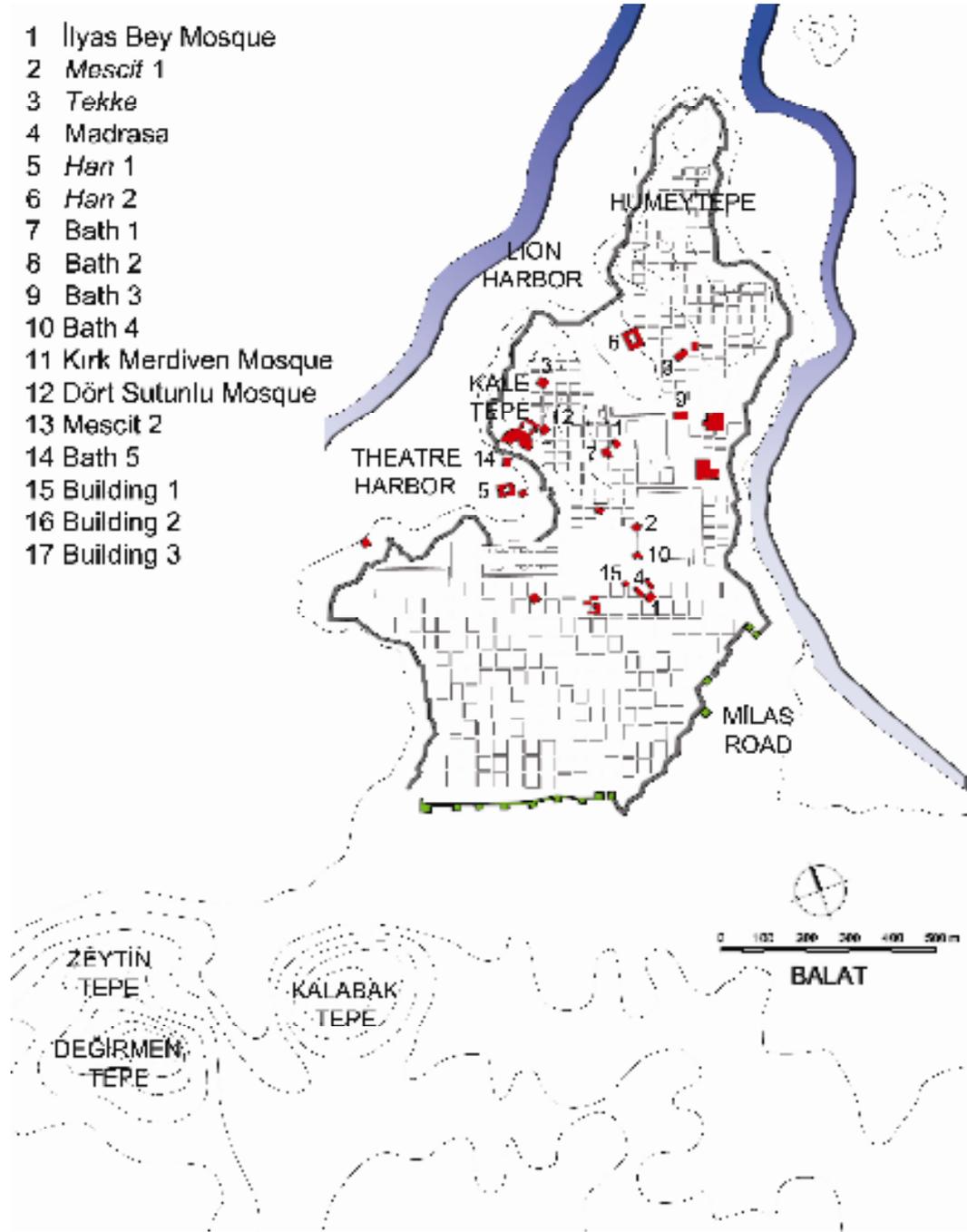


Figure 3. 37 Distribution of Buildings in Turkish Balat (14th – 16th Centuries) (drawn based on Durukan)

Source: Durukan A. (1988), *Balat, İlyas Bey Cami*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları. p. 27.

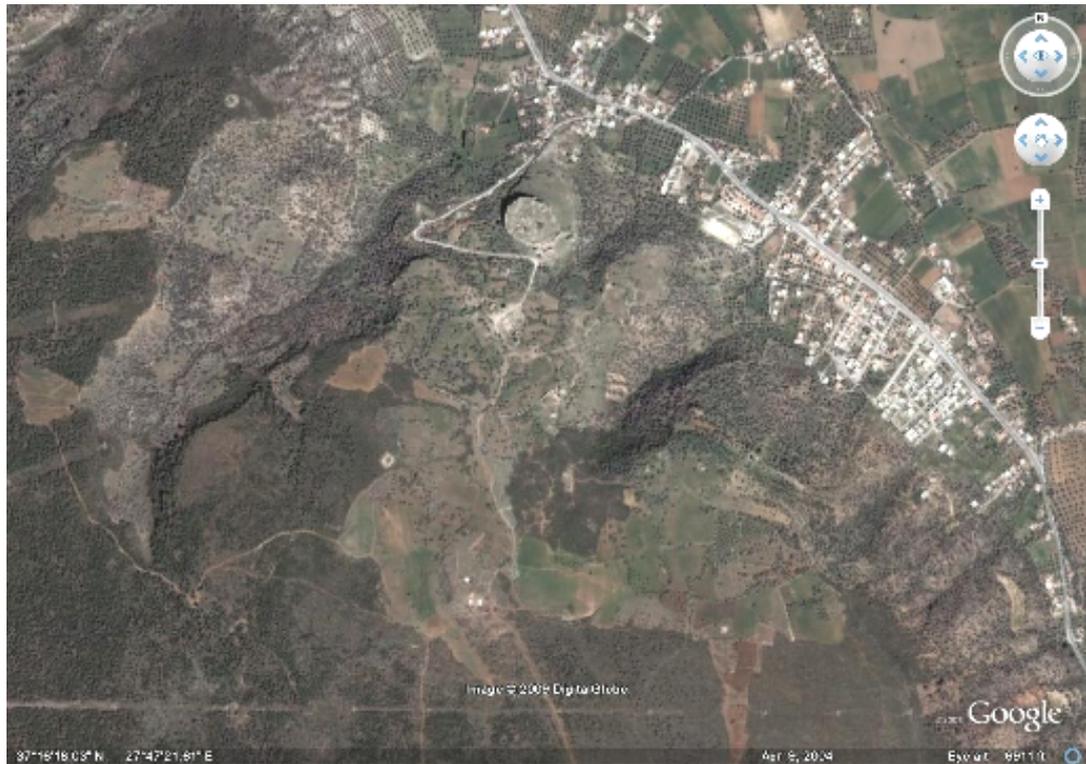


Figure 3. 38 Aerial View of Beçin; Beçin Citadel in the middle, above, Road diagonally passing on the right, Outer Citadel encircling on the left and bottom.
Source: <http://www.googleearth.com>



Figure 3. 39 View from Beçin towards Milas Plain

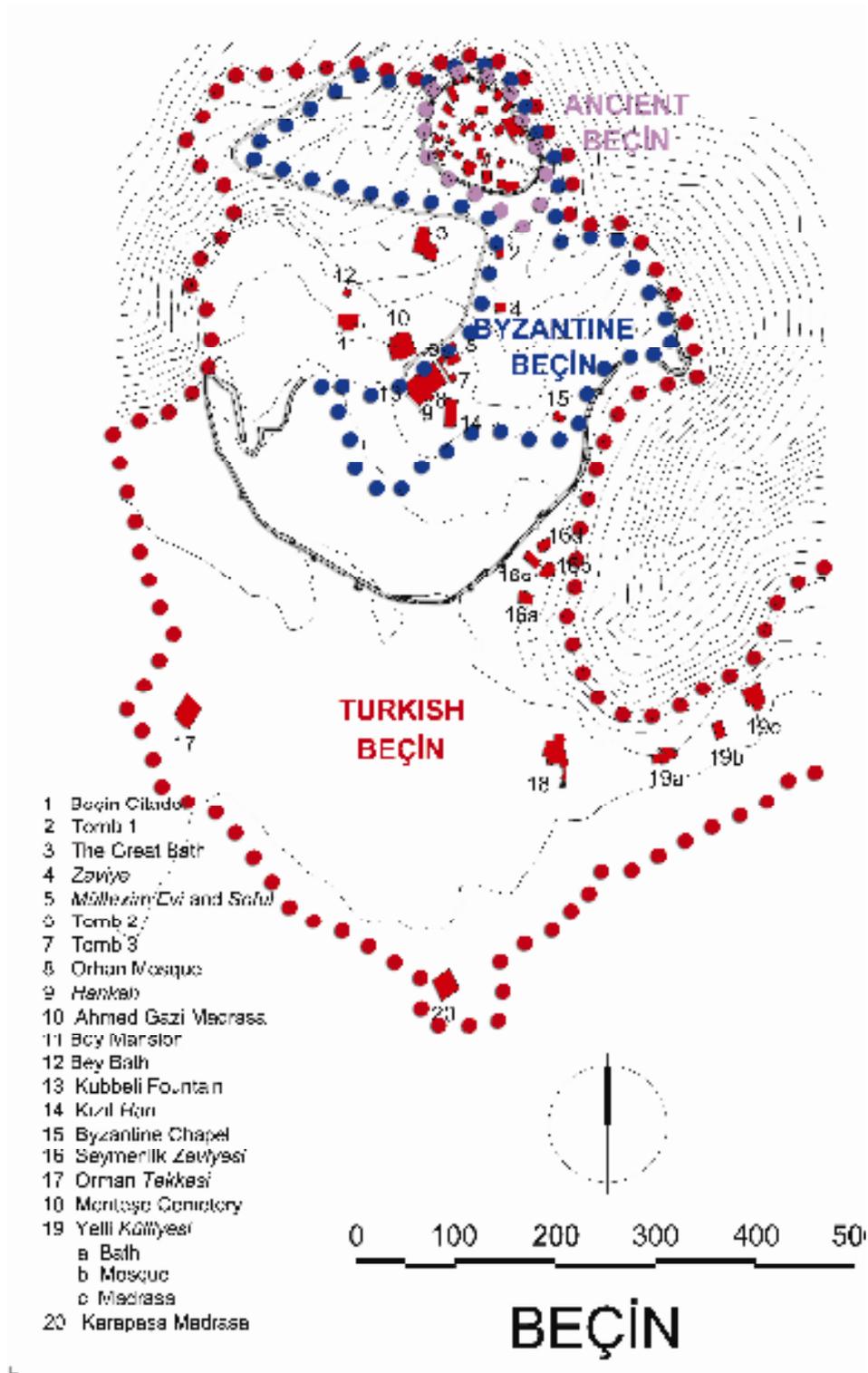


Figure 3. 40 Ancient, Byzantine, and Turkish Beçin (after Ünal)

Source: Ünal R. H. (2006), "Beçin". *Anadolu Selçukluları ve Beylikler Dönemi Uygarlığı*, II, (A. U. Peker, K. Bilici eds.) Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 214.



Figure 3. 41 View towards the Center of Beçin, Ahmet Gazi Madrasa on the right, Orhan Bey Mosque on the left



Figure 3. 42 View from the Remains of Orhan Bey Mosque towards the Inner Citadel



Figure 3. 43 View outside Seymenlik Gate towards the Remains of Seymenlik Zaviyesi

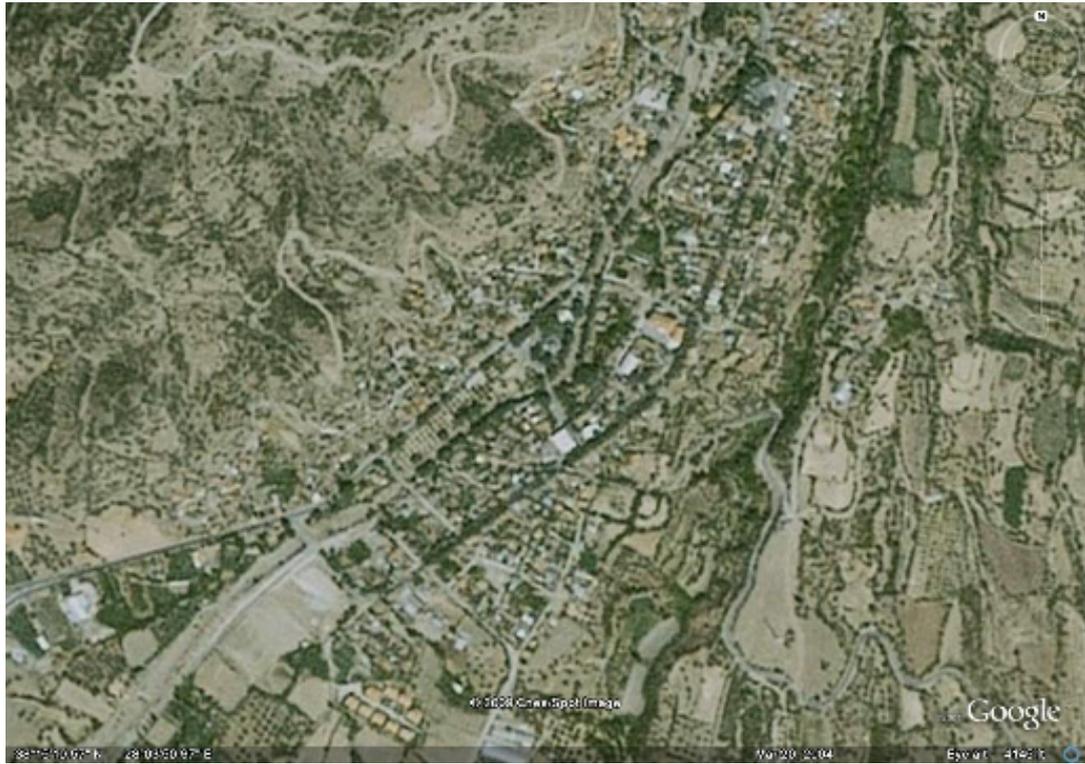


Figure 3. 44 Aerial View of Birgi
Source: <http://www.googleearth.com>

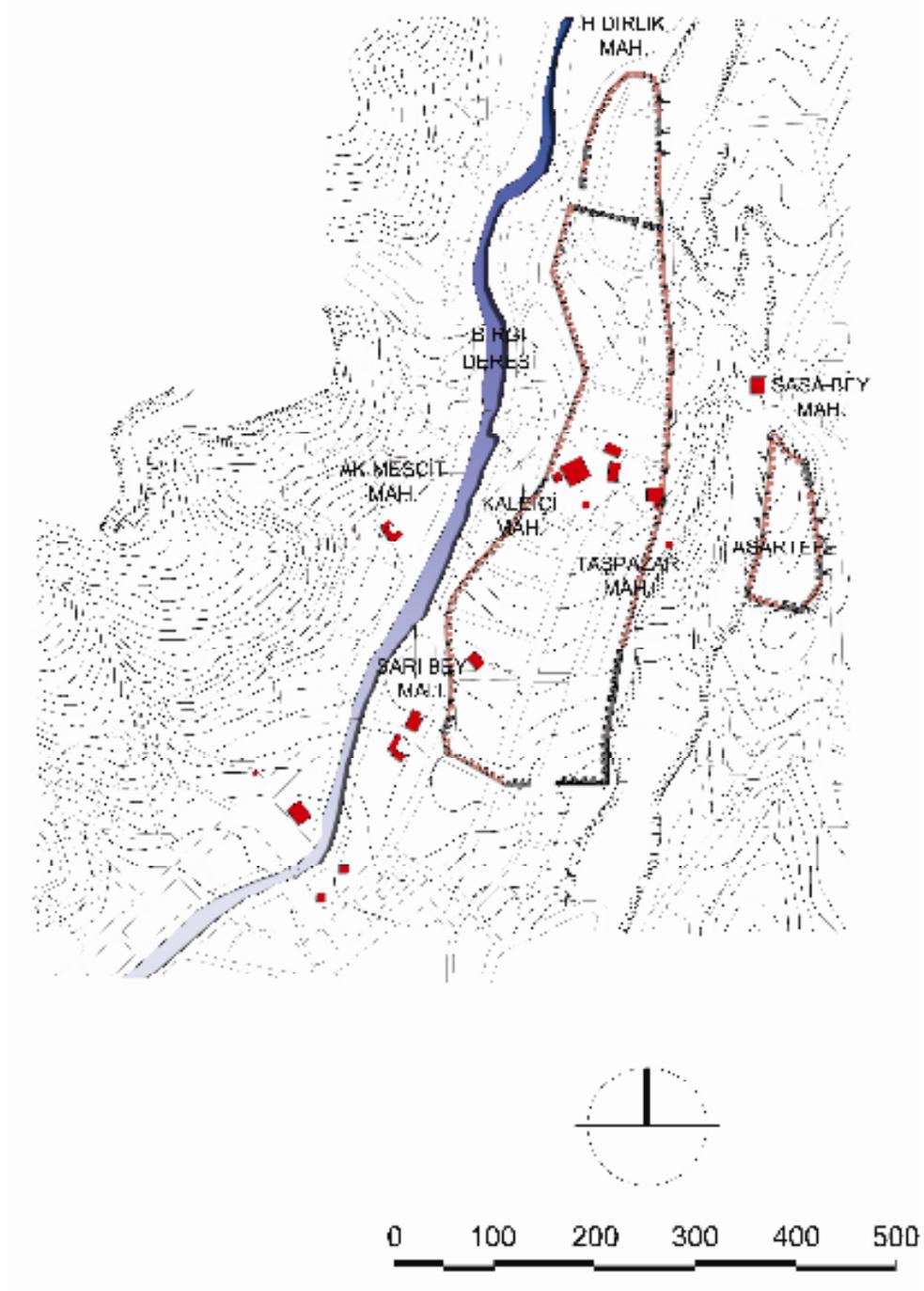


Figure 3. 45 Fortifications of Birgi, (completed hypothetically based on Ünal)
 Source: Unpublished drawing by R. H. Ünal, used with his permission

