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CONTINUITIES, DISRUPTIONS AND RECONNECTIONS

Edited by Birgit Krawietz and Florian Riedler

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND
CULTURE OF THE MIDDLE EASTDE
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The Heritage of Edirne in Ottoman and Turkish Times

Studies in the History and Culture of the Middle East



Edited by
Stefan Heidemann, Gottfried Hagen,
Andreas Kaplony and Rudi Matthee

Volume 34

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Foreword

Personal Recollections of Field Research in Edirne in the 1970s

Thank you for the opportunity to remember my early work in Edirne and on Edirne. If I am not very much mistaken, you dug out my unpretentious dissertation on Evliya Çelebi's account of Edirne with the aim of illustrating the dramatic progress in Ottoman Studies after a half century.¹ (Not alone the layout: my thesis was written on an Olympia typewriter with a Turkish keyboard lacking the German ä). Indeed, I cannot deny the field's development in terms of the diversification of topics, analytical penetration, and exploitation of new sources.

Such a great amount of scholarship is at the same time impressive and discouraging. For our age group a doctoral thesis in "Oriental Studies" was not necessarily connected with a specific research question. Candidates had to prove their ability to understand a text preferably by editing, translating, and annotating it with the classical instruments of philology. We had the privilege to study nearly without rules and regulations, no intermediate examination, no credit points. There were only two ways to finish the university: to drop out without a degree or to obtain a doctorate.

My decision to write about Edirne was purely pragmatic at the end of a rather chaotic *studium generale* – interrupted by many trips and journeys to the Middle East and focusing more and more on archaeology and Islamic art. Hans Joachim Kißling,² my *Doktorvater* at the University of Munich, had published in 1956 his *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert*,³ a book based on ten itineraries of Evliya Çelebi in Thrace. For this reason I was sure he would approve of my first proposal – an edition and translation of Abdurrahman Hibri's *Enisü'l-Müsamirin*. Any suggestion for a "modern," i.e. post-Tanzimat topic would have been rejected by the "master" (we called him *Meister*). After I

1 *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, Freiburg 1975, Facs. 148–169a. The dissertation was submitted in 1972.

2 See Hans Georg Majer's obituary in *Der Islam* 65 (1988), pp. 191–199.

3 Kißling, Hans Joachim: *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1956.

Note: Introduction given to the workshop "Captivating Edirne. Resources, Connectivities and Imaginative Attraction of a Turkish Border-City in Europe" organized in May 2014 at the Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies (BGS MCS) and the Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO), Berlin.

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got started with the reading and emendation of four manuscripts, Kißling's assistant Hans Georg Majer, who worked at that time in Istanbul, alarmed me that a Turkish student⁴ was about to finish a thesis on Hibri Efendi.⁵ I was forced to switch to Evliya, but stuck to my focus on Edirne, an important place, but within reasonable and manageable limits.

Kißling was influenced by Georg Jacob⁶ and used to call him “mein wissenschaftlicher Großvater” in distinction to his *Doktorvater* Friedrich Giese. Jacob's contributions to the knowledge of Edirne are exclusively based on the *Seyahatname*. They include extracts from Evliya's descriptions of the Üç Şerefeli Camii and the Hospital of Bayezid II, as well as short notices on the use of ancient building materials for the Selimiye. Jacob also made a note of a traveller mentioning the statue of a young male in the Ahi Çelebi Hamamı. He suggested making inquiries about the object, an idea contrasting with his general dislike of German academics' cult of Classical Antiquity.⁷

My teacher Kißling had access to two or three dozen languages, but advocated *realia* in contrast to bloodless linguistics. He turned his focus to mystical brotherhoods not exclusively in the Ottoman centuries but also in contemporary Yugoslavia where authorities were less biased against a project of film documentaries of dervish life. As everybody knows, in Turkey until the early eighties nearly all sorts of research into living forms of unofficial Islam were dismissed.⁸ Kißling was an original scholar, but we do not do him an injustice when we say that he was not a devoted teacher. Anyway, providence favored me by sending Richard Franz Kreutel (1916–1981), the Austrian representative in Kabul since 1971. He acted as a distant mentor of my early ambitions. I still

4 İlgürel, Sevim: Hibri'nin Enisü'l-Müsâmirîn'i, in: *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (1973/74), pp. 137–158.

5 For a general portrait see Kreiser, Klaus: Abdurrahmân Hibri (b. May 1604 – d. 1658 or 1659), in: Cemal Kafadar, Hakan T. Karateke and Cornell H. Fleischer (eds.): *Historians of the Ottoman Empire*, 2007, URL: https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/sites/ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/files/hibri_en.pdf, last accessed 27 Aug. 2015, and the recent article by Faroqi, Suraiya: An Edirne Scholar on Ottoman Architecture and Politics. The Pilgrimage Account of Abdurrahman Hibri, in: Maximilian Hartmuth and Ayşe Dilsiz (eds.): *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts. Papers on Ottoman Europe presented to Machiel Kiel*, Leiden 2010, pp. 91–106.

6 Cf. Kreiser, Klaus: Jacob, Georg (1862–1937), in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 2001, vol. 23, pp. 567–568.

7 Jacob, Georg: Eine archäologisch beachtenswerte Notiz bei Evlija, in: *Der Islam* 3 (1912), pp. 184–185.

8 This is particularly true in the case of research on the mystical brotherhoods. One must add that even publications on their material legacy were suspected. As a case in point, let me mention that Nurhan Atasoy, a renowned historian of Ottoman art, was reluctant to publish her research on dervish headgear.

keep his airmail letters from Kabul written with black and red typewriter ribbon.⁹

I started my research with the innocent conviction that I was the first scholar outside Turkey to follow in the footsteps of the art historian Cornelius Gurlitt¹⁰ and the orientalist Georg Jacob mentioned above. I was not aware that, during a visit to Edirne in 1932, Paul Wittek took notes concerned principally with Ottoman monuments and a number of inscriptions. Wittek generously presented his observations to the young Dutch scholar Fokke Theodoor Dijkema (b. 1938).¹¹ Dijkema's exemplary edition of the historical inscriptions appeared in 1977, though some of his plates were mysteriously published five years earlier (!) by a local amateur historian.¹²

Since Kißling did not insist on archival research in Istanbul (Gökbilgin's edition of primary sources was already published), I decided not only to compare the different versions of the *Seyahatname*, but also to look at as many Eastern and Western sources as possible. The main obstacles were the bureaucratic stumbling blocks in Istanbul. The policies of the great manuscript collections were – in theory – based on an exchange system: they gave you a microfilm as a return favor for a microfilm from the libraries in Germany needed by a Turkish scholar. This was a reasonable *quid pro quo*, but did unfortunately not work smoothly in practice. Quite a few colleagues knew that the photographer of Süleymaniye library was not insensible to some *tebdil-i nezaket*. Through an exchange of niceties, some of us obtained a meter or two of the fervently longed-for Kodak or Agfa negatives.

Since I was unable to get a film of a fair copy of Badi Ahmed Efendi protected jealously by the director of the Bayezid library, I went to Edirne, where, in the person of Latif Bağman (1919–2007), the director of the İl Halk Kütüphanesi, I met an unbiased and helpful local patriot (though born in Uzunköprü). He showed understanding for my research and allowed me to take

⁹ Kreutel was another pioneer in Evliya studies. His doctoral thesis on *Evlijā Čelebis Bericht über die Botschaftsreise des Qara Mehmed Pascha nach Wien (1665)* was presented in 1948 at the Universität Wien.

¹⁰ Georg Jacob corresponded with Gurlitt. In a letter dated 23 Aug. 1910 he asked the honorable colleague for a picture of the Selimiye: "Ich würde gerne die türkischen Texte dazu bearbeiten, und es würde sich empfehlen, etwas zu wählen, wofür diese nicht zu dürftig sind. Über Adrianopel ist ziemlich reiches Material bei Evliya vorhanden. Wichtig wäre mir allerdings die Erlaubnis, die Pläne [...] 8° reduzieren zu dürfen, damit das einheitliche Format der Bibliothek gewahrt wird." The letters are available online at <http://gurlitt.tu-dresden.de/>.

¹¹ Dijkema, Fokke Theodoor: *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne*, Leiden 1977. In 2013 Trakya Üniversitesi honored Dijkema ceremoniously for his exemplary work: <http://www.trakya.edu.tr/news/dr-fokke-dijkema-edirne-de>, last accessed 27 Aug. 2015.

¹² Oral Onur.

a couple of pictures of Badi Efendi's *müsvemme* (draft ms.) preserved in the former Selimiye library. I was, admittedly, too shy to seek the advice of Prof. Süheyl Ünver. The distinguished *ordinaryüs* was the living authority on Adrianopolitana. I do not remember why I kept my distance from his archive preserved in the *Tıp Tarihi Enstitüsü*. Years later, I began to understand the language of his generation, which mourned the loss of a cityscape.

The perception of Edirne in the late 1960s as a garrison town in a problematic border position changed rapidly when migrant workers returned for their summer vacation from Germany, creating an Alman Pazarı along the through road. Gradually, normal life returned to the town. The somewhat sleepy image was a contrast to the more dynamic development of the other two provincial centers in Thrace, Tekirdağ, and Kırklareli. During my first journeys to Turkey five and four years earlier (1964 and again in 1965) coming from Austria, I had only seen the railway station of Karaağaç. Traveling by train from Istanbul in the late sixties I was surprised to be the only passenger on the last section between Uzunköprü and Karaağaç, crossing the projection of Greek territory. There was no noticeable border traffic between Turkey and Greece and one had the impression that the Turkish workers coming by car from Germany hastened to leave the glorious frontier town (*serhad şehri*) behind. Considering that Bulgaria was a member of the Warsaw Pact, the relations with this neighbor (*komşu*) were relaxed in these days. I witnessed one evening how the Turkish border guards organized dinner parties for their Bulgarian comrades in the Kervan Oteli (Talât Paşa Asfaltı), where I used to stay. The geostrategic situation restricted excursions in the close vicinity. The soldiers refused admittance to the Hızırlık tepesi, which rose to fame as the headquarters of Şükrü Pasha when Edirne was under siege in the Balkan War. For me, Hızırlık had a completely different meaning as the site of a Bektaşî convent whose fate I described on ten pages in my dissertation.

The general situation was characterized by serious disturbances in Istanbul. The Bloody Sunday (*Kanlı Pazar*, 16 February 1970) on the occasion of the visit of the US 6th fleet ended with many victims after leftist demonstrations. In June, a state of emergency was declared after demonstrations of workers joined by students in the cities of Istanbul and Izmir. The political polarization culminated between the youth organizations of the ultra-right National Movement Party of Alparslan Türkeş (MHP), and the National Salvation Party (MSP) founded by Necmettin Erbakan. Instead of long-winded expositions, let me exemplify the climate with some lines from the letter of a Turkish friend (Ertuğrul Beygo), written on 1 May 1970: "Universities were closed since 1 April until 4 May. The reason: a couple of persons had been killed

during the right-left question. I am for three more days without trouble. I don't know what follows. We will probably take time off until November.”¹³

In contrast to this disastrous picture of Istanbul, Edirne kept quiet. The only higher educational institutions were the Teacher Training Colleges, surrounded by barracks and parade grounds. It was – at least for me – difficult to get in touch with educated inhabitants. There was no serious bookstore or *sah-haf* as a meeting place of literati. I remember only a small place in the Bedesten whose supply was as poor as the demand.

When I arrived in summer 1974 to verify some details before publishing the book, long military convoys headed for Edirne. We happened to travel in Eastern Thrace a couple of days after the Turkish landing in Cyprus. At the same time a mosquito plague of biblical dimensions gave us a hard time, since the soldiers had completely confiscated the stocks of ointments against the beasts.

One more remark on field research: as everybody knows, Evliya Çelebi was a restless traveler but reading Arabic inscriptions was not one of his strong points. When I was busy taking a picture of the defective inscription of the *türbe* of Tütünsüz Baba (in reality of a 16th century poet and *defterdar*),¹⁴ a middle-aged man approached with questions about my activities. Answering truthfully, I asked him his name and intentions in return, and he would only respond that he was a *vatandaş*. The quarrelsome *vatandaş* called a policeman, and in the end, I was unable to take my picture of Tütünsüz Baba's mausoleum. I mention the event in passing as an example of the spy hysteria of the period. More helpful were people in the museum, where a young man my age was putting Roman coins in order – to my astonishment in fulfillment of his compulsory military service.

