BETWEEN TWO CAPITALS: INFRASTRUCTURE, ARCHITECTURE, AND URBANISM ON THE OTTOMAN ORTA KOL

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Between Two Capitals: Infrastructure, Architecture, and Urbanism on the Ottoman Orta Kol

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Between Two Capitals: Infrastructure, Architecture, and Urbanism on the Ottoman Orta Kol

This thesis studies the architectural and urban history between Edirne and Istanbul on the *Orta Kol* until the 18th century. Since academic studies on Istanbul and Edirne relatively neglect the significance of the towns between them, it is hoped that this study will shed light on the history of the region. In this work, effects of being located between the two capitals of the Ottoman Empire and on the main artery to the West on urbanization of settlements are emphasized along with construction motives and patronage. After presenting the history of the region before the arrival of the Ottomans briefly, the use of the road during the Ottoman period, the change of routes, stopover points, infrastructural works, and safety measures to ensure the functionality of the road are examined. The roles these towns had on the provision of travelers, the provisioning of city of Istanbul, the Ottoman court, and the army are explored alongside the urban networks they formed. In remaining chapters, architectural and urban histories of the settlements, each of which formed a stopover point, are studied from following the route from Istanbul to Edirne respectively. In the light of the information presented, it is possible to divide the construction of infrastructure and public buildings periods into three main periods, which roughly correspond to the reign of Mehmed II, the reigns of Süleyman I and Selim II, and the 17th century. Consequently, it is seen that the road and the towns were of essential importance for the Empire, grew tremendously and retained their importance until 1703, when the palace made a definitive return to Istanbul from Edirne after a 50 year period when it was mainly located in the Thracian capital.

ÖZET

İki Başkent Arasında: Osmanlı Orta Kolunda Altyapı, Mimari ve Şehirleşme

Bu tez, 18. yüzyıla kadar *Orta Kol* üzerinde Edirne ve İstanbul arasındaki mimarlık ve şehir tarihini incelemektedir. İstanbul ve Edirne üzerine yapılan akademik çalışmaların, bu iki şehrin arasındaki kasabaların önemini kısmen göz ardı etmesi nedeniyle bu çalışmanın bölgenin tarihine ışık tutması umulmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, Osmanlı Devleti'nin iki başkenti arasında ve Batı'ya giden ana arter üzerinde konumlanmanın, yerleşim yerlerinin kentleşmesi üzerine etkileri imar saikleri ve hamilik ile birlikte durulmaktadır. Bölgenin Osmanlı kontrolüne geçmeden önceki tarihi kısaca sunulduktan sonra, Osmanlı döneminde yolun kullanımı, güzergâh değişikliği, menzil noktaları ve yolun işlekliğini sağlamaya yönelik yapılan altyapı çalışmaları ile alınan güvenlik önlemleri irdelenmektedir. Seyyahların, İstanbul'un, Osmanlı sarayının ve ordusunun iaşesi için kasabaların sahip olduğu roller ile bu yerleşim yerlerinin oluşturduğu ağlar belirtilmiştir. Geri kalan bölümlerde sırasıyla İstanbul'dan Edirne'ye kadar her biri birer menzil noktası oluşturan yerleşimlerin mimarî ve şehirleşme tarihleri incelenmiştir. Sunulan bilgiler ışığında inşaat dönemlerini II. Mehmed dönemi, I. Süleyman ile II. Selim dönemleri ve 17. yüzyıl olarak üç ana bölüme ayırmak mümkündür. Sonuç olarak, imparatorluk için hayatî bir öneme sahip olan yol ve üzerindeki kasabaların hızlı bir şekilde büyüdüğü ve bunların sarayın ağırlıklı olarak Edirne'de bulunduğu 50 senelik bir sürenin ardından İstanbul'a 1703'te kesin dönüşüne kadar önemini koruduğu görülmektedir.

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To fertile lands, sweet waters, and beautiful skies of Thrace

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Via Militaris which connected Belgrade and Constantinople, was an important road of the Roman Empire and Byzantine Empire and of secondary importance after Via Egnatia, the road that connected Constantinople to Roma via Thrace, Macedonia, and southern Illyria. The existence of towns on this road in the part between Edirne and Istanbul can be dated back to the Late Antiquity according to primary sources. However, information on the conditions of these towns in the Late Antiquity and the early medieval times is quite limited. More concrete information about the history of the towns on the Via Militaris can only be reached in the late medieval period. The occupation of Thrace by the Goths, Huns and Avars during the Late Antiquity, the Bulgarians and Pechenegs during the Middle Ages, the Latin occupation in 1204, and the recapture of the region by the Byzantines after 1261 probably stifled the economy, urbanization and development of the towns there. Undoubtedly, the fact that the Eastern Thracian region was open to raids throughout history and that it changed hands many times would have negatively affected the functionality of this road, thus hindering both economic and urban development.

With the Ottoman takeover of Thrace, the region changed hands once again. Advancing rapidly in Thrace, the Ottomans captured many towns in the 1350s and 1360s one after the other. The reason for this rapid advance can be explained by the low density of population in the region and the fact that the cities were largely ruined. The Ottomans, who captured Edirne, Havsa, Babaeski, Lüleburgaz, and Çorlu in the 1360s continued to advance rapidly in the Balkans by declaring Edirne the as the new seat of the throne. However, they had to wait until 1453 for establishing complete

control over the course of the Via Militaris between Edirne and Istanbul. The Ottomans, who did not yet hold Silivri and Constantinople until 1453, did not make large investments and architectural ventures in the towns from Edirne to Çorlu, since this road was not very functional yet. After 1453, when the connection of the road was established without interruption and the capital was moved to Istanbul, the fate of these towns located between the two capitals started to change. Via Militaris, known as the *Orta Kol* (lit. Middle Arm) by the Ottomans, became the main artery of the empire to the west of Istanbul in a short time, and both this road and the towns on the road began to live their heydays in parallel with the Ottoman military power and continuing expansion towards European territories. The road was of great importance for provisioning the heart of the empire, namely Istanbul, and also for the passage and the provisioning of army during campaigns towards the west. For provisioning the capital or provisioning the traveling court, these towns were often seen as part of a network of towns which implies the roles given them by the center. In the 16th and especially in the 17th centuries, the Ottoman dynastic family and court frequently visited Edirne, the second palatial city of the state, where they organized long sojourns. These visits were often seasonal, therefore it is even possible to claim that Edirne served as the de-facto capital from time to time. For this reason, the dynastic family was traveling with a large and crowded entourage and these travels required a good organization at the stopover points.

During the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1444 – 1446 and 1451 – 1481), there were some important architectural initiatives that took place in towns such as Babaeski, Çorlu, Silivri, and Büyükçekmece. The period between Mehmed II and Süleyman I's (r. 1520 – 1561) reigns can be interpreted as quiet period in terms of urbanism in this region. We can see this in parallel with slowing down of Ottoman expansion into the

Balkans. During the reign of Süleyman I, there was a great revival both in the infrastructure of the road and in the towns. In the 16th century, large-scale social complexes built in the towns and villages of Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, Lüleburgaz, Babaeski and Havsa, each of which formed a point of *menzil* (stopover place), and the large stone bridges on the road ensured the golden age of this road. These stopover points were not merely resting points during the march of the army, envoys, and the court, but also formed a network with each other and with the neighboring villages, as well as with the surrounding towns and villages that were not on the main road. Some of these towns, which generally developed around the waqfs of sultans and grand viziers, almost turned into a waqf-town. Not only mosques and caravanserais, these towns had fountains, soup kitchens, madrasas, elementary schools, baths, shops, important waterways, and even imperial palaces which made them attractive centers both for passersby and for neighboring settlements. Although the pace of constructions in this road and urbanization at these *menzil* points decresead, the road and the towns still maintained their importance in the 17th century. Monumental square-fountains were built in towns such as Lüleburgaz and Babaeski or some monumental stone bridges were built on the road indicate both the continuing development of cities and the functionality of the road. After 1703, the sultan and his retinue, who returned to Istanbul from Edirne, spent most their resources and energy on Istanbul, and after 1703, no significant architectural project was carried in the towns and on the road between Edirne and Istanbul.

This thesis will study the architectural and urban history of the towns and infrastructural works on the road between Edirne and Istanbul from their takeover by Ottomans to the beginning of the 18th century. The *Orta Kol*, which became the main artery and of primary importance under the Ottoman rule, experienced its most

frequented period in the 16th century, and kept its importance in the 17th century. The busiest and most important part of this throughfare was the part between Edirne and Istanbul. 1703 and return of the *Saray-ı Âmire* to Istanbul from Edirne marks a breaking point in the history of this road and towns. The rapid Ottoman conquest of the Balkans in the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century initiated *Pax Ottomana* period in the Balkans that would last until the end of the 18th century. The more dominant nomadic ghazi/warrior culture in the 15th century was transformed by the centralization of the state from the 16th century onwards and the empire became more sedentarized and centralized. The sedentarization of the society was necessary for taxation and monetization of the economy. Within the centralization and increasing bureucracy of the 16th century, the *menzil* complexes became essential institutions for communication, transportation, and provisioning. At the same time, these complexes encouraged urbanization in the settlements where they were located.

The study will question why and how the Byzantine Empire's secondary road, Via Militaris, became the road of the primary importance for the Ottoman Empire. It will explore why this road and the towns along the road did not develop well during the Byzantine period and what changed during the Ottoman period. What changed in the Ottoman Empire compared to the Byzantine Empire, so that the Ottomans gave the utmost importance to this road? While searching for answers to these questions, this thesis will also study what kind of works the Ottomans carried out to preserve the functionality and importance of the road and how they improved the condition of the road. The overlap between the Byzantine road and the Ottoman road and the alterations made in the route will be investigated.

This thesis will also study how the urbanization of the towns on the road took place during this period, and it will explore the direct effects of being located on the

road on architecture, infrastructure, urban layout, and the town economy. Whether there was a similar pattern followed for the urbanization of these towns will be questioned. The importance and roles of these towns for the Ottoman center and their relations with neighboring villages and towns will be explored. In addition, as it will be seen in the thesis, the urbanization and construction projects in the towns on the road did not continue at the same pace in the period covering the subject of the study. Construction works will also be considered in the context of patronage, motives, construction projects, scales, and building types. The change of the patronage and commissioned building types in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries and the reasons behind these changes will be emphasized.

While the two capitals of the Ottoman Empire, namely Edirne and Istanbul, are studied more in detail in the academia, the history of the settlements between the two capitals of the empire, which were not too far from each other, are still understudied. Since the region and the road connecting two of the most important cities of the empire were also forming the hinterland of Istanbul, the area and the settlements were on the major artery connecting the most vital organs of the empire. I hope that this study will shed light on the formation of the main artery connecting two vital organs and smaller organs between them that came to life thanks to this artery.

In the first part of the study, the primary sources of the Byzantine period are court historians such as Prokopius (c. 500 – c. 565 AD) , as well as historiographers, such as Doukas (c. 1400 – after 1462) and Chalkokondyles (c. 1430 – c. 1470) who wrote the late Byzantine/early Ottoman history. In addition, Christian pilgrimage itineraries, such as *Bordeaux Itinerary* and *Brugge Itinerary* are used. During the late Byzantine period, travelogues of Bertrandon de la Brocquière and Pero Tafur are also used.

A significant portion of the primary sources on the Ottoman history of this study are waqfiyyas, *evkaf* registers, travelogues, and archival documents. The descriptions, specifications, and stipulations in waqfiyyas provide information about how the complexes commissioned in towns were organized and how some towns had evolved into the waqf-town. Waqfiyyas often give important clues about the motivations of the founders of the waqfs and the selection of the appropriate space. In addition, the services and duties of the people employed in the waqfs show us how the waqf employees contributed to the urbanization and the organization of the *menzil* complexes in settlements that are subject of this present study. *Evkaf* registers provide information about some buildings that were not explicitly mentioned in the waqfiyyas while presenting the incomes and expenses of the waqf buildings. These accounting registers also provide the opportunity to compare the fincancial situation of waqfs in certain time periods.

Archival documents in various styles and various registers also play a vital role in this study. We learn the existence of many structures that could not survive to the present day from the archival documents. These archival documents can be about the appointments made to the waqf institutions, the complaints or petitions of the local people, accounting registers, and the repair registers. The decrees in *mühimme* registers recorded in the Supreme Council (*divan*) provide us information about the organization of the palace journeys, as well as the provision and the organization of the workers and construction materials for the large-scale construction projects. The decrees in the archives, the repair registers and the effort on the preservation of the architectural works show the importance that the state attaches to the functionality of this road. This part, where the *menzil* complexes were in the most comprehensive form and in the best condition on the road to Belgrade, also the where density of stone

bridges across the whole empire was the most frequent, was indeed an Ottoman early modern highway. All these archival documents and construction projects prove the importance given by the Ottoman state to this part of the road specifically.

The autobiographies of the great architect Sinan (c. 1490 – 1588), who left numerous works between Edirne and Istanbul, provide inventories of the buildings he had designed. These inventories guide us about which works can be attributed to the great architect and the corps of court architects (*hassa mimarlar ocağı*) albeit they are subject to source criticism. These autobiographies, which are exceptional in the early modern Ottoman history, also offer important information in terms of the construction process and construction technique of the Büyükçekmece Bridge, one of the largest bridge projects in the Ottoman territory. Other important Ottoman sources apart from the archival documents, are histories written by court historiographers and intellectuals such as Kritovoulos (c. 1410 – c. 1470), Âşıkpaşazade (1400 – 1485), Neşrî (d. ca. 1520), Peçevî (1574 – 1650), or İzzî (d. 1755). The narratives of these historiographers also provided important information about the towns, which are the subject of the study.

There are many travelogues about this road frequented by sultans and their retinues, the army, palatial officers, diplomats, ambassadors and their entourage, merchants, adventurers, pilgrims, even botanists, and pharmacists. The eye-witness travelers convey important information about the general view of the cities, urban layouts, and architectural descriptions. During the Middle Ages, Western world's narratives on the East were consisted of majorly pilgrimages and a minor part of them were diplomatic accounts. Increasing trade on both sides of the Mediterranean since the Middle Ages, with the expansion of mercantilism in Renaissance Europe,

strengthened the relations between the Eastern and Western worlds.[1] The mercantilist expansion of Europe was concurrent with the enormous territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire at the eastern side of the Mediterranean. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, began to be a matter of curiosity for the Europe as a result of the increase in commercial and diplomatic relations. As a result of this curiosity, a considerable travelogue culture began to emerge in Europe thanks to the spread of printing press. The number of those who wrote *relation* in the embassy delegations also increased, and translations of these books were also printed and circulated in various centers of Europe. From the 15th century until the 18th century, there was a huge boom in the writing of travel books for Istanbul and the Lands of Rum in the Western world. In *Les Voyageurs Dans L'empire Ottoman (XIVe-XVIe Siecles)* Stephané Yerasimos published a detailed inventory of these accounts and in his book, it is seen that there was a great increase especially in the 16th century.[2] Many people from various backgrounds such as adventurous travelers, ambassadors, clergymen, scribes, botanists, and pharmacists in embassy retinues have kept valuable records about their travels. Urban topographies, architectural descriptions, aesthetic perceptions, and urban impressions they portrayed were also an important part of these records. Many embassies brought with them painters and draughtsmen to supplement their literary depictions and to visually record their observations. At the same time, the growing interest in geography and urban knowledge in the early modern period had a response in the Ottoman world. Authors such as Âşık Mehmed (1556-7 – after 1598), Abdurrahman Hıbrî (1604 – 1659), İnciciyan (1758 – 1833), and prominently Evliya

[1] Renda, "The Panorama of Constantinople", 62-71.
[2] Yerasimos, *Les Voyageurs Dans L'empire Ottoman (XIVe - XVIe Siècles) Bibliographie, Itinèraires Et Inventaire Des Lieux Habitès*.

Çelebi (1611 – c. 1685), wrote valuable works on travel, urban knowledge, and geography.

In addition to these, visual material among the primary sources have also significantly supported the study. Townscapes from *Leiden Sketchbook*, drawn by an anonymous Netherlandish artist, dated to the second half of the 16th century, after the 1570s, a miniature from *Şehname-i Selim Han*, engravings by Luigi Mayer from the late 18th century, photographs in Abdülhamid II's archives from the late 19th century give us important clues about the architectural features of the buildings and urban textures of the settlements.

Secondary sources about the topic of the study and the history of the region are relatively less compared to the primary sources. In the secondary sources of the Byzantine period, the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* series, which presents the overview of the history of the region, prepared by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, should be mentioned. Among the prominent secondary sources of the Byzantine architectural history in Eastern Thrace, the work of Eyice on Küçükçekmece, and Eyice's, Magdalino's, and Ousterhout's works on Silivri and Babaeski can be mentioned. Jireček's study in the 19th century, in which he examines the history of the Belgrade – Istanbul road from Roman to Ottoman periods, still keeps its value on this subject.

In the early periods of the Ottoman architectural history of the region, Ayverdi's works come to the forth, but there is no sufficient and comprehensive work about the first decades under the Ottoman rule. Instead, there are some articles and theses studying histories of towns or studying solely complexes in towns such as Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, and Havsa in a monographic way. Also, we should not overlook the fact that the lack of sources for the period between

1361 and 1453 makes it difficult to study the early years of the Ottoman rule in the region.

The work of Tayyip Gökbilgin, in which he examined the history of Ottoman properties and waqfs in Thrace and the Balkans until the end of the 16th century in Edirne and Pasha *livas* (administrative unit between *kaza* and *eyalet*, province), is essential for the history of the region. Many studies have been conducted on the Sinan period, which constitutes the largest part of the corpus of the Ottoman architectural history. A considerable part of the secondary sources are on the period when Sinan held the post of chief court architect, the works he designed, and the biography of the architect. The comprehensive works of scholars such as Necipoğlu, Kuban, Kuran, and Mülayim give detailed and rich information about the spatial organization, construction techniques, patronage, and aesthetics of Sinan's and the corps of court architects' buildings. However, the number of the academic studies on the architectural and urban history of the towns just before and after the age of Sinan is quite few. For example, the structures built in the first decades of the 16th century when Sinan's predecessor Acem Ali (d. 1538) was the chief architect, were not studied in detail. Moreover, the 17th century-buildings in the region have not been well-studied. Some fountains built in the towns and some bridges on the road that are the subject of the study during this period are not well-researched. For example, while compiling and studying the bridges built in Anatolia and the Balkans in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period, Çulpan did not include the bridges built in the 17th century between Edirne and Istanbul in his book.

Orhonlu's articles on road building, repair, and security of roads in the Ottoman Empire show the importance that the state attached to the roads. The studies on the stopover complexes that developed along with the roads have also formed a seperate

area of study. Müderrisoğlu's and Wimmel's PhD theses, the articles of Küçükkaya and Altunan can be given among the studies on the stopover complexes. The studies of Busch-Zantner, Boykov, and Hartmuth on the Ottoman mode urbanization in Thracian and the Balkan towns are also particularly valuable in terms of the applicability of their findings to the towns that are the subject of the present work. The newspaper articles written by Sedat Çetintaş in the early republican period and some current news from local newspapers also provide us the information about the afterlives of the architetural works in these towns.

The first part of the thesis will present a general overview of the condition of the road and the towns along the road under Roman and Byzantine rule in the Late Antiquity and the early medieval times. Although the sources we have mostly contain information about military history, the first chapter will attempt to briefly touch upon the infrastructural works on the road and the socio-economic situation of the towns. In the second part, the works carried out by the Ottomans to improve the condition of the road and to maintain its functionality after the establishment of the Edirne – Istanbul connection in 1453 to 1703 will be studied. Construction and repair of bridges and pavements, ensuring the safety of the road, locations of *menzils* with caravanserais and inns, plans and works on the use of the road by the palace, the army and ambassadors, and routes they followed will be studied. Also, other topics such as the possible roles of the towns along the road and the neighboring other towns and villages given to them by the Ottoman central administration, and the networks they formed within themselves will be evaluated.

The following parts of the thesis will examine the architectural and urban histories of Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, Karıştıran, Lüleburgaz, Babaeski, and Havsa respectively, which were the main stopover points on the Edirne

- Istanbul road. In what ways and how did these towns were developed and transformed thanks to being located on the main artery of the Empire will be researched. The last part of the thesis will be the conclusion which will present a general evaluation in the light of the information presented throughout the thesis with author's comments.

Note on place names and their transliteration: The settlements, that are the subject of the study, had different names in different periods. Sometimes, the same names were written in different derivations in Byzantine and Ottoman periods. For example, the modern Büyükkarıştıran was referred to as Druzipara or Drusipara. Çorlu, on the other hand, was referred to by names such as Tzurullum, Tzirallum, or Tzoroulos in Byzantine studies. Küçükçekmece was known by names such as Regio or Rhegion. In the Ottoman period, the names of the towns were mentioned with different names in the primary sources. For example, Büyükçekmece was also referred to as Çekmece-i Kebir, and Küçükçekmece as Çekmece-i Sagir. Lüleburgaz was referred to as Bergos, Burgos, or Birgoz. Babaeski was written with names such as Baba, Eskibaba, Danişmendeskisi, or Babaeskisi. In order not to confuse the reader with such a variety of naming, the names were fixed for each period in this study. The reader may consult the table below. In addition, all settlements whether they are included or not in the list are indicated with their modern names in parentheses when they are mentioned for the first time in the text. Modern Turkish orthography was used for the names of these settlements in the Ottoman period. For example, Arablı is written as Araplı, and Karışdıran is written as Karıştıran.

Table 1. Names of the Settlements According to the Periods

Modern name	Roman name	Byzantine name	Ottoman name
Küçükçekmece	-	Regio, Rhegion	Küçükçekmece
Büyükçekmece	-	Athyra	Büyükçekmece
Silivri	-	Selymbria	Silivri
Çorlu	Tzurullum	Tzurullum	Çorlu
Büyükkarıştıran	Druzipara	Druzipara	Karıştıran
Lüleburgaz	Bergule	Arkadiopolis	Bergos
Babaeski	Burtizo	Bulgarophygon	Babaeski
Havsa	Hostizo	Nike	Havsa

CHAPTER 2

THE ROAD AND THE TOWNS PRIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF OTTOMANS

This chapter of the study aims to provide an overview of the condition of Via Militaris and the settlements on Via Militaris in Roman and Byzantine periods. After presenting the Via Militaris route with a brief touch on the geography of the region, the history of the settlements on the road is presented in a chronological framework and touching upon social, cultural and economic aspects as much as possible. The issue of being hinterland and provisioning of Constantinople are underlined. The arrival of the Ottomans and the change of hands of Thrace are studied by making use of Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman sources. The turbulent history of the region during the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages is intended to convey the negative impact it had on both the functionality of the road and the development of the towns.

Thrace has served as a bridge connecting East and West throughout the history. This linking role also dates back prior to the Roman and Byzantine periods. While the Iron Age culture of the region showed a migration and cultural flow in the northwest-southeast direction, the Persians also passed to European lands through Thrace in the ancient period.[3] The role of the region as a link between East and West (southwest Asia and Europe) and the Black Sea and the Mediterranean increased its importance during the Roman and Byzantine periods.

The roads of the Roman Empire were of essential importance in maintaining the long life of the empire. These roads, which had military and commercial importance, connected important centers and provinces. Most of these roads were built

[3] Bozhinova. "Thrace Between East and West: The Early Iron Age Cultures in Thrace", 51 – 71.

between 100 BC and 100 CE.[4] In the newly conquered areas, the Romans had the army build these roads and integrate these regions into the empire as its new provinces.[5] One of the main arteries of this road system was Via Militaris, also known as Via Diagonalis, connecting the Balkans to Byzantion (Istanbul). This road, which connected Singidunum (Belgrade) to Byzantion via centers such as Naissus (Niš), Philippopolis (Plovdiv), and Adrianople (Edirne), was also known as Trajan's Roads. This major road, around 6 meters wide, was built by paving polygonal stones. Like for the other major Roman roads, on Via Militaris, there were stopover points called *mansio* between one-day distances for the accommodation of passengers and there were also horse-changing stations called *mutatio* for changing horses during the day.[6] Via Militaris, together with Via Egnatia, was the most important land route connecting the east and west of the Roman Empire.

The southeast section of the road between Adrianople and Byzantion was located on the Regina River (Ergene) basin. Irrigating the southeastern Thrace, which is a flat and a heavily deforested region with an altitude of 100 to 200 meters, Regina spreads across the Thracian plain like the branches of a tree. A Roman passenger had to cross about 85 streams between Adrianople and Byzantion, where this part of the road passed over the Regina basin, and for the comfort of the passengers there were good and well-built bridges even in Roman times.[7] The bridges were mostly built of stone, and there were also wooden bridges. For example, the Roman bridge named Kırkgöz, which was located between Tzurullum (Çorlu) and Druzipara (Büyükkarıştıran) and whose ruins are still visible today, crossed the Regina. (Fig. 1)

[4] Haldon. *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History*, 13.
[5] Jireček. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad Nach Constantinopel und Die Balkanpä*sse, 5.
[6] Ibid, 7.
[7] Ibid, 48.

There is also the remains of an ancient bridge in today's Türkmenli village, which was probably named Beodizum in the Late Antiquity, between Tzurullum and Perinthos (Marmara Ereğlisi).[8] Probably Selymbria (Silivri) also had Roman stone bridges.[9] Via Egnatia from Dyrrachium (Durres) and Via Militaris from Singidunum conjoined in Perinthos and reached Byzantion.[10] At the points where the towns of Athyra (Büyükçekmece) and Region (Küçükçekmece) were located, two lagoons widens after penetrating into the land, thus making the passage difficult. A Roman traveler should have traveled north of these two lagoons in order to avoid swampy territories in the south which could often be flooded with southwesterly winds. According to itineraries and cartographers from the Late Antiquity such as Ptolemy, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and *Ravenna Cosmography*, a passenger traveling from Adrianople stopped at Hostizo (Havsa), Burtizo (Babaeski), Bergule (Lüleburgaz), Druzipara, Tzurullum, Perinthos, Cenopurio (Sinekli), Ad Statuas (Çatalca), and Melentiana (Yarım Burgaz) respectively to reach Byzantion.[11] (Fig. 2, 3)

The road, which passed around the north of Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece lagoons in order not to pass through the swamps and marshes in the south, was altered in the 330s during the reign of Emperor Constantine I (r. 306 – 337). From 330s onwards, the road that converged in Perinthos with Via Egnatia and then followed the coastline and reached Constantinople via Selymbria, Athyra, and Region.[12] (Fig. 4) In the *Bordeaux Itinerary*, the oldest extant Christian pilgrimage itinerary, which was written around 333 AD, the Bordeaux Pilgrim reached Constantinople after passing Heraclea (Marmaraereğlisi) by following the coastline

[8] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 682-683.
[9] Ibid, 642.
[10] Jireček. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad Nach Constantinopel und Die Balkanpässe*, 51.
[11] Miller. *Itinerara Romana*, 538 – 540.
[12] "Via Egnatia" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 679.

via Selymbria, Athyra, and Region. The stopover points from Adrianople to Constantinople were Nike (Havsa), Bergule, Druzipara, Tzurullum, Selymbria, Atyra, and Region.[13] Since the part of the road from Region to Constantinople was muddy and swampy and passengers were facing difficulties. In the sixth century, construction of pavements with large stone blocks was ordered by Justinian I (r. 527 – 565), wide enough to pass two wagons.[14] According to Prokopius, the wooden bridge over the lagoon in Region was badly damaged when the south winds blew, and it was collapsing in places. Besides paving the road leading to Constantinople, Justinian I had a stone bridge built here.[15] The road and the bridge that Justinian had built were of great importance for the provision of the city. As the city became larger after it was inaugurated as the new capital of the empire, its needs and dependencies were also rapidly increased. Thracian plains were supplying the largely consumer city of Constantinople even in the sixth century. Moreover, the only extant Byzantine bridge between Adrianople and Constantinople might be the bridge known as Çobançeşme Bridge today, crossing Hagios Mamas stream near Hebdomon (mod. Bakırköy). The bridge, whose patron and construction date is unknown, might belong to the early Byzantine period with its material bearing cross motifs and round arches.[16]

Information on the towns on the road between Adrianople and Constantinople in the Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages is quite limited. Nike and Burtizo are in the list of fortresses built by Justinian I, as written by Prokopius.[17] The town, previously known as Bergule or Virgoli, was rebuilt and renamed by Theodosius I (r. 347 – 395), according to 11th century Byzantine historian George Kedrenos. His son's

[13] The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.). *Itinerary From Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, 10.
[14] Procopius. *VII, Buildings. General Index to Procopius*, 285 – 287.
[15] Ibid, 289.
[16] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 513.
[17] Procopius. *VII, Buildings. General Index to Procopius*, 312.

name Arkadios was given to this newly built town and it became Arkadiopolis.[18] The town was an important military base. The remains of the walls of Arkadiopolis can still be seen in the town of Lüleburgaz today. (Fig. 5) It is also possible to make a hypothetical map of the walls in accordance with the finds discovered during the foundation excavations of some apartments.[19] (Fig. 6)

The flatness of the land allowed enemies of Byzantines to advance easily and made the region vulnerable to attacks coming from the north. The region has been attacked many times, both because it provided easy access to Constantinople quickly and because it contained fertile agricultural areas. In the second half of the 4th century, Thrace was plundered by the Goths and then by the Huns. Since Constantinople was open to attack from the northwest, some precautions were taken to prevent these attacks. Anastasian Wall, which stretched from Selymbria to Black Sea coast, from the 5th century, was one of these measures. However, the wall was not very effective and it was penetrated numerous times by the invaders.[20] The area was the target of the Slavs in the 6th century and the Avar raids in the 7th century.[21] Tzurullum was plundered and damaged along with Arkadiopolis during the Slavic raids.[22] However, the greatest destruction was yet to come. It was the Bulgarians led by Krum (r. 803 – 814) who defeated the Byzantines at Adrianople in 813. The Bulgarians, who stood as far as the Theodosian Walls in Constantinople, plundered the towns on the way and caused great destruction.[23] The people of Nike fled and left the town. The town of Burtizo, known as Bulgarophygon from a document dated 787, was also captured by

[18] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 264.
[19] Orhan Konyalı, "Temelden 'tarih fışkırdı'!," *Görünüm Gazetesi*, April 23, 2018, http://gorunumgazetesi.com.tr/haber/51437/temelden-tarih-fiskirdi.html.
[20] "Long Wall" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1250.
[21] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 81, 96.
[22] "Tzoroullos" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2137.
[23] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 108 – 109.

the Bulgarians in 813.[24] The walls of Selymbria were completely destroyed.[25] When Bulgarians reached Athyra, they destroyed the bridge along with the fortress. The wars of the Bulgarians and Byzantines and their struggle for Thrace continued in the 10th century. The region was sacked once again by the Bulgarians in 913, this time King Symeon (r. 893 – 927) reached as far as the walls of Constantinople. [26]

The history of the region was also turbulent during the High Middle Ages. The Pechenegs, who penetrated into Thrace during the reign of Alexios I (r. 1081 – 1118), captured Bulgarophygon for a while in 1090 and attacked Tzurullum.[27] During the Third Crusade, under the leadership of Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1155 – 1190), the crusader army passing through Thrace, plundered Arkadiopolis in 1189. In the same year, Tzurullum fell victim to Bulgar and Cuman attacks.[28] The crusaders, who captured Constantinople as the outcome of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, extended their dominance to Thrace as well. Despite being described as well-fortified by the traveler Al-Idrisi (1100 – 1166) in the 12th century, Selymbria also fell into the hands of the crusaders along with Regio, Athyra, Tzurullum, Arkadiopolis, Bulgarophygon, and Nike.[29] In Nike, which Geoffroi de Villehardouin (c. 1150 – c. 1213) describes as a very beautiful and solid place, with a referral to the fortress probably, the townspeople fled to Adrianople before the crusaders had arrived. Likewise, the people of Bulgarophygon and Arkadiopolis left their towns. Against the Latins who settled in Arkadiopolis, the Byzantine people from the surrounding area rebelled and sieged the town. The Latins, who suppressed the rebellion by sallying forth, retreated to

[24] Soustal. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos)*, 374, 223.
[25] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 635 – 642.
[26] Ibid, 116 – 122, 615.
[27] Soustal. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos)*, 223.
[28] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 264-266, 685.
[29] Ibid, 635 – 642.

Tzurullum, which belonged to Latin Emperor Baldwin I (r. 1204 – 1205).[30] In 1206, Bulgarians and Cumans led by Kaloyan (r. 1196 – 1207), who fought against the Latins, plundered Thrace, and reached as far as Athyra and Region, destroyed and looted all the towns in Thrace except Byzas (Vize), Rodosto (Tekirdağ), and Selymbria. The people of the region fled to Bulgaria.[31] John III Vatatzes (r. 1221 – 1254) recaptured Tzurullum from the Latins in 1235. In 1237, the Bulgarian Tsar John II Asen (r. 1218 – 1241), together with the Cumans, besieged Tzurullum but could not take it. The Latins recaptured Tzurullum in 1240, but the town was recaptured for the last time in the Byzantine history by John III.[32]

Information on the social and economic history of these towns, which were constantly damaged by wars and population loss, is also quite limited. In the towns on this road, mostly military fortified structures come to the fore since the region was open to plunders. The existence of these military garrisons is also to prevent the aqueducts which enabled the water supply of Constantinople from being damaged by invasions. The markets established on the feast days of some saints contributed to the maintenance of commercial activities in the region. For example, patron saints of Druzipara, Tzurullum, and Selymbria were St. Alexandros, St. George, and St. Agathonikos respectively. Markets were held on the feast days of each town's patron saint.[33] In Thrace, wine, grain, and cheese were produced, which were of great importance for the Byzantine Empire.[34] Thrace, which formed the hinterland of Constantinople, was one of the most grain-producing region across the empire and was

[30] De Villehardouin,, *IV. Haçlı Seferi Kronikleri*, 101 – 102.
[31] Ibid, 115; Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 270 – 272; Jireček. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad Nach Constantinopel und Die Balkanpässe*, 105.
[32] "Tzoroullos" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 2137.
[33] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 228.
[34] Haldon. *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History*, 82.

essential for provisioning Constantinople. Both independent landholders and peasants from Propontis (Marmara Sea) coasts to Adrianople were producing grain in the 12th century.[35] Along with the Bithynia, Thrace was also supplying cattles to Constantinople.[36] It was important that the roads to Constantinople were also in good condition, as short-lived products such as meat would be supplied from the immediate hinterland of Constantinople.

As a result of the privileges given to the Venetians with the Venetian-Byzantine agreement reached in 1082, Selymbria enjoyed an economic revival. In 1198, Alexios III Angelos (r. 1195 – 1203) renewed the commercial privileges given to the Venetians, and the towns of Bulgarophygon, Arkadiopolis and Tzurullum were in the free trade zone. There is a strong probability of Venetian presence in these towns. Al-Idrisi defines these towns where the trade was quite lively. Al-Idrisi also writes that in the 12th century, Region was a trade emporium.[37] Despite all the wars and pillages, we can think that the Via Militaris was still functioning. In the 11th and 12th centuries, merchants and people of various backgrounds who were knowledgable about Byzantium were coming to Constantinople by using this road. These people were coming from regions such as Bohemia and centers such as Regensburg.[38]

When we look at the church administration, we see that Nike was a bishopric between the 2nd and 7th centuries, and it was promoted to archbishopry in the 860s.[39] However, around the year 1000, the towns along the road, Arkadiopolis, Druzipara, Tzurullum, and Selymbria were autocephalous archbishopry.[40] In the 12th century,

[35] Magdalino. "The grain supply of Constantinople, ninth-fifteenth centuries", 35 – 47.
[36] Durliat. "L'approvisionnement de Constantinople", 19 – 33.
[37] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 129, 229, 615.
[38] Jireček. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad Nach Constantinopel und Die Balkanpässe*, 103.
[39] Soustal. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodopē und Haimimontos)*, 374.
[40] Haldon. *The Palgrave Atlas of Byzantine History*, 91.

Arkadiopolis is mentioned as a metropolis.[41] Unfortunately, it is not possible for us to know the present locations of most of the churches in the Middle Byzantine period in the towns that are the subject of the present study. Inscriptions with the names of Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963 – 969), Basil II (r. 976 – 1025), and Constantine VIII (r. 962 – 1028) were recorded in the St. Geroge Church in Tzurullum, this church is also mentioned in the autobiography of Michael VIII Palaiologos.[42] St. George Church in Tzurullum was still active when Stephen Gerlach (1546 – 1612) visited the town in 1578.[43] The Church of Hagia Spyridion in Selymbria belonged to the Middle Byzantine period was probably dated between the 10th and 12th centuries. [44] Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143 – 1180), who spent the Easter in Selymbria on his way to Hungary had a church built between 1166 – 1169 and dedicated it to the patron saint of the town, Saint Agathonikos.[45]

In the late Byzantine period, Selymbria's politic and cultural meaning gained more importance. This was probably because of the town's proximity to the capital and its location on Via Egnatia, the road connecting most important centers in the late Byzantine period, namely Thessaloniki and Constantinople. Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1261 – 1282), who died in the village of Pachomion near Tzurullum, was buried in Selymbria in 1282.[46] Byzantine statesman, *megas doux*, Alexios Apokaukos (d. 1345), built a fortified tower in Epivatai (around Selimpaşa) near Selymbria as a refuge and founded a monastery in Selymbria. He escaped from Constantinople in 1341 and sought refuge here.[47] There was a cistern under the Hagia Ioannes Prodromos Church,

[41] "Arkadiopolis in Thrace" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 173.
[42] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 686.
[43] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 818.
[44] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)* , 641.
[45] Magdalino. "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria", 309 – 318.
[46] *Bizans Kısa Kronikleri (Chronica Byzantina Breviora)*, 67.
[47] *Bizans Kısa Kronikleri (Chronica Byzantina Breviora)*, 71.

built by Alexios Apokaukos.[48] The wedding of John V's daughter Theodora (c. 1330 – c. 1396) and the Ottoman sultan Orhan (r. 1323 – 1362) was celebrated in Selymbria. The Despot of the Peloponnese, Theodore II Palaiologos (r. 1407 – 1443, d. 1448), was also buried in the Pantokrator Church in Selymbria.[49] During that period, there was little threat from the north for the Thracian towns for nearly 100 years, from the recapture of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, until the arrival of the Ottomans. However, the Byzantine Empire continued to be shaken due to civil wars. For this reason, not all the ruined towns could be rebuilt and prospered again. For example, according to Kantakouzenos (d. 1383), Arkadiopolis was in ruins and in 1340, Andronikos III (r. 1328 – 1341) wanted to rebuild the town.[50] However, Selymbria had a priority because of its cultural and political importance. Indeed, in the mid-14th century, its fortifications were rebuilt by John VI Kantakouzenos (r. 1347 – 1354).[51]

In the middle of the 14th century, the Ottomans crossed the Hellespont via Gallipoli and advanced very quickly into Thrace. At the end of the 1360s, Çorlu, Bergos (Lüleburgaz), Babaeski, Havsa, and Edirne were already under Ottoman control. However, although the narratives of Ottoman historiographers on how these towns were captured are almost the same, there is no consensus among the dates they give. Çorlu was captured by Murad I (r. 1362 – 1389) after a hard siege and then its fortress was demolished. (Fig. 7) The Ottomans, advancing to Bergos after Çorlu, did not encounter any resistance when capturing the town, they found the settlement empty and in ruins, and they demolished the walls here as well. The town must be in a dilapidated condition as it can be verified by Byzantine sources as well. While

[48] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 651.
[49] *Bizans Kısa Kronikleri (Chronica Byzantina Breviora)*, 121.
[50] "Arkadiopolis in Thrace" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 173.
[51] "Selymbria" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1867.

Âşıkpaşazâde and anonymous *Tevarih-i Ali Osman* author give the date of 761 AH (1359-60) for this set of events, Neşrî give the date of 762 AH (1360-1), and Abdurrahman Hıbrî and Hoca Sâdeddin give the date of 763 AH (1361-2).[52] Halil İnalcık carefully examined many sources and gave the date of 1361 for the capture of Edirne by the Ottomans along with aforementioned towns.[53] The Ottoman-Byzantine border was passing between Çorlu and Silivri in the second half of the 14th century. In the *Bruges Itinerary* dated to the 1380s, Babaeski and Çorlu are written under Ottoman control, while Selymbria and Athyra are written in the list of Byzantine settlements.[54] Doukas writes that before the Battle of Ankara, in 1401, Byzantines ceded Silivri to the Ottomans, but this must be a temporary handover.[55] Laonikos Chalkokondyles also writes that Bayezid II controlled Selymbria during this period.[56] Although the road was functioning until the Ottomans captured Constantinople, the condition of towns were not quite good. Pero Tafur (c. 1410 – c. 1484) traveled between Edirne and Constantinople using this road in 1437.[57] In 1433, French traveler Bertrandon de La Brocquière (d. 1459) writes that the walls of Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece, Çorlu, Bergos, and Babaeski were destroyed by the Ottomans and towns were in ruins. He states that only Silivri had strong fortifications.[58] The bridge at Büyükçekmece was demolished before Constantinople was taken.[59] There are different narratives about when exactly and how Silivri fell into the hands of the Ottomans. According to Neşrî and Hoca Sadeddin (15378 – 1599), Silivri was captured by Ottomans after the fall of

[52] Âşıkpaşazâde. *Tevârihi Âl-i Osman*, 109 – 110; Mehmed Neşrî. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, 193 – 195; *Anonim Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, 54; Abdurrahman Hibrî. *Enîsü'l-Müsâmirîn*, 12; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. *Tacü't-Tevarih*, Vol. 1, 113.
[53] İnalcık. "Edirne'nin Fethi (1361)", 137-159.
[54] *Itinéraire Brugeois Composé Vers 1380*, 26.
[55] Doukas. *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, 87.
[56] Chalkokondyles. *The Histories*, 113.
[57] Tafur. *Travels and Adventures*, 126 – 129.
[58] De La Brocquière. *The Travels of Bertrandon De La Broquière*, 234 – 236.
[59] Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 272

Constantinople in 1453.[60] On the other hand, according to Kritovoulos and Doukas, Silivri was controlled by *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia, Karaca Bey, before Constantinople was taken.[61]

The *mansiones* and *mutationes* on the Via Militaris connecting Byzantion to the Balkans in the Roman period became the foundation of the towns on the Edirne – Istanbul road today. After the Romans, who attached great importance to road construction and the functionality of the roads in the antiquity, the fact that Thrace was open to invasions throughout the Byzantine history from the Late Antiquity, undoubtedly had a heavy impact on the economy and urbanization in the region. Although Thrace was the immediate hinterland of Constantinople, due to the lack of a good organization for the transportation of the products from there to the city, and the fact that the region was plundered almost in a yearly basis, the importance and functionality of the road decreased and towns declined together with road. The area had to wait until 1453 and especially the middle of the 16th century for the revival of the towns and the road.

[60] Mehmed Neşrî. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, Vol. 2, 707; Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. *Tacü't-Tevarih*, Vol. 2, 286.
[61] Doukas. *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, 121; Kritovoulos. *Kritovoulos Tarihi (1451 – 1467)*, 39 – 40.



Figure 1. Remains of the Kırkgöz Bridge on the Regina River. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022

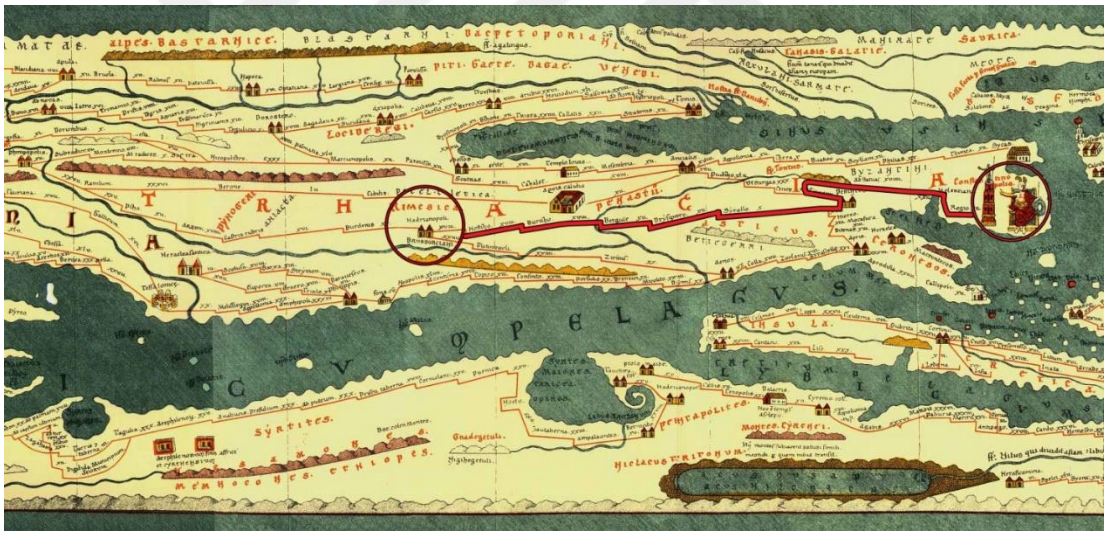

Figure 2. Map of Thrace and the road between Adrianople and Constantinople from Tabula Peutingeriana. Encircled in red are Adrianople and Constantinople



Figure 3. Via Militaris between Adrianople and Byzantion during the Roman period



Figure 4. Via Militaris between Adrianople and Constantinople during the Byzantine period



Figure 5. Remains of the walls of Arkadiopolis. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 6. Hypothetical map of the walls of Arkadiopolis. Retrieved from: https://www.kirklarelienvanteri.gov.tr/sitler.php?id=289



Figure 7. Remains of the fortress in Çorlu. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022

CHAPTER 3

THE ROAD AND THE ROUTE WITH STOPOVER POINTS

This chapter will study the transformation of Via Militaris into *Orta Kol* and the alterations made on the road subsequent to the complete take over of Thrace by the Ottomans. The users of the road will be underlined alongside the positions of the towns on the road to each other. The formation of an alternative route to the *Orta Kol* and the reasons for using this alternative route will be investigated. Infrastructural works of the Ottomans such as caravanserais will be explored. The condition of the caravanserais between Edirne and Istanbul, the facilities they had for the passengers, and the institutions they housed will be examined in the light of the notes of the travelers. In the following sub-title, the bridges on the Edirne - Istanbul road will be investigated together along with the patronage. The repair works and safety measures to keep the roads and bridges working will be studied under separate sub-headings. Finally, the roles of the settlements on the road for provisioning Istanbul, the provisioning of the traveling army, the people of the palace, and the embassies en route to Istanbul will be discussed. The relations of these settlements with each other and with neighboring settlements, and the possible roles assigned to these settlements by the Ottoman center will be questioned.

The road, which was known as *Orta Kol*, *ulu yol* (the great road), *tarik-i cadde* (the main road), *Istanbul Caddesi* (Istanbul Road), *şahrah* (the main road), *reh-i rast* (the straight road), *şari'-i 'azam* (the great bristle, bristle in the metaphoric use of the straight road), or *tarikü'l-şari'* (the bristle road) during the Ottoman period, was the most important military, trade, and diplomatic road. On this road, there were many *menzil* points between Edirne and Istanbul, and there was no fixed time for travelers

to take this road. The distance covered within one day was called as *menzil* or *merhale* by the Ottomans. After 1453, when the entire road was under the Ottoman rule, the Roman and Byzantine route was slightly changed. The most obvious change made on the route is Ereğli being off the route and the passengers were reaching Silivri via the village of Araplı after Çorlu. This made the distance of the road shorter with a shortcut by bypassing Ereğli. Another change, though not as obvious as the previous one, was that Kara Mustafa Pasha (1634 – 1683) had a bridge built on the Ergene River in the second half of the 17th century, in place of the ancient Kırkgöz Bridge which was located about two kilometers to the east. However, Kırkgöz Bridge should still have been in use even in the 18th century.[62]

Travelers, ambassadors, caravans and armies generally covered this distance in from 6 to 10 days. Travelers would sometimes travel more than one *menzil* distance in a day, only staying in stopover points within larger towns. Among these stopover points, the most mentioned were Havsa, Babaeski, Bergos, Karıştıran, Çorlu, Silivri, Büyükçekmece, and Küçükçekmece respectively en route to Istanbul, which have evolved into towns around large complexes containing caravanserais. The distance between Edirne and Istanbul is about 230 kilometers and 26 between Edirne and Havsa, 26 between Havsa and Babaeski, 23 between Babaeski and Bergos, 21 between Bergos and Karıştıran, 29 between Karıştıran and Çorlu, 40 between Çorlu and Silivri, 32 between Silivri and Büyükçekmece, 18 between Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece, and about 15 kilometers between Küçükçekmece and Edirnekapı of Istanbul. However, apart from these towns, there were smaller towns or villages where

[62] BOA.C.NF.35.1748. According to this archival document from 1768, the condition of the Kırkgöz Bridge was ordered to be investigated for repairment.

both the travelers and the army stayed, where inns and caravanserais were found. For example, Sazlıdere between Havsa and Edirne, Kuleli between Babaeski and Havsa, Elvanbeyli (modern Ulaş) between Karıştıran and Çorlu, Araplı between Çorlu and Silivri, Bigados (modern Selimpaşa) between Silivri and Büyükçekmece were among the frequented stops of this busy road. Yerasimos writes that the *Orta Kol* was perhaps one of the best organizations in the Ottoman Empire for its *menzil* network and the provision of it.[63] However, the great condition of the road of and the *menzil* network was not seen throughout the entire route until Belgrade. For example, while caravanserais were less frequent on the Belgrade - Niš - Sofia route, the best part of the road and the highest frequency of caravanserais were between Edirne and Istanbul. Stopover points were used by the army, merchants, ambassadors, palatial officers or by the sultan, and people from different backgrounds such as adventurers, botanists, and pilgrims were also staying in *menzil* points. However, this organization of *menzils* was most important for communication and for the transportation of the palatial officials, embassies, and the army.