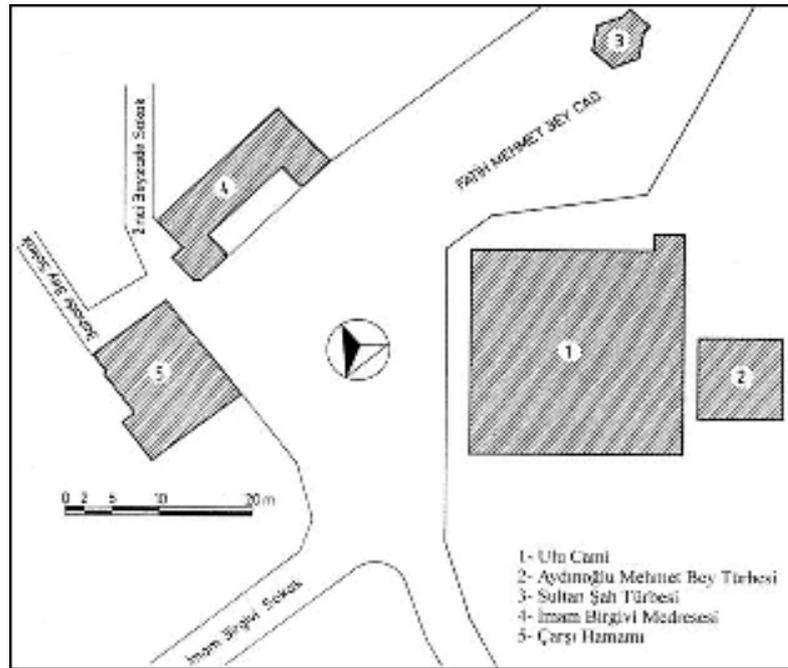


Figure 3. 46 Site Plan of Birgi Great Mosque and Surrounding Buildings

Source: Ünal R. H. (2001), *Birgi, Tarihi, Tarihi Coğrafyası ve Türk Dönemi Anıtları*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, p. 59.



Figure 3. 47 View towards Birgi Great Mosque on the left, Bath across, and Madrasa on the right

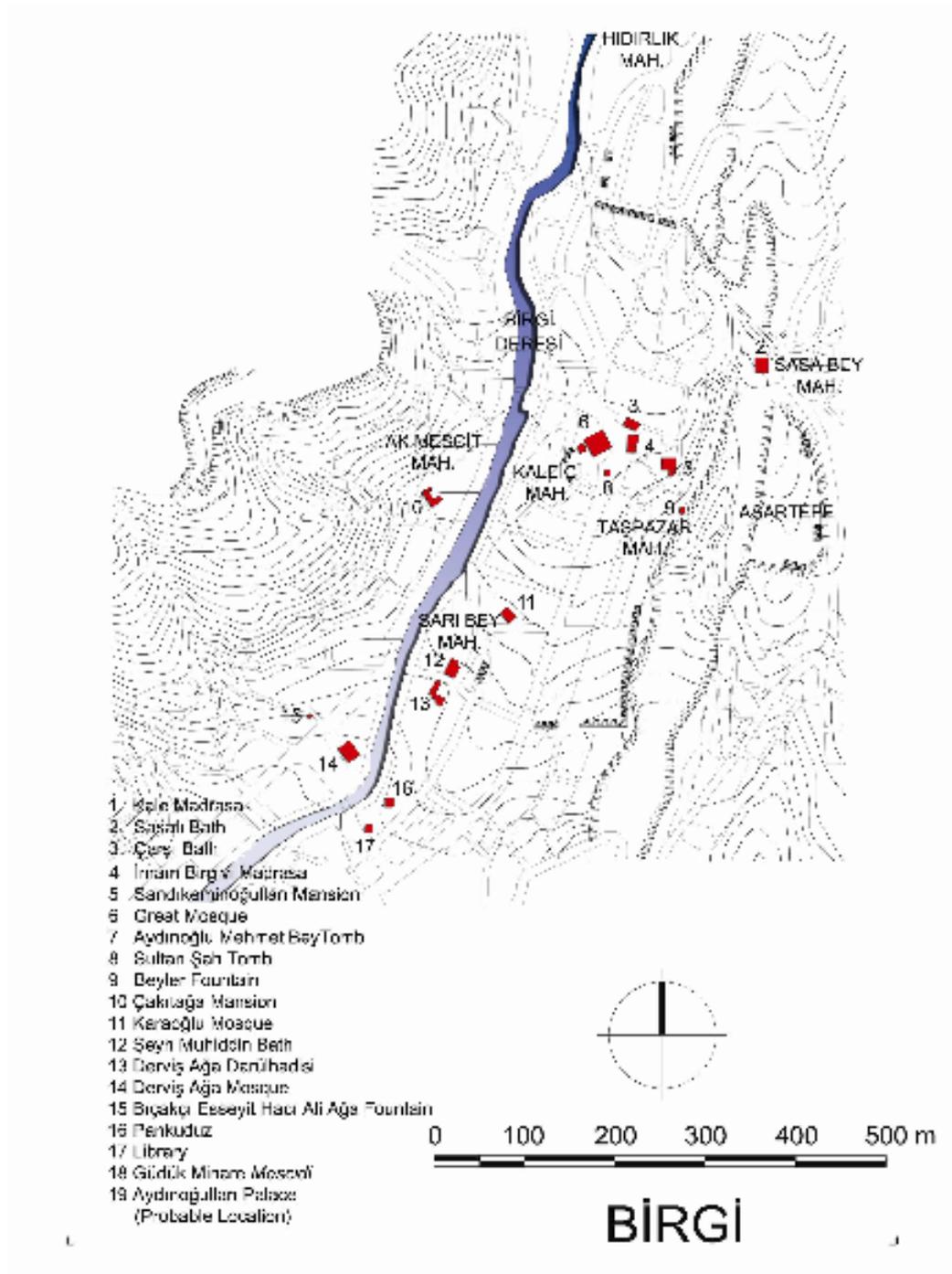


Figure 3. 48 Distribution of Buildings and Neighborhoods in Turkish-Islamic Birgi

Source: Unpublished drawing by R. H. Ünal, used with his permission



Figure 3. 49 Remains of Fortifications around Asartepe

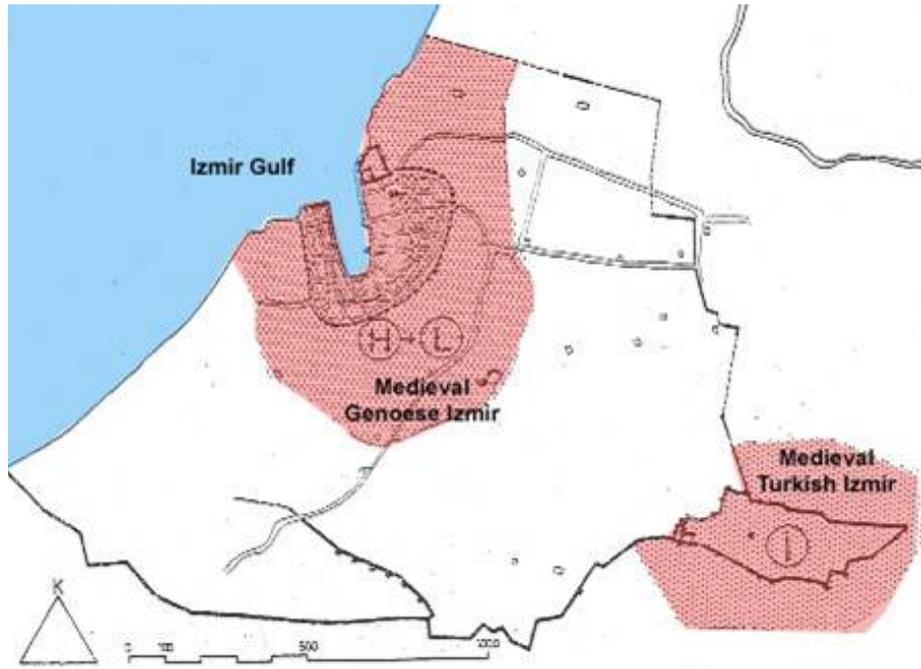


Figure 3. 50 Disjoint Settlements of Medieval İzmir (after Tanyeli)

Source: Tanyeli U. (1987), *Anadolu Türk Kentinde Fiziksel Yapının Evrim Süreci* (11. – 15. yy.), Ph. D. Thesis, İstanbul: İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Map. 3.17.1.

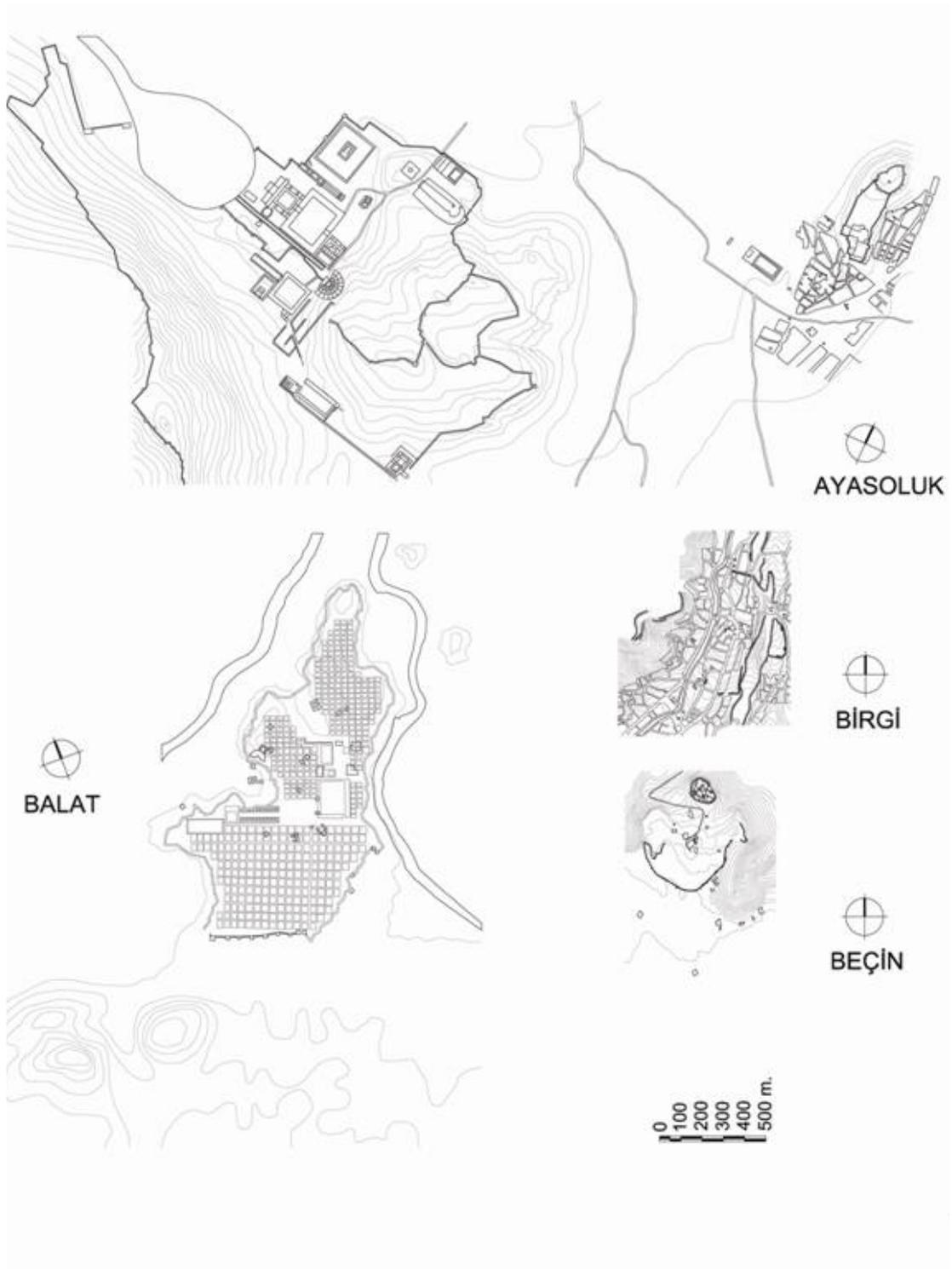


Figure 3. 51 Comparative Plans of Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin, and Birgi

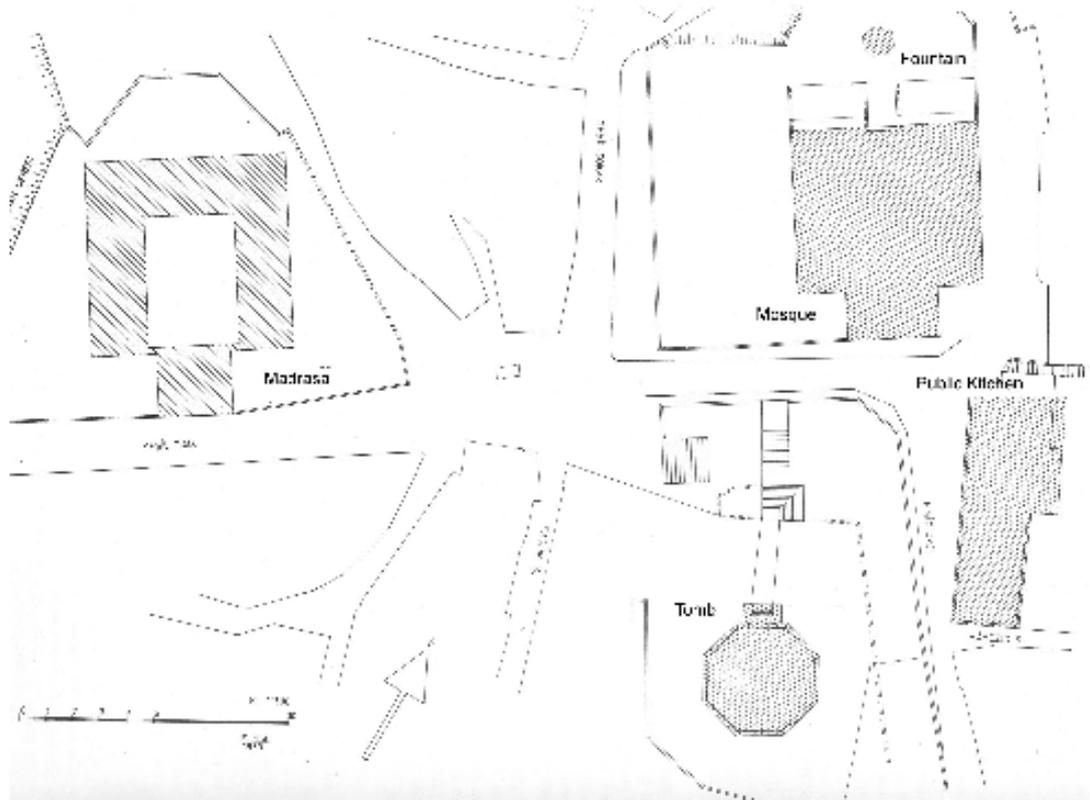


Figure 4. 1 Site Plan of Yeşil Külliye in Bursa (1414-1424)

Source: Ayverdi E. H. (1989), *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve Sultan II. Murad Devri 806-855 (1403-1451)*, 2, (2nd Edition, 1st Edition in 1972) İstanbul: Damla Ofset, pl. 72, p. 47.