Ottoman Edirne still showed traces of the wars and occupations, but also of the neglect and deliberate destruction of historical monuments in the late 1930s and '40s. Zeki Sayar, the editor of the quarterly journal *Arkitekt*,¹⁵ complained

13 “Burada üniversiteler 4 Mayıs kadar tatil edildi: 10 Nisandan beri. Sebebi birkaç kişinin sağcı-solcu meselesinden vurulmuş olması. 3 gün daha rahatım. Bundan sonra ne olacağımı bilmiyorum. Belki de Kasım kadar tatil oluruz.”

14 See Süheyl Ünver on the lamentable state of the mausoleum in an article of *Edirne Sesi* (13 Apr. 1962), cited in: 600 sene Edirnemizin müstesna manası 1362–1962, in: *Arkitekt* 307 (1962/02), pp. 67–72.

15 More articles devoted to Edirne in *Arkitekt* are accessible online: <http://dergi.mo.org.tr> – Sayar's and Ünver's contributions are illustrated with drawings of ruined Ottoman buildings. The author signed his mature sketches with TAN. Later I learned that Tan Oral (b. 1937) worked in 1962 as graduate student of architecture in Edirne. He is considered one of the most prominent political cartoonists in Turkey.

in 1962 that only 75 to 80 of more than 350 historical monuments (*eski eserler*), recorded by knowledgeable persons had survived; the remainder had been partly or completely destroyed. Other architects such as Erdem Yücel¹⁶ and Doğan Kuban,¹⁷ wrote on the lamentable state of many buildings: in the early seventies the number of traditional wooden houses was near to zero.

It was not my intention to present exclusively negative experiences and obstacles to research. Strolling through Edirne helped me to open my eyes to the Ottomanness of an Ottoman city, the changing function of building types, the character of a quarter, and the spatial relation between the palace and the town.

Looking back I am still astonished about my lack of interest in contemporary Edirne. I honestly confess that the study of the Roman-Byzantine city walls with four towers and eight gates occupied me more than many other issues. What can be said in justification? Contemporary Edirne was not part of my project, but I did not dare to ask relevant questions. Even the widespread Germanophilia of those days was not a guarantee against suspicion of foreigners who were able to read Arabic and Ottoman inscriptions and wanted to locate forgotten dervish convents.

I confess that my interest in Adrianopolitana has always remained vivid. I suffered when the newspapers (*Cumhuriyet*, 30 Sept. 1992) reported that a great fire destroyed the Ali Paşa Çarşısı. I keep a clipping of *Şalom* (19 Ada 5757/26 Şubat 1997) on the restoration of the *sinagoga* (*de parte de la Universidad de Trakya*). In my work on statues and historical monuments, I included observations on the *intikam taşı* erected in Edirne after the Balkan War.¹⁸ And – more satisfying – I try to complete my collection of engravings and other pictorial evidence of Edirne. Although I have to give up the project of rewriting Evliya's Edirne I succeeded at least in including Hakan Karateke's work¹⁹ in my series – for the first time, to the deep satisfaction of all Evliyalogists, with plates of the manuscript in color.

Klaus Kreiser

¹⁶ Yücel, Erdem: Tarihi Görünümünden Uzaklaşan Edirne, in: *Arkitekt* 358 (1975/02), pp. 70–71.

¹⁷ Kuban Doğan: Edirne. Eski ve Yeni, in: *T.T.O.K. Belleten* 39/318 (1975), pp. 6–7.

¹⁸ Kreiser, Klaus: Türkei. Vom namenlosen Glaubenszeugen zum patriotischen Heldenkult. Kriegerdenkmäler und Gedenkstätten, in: Manfred Hettling and Jörg Echternkamp (eds.): *Gefallenengedenken im globalen Vergleich. Nationale Tradition, politische Legitimation und Individualisierung der Erinnerung*, Munich 2012, pp. 473–490.

¹⁹ Karateke, Hakan T.: *Evliyâ Celebî's Journey from Bursa to the Dardanelles and Edirne*, Leiden 2013.

Acknowledgements

The main corpus of this edited volume goes back to a workshop held in 2014 under the title “Captivating Edirne. Resources, Connectivities and Imaginative Attraction of a Turkish Border-City in Europe.” The international conference, co-organized by Birgit Krawietz and Florian Riedler, was kindly funded by the German Fritz Thyssen Stiftung. We also have to acknowledge the foundation’s generous grant towards print costs, which made this volume possible in the present form.

The two-day workshop was hosted by different institutions: it started at the Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies (BGS MCS), which provided assistance before, during, and after the conference. We are particularly grateful to its then director, Prof. Gudrun Krämer, who was very supportive of the whole enterprise. The secretaries Sonja Eising (Freie Universität) and Jutta Schmidbauer (BGS MCS), as well as the student employees Manuela Hager (FU), David Battefeld (FU), and Jonathan Korbel (BGS MCS), assisted the project in different stages. On the second day of the conference, participants reconvened at the Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO) in Berlin and profited from its conference expertise, notably helped by student assistant Annegret Roelke.

We likewise thank those students who participated in our Edirne seminar, co-taught by the two editors at Freie Universität in the spring term 2015, for their lively contributions and discussions. That helped us a lot to further digest existing materials and the secondary literature on Edirne.

As for the challenging intellectual trajectory of this project, one person has to be singled out in our thanks, namely Klaus Kreiser. The professor emeritus of Turkish Studies, now living in Berlin, is a trailblazer when it comes to the study of Edirne. He is the only Western historian who has written a monograph on the city, namely his dissertation *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyâ Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, which was published in 1975 (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag). We are very grateful for his early willingness to contribute the opening words of the conference (see his Foreword above) and for his repeated expertise, inspiration, advice, and help throughout further stages.

Our efforts to turn some of the talks held, plus further contributions by people recruited afterwards, into full-fledged chapters amounting to a consistent volume, were quite demanding. A number of the contributors to this volume must at times have felt nearly bullied by us editors. We want to emphasize, though, that our repeated suggestions to a few of them were uttered in full expectation of what they have been able to produce as enlarged and enhanced end results, although we did not insist on a certain word count and also

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accepted shorter chapters. We particularly thank Darin Stephanov and Steffen Wippel, who are cornerstones of the quite experimental character of the publication at hand, for their lasting willingness and patience.

A number of people who either live(d) in Edirne or work(ed) there at certain times have been helpful in various ways and provided information of sorts: first and utmost, the English teacher and interim mayor's assistant Aylin Tekergölü (now Yılmaz), who lent her support for many years. We further thank former Vice-Mayor and heritage-expert Namık Kemal Döleneken, Ottoman era archaeologist Mustafa Özer from Bahçeşehir University, and language and culture coach Franziska Schleyer for certain input. Melis Erüstün, Social Media Manager of the Mayor (Edirne Belediyesi Kültür ve Sosyal İşler Müdürlüğü), provided us with a larger number of photographs, from which we have picked the most fitting ones for publication in this volume. In addition, various people agreed to background interviews, such as İbrahim Ay and Alper Yazoğlu.

It has been a pleasure to work with the De Gruyter publishing house: Dr. Sophie Wagenhofer and Katrin Mittmann answered each of our multiple questions, always ready to explain things and suggest the best solution. We thank the series editors, Prof. Dr. Stefan Heidemann, who quickly responds to organizational matters and signaled from the beginning his principal interest in this publication project. We are happy that our Edirne volume was finally accepted for publication in the "Studies in the History and Culture of the Middle East" series: we are very grateful to those two anonymous external reviewers who provided extremely helpful backing, but also significant serious suggestions and corrections. Prof. Dr. Gottfried Hagen (Ann Arbor, Michigan), a member of the series' editorial board, inserted so many valuable comments throughout the whole manuscript that his contribution functionally amounts to that of a third external supervisor. Finally, Mitch Cohen brushed up our language. The remaining blunders are all ours.

Berlin, February 2019

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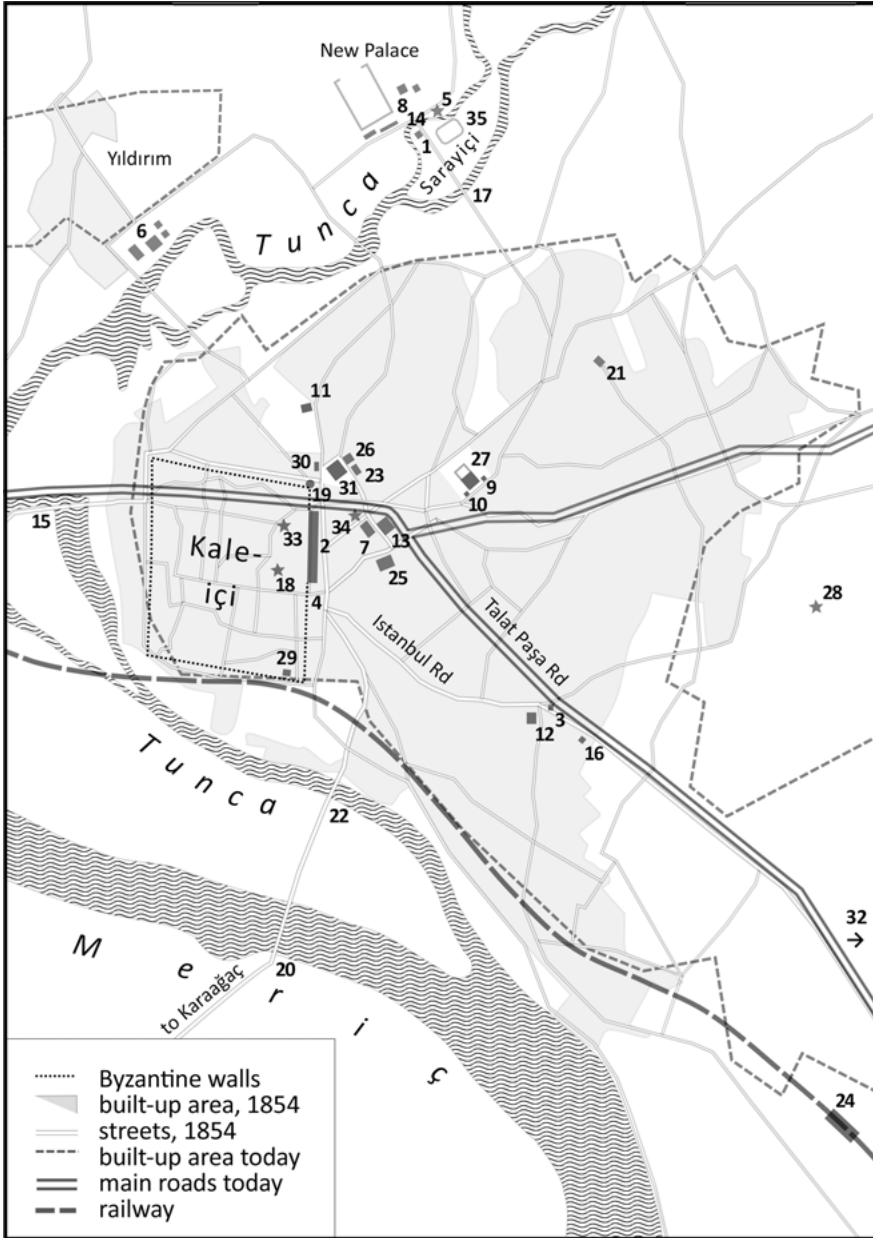


Fig. 1: Ottoman and modern Edirne with the principal monuments mentioned in the book:

1) Adalet Kasrı, 2) Ali Paşa Market, 3) Ayşe Kadın Mosque, 4) Balık Pazarı Gate, 5) Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial, 6) Bayezid II Complex, 7) Bedesten, 8) Cihannümâ Kasrı, 9) Darülhadis,

Fig. 1 (continued)

10) Darülkurra Medrese, 11) Deveci Khan, 12) Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, 13) Eski Cami or Old Mosque, 14) Fatih Bridge, 15) Gazi Mihal Bridge, 16) Kadı Bedrettin Mosque, 17) Kanuni Bridge, 18) Kırkpınar House, 19) Macedonian Tower, 20) Meriç or New Bridge, 21) Muradiye Mosque, 22) Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa or Old Bridge, 23) Peykler Medrese, 24) Railway station, 1970s, 25) Rüstem Pasha Khan, 26) Saatlı Medrese, 27) Selimiye Mosque, 28) Şükrü Pasha Memorial, 29) Synagogue, 1905, 30) Taşhan, 31) Üç Şerefeli Mosque, 32) Wrestlers' roundabout fountain, 33) Wrestlers' cemetery, 34) Wrestling monument, 35) Wrestling arena.