The Ottomans should have been aware of the importance of this road even before they captured Istanbul. This road connecting the current and the former capitals was also used by the sultan during the reign of Mehmed II. Kritovoulos writes that after Mehmed II captured Istanbul, he had the road paved leading to Istanbul with stones and had the Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece bridges rebuilt.[64] With the caravanserais built on the way to Istanbul, the *Orta Kol* became totally functioning. Mehmed II, who had the Küçükçekmece Bridge built, had also an inn built here.[65] Apart from the inn in Küçükçekmece, which we know to have been built during the

[63] Yerasimos. *Les Voyageurs Dans L'empire Ottoman (XIVe - XVIe Siècles),* 53.
[64] Kritovoulos. *Kritovoulos Tarihi (1451 – 1467),* 121.
[65] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri: 855 – 886 (1451 – 1481),* Vol. 4, 808.

reign of Mehmed II, there was also Çakır Ağa's inn in Silivri. Also, there must have been inns in other stopover points that points on the road. For example, the Sarı Saltuk Lodge in Babaeski, which will be studied in more detail in Babaeski chapter, should have been an important accommodation point for the passengers.

With the capture of Silivri and Istanbul by the Ottomans in 1453, the Ottoman control of the Edirne - Istanbul road was totally completed and a great revival began on this road. However, the biggest revival and the busiest period of constructions would be in the second half of the 16th century. Before the large-scale *menzil* complexes were built from the 1520s onwards, the stopover places on this route could differ. For example, Selim I (r. 1512 – 1520) and his army, who went on a campaign to Iran starting from Edirne in 1514, arrived in Istanbul in 10 days, by overnighting in Sazlıdere, Söğütlüdere, Babaeski, Bergos, Karışdıran, Çorlu, Araplı, Bigados, and Küçükçekmece respectively.[66] During the period when some of the spacious caravanserais were not yet built and the monumental bridges commissioned by Sinan were not yet built, the route the army followed during the campaign could also change from time to time. For example, during Süleyman I's campaign in 1521, in which he captured Belgrade, he reached Edirne by following the Halkalı, Haramidere, Silivri, Çorlu, Karışdıran, Bergos, Babaeski, Havsa route.[67] However, Süleyman I was drawing an alternative route in most of his other European campaigns of his long reign. While leaving Istanbul for the Mohács campaign in 1526, the Vienna campaign in 1529, the Great German campaign in 1532, and the Moldavia campaign in 1538, he reached Edine by following Halkalı, Çatalca, Karlıköy, Ahmetbey, Ulufeciler (modern Değirmencik), Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa (modern Hasköy) route.[68] (Fig. 8) We can

[66] *Haydar Çelebi Ruznâmesi*, 59-60.
[67] Von Hammer. *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 621-622.
[68] Von Hammer. *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, 639, 647, 665, 698-699.

attribute two major reasons to the army's drawing a parallel path to the *Orta Kol* by avoiding towns during the reign of Süleyman I. The former could be avoiding of the swampy terrains around the lagoons of Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece, in order not to decelarate the army while marching and the latter could be preventing the possible damage that can be caused by the army on these towns while crossing.

Caravanserais, as the hostels built for the accommodation of passengers, provided free accommodation and free meals for up to three days, as was traditional in Islamicate domains. For this reason, they also had a woodsheds, storage rooms, refectories, fountains, and kitchens. (Fig. 9) Those working for the caravanserais which were almost always belonging to a foundation can be seen in the waqfiyyas (endowment deeds) and foundation registers. Employees such as the *kilerci* (butler), *aşçı* (cook), *gendüm-kûb* (wheat brayer), *ferraş* (cleaner also those who take care of passenger's beds and mattresses), *bekçi* (guard) were in charge of meeting the needs of the passengers. The food menu in caravanserais was generally standardized. Mutton, bread, and rice were served. In fact, Hans van den Branden states that the amount of food served at one meal is as much as three families can afford in one day.[69] For the German author Salomon Schweigger (1551 – 1622), these foundations were much more valuable than the antiquities of Rome and Egypt since they were functioning for the public service.[70] These structures, which were also mentioned as *imaret* (soup kitchen), *ahur* (stable), *han* (inn), *tabhane* (hospice), or *kervansaray* (caravanserai) in 16th century-waqfiyyas, *evkaf* registers, and travelogues, were mostly rectangular in plan, but could display some typological diversity. These multifunctional structures of the complexes built for multifunctional purposes have caused these terms to be used

[69] Van den Branden. "Put od Bruselja iz Brabanta u Carigrad u Traciji, glavni grad turskoga cara", 157 – 199.
[70] Schweigger. *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk (1578 – 1581)*, 139.

interchangeably. For example, while in some caravanserais, passengers were accommodated with horses in the same hall, in some large double-winged caravanserais, passengers and animals were accommodated in separate courtyards. (Fig. 10, 11) For example, while the caravanserai built by Süleyman I in Büyükçekmece had a rectangular plan without a courtyard (today the porch at the entrance does not belong to its original plan), the caravanserais commissioned by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (1505 – 1579) in Bergos and Havsa were double-winged with courtyards and fountains at the center of the courtyards. The double-winged caravanserais with courtyards were more comfortable and praised by the passengers. The caravanserais built in the 16th century could house many horses at the same time with their large stables. Flemish diplomat of Habsburgs, Corneille de Schepper (c. 1503 – 1555) writes that in the caravanserai of Abdüsselam Çelebi (d. 1525) in Küçükçekmece, 300 horses could be accomodated at the same time.[71] Some of these structures, which were built of stone and brick, wooden ceilings, often covered with lead, and had hearths for heating and cooking for each passenger, and had wells or fountains in the courtyards to meet the water needs of travelers and animals. For example, Stephen Gerlach, the clergyman in the retinue of the Habsburg ambassador David Ungnad von Sonnegg (1535 – 1600), who was passing through Çorlu in 1576, writes that the there was a fountain and a long stable for horses in the caravanserai of the town.[72] Apart from these facilities, there were some shops adjacent to some of the caravanserais, and in these shops, travel equipments and food were sold according to the needs of the passengers. (Fig. 12) German theologian and priest Salomon Schweigger, in the retinue of Habsburg ambassador Joachim von Sintzendorff (1544

[71] De Schepper. *Missions Diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus*, 111.
[72] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 818.

– 1594), writes that horse fodder and barley could be found at reasonable prices in these caravanserais.[73] For the safety of life and property of the passengers, the doors of the caravanserais were locked at night and entrances and exits were prohibited. However, passengers did not always prefer to stay in caravanserais or they could not always have accommodation in caravanserais. For instance, some ambassadors and their retinues traveling in the summer may have preferred to stay outdoors. Also, European ambassadors could be hosted by the non-Muslim people in towns they were staying. However, the weather conditions sometimes did not allow accommodation in the caravanserais. Swedish ambassador Claes Rålamb (1622 – 1698) could not find a place to stay since there was no room in the caravanserai in Babaeski in January, 1658 due to heavy snowfall and storm.[74] Sometimes, European ambassadors were not allowed to stay in the caravanserais near to the mosques. In a decree sent to the qadi of Çorlu in 1576, upon the denunciation of the *müderris* (professor) of Çorlu, it was ordered that non-Muslims should be banned from accommodating in the hospice next to the mosque, and they should be directed to caravanserais far from the mosque, since they enter the mosque and spoil the holy place along with its portico and the courtyard.[75] As a matter of fact, Wolf Andreas von Steinach, who was in the Habsburg embassy retinue, passing through Çorlu in 1583, writes in his travel diary that they were not allowed to stay in the good caravanserai of Çorlu and they stayed in the bad one elsewhere.[76] According to Venetian *bailo* Contarini (1529 – 1585), the caravanserai in Çorlu was near the mosque.[77] For this reason, the good caravanserai that Wolf Andreas von Steinach was not allowed to get in, must be the caravanserai

[73] Schweigger. *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk (1578 – 1581),* 144.
[74] Rålamb. *İstanbul'a Bir Yolculuk: 1657 – 1658*, 102-103.
[75] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.23.135
[76] Von Steinach. "Wolf Andreas' von Steinach Edelknabenfahrt nach Constantinopel (1583)", 193 – 234.
[77] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli*, 38.

near the mosque which is attributed to Süleyman I in Çorlu. This caravanserai was a mosque and caravanserai, known today as Süleymaniye, built by *Hain* Ahmed Pasha (Ahmed Pasha the Traitor) (d. 1524) in 1521.[78] Although it was seen rarely, it has also happened that foreigners were not provided with free accommodation against the terms of the waqf. While Erasm Otwinowski (1529 – 1624), the Polish noble among the retinue of ambassador Andrzej Bzicki (d. 1567), writes about free accommodation for up to three days in the Abdüsselam Çelebi's caravanserai in Küçükçekmece, Paolo Contarini writes that waqf employees wanted money from them for accommodation in the same caravanserai.[79]



Figure 8. Map of Orta Kol and Süleyman I's campaign route between Edirne and Istanbul.

[78] The complex in Çorlu will be studied in more detail in the chapter about the town.
[79] Otwinowski. "Wypisanie drogi tureckiej, gdym tam z posłem wielkim wielmożnym panem Andrzejem Bzickim, kasztelanem chełmskim, od króla Zygmunta Augusta posłanym roku pańskiego 1557 jeździł", 7 – 40.; Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini che andavo bailo per la Repubblica Veneta alla Porta Ottona nel 1580*, 38.



Figure 9. Miniature painting from 1660s of the interior of a caravanserai. Museo Civico Correr, Venice, Codex Cicogna 1971, fol. 29r

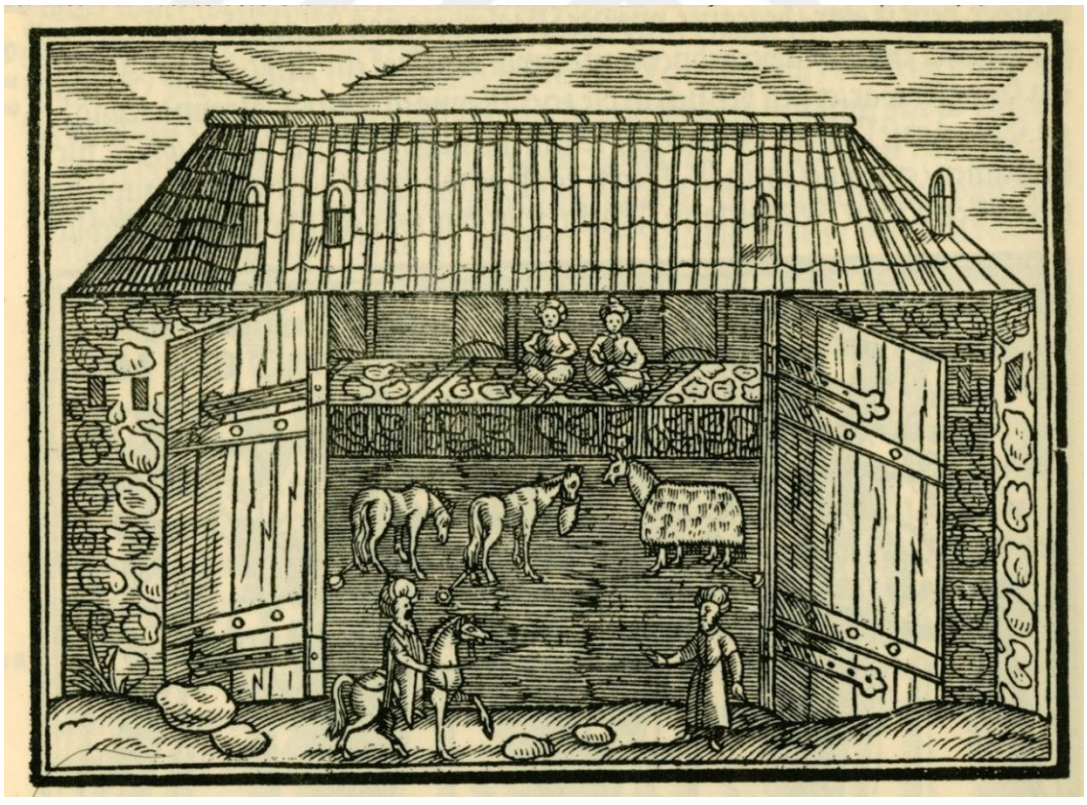

Figure 10. Woodcut of a caravanserai by Salomon Schweigger



Figure 11. Colored lithograph of the caravanserai in Bergos by Luigi Mayer



Figure 12. Miniature painting from 1660s of the exterior of a caravanserai. Museo Civico Correr, Venice, Codex Cicogna 1971, fol. 19r

3.1 Bridges

It was already mentioned in this work that after the establishment of the total control on the Edirne – Istanbul road, Mehmed II immediately started the construction of infrastructural works with Küçükçekmece and Büyükçekmece bridges and pavements. Giovanni Maria Angiolello (c. 1451 – c. 1525), Venetian author who served in the court of Mehmed II, writes that both of these bridges were made of stone.[80] Pierre Belon (1517 – 1564), the French botanist, who crossed these bridges in 1547, states that both bridges were wooden and one of them was very long.[81] The stone bridge must have been demolished and a wooden bridge must have been built instead after Mehmed II's reign and before Süleyman I's reign. The great earthquake of 1509, which occurred between the dates of these two travel accounts, may be among the possible causes that destroyed the bridge.[82] The pavement of the road and the construction of bridges on the road were most important for the armies crossing marshy valleys and rivers and were important for the comfort of the palace traveling between Edirne and Istanbul. However, the greatest revival and the busiest period in terms of constructions would be in the second half of the 16th century. Many monumental stone bridges were built during this period, though it should not be overlooked that there were not only monumental stone bridges on this road, but also numerous wooden bridges over many small streams and creeks, which were always repaired before the travel of the army or the palace. There were also small stone bridges that were not built by waqf sources and were probably built by *kaldırımcıs*, *müsellems*, or city architects. German traveler Hans Dernschwam (1494 – 1568) writes about the several stone bridges they crossed

[80] Reinhard. *Edition de J. –M. Angiolello (1452 -1525),* 40.
[81] Belon. *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays, rédigées par P. Belon, du Mans*, 120.
[82] For brief information about the damage caused by the great earthquake of 1509 see Ambraseys, and Finkel. *Türkiye'de ve Komşu Bölgelerde Sismik Etkinlikler*, 30-35.

around Havsa in 1553.[83] Venetian *bailo* Contarini also writes that they passed over two stone bridges between Edirne and Havsa.[84] Another Venetian diplomat Catharin Zen writes that around Bigados and Kumburgaz there were many wooden and stone bridges and the road is well paved to facilitate the travels.[85] Zen also writes that they passed five stone bridges between Babaeski and Bergos.[86] Benedict Curipeschitz (1491 – 1531) mentions two bridges made of bricks between Bergos and Karıştıran.[87] Although there is not a large and wide river between Istanbul and Edirne, the reason for the construction of numerous stone bridges was to protect the travelers from the swamps in stream beds due to the flatness of the land and to enable crossing during the flooding seasons, especially in the winter and spring. Today, all of the extant monumental bridges on the Edirne – Istanbul axis were built during the age of Sinan or in the following century. Considering all the bridges Sinan built, this region is the most condensed area of Sinan's bridges with five stone bridges built by the great architect and two stone bridges on the offshoot roads, namely Halkalı and Alpullu bridges which were somehow connected to Edirne – Istanbul road. The number of monumental bridges on the Edirne – Istanbul road is one of the most concrete examples of the importance given by the center in the 16th and 17th centuries. (Fig. 13)

Monumental stone bridges on the Edirne – Istanbul road will be presented one by one from Istanbul to Edirne in the following sub-titles. Six of twelve monumental stone bridges were built by Sinan. Of the bridges, only the ones in Büyükçekmece and Babaeski have inscriptions. While most of the caravanserais on the road were

[83] Dernscwham. *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü*, 46.
[84] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli*, 35.
[85] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[86] Ibid, 203 – 256.
[87] Von Obenburg. *Itinerarium Wegrayss Kü. May. potschafft gen Constantinopel zu dem Türkischen Kayser Soleyman Anno xxx*.

commissioned by high-ranking state officials, such as grand viziers, this preponderance is not seen in the patronage of the bridges. Five of the bridges, including the longest and the costliest ones such as those in Büyükçekmece and Silivri, were commissioned directly by the palace. In parallel with the period when the caravanserais were built, nine of the twelve bridges were built in the 16th century. Three stone bridges, one of which is a rebuilding project from the 17th century, have survived. In addition, it should be remembered that bridges were often not mentioned in waqfiyyas. Therefore, we can learn about the patrons of bridges from other primary sourches such as repair registers, travelogues, or autobiographies. However, although it is not written in his waqfiyya, the bridges commissioned by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha along with the complexes he endowed on this route should be underlined.

3.1.1 Küçükçekmece Bridge

The bridge in Küçükçekmece is not listed among the bridges Sinan had built in the autobiographies of the architect. Therefore, there is a high probability that the bridge predates Sinan's appointment as the Chief Architect. (Fig. 14) It is possible that it was built by the predecessor of Sinan, Acem Ali. The bridge has 13 arches and bends slightly by making an elevation in the direction of Küçükçekmece on the east side. Erasm Otwinowski writes that this bridge was commissioned by Selim.[88] The sultan that Otwinowski mentions must be Selim I. Küçükçekmece Bridge was built of stone, but today it is a bit far from its original apperance. The anonymous writer in the retinue of the Jacopo Soranzo, Venetian ambassador to Istanbul writes in 1575 that the bridge is less beautiful architecturally compared to the bridge in Büyükçekmece. Also the

[88] Otwinowski. "Wypisanie drogi tureckiej, gdym tam z posłem wielkim wielmożnym panem Andrzejem Bzickim, kasztelanem chełmskim, od króla Zygmunta Augusta posłanym roku pańskiego 1557 jeździł", 7 – 40.

bridge is shorter, and the bridge was surrounded by wooden posts on both sides.[89] Gerlach similarly states that the bridge was made of stone but rested on high wooden posts.[90] In an engraving from the late 18th century, we see that the bridge has not lost much of its 16th century appearance. (Fig. 15)

3.1.2 Haramidere Bridge

Haramidere Bridge is also known as Kapıağası Bridge. The bridge was listed among the bridges built by Sinan in *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* as Kapıağası Bridge.[91] However, we do not know exactly which *kapıağası* (chief white eunuch of the harem) this is since the name of the patron was not dictated by Sinan. This must have been Yakub Ağa (d. 1566), *babü's-sâade ağası* in the court of Süleyman I, who died during the Szigetvar Campaign, like the sultan himself. He had shops in Küçükçekmece, a masjid and mills in Trakatya (modern Yakuplu near Haramidere) village, and a farm in Haramidere.[92] Since the bridge does not have an inscription, the exact date of its construction cannot be determined but it must have been built before 1566. The slope of the Haramidere Bridge, which has three large arches and four small arches to reduce water pressure, must have decreased over time, it seems that it was a bridge with a much higher slope in its original form. This suggests that the valley was prone to flooding. (Fig. 16)

[89] *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo*, 59.
[90] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 813.
[91] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 84, 109.
[92] BOA.TS.MA.D.5104

3.1.3 Büyükçekmece Bridge

The bridge in Büyükçekmece is among the masterpieces of Ottoman architecture. It is a standout building in Ottoman architecture with both its length and construction technique. So much so that both European travelers and Ottoman intellectuals spoke highly of the bridge. The bridge was among the buildings Sinan was most proud of and was the only bridge in which he described the construction process in his autobiography.

In both *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* and *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan*, it is written that the bridge in Büyükçekmece was built by Sinan. In *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan*, Sinan dictated that the pre-existing bridge was in a dilapidated condition due to the waves of the sea during the reign of Süleyman I and that the sultan wanted a bridge to be built here, seeing that people were taking boats instead of using the bridge since it poses risks. Venetian diplomat Lorenzo Bernardo (1534 – 1592), on the other hand, writes that marauders with boats robbed the passengers here and that Süleyman I wanted to build a bridge for the safety of the travelers.[93] Both narratives share the common grievances of the travelers. After saying that the old bridge here was misplaced and its foundations were damaged because of wrong placement, Sinan planned to replace the bridge closer to the sea.[94] The bridge construction was started in 1565 but could not be completed during the reign of Süleyman I since the sultan died during the Szigetvar Campaign, and the inscription on the bridge in the westernmost part towards Edirne direction states that the bridge was completed in 1567 during the reign of Selim II (r. 1566 – 1574). Sinan narrates the construction of the Büyükçekmece Bridge in *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan*:

[93] Bernardo. *Viaggio A Costantinopoli di Sier Lorenzo Bernardo*, 38-39.
[94] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 153-154.

I set to work. A cofferdam like a galleon was constructed for each of the piers, and the demons of Solomon drew out the seawater with pumps and large skin sacks and emptied them. And piles made from fine, strong columns the length of two or three men were driven into the foundations with a pile driver, large stones were clamped over them with strong iron clamps, lead was poured between them, and they were joined together as a single piece.[95]

The construction of the Büyükçekmece Bridge was a costly and large-scale project. Limemakers were requested from Sokucak (modern Soğucak) village of Pınarhisar for the construction. Timbers were requested from Samakov (modern Demirköy) and timbers were brought by camels provided from Plovdiv. The masters who will work in the construction of the bridge were requested even from distant places such as Lesbos, Kastamonu, Konya, Larende (modern Karaman), Taşköprü, Thessaloniki, Siroz (modern Serres), Amasya, İskilip, Merzifon, Skopje, Ferecik (modern Feres), Kayseri, and Gallipoli.[96] The construction of the bridge should have been completed as soon as possible. In another decree, *yörüks* (nomads), Tatars and *canbazs* (horse breeders) who worked in shipbuilding in Misivri (modern Mesembria), Ahtabolu (modern Ahtopol), and Süzebolu (modern Sozopol) were asked to help with the construction of the Büyükçekmece Bridge as soon as they finish their work there and 890 *müsellems* from Bolu to work in the construction was requested with their food for six months.[97] In addition, oaks for making posts were requested from the qadis of Silivri and Haslar, and it was underlined that this issue was very important.[98] Materials like spolia may have been obtained from the surrounding area, as Lubenau (1556 – 1631) writes that he saw fragments of ancient marble columns on the bridge.[99] In 1568, when the bridge was just completed, Habsburg diplomat Marc'Antonio

[95] Ibid, 128.
[96] *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973 / 1565 – 1566),* 45, 84-85, 109.
[97] Ibid, 176, 202.
[98] Erdoğan. "Osmanlı Devrinde Trakya Âbidelerinde Yapılan İmar Çalışmaları", 121 – 188.
[99] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi (Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589),* 163-164.

Pigafetta, who crossed here, writes that it costed 30,000 ducats of gold.[100] Polish diplomat Andrej Taranowski writes that while crossing here in 1569, 20,000 people worked for the construction of this bridge for 5 years.[101] The construction did not last for 5 years as Taranowski writes and 20,000 is a quite exaggerated number, but as can be seen from the decrees in the archival documents, there is no doubt how large a construction project it was. Contarini writes that 4000 people worked at the same time to complete the construction in six years.[102] The number of employees given by Contarini would be more reasonable. European travelers should have beeen aware of the military importance of the bridge, which was ordered during a military campaign. Georgii Dousae (Joris van der Does) (1574 – 1599) states that the bridge was commissioned by Süleyman I, so he finally would conquer Vienna.[103]

The 637-meter bridge was actually an innovative structure consisting of four bridges connected by three artificial islets. The bridge consists of a total of 28 arches by adding four separate bridges end to end. (Fig. 17, 18) The three low points on the three hexagonal islets were intended to minimize damage to the bridge during flooding.[104] Each bridge has a different number of arches and is of different length.This bridge must be among the structures that Sinan was most proud of. It is the only bridge among Sinan's bridges where the name of the architect was inscribed. (Fig. 19) At the same time, in the inscription in his tomb, Sâi wrote:

Çekmece cisrine bir tâk-ı muallâ çekdi kim
Aynıdır âyine-i devrânda şekli kehkeşan [105]

[100] Pigafetta. "Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino", 70 – 194.
[101] Taranowski. *Beschreybunge einer Reyse oder eins zuges/ eins fürnemlichen Polnischen Herrn/ von Königklicher Polnischen wirden/ Botschafftweiß gen Constantinopel*.
[102] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 40.
[103] Dousae. *Georgii Dousae de itinere suo Constantinopolitano, Epistola*, 75.
[104] Ćurčić. *Architecture in the Balkans*, 784-785.
[105] He built such a sublime arch for Çekmece Bridge / In the same shape of the Milky Way in this world

Evliya Çelebi also likens bridge to the Milky Way which presents a glimpse about the aesthetic perception of the bridge for the Ottoman intellectual.[106] The completion of the bridge is also described with a poem in *Şehnâme-i Selim Han*, which was written by Seyyid Lokman (d. after 1601) and presented to Sultan Selim II, and was supported by a miniature painting attributed to Nakkaş Osman. (Fig. 20)

3.1.4 Silivri Bridges

There are two bridges in Silivri and neither of them has an inscription. One of them is the four-arched stone bridge on the Boğluca Stream close to the citadel in Silivri. (Fig. 21) The other is the thirty two-arched long bridge built by Sinan on the Tuzla Stream, which is located westwards. (Fig. 22) In *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin*, they are listed as Silivri Bridges. However, in *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* only one bridge in Silivri is listed, indicating the long bridge.[107] For this reason, it is not possible to make an inference about when and by whom the four-arched bridge in Silivri was first built. Lorenzo Bernardo crossed both bridges in 1591.[108] The four-arched bridge was rebuilt by Sinan's sucessor, Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa (d. 1607).[109] In some studies, it is written that the bridge repaired by Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa is Sinan's long bridge, but this is not true.[110] In a construction register from 1605, we see that the four-arched bridge in Silivri was demolished and rebuilt for the soul of Queen Mother Handan Sultan (d. 1605), mother of Ahmed I (r. 1603 – 1617), and the repair expenses were covered by the palace.[111]

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[106] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 165-166.
[107] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 84, 109.
[108] Bernardo. *Viaggio A Costantinopoli di Sier Lorenzo Bernardo*, 38.
[109] BOA.TS.MA.3916
[110] Çeçen. "Sinan'ın Yaptığı Köprüler", 429 – 438; Akkaya. "Trakya'da Marmara Kıyısında İstanbul'a Bağlı Bir Kasaba: Silivri (= Selymbria) Tarih İçindeki Gelişimi ve Eski Eserleri", 279.
[111] BOA.TS.MA.D.5112, BOA.TS.MA.4926

It is understood from a decree that the long bridge in Silivri was built before 1571. The qadi of Silivri was asked not to allow fishermen to set up cages near the Silivri Bridge, as the fishermen who set up cages might cause damage to the bridge.[112] In 1568, we understand that some *yörüks* from the township of Vize were working in the bridge construction and also haymakers from Çatalca were employed even though their main duty to was taking care of state pastures in Çatalca.[113] *Acemioğlans* were requested for the construction of the bridge from the janissary aghas, and Vizier Piyale Pasha (c. 1515 – 1578) was asked to provide a galley to carry these *acemioğlans*, along with required construction materials such as timber.[114] The long bridge of Silivri was a large construction project, though not as much as in Büyükçekmece. The bridge was not actually crossing a very broad river, therefore almost half of the building spans over the land. The reason for the construction of the bridge is that, as chaplain of the British ambassador to Istanbul, John Covel (1638 – 1722), who crossed the bridge in 1675, wrote, the comfort of the travelers crossing the the swampy valley formed by the stream flowing under the bridge and the winter floods which could cause troubles.[115] In a waqf register dated 1595, we see that the Silivri Bridge was repaired with the income of the waqf of Süleyman I.[116]

3.1.5 Araplı / Kınıklıdere Bridge

Between Çorlu and Silivri, there is a stone bridge with three arches and no inscription on the Kınıklı Creek which draws the Istanbul-Tekirdağ provincial border today. (Fig. 23) Since the Araplı village was located on the main road, it was among the points

[112] *12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978 - 979 / 1570 – 1572),* Vol. 1. 148.
[113] *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975 - 976 / 1567 – 1569),* Vol. 2, 115, 273.
[114] *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975 - 976 / 1567 – 1569),* Vol. 1, 577, 578.
[115] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 181.
[116] BOA.MAD.D.7150

where many travelers, armies, and sultans stopped. It was already mentioned in this present work before that Araplı was a *derbend* village. In the travel books of the 15th and 16th centuries, there is no traveler account that informs us that there was a bridge here. In a document dated to the last days of 1614, we see that Sefer Ağa, who was in charge of building fountains and bridges on behalf of Ahmed I, bought a mill by the stream here.[117] Evliya Çelebi's mention of the Sultan Ahmed I fountain while passing here strengthens the possibility that the bridge and the fountain were built by Sefer Ağa at the same time.[118] Corneille van den Dreisch (1688 – 1758) writes that they crossed a beautiful stone bridge in Araplı in 1719.[119]

3.1.6 Çorlu Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge

In the northwest of Çorlu, between Marmaracık and Çorlu, there is a stone bridge over the Çorlu Stream with five major arches, two minor flooding arches, and no inscription. (Fig. 24) In *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye,* the bridge built in Marmara in the name of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha is listed.[120] Today's town of Marmaracık must have been referred to as Marmara in the text because there are no stone bridges in settlements with Marmara in their names, such as Marmara Island or the town of Gölmarmara in Manisa. However, this bridge is not mentioned in the waqfiyya of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha though his bridge in Bergos was not mentioned either. If we take *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* for granted, the bridge must have been built before 1579 and probably after the 1560s. In an investigation and repair document dated 1768, the bridge over the Çorlu Stream is described as *cisr-i*

[117] BOA.TS.MA.E.1243.56
[118] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 6, 86.
[119] Von den Dreisch. *Historische Nachricht von der Röm. Kayserl. Groß-Botschafft nach Constantinopel*, 141.
[120] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 89, 104.

kebir (the great bridge), but the name of the patron is not mentioned.[121] In some studies, this bridge is incorrectly called the Kara Mustafa Pasha Bridge.[122]

3.1.7 Kara Mustafa Pasha Bridge

It is located on the Ergene River between Karıştıran and Çorlu and has seven arches. (Fig. 25) In an investigation and repair document from 1768 which was already mentioned for the Sokollu Bridge over Çorlu Stream, it is written *cisr-i kebir-i atik* (the great old bridge) for the bridge over Ergene, but this was not Kırkgöz Bridge because in the same document Kırkgöz Bridge was defined as the bridge with forty arches which was located in a quarter of an hour distance.[123] It becomes clear in a document from the following year that this bridge was built by Kara Mustafa Pasha. The bridge over Ergene, which is defined as *cisr-i tavil* (the long bridge) in the documents regarding the repairs and expenses written the following year, is referred to as the Kara Mustafa Pasha Bridge.[124] If we assume that the bridge was built during the grand viziership of Kara Mustafa Pasha, then the bridge dated between 1676 and 1683.

3.1.8 Karıştıran Rüstem Pasha Bridge

The great seven-arched stone bridge in Karıştıran is not mentioned in the records of 16th and early 17th century travelers or in Sinan's autobiographies, nor is it written in Rüstem Pasha's (d. 1561) waqfiyya. (Fig. 26) In a document dated 1781, it is

[121] BOA.C.NF.35.1748
[122] Çulpan. *Türk Taş Köprüleri*, 179-181.
[123] BOA.C.NF.35.1748
[124] BOA.AE.SMST.III.236.18626; BOA.C.NF.13.616

mentioned that two wooden bridges from the Cağalzade Waqf were repaired by the waqf within the borders of the township of Bergos.[125] If they were in Bergos, then it should have been repaired by the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqf. For this reason, the bridges mentioned in the document should have been in Karıştıran. The stone bridge might have been built at a later period with the income of the waqf in the later 17th century. The bridge, whose seven arches are visible today, has changed a little from its original appearance with the addition of another modern bridge to one end and the stream rehabilitation works. Covel, who crossed the bridge in 1675, reports that this bridge has eight arches and this explains that the bridge was built before 1675.[126]

3.1.9 Bergos Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge

The four-arched Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge in Bergos must have been built by Sinan between 1566 and 1570, during the construction of the complex in the town. (Fig. 27) It has five flooding arches besides main arches. The bridge is located in the west of the town over the Köprüaltı Stream. The bridge is not mentioned in Sinan's autobiographies, but since Sinan built the Sokollu Complex in Bergos, we can assume that he built the bridge as well. In a document dated 1566, it is written that the army arrived to the *konak* of Bergos and had hardships while crossing the bridges and they were adversely affected by the rain.[127] There was absolutely no chance that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who attended *divan* meetings at that time, was not aware of this situation, therefore, he may have wanted a bridge to be built in addition to his complex in Bergos.

[125] BOA.C.NF.14.672
[126] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the* Levant,183.
[127] *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973 / 1565 – 1566)*, 246.

3.1.10 Alpullu Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge

Even though the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge in Alpullu was on an offshoot road connecting *Orta Kol* to the port city of Rodoscuk, thus *Sol Kol* via Hayrabolu, I believe that it is worth mentioning in this work due to its proximity to the main artery. (Fig. 28) The Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge, located between the villages of Sinanlı and Alpullu, is remarkable among Sinan's bridges with its extraordinary architecture. The monumental bridge is among the bridges listed in *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye*.[128] The bridge has five main and four flooding arches with the central arch span which is the widest in Sinan's bridges and it has a very steep slope. The reason for this may be the floods caused by Ergene River flowing under it. Sinanlı village near the bridge was among the villages of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqf.

3.1.11 Babaeski Çoban (Shepherd) Kasım Ağa Bridge

According to its inscription, Çoban Kasım Ağa Bridge in Babaeski was built in 1043 AH / 1633-4 AD during the reign of Murad IV (r. 1623 – 1640). According to the narratives of Abdurrahman Hıbrî (1604 – 1659) and Evliya Çelebi, the bridge was built by *sekbanbaşı* Kasım Ağa, one of the aghas of janissaries in the court of Murad IV.[129] According to John Covel's travel account, the bridge is wide enough for three carts to pass at the same time.[130] It is located east end of town and is a six-arched bridge with double flooding gaps between its each of six arches flanking the prismatic buttresses. The bridge has a balcony like kiosk just across the inscription.

[128] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 109.
[129] İlgürel. "Abdurrahman Hibrî'nin *Menasîk-i Mesâlik*'i", 111 – 128; Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 264.
[130] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 186.

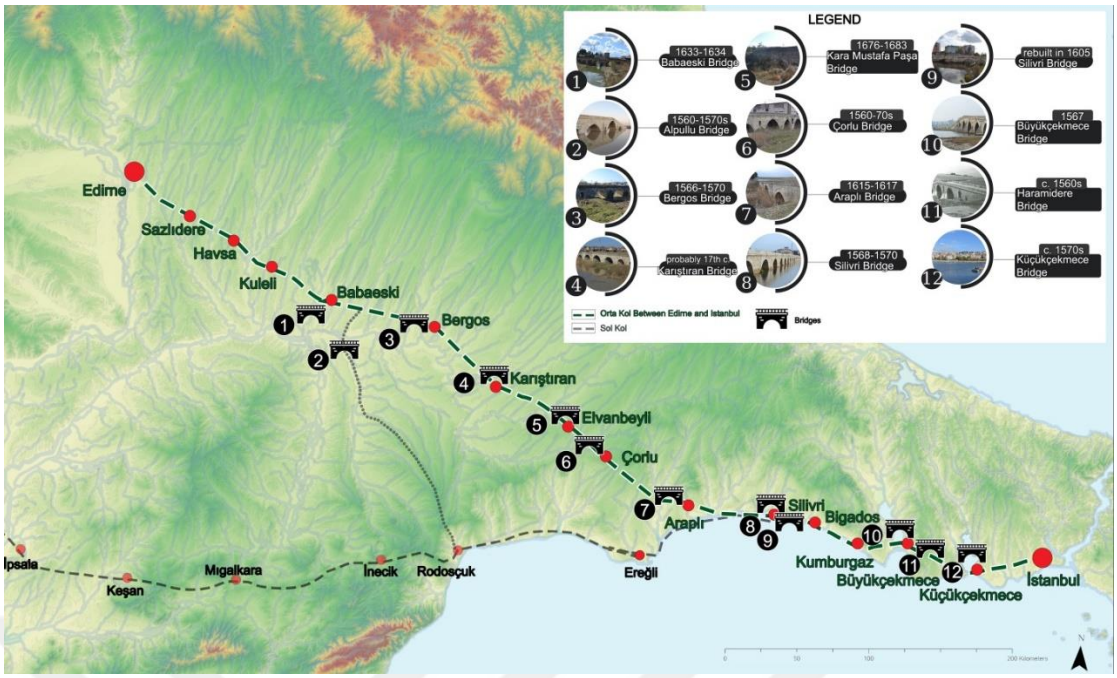

Figure 13. Map of the road between Edirne and Istanbul showing monumental stone bridges



Figure 14. Photo of Küçükçekmece Bridge. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 15. Colored lithograph of the Küçükçekmece Bridge with wooden posts on the stone substructure by Luigi Mayer



Figure 16. Kapıağası Bridge in Haramidere. Retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Haramidere_Bridge_Istanbul.png



Figure 17. Büyükçekmece Bridge. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 18. Colored lithograph of Büyükçekmece Bridge by Luigi Mayer



Figure 19. Inscription on the bridge reads as: Amal-i Yusuf bin Abdullah (the work of Yusuf bin Abdullah). Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022

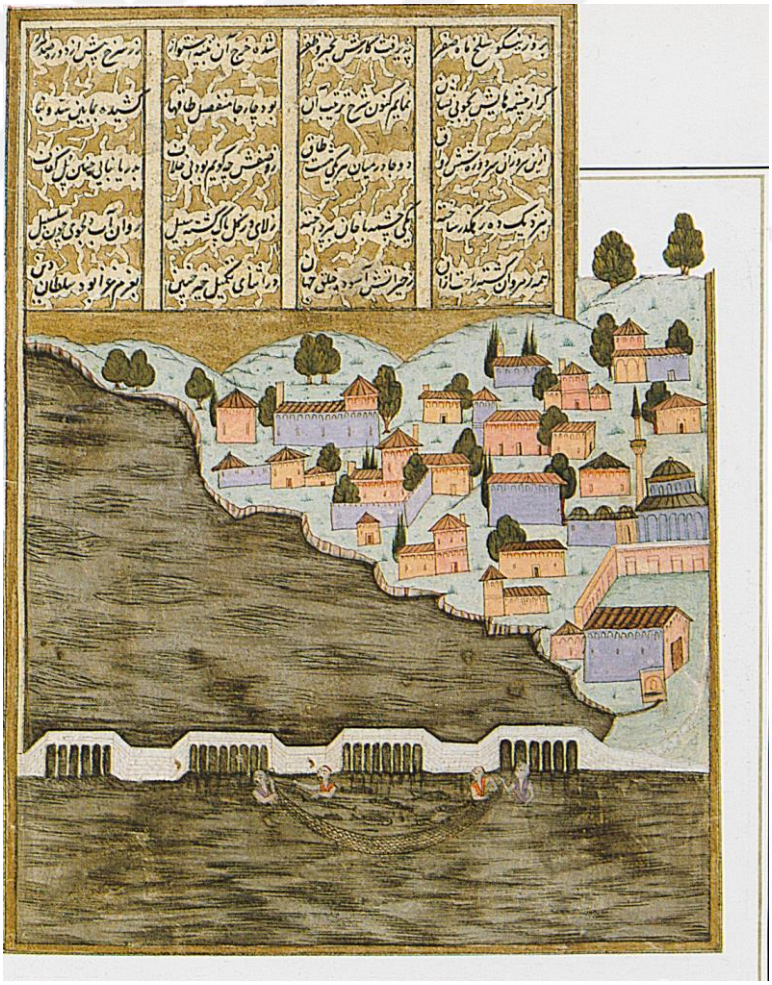

Figure 20. Miniature painting from 1581 showing the Büyükçekmece Bridge and the town. Topkapı Palace Museum Library, A. 3595, fol. 56b



Figure 21. Four-arched bridge in Silivri which was rebuilt by Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 22. Long bridge in Silivri which was built by Sinan. Photo by Can Bozkır, December 2021



Figure 23. Araplı Bridge. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2022



Figure 24. Çorlu Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 25. Kara Mustafa Pasha Bridge over Ergene. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 26. Rüstem Pasha Bridge in Karıştıran. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 27. Bergos Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 28. Alpullu Bridge over the flooding Ergene. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 29. Babaeski Çoban Kasım Ağa Bridge. Photo by Can Bozkır, April, 2022

3.2 Road constructions and taking care of it

Paving and repairing the roads was surely essential for the comfort of the palace who went on the journey to Edirne, or for merchants and ambassadors, but the greatest importance was to ensure the rapid advance of the army marching on the campaign. However, the roads were not always in the desired condition. Especially during the winter season, it could cause problems for the travelers. French traveler Fresne-Canaye (1551 – 1610), who traveled to Istanbul via Edirne in February 1573, writes that the roads around Babaeski and Bergos were in a terrible condition and covered with mud.[131] In a decree sent to the qadis of the townships between Edirne and Istanbul, it was ordered that the pavements should be repaired along the road and wooden bridges should be repaired where necessary in order not to cause hardships and troubles to the

[131] Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 47.

court traveling to Edirne in 1571.[132] According to a document dated 1558, the Istanbul – Halkalı – Çatalca line was often well paved during the reign of Süleyman I.[133] Earlier in this study, it was shown that the army used this road frequently during the reign of Süleyman I. Halkalı and Çatalca were also preferred hunting grounds of the sultan.

The major profession that kept the roads functioning was *kaldırımcılık* (paving). They were employed by the state and their duties were basically building roads by laying stones and repairing them. The roads from Silivri to Silivrikapı were repaired by the masters appointed by the *bostancıbaşı* for the sultan, who returned to Istanbul from Edirne in 1695.[134] Catharin Zen writes that between Babaeski and Bergos the road was in excellent condition and well paved for travelers. He writes that people were paving these roads for the sake of God.[135] Adam Wenner, who arrived in Istanbul in 1616 by using this road with the entourage of the Austrian ambassador, writes that the pavement around Bergos was very smooth and that most of the Edirne – Istanbul road was well paved.[136] However, pavement of roads was not always in good condition which requires regular maintenance. For this reason, keeping the road from Istanbul to Rumelia well-maintained was of essential importance for the state.

There were also roads built and repaired by waqf resources. These were mostly for the construction of roads leading to waqf buildings or streets within towns where waqfs were located. Therefore, we can think that only a certain part of a road was built with waqf resources. Other parts of the major roads were built by the state or by the locals. For example, in 1692, it was ordered that the bridges belonging to waqfs on the

[132] *12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978 - 979 / 1570 – 1572)*, Vol. 2. 9.
[133] Orhonlu. "Meslekî Bir Teşekkül Olarak Kaldırımcılık ve Osmanlı Şehir Yolları Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler", 93 – 138.
[134] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.103.785
[135] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[136] Wenner. *Padişahın Huzurunda Elçilik Günlüğü, 1616 – 1618*, 52.

road between Havsa and Küçükçekmece were to be repaired by the land owners and waqf employees.[137] Again in 1697, the trustee of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Waqf, İbrahim Hanzade Ali, came to Istanbul from Edirne and requested the repair of waqf's bridges, fountains, and roads on the road between Edirne and Istanbul. Thereupon, decrees were sent to the qadis of Çorlu, Bergos, and Babaeski for the repair of the aforementioned waqf buildings.[138] In a document dated 1788, it was stated that the repair expenses of the pavements between Küçükçekmece and Edirne would be covered by the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqf in Bergos.[139] Mehmed Pasha may also have wanted this because the well-functioning road would keep his waqf's incomes high. This document is very important because these expenditures may have been made as an investment on behalf of the waqf of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who endowed many buildings between Edirne and Istanbul, in order for his waqf to function in the best way and to keep the incomes of the waqf high. In a decree dated 1738, it was ordered to the qadis of Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, Karıştıran, Bergos, Babaeski, and Havsa that the roads and bridges within the boundaries of each township should be repaired by locals for the army which would go on a campaign.[140] In addition to this, there were tax-exempt *müsellems* who were in charge of road repair, bridge repair, and building infrastructure prior to the arrival of the army during a military campaign. For example, in a decree sent to the qadi of Çorlu in 1566, it was ordered that *müsellems* in Vize to be sent to Karıştıran.[141]

The *derbend* organization was one of the other important organizations for the functioning of Ottoman main roads. The people in the villages formed as *derbend* were

[137] BOA.İE.NF.1.61
[138] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.109.30
[139] BOA.AE.SABH.I.28.2161
[140] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.145.351
[141] *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973 / 1565 – 1566)*, 242.

exempt from some taxes like *köprücüs*. Roles of the *derbendci* (lit. mountain pass guard) were to repair and ensure the safety of the road as an outpost, as well as to *şenlendirme* (populate and make prosperous) the desolate areas. Located between Çorlu and Silivri, Araplı was founded as a *derbend* village in the valley of Kınıklı Creek. This village was founded during the reign of Süleyman I with settling of seventy households who were deported from elsewhere. These deportees were exempt from the taxes of *tekalif-i örfiyye*. Probably those deported to Araplı village were non-Muslims. Gerlach writes that this was a non-Muslim village with a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and that there was an inn here.[142] In a decree dated 1691 addressed to the qadi of Ereğli, it was requested that their churches should not be prevented from being repaired since Araplı was a non-Muslim village.[143] As a result of the repair of the bridge and roads in the area during the reign of Ahmed I, it was requested that the farms and pastures should be returned to their formers, to people who left the village during the course of time from the reign of Süleyman I to the reign of Ahmed I.[144] In a decree sent to the qadi of Havsa, it was written that the people of the town of Havsa, were *derbendci* and they should be exempt from taxes. where Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had a large *menzil* complex built on the Edirne - Istanbul road.[145] In addition, we see that the inhabitants of Bergos was also exempt from taxes, where Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's largest social complex was located.[146] Exemption from taxes was encouraging the development and population increase of towns with *menzil* complexes and *derbend* settlements.

[142] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 817.
[143] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.100.495
[144] Orhonlu. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Derbend Teşkilatı*, 73.
[145] BOA.AE.SMHD.I.46.2732
[146] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.22.199; BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.22.200

On the roads of primary importance, apart from *kaldırımcılar* and *derbendciler*, there were *köprücüler* who were employed for reparining and keeping the bridges functioning. The establishment of *köprücülük* ensured that the bridges in the Ottoman Empire remained standing for centuries. *Köprücüler* were employed by the state and they were exempt from taxes like *kaldırımcılar* and *derbendciler* and their duty was to supervise bridges, along with the maintenance and repair of bridges.[147] We see that the bridge in Babaeski which was built during the reign of Murad IV had a *ferraş*.[148] Even though *ferraş* literally means either a cleaner in waqf buildings or a person who lays mattresses and carpets, we can think that *ferraş* in this context is the keeper of the bridge responsible for its maintenance by laying stones on the floor.

3.3 Ensuring the safety

The road between Edirne and Istanbul was in the best condition compared to the rest of the roads in the empire, but it was not always safe. Envoys and state officials could travel safely with janissaries escorting them, but there were some dangers posing for merchants, caravans, or individual travelers. Since it was the busiest road, the *Orta Kol* was an attractive target for bandit groups usually lurking in valleys, stream beds, or woods. As already mentioned in this work that *derbend* organization was also responsible with the safety of the road functioning as outposts. Moreover, we see that decrees were issued in specific cases regarding the actions of bandit gangs and coping with them especially in 17th and 18th centuries. In a decree dated 1631, qadis were ordered to take precautions against bandit groups hijacking in Küçükçekmece and

[147] Orhonlu. "Köprücülük", 701 – 708.
[148] BOA.İE.EV.22.2663

other places on *Orta Kol* and to cooperate with the *silahdar* appointed by the center.[149] In a decree from 1609 addressed to qadis of the *Orta Kol* in Rumelia, it was ordered that action should be taken about some *levends* disguised as *acemioğlans* or janissaries engaging in banditry.[150] Some travelers had foreknowledge of the banditry on this road. They were told by locals or janissaries about the banditry along the road. Catharin Zen writes that the part of the road between Çorlu and Silivri was dangerous, there were many bandits in this region, and the reputation of the bandits was well-known here.[151] İnciciyan also describes the area known as Semizkum between Çorlu and Silivri as the hotbed of bandits.[152] Englishman Covel reports that the name of the Haramidere region between Küçükçekmece and Büyükçekmece comes from the Turkish word of *harami* (robber, bandit) because there were many robbery and murder incidents happening in this valley.[153] French traveler Jean Palerne (1557 – 1592) writes that they had to be very careful because of the robbers while they were on their way between Çorlu and Karıştıran. Lubenau, on the other hand, writes that they were told that the area between Havsa and Babaeski was an unsafe area. Their entourage was attacked by bandits during the night journey between Bergos and Çorlu, but the attack failed since they were well-equipped. [154] It can be seen from the notes of all these travelers that there was a security risk along almost the entire Istanbul - Edirne road. A peasant, a farmer, or an unequipped merchant traveling between two towns could easily have been a victim of these gangs.