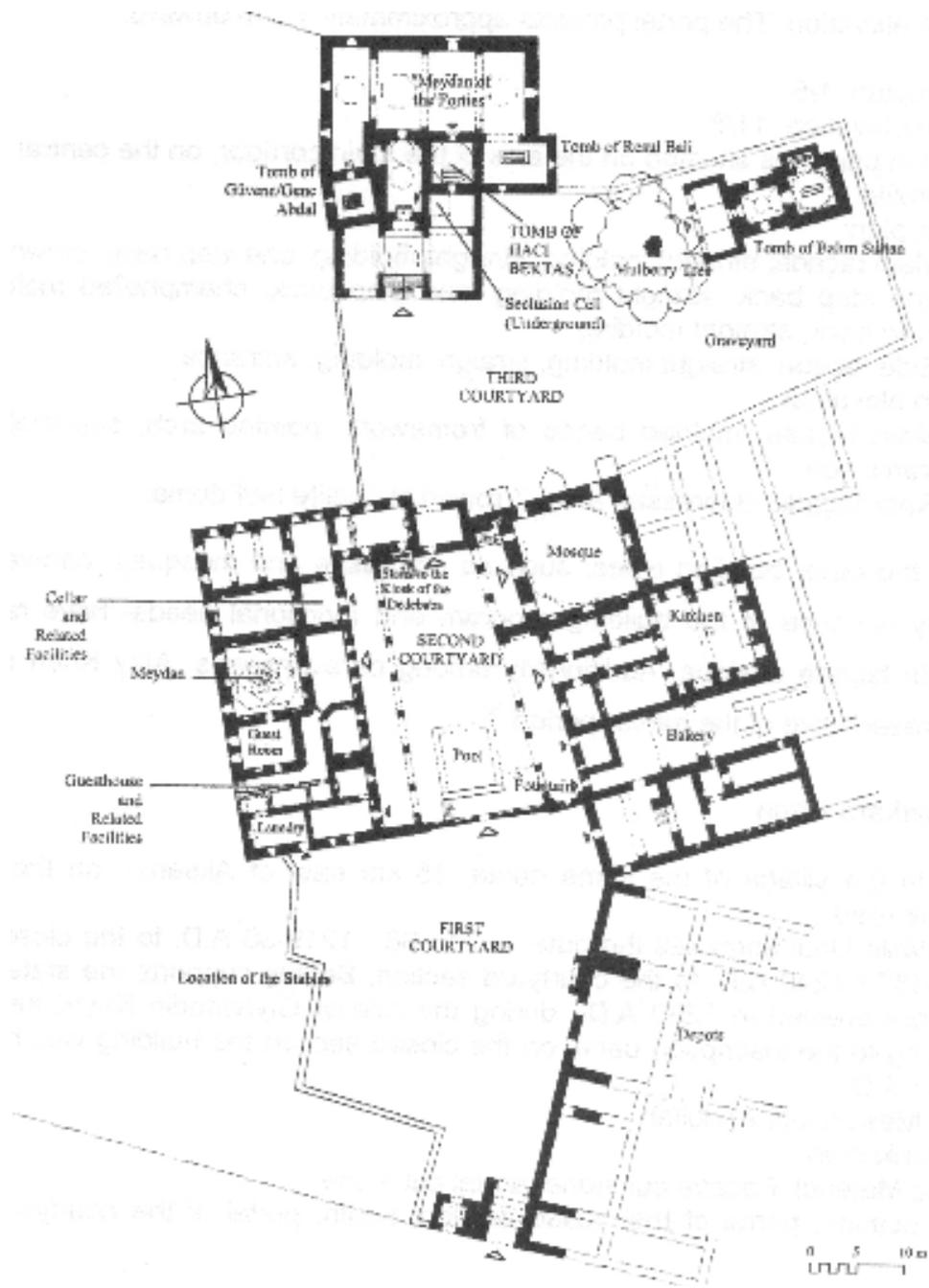


Figure 4. 2 Site Plan of Hacı Bektaş Lodge

Source: Yürekli – Görkay Z. E. (2005), *Legend and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire: The Shrines of Seyyid Gazi and Hacı Bektaş*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis in History of Art and Architecture, Cambridge - Massachusetts: Harvard University, Fig. 1 (after M. Akok)

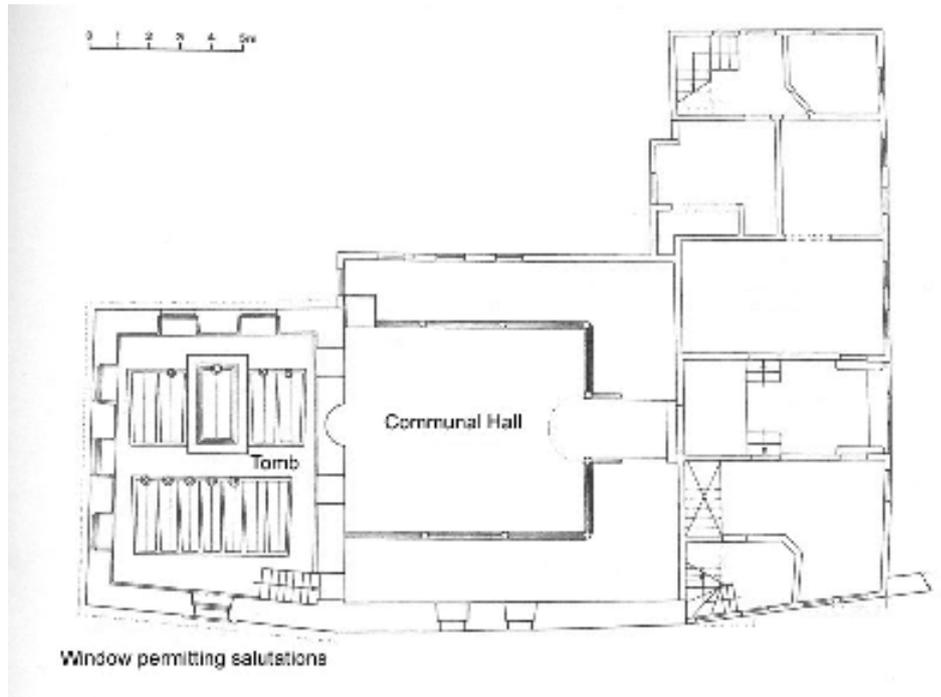


Figure 4. 3 Plan of Ümmü Sinan Lodge in Dökmeciler-Eyüp (16th Century)

Source: Tanman B. (1992), "Settings for the Veneration of Saints", (M. E. Quigley-Pınar trans.) *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, (R. Lifchez ed.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, Fig. 6-8b, p. 150.

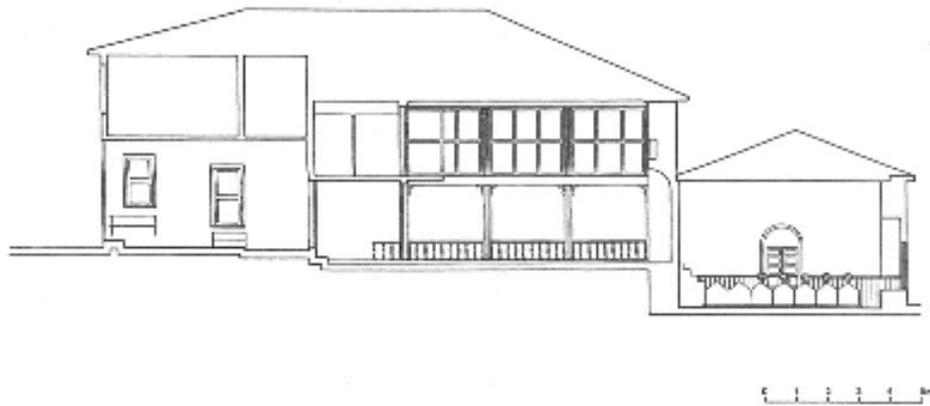


Figure 4. 4 Section of Ümmü Sinan Lodge in Dökmeciler-Eyüp (16th Century)

Source: Tanman B. (1992), "Settings for the Veneration of Saints", (M. E. Quigley-Pınar trans.) *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, (R. Lifchez ed.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, Fig. 6-9b, p. 151.

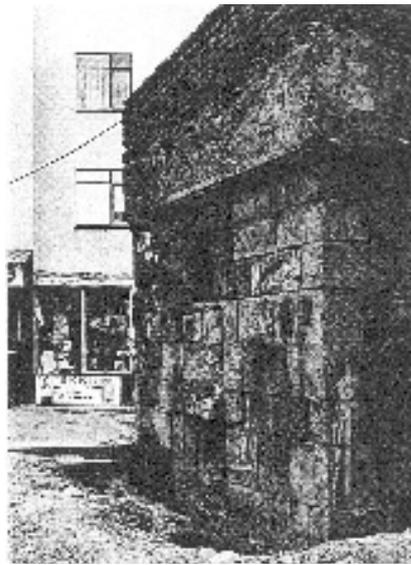


Figure 4. 5 Tomb of Sümbül Baba Lodge in Tokat (1299)

Source: Wolper E. S. (2003), *Cities and Saints, Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, Fig. 25, p. 63.

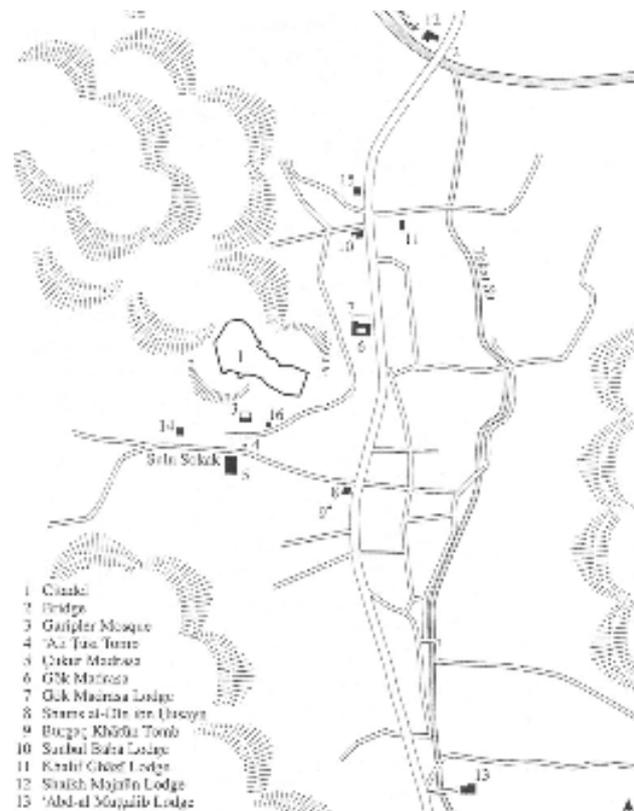


Figure 4. 6 Plan of Tokat (Second Half of the 13th Century)

Source: Wolper E. S. (2003), *Cities and Saints, Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, Fig. 16, p. 49.

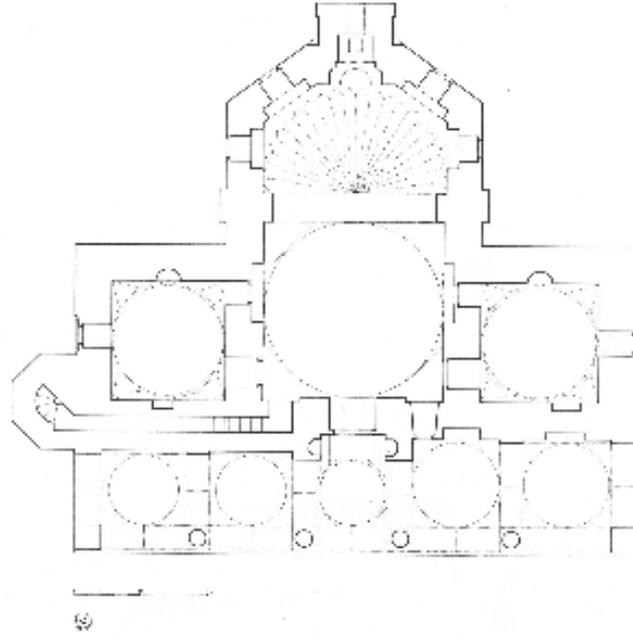


Figure 4. 7 Plan of Yahşi Bey Mosque (Yeşil İmaret) in Tire (1441)

Source: Aslanoğlu İ. (1978), *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Fig. 28, p. 37.

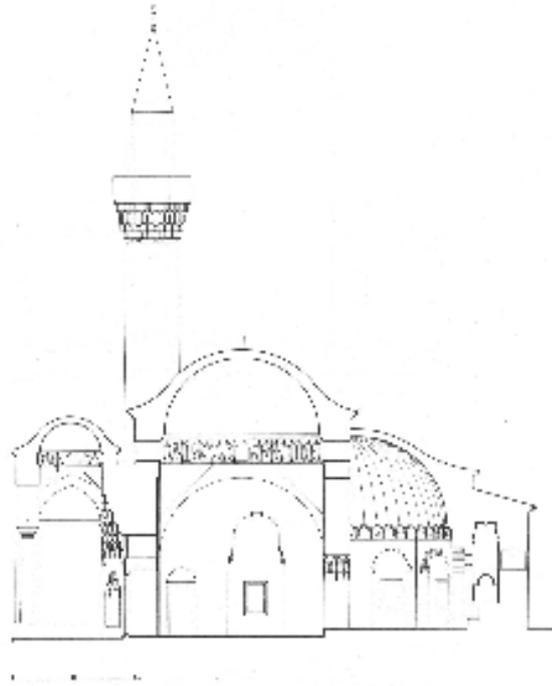


Figure 4. 8 Section of Yahşi Bey Mosque (Yeşil İmaret) in Tire (1441)

Source: Aslanoğlu İ. (1978), *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Fig. 29, p. 38.

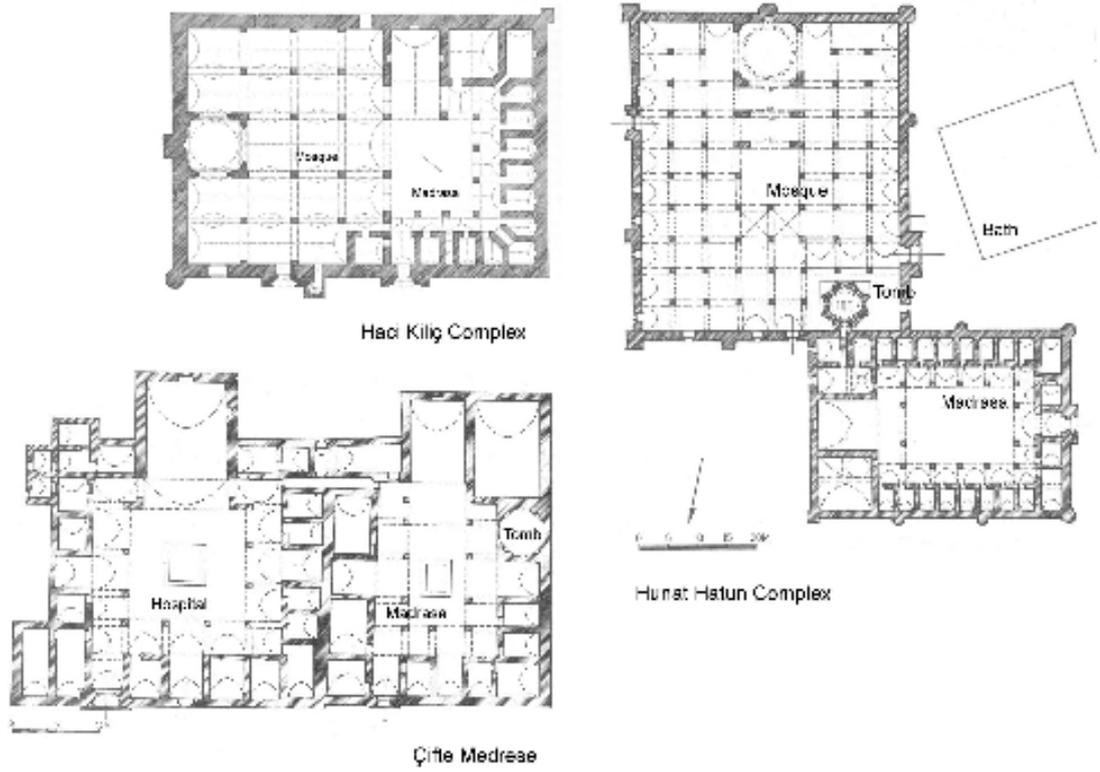


Figure 4. 9 Site Plans of Çifte Medrese (1205), Hacı Kılıç Complex (1249-50), and Hunat Hatun Complex (1237)

Source: Aslanapa O. (1993), *Türk Sanatı*, (3rd Edition) (1st Edition in 1971) İstanbul :Remzi Kitabevi, pp. 144, 127, 126.