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Birgit Krawietz and Florian Riedler

Approaching Edirne. Dis-/Connections and Attractions

Approaching the modern Republic of Turkey with Turkish Airlines, the *Skylife* board magazine proudly presents to its readers the map of domestic connections, an impressive bundle of energetically curved lines that swing mightily out from Istanbul east- and southward to many even remote areas of the Anatolian landmass. On inbound flights, the airline serves a host of destinations in the Asian part of the country that represents 97% of its territory. The offers of Istanbul-based travel agencies likewise reflect this strong bent toward the Eastern Mediterranean coastline as well as touting, for more culturally oriented customers, archaeological site hopping, notably in ancient former settlements in the western part of Anatolia. However, not even one strand in the magazine indicates a flight to the country's region west of Istanbul's Atatürk Airport (constructed on the European side of the city in 1912), perhaps because of the relatively short distance.¹

Today, travelling by public transport to Thrace, the westernmost part of Turkey with its principal city Edirne, usually proceeds via Istanbul – a bus ride that takes about three hours, regular traffic jams included, although there are only some 220 km to cover. The “quickest,” yet piecemeal travel connection would be to go from Istanbul's Atatürk Airport by subway to the Great Istanbul Bus Terminal (Büyük İstanbul Otogarı) operating since 1994 with its concrete shoebox architecture and from there to catch an intercity bus that takes the Trans-Europe E80 Motorway (the route section from Edirne to Istanbul was built from 1987 to 1997). Even from there, it takes half an hour's ride before the traveler sees from the bus window a more agrarian scenery and afterward catches to the left a quick glimpse of the sea that he then leaves behind. He passes all the quickly mushrooming functional architecture with its obviously never enough malls and then traverses a serene, fertile landscape until his final destination. Some 40 km before Edirne, he crosses its provincial border (*il sınırı*). Close to Edirne, he arrives at a smaller bus terminal of similar aesthetic charm and has to hop on a minibus to enter the town itself.

¹ For a glimpse into the future, see the outlook by the editors at the end of this volume.

Until recently, the inaccessibility and disconnectedness experienced by the modern traveler have reinforced the impression that Edirne today is an island that exists relatively untouched by developments in the outside world. In an age of global flows and connections of all sorts, we clearly would expect otherwise, which is why Edirne's current state of disconnectedness, particularly from nearby Istanbul, appears so inappropriate. The general increase in connectivity has not only changed our personal expectations, but has also had repercussions on the conceptual outlook of urban studies. Over the last decades, scholars have begun to advocate a wide variety of comparative and relational approaches to cities in an attempt to take into account their growing interconnectedness. Many have focused on networks of communication and exchange and their effect on the re-positioning of cities on different geographical scales; others, more radically, have abandoned the idea of cities as bounded entities altogether and tried to reconceive of them as networks or changing sets of mobility.²

With this volume, we follow some of the cues from these most recent approaches in urban studies and make them fruitful for our exploration of the city of Edirne. First, we agree that "ordinary cities" require more of the attention that usually has been directed to bigger global contenders.³ This is not only necessary for a better understanding of contemporary urban trends; we think that it is also fundamental for deepening our historical analysis of Ottoman urbanity. The contributions in this volume offer a reinterpretation of Edirne's history from Ottoman times to the most recent period of the Turkish Republic. Intentionally, they will not develop a continuous story of the city's development during this period spanning roughly 600 years, but will focus on certain key moments and issues. We think that some of the recent theoretical insights mentioned above can be made fruitful for such an overarching and in large part historical account and offer a common framework for the different chapters in the volume. More precisely, the stress on connectivity and relationality in contemporary urban studies can help to refine and sharpen a previously established approach to urban history, i.e., that of the city biography. Drawing an analogy between the development of a city and the life of a person means acknowledging the city as a

² Ward, Kevin: Towards a Relational Comparative Approach to the Study of Cities, in: *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (2010), pp. 471–487; Robinson, Jennifer: Cities in a World of Cities. The Comparative Gesture, in: *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 35 (2011), pp. 1–23; Jacobs, Jane M.: Urban Geographies I. Still Thinking Cities Relationally, in: *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (2012), pp. 412–422; Robinson, Jennifer: Thinking Cities through Elsewhere. Comparative Tactics for a More Global Urban Studies, in: *Progress in Human Geography* 40 (2016), pp. 3–29.

³ Robinson, Jennifer: *Ordinary Cities. Between Modernity and Development*, London 2006.

topic of its own, but at the same time treating it as a “place in context.” In historiographical practice, city biographies have usually also included comparative elements.⁴ In a number of ways, we aim to soften the contours of the city as a bounded territory without totally dissolving them: first, by emphasizing Edirne’s embeddedness in flows of people, ideas, and goods that relate it in various ways to the world and in particular to other cities; second by directing attention to connective practices and mobilities of people and institutions, as well as to the material structures that enable these mobilities. In this way, we also hope to offer a more concrete and dynamic way to integrate what urban history usually has taken account of as the “context” in which urbanity develops. In the case of Edirne, this is of particular importance, since the imperial Ottoman context itself is not so easily delimited, and in many cases connections reached beyond the established political geography.

It is our overall aim to understand Edirne’s urbanity not as something that emerged as a result of the genius of place or its inhabitants or that could be characterized in a negative way as the epitome of provinciality,⁵ but as decisively shaped by a constitutive elsewhere. We do not see this as a lack, but as a normal condition that historical urban studies have taken note of earlier and in various ways. This characteristic of urbanity is again remembered and revalued in an age when cities of all sizes have to re-position themselves in new networks and flows and the geographies they produce. Exemplary in this regard are investigations of Ottoman urbanity that focus on trade, migration, and other forms of connectivity and exchange as central for their case studies.⁶ While such a focus is almost self-evident for Ottoman port cities, we think that also other Ottoman cities can profit from an approach highlighting connectivity and relationality as the constituents of their urbanity. In the case of Edirne, it was not so much the connections that were apparent to the eye, but the disconnections and discontinuities that, in the Ottoman case, characterize the transition from empire to nation state. Because it disrupted older connections and forms of exchange and established new ones, the transformation from Ottoman to Turkish Edirne can be described in new ways. Beyond this turbulent episode unfolding at the beginning of the 20th century, it is the very structure of the

⁴ Ewen, Shane: *What Is Urban History?* Cambridge 2016, pp. 22–24.

⁵ Tischler-Hofer, Ulrike: Das andere Edirne. Typische und bleibende Abweichungen, in: *Études Balkaniques* 4 (2015), pp. 151–187.

⁶ Just to cite a few examples: Fawaz, Leila: *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut*, Cambridge, Mass. 1983; Frangakis-Syrett, Elena: *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century. (1700–1820)*, Athens 1992; Freitag, Ulrike et al. (eds.): *The City in the Ottoman Empire. Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*. London and New York 2011.

urban Ottoman network with Istanbul as “the central reference point for all other Ottoman cities”⁷ that calls for a relational approach. This is particularly true for Edirne, not only for reasons of proximity, but also because the two cities were successive Ottoman capitals, which left a symbolic connection between them. As the following contributions will reveal, it is not possible to write Edirne’s history without constant reference to its more prominent sister. Many chapters in this volume focus on the changing nature of this relation – variously interpreted as competition, cooperation, or takeover – and the constituting material and ideal connections between the two cities.

But also other “elsewheres” that have their bearing on Edirne’s urbanity will be explored in the following. Besides Edirne’s connection to cities beyond Istanbul, other contributions in this volume will highlight the temporal dimension, i.e., the way the relation between Edirne’s past, present, and future was conceptualized at different times by different actors.

Beyond the multiple discontinuities in Edirne’s history, we are interested in “heritage,” understood as usable knowledge about the past that, particularly in the last decades, has become of utmost importance for cities all over the world. In this sense, heritage has a specific marketable value, e.g. in the tourism industry; more interesting, however, is its meaning for the political and cultural spheres with its potential to give legitimation to certain political projects and to overall safeguard a city’s individuality against the demands of homogeneity that nationalism, modernity, and globalization have posed at various periods.⁸ While several of the volume’s chapters will directly address the question of heritage that in recent years has also become pertinent for Edirne, we think that this question also justifies mixing papers focusing on the past and the present. Historical analysis offers a kind of knowledge that can explain the dissonances and contradictions that different interpretations and uses of heritage so often produce. Moreover, it makes contemporary processes of heritagization more transparent. Our emphasis is on the Ottoman period, but we are aware of the even much older appeal of the city as a dynamic interface of cultures and as a highly contested place.⁹

7 Boyar, Ebru: The Ottoman City. 1500–1800, in: Peter Clark (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, Oxford 2013, pp. 275–291, here p. 275.

8 Graham, Brian: Heritage as Knowledge. Capital or Culture?, in: *Urban Studies* 39 (2002), pp. 1003–1017.

9 The heritage of Edirne, in fact, goes much deeper than merely the Byzantines as the predecessors of the Ottomans. Archaeological findings in the region go back as far as the Neolithic.

1 Ottoman Connectivities

To explain Edirne's disconnected state today, we can start with the displacement of Turkey's center at the beginning of national independence after World War I. Mustafa Kemal, Turkey's founding figure, had been born and raised in Ottoman Salonica (today's Thessaloniki, which, in contrast to Edirne nowadays, can be reached by plane from Istanbul). When later, in 1934, he was officially declared "Atatürk" (Father of the Nation), he had already relocated the center of the state from Istanbul, which lies at the very crossroads between Europe and Asia Minor, to an inaccessible, less vulnerable hinterland area: lucky Ankara, at the time a small town of some 30,000 inhabitants in the middle of Anatolia, was chosen to become the capital of the newly founded republic.

In contrast, Edirne belonged to the historical core of the Ottoman Empire. It was one of its three capitals after Bursa, which was conquered by the Ottomans in 1326 and was very significant for shaping Ottoman political and cultural identity.¹⁰ Until Constantinople was conquered, Edirne had been the base for the empire's expansion in Southeast Europe and was associated with the frontier (*hudud, serhat*) – in the sense of an expanding border space (*uç*) representing the "capital at the frontier."¹¹ Even after the conquest of Constantinople and the transfer of the capital there, Edirne was the military and administrative center of the Ottoman province of Rumelia (Rumeli), which comprised large parts of Southeast Europe. When the Ottoman frontier moved further away toward Hungary, because of its strategic location on the main road from Istanbul to Belgrade and beyond, Edirne remained the military base for westward expeditions. Various Ottoman sultans erected palaces, mosques, institutions of learning, and caravanserais in this city; they enjoyed its splendid hunting grounds and staged major festivities there.

Consequently, until a century ago, it was much easier to reach Edirne, which was a natural stop on the way to and from Istanbul for all those from Eastern Central Europe who could not reach the Ottoman capital by sea. Many travelers passed through Edirne and described their impressions. Among the most famous Ottoman visitors was Evliya Çelebi in the mid-17th century, whose account of his stay in the city fills a chapter of his *Seyahatname*, which has

10 Some authors also consider Iznik the first Ottoman capital, before Bursa. Cf. Armağan, Mustafa: *Osmanlı'nın Anahtarlarını Taşıyan Şehir. Edirne*, in: Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz (eds.): *Edirne. Serhattaki Paytaht*, Istanbul 1998, pp. 151–160; for a comparative view, cf. Kuran, Aptullah: *A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals*, in: *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), pp. 114–131.

11 Compare also İşli and Koz, *Edirne*.

triggered important modern research on the city.¹² Also many foreigners, most notably Austrian diplomats, but also those from Poland-Lithuania passed through Edirne on their way to Istanbul. A widely known account was left by Lady Mary Montagu, the wife of the British ambassador, who stayed in the city for one year from 1717 to 1718.¹³ But other such accounts remain to be discovered as sources on the city's history.¹⁴

In the 19th century, Edirne's connectivity was further increased by the implementation of modern transport infrastructures. The famous Orient Express from Paris via Munich, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, and Sofia stopped in Edirne and continued to Istanbul Sirkeci Station. From that time on, Edirne has not been missing from guidebooks for Western travelers, like the Baedeker. As in today's travel guides, Edirne was treated as an annex to Istanbul.¹⁵

Edirne's past character as a well-connected city also had a decisive effect on its cultural diversity. The fact that it was deeply embedded in the imperial flows and networks reshaped urban life and created the variety of cultures, languages, religions, and ethnicities so typical of Ottoman cities. In its regional peculiarity, this mix combined not only Turkish, but also Jewish, Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian, and Roma inhabitants, who, with their religions, languages, and cultures, shaped Edirne's urbanity. In the 19th century, the city's integration into the economic world system that was centered on Europe added another layer to this traditional mix. Edirne's railway quarter Karaağaç, in particular, came to host an illustrious cosmopolitan *beau monde* together with a community of European railway workers.¹⁶

¹² See, for instance, Kreiser, Klaus: *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, Freiburg 1975; Hamit Aydoğan: *Evliyâ Çelebi'ye Göre 17. Yüzyılda Edirne*, Yüksek Lisans thesis, Trakya Üniversitesi, Edirne 2019.