[149] *85 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (1040 – 1041 (1042)/ 1630 – 1631 (1632))*, 360-362.
[150] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.78.2074.
[151] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 218.
[152] İnciciyan. "Osmanlı Rumelisi'nin Tarih ve Coğrafyası", 101 – 152.
[153] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 177.
[154] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi (Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589)*, 156-157.

3.4 Provisioning the traveling palace, marching army, and the city of Istanbul

The expenses of the horses and camels at the *menzil* points were met from the nearby villages known as the *menzilkeş* (lit. menzil-bearer). These villages were exempt from various taxes and their main role in the state was to cover the expenses of the stopover points.[155] Therefore, the town centers with the *menzil* points formed a network with the nearby villages. Besides, these stopover towns formed a network among themselves and had roles assigned to them by the center. For example, when Selim II, who went hunting frequently around Karıştıran, Çorlu, and Halkalı, he was demanding barley, grass, straw, wood, and other grains from the qadis of Çorlu and Silivri.[156] From the reign of Selim II onwards, the sultans and the court began to spend more time in Edirne. In the 10 decrees written in succession in a *mühimme* register from 1565, the qadis of the pre-determined stopover points defined as *konak* between Istanbul and Edirne and the qadis of the neighboring towns were ordered to prepare grain for the needs of the army, since the army will go on a campaign in.[157] Again, in 1567, while it was ordered to prepare grain for the sultan and the *Sarây-ı Âmire* who were to move to Edirne in 1567, the qadi of Silivri was asked to cooperate with the qadi of Çorlu in case of necessity.[158] Selim II, who was going to spend the winter of 1571-1572 in Edirne, ordered the qadis in the pre-determined *konaks* to prepare plenty of grain for *Dârüssaâde* as well as the *Ordu-yı Hümâyun* (Imperial Army).[159] The route followed by Vizier Mehmed Pasha (d. 1606), who set out for the Hungary campaign in 1604, and the locations of the grain to be sent to the pre-determined stopover places were recorded in the *mühimme* registers. For example, the grain for Araplı was

[155] For *menzilkeş* villages of the region in the late 17th century see: Altunan. "XVII. Yüzyıl Sonlarında İstanbul-Edirne Arasındaki Menziller ve Bazı Menzilkeş Köyler", 75 – 99.
[156] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.23.237; *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973 / 1565 – 1566),* 246.
[157] *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973 / 1565 – 1566),* 184-185.
[158] *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975 - 976 / 1567 – 1569),* 153-154.
[159] *12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978 - 979 / 1570 – 1572),* Vol. 2., 10.

requested from Ereğli, the grain for Çorlu was requested by Çorlu and Rodoscuk (Tekirdağ), the grain for Babaeski was requested from Malkara, and the grain for Havsa was requested from Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa.[160] Lists of grain and other stuff ordered to be prepared were often sent to pre-determined *konaks*.

The long reign of Mehmed IV (r. 1648 – 1687) can be considered as the age of *şikâr-ı hümayun* (imperial hunting) for the region. Mehmed IV, who was frequently hunting around Yapağıcı (modern Alipaşa) near Silivri, and Çorlu, apart from Edirne, had a hunting palace built in Karıştıran. This palace should probably have been located on the site of the former hunting palace of Selim II. The registers in which the materials such as broadcloths, frames, curtains, oilcloths and woolen cloths purchased for this hunting palace are recorded are available in archives.[161] In addition, the expenses of ox carts and horses to be used along with grain, wood, log, coal, and grass to be consumed in Büyükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, Bergos, Babaeski, Havsa during the journey to Edirne for hunting are recorded down.[162] The number of registers showing how much materials such as barley, grass, and wood supplied to the *menzils* between Edirne and Istanbul from nearby towns and villages conspiciously increased during the reign of Mehmed IV.[163] After the reign of Mehmed IV, the road was continued to be frequently used by the palace until 1703. During the reign of Mustafa II (r. 1695 – 1703), the Havsa, Babaeski, Bergos, and Karıştıran *konaks* were renovated and the expenses were met from the *menzilciyan* villages of Edirne.[164] Also, Mustafa II renovated the baths of the hunting palace in Karıştıran.[165]

[160] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.77.109; BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.77.118.
[161] BOA.D.BŞM.D.387
[162] BOA.MAD.D.4033
[163] BOA.MAD.D.4269; BOA.D.MKF.D.31799; BOA.İE.SM.5.392
[164] BOA.AE.SMST.II.117.12816
[165] BOA.AE.SMST.II.136.15044

As presented above, in the second half of the 17th century, the amount of time that the palace spent in Edirne had increased sharply starting from the reign of Mehmed IV onwards. By looking at the archival documents, it is possible to see the increase in the number of the Istanbul-Edirne journeys of the palace between the periods of Mehmed IV and Ahmed III (r. 1703 – 1730). Moreover, the *Vâlide Sultan* (Queen Mother) and the harem were participating in these journeys independently of the sultan.[166] There are even receipts showing the expenses of the grain consumed at the stopover points between Edirne and Istanbul during the travels of the palace singers and musicians.[167] The *menzil* points were of great importance in the journeys of the palace between Istanbul and Edirne, because the courtiers had to have no hardships and troubles (*'usret ve muzâyaka*) during the journey, especially in terms of food and heating. These stopover points were not merely resting points during the march of the army, envoys, and the court, but also formed a network with each other and with the neighboring villages, as well as with the surrounding towns and villages that were not on the main road. This point is also important in order to understand the duties that the Ottoman state imposed on the *menzil* points and surrounding settlements in their vicinity. For example, for the stop in Kuleli village between Havsa and Babaeski, 60,000 aspers from İnecik and horses from Rusköy (modern Keşan) and Mekri were sent.[168] The payment of the money allocated for Kuleli village in 1690 was requested from the qadis of the neighboring towns such as Keşan, Bergos, and Babaeski.[169] Grain was sent from Uzunköprü to Havsa *menzil* in 1699 for the palace traveling from Edirne to Istanbul.

[166] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.103.785; BOA.İE.SM.8.769; More about Valide Sultan's travels between Edirne and Istanbul in that period can be seen *mühimme* registers numbered 92, 93, 112, and 113.
[167] BOA.İE.SM.11.1085
[168] BOA.AE.SMMD.IV.66.7794
[169] BOA.AE.SSÜL.II.21.2174

In addition to creating a *menzil* network, these towns also formed the provisioning network of Istanbul. Therefore, the road was vital for the needs of Istanbul, which was rapidly popularized by the forced migration policies of Mehmed II. Thrace, which was an important grain production center for the Byzantine Empire, maintained its important for the provision of Istanbul during the Ottoman period. Due to its arable lands, stockbreeding activities, and its location in the hinterland of Istanbul, this road was one of the main arteries feeding the city. The *Orta Kol*, therefore, was the most important provisioning channel of the city coming from the land. The population of the city began to swell even in the 16th century, and the need for grain and meat began to increase. Grain, dairy products, and meat supply are among the subjects regarding Eastern Thracian towns in archival documents especially from this period onwards. For example, during the 16th century, many villages of the *kazâ* (township) of Çorlu were obliged to supply grass and hay to *Istabl-ı Âmire* (The Palace Stables).[170] One of the duties of some other villages in the township of Çorlu was sheep breeding for the *Matbah-ı Âmire* (The Palace Kitchens), for the janissaries, and for the provision of Istanbul. *Celeb ta'ifesi* (the group of herdsmen) in these villages was responsible for bringing sheep to Istanbul.[171] For example, in a decree dated 1570, the qadis of Çorlu and Silivri were asked to send sheep because there was a shortage of meat in Istanbul.[172] In addition, this road is the most important caravan route connecting the Balkans to Istanbul, so it has a high commercial importance. Not only the grain and animals within the empire, but also the Central European and Eastern European merchants coming from outside the empire were also using this route. For example, during his journey from Havsa to Babaeski, Paolo Contarini came across a

[170] BOA. A.DVNSMHM.D.6.500; BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.43.80; *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973 / 1565 – 1566)*, 210.
[171] BOA. A.DVNSMHM.D.78.1906
[172] *12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978 - 979 / 1570 – 1572),* Vol. 1. 51.

caravan carrying goods being brought by Polish merchants from Germany to Istanbul.[173]

In conclusion, after the completion of the Edirne – Istanbul connection during the reign of Mehmed II, ventures for reviving the road was initiated by the Ottomans, who were well-aware of the the importance of this road, but there was no well-developed organization yet. With the construction of the caravanserais, which were built as part of large complexes, and the establishment of the organization and communication network in the second half of the 16th century, travel routes and the stopover points gradually started to become standardized. The fact that the best conditions of the caravanserais across the Balkans were on the Edirne - Istanbul axis proves the special importance that the center attached to this section of the road. The fact that this is the part of the road where the frequency of not only the caravanserais but also the Ottoman monumental stone bridges that have survived to the present day is the highest, makes this route a prestigious early modern Ottoman highway. Thus, thanks to caravanserais and solid stone bridges, the safe accommodation of travelers such as ambassadors and merchants was provided and the trade in the towns significantly increased. However, it should not be forgotten that the main reason why this road was well-maintained is the palace's frequent travels to Edirne and the army's expeditions to the Balkans. The fact that the maintenance and repairs of the road and bridges were mostly done before the departure of the palace or the army from Istanbul proves this. This busy road had also become a target for bandits. The presence of murderer and robber banditis in various places between Edirne and Istanbul pushed the state and travelers to take precautions. With the standardization of the route and *menzil* points, the development of the towns also accelerated and they formed a

[173] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 36.

network to meet their needs. This network not only enabled the settlements to meet each other's needs, but also met the meat and grain supply of Istanbul since the region extending towards Çorlu from Istanbul formed the immediate hinterland of the capital.

CHAPTER 4

SETTLEMENTS WITH STOPOVER COMPLEXES

In this part of the study, the urban and architectural histories of the settlements containing stopover complex on the *Orta Kol* from Istanbul to Edirne will be examined respectively. Each settlement will be studied in a separate sub-title and each sub-heading shows how these settlements were urbanized and flourished thanks to their location on a major public road. The towns of Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece, which are similar to each other in terms of geographical conditions, will be studied under a single sub-title. Most towns are studied within a similar structure. Following the geographical features of the settlements, the economic situation in the settlements and the demographic features, the prominent urbanization activities in these places will be presented chronologically and the architectural features of these building that have survived to the present day will be explained. This chapter thus aims to present the urban history of the towns in a connected and holistic manner, through an attention to geography, demography, economy, and material environment.

4.1 Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece

In this chapter, Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece will be prensented together. The reason for this is that both settlements had similar geographical characteristics which shaped the economic activities and urbanization. Both towns were located on the *Sol Kol* (Via Egnatia) as well as being on the *Orta Kol* (Via Militaris). First, Büyükçekmece and then Küçükçekmece will be discussed. After briefly presenting the geographical situation of Büyükçekmece and presenting the information about the social, demographic, and economic situation of the town, the urbanization activities in

the town from the 15th to the 18th century will be evaluated chronologically. Mehmed II's small complex, Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's, and Süleyman I's joint complex with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha will be studied. Then, Küçükçekmece will be presented in the same structure. After briefly presenting the geographical and economic situation of the town, the small complex that Mehmed II and the large complex that Abdüsselam Çelebi commissioned will be studied.

Büyükçekmece was a small fishing town located on the east side of the point where the Büyükçekmece Lagoon meets the sea. The location of the castle, built in late antiquity, was far from the present town. Some remnants of the castle can be seen today around the Ahmediye village in the northeastern part of Büyükçekmece Lake. Fresne-Canaye and Benedetto Ramberti (1503 – c. 1547) saw the ruins a little way out of town.[174] However, it is not possible to associate the castle with the town.

According to Jean Palerne, Büyükçekmece was more populated than Küçükçekmece and had all the necessary stuff with its good port.[175] Contarini says that there were many shops in the town and there were about 200 households in the mid-16th century.[176] The population of the town consisted of Greeks and Turks.[177] Büyükçekmece was a town the economy was mostly depended on fishing. The townspeople were earning a good income from fishing.[178] Covel states that the commerce in the town was lively thanks to the road and the sea and he adds that it was possible to find both freshwater fish and marine fish here.[179] Nakkaş Osman's

[174] Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 48; Ramberti. *Delle cose de Turchi*, 10.
[175] Palerne. *Peregrinations Dv S. Iean Palerne Foresien,* 490.
[176] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 40.
[177] *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo*, 58.
[178] Belon. *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays, rédigées par P. Belon, du Mans*, 120; Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[179] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 177.

miniature in *Şehnâme-i Selim Han* depicts fishermen fishing with nets, as well as the panorama of the town. (Fig. 20) In addition, there were many windmills like Silivri around the town.[180] Covel writes that there were many inns and several beautiful streets in the town.[181] Evliya Çelebi notes that there were 11 inns in the town, large or small, lead-covered or not, confirming Covel.[182] However, Evliya Çelebi mentions the existence of a madrasa in the town but there was no madrasa in Büyükçekmece and it is not mentioned in the list of madrasas in Rumelia. Evliya must have been confused with Küçükçekmece. Covel writes that there were Armenians, Greeks, and Jews in the town as well as Turks. The Christian people in the town had a church. Wenner records that in 1616 they stayed in a house near the church.[183]

Fatih Mosque is the oldest known structure belonging to the Ottoman period in Büyükçekmece. This mosque, which was built in the name of Mehmed II, does not have an inscription. It is a plain and simple mosque like the other mosques of Mehmed II located between Istanbul and Edirne. The mosque with a single minaret was built of rubble stone. (Fig. 30) It has a rectangular plan close to a square and its dimensions are approximately 11 meters by 8.5 meters.[184] According to a repair register dated 1182 AH / 1768-1789 AD, we are informed that there was also a primary school next to the mosque which could be a later addition.[185] The primary school and the mosque are not mentioned in the waqfiyya of Mehmed II like the other mosques he commissioned in provincial areas of the Empire. The fountain made of cut stone in front of the mosque is a later addition. According to its inscription, the patron of the fountain, which was

[180] Belon. *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays, rédigées par P. Belon, du Mans*, 120
[181] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 178.
[182] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 164.
[183] Wenner. *Padişahın Huzurunda Elçilik Günlüğü, 1616 – 1618*, 106.
[184] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri: 855 – 886 (1451 – 1481)*, Vol. 4, 168.
[185] BOA.TS.MA.D.4842

built in 1856, was the family of Süleyman Ağa, who was wounded in the war in Yergöğü (Giurgiu in Romania) and was martyred in the Crimea. (Fig. 31) In addition, there is a document dated 1612 regarding the repair of the Çekmece Bath, which belongs to the waqf of Sultan Mehmed Han. However, it is not stated in the document whether the bath was in Küçükçekmece or Büyükçekmece.[186]

The other building in Büyükçekmece, which can be dated back to the first half of the 16th century, is the hipped roofed and tile-covered small mosque known as the Imaret Mosque today. (Fig. 32) It is understood from its plan that it once belonged to a group of inverted T-shaped mosques with zawiya/hospice. This mosque plan displayed its last examples in the first decades of the 16th century. Today, the mosque, which is far from its original form, does not have sections flanking the central space and only the square-planned mihrab section is standing. The iwan arch at the entrance to the mihrab area is welcoming the visitors at the entrance of the mosque. (Fig. 33) Before the square space of 7 meters by 7 meters dimensions, traces of the portico in the original plan can be observed today.[187] The minaret of the imaret, which was built of masonry stone, must have been built later. Actually, the Imaret Mosque must have been part of a larger complex indicated by its name. There must have been a complex in the Dizdâriye neighborhood, which gave its name to the central neighborhood of Büyükçekmece today. In a petition dated 1086 AH / 1675-1676 AD, it was requested that the mosque, soup kitchen, and inn built by Dizdarzâde Mehmed in Büyükçekmece should be investigated for repairs, since the buildings of the complex were in need of repair.[188] There are many documents regarding the repair of this mosque, especially from the 19th century onwards. The soup kitchen, mosque, and inn of Dizdarzâde

[186] BOA.YB.04.1.34
[187] Yücel. "Büyükçekmece'deki Türk Eserleri", 95 – 106.
[188] BOA.C.BLD.121.6049

Mehmed might have been located in the heart of Büyükçekmece, which is known as Imaret Mosque today. Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's waqfiyya is dated 1519, so the inverted T-shaped mosque should have contained the soup kitchen as well. The date of the waqfiyya and the plan of the building support this argument. It was stipulated that the surplus of the waqf budget should be allocated to the imaret.[189] Details of the complex in Büyükçekmece are not given in both the *evkaf tahriri* (cadastral survey of waqfs) of 1546 and 1600. This soup kitchen may have been endowed as a separate waqf, but in the *evkaf* registers, no other such waqf in Büyükçekmece nor any other waqf of the same patron is listed. In an accounting register of the year 1176 AH / 1762-1763, it can be seen that there were bath and inns among the income of the waqf.[190] In a petition from 1711, the repair of the bath, fountains, and as well as the waterways of the foundation was requested.[191] In a document dated 1839, we see that this small complex had waterways and a *su yolcu* was appointed for its repair.[192] From all these petitions, accounting registers and repair documents, it is possible to infer that Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's complex, dated to the first half of the 16th century, consisted of a mosque, soup kitchen, inn, bath, fountains, and waterways. Unfortunately, no travelogue presents a description of Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's complex however it is possible to see Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's T-shaped Imaret Mosque in a miniature painting of Büyükçekmece dated 1581. (Fig. 20) Also, it is possible to see the building in *Leiden Sketchbook* dated after 1570s, drawn by an anonymous Netherlandish artist. (Fig. 40) In Büyükçekmece, the attention of travelers focused more on the caravanserai and the long bridge that Süleyman I would have

[189] BOA.TS.MA.5824; Ayverdi, and Barkan. *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) târîhli*, 79-80.
[190] BOA.TS.MA.D.5673
[191] BOA.TS.MA.E.1289.15
[192] BOA.TS.MA.E.830.40

commissioned in the next decades, rather than the center of the town. Thus, we can assume that Büyükçekmece was a multifocal town and that the Istanbul – Edirne road did not pass through Dizdarzâde Mehmed's complex. The complex, which was outside the main road route, was not recorded by the travelers, but the petitions written in the 18th and 19th centuries and the repairs made indicate that this area was important for the local townspeople.

Yücel attributes the bath known as Yusuf Pasha Bath in Büyükçekmece to the 17th century, but the double-bath does not have an inscription.[193] The patron of this bath, which is located awkwardly under an office block on Hamam Sokak in the center of the town today, is unknown. (Fig. 34) However, it was already stated that there was also a bath in the complex of Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi and with its proximity to the Imaret Mosque and its pre-Sinan era architectural features, the bath may well belong to Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's complex.

In the following period, the urbanization activity in Büyükçekmece, like other *menzil* towns, intensified in the second half of the 16th century. Süleyman I had a caravanserai and a fountain built at the eastern end of the bridge, the construction of which was started by Süleyman I and completed during the reign of Selim II. The three-sided fountain, which has a spout on each side, resembles an open gothic triptych with its marble façade with three pointed arches. (Fig. 35) The name of Süleyman I and the date of construction of the fountain, 974 AH / 1566 AD, are written on the thuluth inscription in the central side. The caravanserai known as Kurşunlu Han, commissioned by Süleyman I, is located next to the fountain. Although the caravanserai is covered with tiles today, it was originally covered with lead.[194] Both in

[193] Yücel. "Büyükçekmece'deki Türk Eserleri", 95 – 106.
[194] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 813; Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 48

Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* the building is listed among Sinan's works.[195] The rectangular-planned structure was built by employing the alternating layers of stone and brick technique. (Fig. 36) The covered porch at the entrance of the caravanserai does not seem to belong to the original plan. Twelve hearths and twenty-four niches inside the caravanserai has been preserved in good condition and can be observed today. (Fig. 37)

Behind the fountain and near the caravanserai is Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's masjid. The masjid is also listed both in *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* and *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* among the works of the great architect along with the caravanserai.[196] The masjid with a hipped roof is covered with lead today, but in its original form it was covered with tiles. Like the caravanserai just standing across Istanbul – Edirne road which once passed between them, the masjid was built with alternating layers of stone and brick. It has a rectangular plan close to a square. (Fig. 38) The wooden porch covering the entrace entirely was added during the most recent restoration. One of the remarkable features of the masjid is its minaret, which is located independently of the building. The minaret in the courtyard in front of the mosque is a rare example of independent minarets in the Ottoman architecture with its lead-covered onion-shaped dome and ogee topped horseshoe-archs. (Fig. 39) A similar minaret can be seen in the masjid that Sinan had built in his name. In addition to the masjid, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha also endowed other properties and shops in Büyükçekmece. There were four shops and two houses for married people next to the masjid. Moreover, there were a shop and a bakery adjacent to these two houses, and seven two-storey shops (*tahtani ve fevkani*), as well as two shops adjacent to the caravanserai. He also endowed a house with a garden, a

[195] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 85, 110.
[196] Ibid, 82, 107.

water well, and its own oven in Büyükçekmece.[197] With Mehmed Pasha's endowments of a masjid, shops, houses and a bakery near the bridge, fountain, and caravanserai of Süleyman I, a small *menzil* complex was formed at the eastern end of the bridge, welcoming those coming from Edirne direction to the town.

In some studies, it is mentioned that there was a bath in the joint complex of Süleyman I and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, referring to the pasha's waqfiyya, but there is no mention of the bath in the waqfiyya. Küçükkaya, and Müderrisoğlu quoting from her work, mention the houses endowed by Mehmed Pasha for bathers (*hamamcı*) in Büyükçekmece, probably due to a misreading in the waqfiyya, since that part in the document describes pasha's endowments in Üsküdar.[198] Therefore, the bath in Kültür Park today did not belong to the pasha's waqf.

Just like Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece is located on the eastern side of the narrow strait where the lagoon meets the sea. However, Küçükçekmece shows some topographic differences from Büyükçekmece. On the eastern side of the lagoon, there is a ridge with a high slope. The town was located between this ridge and the lake shore, and the part rising towards the ridge formed the eastern border of the town.

Thanks to both the lake and the sea, Küçükçekmece was a town like Büyükçekmece where fishing was prevailed. It was one of the favorite spots of travelers during their travels because it was possible to find all kinds of fish. Also, together with Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece were the resort areas of Istanbul. Evliya Çelebi describes these places as promenade (*mesire*) areas at that time and writes that the people of Istanbul were coming here in boats and hunting flounder fish and eating

[197] VGMA, nr. 572, fol. 34.
[198] Küçükkaya. "Mimar Sinan Dönemi İstanbul-Belgrad Arası Menzil Yapıları Hakkında Bir Deneme", 183-254; Müderrisoğlu. "16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnşa Edilen Menzil Külliyeleri", 508.

after frying them in butter.[199] In addition, there was a *hasbağçe* (imperial garden) in the Haramidere area between Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece for the use of the harem. Sultans used to come here to have a good time and hunt. Another source of livelihood of the townspeople was agriculture. Gerlach notes that the area between Istanbul and Küçükçekmece was full of vineyards and pastures, and barley and oats were also produced.[200] It is not surprising to see ships loaded with straw from Çekmece in the list of the ships provisioning Istanbul by looking at Gerlach's notes.[201]

Kritovoulos writes that after Mehmed II captured Istanbul he commissioned an inn along with the bridge in Küçükçekmece.[202] Also the sultan built a mosque in the town. This mosque has a rectangular plan very close to the square.[203] The mosque with a hipped roof and a single minaret is far from reflecting its original condition as it has been repaired many times. (Fig. 42) The inn has not survived to the present day. There are no signs as to the location of the inn, but it should be on the Edirne – Istanbul road. Both mosques of Mehmed II in Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece may have been built during the construction of the roads and the bridges leading to Istanbul.

The most comprehensive construction project in Küçükçekmece after the reign of Mehmed II was commissioned by *defterdar* (treasurer) Abdüsselam Çelebi. Abdüsselam Çelebi first came to Istanbul from Egypt during the reign of Selim I in 1517 and served as the chief treasurer in the first years of the reign of Süleyman I, died in 1526, shortly after he left office.[204] As seen from his waqfiyya dated 1525, his

[199] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 1, 236.
[200] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 812.
[201] İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of The Ottoman Empire: Volume I: 1300 – 1600*, 180-181.
[202] Kritovoulos. *Kritovoulos Tarihi (1451 – 1467)*, 121.
[203] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri: 855 – 886 (1451 – 1481)*, 808.
[204] Eyice. "Tarihde Küçükçekmece", 57 – 120.

complex consisted of a mosque, madrasa, zawiya, and soup kitchen.[205] His tomb is also located in this complex. The components of such complexes, which contained multifunctional buildings, may confuse the reader as they are not clearly stated in the waqfiyya sometimes Although no building with the name of the caravanserai is mentioned in the waqfiyya, we can reach more detailed descriptions of the caravanserai from the notes of the travelers. The *evkaf tahriri* of Istanbul waqfs dated 1546 lists 16 shops, a *bezirhane* and two cellars belonging to the waqf in Küçükçekmece.[206] Those working and paid in the zawiya and madrasa were students, sheikh, imam, muezzin, *eczahanan* (who reads juz), *ferraş* (cleaner also those who take care of passenger's beds and mattresses), *tabbah* (cook), *kilari* (cellarer), and *gendum-kûb* (wheat beater).

The complex was located on a steep slope, approximately 150-200 meters east of Fatih Mosque. This complex was at the eastern end of the town welcoming travelers coming from Istanbul at the town entrance and was also the first stopover point of the travelers. The road from Istanbul should have passed by the Fatih Mosque and inn after Abdüsselam Çelebi's complex and reached the Küçükçekmece Bridge from the square. Sinan's autobiographies *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* list the madrasa of the complex among the works of Sinan, but this issue seems a little problematic.[207] The date of the waqfiyya is about 13 years before Sinan was appointed as the chief imperial architect and Sinan was a janissary in the army when Abdüsselam Çelebi endowed his complex. One plausible explanation is that the other components of the complex might have been built before the madrasa. Although only the mosque, tomb, and a fountain, which are far from their original forms, have survived to the

[205] VGMA, nr. 747, fols. 409 – 410.
[206] Ayverdi, and Barkan. *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) târîhli*, 181-182.
[207] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 85, 110.

present day, the detailed description in the waqfiyya and the notes of the travelers shed a light on the spatial arrangement of the complex. (Fig. 43)

According to the description in the waqfiyya, there were hospice rooms on both sides of the mosque. Near the hospices of the mosque, there was a room with a courtyard and latrines for married couples and women to stay. This description indicates the plan of so-called inverted T-shaped mosque or mosque with zawiya/hospice the last examples of which were seen in the second half of the 16th century. Except for the madrasa, the architect of the complex may have been Acem Ali, who was the chief imperial architect at that time. Both the proximity of the complex to Istanbul and the fact that the typology described by the waqfiyya coincides with the other works of Acem Ali of that period strengthens this possibility. Evliya Çelebi states that this place is called Tekke Mosque.[208]

The tomb is located behind the qibla wall of the mosque. The octagonal building is made of cut stone and there is an enclosed porch at the entrance that does not belong to the original plan. (Fig. 44) The tomb, which is still standing today, was built in the garden next to the madrasa by the *defterdar*, who settled here after returning from the Hungarian expedition in 1526, and willed that fruit trees be planted around the mausoleum. Catharin Zen, reports that says that the complex was adorned with beautiful gardens and trees.[209] The *defterdar*, who joined the military campaign to Hungary, must have been aware of the importance of this road to Rumelia very well. As a matter of fact, the fact that he commissioned complexes in Küçükçekmece and Havsa, which could be identified as villages rather than towns during his lifetime, shows the importance he attached to this road. He was also among the rare state

[208] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 163.
[209] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.

officials, except for the sultans and viziers, who endowed a complex on the Edirne – Istanbul road. This large-scale venture, which can be understood from the waqfiyya and travel books, might not seem very suitable for the decorum (*'adab*) of the Ottoman architecture. However, very large amount of money that the *defterdar* endowed, seen in the *evkaf* registers, was a wealth that most of the viziers did not have, and we see that the construction of this large-scale complex was made possible with the personal wealth of the *defterdar* who must have been good with money.

As stated in the waqfiyya, the madrasa had ten cells and one classroom. The madrasa must have been located between the mosque and the caravanserai. Since it had ten cells, it might have been facing the mosque courtyard parallel to the wall of the caravanserai. When Covel passed by, he wrote that three professors and twenty students were staying in the madrasa.[210] Therefore, two students should have stayed in each room. The madrasa was in the group of fifties (*ellili medrese*) from the second half of the 16th century.[211] In the mid-17th century, it was in the group of forties (*kırklı medrese*) and was in the upper-middle rank among Rumelian madrasas.[212]

The caravanserai was probably a structure with a level difference as the land was sloping. The description of the French Monsieur des Hayes (1600 – 1632), who stayed in the Abdüsselam Çelebi complex in Küçükçekmece in 1621, confirms the situation regarding the topography. The caravanserai had a beautiful view that offered travelers a good sight of the sea and the ships in the Marmara Sea.[213] Fresne-Canaye also writes that the caravanserai was in a position like a castle overlooking from the hill and was very beautiful.[214] Dernschwam writes that the caravanserai was located

[210] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 178.
[211] Baltacı. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri* , 361-362.
[212] Özergin, "Eski Bir Ruznameye Göre İstanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri", 263 – 290.
[213] Des Hayes. *Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par le Sr. D.C*, 96.
[214] Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 48.

among the vineyards at the eastern end of the town. He states that the building was rectangular in shape, that there were stables on the lower storey and rooms on the upper storey. It had a good courtyard, paved with white and glittering marble, and in the middle of the courtyard was a tall fountain, as tall as a human, with copper spouts. There were big and beautiful linden trees around it.[215] Covel writes that the caravanserai had an arcade and each room had a chimney.[216] The caravanserai, which is referred to as *imaret-i şerif* in the waqfiyya, is depicted as having two courtyards, and Lorenzo Bernardo's description also coincides with this. Two courtyards separated the places where animals and people stayed. At the entrance, the first courtyard where the horses stayed was surrounded by latrines, kitchen, woodshed, cellars, shops, as well as a fountain and trough for animals to drink water. The second courtyard where people stayed was paved with white marble, and there was a fountain in the middle as Dernschwam reports. Dernschwam's and Covel's description of the second courtyard points to the same architectural design as Elçi Han in Istanbul. According to Lorenzo Bernardo's description in 1591, there were stairs separating the two courtyards. Such a solution was probably developed due to the elevation difference of the sloping land. He depicts the building as double-arcaded, implying that the building surrounding the courtyard at the back is two-storied. He writes that the caravanserai where the horses were staying was downstairs. While facing towards the gate of the caravanserai, he says that the mosque and the madrasa falls to the right, and this gives us an idea about the layout of the complex. There were many trees in the courtyard of the mosque and the madrasa, and there was a beautiful fountain.[217] Des Hayes writes that the caravanserai in Küçükçekmece was more comfortable than the others he saw because

[215] Dernscwham. *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü*, 49-50.
[216] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 178.
[217] Bernardo. *Viaggio A Costantinopoli di Sier Lorenzo Bernardo*, 38-39.

horses and people were accomodated in separate places. Also courtyard of the caravanserai must have been very spacious. Covel writes that it was as big as the courtyard of Emmanuel College in Cambridge. Cornelius de Schepper also states that 300 horses can be housed at the same in the stables of the spacious caravanserai here.[218] The caravanserai in Küçükçekmece was indeed among the caravanserais that travelers praised the most thanks to its position and seperation of animals and humans during their accomodation. Reinhold Lubenau mentions that the rooms of the caravanserai here are very elaborate and writes that this is the most perfect caravanserai they stayed in on their journey from Vienna to Istanbul.[219] The caravanserai was also covered with lead like all the other structures of the complex.[220] Today, there is a dilapidated fountain that has survived from the complex. The fountain located at the lower level from the mosque, may point to the side where the caravanserai was located. Moreover, there is another baroque fountain on the remains of a wall that may have formed the surrounding wall of the complex, again at the lower level. (Fig. 45) This fountain was built in the 19th century by Seyyid Aziz Bey, who was the trustee of the complex. According to Bernardo's definition, which can be confusing at first glance, the complex must have been arranged at different levels with stairs due to topographical conditions, and it probably had a good harmony with the topography. It is understood that the stables of the caravanserai were at the lower level, while the madrasa and the mosque were at the upper level. This playful arrangement must have inspired Sinan in the future to build complexes compatible with topographical conditions such as Süleymaniye or Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's complex in Kadırga.

[218] De Schepper. *Missions Diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus*, 111.
[219] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi (Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589)*, 159.
[220] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 40.

In addition to main components of the complex, two cellars and a *bezirhane* (linseed oil extracting factory) in Küçükçekmece belonged to Abdüsselam Çelebi's waqf. A shop with a baldachin at the bridge head, which he endowed, was located adjacent on the road. Apart from this, shops and mills were also donated. This large-scale architectural venture by Abdüsselam Çelebi was the biggest step taken for the urbanization of the town in the early modern period. This place was obviously not just a stopover point for travelers and passers-by. It must have made an important contribution to the development of the town by creating a higher education center for the town and the people of the region with its madrasa. The shops of the *menzil* complex and the *bezirhane*, winery, and cellars belonging to the foundation should also have had a positive impact on the economic development of the town. In particular, the shop at the bridgehead and adjacent to the road was in the best possible position to increase the income of the waqf in terms of location selection. This information in the waqfiyya shows that the town benefited from the its position on the road.

Between the bridge and the complex of Abdüsselam Çelebi on the hillside, was the square that formed the center of the town, not far from the Fatih Mosque. A lithograph from the late 18th century describes this square as a caravanserai. (Fig. 45) In the middle of this square is the small square fountain with a single spout built by Vizier Mehmed Pasha. (Fig. 47) The inscription of the fountain made of cut stone gives the date 1052 AH / 1642-1643 AD. It also has a repair inscription dated 1157 AH / 1744-1745 AD above it. There should have been inns and shops around this square, which once welcomed the people who crossed the bridge and arrived the town. This area was probably formed the bazaar of the town and it should have been the center of the town's economic activities.

As a result, both towns benefited from their geographic location and positioning on both the *Orta Kol* and *Sol Kol*. Both towns are located east of the lagoons and are settlements where fishing was the primary source of livelihood. For this reason, they were among the rare stopover points where travelers coming from Europe, passing through the Balkans, could find seafood. The second source of livelihood of both towns was agriculture. The larger town, Büyükçekmece, was a multifocal town with the smaller complex of Mehmed II, the larger complex of Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi and the joint complex of Süleyman I and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. The fact that the travelers did not write down any records about Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's complex suggests that this complex mostly served the local people of the town, while the Süleyman I and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's complex may have addressed the travelers at a very welcoming place at the east end of the bridge. Küçükçekmece, on the other hand, was a small town formed around a square at the eastern end of the bridge, not far from Mehmed II's small complex. Abdüsselam Çelebi's complex, located on the hillside east of the town, was surprisingly large and comprehensive considering the rank of the *defterdar*. In addition, although Küçükçekmece was a smaller town than Büyükçekmece, it had a madrasa within the complex of Abdüsselam Çelebi.



Figure 30. Fatih Mosque in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 31. Süleyman Ağa Fountain in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 32. Dizdarzade Mehmed's İmaret Mosque in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2022

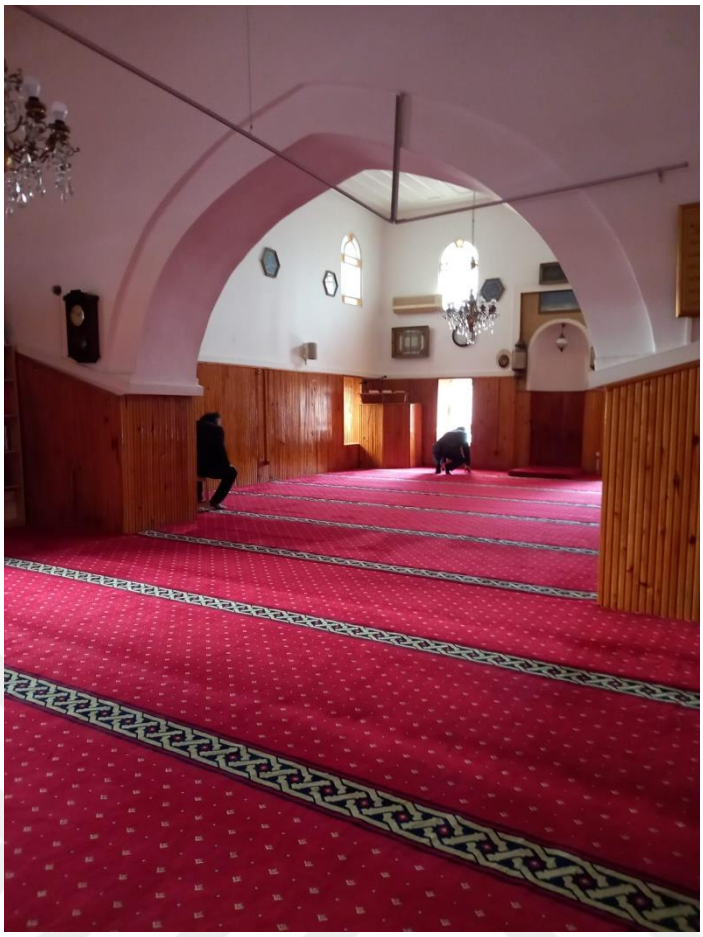

Figure 33. Interior of Dizdarzade Mehmed's İmaret Mosque with iwan arch. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2022



Figure 34. The bath in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2022



Figure 35. Süleyman I's fountain in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 36. Süleyman I's caravanserai in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 37. Hearths and niches of the caravanserai in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 38. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's masjid in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022

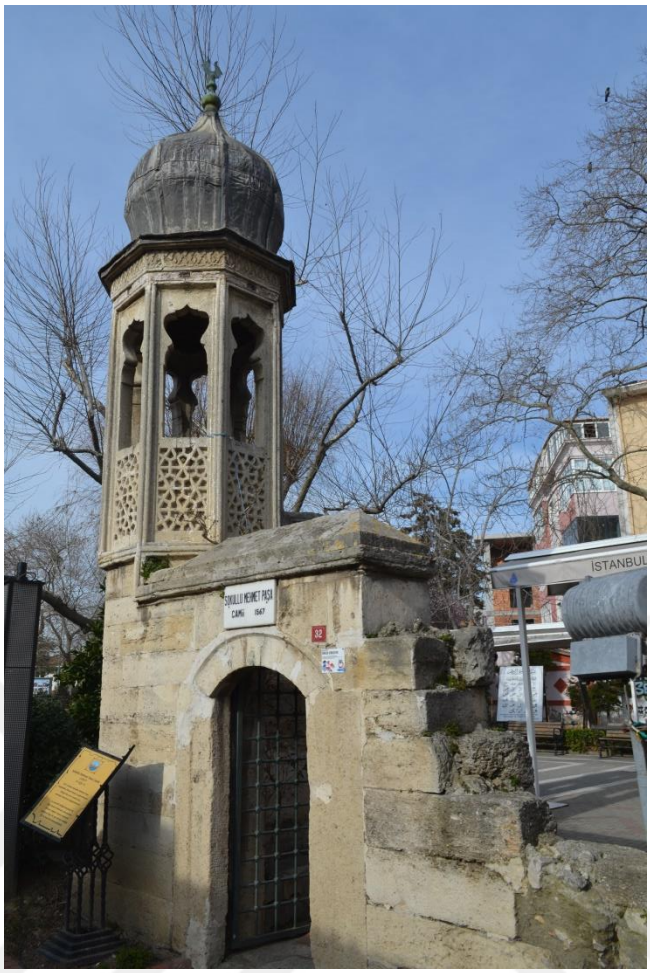

Figure 39. Minaret of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's masjid in Büyükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022

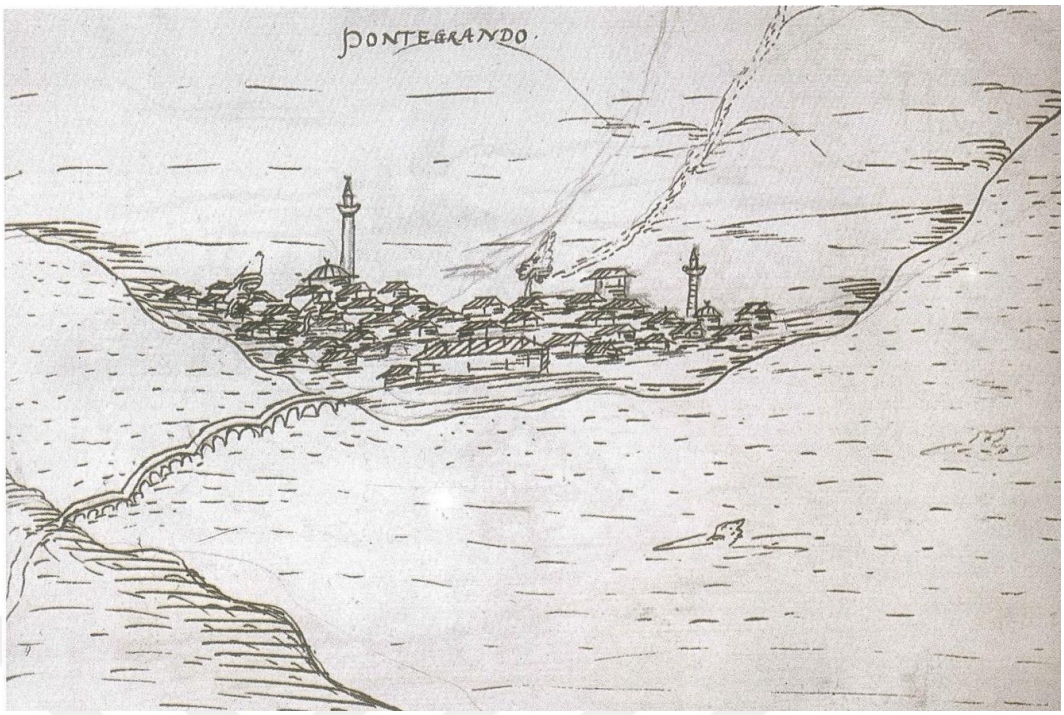

Figure 40. Drawing of the view of Büyükçekmece from the second half of the 16th century from *Leiden Sketchbook.* Source: *Klusáková, The Road to Constantinople,* 78.

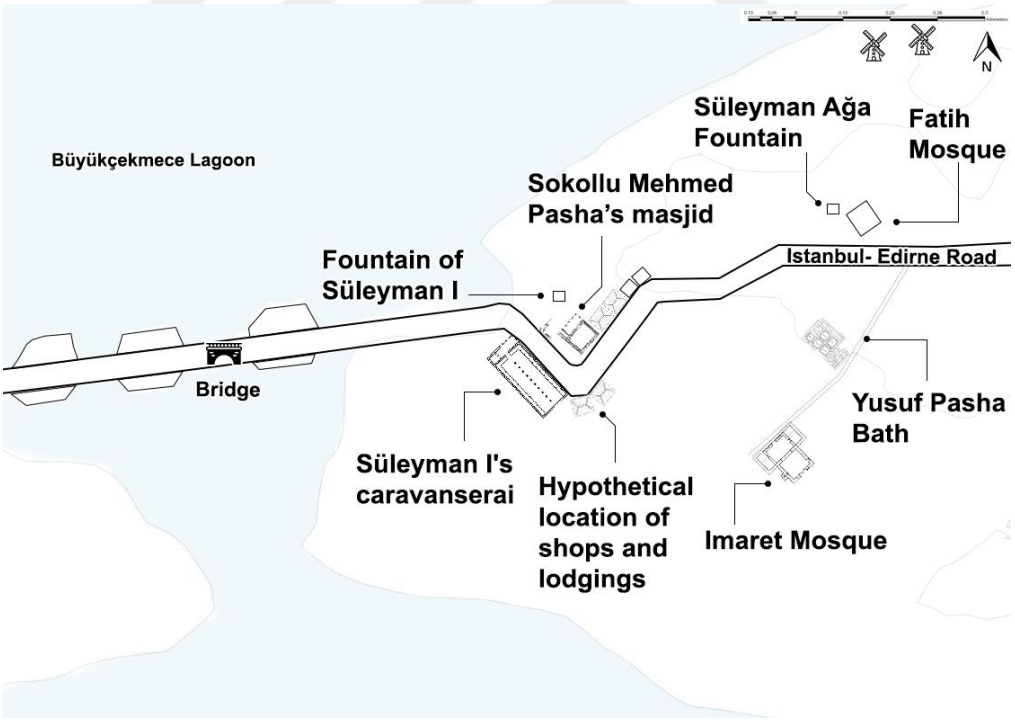

Figure 41. Hypothethical map of Ottoman buildings in Büyükçekmece before the 18th c.



Figure 42. Fatih Mosque in Küçükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 43. Abdüsselam Çelebi's mosque in Küçükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 44. Abdüsselam Çelebi's tomb in Küçükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 45. 19th c. baroque fountain on the surrounding wall of Abdüsselam Çelebi's complex in Küçükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 46. View of Küçükçekmece from the second half of the 16th century from *Leiden Sketchbook.* Source: Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople,* 79.



Figure 47. Colored lithograph of the square and Vezir Mehmed Pasha's fountain by Luigi Mayer



Figure 48. Vezir Mehmed Pasha's fountain in the square of Küçükçekmece. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022

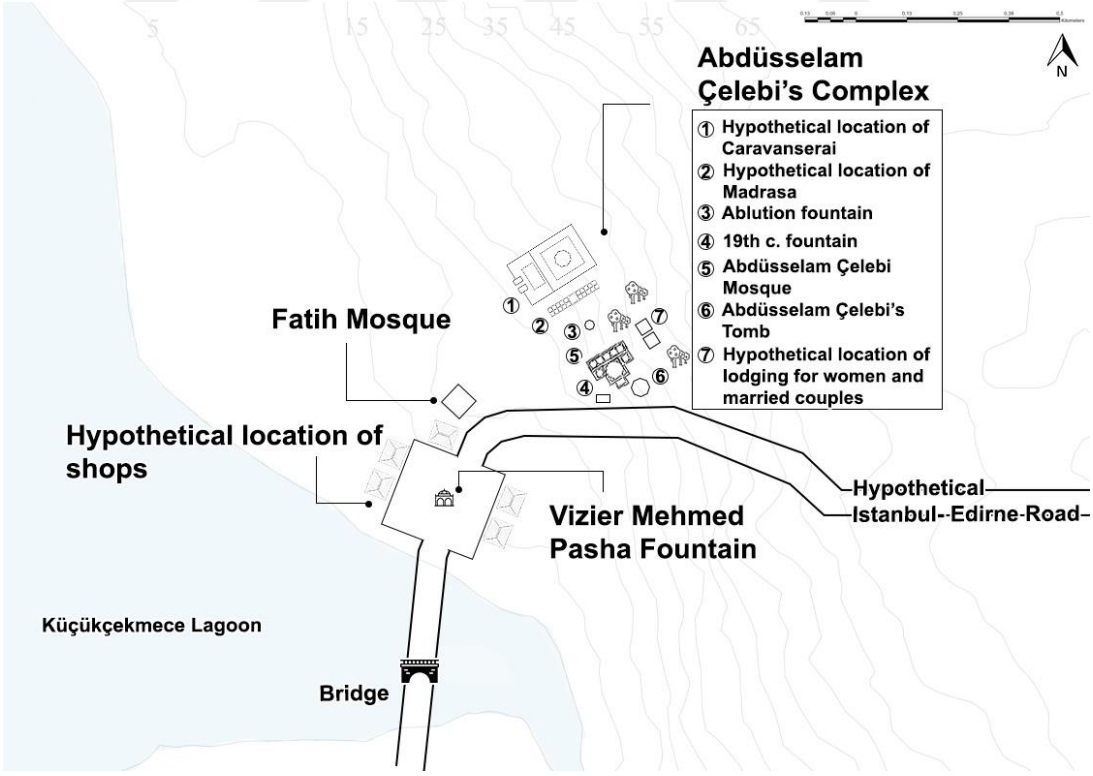

Figure 49. Hypothethical map of Ottoman buildings in Küçükçekmece before 18th c.