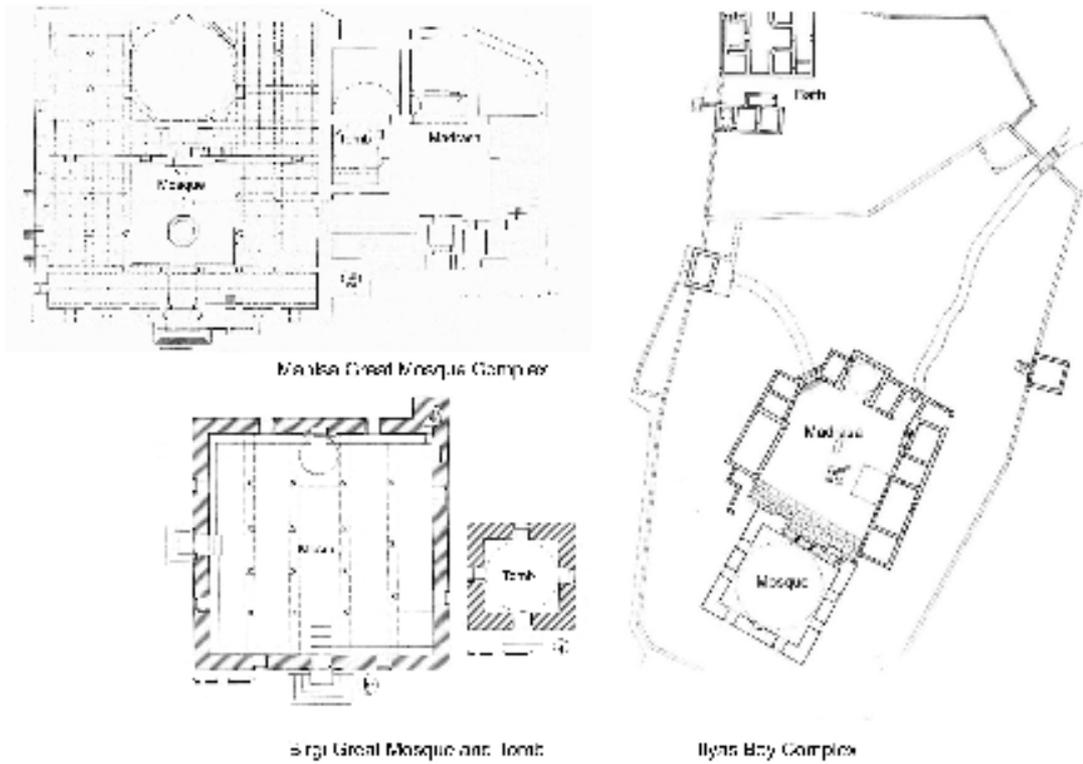


Figure 4. 10 Site Plans of Manisa Great Mosque Complex (1366), Birgi Great Mosque and Tomb (1312-13), and İlyas Bey Complex (1404)

Source: Kızıltan A. (1958), *Anadolu Beyliklerinde Cami ve Mescitler*, İstanbul: Güven Basımevi, Fig. 54, p. 101. Ünal R. H. (2001b), *Birgi: Tarihi, Tarihi Coğrafyası, Türk Dönemi Anıtları*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Fig. 2, p. 62, Fig. 20 (drawn by E. Daş), p. 116. Durukan A. (1988), *Balat, İlyas Bey Cami*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, Fig. 2, p. 28.

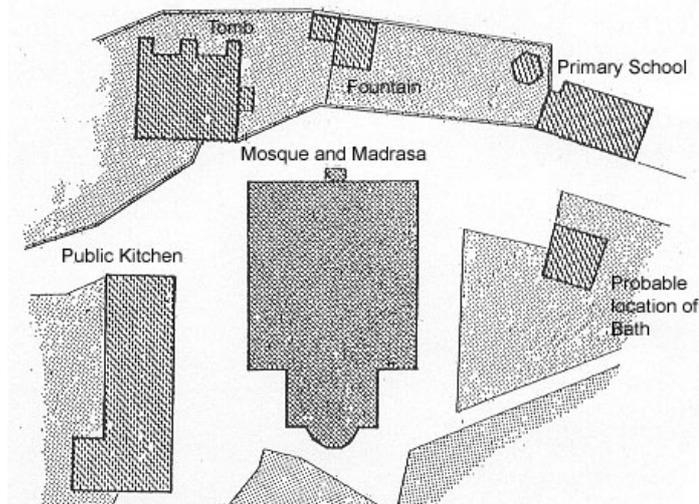


Figure 4. 11 Site Plan of Murad I (Hüdavendigâr) Complex in Bursa (1391)

Source: Akozan F. (1969), "Türk Külliyesi", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 8, Ankara, Fig. 7, p. 313.

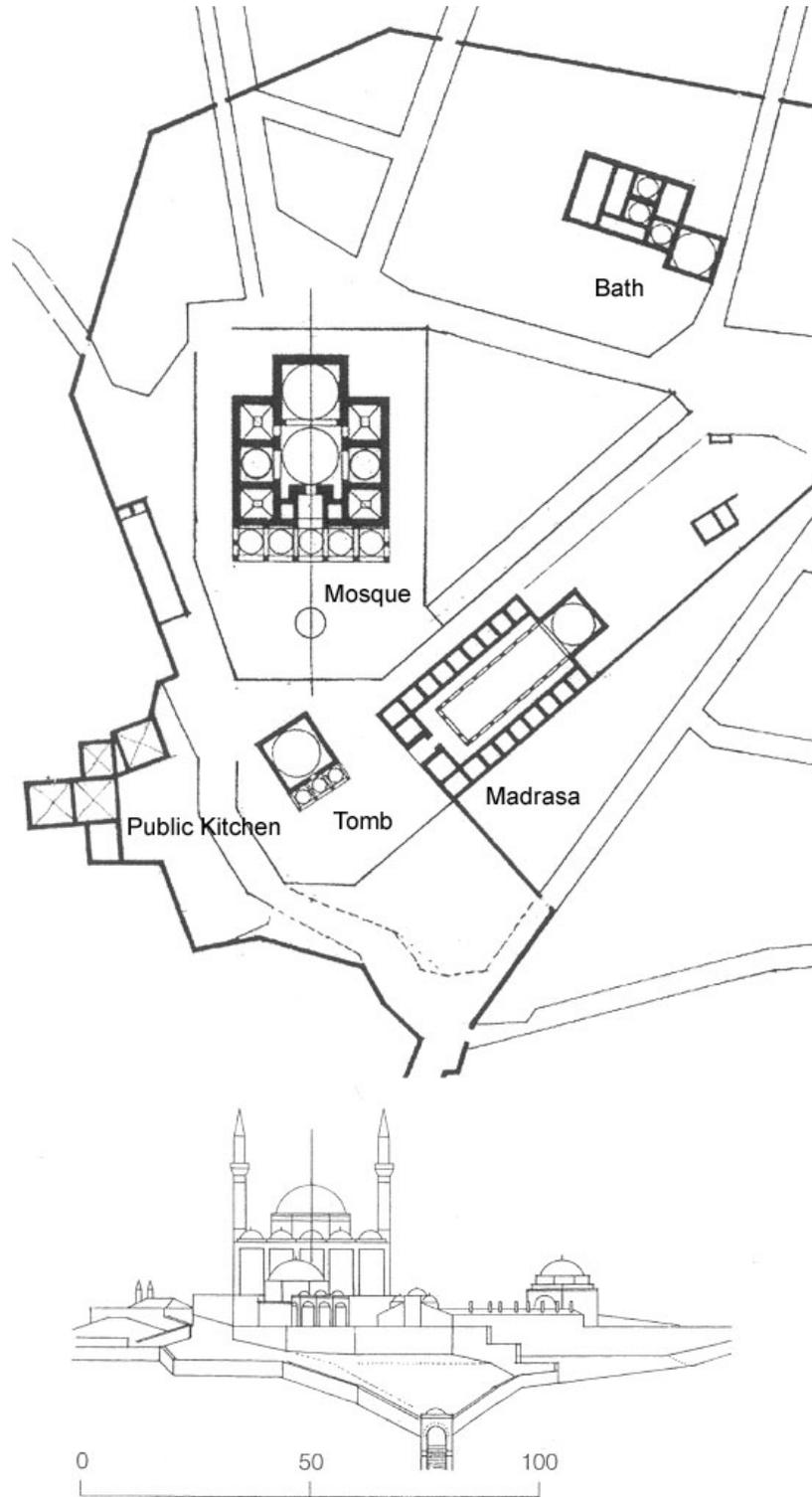


Figure 4. 12 Site Plan and Elevation of Bayezid I (Yıldırım) Complex in Bursa (1395)

Source: Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliye - Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantığı*, İstanbul: Mimari Tasarım Yayınları, p. 84.

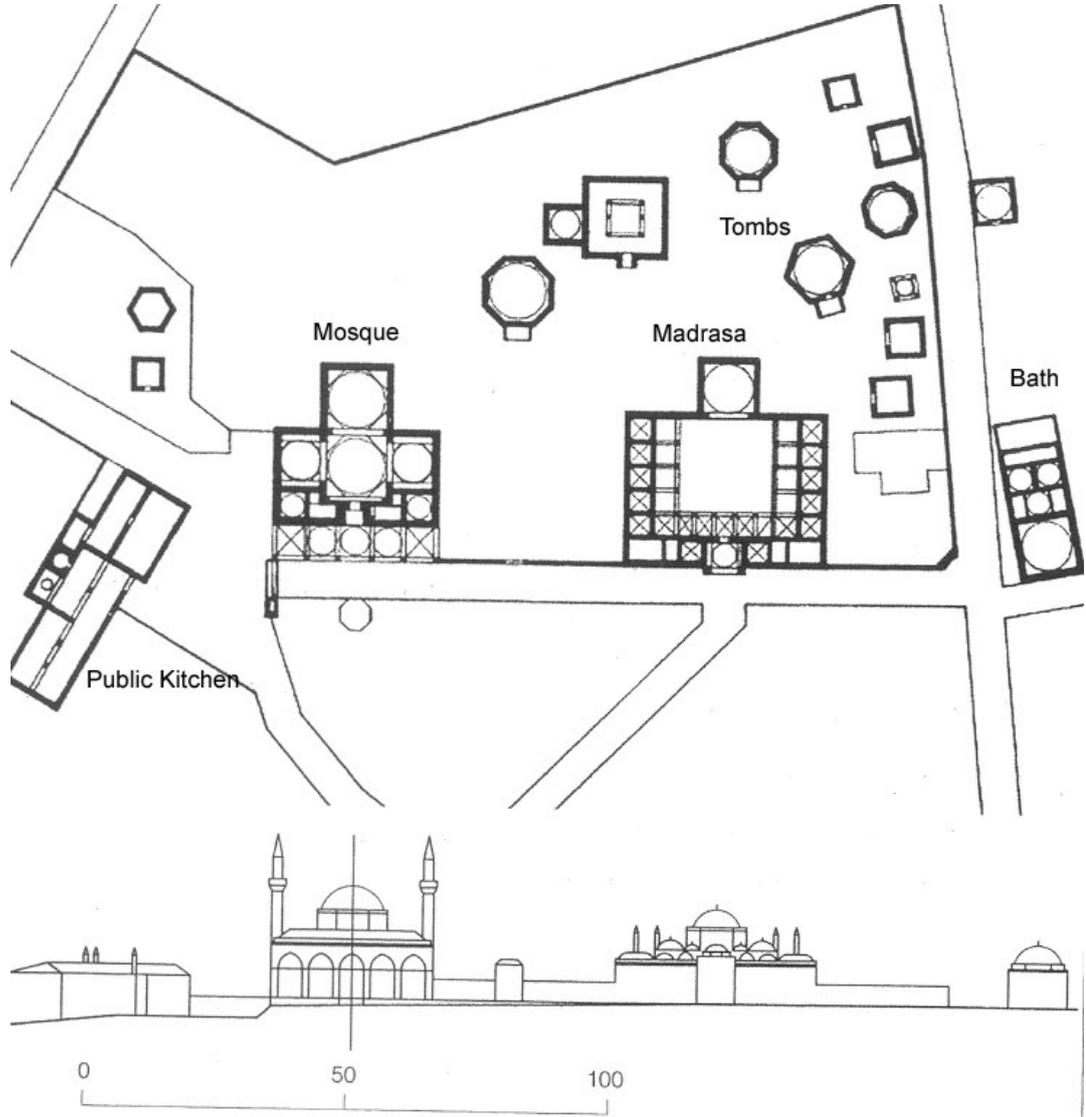


Figure 4. 13 Site Plan and Elevation of Murad II (Muradiye) Complex in Bursa (1425)

Source: Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliye - Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantığı*, İstanbul: Mimari Tasarım Yayınları, p. 86.

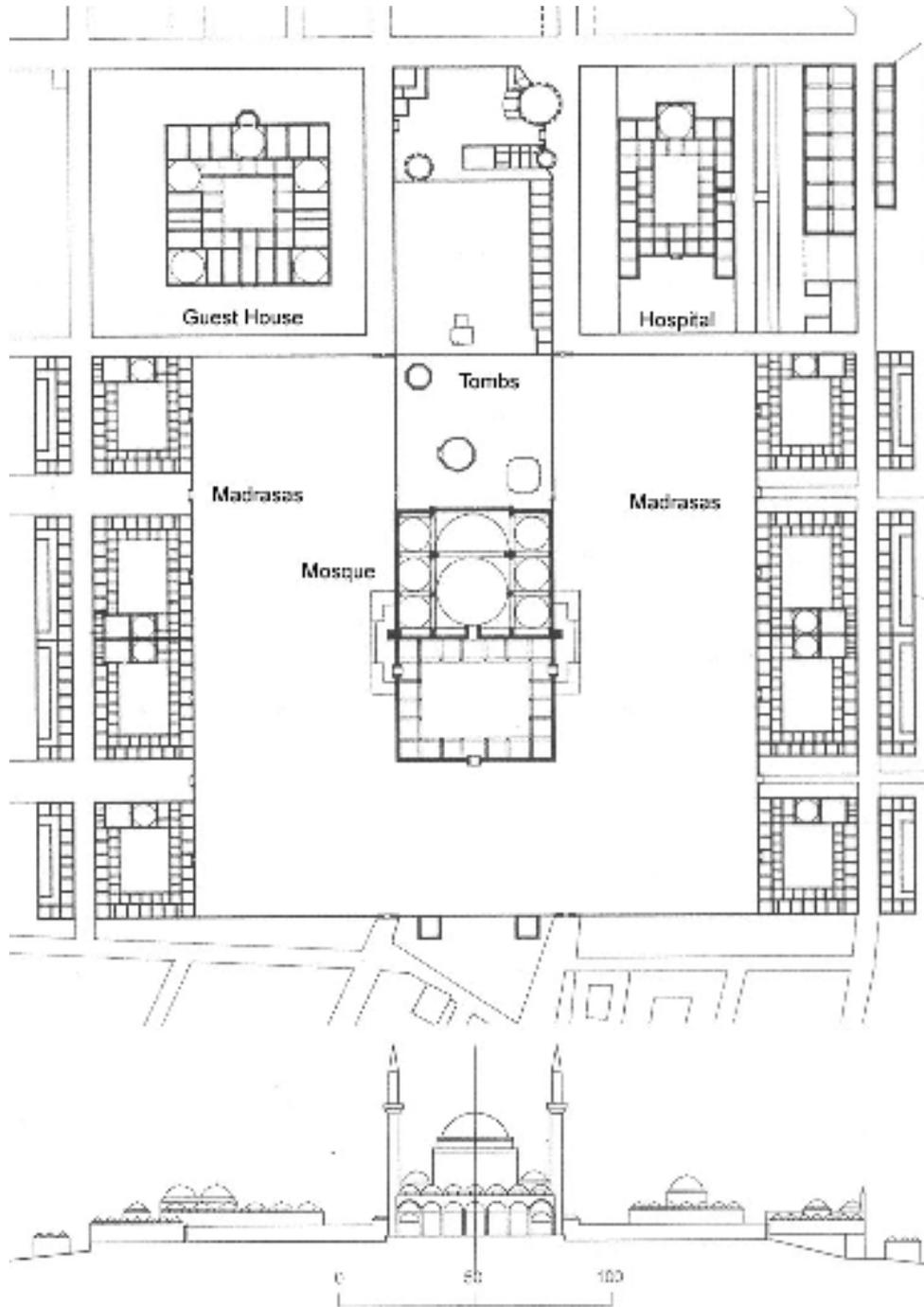


Figure 4. 14 Site Plan and Elevation of Mehmed II (Fatih) Complex in İstanbul (1463-70)

Source: Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliye - Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantığı*, İstanbul: Mimari Tasarım Yayınları, p. 95.