¹³ Warnock Fernea, Elizabeth: An Early Ethnographer of Middle Eastern Women. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40 (1981), pp. 329–338; Konuk, Kader: Ethnomasquerade in Ottoman-European Encounters. Reenacting Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in: *Criticism* 46 (2004), pp. 393–414; Akpınar, Turgut: Alman Seyahatnamelerinde Edirne, in: İşli and Koz, *Edirne*, pp. 255–278.

¹⁴ Kreiser, Klaus: Zwei unbekannte Beschreibungen des Serails von Edirne aus den Jahren 1740/41, in: *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1982), pp. 114–142.

¹⁵ Baedeker, Karl: *Konstantinopel und das westliche Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1905, pp. 31–34; more detailed is Taylor, Jane: *Imperial Istanbul. A Traveller's Guide. Includes Iznik, Bursa and Edirne*, London 1998, which treats Edirne on 20 pages; Özendes basically provides what the subtitle indicates, namely *The Second Ottoman Capital, Edirne. A Photographic History*. Without academic interest is the smallish but official *Edirne Turizm Rehberi / Tourism Guide of Edirne*, printed by Edirne Matbaası, for instance in 2009.

¹⁶ Erdoğan, Rabia: Bir Aykırı Edirne Mahallesi. Karaağaç, in: İşli and Koz, *Edirne*, pp. 193–203.

The fragmentation of Ottoman imperial space in the 19th and 20th centuries, the successive creation of autonomous provinces and national states like Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria, their efforts to homogenize their territories, and especially these states' aggressive foreign policy to liberate their "unredeemed" co-nationals put an end to the milieus of prior ethnic and religious coexistence. Already in the last quarter of the 19th century, the various groups living in Ottoman Thrace slowly began to transform into national communities.

The definite end of urban diversity came in the intense period of armed conflicts between 1912 and 1922 that comprised the two Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Turkish War of Independence. Each time Edirne was conquered or re-conquered by one of the conflicting parties, one part of the population had to leave and was resettled behind the border. In 1923, the Orthodox inhabitants who relocated to Greek territory founded the new town Orestiada, which took up the ancient name of Edirne, Orestia. Until the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), Edirne had been an administrative, military, and commercial center, but now it became "an isolated border town, cut off from its commercial and economic hinterland."¹⁷

This isolation proceeded in several steps: in 1878, the northern part of Edirne province achieved the status of an autonomous province named Eastern Rumelia. When it was annexed by Bulgaria in 1885, the Ottoman-Bulgarian border was established to the northwest of Edirne. After the Balkan Wars, a border with Bulgaria was also established to the west of the city when Bulgaria acquired the western part of Thrace bordering on the Aegean. Greece occupied Western and Eastern Thrace, together with Edirne, in 1920 until the present-day borders were fixed in 1923 in the treaty of Lausanne. These border changes point to Edirne's enduring geostrategic position on the road to Istanbul and the Straits, i.e., the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, that made it the goal of various conquerors before Ottoman dominance was established and after the empire's decline in the 19th century. According to the British historian John Keegan, the city has the dubious reputation of being the "most frequently contested spot on the globe."¹⁸

¹⁷ Levy, Avigdor: *The Siege of Edirne (1912–1913) as Seen by a Jewish Eyewitness. Social, Political, and Cultural Perspectives*, in: id. (ed.): *Jews, Turks, Ottomans. A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century*, Syracuse, New York 2002, pp. 153–193, here p. 192; Konortas, Paraskevas: *Nationalism vs Millets. Building Collective Identities in Ottoman Thrace*, in: Nikiforos Diamandouros, Thalia Dragonas, Caglar Keyder (eds.): *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation. Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, London 2010, pp. 161–180.

¹⁸ Keegan, John: *A History of Warfare*, New York 1994, pp. 70–71.

As a result of the contestations in the 20th century, the region's historical unity was destroyed, so that many former networks or interfaces of exchange became dysfunctional. This trend continued after World War II with the Soviet formation of the Eastern Bloc, which included Bulgaria. As a consequence of the Iron Curtain, the area was heavily militarized and Turkey turned her back even more on the tremendously shrunken dominions west of Istanbul.

2 The Discontinuous Literature on Edirne

To a certain extent, Edirne's recent disconnectedness has been reflected also in the discontinuous state of Turkish and Western scholarly literature. For a long time, no author has attempted to produce a monographic treatment of Edirne's entire history. Already in the late 19th century, the Ottoman official Ahmed Badi (1839–1908) complained that there was no current history of his hometown reflecting its historical importance for the Ottoman Empire.¹⁹ So, he started to continue the classical chronicle by the Edirne-based scholar Abdurrahman Hibri (1604–1659) to bring it up to his present time. After Ahmed Badi, other local historians followed in his footsteps and set out to write against the marginalization of Edirne, which had become a small town on the militarized fringes of new Turkey.

One of these local historians was Rifat Osman (1874–1933), who in 1920 published a sort of tourist guide, *Edirne Rehnüması*, with historical background information in Ottoman and French. Another and perhaps the last author to publish a book entitled *History of Edirne* (Edirne Tarihi) in 1939, was Osman Nuri Peremeci (1874–1945).²⁰ Yet another example is Onur Oral (1929–2013).²¹ The articles and books these lay historians produced were the expression of a local historical consciousness (which today continues mostly in the internet).²² Professional historians use them as a mine of facts, but they are difficult to appreciate in their own right.

¹⁹ Beyzadeoğlu, Süreyya: Ahmed Bâdî, in: İşli and Koz, *Edirne*, pp. 601–608, here p. 604.

²⁰ Peremeci, Osman Nuri: *Edirne Tarihi*, Istanbul 1939; there is a facsimile print published in 2011 by bellek in Edirne; cf. also Canım, Rıdvan: *Bir Şehre Vakfedilen Ömür Veya Bir Edirne Sevdalısı*. Osman Nuri Peremeci, in: İşli and Koz, *Edirne*, pp. 609–613.

²¹ *1492'den Günümüze Edirne Yahudi Cemaati*, Edirne 2005; *Edirne Su Kültürü*. "Kadim Su" (Haseki suyu); *Mimar Sinan'ın Su Yolları, Su Kemerleri, Terazileri, Maksim Yerleri, Çeşme ve Sebiller*, Istanbul 1978.

²² Cf. <http://www.edirnetarihi.com/>, last accessed 12 June 2015.

Also many professional academic historians have worked on Edirne, but while other Ottoman cities have received city biographies, such a synthesis is lacking for Edirne. What we do have – not so much in Western languages, but mostly in Turkish – are detailed interpretations of certain periods of Edirne's long history or discussion of certain topics and the sources pertinent in urban history. Particularly the time of the Balkan Wars and the Turkish War of Independence, which proved so important for the role of Edirne in the Turkish Republican imagination, has been examined in detail. There are also hundreds of dissertations, conference papers, and articles in journals and collected volumes on various subjects concerning the city.²³

Worthy of special mention are three collections of essays that were compiled on important jubilees connected to the city's history. Besides presenting the state of the art of Turkish scholarship on Edirne, they also offer a glimpse of the changing position of Ottoman history in Turkish academia. The first of these is the volume produced on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Ottomans' conquest of the city, which was published in 1963 by the Turkish History Association (Türk Tarih Kurumu) and contains the papers from two conferences.²⁴ The volume focuses on the history of the Ottoman central state as far as it is reflected in the city, as well as Edirne's contribution to "Turkish" culture. It displays the official view of history as elaborated by the History Association as a state-sponsored institution that understood Ottoman history as a part of national Turkish history.

The second collection of essays, published in 1998 under the title *Edirne. Serhattaki Payitaht* (The Capital on the Frontier)²⁵ is the most successful attempt to present the state of research on Edirne in a manner also accessible to the interested public. On 600 pages with many illustrations, over forty authors not only give an overview of Edirne's history from its prehistoric beginnings until the Republican era; the volume also includes essays on a wide variety of subjects ranging from traditional handicrafts to the arts, architecture, poetry, and other facets of culture. Besides standard topics like the Selimiye, the volume tries to approach issues that have been addressed by Turkish academia only in recent decades. For example, there are articles on the Jewish as well as the Greek communities of the city that show that Edirne had been a multi-ethnic and multi-religious place in Ottoman times before it became a decisively Turkish city in the 20th century.

²³ Cf. Cahit, Cemil and Can Ender Bilar: *Edirne Bibliyografyası*, Edirne 2009, <http://bibliyografya.trakya.edu.tr/bibliyografya/bibliyografya.pdf>, last accessed 12 June 2015.

²⁴ *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600. Fetih Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara 1993.

²⁵ İşli and Koz, *Edirne*.

The third example is the product of the local University of Thrace (Trakya Üniversitesi) that assembles the papers of a conference in 2011 on the occasion of the 650th anniversary of Edirne's conquest.²⁶ More interesting than the papers themselves, which present various aspects of Ottoman Edirne, is the framing of the volume. The official addresses of the rector of the university and the governor of Edirne province invoke the pre-Ottoman presence of "Turks" on the Balkans that paved the way for the Ottoman civilizing mission. The common appreciation of Ottoman rule that has become very widespread in recent years is supported here with an argument that claims the autochthony of the Turks in the local context. This may well be understood as an offer of collaboration with other Balkan nations, in the case of Edirne with Bulgaria. Tellingly, the volume opens with an article on the Pechenegs, a Turkic nomadic people that settled north of the Black Sea, and their relation with the First Bulgarian Empire in the Middle Ages.

Hence, the literature in Turkish remains in general sketchy, often superficial and outdated, perhaps with the exception of the mentioned collective work that has attempted to offer a "total" history of the city. Most remarkable is the fact that there are simply no monographs on the city, which makes it extraordinarily difficult to grasp an overarching vision of Edirne's centuries of history under Ottoman rule.

We only want to mention some of the Western-language publications to illustrate the scope of attention (as it turns out: relative disregard) that this important town has found over the last decades in academia outside Turkey. Among such publications, three topic clusters catch the eye in relation to Edirne as an expression of an explicit interest within historical and cultural studies, namely with regard to (i) general Ottoman history, (ii) architectural accounts, and (iii) Edirne as an important rallying point of Jewish history. Other disciplines, such as geography and biology, take an interest in further aspects, like the natural habitat or agriculture, perspectives that are not tackled, however, in our volume. The disciplines that predominantly deal with the mentioned three focal areas are, on the one hand, history and art history, and, on the other, popular accounts that address a wider audience:

There is a host of literature on (i) Ottoman history in a wider sense, and notably with regard to military developments on the Balkans; such publications include rather scattered information on Edirne or refer to it on various occasions, but in passing.²⁷ In the past, certain historical events have drawn specific

²⁶ Sezgin, İbrahim, Cengiz Fedarkar, and Hasan Demiroğlu (eds.): *Uluslararası Edirne'nin Fethinin 650. Yılı Sempozyumu, 4–6 Mayıs 2011. Bildiriler Kitabı*, Edirne 2012.

²⁷ For such surveys, see, for example, Fleet, Kate and Metin Kunt (eds.): *Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453. The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, Cambridge et al. 2009; Faroqhi, Suraiya

interest, such as the Ottoman conquest of Edirne in the second half of the 14th century,²⁸ the “Edirne Incident” in 1703,²⁹ and the siege of Edirne in the course of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), many accounts of which were published also by Western eyewitnesses.³⁰ Amy Singer, together with a group of authors, some of them also present in this volume, has rekindled interest in early Ottoman Edirne and various aspects of the city’s integration into the Ottoman Empire.³¹ Finally, Edirne is also present in the new interest in historical demography Turkish scholars have shown recently.³²

When it comes to (ii), architectural accounts, the manifold works of Sinan (d. 1588) loom large, although much of the literature is immediately directed at specialists in architecture. There are various publications on this world-famous Ottoman architect of Christian origin, but few of them are restricted to Edirne. Sites other than those Sinan constructed have not been covered with the same diligence. And even the works on Sinan are predominantly descriptive art historical accounts without any serious outreach to social life and practices.³³

and Kate Fleet (eds.): *The Ottoman Empire as a World Power, 1453–1603. The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 2, Cambridge et al. 2013.

28 İnalçik, Halil: The Conquest of Edirne (1361), in: *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1971), pp. 185–210; Zachariadou, Elizabeth A.: The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks, in: *ibid.*: *Romania and the Turks (c. 1300–c. 1500)*, London 1985, part XII, pp. 211–217.

29 Abou-El-Haj, Rifa’at: *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, Leiden 1984; Baum, Heinrich Georg: *Edirne Vakası. Das Ereignis von Edirne*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1973. In 1703, Sultan Mustafa II was deposed in Edirne by revolting janissaries coming from Istanbul.