4.2 Silivri

This chapter will evaluate the town of Silivri by presenting the geographical situation of the town and the economic activities carried out within it first, then studying the citadel, demography, and the buildings within the walled area, which survived until the end of the 19th century. Following the citadel, this chapter will study, Mehmed II's waqf buildings, Çakır Ağa's and Piri Mehmed Pasha's complexes in the town, which directed the expansion of the settlement to extramuros under the Ottoman rule and will explore probable reasons behind this expansion.

Silivri, located between Büyükçekmece and Çorlu on the *Orta Kol*, was also a conjunction point where the *Sol Kol* intersected with the *Orta Kol*. The town was bounded in the west by the Boğluca and Tuzla streams and Marmara Sea in the south. Silivri, as a port town on both the *Orta Kol* and the *Sol Kol*, was an important center and had a special place among the towns on the Edirne – Istanbul road, thanks to its seaside location. Thanks to the port, it was possible to trade from Anatolia to Rumelia or vice versa. Benedetto Ramberti reports that there were many merchants in the town and the town was abound with many products such as wool, silk, and textiles. In fact, even though they were close to each other, transportation or trade was carried out between Istanbul and Silivri by sea. Bonsignore Bonsignori and Bernardo Michelozzi, Florentine travelers sent by Medicis to Istanbul, arrived Silivri via Edirne in 1497, but preferred to continue their travel to Istanbul by sea from Silivri.[221] The transportation of grain to Istanbul and, in the next centuries, yoghurt was also carried by sea. The grain produced around Çorlu and Silivri was transported from Silivri to Istanbul with ships.[222] In addition, Pierre Belon, Lubenau and Catharin Zen mention seeing ships

[221] Borsook. "The Travels of Bernardo Michelozzi and Bonsignore Bonsignori in the Levant (1497-98)", 145 – 197.
[222] *3 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (966 - 968 / 1558 – 1560)*, 189.

with Venetian and other European coats of arms in the port.[223] Belon writes that the products sent from Thrace and Bulgaria to Anatolia and products such as wool, cotton, and leather were transported from Anatolia to Rumelia via the port of Silivri. It was also a town where fishing was developed due to its location. Many travelers speak of the wide variety and delicious seafood sold here. Defterî Mustafa Çelebi, endowed ten depositories (*mahzen*) between the *tarik-i 'am* (the main street) and the coast of Silivri in 1532.[224] Since the port was busy, it is possible to assume that there were many cellars around the port. Also, we see that Abdüsselam Çelebi's waqf had six shops and a bakery which shared the half of its income with the waqf in Silivri.[225] Belon reports that he saw traces of coal mining around the town.[226] Silivri was one of the important centers meeting the coal needs of Istanbul, especially in the 19th century, and the records of Belon show that coal production in Silivri dates back to the 16th century. The extracted coal should have been sent to Istanbul via the port of Silivri. Evliya Çelebi speaks highly of the newly built Kassam Çelebi inn and shops in the town in the mid-17th century, when he visited the town. This inn was also outside the walls, and among the shops in the town, as the town was on the road, there were many blacksmiths.[227]

Travelers often reported that there were many windmills around Silivri. We can assume that there were many windmills especially in the hilly terrain to the north of the town. These could be flour mills. Silivri is a windy place due to its location, and

[223] Belon. *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays, rédigées par P. Belon, du Mans*, 120, Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi (Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589)*, 159, Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[224] Ayverdi and Barkan. *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) târîhli*, 399, 357.
[225] Ibid, 181.
[226] Belon. *Les observations de plusieurs singularités et choses mémorables trouvées en Grèce, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie et autres pays, rédigées par P. Belon, du Mans*, 119-120.
[227] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 166

travelers such as Evliya Çelebi and Lubenau report about many windmills around the town.[228] For example, Canbaz Mustafa Ağa, who was an officer in the court of Mehmed II, endowed a mill in Silivri according to his waqfiyya from 1511. *Babü's-sâade ağası* Yakub Ağa, who commissioned a bridge to Sinan in Haramidere, also had mills in Silivri.[229]

The walls of the citadel, located on a very steep cliff, were not demolished after the town was taken by the Ottomans. Since Silivri was an important center during the Byzantine period, there were many antiquities on the walls and within the citadel, and the antiquities in the town attracted the attention of many European travelers. Benedetto Ramberti reports that the city walls were three miles long and all the antiquities of Thrace are gathered in Silivri.[230] Hans van den Branden also writes that Silivri harbored more antiquity than any other city they see along his way to Istanbul.[231] Evliya Çelebi writes that the citadel had a square plan, with a perimeter of 2500 steps and 47 bastions, and had a gate in the north.[232] Since the square planned citadel in Silivri was on a high and steep cliff by the Sea of Marmara, it was surrounded by walls on only three sides, with the southern side looking towards the sea left open. The eastern wall was approximately 310 meters, the northern wall parallel to *Orta Kol*/*Sol Kol* was 350 meters, and the western wall was approximately 370 meters long, covering an area of approximately 9000 square meters. Adam Wenner writes that although some parts of the walls of the citadel were destroyed, it was still intact.[233] Fortifications of the citadel was damaged in the great earthquake of 1509.[234] The city

[228] Ibid, 166; Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi (Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589)*, 159
[229] BOA.TS.MA.D.6993
[230] Ramberti. *Delle cose de Turchi*, 10.
[231] Van den Branden. "Put od Bruselja iz Brabanta u Carigrad u Traciji, glavni grad turskoga cara", 157 – 199.
[232] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 165.
[233] Wenner. *Padişahın Huzurunda Elçilik Günlüğü, 1616 – 1618*, 52.
[234] Ambraseys, and Finkel. *Türkiye'de ve Komşu Bölgelerde Sismik Etkinlikler*, 33.

walls were largely preserved until the 19th century. The demolition of the dilapidated walls in 1876 and the sale of the place came to the fore.[235] However, the complete destruction of the castle corresponds to later periods. In 1890, it was planned to repair the places that were demolished, but due to the lack of municipal sources, it was requested that the citadel stones there be used for other purposes.[236] The great earthquake of 1894 demolished many parts of the remaining walls and was the last nail in the coffin. Permission was requested to use the stones on the demolished walls of the citadel in the construction of pavements.[237] Almost no traces of the walls remain today, but an Ottoman map from 1876 presents a much better and precise plan of the citadel than Covel's sketchy plan and its 19th-century panorama with its gates, places of worship, Greek, Armenian, and Jewish quarters intramuros, Muslim quarter, and vegetable garden (*bostan*) extramuros. (Fig. 50) The very steep slope descending from the eastern walls of the citadel towards the port is shown as a *bostan* in the map. The use of this area as an *bostan* might had a long history due to the unsuitability of the topography for construction in this area.

Apart from antiquities, the thing that caught the attention of almost all European travelers was that the town was mostly made up of Greeks. The town had three Muslim and twelve non-Muslim neighborhoods with 108 Muslim and 252 non-Muslim households (*hane*), 48 Muslim and 77 non-Muslim bachelors (*mücerred*), and 49 widows (*bive*) which makes the population of the town about around 2000-2200 in 1530.[238] The Greeks mostly lived in the intramuros of Silivri and the churches of the town were also here. Marc' Antonio Pigafetta, who visited the town in 1567, wrote

[235] MSBATA.ATASE.110-9-1-2.13.0.184
[236] BOA.DH.MKT.1791.13
[237] BOA.DH.MKT.361.53
[238] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530)* I, 70.

that there were two monasteries, one for women and one for men, within the walls.[239] Gerlach mentions that while he was visiting, masses were held in four churches in the town. He names three of them, Panagia, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the other with the same name, and a church dedicated to the Peace as he wrote, which must have been a church dedicated to Hagia Eirene, in which a woman's relics were kept.[240] One of the churches in the town, which belonged to the Middle Byzantine period and reached until the 20th century, was the church of Hagia Spyridion. It was located east of the citadel and was restored in the 19th century. Ousterhout, together with previously unpublished images, likens this church to Nea Moni in Chios in plan and states that it reflects the taste of the 11th century Constantinopolitan architecture.[241] The population within the citadel was predominantly Greek, but a small number of Muslims also resided within the walls. For example, Evliya Çelebi writes about a Haydar Ağazade's palace with a beautiful sight in the citadel.[242]

The citadel, together with its inhabitants and all the properties, completely belogned to the foundation of Mehmed II.[243] It is written in an *evkaf defteri* (register of waqfs) dated 894 AH / 1488-1489 AD that a total of 89,640 aspers were collected from 472 households in Silivri.[244] In another part of the waqfiyya, it is written that the church in the citadel was converted into a mosque together with some other churches mentioned in Istanbul and entrusted to the Mehmed II waqf. This church was the church built by the Byzantine statesman Alexios Apokaukos.[245] The cross-in-square planned church with three apses was located next to the the cistern. (Fig. 51) Mehmed

[239] Pigafetta. "Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino", 70 – 194.
[240] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 814-815.
[241] Ousterhout. "Two Byzantine Churches of Selymbria", 239 – 257; Ousterhout. "The Byzantine Architecture In Thrace: The View From Constantinople", 489 – 502.
[242] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 165.
[243] *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, 208.
[244] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, 303.
[245] Magdalino. "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria", 309 – 318.

II's conversion of a church inside the walls into a mosque instead of having a new mosque built may be the reason why Silivri did not surrender until Istanbul fell, and Silivri's cultural and political importance in the late Byzantine period. Also, it was a common Ottoman urban practice to convert the largest church or the cathedral of the newly captured settlement into a mosque. In addition, in a repair register dated 1038 AH / 1629 AD, we see that there were one big and one small baths, and a *bozahane* (boza house) belonged to Mehmed II's foundations.[246] In the article of Barkan, who published the accounting register of the waqf from 1490, we see that there were *un kapanı* (flour customs), *bezirhane* (linseed oil extracting facility), a bath, and a repairer employed for waterways and the bath in Silivri. The building that Barkan publishes as a *bezirhane* may be the *bozahane* in the repair register from 1629 or vice versa.[247] In waqfiyyas of Mehmed II, the buildings he endowed or commissioned outside of Istanbul are rarely mentioned, but we can see the structures that are not mentioned in the endowments in both the 1490 and 1629 registers. These baths and *bozahane*/*bezirhane* must have been located outside the walls, because when Evliya Çelebi visited the town, he wrote that there were no baths nor bazaars within the citadel.[248]

Another important venture made in Silivri during the reign of Mehmed II was the small complex that Çakır Ağa commissioned outside the city walls. Çakır Ağa, who was the *subaşı* (commander of a city or a castle equivalent to the modern chief of police) of Bursa during the reign of Murad II, participated in the siege of Istanbul with Mehmed II and then became the *çakırcıbaşı* (head of goshawk keepers accompanying

[246] BOA.MAD.D.5320
[247] Barkan. "Fatih Cami ve İmareti Tesislerin 1489-1490 Yıllarına Ait Muhasebe Bilançoları", 297 – 341.
[248] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 165.

sultan's imperial huntings) of the palace. Outside of the citadel, in the north, he had a mosque, zawiya and an inn built. In 1479, the income of the double bath he had built in Bursa and eight shops, one of which was a butcher, were endowed to this zawiya and inn.[249] In addition, the four shops adjacent to the zawiya and the five adjacent to the inn belonged to the waqf.[250] This complex, located extramuros of Silivri, can be evaluated as a *menzil* complex as it contains an inn, and it shows that Silivri was an important stopover point on the way to Rumelia for the Ottomans, even during the reign of Mehmed II. We see in a register dated 1148 AH / 1735-6 AD, that this small complex, which has not survived to present, also contained the Çakır Ağa's tomb.[251] Çakır Ağa's small complex was located where the Piri Paşa Primary School is located today.

The great urbanization initiative of the Ottoman period in Silivri was the complex commissioned by the Grand Vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha (d. 1532). Piri Mehmed Pasha was the grand vizier in the last years of the reign of Selim I and the early years of the reign of Süleyman I. His complex was located outside the walls of Silivri, just below in the northwestern side of the citadel. According to his waqfiyya in Arabic from 1521, Piri Mehmed Pasha endowed a mosque, a soup kitchen with an oven, a cellar, a woodshed, a stable, a madrasa with an unspecified number of cells, and a primary school near the soup kitchen in Silivri.[252] It was stated that no more than ten students should stay in the madrasa. Therefore, we can evaluate that madrasa had ten cells. Around this complex, he endowed houses for the *müderris* (professor), imam,

[249] Yazıcı Metin. "XV. Yüzyıl Bânilerinden Çakır Ağa ve Mimari Eserleri", 913 – 932.
[250] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri: 855 – 886 (1451 – 1481)*, Vol. 4, 458.
[251] BOA.EV.HMH.D.3729
[252] VGMA, nr. 747, fols. 178 – 182; Müderrisoğlu. "16. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İnşa Edilen Menzil Külliyeleri", 405 – 426; Akkaya. "Trakya'da Marmara Kıyısında İstanbul'a Bağlı Bir Kasaba: Silivri (= Selymbria) Tarih İçindeki Gelişimi ve Eski Eserleri", 223 – 265.

and preacher respectively. In another part of the complex, the pasha endowed six houses, some of which were adjacent to each other, and he allocated three of them to the muezzins and the other three to the waqf employees found appropriate by the trustee. In the waqfiyya, it is written that ten shops were endowed in the complex, but eleven shops are counted. Of these, there were two shops in the entrance side of the caravanserai, which was mentioned as a stable in the waqfiyya, five of them were adjacent to each other on the wall of the primary school, and four of them were just across the five shops on the wall of the primary school. (Fig. 52) In the waqfiyya, we see that a total of 58 people were employed for all the facilities and needs of the complex. Among them, we see a person in charge of the fountains and waterways of the complex. Although fountains are not mentioned in the waqfiyya, we can think that the complex had fountains and waterways that brought water to Silivri. Today, there is a fountain on the outer surface of the southern part of the walls surrounding the complex. The *muvakkithane* (building where prayer times are calculated) near to the mosque today is not mentioned in the waqfiyya. If we look at the architectural style of the building, we can interpret that it belongs to the later 18th century. It may have been added in one of the repairs of the mosque in the 18th and 19th centuries, seen from the inscription of the mosque.

The single-minaret mosque has an inverted T-type plan, also known as a mosque with a zawiya/hospice. (Fig. 53) The monumental mosque has five-bay portico welcoming the visitors and it is one of the last great examples of this scheme. Flanking rooms have smaller and lower domes. The transition to the main dome is established through oyster-shaped squinches and it is supported by buttresses on each corners. (Fig. 54) None of the domes have a fenestrated drum and the protruding mihrab section is covered with a half-dome. The minaret is not in its original form, due to the baroque

elements it contains, it belongs to a repair after the 18th century. The architect of the complex may have been Acem Ali, who was the chief imperial architect at that time.[253] The inscription on the mosque gives the date 937 AH / 1530-1 AD. The length of time between the endowment date and the completion date of the mosque indicates that the construction did not start or halted for a long time, but the reason for this timespan is unknown. On the other hand, the madrasa classroom and cells were positioned to form an axis with the mosque and the *şadırvan* (ablution fountain) in front of the mosque.

Piri Mehmed Pasha's madrasa in Silivri was among the prestigious madrasas in Rumelia. It was among the group of fifties (*ellili medrese*) towards the end of 16th century.[254] In the mid-17th century, the madrasa was in the category of forties madrasas (*kırklı medrese*), and was at the seventh rank among nine tiers.[255] Five cells on each sides were flanking the madrasa classroom at the center. This plan recalls the axis created by the madrasa, ablution fountain, and mosque in the Hüsreviye Complex that Sinan built in Aleppo. The location of the madrasa and the plan of the mosque must have inspired Sinan.

The caravanserai in Silivri had a rectangular plan and its entrance was on the long side. We can say that it had a transverse plan and there were shops adjacent to the long side of the caravanserai on the entrance side. While one wall was made of cut stone, the other walls were built with quarry stone.[256] The entrance of the caravanserai was looking towards the Edirne – Istanbul road. When Catharin Zen passed through Silivri in 1550, he mentions that there was an imaret, caravanserai, and mosque. The

[253] Ertuğrul. "Acem Ali." *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Accessed September 3, 2022. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/acem-ali.
[254] Baltacı. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 598.
[255] Özergin, "Eski Bir Ruznameye Göre İstanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri", 263 – 290.
[256] Wimmel. "Architektur osmanischer Karawanseraien: Stationen des Fernverkehrs im Osmanischen Reich", Teil 2, 190.

caravanserai here was more abundant than the rest of caravanserais he visited.[257] This must be the complex commissioned by Piri Mehmed Pasha. Henricus Porsius (1556 – 1610), who was among the Habsburg mission, also mentions that they stayed in a caravanserai in Silivri and that food was distributed to the passersby.[258] Heinrichs von Liechtenstein (1554 – 1585) writes that there is a mosque and a beautiful cemetery next to the beautiful caravanserai where they stayed in Silivri.[259]

Piri Mehmed Pasha's tomb is located in the burial ground behind the qibla wall of the mosque. Evliya Çelebi, on the other hand, writes that the complex consisted of a bath, primary school, mosque, and soup kitchen.[260] However, there is no record of a bath in the waqfiyya. The bath that Evliya Çelebi mentioned may have been one of the big and small baths belonging to the Mehmed II's waqf. The mosque, the burial ground, the fountain, and some walls of the caravanserai have survived from the complex to the present day, along with the surrounding walls of the complex. There is also some empty space within the boundaries of the surrounding wall, except for the burial ground. There must have been gardens here. Reinhold Lubenau writes about a wonderful garden near the mosque in 1587 where many species of trees were cultivated.[261] (Fig. 55)

In addition, Güzelce Kasım Pasha (d. 1553), Ottoman vizier and *kaptan-ı derya* (chief admiral) who gave his name to the Kasımpaşa district in Istanbul today, endowed 4 shops next to the Piri Paşa's *imaret* and allocated the income of these shops

[257] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[258] Porsius. *Historia belli Persici, gesti inter Murathem III*, 19.
[259] Besolt. "Deß Wolgebornen Herrn/ Heinrichs Herrn von Liechtenstein/ von Nicolspurg/ u. Röm. Keys. Maiest. Abgesandten/u. Reyß auff Constantinopol/ im 1584. Jar/ beschrieben durch Melchior Besolt", 515 – 531.
[260] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 166.
[261] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi (Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589)*, 159.

to the expenses of the imam and muezzin of the masjid he had built in Silivri.[262] The masjid was located within the citadel. Unfortunately, both Kasım Pasha's masjid and Fatih Mosque were in dilapidated condition due to the small number of Muslims residing witin the citadel, and both places of worship could not reach the present day. It is stated in the 19th century Ottoman map that both buildings were in a ruins.

We learn from the documents that Mehmed II and Piri Pasha commissioned waterways in Silivri. It is possible that there were waterways during the Byzantine period as well. In a repair register dated 1597, the expenses of the material purchased for the repair of the waterways in Silivri were recorded.[263] However, we do not know where the source of this water was located and the approximate length of waterways, but as in all the towns on the Edirne – Istanbul caxis, the water must have been provided from the north.

In the *Rumeli Muhasebe Defteri* (accounting register of Rumelia) from 1530, two baths, two masjids, a mosque, and a zawiya are recorded in Silivri.[264] The complex of Piri Mehmed Pasha must not have been completed yet at the time the register was recorded. Accordingly, while the two baths were connected to the waqf of Mehmed II, the mosque must be the Mehmed II's mosque, which was located within the city walls. The zawiya and one of the masjids were probably belonging to the small complex that Çakır Ağa commissioned together with the inn, and the other masjid may have been the masjid commissioned by Kasım Pasha.

The expansion of the town in Silivri must have been due to the effect of two complexes and the stone bridges built over two streams to the west. Evliya Çelebi

[262] Ayverdi, and Barkan. *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) târîhli*, 431.
[263] BOA.MAD.D.4517
[264] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I*, 70.

mentions the Sadi Baba Lodge, a Bektashi lodge, near the east end of the long bridge. This lodge must have been dated after 1530. The Sadi Baba Lodge and his shrine survived as far as the 20th century, and there are documents regarding the appointment of *zaviyedars* to the lodge in the 18th and 19th centuries.[265] Evliya Çelebi writes that Vizier Haydar Ağazade Mehmed Pasha, who was the governor of Silistra in the 17th century, was also buried in the Sadi Baba Lodge.[266]

As noted earlier, the town and especially the citadel in Silivri was predominantly inhabited by non-Muslims. The Ottomans, who captured the town, settled outside the walls and expanded the town according to their interests. Çakır Ağa and Piri Pasha complexes, as well as the shops, bazaars, and baths of the town were located below outside the city walls. In fact, this shows the general Ottoman urbanization mode seen in Bursa, Edirne or in other Balkan cities during the early Ottoman period and was not unique to Silivri. The early Ottomans generally did not prefer to settle within the walls nor change the general outline of citadels of cities they captured. They turned the city's cathedral or the largest churches into mosques as they did in Silivri and directed consciously the development of the city around the complexes containing multifunctional institutions such as soup kitchens, zawiyas, and bazaars outside the walls which would make up the future commercial centers of settlements.[267] Of course, other factors such as topographical hardships or the lack of suitable space within the intramuros must have been decisive in this spatial organization. Evliya Çelebi writes that there were no bazaars, markets and baths inside

[265] BOA.C.EV.138.6863; BOA.AE.SMST.III.177.13955; BOA.C.EV.441.22333
[266] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 166.
[267] For early Ottoman urbanization practices in Bursa, Edirne and some other Balkan cities see: Kuran, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul," 114-131.; Boykov, "The Borders of the Cities: Revisiting Early Ottoman Urban Morphology in Southeastern Europe"; Hartmuth, "Building the Ottoman City: A Linear or Cumulative Process? Lessons from fifteenth-century Skopje", Working Paper #3.

the city walls as mentioned earlier in this chapter and Henricus Porsius records that the city surrounded by the walls was scattered across the region but more splendid outside the walls.[268] Monsieur Des Hayes also states that even though the area where Turks lived in the town was farther from the port, this place was more beautiful since the busy road was passing through the Turkish quarter.[269]

While Silivri was a 20-asper-town (*yirmi akçelik kaza*) in 1521 and 1530, it became a 100-asper-town in the second half of the 16th century. Evliya Çelebi records it as 150-asper-town in the mid-16th century, which implies consistent growth of the town in the 16th and the 17th centuries.[270] The daily income of the qadis in towns is a significant indicator of the development and population of the town. However, the increase rate of the fees of qadis on the basis of asper may not be in line with the actual growth of those towns, since the price revolution, rising inflation and debasements from the 16th century should also be taken into account.[271]

As a result, Silivri was a port town located on both the *Orta Kol* and the *Sol Kol*, like Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece. In Silivri, which was larger than the other two towns, commerce was more developed due to the trade opportunities between the Balkans and Anatolia thanks to its busier port. Silivri, on the road between Istanbul and Edirne, was a town whose citadel was not destroyed and continued to be inhabited. In the town where the majority of the population was Greeks, the Greek population lived mostly within the citadel. During the reign of Mehmed II, the town's largest church was converted into a mosque, and Çakır Ağa had a small *menzil*

[268] Porsius. *Historia belli Persici, gesti inter Murathem III.*, 19.
[269] Des Hayes. *Voiage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par le Sr. D.C*, 94-95.
[270] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I*, 70; Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 165; Kuru. "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Rumeli Kadılıkları", 261 – 294.
[271] For debasements and inflation in the early modern Ottoman Empire see: Pamuk. *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 112-149.

complex built on the road outside the city walls. Piri Mehmed Pasha's complex, which was completed in the first years of the reign of Süleyman I, was a full-fledged *menzil* complex and its construction dates more or less overlapped with Abdüsselam Çelebi's complex in Küçükçekmece. Çakır Ağa's complex to the north of the citadel and Piri Mehmed Pasha's complex to the northeast directed the expansion of the city outside the city walls in the 15th and 16th centuries, thus providing an example of the Ottoman urbanization pattern seen in Bursa and some other Balkan cities.

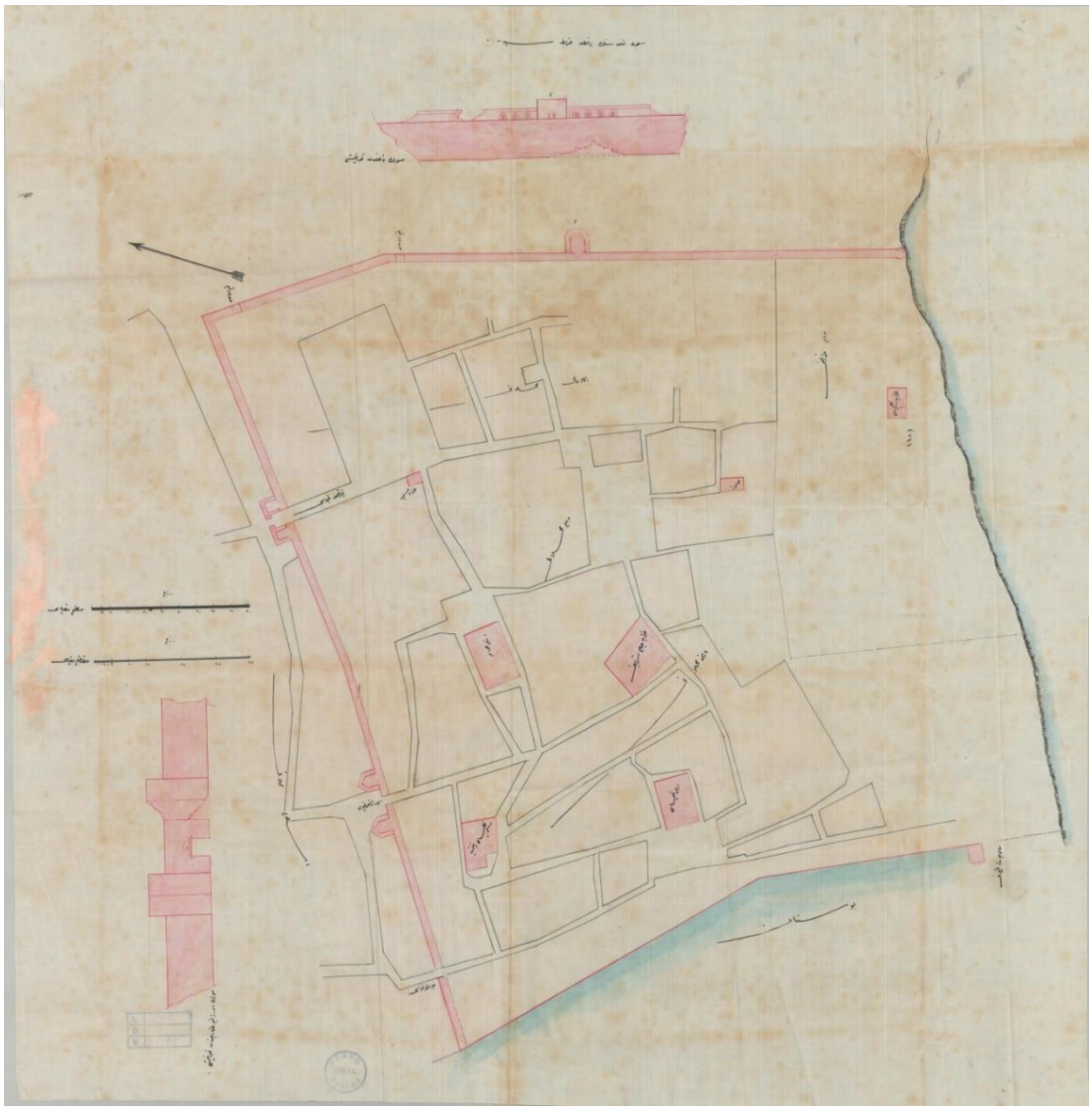

Figure 50. Ottoman map from 1876 showing the walls, gates and worship places of the citadel along with its neighborhoods. Source: MSBATA.ATASE.110-9-1-2.13.0.185

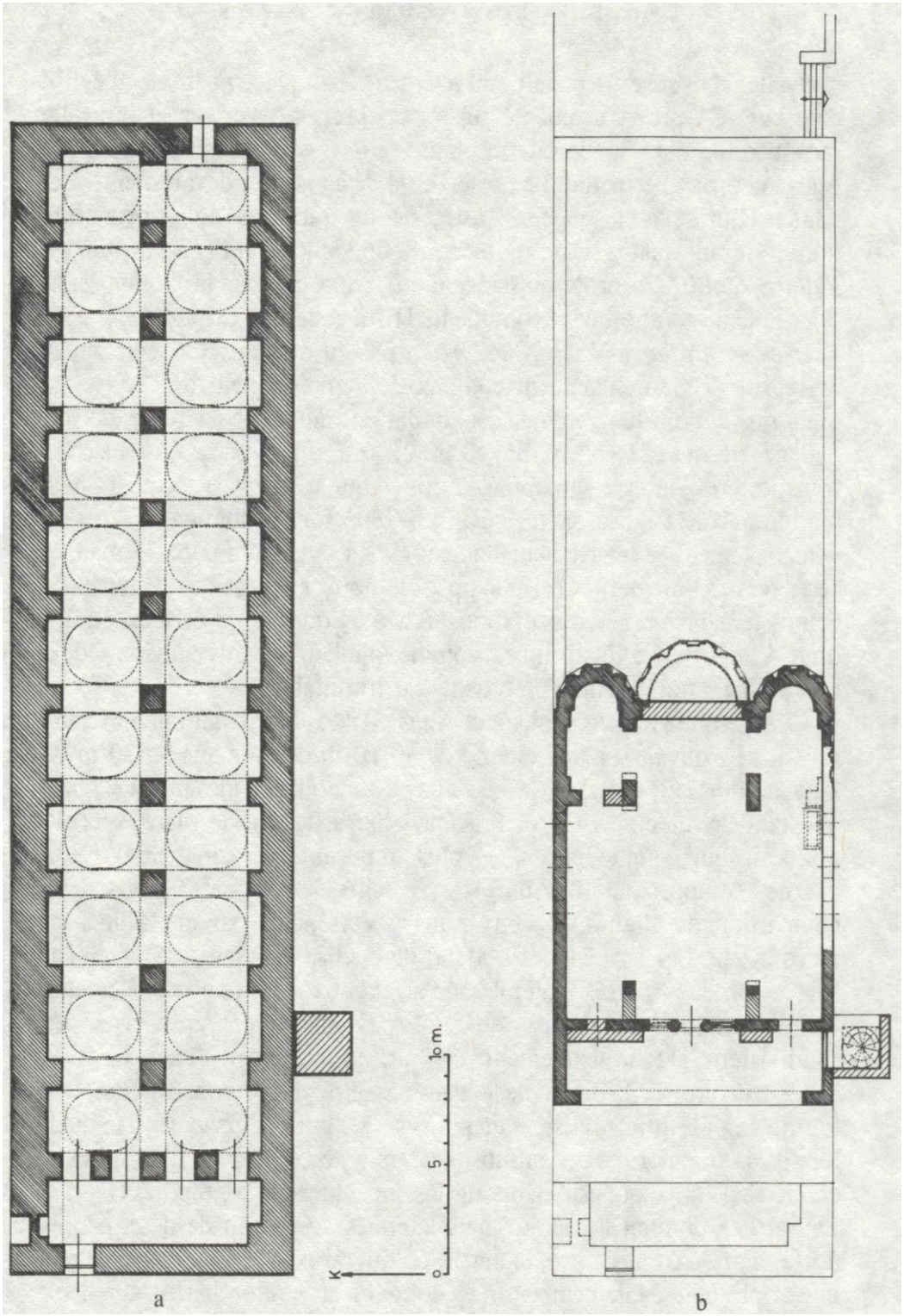

Figure 51. Plan of the Fatih Mosque and the cistern. Source: Semavi Eyice. “Encore Une Fois l’église d’Alexis Apocauque à Sélymbria (= Silivri)”, Byzantion, Vol. 48, No.2, (1978): 406 – 416.

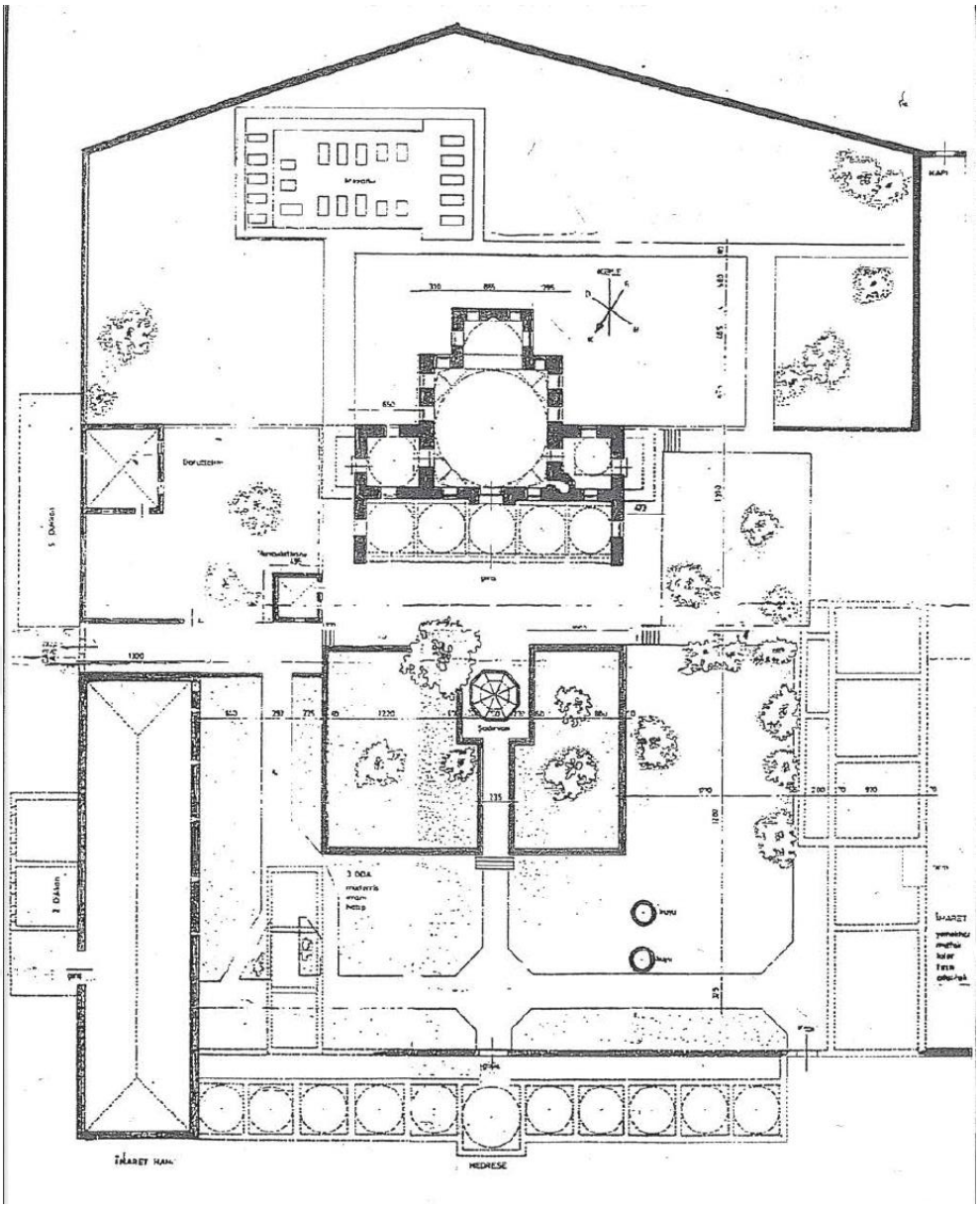

Figure 52. Hypothetical plan of the Piri Pasha Complex in Silivri. Source: Akkaya. “Silivri’de Bir Osmanlı Abidesi Pirî Mehmed Paşa Camii ve Külliyesi”, 43 – 48.



Figure 53. Portico of Piri Pasa Mosque in Silivri. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2021



Figure 54. Interior of Piri Pasha Mosque in Silivri. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2021



Figure 55. The garden within the surrounding wall of Piri Pasha Complex in Silivri. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2021

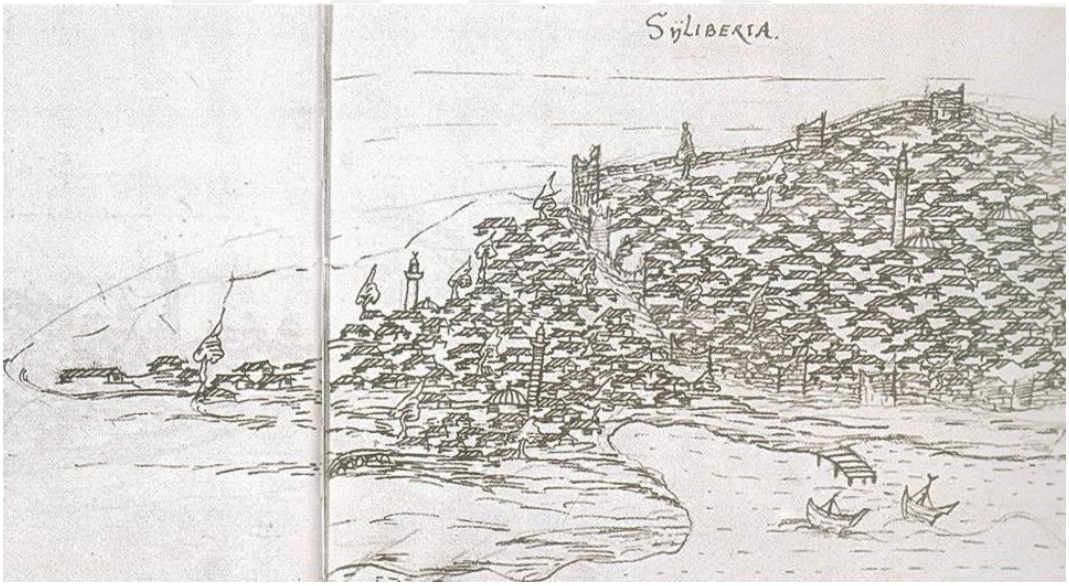

Figure 56. View of Silivri from the second half of the 16th century from *Leiden Sketchbook.* Source: Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople,* 76 – 77.

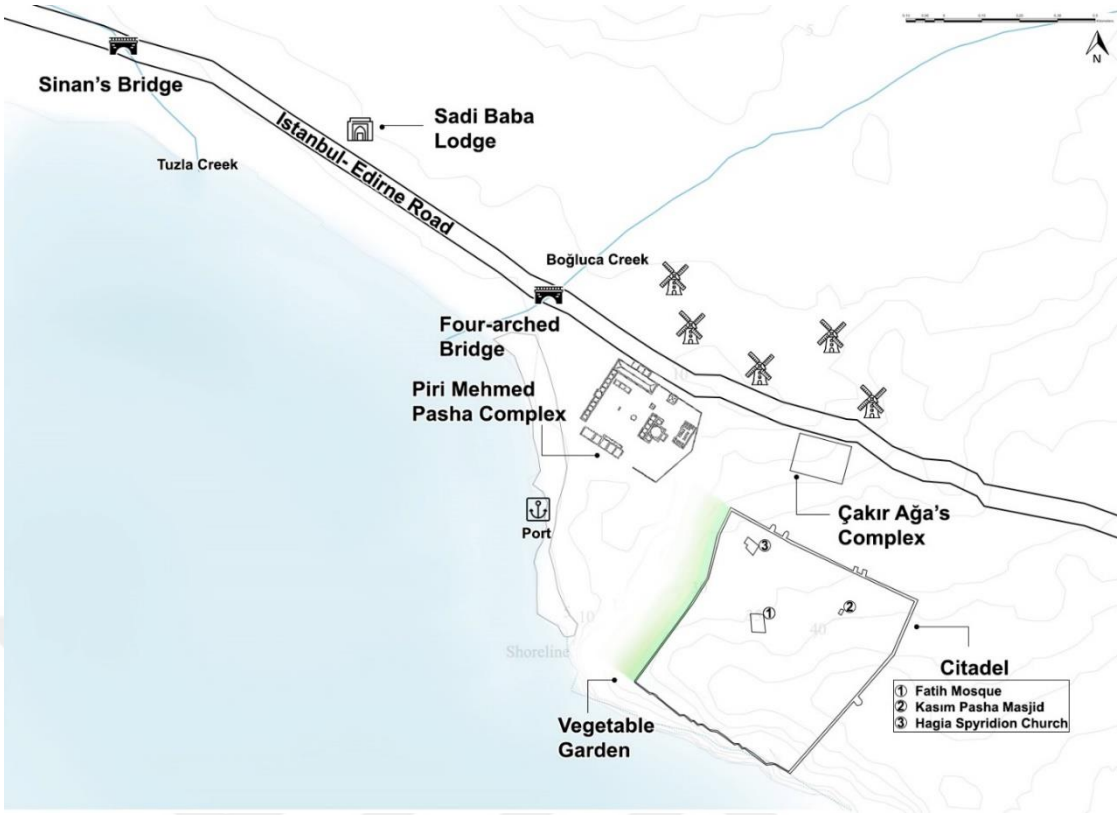

Figure 57. Hypothetical map of Ottoman buildings in Silivri before the 18th c.

4.3 Çorlu

This chapter will present the urban and architectural history of the town of Çorlu until the first decade of the 18th century. Firstly, after the geographical features of the town, which is approximately the midpoint of the Edirne - Istanbul road, are presented, information about the economic activities carried out in the town will be given. Then, after briefly mentioning the population and demographics in the 16th century, the construction ventures in the town will be studied. It would be appropriate to divide the construction projects into three parts in the early modern period, as the period of Mehmed II, the period of Süleyman I, and the 17th century.

Çorlu, between Silivri and Karıştıran is roughly the midpoint of the Edirne – Istanbul road, at least that is how travelers described it.[272] Actually, Elvanbeyli was the *menzil* point in the middle of the Istanbul - Edirne road, but since it was a small village and the nearest larger settlement was Çorlu, we can consider Çorlu as the midpoint of the Istanbul – Edirne road as well. The town was bordered on the north and east by the valley formed by the Çorlu Stream, a tributary of the Ergene River. To the north and west, there are ridges and small valleys that rise slightly and contain water resources which was of vital importance to Çorlu. Çorlu Fortress was a located on a raised platform on the slope of the valley descending to Çorlu Stream, in the northeast of the town. Since there was no citadel like in Silivri, there was no settlement within the fortress during the Ottoman period. The fortress was destroyed after the capture of Çorlu by Murad I, and the settlement in Çorlu began to expand on a plateau to the east and south of the fortress. The town of Çorlu was founded on a flat terrain, as the Ottoman traveler, geographer, cosmographer, Âşık Mehmed who was one of the major sources of Evliya Çelebi and Kâtip Çelebi (1609 – 1657), writes.[273]

Çorlu was one of the most vibrant place among the towns between Istanbul and Edirne. Agriculture and livestock raising were the main economic activities in Çorlu. Âşık Mehmed writes that Çorlu was surrounded by lands suitable for agriculture and farming was the prevailing economic activity.[274] As stated in the second chapter of the study, it was already an important center for Istanbul's meat, grass, straw, and grain supply. In the 16th century, wheat, barley, oats, and millet were the main agricultural products produced in the town.[275] The sheep breeding was an important means of

[272] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi (Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589)*, 157; De Busbecq. *Türk Mektupları*, 27.
[273] Âşık Mehmed. *Menâzırü'l-Avâlim*, Vol. 3, 1102.
[274] Ibid, 1103.
[275] Özdeğer. "16. Yüzyılda Vize Sancağı'nın Demografik ve Ekonomik Yapısı". 87-123.

subsistence. Evliya Çelebi states that thousands of sheep were grazed in the green pastures of Çorlu and that the cheese produced from these sheep was famous in Rum, Arab, and Ajam lands, and even sent as a gift to the sultans, and states that the string cheese and kashkaval cheese produced in Çorlu are unique.[276] *Tekerlek* cheese produced in Çorlu was one of the products for the provision of Istanbul in the 17th century.[277] According to Evliya Çelebi and Gerlach, the town also had vineyards. Viticulture was also an important source of livelihood and there were vineyards around the town along with pastures. Even today, street names in the areas south and northwest of the old town are named after the vineyards that once existed in these areas. Covel defines Çorlu not only as a road town but also as a trade town where all sorts of commodities were found and traded.[278] Evliya Çelebi states that Çorlu's bazaar was lined up on both sides of the main road, its floor was paved with white stones and the street was covered like a sultanic street. He underlines that bazaar had 600 shops but did not have a *bedesten*, however, since most of the inhabitants of the town were skillful craftsmen, each inn of the town was like a *bedesten*. He also mentions another *Bakkallar Çarşısı* (bazaar of grocery shops) with where one could find all kinds of food and beverages. One of the shops in the town was the *şiruganhâne* (sesame oil shop) of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqf.[279] Markets were held twice a week and the people were swarming the town during these days. He writes that there were many inns other than the *imaret* inn for the merchants and travelers coming to the town. Four of the inns in the town were covered with lead. Ahmed Efendi, Tekkecizâde, Odabaşı, Yumurucakzâde, Akçakoyunoğlu, Osman Dede, Davudzâde, Hidâyetullah Çelebi,

[276] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 168.
[277] İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of The Ottoman Empire: Volume I: 1300 – 1600*, , 180-181.
[278] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 181.
[279] VGMA, nr. 572, fol. 34.

Mustafa Beşe, Kızılbaşzâde, and Hüsam Dede were among the prominent inns of the town. [280]

During the reign of Mehmed II, the non-Muslim neighborhood of Çorlu was entrusted to his waqf.[281] In an *evkaf register* from 894 AH / 1488-1489 AD, 27,851 aspers were collected from 125 non-Muslim households in Çorlu.[282] The accounting register of 1530 lists Çorlu together with Ereğli and shows that they had a total population of 225 Muslim households, 100 Muslim bachelors, 584 non-Muslim households, 124 non-Muslim bachelors and 90 households of widows, which made up the population around 4000-4300.[283] Ereğli was a small settlement which was considered a village at that time. This shows that the population of Çorlu was even higher than Silivri at that time and points out that it was the largest center on the Edirne – Istanbul road. Gerlach states that there were about 3000 Turkish and 300 Greek households in Çorlu, where he passed in 1578.[284] Gerlach seems to be giving false information about the town's demographics. The scribe of Soranzo writes that the majority of the population was Greek and because of that the wine in the town was abounding.[285] An anonymous Italian itinerary dated between 1573 and 1587 mentions the presence of Cypriot Greeks in Çorlu.[286] Some of the Greek population of Cyprus may have been forced to migrate after Ottomans captured the island in 1573. After the town fell to the Ottomans, probably only one church remained open. The Church of St. George, which Gerlach and Covel refer to, existed well into the 20th century.[287] The

[280] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167-168.
[281] *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, 208.
[282] Barkan. "Fatih Cami ve İmareti Tesislerin 1489-1490 Yıllarına Ait Muhasebe Bilançoları", 297 – 341, Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 303.
[283] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I*, 69.
[284] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 818.
[285] *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo*, 57.
[286] Yerasimos. *Les Voyageurs Dans L'empire Ottoman (XIVe - XVIe Siècles)*, 305.
[287] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 182; Külzer. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini: Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, 686.

Greek Orthodox Church in Çorlu was located where today's Gazi Primary School is located.[288] Evliya Çelebi writes that in the middle of the 17th century, the town had 3000 one or two-storey (*tahtani ve fevkani*) houses covered with tile roofs. He writes that there were 30 neighborhoods, 15 of which are Muslim and 15 are non-Muslim. He gives a list of the most famous Muslim neighborhoods. These were Arabacıbaşı, Müslihüddin Efendi, Keçecizade, Abbaszade, Karacaahmed Sultan, Burhanzade, Hisar, El-Hacı Gani, Mustafa Efendi, and Odunbazarı neighborhoods and each of them had a masjid. He adds that there were twenty primary schools in the town.[289] Çorlu, was a 25-asper-town in 1521 and became a 30-asper-town in 1530. In the second half of the 16th century, it was a 80-asper-town, and by the middle of the 17th century it had become 150-asper-town, which implies consistent growth.[290]

The oldest surviving Ottoman structure in Çorlu is the Fatih Mosque, built by Mehmed II, but this is not mentioned in the waqfiyyas of the sultan like the his other mosques in provincial areas such as Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece, and Babaeski. Fatih Mosque is located approximately half a kilometer southeast of Çorlu Fortress. Evliya Çelebi also states that the fortress was located on the north side of the town.[291] Fatih Mosque with a hipped roof covered with tiles and a single minaret draws attention with its transverse plan. (Fig. 58) The dimensions of the mosque is approximately 14 by 20 meters. This mosque plan, which is more suitable for the Islamic liturgy, was not very common in this period. Mehmed II's mosques in Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece, and Babaeski are almost square-planned. The mosque, whose portico was open in its original form, was closed after its repair in 1240

[288] Tuna. *Geçmişten Bugüne Çorlu*, 42.
[289] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 166, 167.
[290] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I*, 69; Kuru. "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Rumeli Kadılıkları", 261 – 294.
[291] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 166.