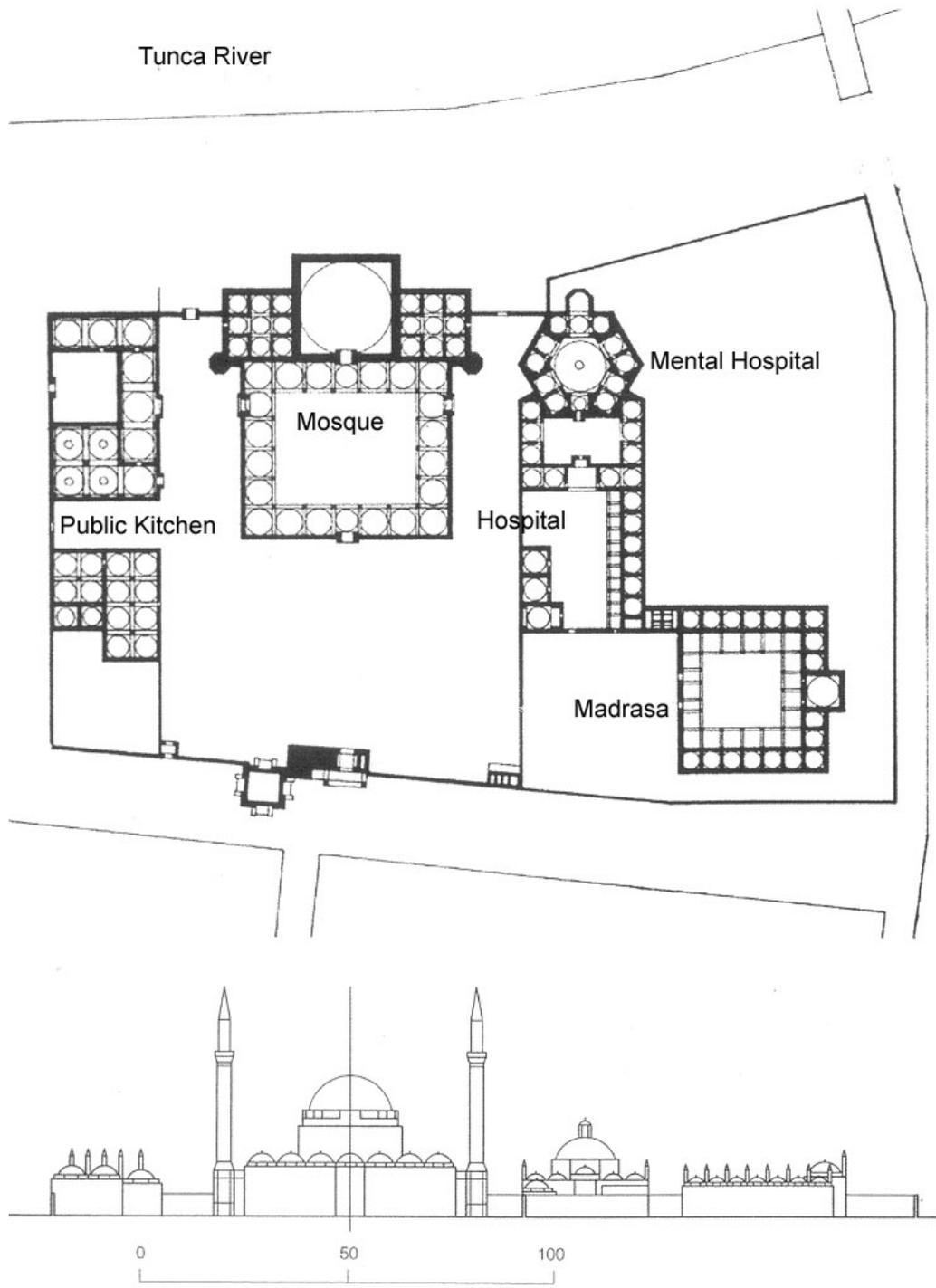


Figure 4. 15 Site Plan and Elevation of Bayezid II Complex in Edirne (1484-88)

Source: Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliye - Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantığı*, İstanbul: Mimari Tasarım Yayınları, p. 102.

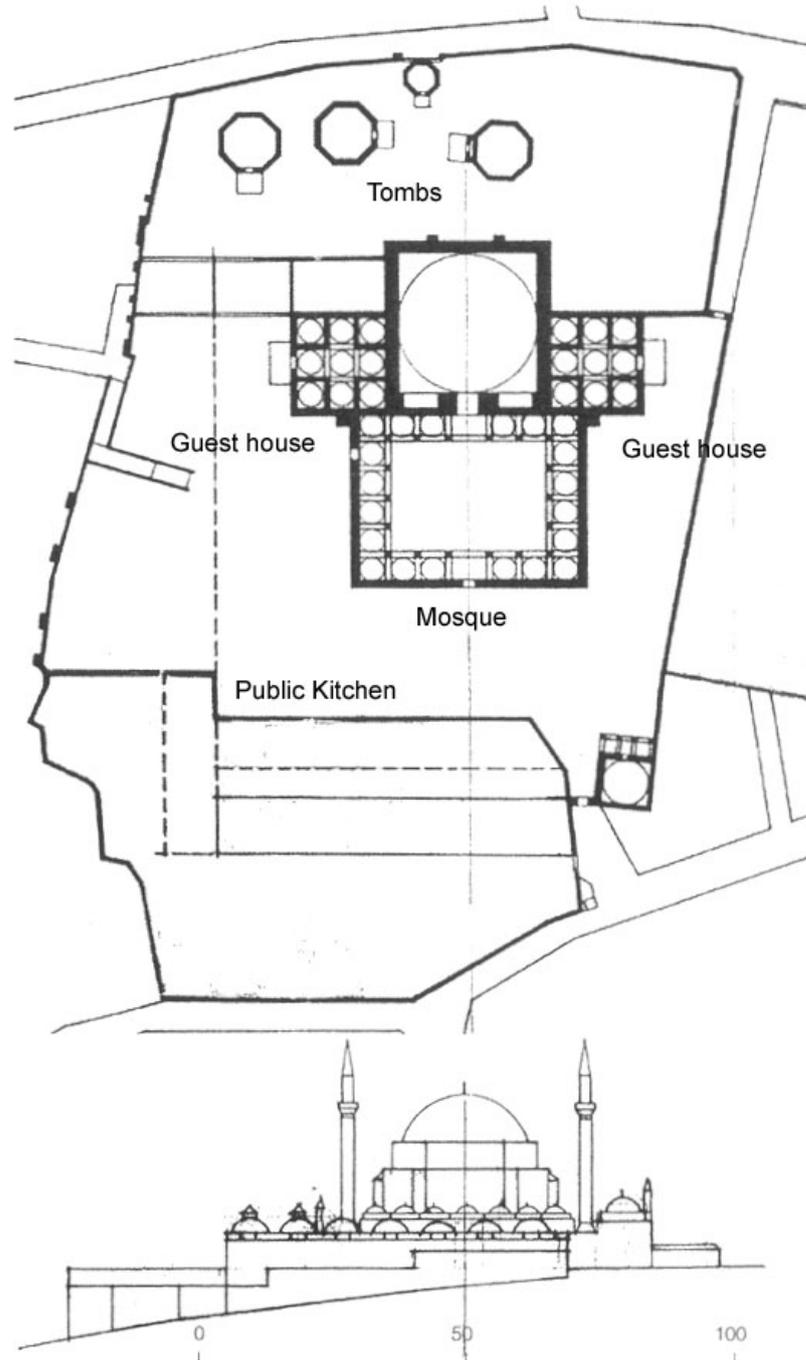


Figure 4. 16 Site Plan and Elevation of Selim I (Yavuz Sultan Selim) Complex in İstanbul (1520)

Source: Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliyyeye - Osmanlı Külliyyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantığı*, İstanbul: Mimari Tasarım Yayınları, p. 115.

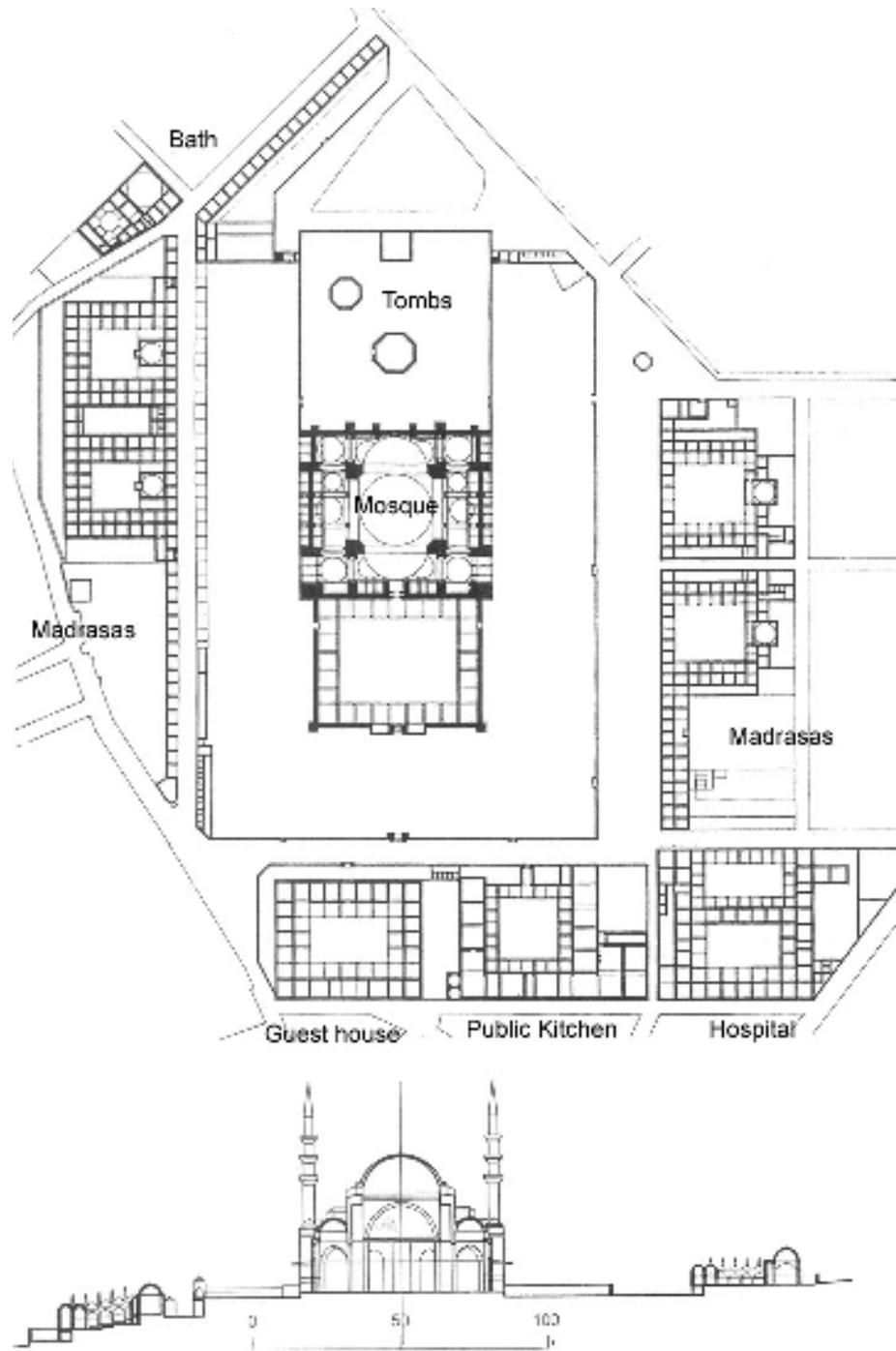


Figure 4. 17 Site Plan and Section of Süleyman I (Süleymaniye) Complex in İstanbul (1557)
 Source: Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliye - Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantığı*, İstanbul: Mimarî Tasarım Yayınları, p. 126.



**Figure 4. 18 View towards the Courtyard of Sokollu Mehmet Paşa Complex in Kadırğa (1571)
(photograph taken by C. Katipoğlu)**



a



b



c

Figure 4. 19 Entrance Façades of a) Çifte Medrese in Kayseri (1205), b) İsa Bey Mosque in Selçuk (1375), and c) Murad I (Hüdavendigâr) Mosque and Madrasa in Bursa (1391)



Figure 4. 20 Doğan Bey Mosque in its Urban Context in Tire



Figure 4. 21 Gazazhane Mosque in its Urban Context in Tire

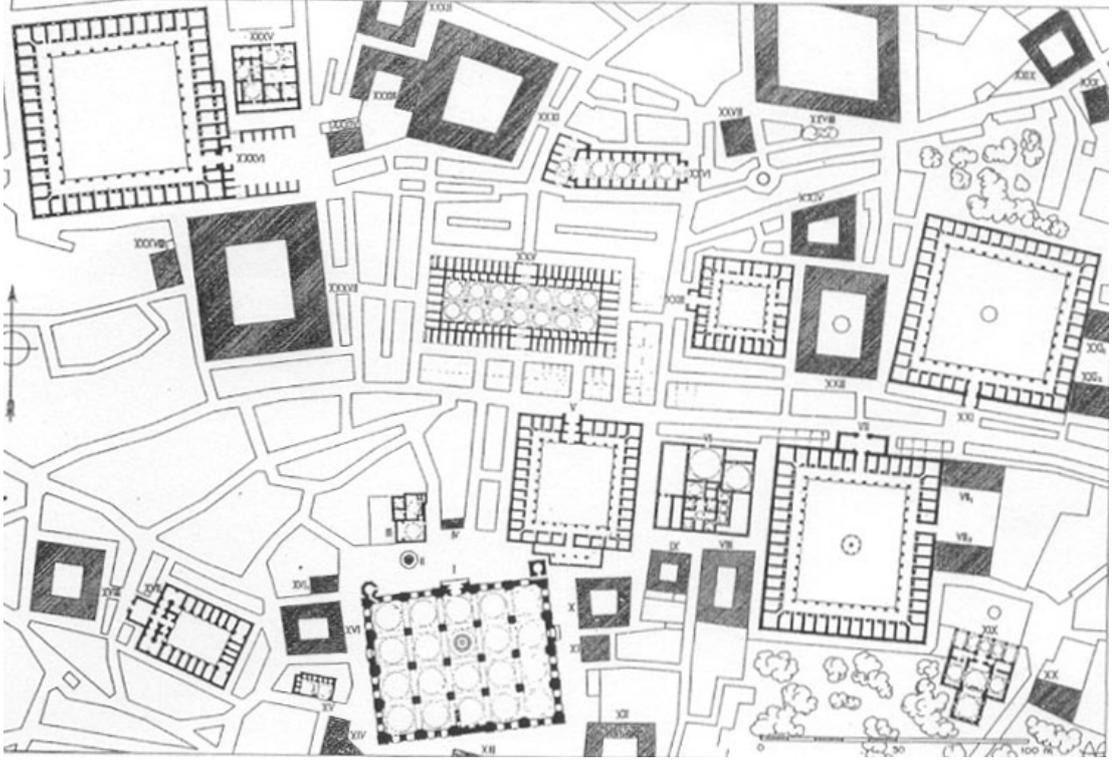


Figure 4. 22 Commercial District in Bursa

Source: Ataman A. (2000), *Bir Göz Yapıdan Külliye - Osmanlı Külliyelerinde Kamusal Mekan Mantığı*, İstanbul: Mimari Tasarım Yayınları, p. 75.