30 Wasti, Syed Tanvir: The 1912–13 Balkan Wars and the Siege of Edirne, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (2004), pp. 59–78; Ginio, Eyal: Constructing a Symbol of Defeat and National Rejuvenation. Edirne (Adrianople) in Ottoman Propaganda and Writing During the Balkan Wars, in: Stefan Goebel and Derek Keene (eds.): *Cities into Battlefields. Metropolitan Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations of Total War*, Farnham 2011, pp. 83–100; Erikson, Edward J.: *Defeat in Detail. The Ottoman Army in the Balkans (1912–13)*, Westport, CT 2003.

31 Singer, Amy: Introducing Edirne, in: *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3 (2016), pp. 3–5, as well as the other contributions in this issue by Panagiotis Kontolaimos, and Aziz Şakir.

32 Uğur, Yunus: *The Historical Interaction of the City with Its Mahalles. Ottoman Edirne in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*, unpublished PhD thesis, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul 2014; Tuncer, Ali Coşkun and Karagedikli, Gürer: The People Next Door. Housing and Neighbourhood in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Edirne, Economic History Society, Working Papers, no. 16010, 2016, <https://EconPapers.repec.org/RePEc:ehs:wpaper:16010>, last accessed 22 Jan. 2019.

33 A laudable exception is Akin, Günkut: The “Müezzin Mahfili” and Pool of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, in: *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 63–83, as well as the standard-setting work by Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005.

The strongest academic aspect is (iii) Jewish life and its connectivities. Already in the articles of Braude's collection of essays on Ottoman Jews and Christians, Edirne's role was well acknowledged.³⁴ Since then, a host of studies have examined different aspects of Jewish life in Edirne ranging from the integration of Jews in the city in the 17th century to the question of modern education.³⁵ As a consequence, we know much more about the city's Jews than about other communities. The expulsion of Jews from Thrace in the "Events of 1934," which resulted in the end of Jewish life in Edirne, has also attracted scholarly attention.³⁶

It is safe to conclude that the material discussed hitherto is extremely disciplinarily bound. Mostly architecture and in the widest sense Jewish Studies can claim to have delivered several significant contributions. Apart from the sketched trends, there is a relative dearth of in-depth studies. Most disciplines have nothing of heightened importance to say about the town of Edirne or they refer to it only in passing. This reflects its remoteness in scholarly mindsets, as well as the prevailing non-reflexivity about more recent developments, like (Neo-)Ottomanism, beyond the realm of Istanbul. The deplorable outline presented here cannot be equally asserted for Turkish literature. However, although there is no lack of Turkish publications that deal with Edirne, these usually neither relate to writings in Western languages nor are open-minded about trans-disciplinary research. Given this scenario, it is high time to suggest and present our alternative approaches.

34 Cf. articles by Epstein and Hacker in Braude, Benjamin (ed.): *Christian and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. 1, New York 1982; cf. also Ben-Naeh, Yaron: *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans*, Tübingen 2008, *passim*.

35 Karagedikli, Güler: Overlapping Boundaries in the City. Mahalle and Kahal in the Early Modern Ottoman Urban Context, in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 61 (2018), pp. 650–692; Rodrigue, Aron: Jewish Enlightenment and Nationalism in the Ottoman Balkans. Barukh Mitrani in Edirne in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century, in: Molly Greene (ed.): *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton 2005, pp. 129–143; Haker, Erol: *Edirne, Its Jewish Community, and Alliance Schools. 1867–1937*, Istanbul 2006.

36 Bali, Rifat: The 1934 Thrace Events. Continuity and Change Within Turkish State Policies Regarding Non-Muslim Minorities. An Interview with Rifat Bali, in: *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (2008), online edition, <http://ejts.revues.org> www.ejts.revues.org/2903, last accessed 13 June 2015; Pekesen, Berna: *Nationalismus, Türkisierung und das Ende der jüdischen Gemeinden in Thrakien. 1918–1942*, Munich 2012. For contemporary revival efforts, see the editors' outlook at the end of this volume.

3 This Volume and Its Contributions

In the face of the discontinuities spelled out above and in order to advance scholarship on Edirne, this volume will examine how the city was shaped by its connectivity and relationality to other places, above all to Istanbul. This perspective will be employed on many different levels, e.g., with regard to the human material side of urbanity, such as population growth, institutions, architecture, and infrastructures, but also regarding the imaginations Edirne triggered and the way it was connected to the life cycles and careers of Ottomans of various sorts. The forming, deflecting, and creative appropriation of heritage serves as a thread woven through this volume, together with the question of which social groups are imagined and encouraged to participate.

The selection at hand assembles a broad range of different disciplines, such as anthropology, architecture, art history, history, and Islamic studies, and was written by scholars from Bulgaria, Croatia, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, and Turkey. The challenge was how to combine functional aspects in the broadest sense with socio-cultural dimensions, including the construction and impact of city images and urban heritage. To capture this in a complex and meaningful portrait, we deem it necessary to approach the city historically as well as from a contemporary angle, so that both perspectives are intertwined and inform each other, while the notion of heritage is spelled out in both directions. Therefore, the six thematic sections of the volume are arranged in a loose historical order in which past and present concerns and questions mix. Unfolding, contrasting, and comparing these connections is especially important regarding the breaks and discontinuities that characterize Edirne's past, like so many other post-Ottoman urban communities.

Unfortunately, the volume cannot cover all aspects of Edirne's Ottoman and Turkish history to the same degree. There is a strong focus on the city's early Ottoman phase and its development in the 16th century especially regarding the imperial architecture. Also the 20th century is addressed by many of the following chapters. What is not treated in a comprehensive way is the cultural and demographic development of the 17th century when Edirne became the seat of the court again as well as the city's history of the long 18th century. Likewise, very recent developments such as Edirne's role in the so-called migration crisis could not be included. Thus, this edited volume cannot and does not claim to substitute for the still missing monography that treats Edirne's history in its entirety. We regard it as one of its merits to point to those topics that are terribly missing or insufficient in the study of Edirne.

Especially the relative neglect of the Ottoman middle period in our collective volume is a *lacuna*, but can be understood from the overall concern to integrate

present issues and historical analysis. The recent attempts of heritagization aim at specific periods of the Ottoman past and, as a result, others are pushed to the background. While in historical scholarship there are a number of fresh interpretations for the 17th and 18th centuries, that trend has not reached popular imagination yet. A number of chapters in this volume are directly concerned with the question of heritage that they try to complicate by reviewing it in a larger historical framework. It would be a worthwhile task for further research also to reinscribe those centuries into the history of Edirne that have not been taken up in the recent trend of heritagization.

The volume's first part, "Forming Edirne," explores different aspects of urban development in the period from the city's incorporation into the Ottoman state in the last quarter of the 14th century to the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. This part sets the tone by focusing on the early career of the city under the Ottomans, viewed through three different and complementary perspectives. The three chapters in this part successfully propose a more nuanced understanding of Edirne's status as an Ottoman capital during this initial period and highlight the city's various connections to Bursa and Istanbul, cities preceding and succeeding Edirne as the principal Ottoman centers.

Amy Singer's chapter, "In Search of Early Ottoman Edirne," deals with the basic task of locating early Ottoman Edirne in time and space, as well as in the imagination of the contemporaries. Because of the scarcity of sources from and about the city in this period, the author follows the movements of travelers – for the most part, the conquering sultans and their soldiers and officials – imagining how they filled Edirne with activity. Starting with the Ottoman chronicler Aşıkpaşazade, the chapter establishes Edirne's evolution from a city under dubious Ottoman suzerainty in the 1360s to a center of Ottoman government in the 1450s. In several steps, the city acquired additional functions, such as becoming the sultan's headquarters, the residence of his court, and the place of imperial weddings and successions, without totally superseding Bursa, which remained an important Ottoman center in other ways. Thus, the chapter reveals that Edirne's title as "second Ottoman capital" is shorthand for a much more complicated situation.

In his chapter, "The Formation of Early Ottoman Urban Space. Edirne as Paradigm," Panagiotis Kontolaimos explains Edirne's urban structure as an expression of the social developments in the early Ottoman state. Until 1420, Edirne emerged as the first truly imperial capital, reflecting the transformation of the Ottoman state from a small frontier principality to a centralized empire. Concentrating political, military, and economic power in his own hands, the sultan began to dominate all other powerful groups in early Ottoman society, such as warlords, dervishes, and brotherhoods of urban craftsmen. Edirne's

urban development was closely linked to this process, as is visible in structures such as the sultan's palace, built around 1385, (which also housed his new personal army, the janissaries); the old and new market (*bedesten*), where international trade generated tax income for the ruler; and the principal mosque, Eski Cami, inaugurated in 1414, which symbolized the ideological side of the sultan's power.

The chapter by M. Sait Özervarlı, "Connecting Capitals. Edirne among Early Ottoman Scholarly Destinations," examines Edirne as a station in the career paths of Ottoman religious scholars (*ulema*). From the very beginning, the Ottoman system of education and scholarship was modeled on the example the Seljuks introduced to Anatolia. The first school (*medrese*) in Edirne was opened in the early 15th century, and from then on institutions of learning multiplied in the city even after the conquest of Constantinople. By analyzing the career patterns of various Ottoman scholars who were important teachers and held offices in the religious hierarchy, the chapter demonstrates the enduring importance of Edirne as a scholarly hub. It was a regular step up on the career ladder for scholars from Bursa who would later attain the highest ranks in Istanbul. In reverse manner, it also could serve as a place of exile for scholars who fell from grace in Istanbul. Together, the institutions of learning in this triad of cities formed the core of scholarly culture in the Ottoman Empire, with Istanbul in a privileged but not exclusive position.

The second part of the volume, "Imperial Architecture," deals in detail with one of Edirne's characteristic and enduring features, its spectacular set of Ottoman monuments built before and after 1453. The contributions in this part examine the function of this imperial architecture in Edirne's historical urban setting and explore the way these monuments link Edirne to the wider world.

The chapter by Philip Geisler, "Challenging the Hagia Sophia. The Selimiye Mosque in Edirne as Ottoman Empire Branding," (2015 Graduate Student Paper Price of the Middle East Studies Association) examines the aesthetic relationship between the two buildings as representatives of the Byzantine past and the Ottoman present of the 16th century. To refute older claims of the inferiority of Ottoman architecture, the author offers a detailed formal analysis of Hagia Sophia and Selimiye, characterizing the latter as a highly regularized design whose main feature is the dominant and rising dome that appears wider and higher than it actually is. The relationship between the two structures cannot be conceived of in terms of "model" and "copy." Rather, it is best described as a "challenge" by Sinan, the architect of the Selimiye, to the Hagia Sophia. By adapting certain architectural features and an encompassing symbol management, he was able to include and surpass the earlier edifice. Overall, the Selimiye was designed to offer space to the Muslim congregation presided over by the Ottoman sultan in whose name it was erected. Its extreme visibility not only

transformed Edirne's urban space, but also branded the city with an Ottoman imperial image. That Edirne was chosen to act as a projection surface for this image accounts for the enduring centrality of the city.

In the next chapter, "Edirne as a Stopover Destination. The Ekmekçiöğlü Caravanserai and the Ottoman Road Network," Robin Wimmel focuses on a little-known remnant of Edirne's past function as a hub in long-distance travel and communication. The caravanserai in question, completed in 1609/10 on the outskirts of Edirne, served as a halting place on the major land route, which the author dubs the Great Diagonal Road, that traversed the empire from Damascus to Belgrade. The chapter brings together archaeological evidence, the architectural analysis of still existing buildings, and written sources. In this way, it offers a vivid picture of mobility in the 16th and 17th centuries, which caravanserais supported by offering free lodging and food to travellers. Edirne's caravanserai stands out as the largest surviving example of the double-wing type that Sinan developed until the middle of the 16th century during his presidency of the Imperial Corps of Architects. Besides the practical purposes of caravanserai construction that came to an end in the 17th century, the chapter also highlights the symbolic dimension of impressing the imperial Ottoman image on this central part of the empire. In this respect, caravanserais were more than functional buildings and therefore should be compared to imperial mosques.

Part three, "Heritage Construction in the Turkish Nation State," explores how the imperial legacy in Edirne is re-appropriated today in an ongoing desire to bridge the past and the present in a systematic way. The two chapters authored by the two editors contextualize past and present in a way that reflects the cultural, political and ideological choices that have come to dominate Turkey today.