AH / 1824-5 AD.[292] The minaret of the mosque and the rubble stone walls preserve their original form. There is also a fountain made of cut stone on the surrounding walls of the courtyard of the mosque, but its inscription could not be preserved. Evliya Çelebi talks about a three-spouted Taya Hatun (Daye Hatun) fountain in Çorlu.[293] We do not know certainly whether this was the fountain near to the mosque or a separate fountain in the town, but considering the dimensions of the fountain next to the mosque and its old two spout holes and its existing single spout, it is likely that it had three spouts. (Fig. 59) In some studies, it is also mentioned that the mosque had a madrasa and a bath, but this is not true and authors may have been confused with other buildings in the town which were not depended to the mosque.[294]

In her waqfiyya dated 890 AH / 1485-6 AD, Ümmi Gülsüm Daye Hatun (d. 1486), the foster mother of Mehmed II, had a double-bath built in Çorlu. Also, among the stipulations of the waqf, it is written that a masjid was built in Çorlu and that some of the income of the waqf should be spent there. Unfortunately, her double-bath has not survived to the present day like the masjid. In 1546 AD, the income of the bath was 9993 aspers, and in a register dated 976 AH / 1568-9 AD, it was 8000 aspers.[295] The bath to be built during the early years of the reign of Süleyman I may have contributed to the decrease in the income of this place. Evliya Çelebi writes that there was a double-bath, which he wrote as Taya Hatun, but its water was brackish.[296] For this reason, the bath may have started to be less preferred by the townspeople. In 1043 AH / 1633-1634 AD, the income of the bath continued to decrease and the annual

[292] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri: 855 – 886 (1451 – 1481)*, Vol. 4, 196.
[293] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167.
[294] Ülkü, and Ünalan Özdemir. "Tekirdağ/Çorlu – Fatih Camisi'nin Dünü Bugünü", 153 – 166.
[295] Ayverdi, and Barkan. *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) târîhli*, 50, 51; Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 324.
[296] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167.

income was 7000 aspers.[297] This bath may have been known as Acı Hamam (lit. Bitter Bath) in the 19th century.[298] Another 19th century document confirms this suggestion. In the document, it was called Acı Hamam, belonging to the waqf Atik Daye Hatun's masjid in Çorlu.[299] The name of the bath among the townspeople must be due to the fact that its waters were brackish, as Evliya Çelebi mentioned.

During the reign of Mehmed II, the *arabacıbaşı* (head of the carts) of the palace, also known as the Voynuk Beyi (horse groomer who was also responsible for pastures), Şüca Bey endowed a mosque and a school built in Çorlu, according to his waqfiyya dated 878 AH / 1473.[300] According to Evliya Çelebi, its roof was tiled and it was one of the three mosques in the town where Friday prayers were performed.[301] It must have been a modest mosque with a hipped roof. Here, a neighborhood was formed around the mosque and we see that there was a zawiya in this neighborhood. In a decree dated 1571, Arabacıbaşı zawiya is mentioned, but it is likely that the place referred to as a zawiye was not belonging to Şüca Bey's waqf. We see that someone is appointed with two coins per day for preaching.[302] The mosque and the school have not survived to the present day. The last repair document for the mosque is dated 1873.[303] Ahmed Badi Efendi (1839 – 1910) reports that the mosque still existed in the 19th century, but it was in ruins and only the minaret was standing.[304] Ayverdi, sharing a photograph taken in the 19th century, writes that the school was still standing at the end of the 19th century, but was destroyed in the following years.[305] However, the

[297] *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri*: *Evkaf Muhasebesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1042 – 1044 M. 1632 – 1635)*, Vol. 47, 168.
[298] BOA.HR.THD.22.51
[299] BOA.C.BLD.114.5690
[300] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 355, 526.
[301] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167.
[302] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.15.481
[303] BOA.İ.DH.514.34994
[304] Ahmed Bâdi Efendi. *Riyâz-ı Belde-i Edirne*, Vol. 3, 2087.
[305] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri: 855 – 886 (1451 – 1481)*, Vol. 4, 198.

photo published by Ayverdi is the photo of the girls' school taken during the reign of Abdülhamid II. It is very unlikely that this was the school built by Şüca Bey, since there is no mosque to be seen around it. According to oral history records, the school and mosque built by Şüca Bey were where the mosque known as Bormalı Mosque is located today, and they were approximately 200 meters south of Fatih Mosque. The mosque, which was in a dilapidated state in the 19th century, was completely destructred in order to build Bormalı Mosque in its place in the 20th century.[306]

İlyas Bey (d. 1511), who was the *emir-i ahur*/*imrahor* (stable master) in the palace during the reign of Mehmed II and Bayezid II, had a mosque and a school built in the Hacı Resul neighborhood of Çorlu, according to his waqfiyya dated 915 AH / 1510 AD.[307] The teacher of the school was earning 3 aspers per day according to the waqfiyya. We see that the income of a *başhâne* (shop selling head and trotters of an animal) in Çorlu was allocated to the expenses of the school and the mosque. İlyas Bey was the husband of Hundi Hatun, daughter of Daye Hatun who endowed a double-bath in the same town as well.[308] However, these buildings commissioned by İlyas Bey did not survive, like Daye Hatun's masjid and bath, and although the Hacı Resul neighborhood still retains its name in the 1831 census, it is not possible to estimate the locations of the mosque and school today.[309] However, since İlyas Bey Mosque is not mentioned in archival documents or any travel book, it is a strong possibility that this mosque could not be built for some reason or that it was destroyed after a short time. The mosque and the school of *imrahor* İlyas Bey in Çorlu, who also had endowments in Istanbul, is not found in the 1546 and 1600 registers of waqfs. Mehmed II's mosque

[306] Şenel. "Çorlu Kazası Tarihçesi", 87.
[307] BOA.EV.VKF.19.16
[308] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 428.
[309] *Osmanlı Döneminde Çorlu: Nüfus Defterlerinde*, 57.

and fountain, Daye Hatun's double-bath, his son-in-law, İlyas Bey's mosque and school, and Mehmed II's *arabacıbaşı* Şüca Bey's mosque and school indicate that the center attached a special importance to Çorlu in this period. Special consideration should have been given to populate and flourish (*şenlendirme*) the town, which was considered as the middle point of the road between Edirne and Istanbul.

Moreover, Evliya Çelebi mentions a *Cami-i Atik* (Old Mosque) in the town. I could not find any archival record, nor another travel account regarding this mosque. Evliya Çelebi, who referred to the Fatih Mosque as the *Ebu'l-Feth* Mosque, notes that there was an *imaret* next to the *Cami-i Atik* that everyone could benefit from. This mosque, which he describes as *kurşumsuz* (without lead), was probably like the Fatih and Arabacıbaşı mosques, with a tile-covered hipped roof.[310] We do not have any information about the whereabouts of this mosque and the soup kitchen. However, in the 1831 census, there was still a *Cami-i Atik* neighborhood in Çorlu.[311]

The information obtained by researchers doing a research on the mosque and the complex located in Cumhuriyet Square in Çorlu today can be confusing at first. The mosque in the main square of the town, known today as the Süleymaniye Mosque today, is attributed to Süleyman I in most sources, but what some other sources mention might be quite confusing at first glance. Evliya Çelebi attributes the mosque and its dependencies to Süleyman I.[312] On the other hand, Ahmed Badi Efendi writes that the soup kitchen was commissioned by Süleyman I, and the madrasa was commissioned by Selim II.[313] In some repair documents from the second half of the 19th century, this mosque was called Sultan Süleyman Mosque and in some other

[310] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167.
[311] *Osmanlı Döneminde Çorlu: Nüfus Defterlerinde*, 81.
[312] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167.
[313] Ahmed Bâdi Efendi. *Riyâz-ı Belde-i Edirne*, Vol. 3, 2087.

documents and it was called Sultan Selim mosque, which makes it even more confusing.[314] Ahmed Badi Efendi writes there were three Friday mosques in the town, but he counts four mosques. He mentions the Ahmed Pasha Mosque in addition to Fatih, Arabacıbaşı, and Süleymaniye mosques as mentioned by Evliya Çelebi as well.[315] Âşık Mehmed, on the other hand, does not give the name of the patron for the complex in Çorlu. He writes that the complex, consisting of a Friday mosque, a great madrasa, a soup kitchen, bazaar, and bath was endowed by one of *ashab-ı hayrat* (charity patrons).[316] The silence of an Ottoman intellectual like Âşık Mehmed about the patron of the complex here is eyebrow raising. Mehmed Mecdî (d. 1591) also does not give the name of the founder of the madrasa in Çorlu. Instead, he writes it as Çorlu Madrasa, while Atâî (1583 – 1635) mentions it as Ahmed Pasha Madrasa.[317] Venetian ambassador Contarini writes that the complex consisted of a mosque, bath, madrasa, soup kitchen, and caravanserai was commissioned by Ahmed Pasha who rebelled in Cairo and was later executed. He adds that his assets were confiscated and allocated to this pious foundation.[318] A foreigner's travel note may initially push the reader to criticize the source. However, Abdurrahman Hıbrî, a prolific author from Edirne, confirms Contarini and provides the deciphering information about both the content of the complex, its patron and how its name was changed. In *Menâsik-i Mesâlik,* in which he describes his journey to Mecca, he states that there were a mosque, a double-bath, a madrasa, and a double caravanserai in the complex in Çorlu commissioned by *Hain* Ahmed Pasha (Ahmed Pasha the Traitor) and that the Ahmed Pasha became the victim of *damnatio memoriae* after revolting during the reign of Süleyman I and then being

[314] BOA.ŞD.63.3638; BOA.İ.DH.672.46786
[315] Ahmed Bâdi Efendi. *Riyâz-ı Belde-i Edirne*, Vol. 3, 2087.
[316] Âşık Mehmed. *Menâzırü'l-Avâlim*, Vol. 3, 1103.
[317] Baltacı. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 367.
[318] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 38.

executed in Egypt, and the complex he had commissioned started to be called as Süleymaniye.[319] It is quite striking that the name of the *Hain* Ahmed Pasha is never mentioned in any Ottoman official document. The name of the pasha, whose assets were confiscated after his execution, was erased by the Ottoman central administration. Moreover, we see that Ottoman intellectuals such as Âşık Mehmed, Evliya Çelebi, or Mehmed Mecdî also hesitated to mention the name of the pasha.

The total list of the buildings that made up the complex can be seen in in the accounting documents kept by the trustees of the waqf. According to these documents, the complex consisted of a mosque, a madrasa, a bath, a caravanserai, and shops.[320] However, the entire complex was not built at the same time. This again leads to confusion at the first stage about the architect or architects of the complex. Since it is written that the madrasa of Sultan Süleyman and his soup kitchen in Çorlu were built by Sinan in *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* and *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin*, the complex is attributed to Sinan with all its dependencies. However, Ahmed Pasha was executed in Cairo in 1524, and the completion of the mosque is dated to 1521, according to the inscription on it, which indicates that the construction most likely began when pasha was the *Rumeli beylerbeyi* (governor of Rumelia), about 17 years before Sinan became the chief imperial architect.[321] In its first form, it seems that the complex consisted of a mosque, a double-bath, and a caravanserai. As it is written in *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan* and *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin*, the madrasa and soup kitchen were built by Sinan for Süleyman I and therefore they could be dated after the 1530s by looking at Sinan's

[319] İlgürel. "Abdurrahman Hibrî'nin *Menasîk-i Mesâlik*'i", 111 – 128.
[320] BOA.TS.MA.D.5648; BOA.TS.MA.E.48.39; BOA.TS.MA.E.88.9; BOA.TS.MA.E.35.21
[321] İnalcık. "Aḥmad Pasha Khāʾin" in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*. https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/ahmad-pasha-khain-SIM_0419.

autobiographies.[322] However, it is seen that appointments were made to the madrasa since 933 AH / 1526-7 AD, which indicates that the madrasa was built long before Sinan.[323] Therefore, we need to question the credibility of Sinan's autobiographies. Today, only the mosque remains from the complex. The soup kitchen, caravanserai, and madrasa were in ruins at the beginning of the 20th century, they were all demolished in 1959 along with the bath, despite the objections of the Chamber of Architects.[324]

The architect of the mosque, madrasa, bath, and caravanserai must have been Ali bin Abdullah, known as Acem Ali or Esir Ali, who was the chief architect prior to Sinan.[325] The mosque with a single minaret has a square plan and a single dome. (Fig. 60) The transition of this cubic mosque made of cut stone to the dome is established by squinches in oyster decorations. (Fig. 61) After entering the qibla gate, there is a small maqsura on the right. The mosque has a simple pulpit and mihrab. In front of the three-bay portico, there is a larger portico on wooden posts which makes its appearance more majestic. However, it is most likely that the second portico does not belong to the original plan. With its architecture and iconography, this mosque exhibits the characteristics of a pasha mosque rather than a sultan's mosque when we consider the 16th century Ottoman architectural culture (*'adab*), which visually reinforces that its founder was Ahmed Pasha.[326]

Baltacı mentions two different madrasas in Çorlu, namely Ahmed Pasha and Sultan Süleyman, in which he studied the Ottoman madrasas of 15th and 16th centuries,

[322] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 82, 83, 107, 109.
[323] Baltacı. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 366.
[324] CA.30-1-0-0.123.791.9
[325] Ertuğrul. "Acem Ali." *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Accessed September 3, 2022. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/acem-ali.
[326] For the *'adab* in the Ottoman architecture see: Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan*, Necipoğlu. "Sinan çağında mimarlık kültürü ve âdâb: Günümüze yönelik yorumlar", 19 – 66.

but they were the same madrasa.[327] The exact location and layout of the lead covered madrasa is somewhat difficult to understand. Contarini writes that there were six rooms each in front and behind the mosque.[328] This indicates that the madrasa had 12 cells, but instead of separating the cells into two groups, we can think that the classroom was parallel to one of the side walls of the mosque and that it was arranged symmetrically on the axis parallel to the wall, with six cells falling in front and six falling behind courtyard of the mosque. However, another source writes that the madrasa had 20 cells.[329] Food and candles were provided to the students and professors in the madrasa. The madrasa should have been one of the most prestigious madrasas in Rumelia. According to a list of Rumelian madrasas in the mid-17th century, Ahmed Pasha madrasa was in the group of fifties (*ellili medrese*) and was in the eighth of nine ranks, with the ninth being only in Istanbul and Edirne.[330] In addition to this, there was also a mention of Sinan Bey madrasa, but there is no other document about its existence. In a repair document dated 1762, it is seen that there was an elementary school in the complex as well.[331] Catharin Zen also mentions the existence of an elementary school.[332]

The double-bath made of cut stone was located in the square in front of the mosque today. Like other structures, the bath was also covered with lead. The caravanserai was located near the mosque on Istanbul – Edirne road. (Fig. 62) Lubenau, who passed through the town in 1587, wrote that there were several mosques and caravanserais in Çorlu, but that the main caravanserai was in disrepair and

[327] Baltacı. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 366, 694.
[328] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 38.
[329] Tuna. *Geçmişten Bugüne Çorlu*, 85.
[330] Özergin, "Eski Bir Ruznameye Göre İstanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri", 263 – 290.
[331] BOA.C.BLD.96.4789
[332] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.

neglected. For this reason, they had to stay in the courtyard of the mosque.[333] Lubenau must have passed through Çorlu at a time when the caravanserai needed repairs. Corneille de Schepper writes that the caravanserai in Çorlu was even bigger than Abdüsselam Çelebi's 300-horse caravanserai in Küçükçekmece.[334] Adam Wenner writes that there was a perfectly built mosque and caravanserai in Çorlu, where he stayed in 1616.[335] It was a single-storey building covered with lead like the mosque and the bath.[336] According to Gerlach's account the building nearby the mosque was covered with lead it had very long stables for horses, many small rooms, fountains. He mistakenly writes his patron as Ali Pasha, whom Selim I had executed in Cairo.[337] The context of the information Gerlach gives is correct, but this was a complex built by Ahmed Pasha, who was executed in Cairo during the reign of Süleyman I. Gerlach also writes that on the wall of the caravanserai in Çorlu, there was a painting of the caravanserai, the mosque, and the fountain depicted in a very artistic perspective. Fresne-Canaye writes that there was a painting of a Latin, Orthodox, and Muslim places of worship on the wall.[338] The painting Fresne-Canaye saw was most probably be the one Gerlach was talking about. If these structures had survived to the present day, a very interesting area in Ottoman historiography where art in commercial buildings could be studied would have emerged.

There were many shops around the caravanserai for the needs of the travelers, and this area became the economic center of the city, where the bazaar was also located. Benedikt Curipeschitz refers to the place they stayed in Çorlu as *wohl*

[333] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi (Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589)*, 158.
[334] De Schepper. *Missions Diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus*, 111.
[335] Wenner. *Padişahın Huzurunda Elçilik Günlüğü, 1616 – 1618*, 52.
[336] Dernscwham. *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü*, 47.
[337] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 818-819.
[338] Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 47.

erbauten markt (well-built market).[339] This must have been written in reference to the bazaars and shops around the caravanserai. In the accounting register of Rumelia dated 1530, there were three mosques, two baths, one of which is a double bath, and a caravanserai in Çorlu.[340] In addition, upon the completion of the first small complex, it is seen that the economy become the most vibrant among the towns on the Edirne – Istanbul road, with 28 shops, a bakery, a boza house, a *başhâne*, a customs, and a butcher. In 1530, the only double bath, caravanserai, bakery, boza house, *başhâne*, customs, and shops within the borders of all the Vize Province (*Vize Livası*) (incl. Babaeski, Bergos, Karıştıran, and Silivri) were in Çorlu. These facilities should have been concentrated around the caravanserai.

With the fountains and waterways commissioned by Süleyman I, and the soup kitchen built by Sinan, the complex turned into a full-fledged 16th century Ottoman complex. The date of these additions can be accepted as 966 AH / 1558-9 AD by looking at the inscription on the *imaret çeşmesi*, as written by Evliya Çelebi.[341] This fountain was located in the center of the square where the so-called Süleymaniye Mosque was located.[342] Unfortunately, a photograph of the so-called Süleymaniye Mosque from the Abdülhamid II archive does not provide us much information about the layout of the complex. (Fig. 63) However, a lithograph drawn by Luigi Mayer in the late 18th century proves the existence of dependent structures behind the mosque. (Fig. 64) The soup kitchen was located behind the area where the burial ground was located behind the qibla wall of the mosque. In the early-20th century, dependencies of the complex were in ruins. (Fig. 65)

[339] Von Obenburg. *Itinerarium Wegrayss Kü. May. potschafft gen Constantinopel zu dem Türkischen Kayser Soleyman Anno xxx*.
[340] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I*, 69.
[341] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167.
[342] Tuna. *Geçmişten Bugüne Çorlu*, 77.

The baths and numerous fountains in Çorlu may suggest the reader to think of the waterways in the town. The water of the town was provided from the place still known as Başmaslak today, and there is still a water source there. The water coming from the spring in the Başmaslak area to the northwest of the town, with pipes and aqueducts, was 14,570 cubits long and was distributed from the courtyard of the Süleymaniye Mosque to other fountains and baths in the town.[343] The waterways were approximately 7.5 kilometers long, suggesting that the waterway coming from Başmaslak area, which is about 4 kilometers away from the town, drew many curves. In these repair documents, in addition to learning the length of the waterways, we also see that there were many fountains commissioned by Sultan Süleyman or Ahmed Pasha.[344] A document dated 1816 gives the number as eight to ten during the repair of the waterways and fountains funded by Abdülhamid I's (r. 1774 – 1789) waqf.[345] An exact number is given in a repair document in the following year, in 1817, during the reign of Mahmud II.[346] In order to prevent damage that could be inflicted to the waterways, the land at a distance of four cubits on each sides was prohibited for agricultural activities and six people were appointed as *su yolcu* from the *müsellems* of Vize.[347] Covel notes that the aqueducts were in ruins in 1675 but were still operational, supplying water to the town. We see from Covel's notes that not all the fountains were built within in the town. There were also several fountains lined on the waterway on the pastures between the water source and the town. [348]

[343] BOA.İ.MVL.467.21130
[344] BOA.MVL.891.47
[345] BOA.HAT.1537.60
[346] BOA.HAT.1539.37
[347] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.23.18; BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.22.117
[348] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 182.

Evliya Çelebi, who defines the town as *çeşmesâr* (abundant of fountains), but states that it was difficult to bring water to the town since it was founded on a flat plateau. For this reason, the townspeople, who had hardships of bringing water to the town, made great efforts and built many cisterns and brought water through waterwheels with their horses. Abdurrahman Hıbrî also reports that the water in the town is scarce and may not be found from time to time. Evliya Çelebi counts some of the fountains in the town and gives names of their patrons. Apart from the Taya Kadın's Fountain mentioned earlier, these are the Kürd Sefer Ağa Fountain, Murad IV's *ruznâmeci* (journal writer) İbrahim Efendi Fountain, Acıçeşme in the non-Muslim neighborhood, and *kul kethüdası* (mid-rank janissary agha) Süleyman Ağa fountains in the bazaar. He writes that there were twenty private baths apart from Daye Hatun's and Süleyman's baths.[349] Unfortunately, none of these fountains have survived to the present day. The name of *kethüda* Süleyman is written on the inscription above the fountain, which is known as the Hospital Fountain (Hastane Çeşmesi) today, but since Evliya Çelebi located it in the market place, it is unclear whether the inscription was later removed and attached here. (Fig. 66) Acıçeşme was still standing and was documented in the 1960s.[350] The location of the fountain, which does not exist today, was on Acı Çeşme Street. According to the inscription written by the poet Haşimî, the fountain was built in 1022 AH / 1613-1614 AD by Mustafa Ağa, who was the *Babüssaade Ağa* (chief white eunuch) during the reign of Ahmed I.

Evliya Çelebi counts Abdi Halife, Karacaahmet Sultan, and Davud Dede lodges among the lodges in Çorlu, but does not state which order they belonged to and where they were located in the town. However, today, Karacaahmet Sultan Tekkesi

[349] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167.
[350] Şenel. "Çorlu Kazası Tarihçesi", 90-91.

Street in Çorlu gives us an idea of its location of this Bektashi lodge. The restless traveler also gives information about the tombs, by counting the tombs of Osman Dede, Behiştî, and Uzun Balı Efendi. The famous sufi and poet Behiştî (d. 1571) was the preacher of Süleymaniye Mosque and Uzun Balı Efendi was the professor of the madrasa in the town and was buried near the madrasa.[351] The Ottoman historiographer Peçevî also writes that Sheikh Ramazan Behiştî (aforementioned person), one of the sufis, was a preacher at the Ahmed Pasha Mosque.[352]

We can assume that towards the end of the 17th century, a street parallel to Edirne – Istanbul road called Kumyolu was formed in Çorlu. It is written in the waqfiyya of Çorlulu Ali Pasha (c. 1670 – 1711) from 1710 that he endowed a fountain in Kumyolu.[353] This must be Çukur Çeşme, which has a repair inscription on it today and is located on modern Kumyol Street, close to the center of old Çorlu. (Fig. 67)

As a result, Çorlu, which was considered by the Ottomans as the midpoint of the Edirne – Istanbul road, was the largest center on this route. The fact that its population was larger than the neighboring towns in the region and the diversity of economic activities made the town an important trade center in Eastern Thrace. Mosques, masjids, baths, fountains, and schools built by both the Mehmed II and people of his court such as Arabacıbaşı Şüca Bey, Daye Hatun and his son-in-law İlyas Bey are quite striking. In the early years of the reign of Süleyman I, the construction of a *menzil* complex began in Çorlu, just like in Küçükçekmece and Silivri. When Ahmed Pasha's unfortunate career ended with his execution, the name of the complex was changed as a result of a rare *damnatio memoriae* case in Ottoman history. The

[351] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 167, 168.
[352] Peçevi İbrahim Efendi. *Peçevi Tarihi,* Vol. 1, 327.
[353] Abuşoğlu. "Sadr-ı A'zâm Ali Paşa'nın Vakıfnâmesi".

complex, whose name was changed, turned into a full-fledged *menzil* complex with the additions of Süleyman I in the mid-16th century. Supplying water to this large town has been one of the city's major problems. Numerous fountains were built from the mid-16th century onwards and long waterways were protected with special precautions. The absence of a remarkable building in the rest of the 18th century in Çorlu, like the other towns, shows the decreasing importance of the Edirne – Istanbul road and the towns from the 18th century onwards.



Figure 58. Fatih Mosque in Çorlu. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 59. Fatih Mosque fountain. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 60. So-called Süleymaniye Mosque in Çorlu. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 61. Interior of so-called Süleymaniye Mosque in Çorlu. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022

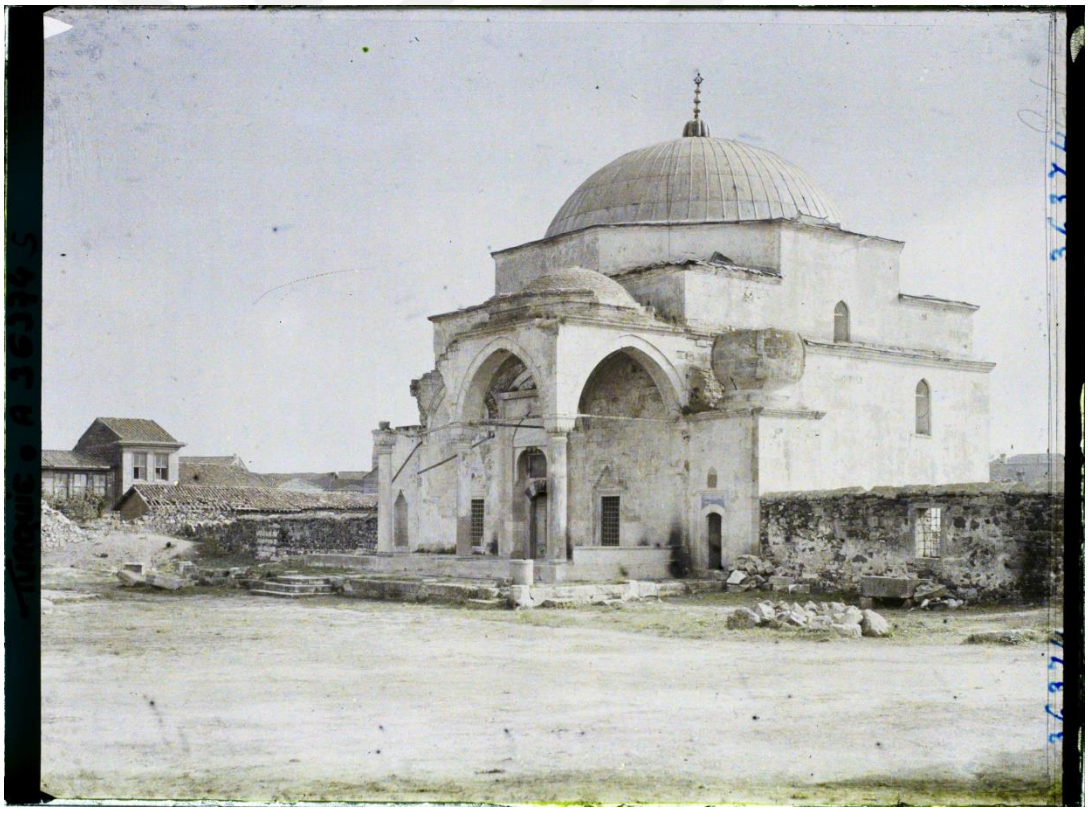

Figure 62. Photo from 1922 of so-called Süleymaniye Mosque with the caravanserai seen in the background. Source: Albert Kahn Photo Archive



Figure 63. 19th c. photo of so-called Süleymaniye Mosque from Abdülhamid II photo archives. Source: İÜMK, 90417



Figure 64. Colored lithograph of Çorlu and so-called Süleymaniye Complex by Luigi Mayer



Figure 65. Photo from 1922 of the ruins of the imaret in Çorlu. Source: Albert Kahn Photo Archive



Figure 66. Fountain with inscription of kethüda Süleyman Ağa in Çorlu. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2022



Figure 67. Çukur Çeşme, possibly the fountain of Çorlulu Ali Paşa on Kumyolu. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2022



Figure 68. View of Çorlu from the second half of the 16th century from *Leiden Sketchbook*. Source: Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople*, 75.

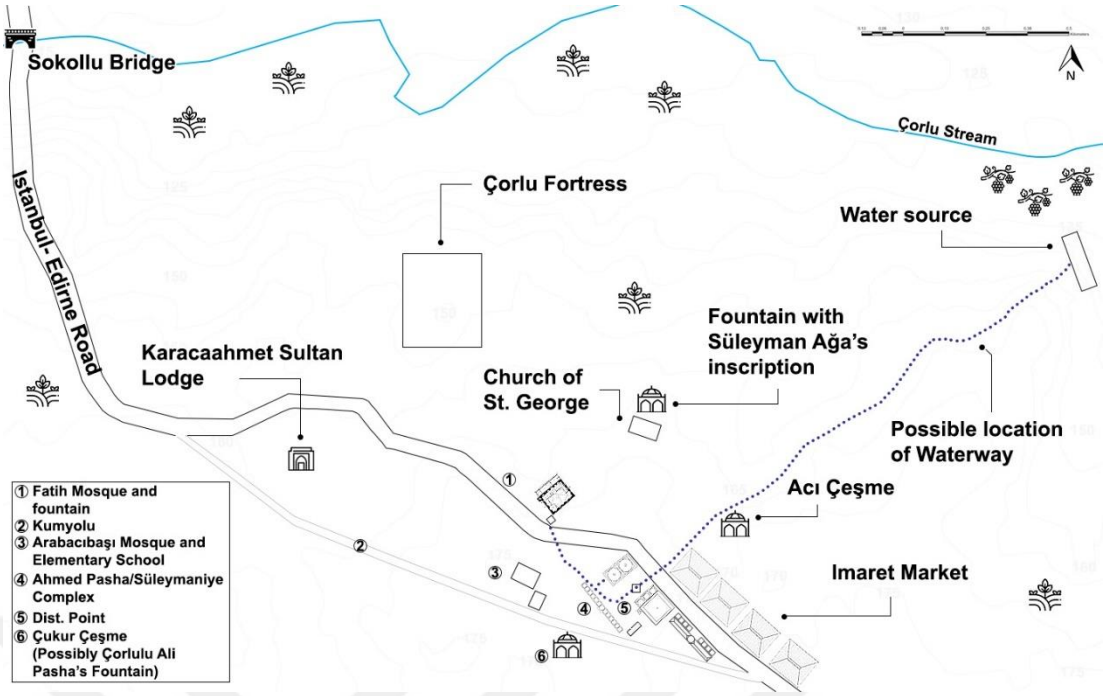

Figure 69. Hypothethical map of Çorlu

4.4 Karıştıran

Located between Çorlu and Bergos, Karıştıran, although not a town (*kaza*), was a small settlement worth mentioning briefly in this study. Karıştıran was a small village with 88 households in the mid-17th century according to Evliya Çelebi's report.[354] According to the Ottoman historian and poet Behiştî (d. 1511-12), the name of the settlement comes from Karışdıran Süleyman Bey, who was the *subaşı* of Bursa and Istanbul and was once the governor of Vize.[355] Because of the distance between Çorlu and Bergos is long and it was difficult to take this road in one day, Karıştıran was an appropriate *menzil* point. The village was located in the west of the valley formed by Yuvalı Stream, a tributary of Ergene. There must have been inns before the mid-16th century in Karıştıran, which was also a *mansio* during the Roman and Byzantine

[354] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 6, 86.

[355] Demir. *Drusipara'dan Büyükkarıştıran'a*, 28. Latîfî and Franz Babinger mentions that Behiştî was from Karışdıran and was the son of Karışdıran Süleyman Bey but Süleyman Bey probably was not from Karışdıran and Karışdıran was his moniker for some reason: Latîfî, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ ve Tabsıratü'n-Nuzamâ*, 153; Babinger. *Osmanlı Tarih Yazarları ve Eserleri*, 49.

periods. From the mid-16th century onwards, with its imperial hunting palace, this place was also frequented by the sultans. Karıştıran was not in the status of a township (*kaza*) and was under the *kaza* of Bergos in terms of administration. *Bostancıs* were employed for the security of the settlement due to the presence of the imperial palace.

The construction projects that turned Karıştıran into a well-organized Ottoman *menzil* point were commissioned by the Ottoman grand vizier and Süleyman I's son-in-law, Rüstem Pasha. In his waqfiyya dated 951 AH / 1544, Rüstem Pasha endowed two inns facing each other, two hospices, and a separate hospice (*tabhane*) for *ulu kimesneler* (notables, dignitaries) in Karıştıran.[356] The two inns mentioned in the waqfiyya must have been a double-winged caravanserai. In addition, the separate hospices mentioned for the great personage were also seen in the complexes of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Bergos and Havsa. Since it was on the Edirne – Istanbul road, the caravanserais here had special sections for the people of the palace. It was stipulated in waqfiyya that a mosque and a bath with the surplus money to be built. For this reason, we see that the mosque and bath were built after the caravanserai.[357] In addition to mosque, bath and the caravanserai, the pasha endowed a primary school, six shops, two fountains, and paved the village roads.[358] Evliya Çelebi counts ten shops.[359] Today, it is not even possible to determine the location of the school and bath of the complex. Based on the tile waterways, it is suggested that the bath was located on Cihan Street today.[360]

Today, the mosque is far from its original appearance, and both its exterior and interior decoration do not give much insight about the original appearance. (Fig. 70) It

[356] Ayverdi, and Barkan. *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) târîhli*, 432.
[357] Canatar. *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 1009 (1600) Tarihli*, 276.
[358] VGMA, nr. 635/2, fol. 139
[359] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 6, 86.
[360] Demir. *Drusipara'dan Büyükkarıştıran'a*, 139.

is a square planned mosque with a single minaret. Unlike today, the mosque, which was originally made of cut stone, had a brick minaret.[361] It is recorded in *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* that the architect of the caravanserai was Sinan.[362]

The caravanserai was located to the north of the mosque across the courtyard. Evliya Çelebi gives the date of the caravanserai as 953 AH / 1547-1548 AD.[363] He states that the caravanserai was covered with lead together with the mosque and bath. The caravanserai was not as impressive as the other caravanserais on the Edirne – Istanbul road. The scribe in Soranzo's entourage writes that Rüstem Pasha's caravanserai in Karıştıran was incomparable with the caravanserais of Mehmed Pasha in Bergos and Havsa.[364] Corneille van der Dreisch was also of the same opinion with Soranzo's scribe.[365]

One of the two fountains mentioned in the waqfiyya must be the fountain which was adjacent to the mosque as Evliya Çelebi mentions. The other fountain was on the road outside the village, as stated in the waqfiyya. This is the fountain known today as the Horhor Fountain.[366] Although not mentioned in the waqfiyya, the presence of baths and fountains indicates the existence of waterways. The remains of three *su terazisi* (masonry tower built onto waterways to adjust the water pressure) coming from the valley slope across the Yuvalı Stream have survived to the present day. (Fig. 71) Covel describes the operation of the aqueduct he saw as follows:

From a delicate clearer fountain on the same side the town beyond this river, upon the side of the hill (to our right hand, as we descend to come hither), is an Aquæduct brought, and in the valley are three steps or pyramids built to divide the

[361] Alkan. "Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında Sadrazam Rüstem Paşa'nın Büyükkarıştıran'daki Mimari Eserleri", 1-34.
[362] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 85, 110.
[363] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi,* Vol. 6, 86.
[364] *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo,* 57.
[365] Von den Dreisch. *Historische Nachricht von der Röm. Kayserl. Groß-Botschafft nach Constantinopel*, 139.
[366] Demir. *Drusipara'dan Büyükkarıştıran'a*, 113.

water into severall trunks, as also to let the overplus run in winter, without prejudice to the course of the rest.[367]

According to Corneille van der Dreisch, these aqueducts brought water to the sultan's hunting palace and the double-bath.[368] As seen from the later repair documents, there were three aqueducts and at least nine *maslak* (small pool-like trough) in the waterways bringing water from the source to the village.[369]

The imperial hunting palace in Karıştıran was probably located at the site of Atatürk Park in the center of today's town. A large budget was allocated for the construction of the hunting palace with its own waterway during the reign of Mehmed IV, and its construction was a large-scale project. A huge amount of material was commissioned from neighboring towns such as Malkara, Gallipoli, Edirne, Bergos, and Çorlu, and the workers sent from Misinli worked for a total of 5266 days. The hunting palace was built with wood on stone foundations and, judging by the amount of tiles ordered, it probably had occupied more than 3400 square meters.[370]

As a result, the village of Karıştıran could not develop socially and economically, and could not reach the status of a township, as there were no soup kitchen, madrasa, and great number of shops in the complex of Rüstem Pasha which could have fostered the urbanization and development. The location of the village may have also been influential in this situation. The village was slightly off the road as it can be deducible from the waqfiyya. Also, considering the distance between the complex and the bridge which was located on the Edirne – Istanbul road, it can be seen that the village differed from other *menzil* settlements since the road did not pass

[367] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 183.
[368] Von den Dreisch. *Historische Nachricht von der Röm. Kayserl. Groß-Botschafft nach Constantinopel*, 139.
[369] Alkan. "Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında Sadrazam Rüstem Paşa'nın Büyükkarıştıran'daki Mimari Eserleri", 1-34; BOA.C.EV.483.24444
[370] Demir. *Drusipara'dan Büyükkarıştıran'a*, 80-86.

through the village. Nevertheless, due to the distance between Çorlu and Bergos, which was difficult to cover in one day, it was deemed necessary to build a small *menzil* complex here.



Figure 70. Rüstem Pasha Mosque in Karıştıran. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 71. Three su terazisi in Karıştıran indicating the route of waterways. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022

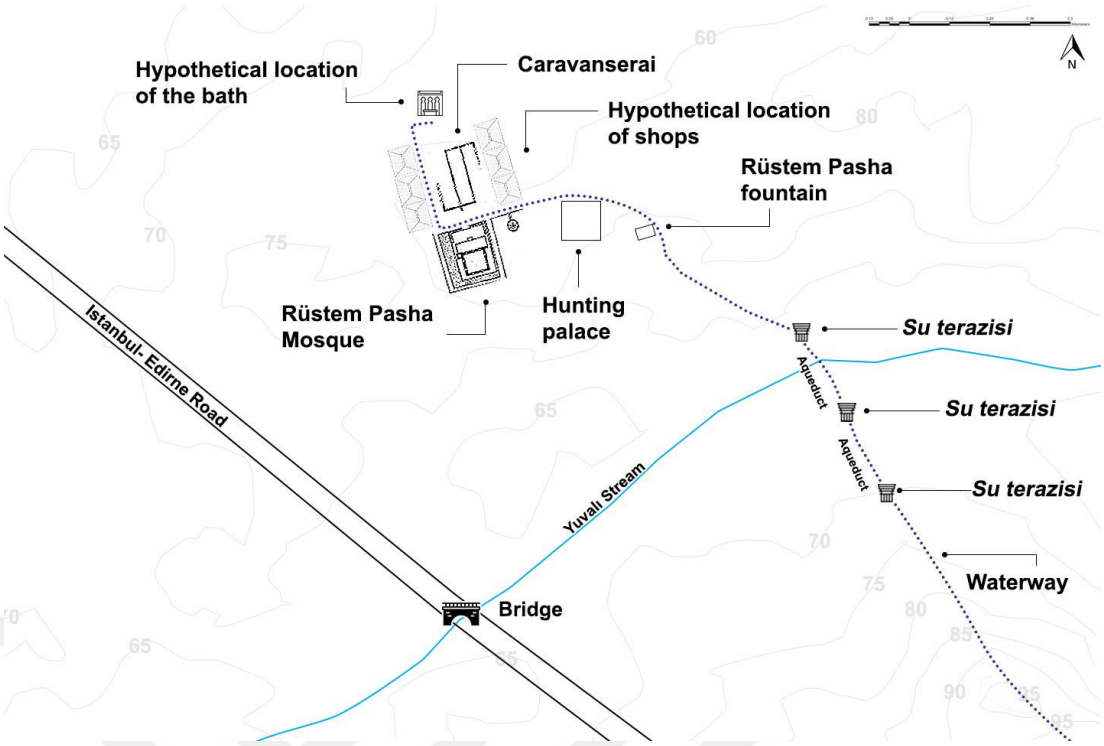

Figure 72. Hypothetical map of Karıştıran

4.5 Bergos

This chapter will study with the history of the town of Bergos until the 18th century, which is located between Karıştıran and Babaeski. After a brief reference to the geography, economy, and demography of the town, the oldest known Ottoman buildings of the town, namely Gazi Ali Bey Mosque and Hüseyin Bey Masjid, will be presented. The emphasis will be on the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha complex, which changed the fate of the town. The complex will be examined in detail in terms of its size, layout, architecture, patronage, and construction motives. The contribution of the complex to the economy of the town will also be mentioned. Finally, Mehmed IV's square fountain from the 17th century will be mentioned.

The town of Bergos, referred to as Bergos, Birgos, Birgoz, or Burgos in the Ottoman documents, is between Karıştıran and Babaeski on the Edirne – Istanbul road and is located on the east bank of Köprüaltı Stream, where Bağlar Stream and

Kaynarca Stream coming from the foothills of Strandzha Mountains meet near the town. The stream that largely borders the town even today on its western side is one of the tributaries of the Ergene River. The town was founded on a flat terrain at an altitude of about 150 meters to the east of the stream.

The subsistence in the town was primarily relied on agriculture and animal husbandry. The wheat mills that Covel saw and Âşık Mehmed's description of this place as agricultural lands and mention of its quality grains point to this.[371] The main agricultural products produced by the Bergos townspeople in the mid-16th century were wheat, barley, oats, and millet. There were also some beekeeping, market gardening (*bostan*), and viticulture (*bağ*) in the town. Nearly half of the households in the town was occupied with agriculture. [372] Evliya Çelebi states that this place is famous for its sheep, lamb, and butter. An annual cattle fair was held in Bergos. Evliya Çelebi writes that the cattle fair here was famous in the lands of Rum, Arab, and Ajam and that many people come and do good shopping.[373] Catharin Zen also writes that the fairs were held during the Easter period and the 280 to 300 carriages came to town.[374] We do not know when the cattle fair in the town began to be organized, but we can learn from the notes of the travelers that cattle fairs were held here since the from the mid-16th century onwards. This shows us that Bergos was a rendezvous place where the villagers and cattle traders came from its hinterland and engaged in trade on an annual basis. Moreover, Lubenau writes that because the clergy in the complex Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had a lot of free time so they were occupied with silkworms from

[371] Âşık Mehmed. *Menâzırü'l-Avâlim*, Vol. 3, 1104.
[372] Özdeğer. "16. Yüzyılda Vize Sancağı'nın Demografik ve Ekonomik Yapısı". 87-123.
[373] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 169.
[374] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.

thanks to mulberry trees in the garden. Therefore we can assume that there was also a small amount of sericulture in the town.

The Ottomans, who captured the town in 1361 during the reign of Murad I, found the town abandoned. Because of that, Bergos was a town composed mostly of Turks. Gerlach reports that there was no church in the town and that few Christians in the town were occupied by bakery and tailoring.[375] Covel confirms Gerlach by writing that the town was almost entirely inhabited by the Turks.[376] He also saw brick kilns operated by town's few Greeks along with wheat mills on the western side of the stream.[377] Ottomans demolished the walls after capturing the town without seeing any resistance.[378] However, the Ottomans did not settle within the walls, as they did in Silivri, Çorlu, Bursa, Edirne, and some other Balkan towns and cities. Âşık Mehmed defines Bergos as *bilâ-sur* (without walls). He reports that the town had a ruined and uninhabited castle.[379] Benedetto Ramberti, who passed through Bergos in 1541, writes that the town's ruined walls were about 2 miles long.[380] The walls, where Bergos Fortress was located, falls to today's Dere District and Yılmaz District. The last remains of the walls are visible near the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge. However, the remains of the city walls were found during the excavations of some construction foundations in the aforementioned neighborhoods. By looking at such signs, it was possible to draw the plan of the walls in the town.[381] (Fig. 6)

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[375] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 825.
[376] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 184-185.
[377] Ibid, 184-185.
[378] Hoca Sadeddin Efendi. *Tacü't-Tevarih*, Vol. 1, 114; *Anonim Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, 24; Mehmed Neşrî. *Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ*, Vol. 1, 193; Âşıkpaşazâde. *Tevârihi Âl-i Osman*, 109.
[379] Âşık Mehmed. *Menâzırü'l-Avâlim*, Vol. 3, 1103.
[380] Ramberti. *Delle cose de Turchi*, 9.
[381] Öğretmenoğlu, "Kazdıkça 'Eski Lüleburgaz' çıkıyor!", *Görünüm,* February 14, 2022, http://gorunumgazetesi.com.tr/haber/84147/kazdikca-eski-luleburgaz-cikiyor.html; Ünlüsoy, "Lüleburgaz'ın her yerinden tarih fışkırıyor", *Hürfikir*, April 23, 2018, http://www.hurfikir.com.tr/haber/19543/luleburgazin-her-yerinden-tarih-fiskiriyor.html.

The oldest surviving building from the Ottoman period in Bergos is also the oldest surviving Ottoman building among the towns on the Edirne - Istanbul road. This is the Gâzi Ali Bey Mosque, known today as the Kadı Ali Mosque. The mosque is located outside the walls on the southern side of Bergos. We can assume that the first neighborhood established outside the walls in Bergos was formed around this mosque. If we consider the land where the mosque is located and the garden with the surrounding wall, it is possible that there were some dependant structures around it. Although the modern inscription at the entrance gives the date 1374, the mosque does not have a foundation inscription. Although it is speculated that the mosque was built in the name of Gâzi Ali Bey, son of Hacı İlbey, during the reign of Murad I, we do not have any document that proves this Gâzi Ali Bey was that person.[382] Leaving this misconception aside, another claim is that the mosque was built by Gâzi Ali Bey, one of the warlords during the reign of Mehmed I (r. 1413 – 1421).[383] The square-planned mosque made of cut stone has a lead covered dome sitting on an octagonal drum. (Fig. 73) It has a single minaret and its three-bay portico does not exist today. The inscription above the entrance door is the repair inscription and the date 1158 AH / 1745-6 AD is written on it. The mosque was repaired by women named Fatma Hatun and Ayşe Hatun.

The second mosque/masjid in Bergos must be the Hüseyin Bey Mosque, whose construction date is unknown. The fact that the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex, which was built in the second half of 1560s, is registered in the Hüseyin Bey Neighborhood, shows that the Hüseyin Bey Mosque, which gave its name to the

[382] In fact, the source of these speculations is that the local researcher Bahri Berberoğulları confused the town of Bergos with the place known as Kuleliburgaz (mod. Pythion), which is known as İlbegi Bergos and is located near Dimetoka (mod. Didymoteicho) on the banks of the Meriç River.
[383] Arslan. *Kasabadan Kente Bir Cumhuriyet Yürüyüşü: Lüleburgaz*, Vol. 2, 270.

neighborhood, is older than the complex.[384] In a photograph from the second half of the 19th century from the Abdülhamid II's archive, the view of Bergos from the minaret of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque and Gâzi Ali Bey Mosque are visible. (Fig. 74) Between Gâzi Ali Bey Mosque and Mehmed Pasha's complex, there is a small masjid-sized building with a short minaret and a tiled hipped roof. This could be the Hüseyin Bey Mosque. Thus, both buildings are located outside the old walls.

In the accounting register of Rumelia from 1530, it is recorded that there were two mosques and two baths in Bergos.[385] We do not know the location of these baths, but we can draw more definite conclusions about the two mosques. Âşık Mehmed mentions an old bath (*hamam-ı atik*) in the town, but does not give a location.[386] One of the mosques is the Gâzi Ali Bey Mosque, and the other is the Hüseyin Bey Mosque, which gave its name to the Hüseyin Bey Neighborhood, where the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex will be built later on.