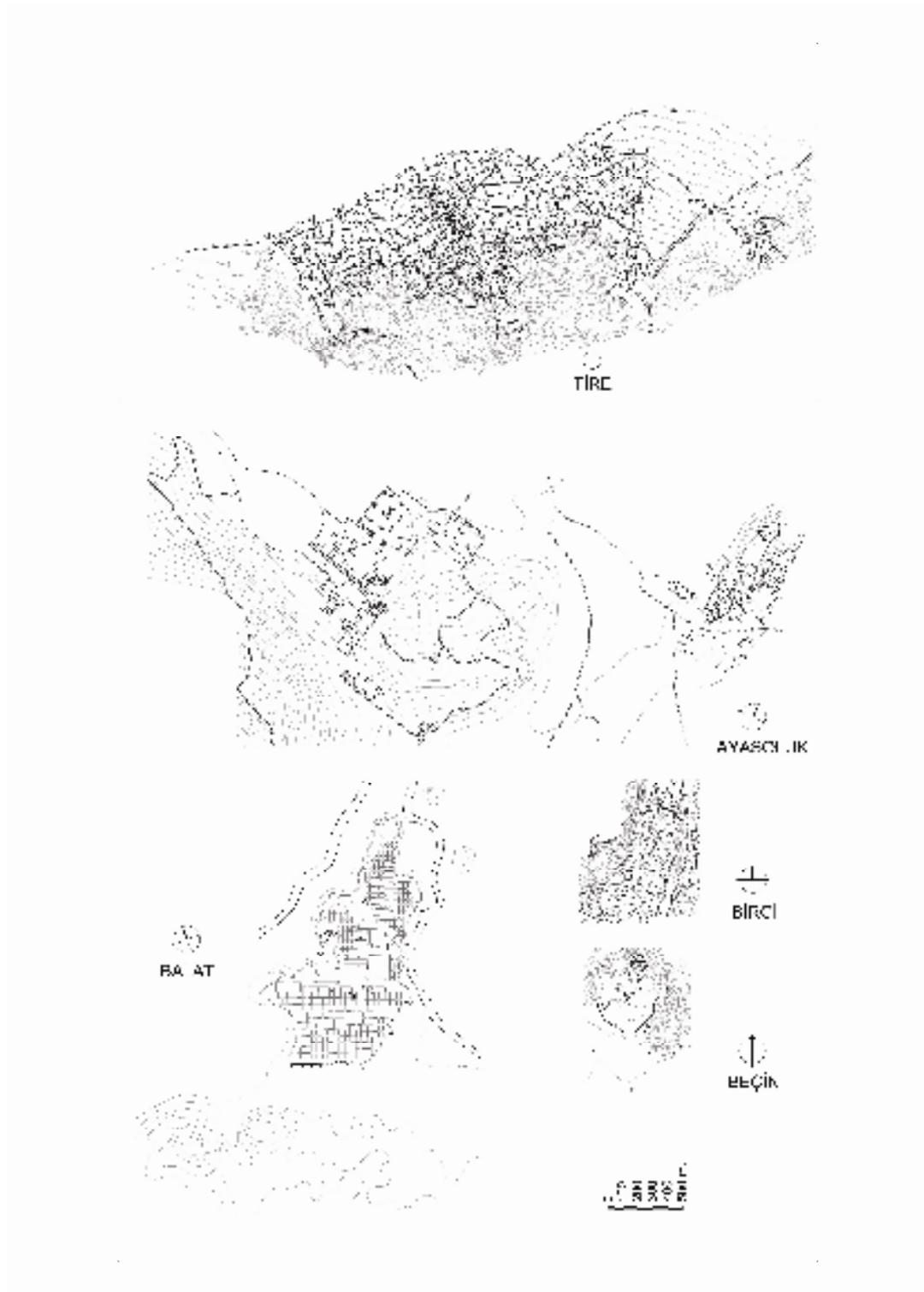


Figure 5. 1 Comparative Plans of Western Anatolian Urban Centers

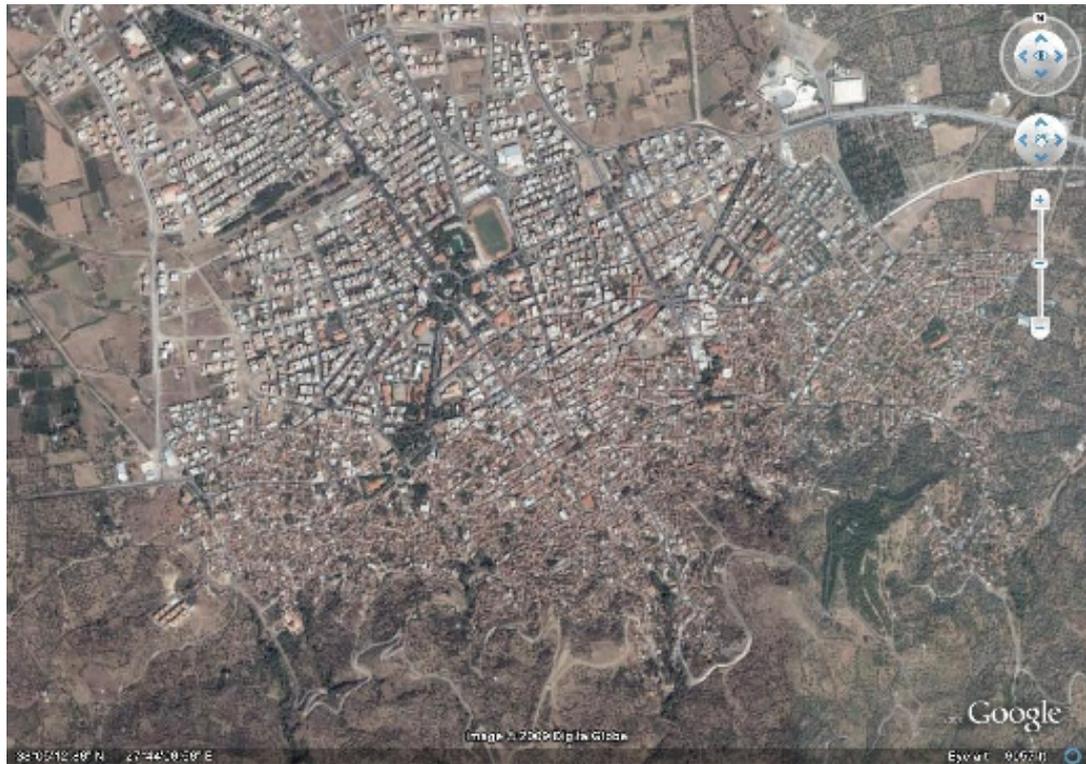


Figure 5. 2 Aerial View of Tire
 Source: www.googleearth.com

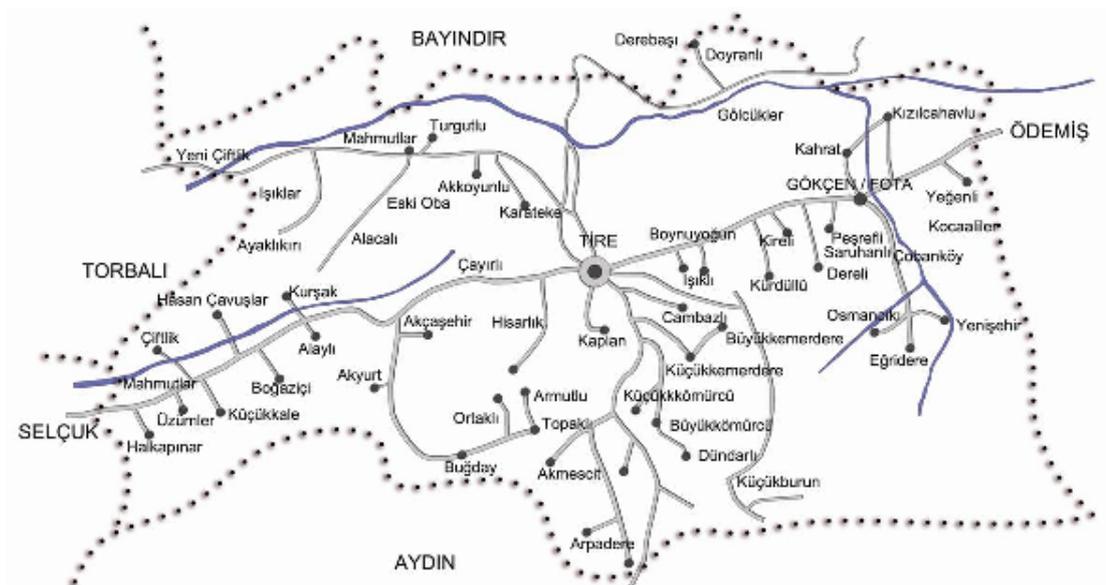


Figure 5. 3 Location of Tire, its Villages, and its Environs
 Source: Tokluoğlu F. (1964), *Tire*. İzmir: Şehir Matbaası.

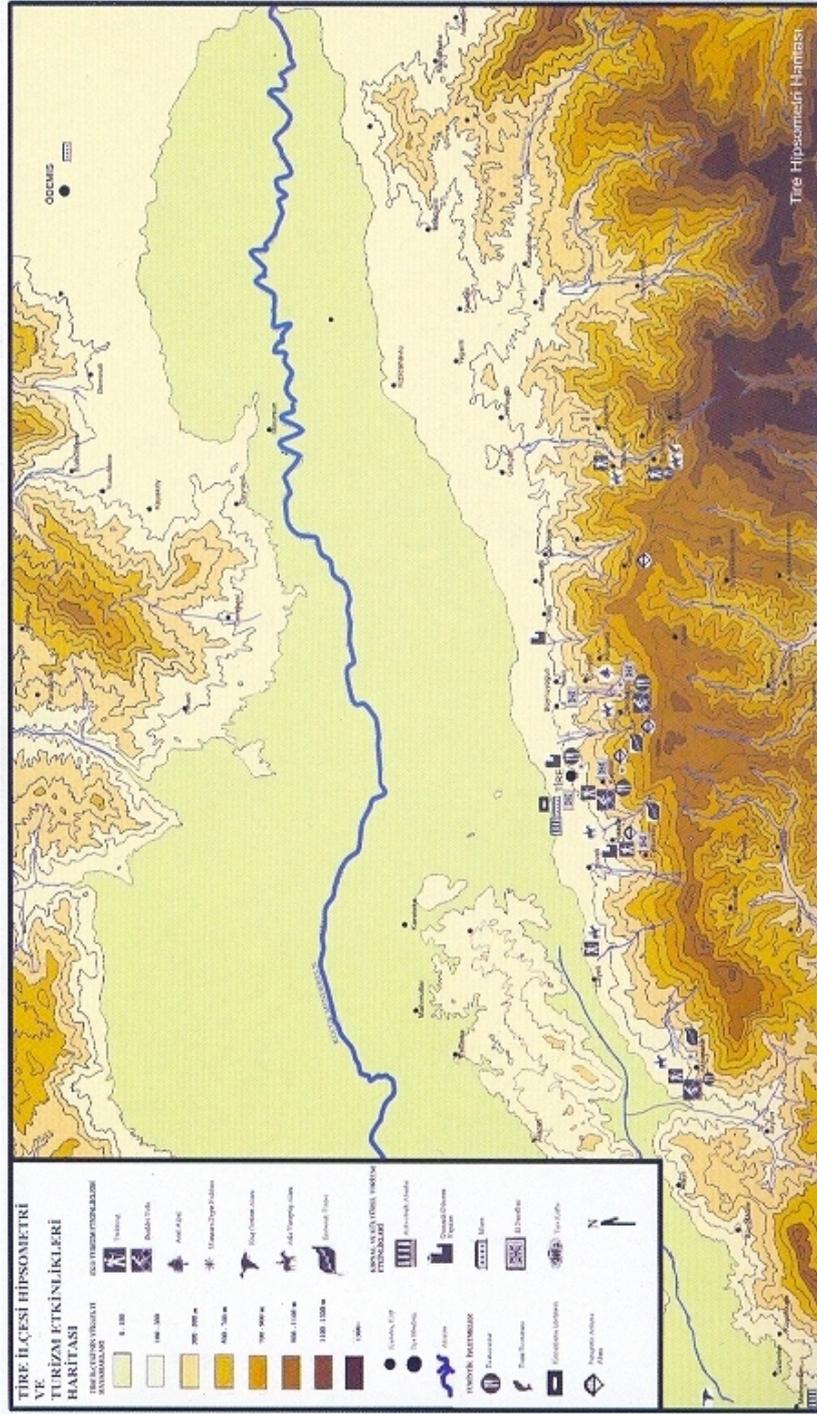


Figure 5. 4 Geographical Map of Tire and its Environs
 Source: _____ (2008), *Tire Rehber 2008*, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları



Figure 5. 5 Arzawa Territory during the Hittite period (14th Century BC.)

Source: Meriç R. (2002), "Metropolis Yakınındaki Hitit Çağdaş Bir Arzawa Kenti: Puranda", *İzmir Kent Kültürü Dergisi*, 5, p. 230.



Figure 5. 6 Territory of the Lands of Temple of Artemis during the Roman Rule

Source: Evren A. (1985), *Tire ve Çevresinde Bulunan Pişmiş Toprak Lahitler*, İstanbul : Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, Map. 2, p. 18.



Figure 5. 7 Altı Birlik Steli [stone piece of unity of six] in Tire Museum today



Figure 5. 8 Map of the Province of İzmir at beginning of the 20th Century

Source: İzmir, Map of Province, prepared by Erkan-ı Harbiye-ı Umumiye H. 1332 / AD. 1913, Archive of National Library in Ankara, Hrt 1994 D 1451.



Figure 5. 9 Hypothetical Locations of Markets in the Commercial District in the Medieval Era



Figure 5. 10 Leather Manufacturers Still Existing in Today's Tire



Figure 5. 11 Views towards Derekahve (on the left) and the Current Situation of A Small Brach of Tabakhane River (on the right)



Figure 5. 12 Textile Craftsmen, Renowned for the Manufacture of a Particular Type of Cloth Named Beledi, in Today's Tire

Source: Ertekin L. E. (2006), *Beledi Dokuması, Renk Cümbüşü, İplik Armonisi*, İzmir: Tülov Yayınları, cover picture

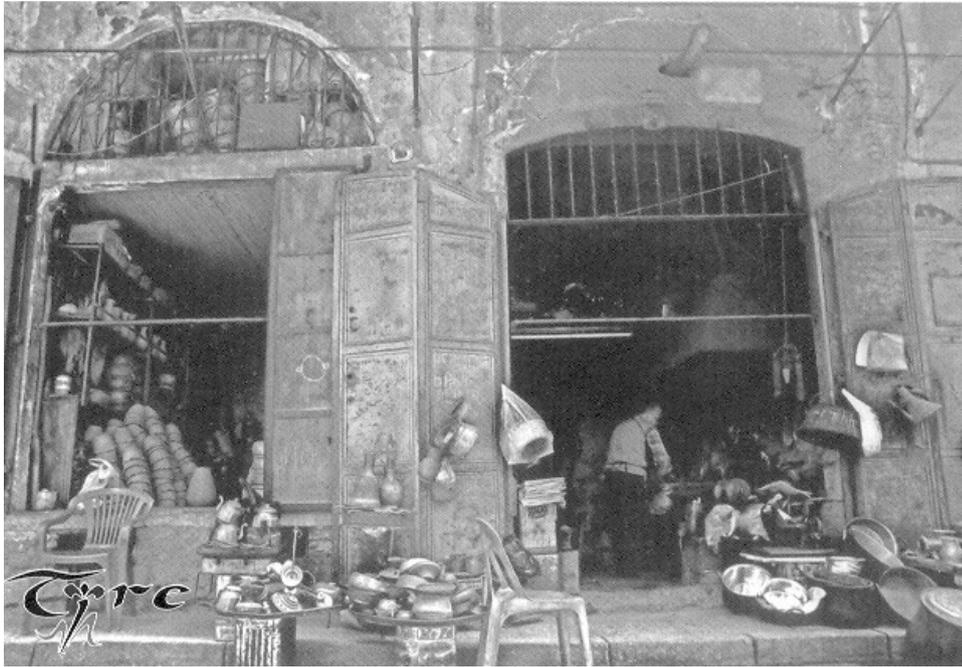


Figure 5. 13 Coppersmiths Still Existing in Today's Tiro
 Source: Postcards of Tiro Municipality Printed in 2006



Figure 5. 14 General View of Tiro depicted by P. Lucas
 Source: Lucas P. (1719), *Troisième Voyage de Sieur, Paul Lucas*, 3, Roven: Robert Machuel, Figure for p. 220.

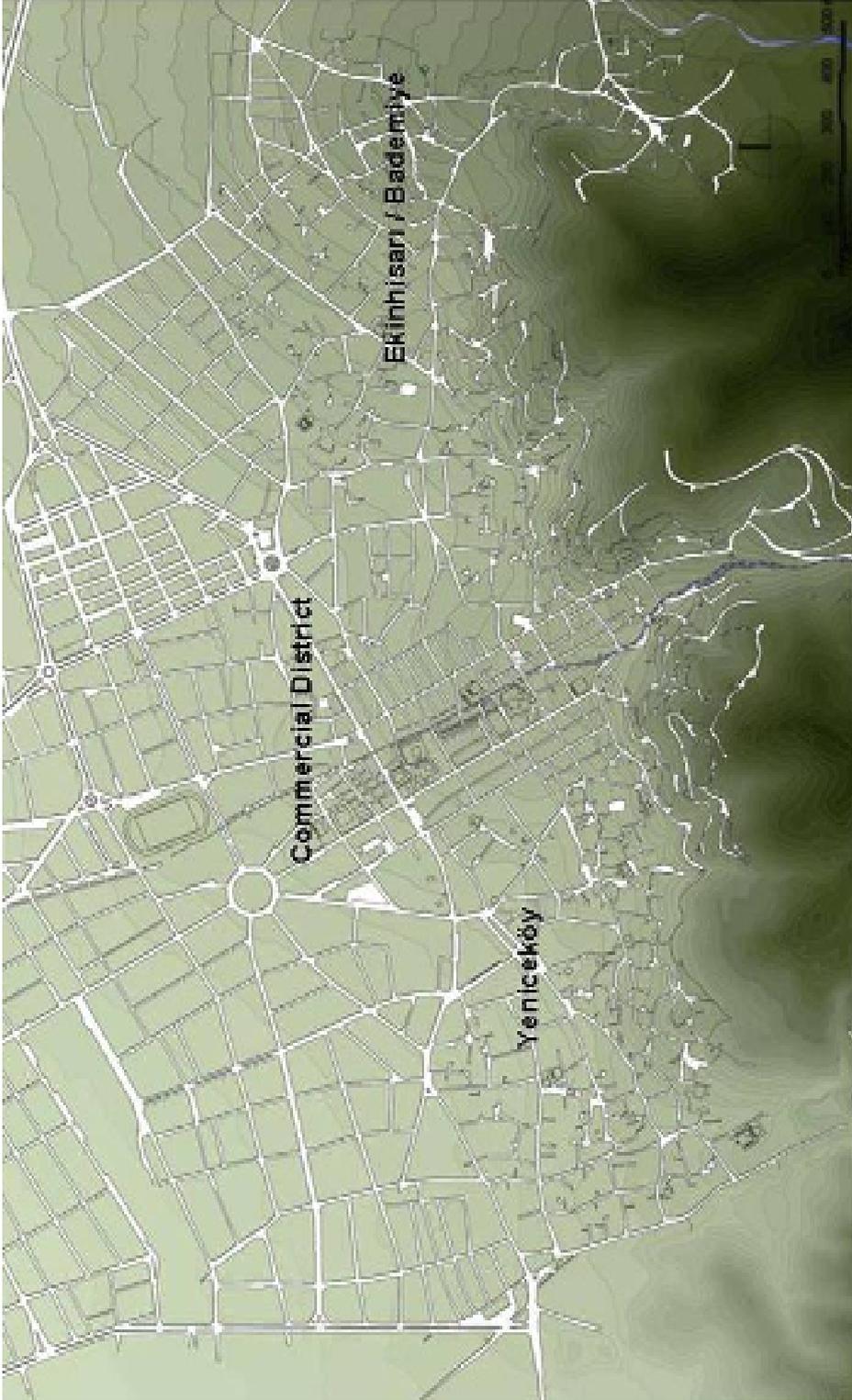


Figure 5. 15 Plan of Tire, Street Network, Topography and Major Foci of Settlement