Florian Riedler's chapter, "The Resurrection of Edirne's New Imperial Palace as National Heritage," traces the vanishing of an Ottoman monument and its recent rediscovery as a sign of the dis/connection between Edirne and Istanbul. The palace in question, which was in use since the mid-15th century, became neglected in the 18th century and was finally destroyed in a fire during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878. Except for some ruins, it vanished completely until, very recently, some of the buildings were reconstructed after an extensive archaeological excavation of the former palace site. The chapter examines the different phases of the rediscovery of the palace, which started at the beginning of the 20th century. Pioneering was a group of conservative Turkish scholars, intellectuals, and architects who, in their quest to make the Ottoman past a pillar of Turkish national identity, also took an interest in the palace. Together with the general re-evaluation of the Ottoman past in Turkish official history politics, this strategy had some

success. Recently it was supplemented by a strategy to integrate the palace with other touristic purposes in Edirne. Overall, in the conception and management of national heritage, Edirne remains closely connected to Istanbul, which in many ways offered the model of how to deal with monuments of the past in modern Turkey.

In the next chapter, “Designing Edirne’s Heritage Trail and Turkish Oil Wrestling,” Birgit Krawietz maps the manifold and interwoven UNESCO heritage projects and applications for Edirne. Against this wider backdrop, she pursues the city’s first successful UNESCO project, Turkish oil wrestling (status of Intangible Heritage since 2010), as a case study and locates the multi-level presentation of this heritage sport in town. It turns out that the cultural reservoir of oil wrestling is creatively employed to construct a highly complex urban heritage space that centers on the arena in the former Palace Garden as a showroom of sorts. Oil wrestling and its constructed manifestations in Edirne can serve as a lens to analyze more closely wider ambitions for the city.

Part four, “Crossroads Edirne,” offers a snapshot of Edirne’s diversity of inhabitants in the early modern period. By focusing on two mobile groups the contributions highlight the city’s connectivity as a basis for its plural character.

In his chapter, “The Formation of the First Ottoman ‘Mother of Israel’ in Edirne,” Aziz Nazmi Şakir displays the development of Edirne’s Jewish community in the 15th and 16th centuries. This very important and prosperous community was composed of migrants from various backgrounds. Immediately after the city’s conquest, Edirne’s first Jewish inhabitants came from Ottoman Bursa; later they were joined by migrants from the Balkans, Central Europe, and Western Europe. Although the majority of them were moved to Istanbul after 1453 to populate the new capital, new emigrants from Spain, Portugal, France, and Italy refilled their ranks at the turn of the 15th century. As in other cities, the Jews of Edirne organized in congregations that kept referring to their place of origin. Because of their mobility, skills in languages, and education, Jews were highly successful in Ottoman society, for example as court physicians or diplomats. This is also true of Jewish scholars, who circulated in a network of schools in Edirne and other Ottoman cities.

The chapter by Vjeran Kursar, “The Diplomatic, Religious, and Economic Presence of the Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in Edirne,” examines the connections to the important port city on the Adriatic. Dubrovnik became an Ottoman vassal state in the mid-15th century, which gave its merchants legal and economic privileges that helped them to dominate trade in the Balkans until the late 17th century. Although Edirne did not belong to their six major colonies in Ottoman Europe, these merchants were present in the city, where they invested in trade and sometimes entered into close business partnerships

with Jewish and Muslim merchants. From the first mention of the building in 1576 until the early 18th century, the Republic of Dubrovnik had an official residence in the city, that also housed a church. The latter was not only used by Dubrovnik merchants and diplomats, but also constituted a node in a larger Catholic missionary network. A number of conflicts around this residence and its church, which were attacked several times by local authorities and Jewish neighbors in the 17th century, shed light on intercommunal relations in the city. The chapter uses the litigation surrounding these incidents to make a point about Ottoman legal pluralism as it was illustrated by the ambiguous status of Edirne's residents from Dubrovnik, who were neither foreigners nor Ottoman Christians, but had a special status that does not seem to have always been clear to local authorities.

The chapters in part five, "Disrupting and Re-framing," investigate ruptures and reconstitutions of Ottoman urbanity during the later 19th and early 20th centuries that also characterized Edirne. In the foreground is the effect of nationalism during the transition from empire to nation state that transformed Edirne into a border city. It was integrated into the imaginary of the Turkish and also the Bulgarian nation state with far-reaching consequences for its cultural outlook and its connectivities, which were seriously affected by the newly drawn borders. One of the primary consequences, however, was the destruction of the cultural and religious pluralism through the homogenizing policies of the Turkish nation state, which were directed against the country's minorities.

Darin Stephanov's chapter, "The Beautiful and the Brutal. Bulgarian Images of Odrin (Edirne) and the Contours of the Ethnonational Mindset," offers a poetic mapping of the city from a special vantage point. It examines Edirne as a trope in Bulgarian folk and soldiers' songs, as well as in diaries and memoirs from the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). In contrast to Macedonian cities such as Ohrid, Bulgarian nationalism originally regarded Edirne as a city outside the national borders. This changed to a certain extent during the Balkan Wars when the Bulgarian army besieged and conquered the city, which thereby became part of the national imaginary as a place where the nation proved its military valor and as a springboard for further conquest. As the author shows in his detailed analysis of the sources by way of a manipulation of space, e.g. mentioning the rivers of Edirne that connect the city to Bulgaria, and time, e.g. referring back to events in medieval history, the texts formulated a claim to the city. At the same time, Edirne became personified as the place of the Other. By setting Edirne in relation with Bulgarian nationalism, the chapter offers a valuable perspective on the city from the outside.

In the next chapter, "The Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial and Intersensorial Remembrance in Edirne," Birgit Krawietz takes purposeful urban design decisions

and oil wrestling from a different angle: by focusing on a certain memorial that expresses a sore wound in the history of the city, she combines analysis of material culture with study of the senses. The contribution shows how the calculated use of sensory means enables people to come to terms with traumatic local experiences and align them to national history. The gearing-up of prior versions of a Balkan War memorial into a full-fledged hyper-nationalistic version in 1993 is specifically related to the soundscape of the modern oil wrestling arena in Sarayı. In this regard, this chapter constitutes a companion piece to her earlier chapter, but can also be read independently.

Berna Pekesen's chapter, "The Anti-Jewish Pogrom in 1934. Problems of Historiography, Terms, and Methodology," focuses on the end of Edirne's Jewish community as a result of violent Turkish nationalism. The pogrom of 1934, carried out in all of Turkish Thrace as well as in Gallipoli and causing the flight of up to 10,000 Jews from their various hometowns in the region, has to be seen as the end of a homogenization process that started in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Turkish academics did not address these events until the 1990s and have since sparked a lively debate that focuses on the question of the responsibility of the Turkish state. The article further probes this question by examining the role of various state institutions in the events in connection to policies that targeted minority populations in Early Republican Turkey. At the same time, the author analyzes the ordinary participants in the pogrom, who originated from a wide range of backgrounds, such as recent Muslim immigrants from the Balkans and youths organized in nationalist sports and students' clubs. The chapter demonstrates that these perpetrators believed that they were acting in accordance with the nationalist policies as formulated by the government.

Part six, "Re-connecting Edirne," examines the city's changing role in a modernizing and globalizing world. The contributions mainly assess Edirne's relation to Istanbul in the light of evolving transport infrastructure and the economic, administrative, and political developments of the 19th and 20th centuries. Especially in light of Istanbul's recent ambition to become a "global city," the chapters attempt to reconceptualize the relationship between the two cities.

The first chapter in this section, "Building Modern Infrastructures on Ancient Routes. Road and Rail Development in 19th-Century Edirne," by Florian Riedler, focuses on the city's connectivity in the Ottoman reform period. It examines how the modernization of transport infrastructures on the land route between Istanbul and Edirne created new forms of spatial hierarchies and mobilities. In the Tanzimat era (1839–1876), the Ottoman government began to push for the construction of new transport infrastructures such as roads and railways to increase trade and support the general economic development of the country. Economic priorities led to the partial neglect or re-routing of the

traditional connection between Istanbul and Edirne. From the 1860s on, new actors other than the central government, such as provincial authorities, municipalities, and sometimes even private individuals, began to demand, discuss, and plan new roads and railroads in Edirne. Looking at Edirne's railway quarter, the chapter sheds light on the spatial effects of this new means of transportation on an urban micro-level. In this particular place, a new mix of inhabitants began to practice new cultural forms. However, when the railway became disrupted by the borders that were drawn in the beginning of the 20th century, this new culture disappeared again and Edirne's main station became a ghost station.

Jean-François Pérouse in his chapter, "Region versus Metropolis. Thrace and Sprawling Istanbul," looks at the dysfunctional aspects of the relation between the two cities in recent decades. Edirne and with it the surrounding region remain highly dependent on Istanbul, whose economic development entails negative side effects, such as increasing emigration from many parts of Thrace and its economy's enduring reliance on agriculture, with only a limited degree of industrialization. Moreover, Istanbul planning agencies increasingly encroach on natural resources such as water and land outside the metropolis. They use Thrace, including the province of Edirne, as space for logistics and traffic serving the metropolis and show an interest in relocating waste dumps and polluting industries to the hinterland. In the last decade, resistance from civil society organizations has sought to counter such forms of "metropolitan aggression," questioning the benefits for Thrace of Istanbul's rise to global city status.

In the next chapter, "Edirne as a Secondary City. Global Reconfiguration of the Urban," Steffen Wippel examines the effects of globalization on Edirne. As a result of a review of theories in urban studies, the author proposes to approach Edirne as a secondary globalizing city. Such cities are exposed to globalization just like metropolises and form important nodes in global or interregional networks that can sometimes even transcend international borders. Especially in recent decades, Edirne's decline as a regional center has stopped and some positive results of global political and economic trends have taken effect. Among these positive signs is the cross-border cooperation with EU neighbors, as well as increasing connectivity with Istanbul and on an international level. Edirne has also regained a certain level of diversity through immigration of Turks from Bulgaria, who retain a transnational identity. However, such potentials have not been realized in all fields; particularly tourism remains underdeveloped. Edirne possesses a certain gateway position in some regional and trans-regional flows, but until recently, local actors could profit from these flows only to a limited degree.

The volume concludes with an outlook by two editors who combine some general assumptions derived from the previous chapters with their specific research interests. They speculate how future connectivity will influence Edirne's place in the world and its self-understanding of its place in time. Using a couple of urban development projects focusing on the Palace Garden (Sarayı) as a crystal ball, this outlook underlines not only the central importance of heritage for contemporary cities, but also as a conceptual tool to understand such developments.

Part I: Forming Edirne

Amy Singer

In Search of Early Ottoman Edirne

1 Locating Edirne

Edirne is recognized as the second Ottoman capital. It was one of the largest Ottoman cities (together with Salonica) in the European part of the empire for most of Ottoman history. By the end of the Ottoman era, Edirne preserved a symbolic significance that was largely out of sync with its actual importance as an urban entity or even as the urban center of Turkish Thrace. Rescued several times from foreign conquerors during the last Ottoman century, the city had lost much of its population, its human and cultural diversity, and its prior role as a commercial, transportation, and administrative hub. These functions had been among its defining characteristics in the late Byzantine era and continued in the Ottoman era through the mid-19th century.

A critical scholarly history of Ottoman Edirne remains to be written and, in the past, few scholars have taken an extended interest in the city. Scholars have mined various sources in Ottoman Turkish, Greek, Serbian, and other languages for evidence on the history of the city, but from these they have produced what is largely a chronological outline of the city's history in Ottoman times.¹ Their studies have described only generally what happened, cataloguing at selected moments who lived in the city and the value of Edirne's revenues and endowments, as well as the aesthetic or technical aspects of its major monuments, buildings like the Selimiye, the Muradiye, and the complex of Bayezid II. The imperial palace, today almost entirely invisible above ground, has only recently become the focus of systematic archaeological excavation and publication.²

¹ Examples can be found in the articles of the several editions of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*; in the few edited volumes of articles about the history of Edirne; in journal articles; and in the extensive production of amateur scholars. Apart from the encyclopedia surveys, the topics cluster around the date of the Ottoman conquest, specific monumental buildings, and the occupation and liberation of the city in wars stretching over the final century of Ottoman history.

² See the new guide pamphlet of Özer, Mustafa: *The Ottoman Imperial Palace in Edirne (Sarayı Cedid-i Âmire). A Brief Introduction*, Istanbul 2014. The annual archaeological reports presented by Özer for the site from 2010 and the years following can be found online in the proceedings of the annual excavation meetings, at: <http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/TR,44760/kazi-sonuclari-toplantilari.html>, last accessed 5 Feb. 2015.