The face of the town would change with the huge complex built by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Until the 1560s, Bergos looked like a village with demolished walls. In 1530, Bergos was a pretty small town with 3 neighborhoods, 62 households, and 20 bachelors which made up the population around 300.[387] In 1541 Ramberti defined the town as a village.[388] In 1568, when the construction of Mehmed Pasha's complex was underway, the number of neighborhoods increased to four and the number of households to 94.[389] With the number of bachelors, the population of the town reached around 430. However, we can assume that there were inns in this small town since it

[384] Gökpınar. "1712 Tarihli Avârız Defterine Göre Bergos (Lüleburgaz) Kazası", 63-98.
[385] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I,* 68.
[386] Âşık Mehmed. *Menâzırü'l-Avâlim,* Vol. 3, 1104.
[387] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I,* 68.
[388] Ramberti. *Delle cose de Turchi,* 9.
[389] Özdeğer. "16. Yüzyılda Vize Sancağı'nın Demografik ve Ekonomik Yapısı". 87-123.

was an Ottoman *menzil* point for more than a century. Benedikt Curipeschitz defined the place where they overnighted in Bergos as a *markt*.[390] This indicates that there were some shops around the inn where they stayed. When Sokollu Mehmed Pasha decided to have a *menzil* complex built in Bergos together with Havsa, Bergos was the only town on the Edirne - Istanbul road that did not have a *menzil* complex. In other words, Mehmed Pasha had no chance to choose another settlement on the Istanbul – Edirne axis. When Mehmed Pasha's complex was just completed, some travelers passing by also state that the town still looked like a village.[391]

Mehmed Pasha, who was the grand vizier between 1565 and 1579, had built this great complex on a flat land outside the city walls. He was one of the most powerful figures in Ottoman history, and the pasha, who became a vizier during the reign of Suleiman I, was almost the *de-facto* ruler of the empire, serving as grand vizier during the reigns of Selim II and Murad III.[392] Apart from Bergos, he had many waqfs, especially in Kadırga and Azapkapı in Istanbul, and in places such as Payas, Havsa, Bor, and Višegrad outside of Istanbul.[393]

The mosque, madrasa, elementary school, double-bath, prayer dome, some of the shops in the arasta, and some parts of the walls of the caravanserai have survived from the complex in Bergos. In the waqfiyya of the Grand Vizier in the archives of the General Directorate of Foundations, dated 1574, there are details about all the buildings that made up the complex.[394] In another waqfiyya of the pasha kept in Fatih

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[390] Von Obenburg. *Itinerarium Wegrayss Kü. May. potschafft gen Constantinopel zu dem Türkischen Kayser Soleyman Anno xxx*.
[391] Van den Branden. "Put od Bruselja iz Brabanta u Carigrad u Traciji, glavni grad turskoga cara", 157 – 199.
[392] Veinstein. "Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha" in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition* , October 28, 2022. https://0-referenceworks-brillonline-com.seyhan.library.boun.edu.tr/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sokollu-mehmed-pasha-SIM_7090?s.num=10; Altınay. *Sokollu*.
[393] Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan*, 331 – 368.
[394] VGMA, nr. 572, fols. 31, 34 – 35; Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan*, 348 – 355.

Millet Kütüphanesi, it is written that he favored the town of Bergos, located between Istanbul and Edirne, and completely reconstructed and prospered the town with the complex he had built here.[395] This town-scale complex was consisting of a mosque, madrasa, primary school, double-bath, double-caravanserai, soup kitchen, waterways, an aqueduct, a *su terazisi*, fountains, sewer, lead-covered *arasta* (row of shops) with 53 masonry shops, hospice, a *şiruganhâne* (sesame oil producing facility), a *serhâne* (shop selling head and trotters of an animal), a *bezirhâne* (linseed oil producing facility), a *şemhâne* (candle producing facility), a *sabunhâne* (soap producing facility), three tanneries, a haystack, a hay barn, two houses for the trustee, two houses for the madrasa professor, two houses for the imam, two houses for the preacher, four houses for the muezzins, and two houses for the repairers in the old neighborhood. (Fig. 75) Total of 101 people were employed for the foundation in the town excluding shopkeepers and madrasa students.

Great organization was required for this large-scale construction, which began around 1565. In an imperial decree, it was ordered to the qadi of Pınarhisar to send the timber required for the caravanserai that Mehmed Pasha intended to build in Bergos.[396] In another decree dates from 1568, the qadi of Skopje was asked to record the names of 70 carpenter masters and send them immediately before the construction season starts for the mosque of Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha which would be built in Bergos. In the decree it is stated that all the food and beverage expenses of these carpenters will be fully covered. In addition to that, 60 workers from Thessaloniki, 100 from

[395] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 511.
[396] *5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973 / 1565 – 1566)*, 94.

Edirne, 40 from Lesbos, 40 from Serres, 30 from Gallipoli and 100 from another town (illegible in the document) were requested.[397]

Again from 1568, the qadis of Çorlu, Silivri and Rodoscuk were asked to send qualified builders together with construction tools for the *imaret* of Mehmed Pasha in Bergos and to provide construction materials such as timber. It was underlined that this issue was important and should not be delayed.[398] In another decree from 1568, adequate number of carriages were ordered to be provided from qadis Sofia, Samokov, Kyustendil, Radomir and Dupnitsa to carry to the lead in Sofia to Bergos, which was bought for the waqf of Mehmed Pasha. It is emphasized that this matter is important and should not be neglected.[399] While the construction was underway in 1568, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha renounced his lands in the Delvine sanjak in Albania for the *imaret* which was being built in Bergos, and the lands in the townships (*nâhiye*) of Hatunili, Pınarhisar, Bergos, and Babaeski of Vize sanjak were entrusted to his waqf.[400] Since Mehmed Pasha had founded a huge waqf in Bergos, he must have considered it appropriate to entrust the villages near Bergos to his waqf in order to facilitate the works of the foundation and the trustee.

The order of these decrees may indicate the construction sequence of the buildings that made up the complex, it should not be overlooked that the structures in such complexes consisting of multifunctional buildings were named interchangeably both in waqfiyyas and in other archival documents. Terms such as soup kitchen, caravanserai, inn, stable, hospice, and guestroom were often used interchangeably to describe such buildings.

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[397] *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975 - 976 / 1567 – 1569),* Vol. 1, 319-320.
[398] *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975 - 976 / 1567 – 1569),* Vol. 2, 286-287.
[399] Ibid, 381.
[400] *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975 - 976 / 1567 – 1569),* Vol. 3, 344.

Pigafetta reports that when he arrived in Bergos in 1568, 200 chained Christian slaves were working to complete the construction. The traveler, who witnessed the stones and marbles being transported, states that, in order not to cause trouble for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, the pasha had built another road for the sultan to pass on his way to Edirne so that the stones and construction materials carried on the road would not hinder the sultan or cause him to envy. He writes that there were shops on the Edirne - Istanbul road between the big and beautiful caravanserai and the mosque.[401] When Pigafetta passed through here, the complex must have been largely completed, as he saw the caravanserai, mosque, and shops.

In a decree from, 1568, the qadi of Pınarhisar was ordered to promulgate in the villages and towns of the *kaza* of Pınarhisar that the taxes of *avarız*, *nüzul* and *tekalif-i örfiyye* from people living in the town of Bergos would not be levied. [402] It was important to flourish the town of Bergos and for that both inhabitants of the town of Bergos, and anyone who settled and contributed to the development of the town were exempt from these taxes which would have encouraged people to come and make the town prosperous.

The construction of the complex was started in 1565 when Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was promoted to grand vizierate, and was completed in 977 AH / 1569-1570 AD according to inscriptions. The architect of the complex is Sinan. It is written that the mosque, madrasa, and soup kitchen in *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin,* and the mosque, soup kitchen, and caravanserai in *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* were built by Sinan.[403] While the former omits the caravanserai, the latter omits the madrasa. On the other hand the

[401] Pigafetta. "Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil'huomo vicentino", 70 – 194.
[402] *7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975 - 976 / 1567 – 1569),* Vol. 3, 190.
[403] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 79, 83, 106, 109, 110.

palace, baths, and elementary school are not mentioned in both texts. Aptullah Kuran interprets this as Sinan's disregard for the elementary school buildings.[404] In the Edirne *evkaf* tahriri register of 1569 there is a stipulation about the transfer of the leftover materials from Mehmed Pasha's foundations in Edirne to his foundation in Bergos.[405]

Covering an area of approximately 40,000 square meters, the complex is striking with its axial and symmetrical layout. While the mosque forms an axis with the elementary school in the direction of the qibla wall and the prayer dome connecting the *arasta* and the caravanserai with the mosque courtyard, the *arasta* bazaar on the other axis forms the other axis of the complex and separates the religious part in the southeast part of the complex and the profane part in the northwest. The symmetrical and axial arrangement of complexes, which started with the complex of Mehmed II in Istanbul, continued in the age of Sinan as long as the topography and urban fabric were allowing. Unsurprisignly, the complex was built outside the city walls. The tomb of Zindan Baba in the vicinity of the complex was probably a former bastion of the city walls. The complex in Bergos, might have given an extremely high level of freedom to Sinan since there was no urban fabric restricting the construction area and the flat topography of Thrace allowed the architect to organize the arrangement of the complex with no topographical hardships. This symmetrical and axial plan of the complex may show us the imagination of the ideal microcosm and the program of Ottoman urbanization. Even the orderly and neat layout of the complex is praised in the waqfiyya, and the town-scale complex is likened to the Pleiades.[406]

[404] Kuran. "Üsküdar'da Mihrimah Sultan Külliyesi". 43-72.
[405] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 509.
[406] Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan*, 352.

The mosque, which forms the heart of the complex, is particularly impressive with its exterior design and plasticity. (Fig. 76) The most striking exterior feature of the square-planned mosque is the sixteen-sided weight turrets on each corner and load-bearing stepped arches. It is also striking with the dimensions of the mosque. The dome, which has 12.5 meters diameter and sits on an dodecagonal drum, is slightly smaller than the dome of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Kadırgalimanı whose diameter stretches 13 meters. It is larger than the other Sokollu Mehmed Pasha mosque in the capital which is in Azapkapı and the other mosques in the *menzil* complexes of Havsa and Payas. Such striking and tall weight turrets, reaching up almost to the height of the dome, are not only to be found in other Sokollu complexes, but also in any Sinan mosques. These weight turrets, together with the central dome, add dynamic effect to the mosque's covering system. The square-planned cubic structure with a single minaret, and the weight turrets at its corners is a reminiscent of Mihrimah Mosque in Edirnekapı, but such tall weight turrets are extraordinary here in Bergos. When we look at these weight turrets from the architectonic perspective, they are for stopping the horizontal thrust coming from the great dome with vertical forces. The pressure from the dome to the stepped arches changes direction by 90 degrees and is directed downwards. Both stepped arches and weight turrets are also Sinan's innovation in Ottoman architecture. The absence of such tall weight turrets among Sinan's mosques may have been a *capriccio* of Sinan in Bergos, or external factors such as the soft soil while excavating for the foundation and the earthquake risk may have influenced the construction of such high weight towers. Like all the towns on the Edirne – Istanbul road, the ground of Bergos is soft and sandy and therefore poses a risk for earthquakes. For example, when we look at the two mosques built by Sokollu in Istanbul, we see that the pressure from the main dome is distributed by the exedral semi-domes. The

fact that there are no supporting elements such as semi-domes or exedrae for the dome in Bergos, which is larger than the dome in Azapkapı and almost the same size as the mosque in Kadırgalimanı, may explain the existence of these tall weight turrets. Moreover, Aptullah Kuran wrote that Sinan always proposed simple solutions for the buildings of which he cannot always supervise the construction processes in provincial areas.[407] Thick walls or high weight turrets can be considered among such solutions.

In the interior, galleries with arcades opening on both sides and recessed walls emphasize the arches carrying the main dome, that is, the skeletal structure of the mosque. (Fig. 77) There is a maqsura made of marble right at the entrance. Despite the magnificent exterior of the mosque and double porticoes, the interior of the mosque is not very spacious and the maqsura occupies a significant portion of it. Along with the maqsura, minbar and mihrab are made of marble. Despite its distant structural resemblance to the Mihrimah Mosque in Edirnekapı, the interior of the mosque in Lüleburgaz is not as luminous as the mosque in Edirnekapı since it has fewer windows than Mihrimah Mosque has. Also, the dome is not fenestrated like many other Sinan mosques. The position of some of the round windows on the walls of the mosque is flawed. Necipoğlu interprets this as the fault of the local masters.[408] The interior decoration is very plain and there are no Iznik tiles adorning the mosque. The double-arcaded portico with nine bays are larger than the other two complexes of Mehmed Pasha and also have more bays than the other double arcaded mosque built by Sinan for the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha in Tahtakale. While the outer row of the portico is carried with columns with *müstevî* capitals alongside the arcades surrounding the courtyard, the capitals in the inner row are in more elaborate *mücevherî* style. (Fig. 78)

[407] Kuran. Sinan, 78.
[408] Gülru Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan*, 354.

The ablution fountain at the center of the courtyard was renovated during the reign of Mahmud II and it has the *tughra* (insignia) of Mahmud II. (Fig. 79) The dodecagonal ablution fountain with undulating baroque eaves with flowers in vases above arches are reflecting aesthethic tastes of that period. However, the original fountain stands under the undulating wooden eaves. Muqarnas *mücevherî* column capitals carrying alternating voussoirs are connecting pointed arches of the marble fountain. The courtyard, in which the fountain formed the center, should have been like a garden. Lubenau mentions mulberry and chestnut trees in the courtyard, around the fountain.[409] Evliya Çelebi also writes that there were cypress and chestnut trees in the courtyard.[410]

The 22-celled madrasa surrounds the arcades of the courtyard of the mosque. Square-planned and domed madrasa cells are located behind the courtyard arcades. (Fig. 80) Madrasas of this kind of plans in the courtyard of the mosques were usually planned in a U-Shape. In Kadırga complex of Mehmed Pasha, and as in many Sinan complexes, the madrasa classroom is located at the center and cells are flanking the madrasa symmetrically, while in Bergos it is unusually positioned at the right end of the U. Ahunbay states that the only other example of this case is in Hüsrev Pasha Complex in Van.[411] Because of the prayer dome connecting the courtyard of the mosque with secular part of the complex, the madrasa could not be located at the center.[412] In addition, it is the only madrasa classroom builty by Sinan with three windows on both storeys.[413] (Fig. 81) The other madrasas have less windows. Even the madrasa of Kadırga complex in the capital is made of mixed material of stone and

[409] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi: Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589*, 156.
[410] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 168.
[411] Ahunbay. "Mimar Sinan'ın Eğitim Yapıları: Medreseler, Darülkurralar, Mektepler", 239 – 309.
[412] Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan*, 353.
[413] Ahunbay. "Mimar Sinan'ın Eğitim Yapıları: Medreseler, Darülkurralar, Mektepler", 239 – 309.

brick, the fact that the complex in Bergos is made entirely of ashlar shows the special importance and expenditure given to the complex here. This could be interpreted as a sign of the great importance attributed to the madrasa in the waqfiyya document. The significance of the madrasa can be interpreted as an indication of the initiative of the complex, not as an average *menzil* complex designed just for stopovers, but as an attempt to establish a city, which also includes a major education center. Although Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's madrasa in Bergos is not mentioned in the *ruznâme* of the madrasas in Rumelia from the mid-17th century, we see from the waqfiyya that the madrasa belonged to the group of forties. From 994 AH /1586-7 AD it was promoted to the group of fifties.[414]

The elementary school, which is the southernmost building on the axis of the mihrab behind the mosque, has a square plan. Unlike the mosque and madrasa made of ashlar, the elementary school was built with alternating brick and stone layers which implies the hierarchy between these buildings. There is a small, square-planned, and domed porch reached by two 9-stop symmetrical stairs in front of the cubic school with a square plan and a dome. (Fig. 82) Another example of similar placement of elementary school in Sinan's complexes is Nurbanu Sultan Complex in Üsküdar, where the elementary school is behind the mosque on the axis of the mihrab. The spatial organization of the Nurbanu Sultan complex in Üsküdar is similar to the complex in Bergos in terms of its symmetry, and it can be interpreted as the first *menzil* complex on the road to Anatolia.

The double-bath is located in the north of the mosque. (Fig. 83) On the way from Istanbul to Edirne, the Istanbul-Edirne road used to pass between the courtyard

[414] Baltacı. *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı Medreseleri*, 690.

walls of the mosque and the bath, then turn left and pass through the *arasta* bazaar. There were also many shops adjacent to and around the bath. Among these, the sesame oil workshop, *serhâne*, *bezirhâne*, haystack, grass barn are among the ones mentioned in the waqfiyya.

Outside the wall surrounding the mosque, its courtyard and garden, in the southwestern part, located symmetrically with the bath, there were the residences of the mosque's imam, muezzins, preachers, and madrasa professors. These houses had courtyards, gardens, water wells, fountains, cellars, barns, ovens, and toilets. The shops that make up the *arasta* were lined up on both sides of the Edirne - Istanbul road, adjacent to the madrasa and the caravanserai walls. (Fig. 84, 85) The shops were made of stone and covered with lead, as were the other structures of the complex. Six of the 53 shops mentioned in the waqfiyya were on the right side of the madrasa, six on the left side, eighteen were adjacent to the caravanserai, twelve were adjacent to the imams and muezzin houses, and eleven were around the hamam. Evliya Çelebi writes that the rows of shops continued until the bridge at the Edirne side of the city.[415] In the waqfiyya, it is written that a *şemhane*, *sabunhane* and three tanneries were endowed on the bridge side.

At the point where the *arasta* axis intersects with the school, mosque, fountain and caravanserai axis, there is an architectural element called *dua kubbesi* (prayer dome). This prayer dome is one of the conspicious elements of the three Sokollu complexes in Ottoman architecture which is also found in Havsa and Payas. The prayer dome placed above an octagonal drum is located on the Edirne – Istanbul road, which was passing between the secular and religious parts of the complex and continuing

[415] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 169.

towards the stone bridge built by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. The prayer dome is exactly at the point where the two axes are crossing each other at an angle of 90 degrees. The prayer dome connecting the religious part of the complex and the secular part of the complex had a symbolic significance for the townspeople. Gerlach writes that people in were playing drums under the dome every morning.[416] However, Gerlach may be referring to the drums that Evliya Çelebi mentioned, played when the doors of the caravanserai were closed at night and opened in the morning.[417] Sedat Çetintaş and Oktay Aslanapa describe this place as a *nikâh kubbesi* (wedding dome).[418] Oktay Aslanapa also writes that in the local tradition of Bergos, weddings ceremonies were held here. This shows us that these complexes were both commercial centers with *arasta* shops and religious-ritualistic centers of the towns where they were located. In the 16th century, this architectural element with high spiritual value, which emerged within the *menzil* complexes built by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, may be related to a kind of artisan or guild tradition, and in some sources it is interpreted as a continuation of the tradition of Ahi organization and *futuwwa*.[419] A prayer dome was added by architect Davud Ağa to the arasta shops of Selimiye Complex in Edirne, during the reign of Murad III. However, after the 16th century, this architectural tradition did not continue.

This monumental dome is reminiscent of a tetrapylon with its doors opening to four sides. In particular, the similarity between both the spatial layout of the complex and the location of the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki and the Rotunda are striking. This spatial similarity, located on the *Orta Kol*, the main road of the Ottoman Empire,

[416] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 826.
[417] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 169.
[418] CA.30-10-0-0.213.446.4; Aslanapa. *Mimar Sinan*, 64.
[419] Çobanoğlu. "Dua Kubbesi." TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi. September 3, 2022. https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/dua-kubbesi.

and the main road of the Roman and Byzantine Empire, Via Militaris, raises the possibility of establishing a relationship about the Ottoman Empire and its predecessors in the lands of Rum. The reconstruction of this 4th-century complex from late antique Thessaloniki and the axis resemblance between the prayer dome in Bergos and the mosque makes it possible to make some interpretations between Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Thessaloniki.[420] (Fig. 86, 87, 88) When Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was alive, the Rotunda had not yet been converted into a mosque. If Mehmed Pasha was in Thessaloniki at some point in his life, he might have seen the spatial organization here and requested it from Sinan, because Sinan did not employ the element of prayer dome in the complexes he had designed except for Mehmed Pasha's complexes. Mehmed Pasha had waqfs within the borders of the province (*liva*) of Thessaloniki. In addition, the major part of the waqfs of Hüsrev Kethüda (d. 1602-3), who was the *kethüda* (assistant) of Mehmed Pasha, was in Thessaloniki.[421] These two waqfs might give us a hint about the possible relationship between Thessaloniki and Mehmed Pasha's three complexes with prayer domes. However, it should not be overlooked that one of the major influence of the aesthetic taste on the Ottoman art and architecture was the Persian culture. These monumental domes rising above four arches might have been influenced by the *chahartaq* of Perisan origin.[422]

The caravanserai and the *imaret* were reached either from the main road, or by passing from the mosque courtyard to the opposite side of the prayer dome. Only a part of the walls of the caravanserai and soup kitchen, which was demolished in 1935 to build a new square in the town, survives today. (Fig. 89) Today, hearth niches are

[420] Ćurčić. *Architecture in the Balkans*,, 18-22; Ćurčić. "Late Antique Palaces: The Meaning of Urban Context", 67 – 90.
[421] Kaçan Erdoğan. "Hüsrev Kethüda Vakfı ve Selanik'teki Gelir Kaynakları", 65 – 83.
[422] I would like to thank Prof. Namık Günay Erkal for pointing out *chahartaq* to me.

visible on the remaining wall. The caravanserai and the soup kitchen were adjacent to each other. Another waqfiyya of Mehmed Pasha contains some brief details about the caravanserai. In the other waqfiyya, it is written that the soup kitchen had seven interior compartments (*yedi bab enderuni*) and six outer compartments (*altı bab biruni).* Apart from this, it is written that a double caravanserai with 32 hearths was built.[423] There was a fountain in the middle of the double caravanserai, and people and animals were staying in separate places.[424] (Fig. 90, 91, 92) Covel also writes that this cloistered caravanserai was very stately and reports that it had the capacity to take 1000 passengers with their animals.[425] Evliya Çelebi states that the caravanserai had 150 hearths, with interior, exterior, and harem parts.[426] Heinrichs von Liechtenstein writes that the best caravanserai they stayed until they came to Istanbul from Vienna was in Bergos and records that this was the *zierlicher* (more elegant) and an exquisite caravanserai.[427] Likening the layout to that of Havsa, Steinach notes that everything was comfortable and clean here.[428] Contarini, on the other hand, writes that this place had a total of 48 people with 24 places in each caravanserai. Perhaps Contarini was referring to the part of the caravanserai reserved for private passengers. According to Contarini, the caravanserai had four gates. Two of them were used for entry and exit from the caravanserai, one for women, and one for soup kitchen.[429] The double caravanserais were built symmetrically and both had courtyards and porticoes. (Fig. 92)

[423] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 511.
[424] Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 47.
[425] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant: I*, 184.
[426] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 169.
[427] Besolt. "Deß Wolgebornen Herrn/ Heinrichs Herrn von Liechtenstein/ von Nicolspurg/ u. Röm. Keys. Maiest. Abgesandten/u. Reyß auff Constantinopol/ im 1584. Jar/ beschrieben durch Melchior Besolt" 515 – 531.
[428] Von Steinach. "Wolf Andreas' von Steinach Edelknabenfahrt nach Constantinopel (1583)", 193 – 234.
[429] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 36-37.

The tower at the entrance of the caravanserai is known as the Zindan Baba Tomb today, but there is no information about the identity of the person buried in the tomb. The square-planned tower was built with alternating layers of stone and brick. (Fig. 93) There are remains of a wall on both sides of the tower, indicating that it was previously attached to a building or wall. This tower might be the former bastion of the Bergos Walls, but the hypothethic plan of the walls does not exactly match the location of the tower. Unfortunately, we do not know how long the tower has existed and used as a tomb. The tomb inside the tower is located in the basement floor, and it is written in the basement floor that the structure might have been built during the reign of Mehmed I, but there is no document to prove this. The tower may also be used by the trustee of the waqf, as it is written in the foundation charter that a house with a tower was built for the trustee. Another possibility is that this tower was used as a watchtower by the *didebânan* (guards) of the caravanserai.

A palace was also built in the complex for the people of the palace to stay on their journey from Istanbul to Edirne. Although this palace is not stated in the waqfiyya in the Archives of the General Directorate of Foundations, the waqfiyya of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi contains a part about the palace. It is written in this waqfiyya that the pasha had a *sarây-ı dilâra* built for the sultan to stay during his travels to Edirne from Istanbul.[430] This palace was located in a separate garden. The palace was a structure with a large roof and porticoes surrounding on all sides with a fountain, and there was also a pond with fish in its garden. This special palace had a bath made of marble in its garden.[431] The palace and its porticoes were on a raised platform with a few steps, and its roof was covered with lead like the other

[430] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 511.
[431] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi: Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589*, 156-157.

structures of the complex. There were vivid hand-drawn paintings on the ceilings of the rooms, and water was brought into the rooms with fountains. Fresne-Canaye writes that it had more than eight rooms, but according to Soranzo's anonymous scribe, it was a four-room palace.[432]

The fact that many people are working in this large complex, and the presence of palaces, ablution fountain, other fountains, and baths suggests that an important waterway network was built in the town, which looked like a small village before. It is written in the waqfiyya that the pasha, by collecting the water of the Büyük Kaynarca and Küçük Kaynarca springs, revitalized the rose gardens of the city with the beautiful waters. The waterway consisted of pipes, a bridge, and an aqueduct. The water coming from these springs was gathered at one place, it was brought from a distance of 520 cubits to the aqueduct, 40 cubits above the aqueduct, and from a distance of 5700 cubits from the aqueduct to the *su terazisi* built around the *muallimhâne* (elementary school). Elementary school was also the point of distribution. In the waqfiyya, it is written that the some part of the water was given of to the bath, some to the fountain in the courtyard of the mosque and the madrasa, some to the pool behind the mihrab, some to the fountain in the soup kitchen, and some to the hospices. In order for these waters to flow away after they were used, pasha commissioned an underground sewer at a distance of a thousand cubits passing from the old bazaar to the bridge. As can be seen in the waqfiyya, a long waterway including aqueducts, bridges, and *su terazisi*, and a sewer network system were also built. Three *su yolcu* were also employed to repair and keep the waterways functioning. Mehmed Pasha attached a great importance in the construction of waterways to bring waters to the town.

[432] Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 47; *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo*, 57.

Kaynarca, on the foothills of the Strandzha Mountains, is an important source of water for Eastern Thrace. The area is famous for its beautiful and fresh waters, about which Evliya Çelebi narrates folk legends and these legends survived to the present day oral tradition.[433] Constantin Jireček writes that the water coming out of the spring in Kaynarca was praised by the Persian king Darius and a column with an inscription in Persian language was erected here.[434] The Ottomans probably valued the water coming out of this source. According to what Sedat Çetintaş wrote, these waterways were wide enough for a person to fit inside. The waterways were coming from under the ground with pipes and Sinan crossed these pipes via a bridge at the place that coincided with the stream and brought them to the town. Çetintaş writes that in recent years, the pipes have been dismantled because they were out of use, and the bridge has also been removed.[435] The stream during the early modern Ottoman period was probably known as the Çeltük River. In a decree dated 1581 sent to the qadi of Bergos, it was ordered that the agriculture around Çeltük River be prohibited between the springs of Kaynarca to Bergos in order not to cause damage to waterways.[436]

In addition, as can be seen in other parts of the waqfiyya, Mehmed Pasha owned so much of the town that Bergos became a waqf-town. The pasha's waqf was funding the repair of the town's roads with the *kaldırımcı* he employed, and from the surplus revenues of the waqf, he transferred a budget to the employees of the Gâzi Ali Bey Mosque and the needs of the mosque. It was also among the stipulations of the waqf to build a masjid from the waqf's budget in case of a need in the town.[437] It is written in Mehmed Pasha's waqfiyya that the pasha had this complex built with his

[433] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 227.
[434] Jireček. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad Nach Constantinopel und Die Balkanpässe*, 49.
[435] Çetintaş. "Kör Kazma", 13-19.
[436] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.42.790
[437] BOA.C.EV.318.16192; AE.SSLM.III.310.18080

total attention and consideration for the repair and making prosperous of Bergos. It is seen in the waqfiyya documents of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha how a small town Bergos was built from the scratch and praised later travelers, diplomats and passerbys. French diplomat Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, who came to Istanbul via Edirne in February 1573, briefly mentions the caravanserai in Havsa and praises the caravanserai in Bergos with great enthusiasm. Recording the complex in Bergos as a proof of the wealth of Mehmed Pasha, Fresne-Canaye writes that he created this deserted town from scratch with his own financial power.[438] Such a great complex built in Bergos had changed the fate of this small town and initiated the birth of a city that developed around this complex. The reason why such an architectural venture changed the fate of Bergos is that the town was located between the two capitals of the Ottoman Empire that are Edirne and Istanbul, rather than on the main route leading to Europe. Pasha had stipulated that new inns should not be built in Bergos and Havsa so that his waqf would not be harmed financially, and he wanted the arrivals to stay in his own caravanserai.

Other inns must have been built in Bergos in the second half of the 18th century, and this must have led to a decrease in the number of travelers to Mehmed Pasha's complex. In a document dated 1780, it was ordered that the passengers should not be lodged in other inns in the town and should be directed to the grand inn belonging to Mehmed Pasha's waqf.[439] In 1801, in a request written by Hanzâde Halil, a descendant of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and the trustee of the waqf, in accordance with the stipulations of the waqf, it was requested that the later inns be demolished. The edict was also renewed again in two years.[440] Not only the inns, but also the new shops built

[438] Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 47.
[439] BOA.C.BLD.70.34939
[440] BOA.C.BLD.122.6061; BOA.C.BLD.45.2200

in the town's bazaar were ordered to be demolished in 1713, as it would harm the waqf financially.[441]

Thanks to the large number and variety of shops mentioned in the waqfiyya, the town's economy revived very quickly. We can assume that the opening of many shops and tax exemptions had immediate effects. Soranzo's scribe writes that many people come to work in the shops in town.[442] While Bergos was a 10-asper-town in 1521, it was recorded as 20-asper-town together with Pınarhisar in 1530. The town became a 50-asper-town when the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex was just built or not long after its completion. With the completion of the complex, the town had become both a major economic and educational center and had grown tremendously, and in the mid-17th century it became a 200-asper-town.[443] Covel, who defines Bergos as a pretty large market town, says that very high quality tobacco-pipes are produced in the *arasta* bazaar here which is also self-explanatory about the origin of the town's modern name that is Lüleburgaz. This field of professional expertise must have been nascent at the time of Covel's visit since travelers before Covel did not mention a specialization on tobacco-pipe production in the town. Mehmed Pasha's *arasta,* which housed a large number of shops, offered the opportunity to the artisans of the town to exhibit their crafts and sell their products to passers-by.

Mehmed IV, who spent most of his reign in Edirne, had a monumental square fountain built in Bergos. The square-planned fountain measures approximately 4 meters by 4 meters. The fountain is built of cut stone and has a lead-covered hipped roof. (Fig. 94) There are taps and inscriptions two sides of the fountain. According to

[441] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.121.499
[442] *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo, ,* 57.
[443] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I* >, 68; Kuru. "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Rumeli Kadılıkları", 261 – 294.

its inscription, the fountain was built in 1078 AH / 1667-1668. It is possible to interpret the free-standing monumental square fountain as a prototype of the square fountains, many examples of which were built in Istanbul in the 18th century. Mehmed IV's fountain was located in the northeast of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha complex, within the borders of *Mahalle-i Cedid* (the new neighborhood). Waterways were also built for the fountain and a *su yolcu* was employed.[444] *Mahalle-i Cedid* was the most crowded neighborhood of Bergos in the 17th and 18th centuries.[445] The fountain may have been built according to the needs of the neighborhood. Considering the Ottoman buildings in Bergos until the 18th century, the settlement grew from the south of the fortress walls to the northeast progressively, drawing a southwest-northeast axis parallel to the walls. Gâzi Ali Bey Mosque, Hüseyin Bey Masjid, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex, and Mehmed IV Fountain form a line.

As a result, the town of Bergos, located in the heart of Eastern Thrace, had a history showing parallelism with Çorlu after it was captured by the Ottomans. The town walls were destroyed and the Ottomans settled outside the city walls in Bergos as they did in Çorlu. The economy of the town was based on agriculture and livestock like Çorlu, but unlike Çorlu's large bazaars in few spots, the bazaar of Bergos was within the very neatly organized Sokollu Mehmed Pasha complex. The town also hosted a fair, which was the meeting point of the neighboring villages and towns. This was probably the largest fair held between Edirne and Istanbul in the early modern period. Thus, Bergos formed the center of a rural network. The town, which had the appearance of a village until the complex of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was built, turned into an inviting center that attracted people from the surrounding settlements with tax

[444] BOA.AE.SAMD.III.208.20073; BOA.C.BLD.21.1013; BOA.İE.EV.29.3375; BOA.İE.TCT.11.1286; BOA.İE.EV.24.2870
[445] Gökpınar. "1712 Tarihli Avârız Defterine Göre Bergos (Lüleburgaz) Kazası", 63-98.

exemptions and trade opportunities. This large complex, which had both urban and intercity features, represented an ideal Ottoman town with its regular spatial arrangement.[446] The complex housed most buildings that could meet the needs of the town, but preventing the construction of other inns that could compete with it may have restricted the town's growth. The only building that was built in the 17th century and survived to the present day was the square fountain of Mehmed IV. In this context, considering the periods when similar types of buildings were commissioned, Bergos and Çorlu again show another parallelism.



Figure 73. Gazi Ali Bey Mosque in Bergos lacking three-bay portico. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022

[446] Kuran. *Sinan*, 81.



Figure 74. View of Bergos towards the bridge from the minaret of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque. 19th c. photo from Abdulhamid II's album. Source: İÜMK, 90418

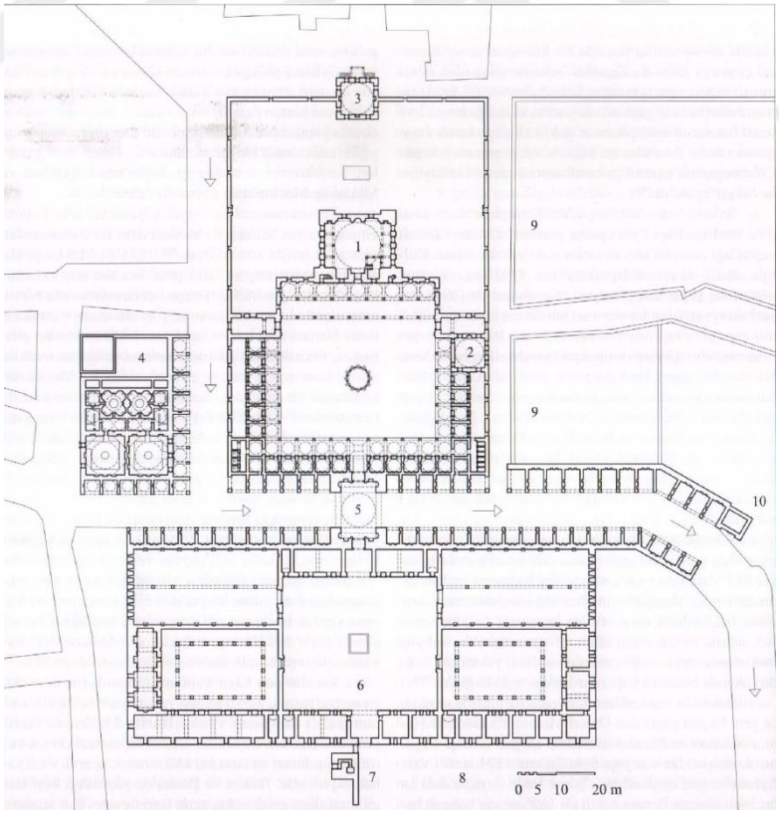


Figure 75. Plan of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex in Bergos by Arben N. Arapi. 1) Mosque, 2) Madrasa, 3) Elementary school, 4) Double-bath, 5) Prayer dome, 6) Caravanserai, 7) Zindan Baba Tomb, 8) Hypothetical location of the palace, 9) Residences of i of imam, muezzins, and madrasa professor



Figure 76. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Bergos. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021

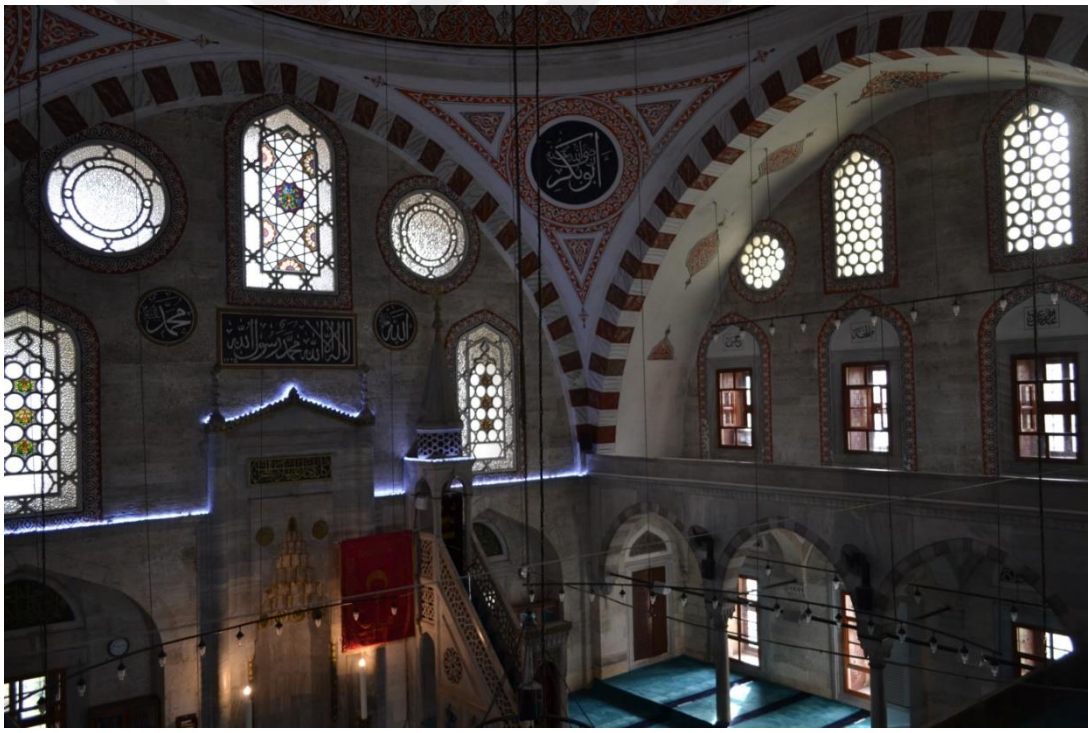


Figure 77. Interior of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Bergos from upper galleries. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 78. View of the double-portico of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Bergos. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 79. Fountain of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Bergos with baroque eaves. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 80. Madrasa cells surrounding the arcaded courtyard. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 81. Classroom of the madrasa with three windows on both storeys. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 82. Elementary school of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex in Bergos. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022



Figure 83. Double-bath in Bergos surrounded by shops. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 84. Arasta bazaar with prayer dome. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 85. Colored lithograph of arasta bazaar with prayer dome from the late 18th century by Luigi Mayer



Figure 86. Reconstruction of the Arch of Galerius and Rotunda in Thessaloniki. Retrieved from: http://galeriuspalace.culture.gr/en/monuments/kamara/

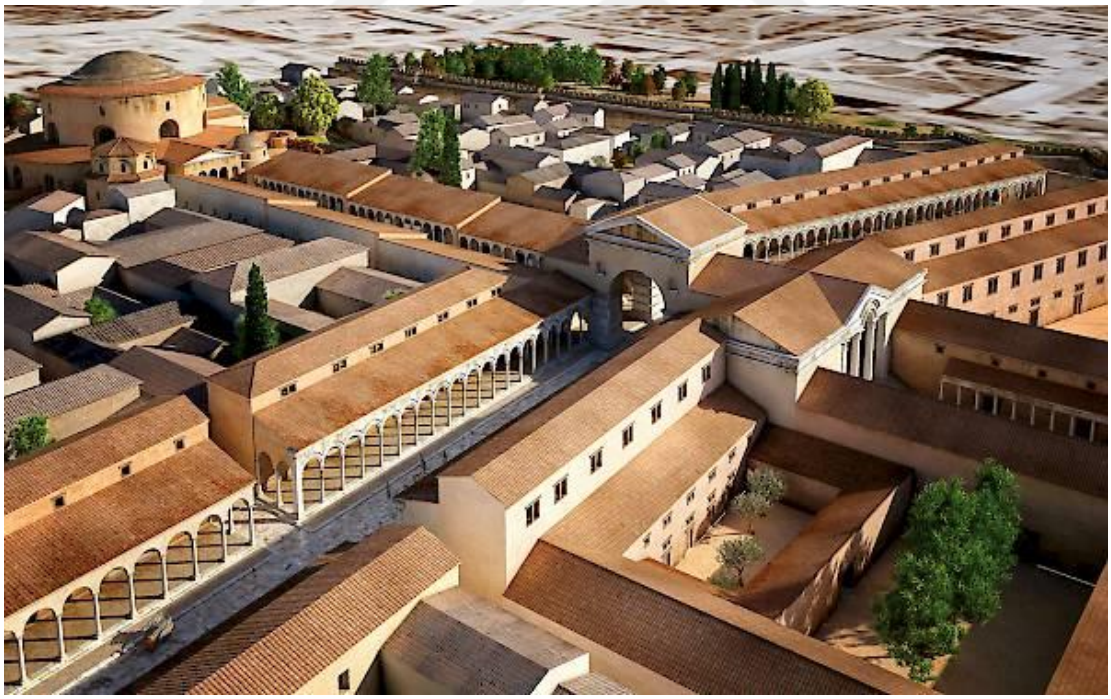


Figure 87. Reconstruction of the Arch of Galerius and Rotunda. Retrieved from: http://galeriuspalace.culture.gr/en/monuments/kamara/

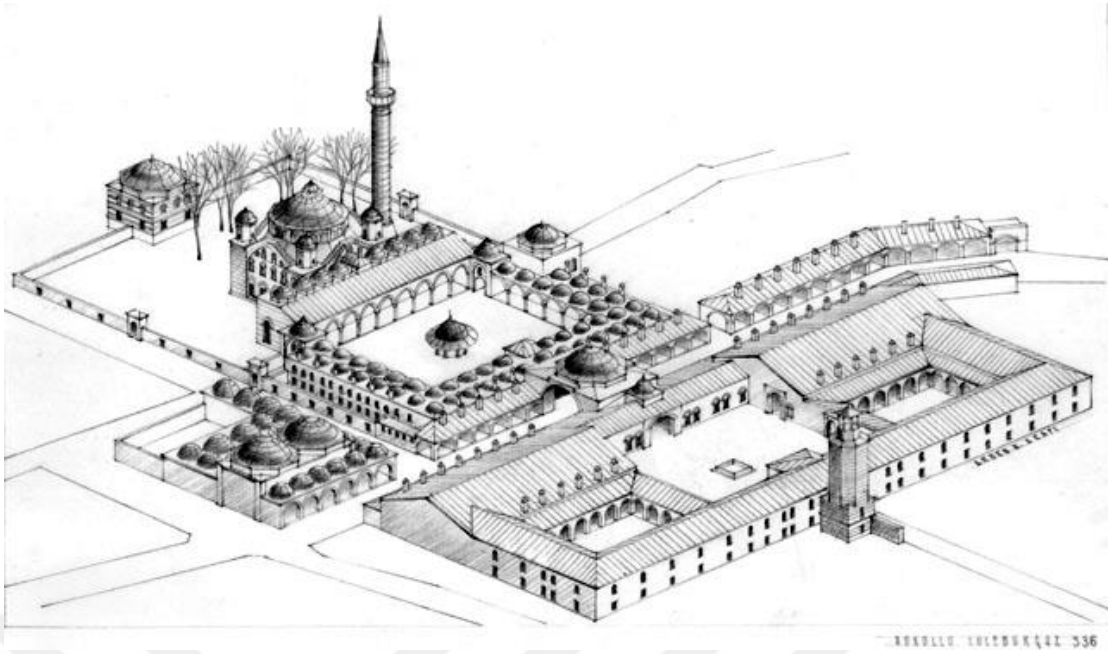


Figure 88. Axonometric perspective of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex in Bergos by Arben N. Arapi



Figure 89. Remaining wall of the caravanserai with hearths and niches. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 90. Colored lithograph of the caravanserai in Bergos from the late 17th c. by Luigi Mayer



Figure 91. 19th c. photo from Abdulhamid II's album showing the courtyard of the caravanserai with fountain at the center and Zindan Baba Tomb in the background. Source: İÜMK, 90418



Figure 92. 19th c. photo from Abdulhamid II's album showing the aerial view of the caravanserai in Bergos. Source: İÜMK, 90418



Figure 93. Zindan Baba Tomb in Bergos. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2021



Figure 94. Fountain of Mehmed IV in Bergos. Photo by Can Bozkır, November, 2022

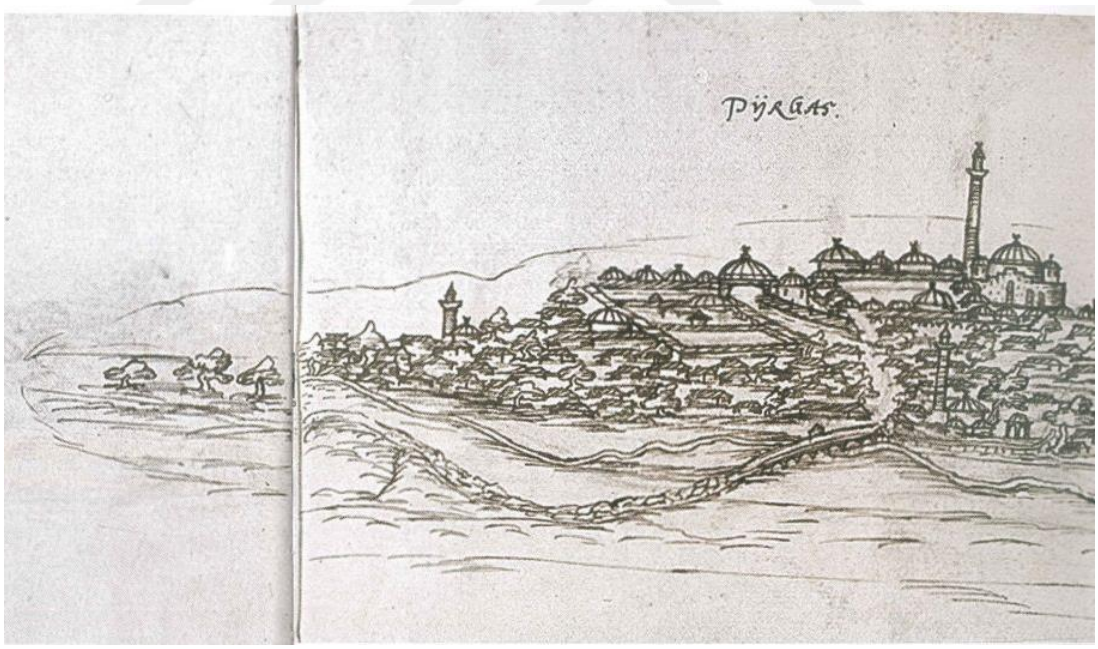


Figure 95. View of Bergos from the second half of the 16th century from *Leiden Sketchbook.* Source: Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople*, 72 – 73.

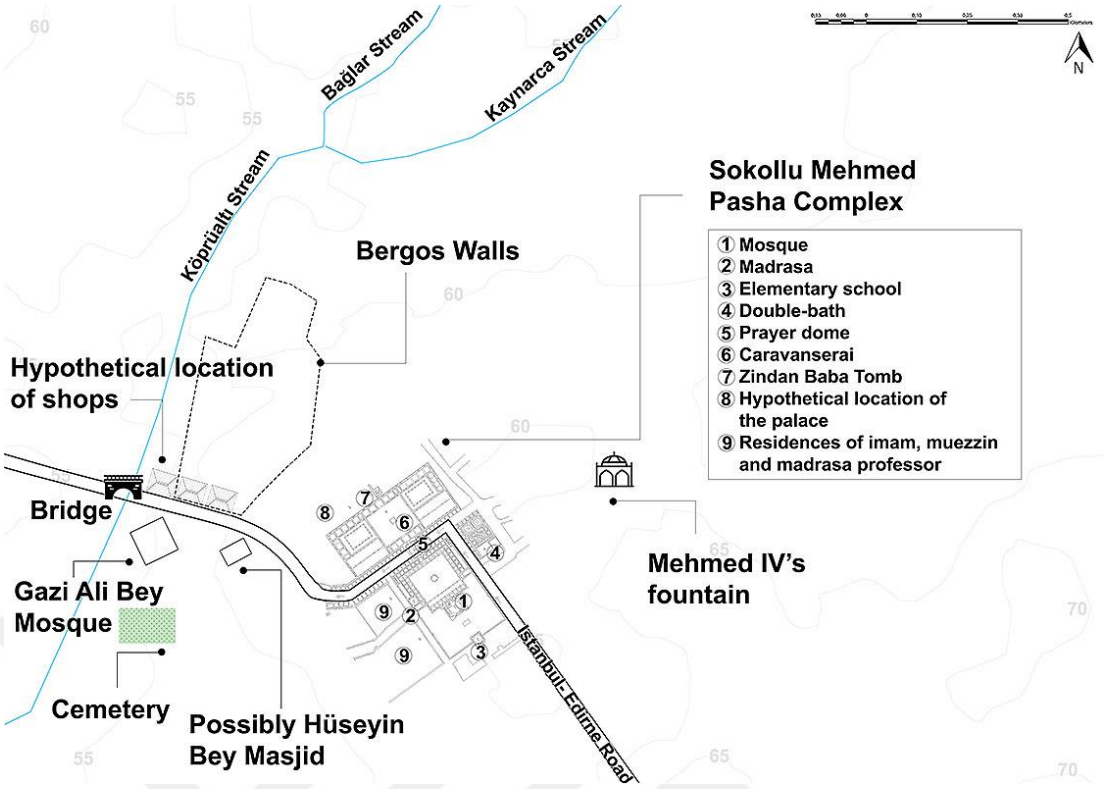


Figure 96. Map of the Ottoman buildings in Bergos before the 18th c.