Figure 5. 16 Tire with Current Major Arteries, Atatürk Boulevard on the North-South Axis and Gümüşpala Street of the East-West Axis

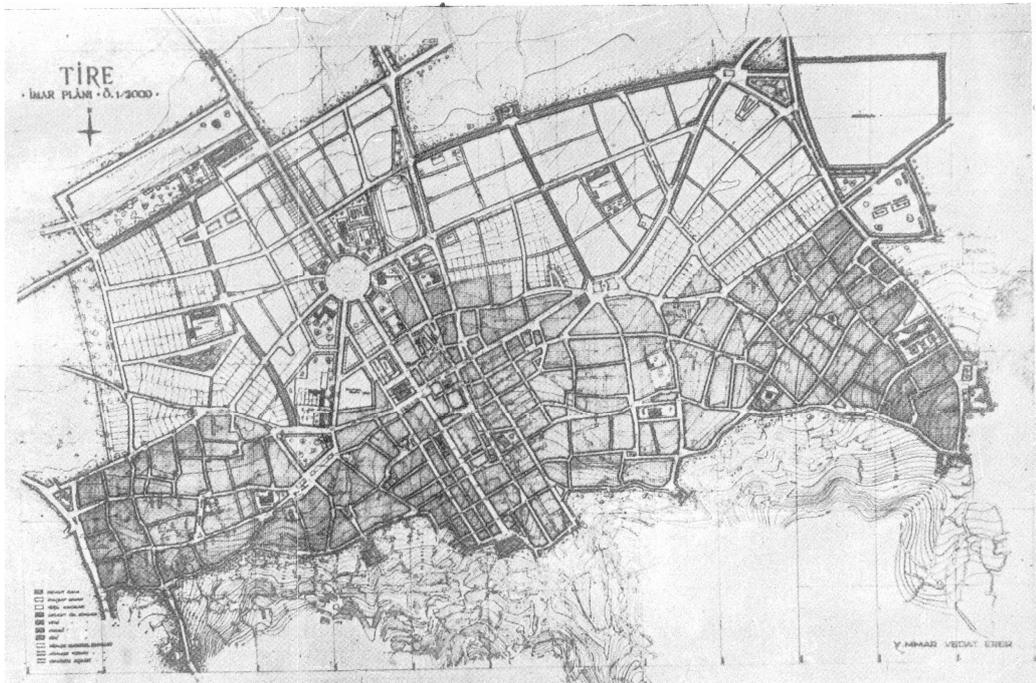


Figure 5. 17 Urban Redevelopment Plan of Tire in 1950

Source: _____ (1955), *Beş Yılda Tire 1950-1955*, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları.



Figure 5. 18 Urban Redevelopment Implementations in Tire in 1950

Source: _____ (1955), *Beş Yılda Tire 1950-1955*, İzmir: Tire Belediyesi Yayınları, Archive of Tire Municipality



Figure 5. 19 Atatürk Boulevard (on the left) West end of the Selçuk – Ödemiş Road (on the right)

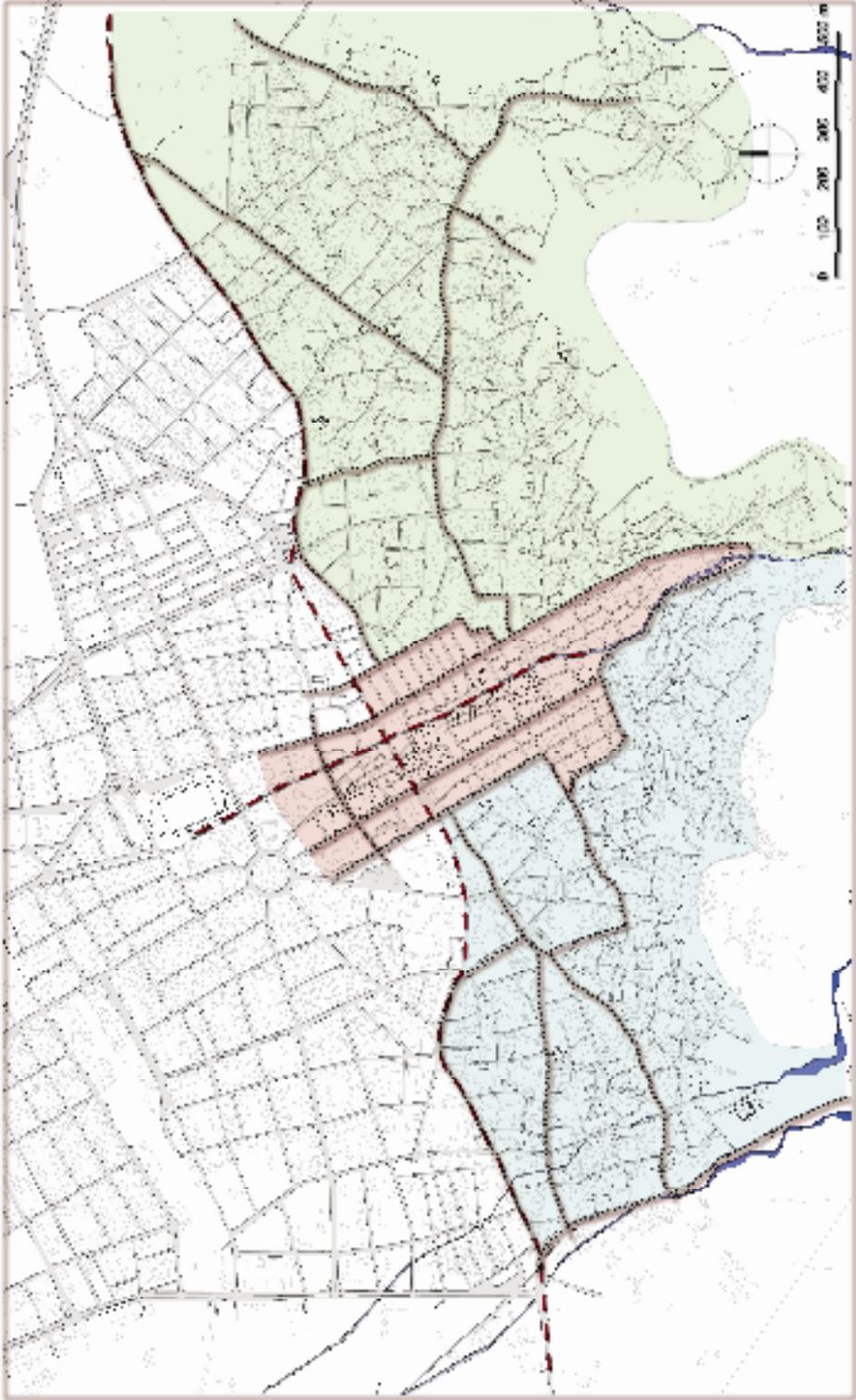


Figure 5. 20 Urban Divisions in Tires

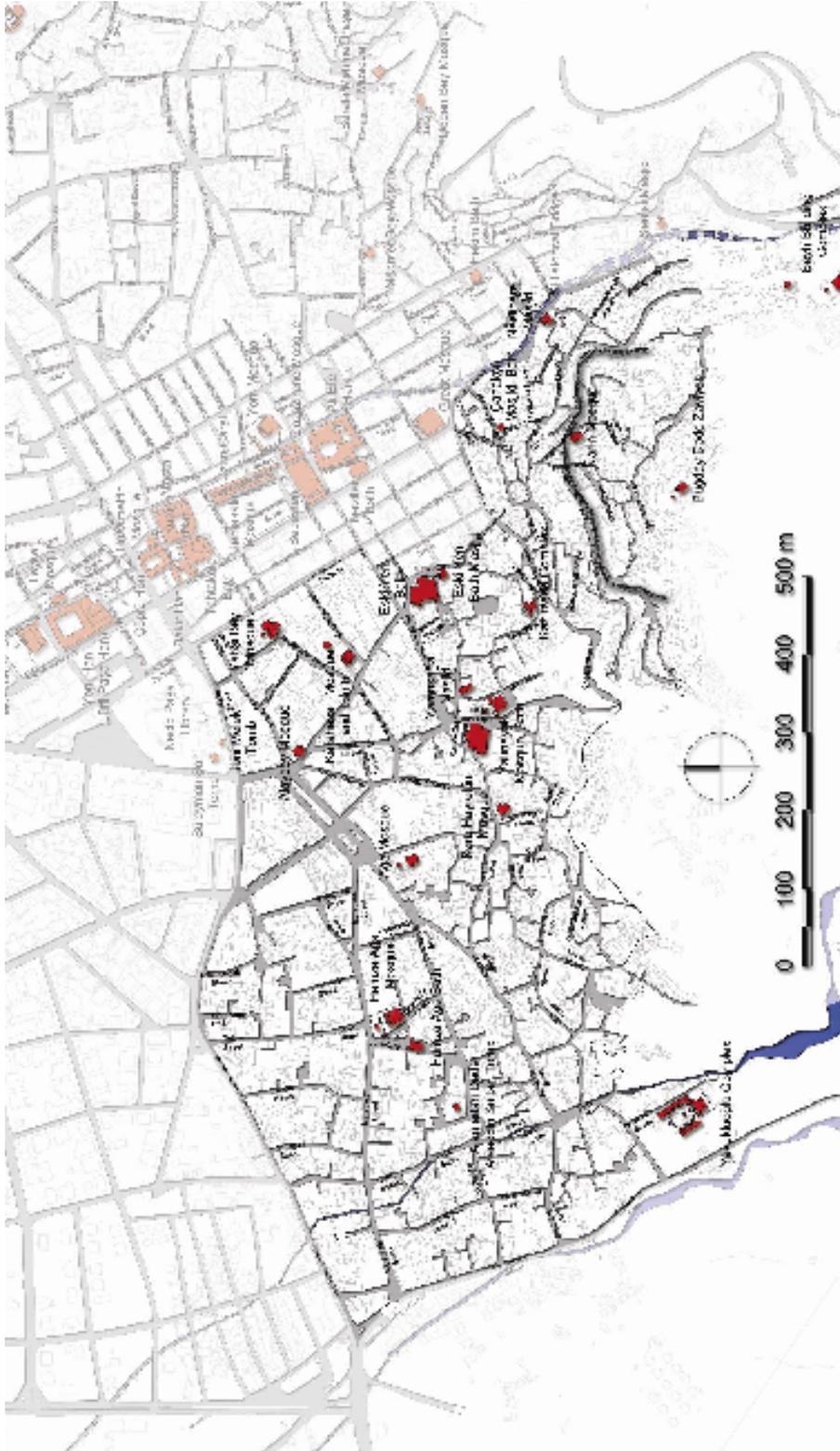


Figure 5. 21 Plan of Yeniceköy Division in Tire



Figure 5. 22 Plan of Bademiyi Division in Tire

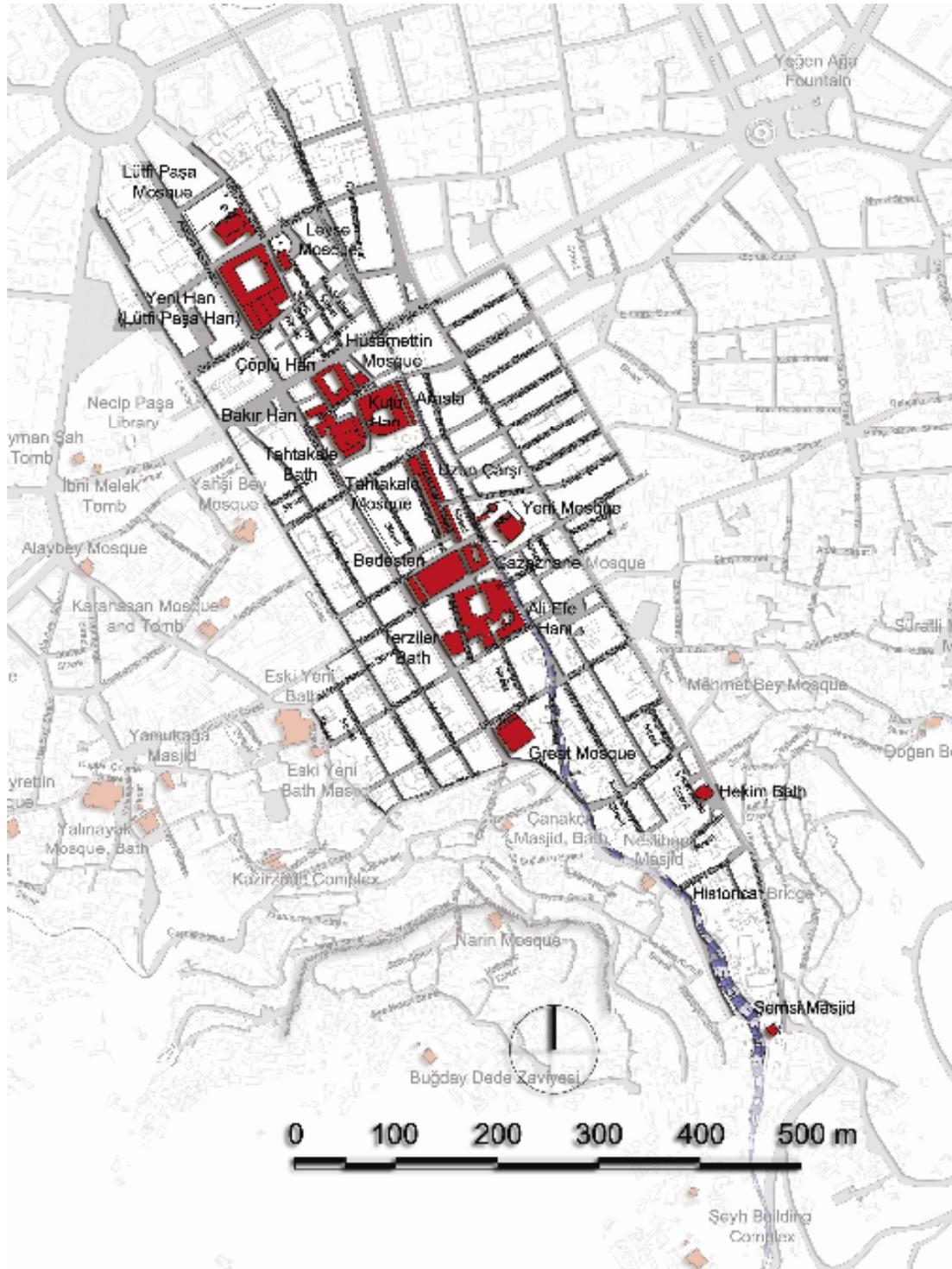


Figure 5. 23 Plan of Commercial District, Center of Tire



Figure 5. 24 Bakır Han from the Atatürk Boulevard



Figure 5. 25 Road Passing through Leyse and Lütfü Paşa Mosques



Figure 5. 26 Plan of Tire with Original Major Arteries and Supposedly Existing Fortifications (Hypothetically drawn)

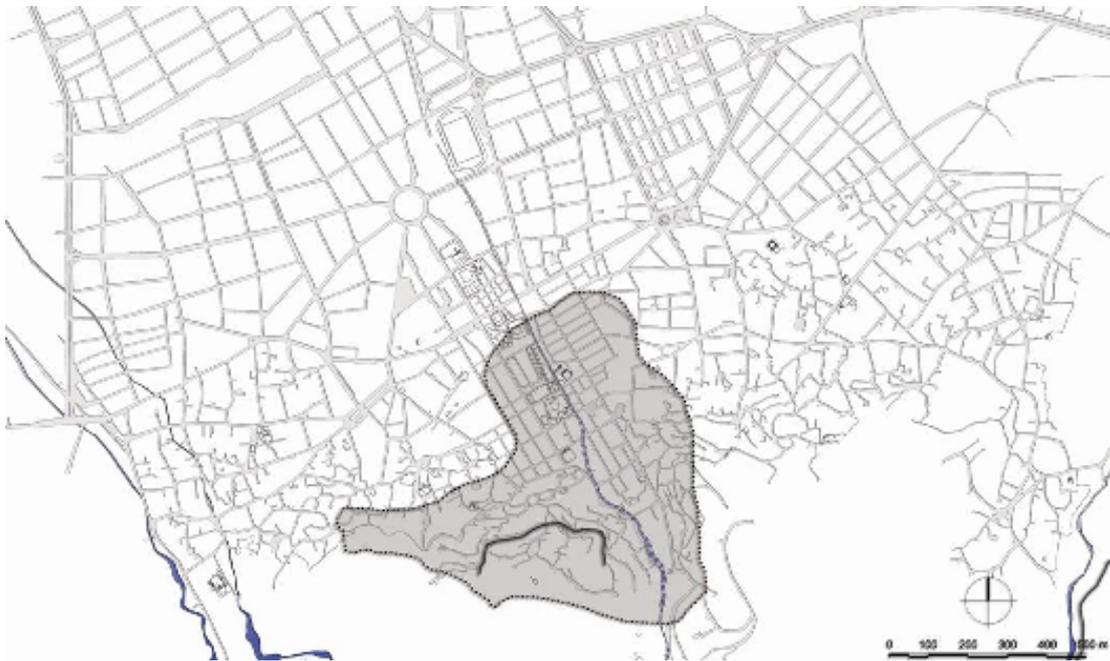


Figure 5. 27 Supposed Territory of the Byzantine Tire (Hypothetically drawn)