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Edirne has been strangely absent as the *focus* of investigation as opposed to simply being “on the way to” somewhere else, its importance defined by Constantinople/Istanbul, the imperial city to the east, which has largely overshadowed Adrianople/Edirne. Ottoman historians today are taking a more integrative and complex view of relations between the capital in Istanbul and the provincial nodes of power, revisiting the assumptions about center-periphery dynamics as a basic feature of Ottoman administration. Studies of the many Ottoman provinces have multiplied in number, so that they can now be considering more clearly as separate, but overlapping and interacting political, economic, and cultural spaces.³ Yet even here, Edirne, which was both a center and a province, has not attracted much attention. Was it too close to Istanbul to count as “periphery” or “province” or “margin”? Too central in spite of being overshadowed?⁴

For the most part, however, scholars have not inquired about the physical and human shape of Edirne as an integral aspect of the city’s society and culture in the premodern era. The present chapter is part of a larger study that aims to retrieve a denser history of Edirne during its first two Ottoman centuries. These begin sometime in the 1360s around the uncertain date of the city’s conquest;⁵ they end with the completion of the Selimiye mosque in 1575, the year after its patron, Selim II, died. The Selimiye, although famous from this time as the city’s most prominent monument, rebalanced its physical space both horizontally and vertically and probably affected patterns of movement and settlement within the city. The enormous mosque, whose minarets are clearly visible across the Thracian plain, signaled spatially what had long been the case *de facto*: that Edirne was, for numerous reasons, an enduring imperial

³ For an overview of these discussions, see, for example: Khoury, Dina Rizk: *The Ottoman Centre Versus Provincial Power-Holders. An Analysis of the Historiography*, in: Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Vol. 3. The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603–1839*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 135–156, and Adanır, Fikret: *Semi-Autonomous Provincial Forces in the Balkans and Anatolia*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 157–185.

⁴ I am considering the reasons for Edirne’s absence from modern scholarship in an article in progress entitled: *Ottoman Edirne. Moving from the Center to the Edge*.

⁵ The literature proposing various dates for the Ottoman conquest of Edirne was reviewed by Liakopoulos, Georgios C.: *The Ottoman Conquest of Thrace. Aspects of Historical Geography*, MA thesis, Ankara 2002, pp. 50–54. See especially the articles by Inalcik, Halil: *The Conquest of Edirne (1361)*, in: *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1971), pp. 185–210 (first published in Turkish as: *Edirne’nin Fethi (1361)*, in: U. İğdemir (ed.): *Edirne. Edirne’nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara 1965, pp. 137–159); Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène: *La conquête d’Adrianople par les Turcs. La pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes*, in: *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (1965), pp. 439–461; and Zachariadou, Elizabeth A.: *The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks*, in: *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970), pp. 211–217.

Ottoman center.⁶ This study, then, sets out to discover early Ottoman Edirne and to re-locate the city, to re-place it into the micro and macro narratives of the empire as an actor and not as backdrop. The present chapter proposes generally that Edirne was more important to Ottoman history than the current bibliography of published work would indicate. It was something more than a chronological moment called “the second Ottoman capital,” a stopping point on a map, or a rallying site for the army. Rather, the city developed gradually into an Ottoman urban space, imbued with earlier patterns and traditions that were modulated by Ottoman forms and functions.

The project of rediscovering Edirne will eventually make possible, indeed oblige, a reconsideration of Bursa and Istanbul, which served as capitals prior to and following Edirne, but were also the nearest cities of comparable size and activity. Even after the conquest of Constantinople and the transfer of the imperial center to the renamed Istanbul a few years later, Edirne continued to function for several centuries as a seasonal residence of the sultan and his household and as the chief mustering point for the Ottoman army as it headed into the Balkans. Bursa, on the other hand, became a thriving manufacturing and commercial city and a pilgrimage site sanctified by the tombs of the first six sultans and numerous members of the Ottoman family.

The question framing the present long-term study of the city is: “Where is Edirne?” This query encapsulates a collection of questions, all of which hinge on the location of the city – in time, in space, and in imagination. The method is not to locate the city on maps, but to ask: Who went to Edirne and for what purposes? How did people get to Edirne, and when did they go there? How long and where did they stay? In seeking replies, the study here revisits Edirne through the eyes of Ottoman, Byzantine, and other chroniclers, paying attention to when and how the city appeared in their narratives and what the authors emphasized about Edirne’s people, its location, and its relationship to its own hinterland, to other Ottoman regions, and to people and places outside the empire. Taken together with a variety of structures and monuments that can be located specifically and chronologically with some certainty, these sources help to discover the more concrete aspects of the city’s structural and functional presence during Ottoman times, as well as how Edirne was seen, experienced, and imagined by the people who lived there or passed through. By beginning with movement to and from the city, I hope to avoid conceiving it as static in

⁶ On the Selimiye mosque, see Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan*, London 2005, pp. 238–256 and Geisler, Philip: Challenging Hagia Sophia. The Selimiye Mosque in Edirne as Ottoman Empire Branding, in the present volume.

any way. Thus the question “where is Edirne?” is part of a strategy to inject and preserve motion into the telling of the city’s history.

Why answer the question in this way? Because until the later 15th century when the Ottoman chronicles begin, there are few Ottoman contemporary *written* sources available to modern historians of the empire. Buildings are more plentiful, and even if they have been largely destroyed or repaired beyond recognition, their location, name, and rough date of completion are valuable sources. This is particularly true in Edirne, which is only sometimes the focus in Ottoman narrative chronicles; these accounts tend to stick close to the sultan as he goes about his business. Foreign chroniclers, too, tend to follow the sultan and the center of action, but they do include observations of what their authors encountered along the way. My methodological hypothesis is that, in the absence of direct evidence of what is going on in the city and its surroundings, the people who claimed to or were described as moving into, out of, and through the city populated it with a range of activities and services that were necessarily present. Evidence of the topography, the distribution of contemporary structures, and the location of certain activities allows us to identify and follow these people. Put together with the rulers, officials, soldiers, and travelers, we can infer the kinds of professionals at work, their locations, and the list of supplies they would have required, along with the sounds and smells that characterized different quarters of the city.

2 Approaching Edirne

Following the *Menakıb-ı Al-i Osman*, the familiar narrative of Derviş Ahmed Âşîkî or Aşıkpaşazade (d. circa 908 AH/1502?), the article tries to appreciate Edirne through his eyes. Rather than skimming the text in search of Edirne at obvious chronological moments, I have read through it, waiting to see when Edirne appears, who comes to or leaves it, when it is absent or present, both predictably and unexpectedly.⁷ Added to this are the observations of two

⁷ I have used the most recent edition of the chronicle: Öztürk, Necdet (ed.): *Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi*, Istanbul 2013. Öztürk’s edition has 168 transliterated chapters (*bab*) belonging to the manuscript B (Berlin State Library Ms. or. oct. 2448) he published in facsimile. He adds two more chapters from the edition of the work published by Giese, F. (ed.): *Tarikh-i Aşikpaşazade. Die altosmanische Chronik des Aşikpaşazâde*, Leipzig 1929, and then another twenty-three chapters from Ali Beğ’s edition of the text, ‘Ali Bey (ed.): *Âshiqpashazâdeh Ta’rikhî. A History of the Ottoman Empire to A.H. 883 (A.D. 1478)*, England 1970 (reprint of Istanbul 1332/1914). The work was translated into German by Kreutel, Richard (transl.): *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, Graz 1959. Öztürk discusses Aşıkpaşazade’s dates and life in the introduction, Öztürk, *Âşıkpaşazâde Tarihi*, pp. xxiii–xxvi.

contemporary Europeans: the French traveler Bertrandon de la Broquière, who arrived in Edirne in 1433 in the company of the ambassador from the Duke of Milan to the Ottoman sultan and the Cordovan Pero Tafur, who claims to have traveled to Edirne in 1437 in the company of some Genoese merchants.⁸

Edirne, consistently written by Aşıkpaşazade as “Edrene,” does not “come on stage” for quite some time in his account. One would not necessarily expect it to be otherwise. The Ottomans had to cross the Dardanelles into Europe before Edirne came on their “horizon of expectations” or, less metaphorically, into their range of targets. Also, Aşıkpaşazade’s narrative generally stays close to the sultan, his sons, and his most prominent pashas (commanders) and to their military engagements. But does Aşıkpaşazade’s silence (or the silence of any account) mean that the Ottomans had no knowledge of Edirne? That they had no sense of the places that they would one day conquer? Edirne in the first half of the 14th century was not an unknown provincial town or a village waiting for an upgrade. It was a major Byzantine city and a capital during the civil wars of the mid-14th century. The Ottomans and the other Turkish *begs*, the rulers of a variety of western Anatolian principalities, were probably expanding their knowledge of the politics and geography of eastern Thrace by the mid-14th century. Turkish fighters from Anatolian principalities had already served Byzantine factions as mercenaries for several decades, with the result that they were familiar with the Thracian landscapes west of the Dardanelles.⁹

Aşıkpaşazade first mentions the city in the chapter entitled “How Murad Han [Sultan Murad I] entered Edrene”¹⁰ immediately after chapters describing conquests made by Murad and his allied commanders to the east and south of the city in eastern Thrace: Prince Süleyman took Hayrabolu and Çorlu; Hacı İlbeği took Dimetoka; and Evrenos took Keşen and attacked İpsala.¹¹ Murad sent Lala Şahin and his men ahead toward Edirne, where Lala Şahin commanded in a battle against the Byzantine *tekmur* (local ruler) and his men outside the city to the east on the Sazlıdere plain. Defeated, the *tekmur* retreated into the city and then fled by boat down the flooded river in the middle of the night. Upon discovering this in the morning, the inhabitants of Edirne opened the gates of the city to the Ottomans, the implication being that they preferred the less violent option of

⁸ On de la Broquière, see Yerasimos, Stéphane: *Les voyageurs dans l’empire ottoman (XIVe–XVIe siècles). Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, Ankara 1991, pp. 106–107; on Tafur, see *ibid*, pp. 107–108.

⁹ On this period, see Nicol, Donald M.: *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1993 and Imber, Colin: *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1451*, Istanbul 1990.

¹⁰ References in the text here are to the chapters in Öztürk’s edition, noted as “Bab . . .”

¹¹ İpsala, however, seems finally to have been conquered *after* Edirne, see Bab 46.

surrender and self-preservation to a battle with the Turkish fighters. According to Aşıkpaşazade, this took place in 761 AH/1359–1360.¹²

Aşıkpaşazade records only two actions in the next chapter, entitled “what Murad did in Edirne.”¹³ First, the sultan sent his commanders forward north and west to continue their raiding and conquests. Second, Murad agreed to an administrative and military innovation (*ihdas*) recommended by Kara Rüstem, a learned man from the southern Anatolian principality of Karaman, at the time that Çandarlı Halil was *kaziasker* (chief military judge).¹⁴ As Kara Rüstem explained, the sultan had not been claiming his one-fifth portion of the captives in parceling out the booty. These, he argued, should be selected to train as fighters. Essentially, Aşıkpaşazade describes here the founding of the janissaries, the elite infantry corps that gradually became the fighting core of the Ottoman army and the nemesis of the Ottoman government. The creation of a non-volunteer armed force to be drafted, trained, and consciously socialized (via language and living situation) to a Turkish way of life was a deliberate, if early, act of state-building that required a stable administrative organization. Aşıkpaşazade links it to Edirne and to two learned men. The association of Edirne with military activity was persistent under the Ottomans, from the early campaigns in Thrace to the regular spring mustering there of the army before setting out into the Balkans. It is, however, unclear whether Aşıkpaşazade was deliberately implying something further by associating military matters, including a substantive innovation in recruitment and training, with the city. It may be simple storytelling, an attempt to connect the learned men of Murad’s court with the janissaries and what they represented in contrast to the mounted warriors, or a suggestion that the janissaries might have a particular connection to Edirne.

After the conquest, Murad returned to Bursa. There is no indication that he spent an extended period in Edirne before leaving nor that he had plans to transform it into some kind of imperial residence. Edirne returned to the narrative five years (but only two chapters) later, in 766 AH/1364–1365, when Murad heard in Bursa that the Serbs were gathering an army to threaten the city. The

¹² Bab 45. Throughout his narrative, Aşıkpaşazade is fond of recording the voluntary surrender of Ottoman enemies and the protection it usually guaranteed from looting and enslavement as a direct consequence of violent conquest; it reads like an advertisement for the benevolence of Ottoman rule. For references to different opinions on the date of Edirne’s conquest by the Ottomans, see note four, above.

¹³ Bab 46.