4.6 Babaeski

In this chapter, the Ottoman urban history of the small town of Babaeski, located between Bergos and Havsa, until the 18th century will be examined. After a brief reference to the geographical features and the economic activities of the town, the main structures of the town in the early modern period, Sarı Saltuk Lodge, Fatih Mosque, Semiz Ali Pasha Complex, and the 17th century square fountain will be examined.

Babaeski is located between Havsa and Bergos and is on the banks of Büyük Creek, one of the tributaries of Ergene River, originating from the heart of the Strandzha Massif. The town is on the west side of the Büyük Creek, and the creek was probably drawing the eastern border of the town during the Ottoman period. Since the town was abandoned when it was taken by the Ottomans, its population consisted predominantly of Muslim Turks who settled here during the Ottoman period. In this

small town in 1530, there were 130 male adults (*neferan*) 93 households (*hane*) and 32 bachelors (*mücerred*), which makes the population of the town about 500.[447] In 1568, the population reached around 880 with 193 households and 6 bachelors in five neighborhoods in the town.[448] Ottoman documents or travelogues refer to the town as Baba-yı Atik, Danişmendeskisi, Babaeski, Babaeskisi, Eskibaba, Baba, and even sometimes Eski using all sorts of permutations for naming.

Like Çorlu and Bergos, the main source of livelihood in Babaeski was agriculture. Wheat, barley, millet and some rye were among the main grains produced. There was also beekeeping, viticulture and, market gardening in the town. While the only customs in the Sanjak of Vize was in Çorlu in 1530, another customs was recorded in Babaeski in 1568. Although the majority of the town was engaged in farming, it is possible to talk about the existence of shopkeepers who performed different professions. There were shops such as pastry shop, bakery, barber, butcher, sesame shop, grocery store, *serhane*, and *bozahane* in the town.[449]

There is a tumulus known as Höyüktepe in the Edirne direction of the town. This tumulus must have been built by the Thracians during the Roman period considering the rest of the tumuli in the Eastern Thrace. We can assume that this tumulus formed the border of the town on the Edirne side during the early modern Ottoman period. It is difficult to estimate where the fortress built by Justinian I was located today. It should probably have been located close to Höyüktepe, between Höyüktepe and the town center during the Ottoman period.[450] Evliya Çelebi writes that

[447] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I*, 68.
[448] Özdeğer. "16. Yüzyılda Vize Sancağı'nın Demografik ve Ekonomik Yapısı". 87-123.
[449] Ibid.
[450] Mucit Öztabak, local independent researcher and architect, who worked for Babaeski Municipality, claims that some traces found in the foundation excavations belong to the fortress of the town. His self-published works can be accessed at his website: http://www.mucitoztabak.com.

there was a dervish lodge and a shrine dedicated to Baba Sultan near a pile of earth on the road on the Edirne side of the town. He states that the Bektashi lodge in a rose garden had many visitors since it was located on the main road. Evliya Çelebi writes that the person buried here fought with Murad I in the conquest of Edirne in 1361.[451] Zen also saw this tomb near the tumulus and erraneously writes that the person who gave the town its name was the person buried there.

The only structure that is documented to have been built before 1453, though has not survived to the present day was the Çandarlı Halil Pasha Bath, dated to the reign of Murad II. Halil Pasha had a bath built in Babaeski for his *imaret* waqf in Iznik. Ayverdi thinks that the bath was very likely a double-bath.[452] Unfortunately, there are no travel notes or no other archival documents mentioning Çandarlı Halil Pasha's (d. 1453) bath in Babaeski which makes it impossible to determine its location. Çandarlı Halil Pasha was executed and his properties were confiscated by Mehmed II and his bath might have been ruined over the course of time and demolished soon after.

One of the oldest buildings we know in Babaeski after it was captured by the Ottomans was the Sarı Saltuk Lodge. The Byzantine Church of St. Nicholas was converted into a masjid and a lodge was built adjacent to it. This lodge was a lodge where Kalenderi dervishes lived in. In the *Velâyetnâme-i Otman Baba*, it is written that Otman Baba came to Babaeski and performed some miracles in the shrine of Sarı Saltuk.[453] It is written in the *Saltuknâme* that Sarı Saltuk had a lodge in this town. However, this is hardly possible. The lodge here should have been founded by the Kalenderis who came from the Karesi region after 1361.[454] Giovanni Maria

[451] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 264.
[452] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri: 806 – 855 (1403 – 1451)*, Vol. 2, 268.
[453] *Otman Baba Velayetnamesi (Tenkitli Metin)*, 23.
[454] Ocak. *Sarı Saltık: Popüler İslamın Balkanlar'daki Destani Öncüsü, 13. Yüzyıl*, 143.

Angiolello, who passed through Babaeski during the reign of Mehmed II, reports that a Christian saint was buried in this tomb, and that after the town was captured by the Turks, they showed great respect to this person and had a lodge built in the tomb. The *eski baba* (old father) who gave the town its name was buried here. He writes that the dervishes in the lodge were so naked that only their private parts were covered, and they were carrying horns.[455] The description of Angiolello clearly identifies the antinomian dervishes. The Venetian ambassador, Catharin Zen, who passed here in 1550, writes that the name of the town comes from the saint here.[456] On his way back to Vienna in 1578, Gerlach mentions items and symbols belonging to Kalenderi dervishes in the Church of St. Nicholas.[457] Those who founded dervish lodges here after 1361 must have been "colonizer" dervishes with "wooden swords", who crossed from Anatolia to Rumelia in the early Ottoman period and perpetuated the cult of Sarı Saltuk with their heterodox beliefs.[458] Due to the fact that the town is on the main road to Edirne and Rumelia, this lodge may have been a place where passers-by also stayed and rested in the 14th and 15th centuries. As a matter of fact, Gerlach writes that dervishes use this place as a kind of nursing home.

We do not have very detailed information about the architecture of the tomb and the lodge. Although the building is clearly visible in the townscape in *Leiden Sketchbook*, the drawing does not present much details. (Fig. 97) Pierre Lescalopier, who passed through the town in 1574, describes it as a small round chapel.[459] In a decree from 1583, it is written that a new *halvethâne* (private quarters, khalvatkhana)

[455] Reinhard. *Edition de J. –M. Angiolello (1452 -1525)*, Vol. 1, 39.
[456] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[457] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 820.
[458] For "colonizer" dervishes with "wooden swords" in the early Ottoman period see: Barkan. *Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri*.
[459] Lescalopier. "Le Voyage de Pierre Lescalopier Parisien de Venise a Constantinople, L'an 1574", 21 – 55.

and a zawiya were built on the land belonging to the Bayezid II's waqf, and apart from the existing lodge, it was ordered that the new buildings be demolished.[460] Evliya Çelebi, who passed through the town in the 1650s, also gives information about the Sarı Saltuk Tomb. He writes that Sarı Saltuk was buried in the shrine formerly known as Yanko Monastery, an old great monastery. He adds that it was located in a rose garden by the river, in the east of the town, in the vicinity of Semiz Ali Pasha Complex, and writes that the lodge was used by Bektashis.[461] John Covel also gives the same information as Evliya Çelebi. He writes that the lodge was located in the east side of town, near the bridge. He likens the building to Hagia Sophia architecturally since it had a dome on top of the tomb, writing that both Turks and Greeks were visiting the former St. Nicholas Church.[462] The elusive plan drawn by Covel also gives us information about the construction technique. The building had walls with alternating layers of mortar and brick, typical of the Byzantine architecture. Ousterhout associates the building to Nea Moni in Chios in terms of plan and interprets it as a reflection of 11th century Constantinopolitan architecture in Thrace along with the Hagia Spyridion Church in Silivri.[463] (Fig. 98) We have no information about when the lodge, which was previously owned by the Kalenderis, passed to the Bektashis. However, if we consider that Bektashis were emerged among the Kalenderis, it is plausible to assume that the lodge was used by both Kalenderis and Bektashis. This may have happened during the reign of Bayezid II, as it is stated before that the land where the lodge was located belonged to the Bayezid II's waqf. If so, this should have been done as part of an effort to keep the antinomian dervish groups under control during the reign of Bayezid II. In addition, a *ruzname* showing the rank of Rumelian madrasas mentions

[460] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.51.226
[461] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 264.
[462] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 186.
[463] Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Architecture In Thrace: The View From Constantinople", 489 – 502.

a madrasa built by Bayezid II in Babaeski.[464] Under the guise of remodeling, an intervention to the lodge may have happened here, like the madrasa built in Seyyid Battal Gazi Lodge in Eskişehir.[465] Ahmed Badi Efendi writes that this lodge was among the ones that were demolished after the *Vaka-i Hayriye* (the auspicious event) in 1826. The lodge, which was previously made of masonry, was rebuilt in wood in 1866-7 after it was demolished. The first sheikh appointed to the newly rebuilt lodge was from the Gülşeni order, and then it was used again by the Bektashis.[466] The lodge, which was destroyed by the Bulgarians during the Balkan Wars, was rebuilt after a while and was demolished for the last time in 1940s. Thierry Zarcone traced the history of the lodge with oral history and determined its approximate location.[467] As Evliya Çelebi states, the lodge, which was near the Semiz Ali Pasha Mosque in the east of the city, was located on the north side of the mosque, within the borders of today's Hacı Hasan Neighborhood. Also he writes that Sheikh Şuhûdi was also buried here. Sheikh Şuhûdi (d. 1612) was from Babaeski and was an imam at Ali Pasha Mosque. As a Sufi and scholar, he also wrote several works. Thanks to Evliya Çelebi's description and the tomb of Sheikh Şuhûdi, it is possible to locate the Sarı Saltık Lodge today in Babaeski.

Fatih Mosque, which is the oldest building survived to the present day in Babaeski, is a simple mosque with a hipped roof and wooden ceiling covered with tiles, similar to its counterparts in Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece, and Çorlu. The square-planned mosque has a single minaret. As a result of the many repairs the

[464] Özergin, "Eski Bir Ruznameye Göre İstanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri", 263 – 290.
[465] For Bayezid II's effort to keep antinomian dervishes under control and his interventions in shrines see: Yürekli. *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire*.
[466] Ahmed Bâdi Efendi. *Riyâz-ı Belde-i Edirne,* Vol. 3, 2035.
[467] Zarcone. "Alévi et Bektasî de Thrace Orientale: Les tekke de Sari Saltuk à Babaeski et d'Ariz Baba à Havsa", 629 – 638.

mosque has gone through, there is not much of its original state, but the alternating layers of stone and brick on some of its walls give clues to the original state of the mosque. (Fig. 99) It is written on the Arabic inscription at the entrance that it was built in 1467 by the order of Mehmed II.[468] Remarkably, Mehmed II had mosques built in his name in Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, and Babaeski. This shows the importance that the sultan gave to the towns on the Edirne – Istanbul road.

Just across the mosque, there is a bath known as *Fatih Hamamı* today, whose wall on the west façade has been demolished and its original state is understood to be a double bath. (Fig. 100) Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the date of this bath, since the inscription is not in place. Its exteriors are composed of alternating layers of stone and brick. It is unlikely that this bath is the bath of Semiz Ali Pasha, who will have a complex in Babaeski built in the next century, because it is located about 200 meters from the mosque which is a bit far considering compact arrangement of complexes designed by Sinan. Evliya Çelebi mentions a *hamam-ı dilistan* (charming bath) other than the Ali Pasha's bath. The bath across the Fatih Mosque can be the one that Evliya Çelebi mentions but does not give the name of its founder.[469] It is recorded in the *Rumeli Muhasebe Defteri* (Rumelia Accounting Register) dated 1530 that there was only one bath in the township of Babaeski.[470] The bath in this record, dated before Semiz Ali Pasha's waqfiyya, may have been the bath that Evliya Çelebi mentioned. In 1530, apart from Fatih Mosque, there were five masjids in Babaeski and six neighborhoods. Together with the mosque, we can infer that each neighborhood had a masjid.

[468] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri: 855 – 886 (1451 – 1481)*, Vol. 4, 55-56.
[469] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 267.
[470] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I*, 68.

Benedikt Curipeschitz defines the place they stayed as a market, probably because of the shops located near the caravanserai of the town.[471] Catharin Zen writes that there was a *palazzo* in Babaeski in 1550 where the *regina* was staying. He writes that there were a beautiful mosque, a caravanserai, and a soup kitchen in the town.[472] Curipeschitz's and Zen's notes predate the complex of Semiz Ali Pasha, therefore, we cannot make any inference regarding the patron of the soup kitchen and the caravanserai of the town but we can assume that there were already a caravanserai with shops and a soup kitchen in the town before Semiz Ali Pasha endowed his complex.

Semiz Ali Pasha, as the successor of Rüstem Pasha and the predecessor of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, served as the grand vizier between 1561 and 1565. The complex of the pasha was the next step after Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, and Karıştıran in the construction competition of the Edirne – Istanbul road *menzil* complexes, which started during the reign of Süleyman I. Semiz Ali Pasha Complex is not mentioned in the waqfiyya of the pasha from 1565. We get information about the components of the complex from later documents, Sinan's autobiographies, and notes of travelers. It is written in *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* and *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* that Sinan built a Friday mosque and a madrasa for Ali Pasha in Babaeski.[473] In travelogues and archival documents, the bath, caravanserai, and shops are also mentioned, but in Sinan's autobiographies, there is no mention of a caravanserai or a bath.

The complex was built on the west side of the town, near the creek that limited the town, and was in a position to welcome travelers coming from the direction of Istanbul with its imposing exterior design of the mosque as soon as they entered the

[471] Von Obenburg. Itinerarium Wegrayss Kü. May. potschafft gen Constantinopel zu dem Türkischen Kayser Soleyman Anno xxx.
[472] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[473] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 80, 82, 106, 107.

town. This mosque is the only hexagonal baldachined mosque that Sinan has ever built outside of Istanbul and particularly impressing with its tall drum, protruding mihrab, and superstructure emphasizing verticality.[474] Semiz Ali Pasha Mosque, with a dome diameter of 13.80 m, was the largest mosque and most sumptous one on the Edirne – Istanbul road in the early modern period.[475] The large dome is supported by six piers and exedrae. It has single minaret, a double portico with seven bays in the outer portico and five bays in the inner portico with domes above the each bay. (Fig. 101, 102, 103) Evliya Çelebi likens the hexagonal baldachined mosque to the Kara Ahmed Pasha Mosque in Istanbul.[476] In a document dated November 1575, we see a list of construction material for Babaeski Mosque bought with the income of *Sûk-ı Cedid* (Ali Pasha's *arasta*) in Edirne.[477] For this reason, the construction of the mosque was probably underway in 1575. In a document dated 1585, it is written that the interior and portico of the mosque were left incomplete and it was requested to be completed as long as the sources of the waqf allowed.[478] We do not know when exactly the mosque was completed since it lacks foundation inscription but the document suggests us that the mosque was built gradually with the surplus of the waqf and the construction took a long time. Therefore, the construction of the caravanserai and the bath should have been completed before the mosque.

The madrasa cells should have surrounded the courtyard of the mosque, it is highly probable that the madrasa cells were adjacent to the present courtyard walls.[479] Today, there are stairs to the upper floor of the northern entrance door of the courtyard,

[474] Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan*, 388-389.
[475] Mülayim. *Ters Lâle: Osmanlı Mimarisinde Sinan Çağı ve Süleymaniye*, 272.
[476] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 264.
[477] BOA.EV.HMH.D.15
[478] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.58.818
[479] Küçükkaya. "Mimar Sinan Dönemi İstanbul-Belgrad Arası Menzil Yapıları Hakkında Bir Deneme", 183-254.

which still can be seen and these stairs must have belonged to the classroom of the madrasa. (Fig. 104) Evliya Çelebi's likening of the mosque to the Kara Mustafa Pasha Mosque in Istanbul must be due not only to its hexagonal baldachin plan, but also to the madrasa layout that surrounded its courtyard with a classroom which was located directly opposite the entrance of the mosque. The madrasa may have been demolished shortly after it was built. Although there are strong evidences for the existence of a madrasa in the courtyard, there are no documents regarding the appointments to the madrasa, and also the Ali Pasha Madrasa in Babaeski is not listed in the mid-17th century *ruznâme*.

In an *evkaf muhasebe defteri* (accounting register of waqfs) dated 1574, it is written that Ali Pasha had *kervansaray-ı cedid* (new caravanserai), *hamam-ı cedid* (new bath), and shops in Babaeski.[480] The fact that the bath and caravanserai in the town are recorded as "new" indicates that there were older bath and caravanserai in the town. The reason why little is known about Ali Pasha's caravanserai may be that his complex was smaller in scale compared to that of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Lubenau erroneously writes that the mosque in Babaeski was built by Ali Pasha, but the caravanserai belonged to Mustafa Pasha.[481] While Wolf Andreas von Steinach and Contarini described it as good caravanserai without no description about it regarding its layout, the scribe in the retinue of Jacopo Soranzo wrote that when they passed here in 1575, the Ali Pasha caravanserai was not as spacious and beautiful as the one in Havsa.[482] The bath should be the one listed in accounting register of 1530 and the caravanserai must be the one that Curipeschitz and Zen mentioned. It is possible that the shops were adjacent to the caravanserai and some of the shops were in the place of

[480] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 503-504.
[481] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi: Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589*, 156.
[482] *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo*, 55-56.

the *arasta*-like bazaar that was located on the street going towards Edirne. In a register from 1568, the names of the owners of the shops that paid rent to a caravanserai in Babaeski were recorded down. The total annual rent paid by numerous shops was 245 aspers.[483] These rent-paying shops may be the tenants of Ali Pasha's caravanserai. Gerlach writes that many shops and craftsmen's workshops in Babaeski belong to Ali Pasha.[484] Similar measures were taken to protect Ali Pasha's waqf in Babaeski to those taken to protect Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqf in Bergos. In a decree sent to the qadi of Babaeski in 1577, it was requested that the animals in the town should be given to the *serhâne* (shop that sells head and trotters of an animal) of the waqf instead of being sold to neighboring villages to prevent the waqf from suffering financial losses.[485]

Evliya Çelebi writes that apart from Semiz Ali Pasha's complex, there were seven elementary schools, seven inns, around 100 shops in the bazaar, and a fountain in the town in the market during the mid-17th century. The date of the fountain is 1555-6.[486] Today, there is a monumental four-faced, square-planned, square fountain in the square between Mehmed II's Fatih Mosque and the bath. The lead covered, domed fountain can be considered as the proto version of the 18th-century monumental square fountains of Istanbul. (Fig. 105) The inscription of the fountain was destroyed under the Bulgarian occupation after the Balkan War I. However, while Evliya Çelebi did not mention this fountain in his first visit to Babaeski, he wrote that on his second visit, Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's *kethüda* (assistant) had a new fountain built here.[487] Therefore, it is possible to date the fountain to the early 1660s. The center of the town thus forms a beautiful palimpsest, with a simple mid-15th

[483] Özdeğer. "16. Yüzyılda Vize Sancağı'nın Demografik ve Ekonomik Yapısı". 87-123.
[484] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 820.
[485] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.30.377
[486] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 264.
[487] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 6, 87.

century mosque, a 16th-century bath, and a monumental mid-17th century square fountain located between the two of them.

The presence of baths and fountains in the town surely suggests that there were waterways as well. Today, the waterways that brought water from the water sources in the modern military area in the north of the town to the town ceter, where the bath and square fountain of the town are located, were reached by passing through the Su Yolu Sokak (Waterway Street).[488] Passing by Babaeski in 1675, Covel writes that İbrahim Pasha was having an aqueduct built in the town with shafts recently opened not far from the west side of the town.[489] This must be Kara İbrahim Pasha (1620 – 1687), who was a *kapudân-ı derya* (chief admiral) and later the grand vizier during the reign of Mehmed IV. However, it is not possible to find traces of this aqueduct today. Also, in the waqfiyya of Kara İbrahim Pasha, there is nothing written that he commissioned or endowed in Babaeski, but in a later document dated 1765, it is written that İbrahim Pasha had waterways and four fountains built in Babaeski and since the waqf had no authority in the town, the trustee of the waqf was asked to send the amount of money spent by *su yolcu* Ahmed *usta* (waterways keeper and master repairer).[490]

In conclusion, probably short after its capture by Ottomans in 1361, a lodge dedicated to Sarı Saltuk in the small town of Babaeski was founded by the Turks migrated from Karesi region who venerated the saint. The lodge was probably one of the important centers of the town until the 19th century. In the second half of the 16th century, Semiz Ali Pasha's complex became one of the important focal points of the town after it was posthumously completed. Semiz Ali Pasha Complex was a

[488] Mucit Öztabak states that the Municipality of Babaeski named the street as such because of the waterways passing through here. His self-published works can be accessed at his website: http://www.mucitoztabak.com.
[489] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 186-187.
[490] BOA.C.BLD.11.542

composition in which, its dependencies were less impressive, however majestic its mosque is. The reason for this may be the Sarı Saltuk Lodge, which has the features of an urban soup kitchen. Although it was not on the main public road, the fact that it is mentioned in most travelogues of the period shows us that it was one of the most frequented spots of the town. For this reason, Semiz Ali Pasha may have thought that there was no need to build a large caravanserai since some passengers were already accomodated by the dervishes in the lodge. In the 17th century, the monumental square fountain, along with fountains and waterways built by İbrahim Pasha, on the other hand, can be considered as a fine-tuning initiative in the urbanization, as we have seen in Çorlu and Bergos. The town, which was already abandoned before its take over by the Ottomans like Bergos, grew gradually until the 18th century like the other towns located on the Edirne – Istanbul road. Babaeski, which was a 10-asper-town in 1521, became a 15-asper-town in 1530, and after the construction of the Semiz Ali Pasha Complex, it became a 150-asper-town in the second half of the 16th century and kept its rank in the mid-17th century.[491]

[491] *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530) I*, 68; Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 264; Kuru. "XVI. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Rumeli Kadılıkları", 261 – 294.

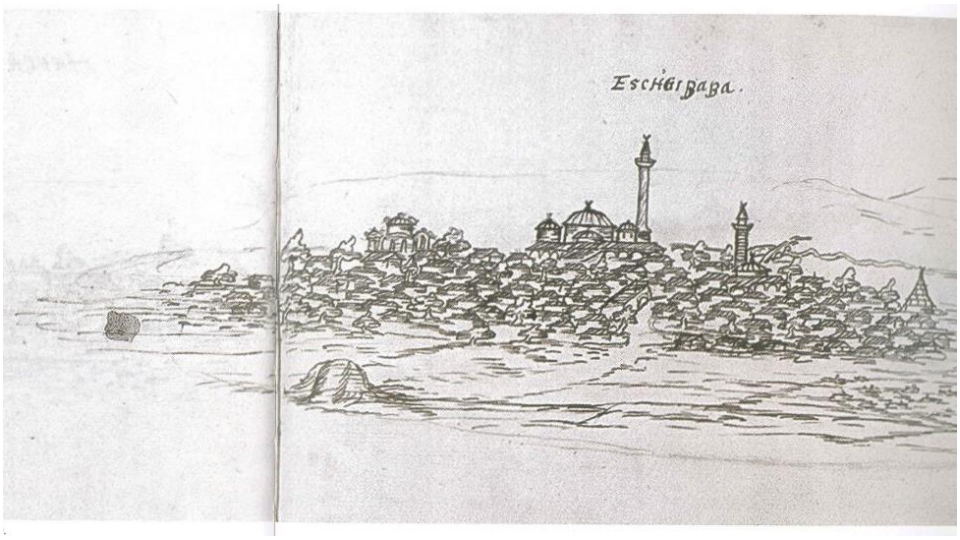


Figure 97. Townscape of Babaeski from the second half of the 16th century from *Leiden Sketchbook.* Source: Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople*, 70 – 71.

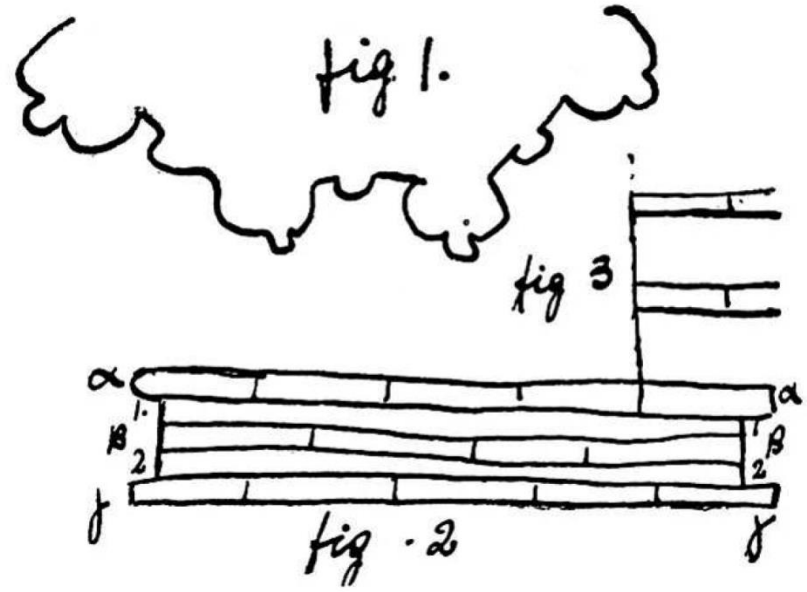


Figure 98. Covel's drawing of the plan of Sarı Saltuk Lodge and the construction technique. Image: Ousterhout, "The Byzantine Architecture of Thrace: The View from Constantinople"



Figure 99. Fatih Mosque in Babaeski showing traces of the original wall. Photo by Can Bozkır, April, 2022



Figure 100. The bath in Babaeski. Photo by Can Bozkır, April, 2022



Figure 101. Semiz Ali Paasha Mosque seen from qibla wall. Photo: Can Bozkır, April, 2022



Figure 102. Semiz Ali Pasha Mosque seen from the courtyard. Photo by Can Bozkır, April, 2022

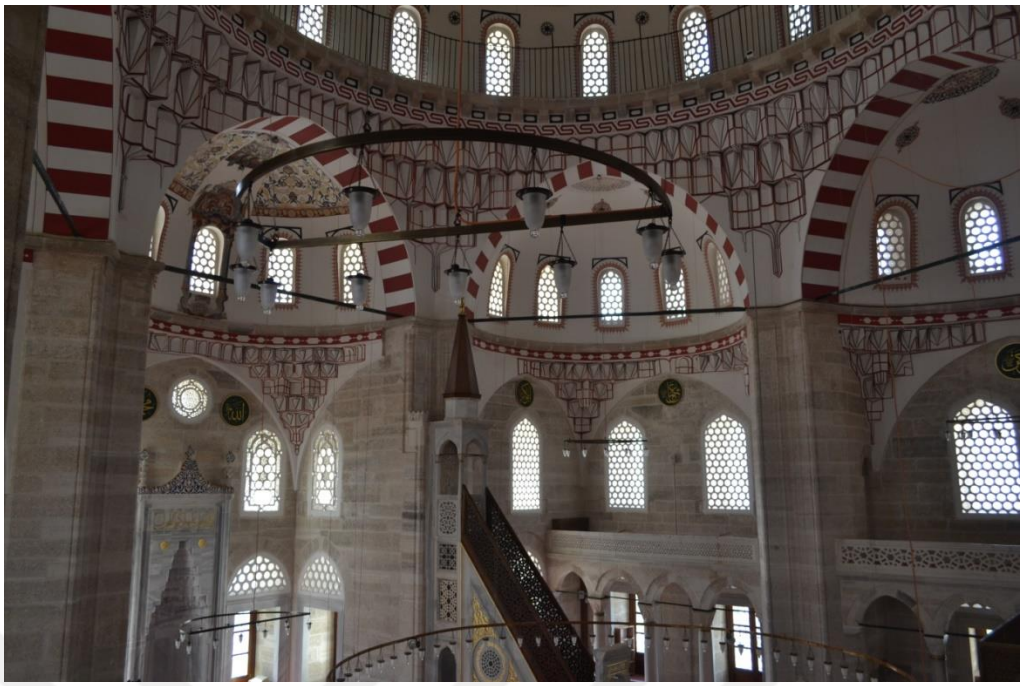


Figure 103. Interior of Semiz Ali Pasha Mosque seen from upper galleries. Photo by Can Bozkır, April, 2022



Figure 104. Remains of the madrasa in the courtyard of Semiz Ali Pasha Mosque. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2022



Figure 105. Mid-17th c. square fountain. Photo by Can Bozkır, December, 2022



Figure 106. 19th century photo of Babaeski from the album of Abdülhamid II showing Semiz Ali Pasha Mosque and Çoban Kasım Ağa Bridge. Source: Istanbul University Library, 90455/52

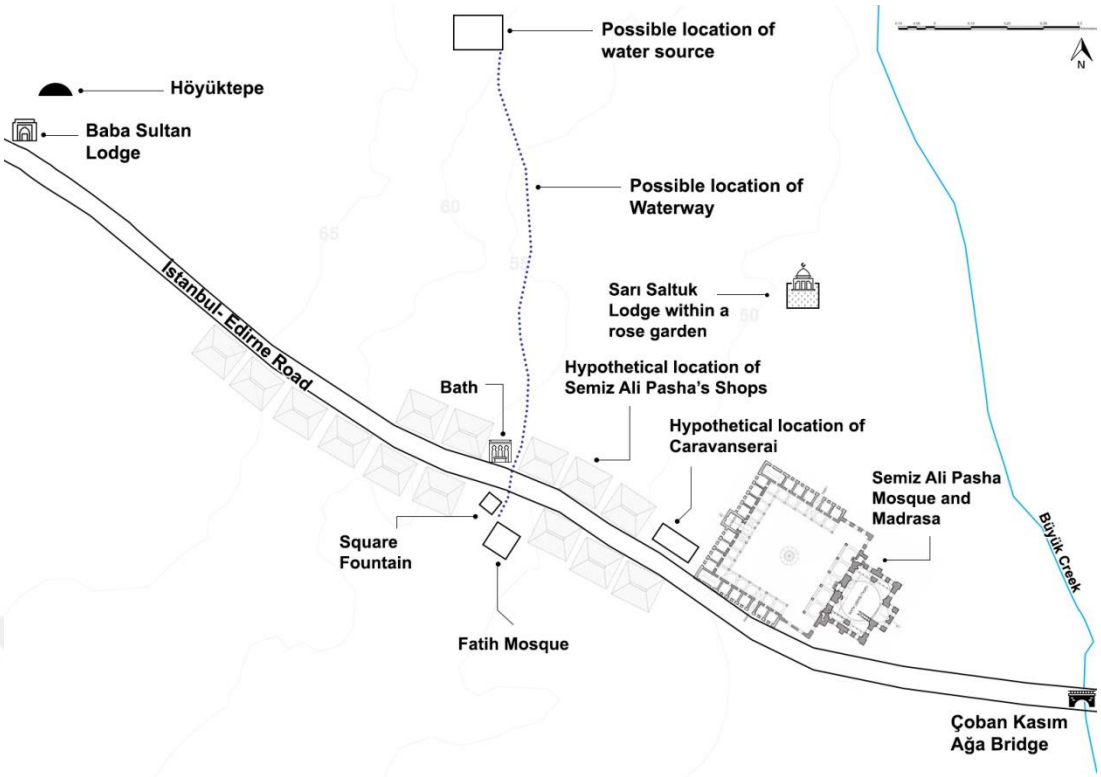


Figure 107. Hypothetical map of the early modern Ottoman buildings in Babaeski.

4.7 Havsa

The last chapter before the conclusion will examine Havsa, located between Edirne and Babaeski. After mentioning the geography of Havsa, the small *menzil* complex of Abdüsselam Çelebi, the mysterious Hafsa Hatun inn, and the complex that was built in the name of Kurd Kasım Pasha, the son of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, which changed the face of the village just like in Bergos, will be examined. The development of the settlement, which progressed from a village to a town after the construction of the complex, will be emphasized.

Havsa, which was the first stop in the en route to Istanbul from Edirne or the last stop from Istanbul to Edirne, was founded in a valley with a slight slope and a little depth. The Aşağıova Stream, which flows through the center of the town in a north-south direction, is one of the tributaries of the Ergene River. The fortress built by

Justinian I must have been destroyed long before the Ottomans took the town, since there is no mention of a fortress in the town in any Ottoman narrative. Therefore, it is impossible to predict where the fortress was located today. Even if Havsa is located on the Edirne – Istanbul road, our information of the town in the 14th and 15th centuries is quite limited, since Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa, located just north of the town, was the central town of the region and also an alternative *menzil* point at that period.

The earliest known Ottoman mark in the town is the tomb of Kurt Bey. It is written on the modern inscription of Kurt Bey's Tomb, he died in the Battle of Sazlıdere in 1361, and a tomb was built for him after he was buried in Havsa. (Fig. 108) Kurt Bey must have been an akinji who also gave his name to the village of Kurtbey belonging to the township of Uzunköprü today. Evliya Çelebi, on the other hand, describes him as Kurd Baba, not Kurd Bey, and says that he was one of the *fukara-yı bektaşiyan*.[492] He may have been both a ghazi warrior and a Bektashi dervish, but there is no evidence of the existence of a lodge in the later periods in the vicinity of his tomb, thus, we cannot make a claim about his identity precisely.

According to Giovanni Maria Angiolello, who passed through the town during the reign of Mehmed II, Havsa was a large village and was inhabited and populated by unruly and disobedient groups brought from the Karaman region, and previously it was largely inhabited.[493] The Venetian ambassador, Catharin Zen, writes that the town was populated mostly by the Christians and there was a small Turkish population in the town. [494] Yerasimos argues that these people were probably Orthodox Christians from Karaman.[495] Mehmed II must have felt the need to populate (*şenlendirme*) Havsa,

[492] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 263.
[493] Reinhard. *Edition de J. –M. Angiolello (1452 -1525)*, Vol. 1, 38-39.
[494] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[495] Yerasimos. *Les Voyageurs Dans L'empire Ottoman (XIVe - XVIe Siècles)*, 52.

an important stopover point on the way to Rumelia, by bringing disobient troublesome groups from Karaman after 1466.

The oldest complex of buildings in Havsa that we can prove to exist in the Ottoman period belong to Abdüsselam Çelebi, who was a *defterdar* (finance minister) during the reign of Selim I and early years of Süleyman I. Abdüsselam Çelebi endowed a masjid, a zawiya-cum-inn, and an elementary school in Havsa according to his waqfiyya from 1525.[496]

Abdüsselam Çelebi's masjid is located just about 100 meters northwest of the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's mosque. It is a single minaret mosque with a hipped roof covered with tiles, walls made of alternating rubble stone and brick layers. (Fig. 109) The newly restored mosque today has a rectangular plan reminiscient of a basilica. The reason why Abdüsselam Çelebi's masjid is also known as Hacı Süleyman Mosque today is that it was destroyed during the Russo-Ottoman war in 1878 and then rebuilt in 1890 by a person named Hacı Süleyman.[497] Apart from this information written in Edirne Yearbooks, the building may have been used as a church before. A document in the archive shows that the Christian community in Havsa made a request to enlarge their church and buy the land there in 1909.[498] The document states that the building was already used as a church before and shows the location of the Abdüsselam Çelebi masjid. This point is extremely remarkable, but we do not know how long the building has been used as a church. For this reason, it is difficult to get an idea about the original plan of the building, but it can be said that it is on the scale of a small mosque like a neighborhood masjid. A study on Havsa argues that the masjid was already out of use

[496] VGMA, nr. 747, fol. 410.
[497] Kayıcı. *Sâlnâmelere Göre İdari, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Yapısıyla Edirne Sancağı*, 92.
[498] BOA.İ.AZN.83.42

in the early 16th century but this is impossible since the masjid is listed in *evkaf* register of 1543.[499] The mosque of the complex, built by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, must have been sufficient for the Muslim community of this small town, where a significant portion of the population was Christian in the 16th and 17th centuries, and after the complex was completed, Abdüsselam Çelebi's masjid may have lost its community and the building may have been allocated to the use of Christians. However, it is impossible to give a precise date about this handover. Gerlach writes that there was no church in Havsa in 1578, and that even the Christians of the town were going to the neighboring villages for religious services.[500] Aşık Mehmed does not mention Abdüsselam Çelebi's masjid in Havsa in 1589, however the masjid is mentioned in the Istanbul *evkaf tahrir* register from 1600.[501] Although Aşık Mehmed usually did not mention the masjids in the small towns he passed through, Evliya Çelebi did not mention the masjid as well and Gerlach did not mention the church who were quite attentive to Muslim presence and Christian presence respectively, suggesting that the Abdüsselam Çelebi's masjid might have been converted into a church after 1600 and before the 1650s. While there are documents in archives about the appointments from Abdüsselam Çelebi's waqf in Küçükçekmece in the 18th and 19th centuries, there is no appointment document for the waqf institutions in Havsa in the following centuries. Another reason may be that after the 1752 earthquake that caused great damage to Havsa, Hasköy, and Edirne, the buildings of this small complex may have been destroyed and was not rebuilt since Mehmed Pasha's waqf buildings would be sufficient for the town.

[499] Ertuğrul. "Havsa/Nikopolis/Hasköy", 80 – 94.
[500] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 821.
[501] Canatar. *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 1009 (1600) Tarihli*, 276.

In the waqfiyya of the *defterdar*, it is written that an inn was built for those who travel on the Edirne road and that this inn was similar to the inn in Küçükçekmece in terms of architecture but it was simpler compared to the one in Küçükçekmece and that it did not have a special section for married people as in Küçükçekmece. It is stated that the building was solid and spacious, and had porticoes. The animals were accomodated seperately like the caravanserai in Küçükçekmece. Benedikt Curipeschitz writes that he stayed in a Turkish inn in Havsa in 1530.[502] This must be the inn endowed by Abdüsselam Çelebi. Also a school Qur'an recitation for the children is mentioned in the waqfiyya. In the 1546 Istanbul *evkaf tahrir* register (cadastral survey of foundations), only the masjid and the zawiya are listed.[503] However, in the *evkaf* registers, the daily fee paid to the imam is listed along with teaching fee, so we can assume that the imam of the masjid was also a teacher at the elementary school. The waqfiyya also mentions an older inn as *ribatü'l-kebirü'l-atik* (the old great inn) in the settlement which unsurprisingly implies that there were older inns in the town for the travelers.

The Habsburg ambassador, Corneille de Schepper, who passed through the town in 1533, writes that they stayed in a soup kitchen and that it was built by the Valide Sultan (Queen Mother), but we have no evidence to confirm this.[504] It is more likely that this is the soup kitchen built by Abdüsselam Çelebi. We know that the zawiya was serving food to the travelers since a cook (*tabbah*) and a baker (*habbaz*) were employed. Evliya Çelebi also writes that Hafsa Hatun, the mother of Süleyman I and wife of Bayezid II, gave the town its name because she lived here.[505] However,

[502] Von Obenburg. *Itinerarium Wegrayss Kü. May. potschafft gen Constantinopel zu dem Türkischen Kayser Soleyman Anno xxx*.
[503] Ayverdi, and Barkan. *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri: 953 (1546) târîhli*,, 182.
[504] De Schepper. *Missions Diplomatiques de Corneille Duplicius de Schepper, dit Scepperus*, 111.
[505] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 262.

there is nothing written in Hafsa Hatun's waqfiyya to confirm this. In addition, the fact that the name of the town was the same when Angiolello was passing through here during the reign of Mehmed II refutes the Hafsa Hatun claims of Evliya Çelebi. Evliya Çelebi mentions a Hafsa Hatun inn near Kurd Bey's tomb. This inn could not be the Hafsa Hatun's inn, but the fact that the inn is named Hafsa Hatun implies that it is the oldest inn of the settlement which was older than complexes of Abdüsselam Çelebi and Kurd Kasım Pasha. Apart from this inn, there were four smaller inns in the town. Catharin Zen, who passed through the town in 1550, confirmed that the soup kitchen where Corneille de Schepper stayed belonged to Abdüsselam Çelebi's waqf. He leaves no doubt by stating that there was a soup kitchen and a mosque with a good interior, and there was a good caravanserai in the town, and that the same *defterdar* Abdüsselam Çelebi had also a complex built in Küçükçekmece.[506] Fresne-Canaye, who passed through Havsa in 1573, a few years before the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha complex was built, writes that there were numerous small caravanserais for the sultan and his entourage to stay here during their journey to Edirne.[507] One of them must definitely have been built by Abdüsselam Çelebi. Lubenau, who passed through the town in 1587, writes that two more modest caravanserais apart from the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai were located in the town.[508]

Evliya Çelebi also mentions a dervish lodge, a madrasa, and a bridge here, which were affiliated with Mehmed Pasha's waqf, but there are no other records regarding these dependencies.[509] These buildings are also not mentioned in Sinan's autobiographies or in waqfiyyas, or in other travel accounts. Evliya Çelebi writes that

[506] Zen. "Descrizione del viazo del Constantinopoli de ser Catherin Zen ambassador straodinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno", 203 – 256.
[507] Du Fresne-Canaye. *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi 1573*, 47.
[508] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi: Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589*, 154.
[509] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 263.

the bridge is on the Bergos side of the town. Aslanapa reports that there are old bridge abutments under the modern bridge here.[510] However, this bridge may be the stone bridge that Dernschwam mentioned in 1555.[511] If this is the bridge Dernschwam wrote about, it predates the complex and cannot be thought of as having been endowed by Mehmed Pasha. The lodge mentioned by Evliya Çelebi may have been the zawiya of Abdüsselam Çelebi. Tülay Reyhanlı published an inscription found in the courtyard of the mosque. The names of Abdüsselam Çelebi, Kasım Pasha, and Koyun Baba are mentioned in the inscription belonging to a fountain.[512] Therefore, the lodge mentioned by Evliya Çelebi may have been a Kalenderi lodge because of Koyun Baba's name on the inscription. The panorama of the town in the *Leiden Sketchbook* depicts a building with multiple chimneys at the site of the Abdüsselam Çelebi's zawiya, as well as the arched stone bridge on the Bergos side. (Fig. 110)

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had the great complex in Havsa built by Sinan for the soul of his son Kurd Kasım Pasha, who was executed as sanjak governor. This complex is briefly mentioned as a mosque and an *imaret* in Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's waqfiyya in the archives of the General Directorate of Foundations which does not convey any details.[513] However, Sinan's autobiographies provide us the list of buildings in the complex. In *Adsız Risâle*, a bath, in *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* a Friday mosque, hospice, and hamam, and in *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye*, a Friday mosque, hospice, caravanserai, and a bath are listed as the buildings constructed by Sinan for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's son in Havsa.[514] In documents dated to the 18th century, we see that there was also a pastrami

[510] Aslanapa. *Mimar Sinan*,, 66
[511] Dernscwham. *İstanbul ve Anadolu'ya Seyahat Günlüğü*, 46.
[512] Reyhanlı. "Havsa'da Sokollu veya Kasım Paşa Külliyesi Hakkında Tamamlayıcı Notlar", 241-254.
[513] VGMA, nr. 572, fol. 52.
[514] *Sinan's Autobiographies*, 57, 80, 83, 85, 106, 109, 110, 111.

slaughterhouse and a flour mill belonging to the foundation in Havsa.[515] Since these are not stated in the waqfiyya, they may have been built later on behalf of the waqf.

It is hard to predict when exactly the construction was started, but as Gerlach wrote in 1575, we see that 120 enslaved captives sent from Istanbul for the construction escaped.[516] We can say that the construction was already underway this year. In 984 AH / 1576-7 AD, in a decree written to the qadi of Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa, the qadi was asked to help with construction materials such as tiles and lime for the charity complex that Mehmed Pasha commissioned in Havsa.[517] However, the same date was written on the inscription of the mosque indicates that the construction was completed this year. Evliya Çelebi reads the inscription on the prayer dome opening towards the mosque side and gives the year of 984 AH / 1576-7 AD. Today the marble inscription above the arch opening towards the north still stands there but it is illegible.

Göricek Azmî du'â edüp dedi târîhini
Bu binâyı eyleye Allah bâkî üstüvâr. Sene 984.[518]

The complex designed by Sinan is similar to Mehmed Pasha's other complexes in Bergos and Payas with a prayer dome above the *arasta* connecting the caravanserai and the mosque, and we can think that Sinan, who was busy with the construction of Selimiye Mosque in Edirne at that time, personally supervised the construction of this complex. (Fig. 111) The mosque of the complex is much more humble and less assertive than the mosque in Bergos. (Fig. 112) If we evaluate this in the context of *'adab* (decorum), the modesty of a sanjak governor's mosque is also supported by the iconography of the narthex, a single portico with three bays and columns with *müstevî*

[515] BOA.C.EV.454.22988, BOA.AE.SMHD.I.9.602
[516] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 186.
[517] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.28.214
[518] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 263.

capitals.[519] Also the personal wealth of a sanjak governor would not be as high as that of a grand vizier to build a stately mosque. The square planned, single minaret, small mosque has a three-bay portico and its interior is quite plain. The transition to the dome is established through squinches. It has a simple but elegant marble pulpit and a mihrab. (Fig. 113)

According to Evliya Çelebi's travel account, the double-bath was a facility whose *câmekân* (changing cubicle) was accessed via stone stairs.[520] The entrance part of the bath was accessed from the *arasta* (row of shops) side by porticoes. This is the part Evliya Çelebi writes about, and then the gate was reached by stairs. It is written in the waqfiyya in the Fatih Millet Kütüphanesi that water was brought to the double caravanserai.[521] Waterways must have been built for the fountains and baths in the complex. The three-sided corner fountain at the end of the *arasta* on the Edirne side is dated 1194 AH / 1780 according to its inscription. The fountain belonging to the period of Abdülhamid I is in harmony with the 16th century architecture, unlike the quite ornate baroque fountains of the period in Istanbul. (Fig. 114) The wall with niches and hearths extending diagonally on the *arasta* side in the courtyard of the mosque may belong to the soup kitchen.

An anonymous scribe in the retinue of the Venetian ambassador Jacopo Soranzo gives the size of the caravanserai here as 135 by 25 steps in 1575. He also mentions that the caravanserai had a section with a fountain where special guests who

[519] This term, which means straight, is mentioned in *Usûl-i Mi'mâri-i Osmâni*, which was prepared in 1873 by the commission consisting of architects and artists Pierre Montani, Bogos Şaşınyan, Eugene Maillard, and Marie de Launay under the presidency of İbrahim Edhem Pasha. In the book, the three column capitals employed in the Ottoman architecture and their iconographic use are recalling Vitruvian orders of the Greco-Roman architecture. See: *Osmanlı Mimarisi: Usûl-i Mi'mâri-i Osmâni*; For decorum in the Ottoman architecture see: Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan.*
[520] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 263.
[521] Gökbilgin. *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 512.

could be defined as VIPs stay. This place must have been belonged to the palatial officers or the members of the harem like the palace in Bergos. The account also records that there is was a primary school that is not mentioned in the waqfiyya.[522] While the caravanserai was completed in 1575, the construction of the mosque should still have been going on. In 1587, Lubenau had stayed in the caravanserai of the complex consisting of a caravanserai, bath, hospital (referring to the *imaret*), and mosque.[523] Evliya Çelebi also writes that 120 people and 5000 animals can be accommodated in the caravanserai and there are 300 shops next to the caravanserai referring to the *arasta*. Evliya Çelebi's account undoubtedly contain a great deal of exaggeration, but the notes of other travelers prove that the caravanserai was indeed large and among the best caravanserais of the period.[524] Paolo Contarini writes that one of the caravanserais had a capacity of 24 people and that there was a fountain in the middle of its courtyard. This should be the special part of the caravanserai reserved for the elites that the anonymous scribe in the retinue of Jacopo Soranzo writes. In the other part, he writes that, unlike Evliya Çelebi, there was a space for 88 people. There was also a women's section. Although it is not written in the waqfiyya, Contarini writes that there was a cellar, a woodshed, and a warehouse. [525] Wolf Andreas von Steinach, who traveled to Istanbul from Vienna, says that the best caravanserai they stayed on their way from Vienna was in Havsa.[526] Heinrichs von Liechtenstein also observed that it is different from other caravanserais in terms of layout with its large

[522] *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo*, 55.
[523] Lubenau. *Reinhold Lubenau Seyahatnamesi: Osmanlı Ülkesinde, 1587-1589*, 154.
[524] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 263.
[525] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 35-36.
[526] Von Steinach. "Wolf Andreas' von Steinach Edelknabenfahrt nach Constantinopel (1583)." 193 – 234.

courtyards and the fountain in the middle.[527] Corneille van der Dreisch wrote that each of the double caravanserais had seven arches. We can think of it as a double-winged caravanserai, which was symmetrically divided into seven bays in each wing.[528] According to the travel records, it is understood that arcades were surrounding courtyards of the caravanserai. Salomon Schweigger, who spent the Christmas of 1578 in Havsa, writes about the ostentatiousness of the caravanserai.[529] The fact that the Habsburg embassy delegation celebrated Christmas by singing in the caravanserai here is an example of the caravanserai being open to people from all religious backgrounds as stated in waqfiyya documents.