Arasta (on the left),
Uzunçarşı (on the right)



Tahtakale Square (on the left)
Street opening to Tahtakale Sq. (on the right)



Figure 5. 28 Views from the Commercial District of Tire

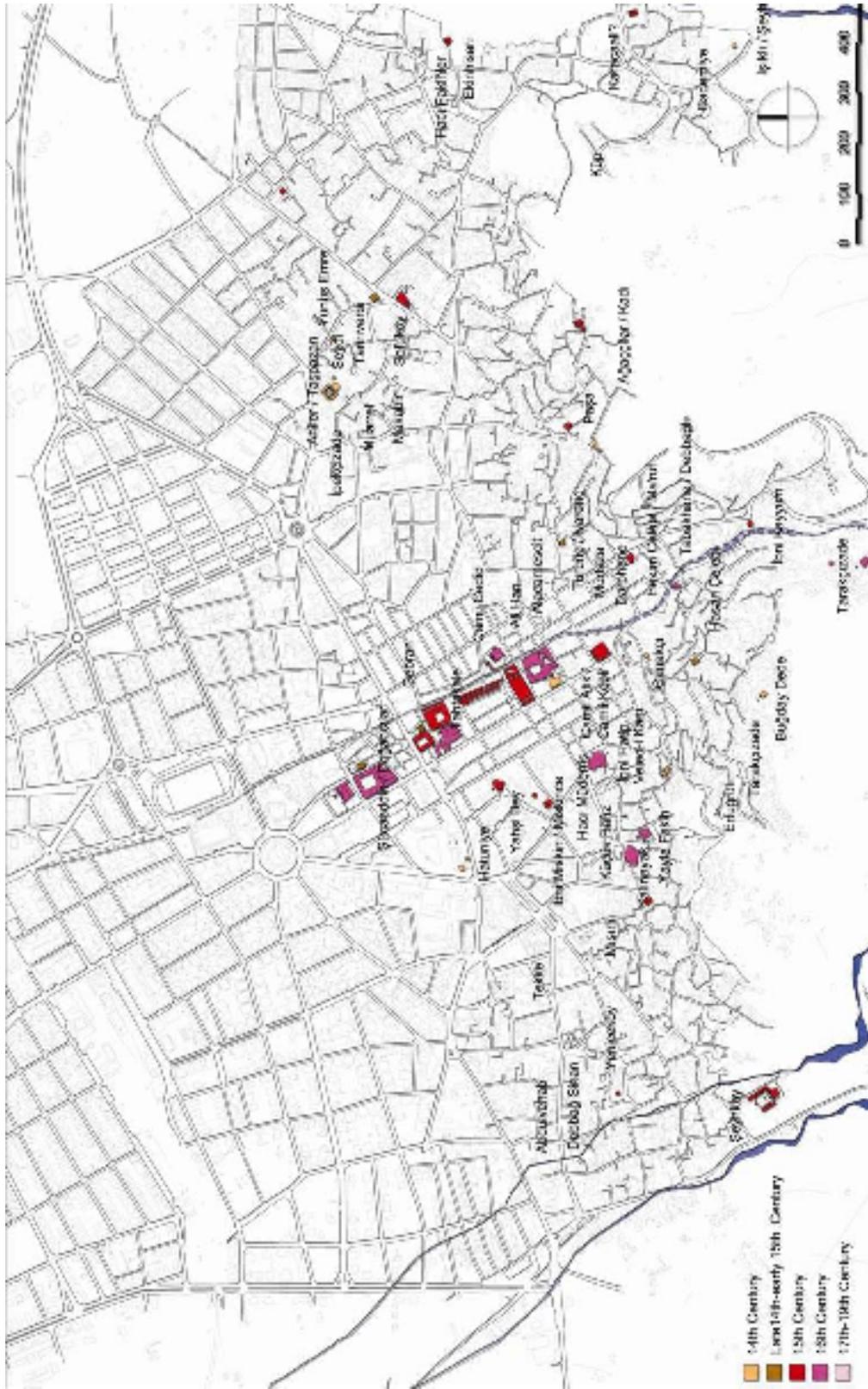


Figure 5. 32 Distribution of Ottoman Neighborhoods, Second Period

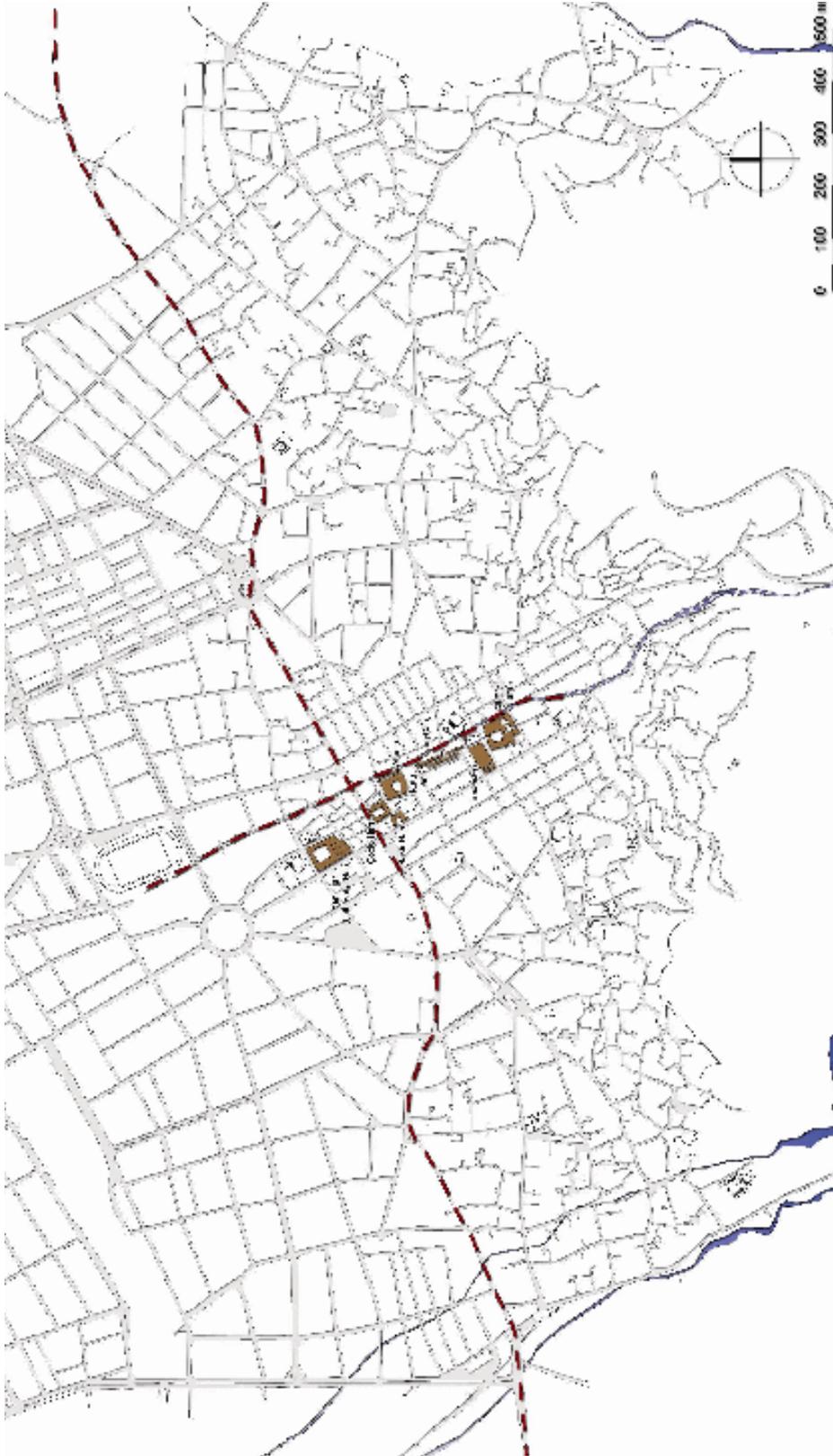


Figure 5.33 The Major Arteries and the Location of the Historical Commercial Buildings



Figure 5. 34 Balm Sultan Zaviyesi in Hisarlık Village



Figure 5. 35 Karakadı Mecdettin Complex in its Current Urban Context



Figure 5. 36 Hafsa Hatun Complex in its Current Environmental Context



Figure 5. 38 Courtyard of Yavukluoğlu Complex

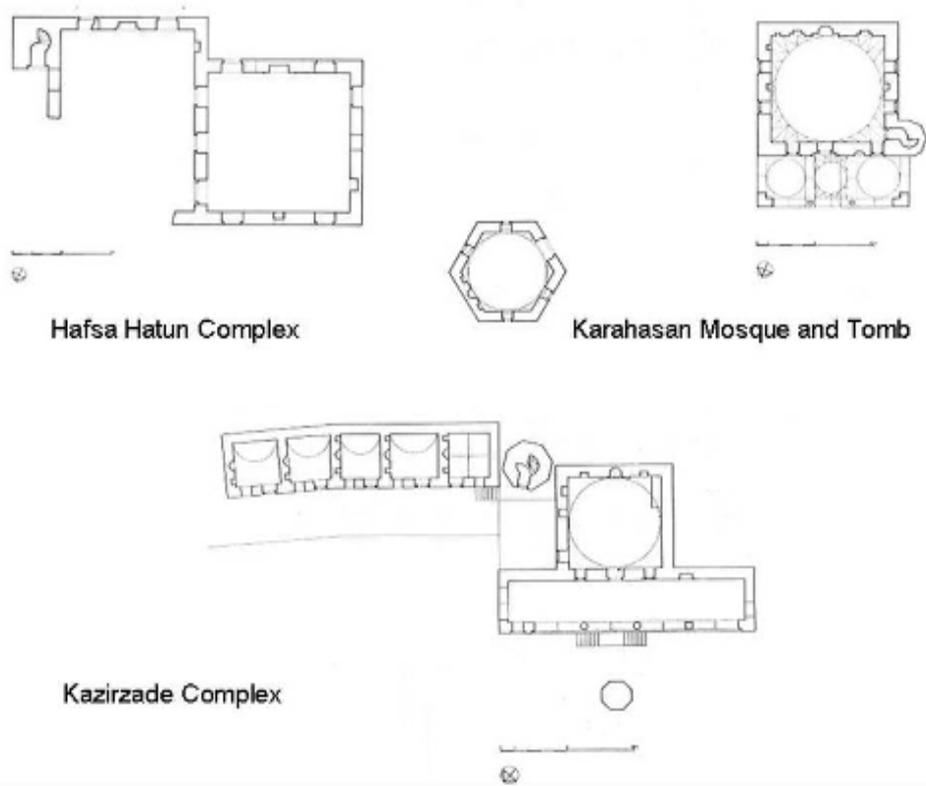


Figure 5. 39 Site Plans of Hafsa Hatun Complex, Kazirzade Complex, and Karahasan Mosque and Tomb

Source: Aslanoğlu İ. (1978), *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Fig. 2, 6, 19, pp. 8, 11, 26.

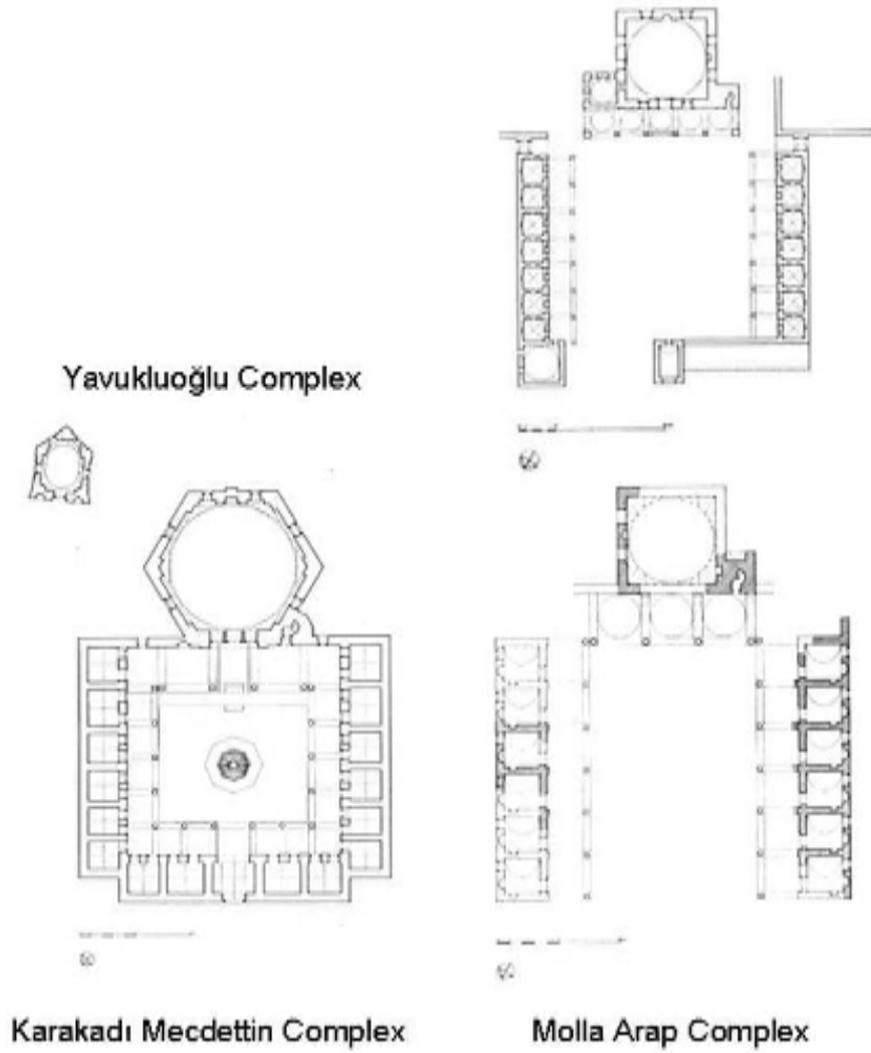


Figure 5. 40 Site Plans of Karakadı Mecdettin, Yavukluoğlu, and Molla Arap Complexes
 Source: Aslanoğlu İ. (1978), *Tire'de Camiler ve Üç Mescit*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayınları, Fig. 11, 39,48, pp. 17, 51, 61.



Figure 5. 41 Yalınayak Mosque



Figure 5. 42 Yalınayak Bath



Figure 5. 43 General View of Tire from Toptepe towards West



Figure 5. 44 Minaret of Suratli Mehmet Paşa Mosque and Doğan Bey Mosque



Figure 5. 46 Yahşi Bey Mosque (Yeşil İmaret)



Figure 5. 47 Hasır Pazarı (Hüsamettin) Mosque (on the left), Tahtakale Mosque (on the right)

VITA

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- Cosmological Thought and Architecture in the Middle East
- Anatolian Seljuk Architecture

-

The projects participated;

- "Tarihin Dönüm Noktalarında Bir Mimar: *Clemens Holzmeister*" (An Architect at Turning Points of History: *Clemens Holzmeister*) titled international exhibition
- "Bir Ortaçağ Yapısına Çok Yönlü Bakışlar: Divriği'deki Ulu Cami Ve Melike Turan Şifahanesi'nin Sonlu Elemanlar Analizi İle Teknolojik Çözümlemesi Ve Anadolu Ortaçağı'nda Bir Kamu Yapısının Sembolizmi" başlıklı Bilimsel Araştırma Projesi" titled BAP (Scientific Research Project)
- "Batı Anadolu'da Türkleşme Sürecinin Mimari Yansımaları: Çeşme Kalesinin Arkasındaki İlk Türk Yerleşkesinde Yüzey Araştırması ve Rölöve Çalışması" titled BAP (Scientific Research Project)
- "Ortaçağ Anadolu-Suriye Etkileşimi: İpekyolu Üzerindeki Yerleşimlerde Yapılı Çevrenin Biçimlenmesi" titled BAP (Scientific Research Project)

PUBLICATIONS

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