Describing the caravanserai as *chané*, Covel writes that the complex here was built in the same fashion as in Bergos, and says far better than Bergos for the caravanserai, inferior than Bergos for the mosque and cupola (prayer dome).[530] Under the prayer dome, drums were played in Havsa as in Bergos in the mornings.[531] In both towns, the prayer dome must have had a symbolic significance for the townspeople. (Fig. 115) The prayer dome was connecting the caravanserai and the mosque seperated by the public road as in Bergos. Contarini writes that this prayer dome was the gateway to the city when leaving the mosque.[532] Indeed, in terms of location, it is like a gateway separating the profane and the sacred realms.

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, like in Bergos, embraced the town of Havsa so much that it was requested not to build another inn as a *şart-ı vakıf* (stipulation of waqf) in

[527] Besolt. "Deß Wolgebornen Herrn/ Heinrichs Herrn von Liechtenstein/ von Nicolspurg/ u. Röm. Keys. Maiest. Abgesandten/u. Reyß auff Constantinopol/ im 1584. Jar/ beschrieben durch Melchior Besolt", 515 – 531.
[528] Von den Dreisch. *Historische Nachricht von der Röm. Kayserl. Groß-Botschafft nach Constantinopel*, 135.
[529] Schweigger. *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk (1578 – 1581)*, 59.
[530] Dallam, and Covel. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 157.
[531] Gerlach. *Türkiye Günlüğü 1573-1576*, 821.
[532] Contarini. *Diario del viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli di Paolo Contarini*, 36.

this town, which turned the settlement almost to a waqf-town upon the completion of his large complex.[533] In addition, in a decree sent to the qadi of Edirne, it was forbidden for *bostancıs* to persecute the townspeople who were exempt from taxes since it was a *menzil* point.[534]

Like other towns on the Edirne – Istanbul axis, Havsa grew gradually thanks to its location on the main road and the well-built *menzil* complexes. It was mentioned as the *karye* (village) in Abdüsselam Çelebi's waqfiyya but Soranzo's scribe writes that Havsa, which was a small settlement, grows day by day around the caravanserai in the 16th century.[535] This shows the vital role of the *menzil* complexes in the urbanization of a town. Evliya Çelebi describes the place as a *kasaba* (town) with eight masjids which implies that it had eight neighborhoods. Towards the end of the 17th century, the transfer of the court in Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa to Havsa came to the fore since the town is on the main road.[536]

The caravanserai and some shops here must have been destroyed in the great earthquake of 1752 whose epicenter was Havsa. The *hân-ı kebir* (the great inn) was demolished according to the *Tarih-i İzzî* (History of İzzi). This must have been the largest *hân* of Havsa which was Mehmed Pasha's caravanserai.[537] Ahmed Badi Efendi writes that the parts that were destroyed after the earthquake were not repaired and left as they were.[538] Since the use of the Edirne – Istanbul road by the palace decreased significantly after 1703, the condition of the complex, which was heavily damaged after the 1752 earthquake, should have been neglected.

[533] BOA.C.BLD.122.6061
[534] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.118.2000
[535] *Diario del Viaggio da Venezia a Costantinopoli Fatto da M. Jacopo Soranzo*, 55.
[536] BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.108.942
[537] İzzî Süleyman Efendi. *İzzî Tarihi*, 954.
[538] Ahmed Bâdi Efendi. *Riyâz-ı Belde-i Edirne*, Vol. 3, 1973.

In conclusion, Havsa was a village located on the Edirne - Istanbul road in the *kaza* (township) where Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa (Hasköy) was the center of the township after it was captured by the Ottomans. Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa was a larger settlement than Havsa, as it was also a *menzil* point on the alternative Edirne - Istanbul road. However, since Havsa is located on the *Orta Kol*, we can confirm the existence of some inns from travelogues. The first known complex was built by Abdüsselam Çelebi during the first years of the reign of Süleyman I, when the stopover points on the route began to standardize. Nearly half a century later, the complex built by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the name of his predeceased son which is reminiscent of the one in Bergos in terms of layout changed the fate of Havsa in the early modern period. So much so that the settlement that grew around this complex has evolved from a village to a town. In fact, it has come to the fore that the court in Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa should be transferred here because it is located on the frequented road to Havsa. The complex built by Mehmed Pasha, as in Bergos, allowed the town to grow, but should have restricted its further growth to some extent, because the construction of new inns was prohibited due to the stipulations of the waqf. The final nail in the coffin of the declining town and complex with the return of the palace from Edirne to Istanbul from the early 18th century onwards, was the devastating earthquake of 1752.

In previous sub-titles, architectural and urban history of the towns that are the subject of the present study are evaluated with references to geographical conditions, demographies, economic activities, and material environments. Findings and more comprehensive remarks about the the road and the settlements on the road presented in this study are discussed in the conclusion of the thesis.



Figure 108. Tomb of Kurt Bey or Kurt Baba. Photo by Can Bozkır, January, 2022



Figure 109. Abdüsselam Çelebi's recently restored masjid. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022

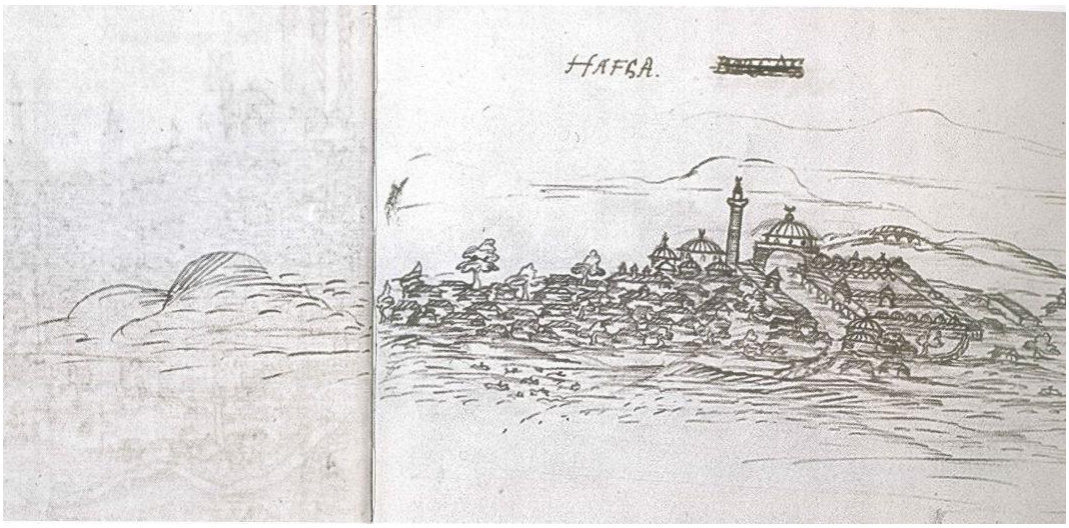


Figure 110. Panorama of Havsa from the second half of the 16th century from *Leiden Sketchbook.* Source: Klusáková, *The Road to Constantinople*, 68 – 69.

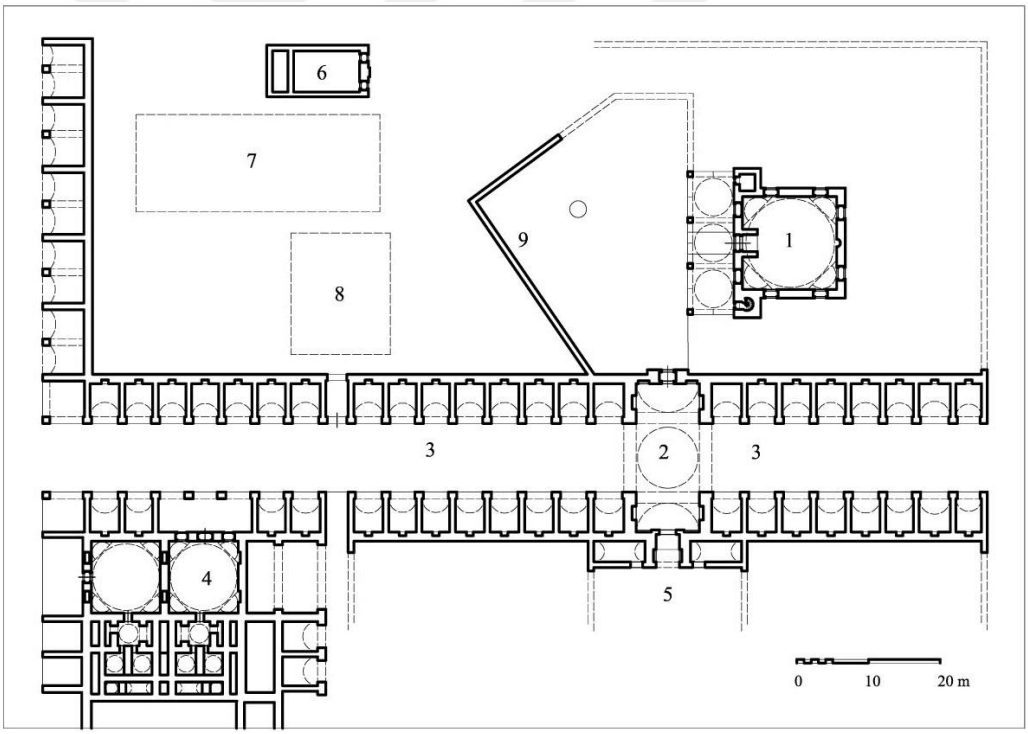


Figure 111. Plan of the Kurd Kasım Pasha Complex in Havsa by Arben N. Arapi. 1) Mosque, 2) Prayer dome, 3) Istanbul – Edirne Road, 4) Double baths, 5) Caravanserai, 6) Abdüsselam Çelebi's masjid, 7) Modern building, 8) Modern building, 9) Excavated wall)



Figure 112. Mosque of Kurd Kasım Pasha. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 113. Simple interior of the Kurd Kasım Pasha's mosque with marble minbar and mihrab. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 114. Fountain of Abdülhamid I at the end of the arasta with the double bath in a dilapidated state. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022



Figure 115. Prayer dome seen from the arasta on the former Istanbul – Edirne road. Photo by Can Bozkır, February, 2022

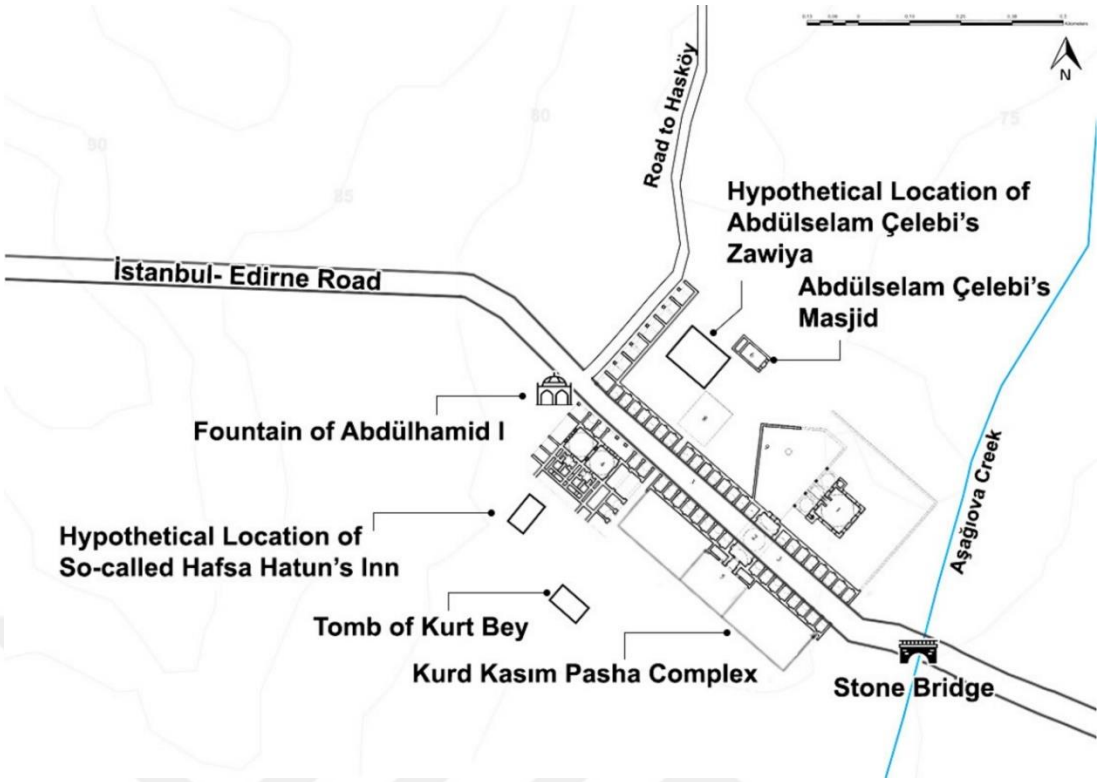


Figure 116. Hypothetical map of the early modern Ottoman buildings in Havsa

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Connecting Belgrade and Constantinople, the Via Militaris was of secondary importance for Romans and Byzantines and was overshadowed by the Via Egnatia in the Roman road network. However, we can still determine from primary sources that the existence of the towns on this important route dates back to Late Antiquity. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to draw a panorama of of these towns in the Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages due to the lack of sources. Countless raids apparently negatively affected the urbanization and development of the towns there. Undoubtedly, the fact that the region, which is formed mostly by flat land, allowed easy passage to the invaders coming from the north. Invaded numerous times by the Goths, Huns, and Avars in Late Antiquity, and by the Bulgarians and Pechenegs in the Middle Ages, the region was occupied by the Latins in 1204 until the Byzantines recaptured in 1261. Therefore, it had been invaded continously until the arrival of Ottomans which had hindered both the functionality of the road and the economic and urban developments. The places that were *mutatio* and *mansio* on the roads connecting important centers since the Roman period became fortified places for the defense of Constantinople in the Byzantine period and they were relatively declined. In addition, the busiest road of the Byzantine Empire was the Via Egnatia, which connected Rome with Constantinople via Thessaloniki, the second capital of the empire. It is therefore very difficult to draw social and economic panoramas of the towns on Via Militaris. However, we can make safer interpretations within the framework of more concrete information on some towns such as Late Byzantine Silivri, whose cultural and political

importance gradually increased from the later centuries of the Byzantine Empire, and whose walls and some churches were preserved during the Ottoman period.

As a result of the Ottomans passing to Rumelia and advancing quickly, the larger part of Thrace changed hands again in the 1360s. The fact that some towns were already abandoned and some were devastated by plunders facilitated this advance. Although the Ottomans, who declared Edirne as their new capital, continued their rapid advance in the Balkans, the political unity of the Edirne – Istanbul road could only be established until 1453. We can detect the existence of the first structures that have survived or the documents of some structures that have not survived from the mid-15th century after the political stabilization was established in the region. However, until 1453, the Ottomans did not spend much effort and make large-scale urbanism attempts due to the poorer functionality of the road. Information about the first century of Çorlu, Bergos, Babaeski, and Havsa under the Ottoman rule is quite limited. The only Ottoman building dated before 1453 and survived to the present day is the Gâzi Ali Bey Mosque in Bergos. As of 1453, when the Ottoman connection of the Edirne – Istanbul road was completed, the importance of these towns increased in accordance with the importance of the road. Via Militaris, which the Ottomans called the *Orta Kol*, had begun to live its golden age when the Ottoman military and economic power was at its peak, and in a short time it became the main public road of the empire to the West. Athyra, Regio, Selymbria, Tzurullum, Druzipara, Bergule, Burtizo, and Hostizo, which were *mutationes* and *mansiones* on the roads built by the Romans, totally overlapped with Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece, Silivri, Karıştıran, Bergos, Babaeski, and Havsa in the Ottoman period. During the Byzantine period, the route, passing through Silivri and reaching Constantinople from the south of the Çekmece lagoons, was largely preserved by the Ottomans, except for minor changes.

The army or the sultans and viziers with troops preferred alternative routes in order not to cause damage to towns and not to be a burden to the townspeople. When Süleyman I went on his great campaigns to Europe, he mostly avoided passing through the these towns by drawing a route parallel to the *Orta Kol*. Even Evliya Çelebi writes that when Melek Ahmed Pasha was staying in Bergos, they received the news that another pasha was coming here, and they left the caravanserai in order to prevent the chaos of the soldiers in the town and not to be a burden to the townspeople.[539] In this context, it would be possible to consider the decorum codes of the travel in this period. While the sultans who went on a campaign with large armies did not prefer passing throught the town centers, the traveling pashas should have avoided to be in the same stopover complex at the same time. For ambassadors traveling with smaller entourage, this was probably not an issue.

However, travel decorum codes must have changed for the ambassadors in the later second half of the 16th century. While European visitors coming to the complexes of which mosques form the center, it is seen that the presence of the non-Muslim entourages around the mosques disturbed the *ulema* with the increasing religious orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 16th century. As a matter of fact, while the Habsburg envoy celebrated Christmas by singing in the caravanserai in Havsa in 1578, they were not welcomed in the caravanserai near the mosque Çorlu in 1583 and had to stay elsewhere.

Considering the aforementioned phenomena, we can also talk about the reflection of the increasing religious orthodoxy in the Ottoman Empire on architecture, especially on the complexes commissioned by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. In complexes

[539] Evliya Çelebi. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Vol. 3, 265-266.

of pasha in Bergos and Havsa, which were completed in the 1570s, the sacred and profane areas were separated by a sharp line. This seperation might be linked to the increasing religious orthodoxy of the period. However, in the layout of the Abdüsselam Çelebi in Küçükçekmece and Havsa, Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi in Büyükçekmece, Piri Mehmed Pasha in Silivri, Ahmed Pasha/Süleymaniye complexes in Çorlu, which were built in the 1520s or before, such a sharp distinction does not stand out. In the second half of the 16th century, the construction of inverted T-shaped mosques, called mosques with zawiya, was abandoned.[540] In the complex in Çorlu, where such seperation did not exist, the discomfort of the *ulema* may be attributed to absence of such seperation while we see no denunciation of clergy or *ulema* in Bergos and in Havsa where the Habsburg mission celebrated Christmas.

The most comfortable caravanserais along the *Orta Kol*, were on the Edirne – Istanbul axis. For European travelers, however, caravanserais were often praised and somewhat exotic buildings. Although the Europeans did not praise the accommodation with the animals and the comfort of the caravanserais, the double-winged caravanserais where the animals were separated were favored. Accommodation in the same place with travelers from all walks of life and the opportunity to observe various kinds of people was the exotic side of caravanserais for European travelers. These caravanserais were praised by the European travelers especially with their free accommodation, free meals, safety measurements, and presence of many shops in the vicinity where they could meet their needs.

The part of *Orta Kol* where not only the caravanserais were best built but also the roads were best paved was between Istanbul and Edirne. Many monumental stone

[540] Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan:Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, 52.

bridges were built in the second half of the 16th century, parallel to the period when the complexes containing the caravanserais were built. Crossing the both Çekmece lagoons, the marshes, and tributaries of the Ergene, these bridges were most frequently located between Edirne and Istanbul. The well-paved and well-maintained roads were as important as the existence of comfortable caravanserais. *Müsellems*, *köprücüs*, *kaldırımcıs*, and *derbendcis* were employed to repair and pave the road and bridges, and these four organizations were working on both repair and security of the road.

The road was of great importance both for the provision of the capital and for the provision of the army on a campaign. For the provision of Istanbul and the provision of the palace on the go, these towns were forming a network which pointed to the role the center ascribed to them. Thrace was an important grain production center both for Byzantine and Ottoman empires. Fertile Thracian plains were vital to the provision of the capital of the two empires. The grain, straw, grass, dairy products, and meat produced in this region were feeding Istanbul. These towns formed a network both for the provision of Istanbul and for the provision of the traveling army, palace, or ambassadors. For this reason, the road from Thrace to Istanbul had to be in the best condition.

Naturally, as soon as Istanbul fell into the hands of the Ottomans, the importance of the towns on the road connecting the two capitals of the empire increased tremendously. The construction program during the reign of Mehmed II is quite remarkable due to the important architectural initiatives that took place in towns such as Büyükçekmece, Küçükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, and Babaeski. Mosques built in the name of the sultan in Küçükçekmece, Büyükçekmece, Silivri (conversion), Çorlu, and Babaeski during the reign of Mehmed II are noteworthy. Ayverdi states that the mosques built in the name of Mehmed II formed several lines within the boundaries

of the empire and follows the route of military campaigns. One of these lines, which is the subject of the present study, starts from Küçükçekmece and goes to Bulgaria via Edirne.[541] The reign of Mehmed II is the period when the first major steps were taken in the revival of this road and flourishing the towns along the road. Not only the mosques in the aforementioned towns, Mehmed II had the Büyükçekmece and Küçükçekmece bridges rebuilt and had an inn built in Küçükçekmece. He endowed a bath, waterways, and shops in Silivri, and a modest *menzil* complex was built by Çakır Ağa in Silivri during his time, and a double-bath and fountain was built by his foster mother Daye Hatun in Çorlu. In addition, the mosque and elementary school commissioned by *Arabacıbaşı* Şüca Bey in Çorlu, and the mosque built by Daye Hatun's son-in-law İlyas Bey and the shop he endowed to Çorlu, which was considered as the middle point of the Edirne – Istanbul road by the Ottomans in this period, indicate the importance given and the care shown by the center to make the town prospered. Çorlu was the largest town on the Edirne – Istanbul road. Since we have very little information about the situation of the town in the Byzantine period, we can assume that this place was more populated compared to the other towns during the Byzantine period. The effort of the Ottoman center to prosper here may be linked to the need to meet the needs of the townspeople, since the town was more populated.

The period between the reigns of Mehmed II and Süleyman I is a period of slowdown in infrastructural constructions and urbanism. It would be possible to relate this to the slowing of Ottoman expansion into Europe. The periods of Bayezid II and Selim I were relatively quiet in terms of constructions on the road. Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's complex in Büyükçekmece, of which only a part of its mosque has survived, was the only complex built on the Istanbul – Edirne road during the reign of

[541] Ayverdi. *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri: 855 – 886 (1451 – 1481)*, Vol. 4, 805.

Selim I. In addition, before the 1520s, the *Orta Kol* route and stopover places could differ on each travel. Villages such as Sazlıdere, Elvanbeyli, Araplı, and Bigados were also among the stopover points when comprehensive *menzil* complexes were not yet built.

During reigns of Süleyman I and Selim II, great importance was attached to the road and the urbanization of the towns along the road, and for this purpose serious expenditures and effort were made by the center for the development of the road and towns. Thanks to the bridges and stopover complexes built in the 16th century, the road and the towns on it began to live their heyday. From 1520s onwards, the competition to build a large *menzil* complexes on the Edirne – Istanbul road started, and this competition continued during the reign of Selim II. In the first years of Süleyman I's reign, the complexes commissioned by Abdüsselam Çelebi in Küçükçekmece and Havsa, Piri Mehmed Pasha in Silivri, and *Hain* Ahmed Pasha in Çorlu were completed in the 1520s. In the remaining years of the reign of Süleyman I, additions were made to the complex of Ahmed Pasha in Çorlu, complex Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Süleyman I in Büyükçekmece, and the complex of Rüstem Pasha in Karıştıran were built. In the reign of Selim II, the complexes of Semiz Ali Pasha in Babaeski and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Bergos and Havsa were completed. The stamps of the grand viziers can be seen in most of the towns along the Istanbul – Edirne road. These complexes, built by the central government to facilitate transportation and communication, prove the importance given by the state especially to this part of the road. Also, these dignitaries might had been vying to mark their presence on this route to show their power to visitors on their way to Sublime Porte. All of these grand viziers were names who held office during the reign of Süleyman I.

From the 16th century onwards, majority of the structures built on this route were made of fine cut-stone. Among the structures that have survived to the present day, very few of them were built with alternating layers of stone and brick. In this period when the Ottoman economic and military power was at its peak, the bridges built between Edirne and Istanbul and the high quality and solid stopover complexes made of ashlar also reflected the imperial grandeur on the main artery of the empire leading to the West.

The imperial policy of dotting major routes of the empire with social-religious complexes was also reflected in a work of the court panegyrist (*şehnameci*) of Murad III, Talikizâde (d. 1606). He conceived the imperial territories as one-day travel distances. The presence of social complexes between one-day travel distances facilitated both the travel and urbanization. The court panegyrist directly associated the flourishin of Ottoman lands with waqfs that fostered urbanization in settlements located on main public roads. For Talikizâde, this was a superior characteristic of the Ottoman Empire which Safavids, major rivals of Ottomans in the East, lacked.[542]

On a side note, Fernand Braudel wrote that, contrary to popular assumption, the land routes leading from the northern Europe to the Mediterranean were preferred to the extent that they could compete with the sea routes until the end of the 16th century.[543] Braudel also argues that land traffic increased towards the 1600s including the road traffic in the Balkans which increased to a considerabe degree. Braudel links the increase in road traffic in Europe and the Balkans to the increase in mule breeding in Europe overall and the increased preference of land routes by the Ragusan merchants against the Venetian threat in the Adriatic. If we look at the road networks

[542] Necipoğlu. *The Age of Sinan:Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, 30 – 32.
[543] Braudel. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. 1, 284 – 289.

in Europe and the Balkans from a broader perspective than the Ottoman territories, the increase in the traffic between Edirne and Istanbul on the *Orta Kol* from the second half of the 16th century onwards and the increase in the importance of this road fit into Braudel's argument which might be a possible research topic for future studies. As a matter of fact, the Ottoman *Orta Kol* was a route that stretched all the way to Belgrade.

Some of these towns, which developed around the waqfs of grand viziers, almost turned into a waqf-town, namely Bergos and Havsa thanks to stipulations of prohibition to build new inns. Apart from mosques and caravanserais, these towns had fountains, soup kitchens, madrasas, elementary schools, baths, shops, important waterways, and even imperial palaces which made them attractive centers both for passersby and for neighboring settlements with their urban and intercity features. During the Ottoman period, these towns had the opportunity to flourish as they were on the main artery of the empire providing lucrative trade opportunities. As Fernand Braudel wrote, without markets and roads there would be no towns.[544] In the early modern period, the towns on the Edirne – Istanbul road owed their development to their location on the road between the two capitals of the empire. Towns owed their existence to their presence on the road, but routes also owed their existence to towns which were stopover points. Thus, routes and towns were formed simultaneously, transforming each other. Also, almost one-third of the Edirne – Istanbul road stretched along the shores of the Marmara Sea, allowing the coastal towns along the way to revive their commercial activities thanks to the ports and provide fishing opportunities for subsistence along with the agriculture.

[544] Ibid, 312.

During this period, those who worked in the big waqfs founded in the towns, the employment of many people in these waqfs, numerous shops opened around the caravanserais, and the transformation some of these places into big market towns such as Çorlu and Bergos contributed greatly to the development of the towns. The exemptions of the townspeople on the road from various taxes both encouraged people in the surrounding villages to move to the town and supported their economic development and population growth. The towns along the *Orta Kol* in Thrace, where the economy was largely based on agriculture and stockbreeding, also offered important job opportunities for those who wanted to practice different professions for the needs of passengers. In addition, the madrasas, which were higher education institutions in the complexes in Küçükçekmece, Silivri, Çorlu, Bergos, and Babaeski, turned the towns into education centers. Due to tax exemptions and educational opportunities in the madrasas of the complexes, these towns became privileged settlements compared to the surrounding settlements. In this period, when the towns were in their golden age, qadis offices in the towns also grew on the basis of asper. Of course, we cannot ignore effects of debasements, rising inflation, and price revolution from the 1520s to the mid-17th century, but qadis of the townships on the Edirne – Istanbul road also rose in rank.[545] Looking at the morphology of the towns, we see that the Ottomans had settled outside the walls in Silivri, Çorlu, and Bergos, as they did in Bursa, Edirne, and the Balkan cities, and they had built their complexes outside the walls or just below the citadels. The "exobazaars" established outside the walls marked the direction of development and new center of the town which was one of the characteristics of the Ottoman mode of urbanization.[546]

[545] Pamuk. *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 112-149.
[546] The term "exobazaar" is mentioned in the following article: Busch-Zantner. "Zur Kenntnis der Osmanischen Stadt", 1 – 13.

If we look at the demographics of the towns on the road, the density of the Greek population from Istanbul to Çorlu, draws attention. From Çorlu to Edirne, we see the density of Turkish population especially in Bergos and Babaeski. We can attribute this to the fact that the towns of Bergos and Babaeski fell into the hands of the Ottomans after they were abandoned. Çorlu and Silivri were captured by force after hard sieges. In addition, the existence of Bektashi or Bektashi affiliated lodges in most of the towns along the route draws attention. The lodges that we know to be existed in Silivri, Çorlu, Babaeski, and Havsa can be linked to dervishes with "wooden swords", who are assumed to have played an important role in passages of Ottomans to Rumelia.

No large-scale complex was built in any town on the road after the second half of the 16th century since at each destination point, there were complexes containing caravanserais for the accommodation of passengers, and there was no need for a new one. For this reason, the Istanbul – Edirne road is sometimes referred to as the Sinan Road because of the complexes and bridges built by Sinan, but the constructions of Abdüsselam Çelebi in Küçükçekmece, Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi in Büyükçekmece, Piri Mehmed Pasha in Silivri, and *Hain* Ahmed Pasha complexes in Çorlu corresponds to the period when Acem Ali was the chief imperial architect. For this reason, I believe that this road is also the Acem Ali Road as much as the Sinan Road.

After the period of Sinan, the construction of bridges continued in the 17th century with bridges built during the reigns of Ahmed I, Murad IV, and Mehmed IV. Although the pace of constructions in this road and urbanization at these *menzil* points decresead, the road and the towns still maintained their importance in the 17th century. Like the monumental square-fountains in Bergos and Babaeski, the fountains built in the towns along the road and some new stone bridges can be seen as a kind of fine-tuning initiative in this period (See: Appendix A and B for building types and periods

of construction). This also suggests the continuation of the development of the towns and the functionality of the road. After 1703, the palace made a definite return to Istanbul and spent their effort on transforming Istanbul, so no large-scale and noteworthy construction project was carried out on the Edirne – Istanbul road and in the towns along the road.

As Fernand Braudel wrote, interruption in communication might lead to stagnation or death of the town.[547] After 1703, after the palace made a definite return to Istanbul and spent its effort and resources on transforming Istanbul, the towns and complexes on the Edirne – Istanbul road lost their importance to a great extent. The 18th century was a void century for the towns between Edirne and Istanbul. No monumental mosque, caravanserai, bath, bridge, nor madrasa were built in the towns between Istanbul and Edirne in the 18th century. Absolutely, towns were in stagnation and even maybe in decline. For example, Havsa, which was in the shadow of Hasköy (Havass-ı Mahmudpaşa) in the 15th century and in the first half of the 16th century, reached to a level to compete with it from the second half of the 16th century onwards, when Hasköy was left off the route and Havsa was included instead of it. However, the great caravanserai and soup kitchen of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Havsa, which was demolished after the earthquake of 1752, remained un-repaired since it was not frequented as much as before and Havsa had begun to decline. After its military and economic power gradually declined, the Ottoman state could not always allocate a budget to repair the structures in these towns. In the second half of the 19th century, many of the buildings in these complexes fell into decay and some of them disappeared long before reaching the Republican Era, and some of the ones that survived to the

[547] Braudel. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. 1, 315.

Republican period in the 20th century were demolished by the local governors or deputies.[548]

This thesis attempted to fill a gap in the literature by examining the understudied history of infrastructure, architecture, and urbanization in one of the central areas of the Ottoman Empire. The development and roles of the Edirne – Istanbul road and the towns on the road until 1703 were not emphasized enough in the literature and did not get the attention they deserved. The urbanization of the towns was studied with a holistic approach including social, demographic, and economic aspects. Contrary to the studies focusing on the buildings of the Sinan period, this study evaluated urbanization and architecture together with the buildings dated before and after Sinan's period. In addition, this study corrected the misunderstandings and errors in some previous academic studies. In particular, the study demonstrated that the first patron of the so-called Süleymaniye complex in Çorlu was Ahmed Pasha and it showed that the complex was a rare *damnatio memoriae* case in the Ottoman Empire. Browsing all the waqfiyyas of Süleyman I may provide new information on this case. This work identified Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and Kara Mustafa Pasha bridges in Çorlu through archival documents, which were confused in previous studies like the Silivri bridges. This work also discovered the patron and construction date of the bridge Haramidere and the bridge around Araplı, which once existed as a *derbend* village between Silivri and Çorlu. This study also explored and presented Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi's complex and its components in Büyükçekmece, which probably addressed to the townspeople since it was not mentioned by the travelers. Moreover,

[548] For example, Rüstem Pasha's bath in Karıştıran was demolished in the 19th century. The buildings in Thrace were damaged during the Russo-Ottoman War in 1877-1878 and during the Balkan War I in 1912. Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's caravanserai and soup kitchen in Lüleburgaz were demolished in 1935 by the mayor to build a square, while the so-called Süleymaniye caravanserai and bath in Çorlu was demolished in 1959 by a deputy of Tekirdağ.

this study discovered the patron and the construction period of the square fountain in Babaeski, and determined the existence of waterways and fountains commissioned by Kara İbrahim Pasha. In the part about the Sarı Saltuk Lodge in Babaeski, this work explored some new information about the lodge, such as Bayezid II's possible intervention and the drawing in the *Leiden Sketchbook*.

On the other hand, there were significant difficulties encountered in the study. Examining many other registers (*tahrir, evkaf*, etc.) in the archives may give us to more details about the settlements. As can be seen in the settlement maps, the hypothetic locations of some structures that have not survived are indicated. Conducting archaeological excavations around the Abdüsselam Çelebi complex in Küçükçekmece, the Ahmed Paşa / Süleymaniye Complex in Çorlu, the Rüstem Paşa Complex and Mehmed IV Palace in Karıştıran, and the Abdüsselam Çelebi and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha complexes in Havsa would have provided us a better understanding of their layouts by showing us the approximate dimensions and exact locations of the buildings. In addition, we do not have detailed information about the urban fabric in most of the settlements. The drawings in the *Leiden Sketchbook* give us only a brief impression. For example, it was not possible to locate cemeteries in most of the settlements.

In addition, some buildings and areas studied in this work are at risk today. Water is still springing from the springs in Çorlu that have supplied water to the town since the mid-16th century. However, this water source is under threat due to the intense and rapid constructions of residential buildings in the vicinity. I believe that these historically valuable water resources should be protected. Three *su terazisi* in Karıştıran should also be taken under protection.

I also think that this study can be a starting point or an inspiration for future studies. One of the conspicious aspect of the study is the presence of Bektashi or Bektashi affiliated lodges in Silivri, Çorlu, Babaeski, and Havsa. The information presented about these lodges may contribute to a study on the Bektashi presence in the region. Also, as Braudel mentioned, the increasing land traffic in Europe and especially in the Balkans towards the 1600s may be the subject of a more comprehensive study that examines the road and urban network in the Balkans. On the other hand, whether the road that is the subject of the study has a counterpart in Anatolia and its effect on urbanization can be examined. For example, it can be studied whether there was an intense infrastructure construction and urbanization period on the hajj route going from Anatolia to the Hijaz via Damascus, which had numerous *menzil* complexes. In addition, by looking at the wider Persianate world, it can be examined whether there was a similar infrastructure construction and urbanization attempt between Tabriz and Isfahan, or between Bukhara and Samarkand, similar to that between Edirne and Istanbul. Thus, Talikizâde's claim would be also researched.

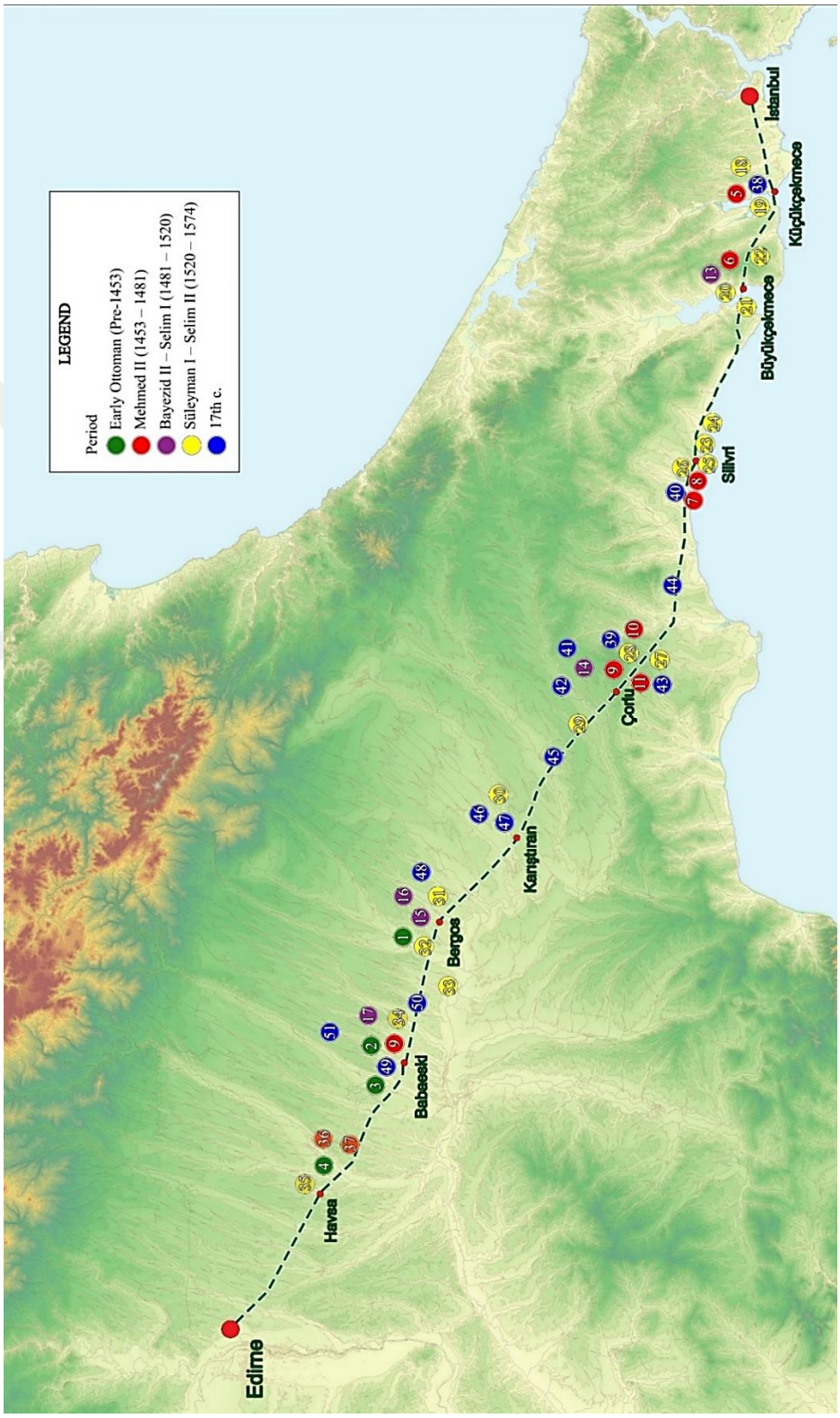
APPENDIX A

TABLE SHOWING THE BUILDINGS ACCORDING TO THE CONSTRUCTION PERIODS

Settlements	Early Ottoman (Pre-1453)	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)	Bayezid II – Selim I (1481 - 1520)	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)	17th c.
Küçükçekmece		Mehmed II's mosque, inn, and older bridge		Abdüsselam Çelebi Complex, Küçükçekmece Bridge	Vizier Mehmed Pasha Fountain
Büyükçekmece		Mehmed II Mosque and elementary school	Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi complex	Süleyman I's and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's joint complex, Büyükçekmece Bridge, Haramidere Bridge	
Silivri		Mehmed II's shops, waterways, baths, and mosque (conversion), Çakır Ağa's complex		Piri Mehmed Pasha Complex, Güzelce Kasım Pasha masjid and shops, Abdüsselam Çelebi's shops, Long Bridge	Small Bridge in Silivri
Çorlu		Mehmed II Mosque, Daye Hatun's bath and masjid, Arabacıbaşı Mosque and elementary school	İmrahor İlyas Bey's mosque, school and shop (?)	*Hain* Ahmed Pasha Complex with Süleyman I's additions, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's shop, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge	Acı Çeşme, İbrahim Efendi Fountain, Kethüda Süleyman Ağa Fountain, Çorlulu Ali Pasha Fountains (early 18th c.), Ahmed I Bridge (Araplı), Kara Mustafa Pasha Bridge (Ulaş)
Karıştıran				Rüstem Pasha Complex	Mehmed IV's hunting palace and later additions, Rüstem Pasha Bridge
Bergos	Gazi Ali Bey Mosque		Hüseyin Bey Mosque (likely to be dated before 1530), Old baths (before 1530)	Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha bridges in Alpullu and Bergos	Mehmed IV Fountain
Babaeski	Çandarlı Halil Pasha Bath (?), Sarı Saltuk Lodge	Mehmed II Mosque	Bayezid II's intervention to Sarı Saltuk Lodge and Madrasa (?)	Semiz Ali Pasha Complex	Square fountain from 1660s, Çoban Kasım Ağa Bridge, Kara İbrahim Pasha's fountains and waterways
Havsa	Kurt Bey's tomb			Abdüsselam Çelebi Complex, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex, non-existent stone bridge (?)	

APPENDIX B

MAP AND LIST OF EXTANT AND NON-EXTANT BUILDINGS NUMBERED ON THE MAP



	Name	Settlement	Period
1	Gazi Ali Bey Mosque	Bergos	Early Ottoman (Pre-1453)
2	Çandarlı Halil Pasha Bath	Babaeski	Early Ottoman (Pre-1453)
3	Sarı Saltuk Lodge	Babaeski	Early Ottoman (Pre-1453)
4	Kurt Bey’s tomb	Havsa	Early Ottoman (Pre-1453)
5	Mehmed II's mosque, inn, and older bridge	Küçükçekmece	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)
6	Mehmed II Mosque and elementary school	Büyükçekmece	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)
7	Mehmed II’s shops, waterways, baths, and mosque (conversion)	Silivri	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)
8	Çakır Ağa’s complex	Silivri	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)
9	Mehmed II Mosque	Çorlu	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)
10	Daye Hatun's bath and masjid	Çorlu	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)
11	Arabacıbaşı Mosque and elementary school	Çorlu	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)
12	Mehmed II Mosque	Babaeski	Mehmed II (1453 – 1481)
13	Dizdarzâde Mehmed Çelebi complex	Büyükçekmece	Bayezid II – Selim I (1481 - 1520)
14	İmrahor İlyas Bey’s mosque, school and shop	Çorlu	Bayezid II – Selim I (1481 - 1520)
15	Hüseyin Bey Mosque	Bergos	Bayezid II – Selim I (1481 - 1520)
16	Old baths	Bergos	Bayezid II – Selim I (1481 - 1520)
17	Bayezid II's intervention to Sarı Saltuk Lodge and Madrasa	Babaeski	Bayezid II – Selim I (1481 - 1520)
18	Abdüsselam Çelebi Complex	Küçükçekmece	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
19	Küçükçekmece Bridge	Küçükçekmece	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
20	Süleyman I’s and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha’s joint complex	Büyükçekmece	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
21	Büyükçekmece Bridge	Büyükçekmece	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
22	Haramidere Bridge	Büyükçekmece	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
23	Piri Mehmed Pasha Complex	Silivri	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
24	Güzelce Kasım Pasha masjid and shops	Silivri	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
25	Abdüsselam Çelebi’s shops	Silivri	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
26	Long Bridge	Silivri	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)

27	Hain Ahmed Pasha Complex with Süleyman I's additions	Çorlu	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
28	Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's shop	Çorlu	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
29	Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Bridge	Çorlu	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
30	Rüstem Pasha Complex	Karıştıran	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
31	Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex	Bergos	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
32	Sokollu Mehmed Pasha bridges in Alpullu and Bergos	Bergos	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
33	Sokollu Mehmed Pasha bridges in Bergos	Bergos	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
34	Semiz Ali Pasha Complex	Babaeski	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
35	Abdüsselam Çelebi Complex	Havsa	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
36	Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex	Havsa	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
37	non-existent stone bridge	Havsa	Süleyman I –Selim II (1520 – 1574)
38	Vizier Mehmed Pasha Fountain	Küçükçekmece	17th c.
39	Small Bridge in Silivri	Silivri	17th c.
40	Acı Çeşme	Çorlu	17th c.
41	İbrahim Efendi Fountain	Çorlu	17th c.
42	Kethüda Süleyman Ağa Fountain	Çorlu	17th c.
43	Çorlulu Ali Pasha Fountains	Çorlu	17th c.
44	Ahmed I Bridge (Araplı)	Çorlu	17th c.
45	Kara Mustafa Pasha Bridge (Ulaş)	Çorlu	17th c.
46	Mehmed IV's hunting palace and later additions	Karıştıran	17th c.
47	Rüstem Pasha Bridge	Karıştıran	17th c.
48	Mehmed IV Fountain	Bergos	17th c.
49	Square fountain from 1660s	Babaeski	17th c.
50	Çoban Kasım Ağa Bridge	Babaeski	17th c.
51	Kara İbrahim Pasha's fountains and waterways	Babaeski	17th c.

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Abbreviations: BOA (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi – Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives), MSBATASE (Milli Savunma Bakanlığı Askeri Tarih Arşivi – Ministry of Defense Military History Archives), CA (Cumhuriyet Arşivi – Republic Archives), VGMA (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi – General Directorate of Foundations Archives)

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.6.500

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.9.144

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.12.718

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.14.1631

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.14.1545

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.15.481

BOA.A.DVNSMHMD.19.361

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.21.292

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.23.135

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.22.117

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.22.199

BOA.A.DVSNMHM.D.22.200

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.22.201

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.23.18

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.23.237

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.28.214

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.30.377

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.40.53

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.40.696

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.40.754

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.42.790

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.43.80

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.47.629

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.48.986

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.51.226

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.58.818

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.77.109

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BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.78.1906

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.93.225

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.100.495

BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.103.785

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BOA.A.DVNSMHM.D.118.2000

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BOA.AE.SMHD.I.46.2732

BOA.AE.SMMD.IV.24.2703

BOA.AE.SMMD.IV.50.5849

BOA.AE.SMMD.IV.66.7794

BOA.AE.SMST.II.117.12816

BOA.AE.SMST.II.136.15044

BOA.AE.SMST.III.177.13955

BOA.AE.SMST.III.236.18626

BOA.AE.SSLM.III.310.18080

BOA.C.BLD.11.542

BOA.C.BLD.11.1013

BOA.C.BLD.21.1013

BOA.C.BLD.45.2220

BOA.C.BLD.70.3493

BOA.C.BLD. 96.4789

BOA.C.BLD.114.5690

BOA.C.BLD.121.6049

BOA.C.BLD.122.6061

BOA.C.EV.32.1600

BOA.C.EV.88.4357

BOA.C.EV.103.5112

BOA.C.EV.138.6863

BOA.C.EV.318.16192

BOA.C.EV.441.22333

BOA.C.EV.444.22464

BOA.C.EV.454.22988

BOA.C.EV.483.24444

BOA.C.NF.13.616

BOA.C.NF.14.672

BOA.C.NF.35.1748

BOA.C.NF.46.2273

BOA.C.SM.118.5926

BOA.D.BŞM.D.387

BOA.D.BŞM.ŞHE.D.16520

BOA.D.MKF.D.31799

BOA.DH.MKT.361.53

BOA.DH.MKT.1791.13

BOA.EV.HMHD.15

BOA.EV.HMH.D.3729

BOA.EV.VKF.19.16

BOA.HAT.1537.60

BOA.HAT.1539.37

BOA.HR.THD.22.51

BOA.İ.AZN.83.42

BOA.İ.DH.283.17280

BOA.İ.DH.514.34994

BOA.İ.DH.540.37542

BOA.İ.DH.672.46786

BOA.İ.MVL.467.21130

BOA.İE.ENB.5.559

BOA.İE.EV.3.327

BOA.İE.EV.22.2663

BOA.İE.EV.24.2870

BOA.İE.EV.29.3375

BOA.İE.NF.1.61

BOA.İE.SM.5.392

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BOA.İE.TCT.11.1286

BOA.MAD.D.4033

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BOA.MAD.D.5320

BOA.MAD.D.7150

BOA.MVL.891.47

BOA.ŞD.63.3638

BOA.TS.MA.5824

BOA.TS.MA.E.35.21

BOA.TS.MA.E.88.9

BOA.TS.MA.E.48.39

BOA.TS.MA.E.830.40

BOA.TS.MA.E.1132.68

BOA.TS.MA.E.1243.56

BOA.TS.MA.E.1289.15

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BOA.TS.MA.D.4842

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