¹⁴ The first of the Çandarlıs to come into clear view on the Ottoman stage, Çandarlı Kara Halil Hayreddin Pasha, on whom see the general article and those on individual members of the Çandarlı vizieral dynasty by Münir Aktepe in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (TDVİA), vol. 8 (1993), pp. 209–215.

sultan collected his own army and headed west; in the meantime, Lala Şahin Pasha and his *gazis* met the Serbs at Sarayakpınar/Sırf Sındığı, some 16 kilometers NNW of Edirne. Aşıkpaşazade describes a night battle in which the Serbs, who were confused by the Ottoman drummers, ultimately fled. It is not clear whether Murad himself actually reached the battlefield, but Aşıkpaşazade narrates that upon hearing of the victory, Murad returned to Bursa where he celebrated the *sünnet* (circumcision) of his sons and built an *imaret* (public kitchen) in Yenişehir and a *zaviye* (sufi lodge) for a dervish known as Postînpûş. He built a Friday mosque (*cum'a mescidi*) in the town of Bilecik, a mosque for himself at the entrance to the palace in the Bursa citadel, and in the Kapluca suburb a *medrese* above an *imaret*.¹⁵

Aşıkpaşazade reported that the Serbs were threatening Edirne, but the city itself did not seem to play a major role in its own defense. Nor did it benefit from any significant building development while Murad was in the area, which might have been expected in celebration of the victory. Aşıkpaşazade does mention new institutions built in Bursa and elsewhere in Anatolia. The dynastic celebration of the Ottoman princes that followed immediately was held in Bursa, a clear indication of that city's continuing ceremonial primacy. These events suggest that Edirne had not yet achieved premier or even significant standing in Ottoman eyes, other than perhaps as a strategic point that was not to be yielded. One might also read this absence of Edirne from the imperial stage as confirming the claim that the city was only conquered at the end of the 1360s, since it is curious that Aşıkpaşazade records no investment at all in Edirne immediately following its conquest. If the Serb army had indeed been aiming at Edirne, then it is possible that the city was already Ottoman and so would have had to be protected. However, perhaps Aşıkpaşazade's framing of the battle as a threat to Edirne was misleading.

Edirne again appears at a later and undated moment when Murad arrived there after more conquests west and east of the city; he was gradually making Thrace more completely Ottoman. While he issued orders to continue conquering in Macedonia, he himself apparently remained in Edirne.¹⁶ Scholars date the conquests reported by Aşıkpaşazade in this chapter (Drama, Serres, Karaferye) to the mid-1380s,¹⁷ but there is no significant report about Edirne itself. The city returns

¹⁵ Bab 48–49. Serbian sources, as well as the classic work on Serbian history do not mention the battle of Sırf Sındığı: Jireček, Konstantin: *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1911. Oral communication from Vlada Stanković, 5 Feb. 2015.

¹⁶ Bab 55.

¹⁷ 1383, as in Emecen, Feridun: Drama, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 9 (1994), p. 526; 1385–1387, Kiel, Machiel and Gara, Eleni: Karaferye, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 24 (2001), p. 392.

to view two chapters later when, following the death of Murad I on the battlefield at Kosovo in 791 AH/1389, the new sultan, Bayezid I, headed to Edirne.¹⁸ On the way, he sent the allied commanders Evrenos Beğ, Firuz Beğ, and Yiğit Beğ off in different directions to establish more firmly the victories against Serb forces, after which the commanders came to Edirne, bringing many captives and much booty to Bayezid. Murad's body, on the other hand, was sent directly to Bursa to be buried in his complex.¹⁹ Bayezid also returned to Bursa where he set about building a major complex, continuing to develop that city, not Edirne, as the center of Ottoman ritual and culture by adding to it his mosque, *medrese*, hospital and, eventually, his own tomb.²⁰

Aşıkpaşazade's description of Murad's final resting place confirms what rapidly becomes evident when walking around Edirne today, that is: the absence of any imperial tomb in the city despite the presence of seven sultanic mosques.²¹ The first six sultans were all buried in Bursa, each in his own magnificent *türbe*; from Mehmed II on, the sultans were buried in Istanbul. The most curious case among these would be Sultan Murad II, who was largely responsible for creating Edirne as the seat of imperial rule. Yet although he built the Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne, which could easily have accommodated his *türbe* in the garden, his tomb was in Bursa, and its garden became an important burial ground for numerous members of the Ottoman dynasty and others connected to it. The sanctity of Bursa as a city of imperial tombs and perhaps, too, the *baraka* (blessing) that infused the city because of them seem to have attracted the sultans to it as a place of eternal rest. That is, until the conquest of Constantinople and the displacement of the Byzantine

18 Bab 57.

19 See: Eyice, Semavi: Hudâvendigâr Külliyesi, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 18 (1998), pp. 290–295.

20 Bab 58. Bayezid left Kara Timurtaş in Edirne as *beğlerbeği* of Rumelia. On the complex of Bayezid I in Bursa, see Yavaş, Doğan: Yıldırım Külliyesi, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 43 (2013), pp. 531–534.

21 On Bayezid I, see Kuran, Aptullah: The Mosque of Yıldırım in Edirne, in: *Belleten* 28 (1964), pp. 428–438, although the original form and purpose of this building are still debated. On the Eski Cami, see Goodwin, Godfrey: *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, Baltimore 1971, pp. 55–57, and Akçıl, N. Çiçek: Edirne Eskicamii, in *TDVİA*, vol. 42 (2012), pp. 97–98. On the Muradiye, see Akçıl, N. Çiçek and Özer, Cebe: Murâdiye Külliyesi, in *TDVİA*, vol. 31 (2006), pp. 199–201. On the Darülhadis Külliyesi, see Ertuğrul, Özkan, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 8 (1993), pp. 534–535. (The Muradiye and the Darülhadis were founded as a Mevlevihane and a hadith school, respectively, but were both converted to mosques by the early 16th century.) On the Üç Şerefeli Mosque, see Akçıl, N. Çiçek: Üç Şerefeli Cami ve Külliyesi, in *TDVİA*, vol. 42 (2012), pp. 277–280. On the complex of Bayezid II, see: Goodwin, *History*, pp. 40–43, and Eyice, Semavi: Beyazıt II Camii ve Külliyesi, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 6 (1992), pp. 42–45. On the Selimiye, see note six, above.

emperors in death by the destruction of the Church of the Holy Apostles to make room for Mehmed II's expansive mosque complex, including his tomb.²² In Aşıkpaşazade's account, Bayezid next headed to Edirne with an army in 793 AH/1390–1391, on his way to fight a Hungarian force. After an interrupted siege of Istanbul, an encounter with the Hungarians, and further fighting and conquest in the Balkans and Greece, Bayezid built an *imaret* in Karaferye and another in Edirne.²³ According to the chronicle, this is the first imperial building added to the city under the Ottomans. Following this, Aşıkpaşazade portrays Bayezid as entirely occupied with fighting and eventual defeat in Anatolia. He does not mention Edirne again for over a decade, until he recounts how Bayezid's sons competed among themselves to secure the Ottoman throne after Bayezid's defeat by Timur Lenk in 1402. The brothers brought their conflicts to Edirne when Prince Musa crossed the Black Sea from Anatolia to Rumelia in 813 AH/1410–1411. In response, Prince Süleyman in Bursa, the more obviously dominant brother, crossed into Europe himself and arrived at Edirne. However, Aşıkpaşazade describes Süleyman as hung over and unable to pull himself together to fight against Musa's threat to the city. Instead, Süleyman escaped to a nearby village, where the villagers caught and killed him.²⁴

After Prince Süleyman's defeat and death, Prince Mehmed, previously governing in Amasya and Tokat in north-central Anatolia, expanded his authority and took his brother's place in Bursa. Musa meanwhile was occupied with re-establishing Ottoman control in Rumelia and the Balkans with Edirne serving as his base, cited as the place to which he returned (*giriş Edrene'ye vardı*)²⁵ from fighting. Mehmed, having organized his forces in Anatolia, crossed to Rumelia with the support of the Byzantines and advanced toward the city. Musa fled Edirne and Mehmed took it over, apparently without a struggle. When caught, Musa was executed and sent to be buried in Bursa in the tomb of his father.²⁶ Mehmed's victory was acknowledged by emissaries who came from local *beğs*.²⁷

²² See Kafescioğlu, Çiğdem: *Constantinopolis / Istanbul. Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*, University Park, PA 2009, pp. 66–70.

²³ Bab 60–62. The building of these two *imarets* is undated, but it is narrated as occurring after the conquest of Niğbolu and Silistre. Unstated is the implication that these conquests provided the material means to fund the new institutions.

²⁴ Bab 68.

²⁵ Bab 69.

²⁶ Başar, Fahamettin: Müsâ Çelebi, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 31 (2006), p. 217.

²⁷ Bab 70.

From this point in Aşıkpaşazade's narrative, the Ottoman sultan appeared to reside in Edirne, at least for short periods, and long enough to receive ambassadors in 816 AH/1413–1414. Ottoman realities, however, kept the sultan mostly on the move, and Mehmed left soon thereafter for Anatolia to deal with threats from Karamanoğlu. For the remainder of his reign, until his death in 1421, Mehmed was occupied with campaigns in Anatolia and then elsewhere in Rumelia.²⁸ Only upon his death does Aşıkpaşazade's narrative return to Edirne. Mehmed I was the first sultan to die there.

This event provoked an elaborate charade. On his deathbed, Mehmed ordered that his son Murad be summoned back to the city. They sent Çaçnırbaşı (chief taster) Elvan Beğ to bring him. The sultan then said:

'I will never again get up from this bed. And I will die before Murad arrives. Be prepared and let no one meddle in [the affairs of] the country. Do not let news of my death be heard before Murad arrives.' His vezirs, Hacı İvaz Pasha, Bayezid Pasha and İbrahim Pasha, met somewhere [to discuss the matter.] They said: 'If there is some kind of trouble, how should [the response] be?' Hacı İvaz Pasha said: 'Come, let's send the *kul* off on some useful business and take some pressure off the court. [*lit.* Let the gate become lighter.] After that we'll figure out what to do.' Immediately they convened the Council (*divan*) and said: 'The sultan is going to move against İzmirlıoğlu. The sultan has said: "Let my *kul* assemble at Biga with the *beğlerbeği* of Anatolia." You should leave immediately.' And they also paid their wages. [...] Still, each day the Council met at the court. They assigned and revoked *sancaks* and *tumars*, and attended to various matters. The physicians even came and went, each one recommending a different kind of herb as a remedy for the sultan. They constantly sent couriers to Çaçnırbaşı Elvan Beğ telling him to hurry to complete his business [of bringing Murad back]. One day the sword bearers crowded around the pashas, saying: 'Where's our sultan? What's up that he's not appearing?' The pashas said: 'These doctors don't allow him to come out.' [...] Hacı İvaz Pasha said: 'Tomorrow we'll bring him out. Come and see.' There was one doctor called Gürduzan who came from Persia. He had been the physician of Yıldırım Han [Beyazid I]. He invented some kind of thing. He seated a youth behind the corpse; the youth moved the corpse's hand so that it stroked its own beard. The doctor came to the pashas, and touching his turban to the floor he said: 'You don't allow the sultan to recover. You lose what we have worked [so hard for].' The pashas said to the *ağas*: 'We still have hope from God who gives health.' The swordbearers saw the sultan stroking his beard with his own hand. So they left and went about their business. Then the pashas and doctors brought the sultan's throne back inside the palace.²⁹

The delayed announcement of Mehmed's death allowed his heir, Murad II, to reach Bursa, where he took the throne. Once Mehmed's death was known, his

²⁸ Bab 78–79.

²⁹ Bab 81.

body was taken to Bursa to be buried in his “Green” tomb.³⁰ So, while the sultan’s death and the charade of his being alive all took place in Edirne, he was buried in Bursa, where his son formally took the throne. Murad II faced immediate successive challenges from two Mustafas, his uncle and then his brother. The first won support in Rumelia and Edirne, where he was eventually hanged after Murad caught him.³¹ Notably, it is after this event that Aşıkpaşazade says for the first time “that the *padişah* stayed/resided in (*oturdu*) Edirne,” although the specific passage is undated. From there, Murad received and dispatched emissaries to the neighboring *beğs*.³²

Aşıkpaşazade does not mention Edirne again for a while, but in the interim, he does recount the marriage of Murad II to the daughter of İsfendiyaroğlu, a northeastern Anatolian ruler. The wedding celebrations were held in Bursa, another festivity one might have expected to take place in Edirne had the city already become firmly established as the preeminent imperial center.³³ This reflects the still ambiguous status of the city in the 1420s³⁴ and suggests that the people of Bursa were considered a more suitable audience for such a celebration as well as the rightful beneficiaries of the sultanic largesse that accompanied it. From this, one might also infer that the court and those closest to it (leading religious notables, including learned men and sufis, together with important Ottoman subjects) were probably still mostly resident in Bursa, although it is not entirely clear what “the court” comprised at this moment.

3 Edirne Comes into Its Own

The next time Aşıkpaşazade has a reason to mention Edirne is in his discussion of building Uzunköprü, the stone bridge some 55 kilometers south of Edirne. Well over 1000 meters long, still standing and still in use today, the bridge was established to provide safe passage over a wooded and marshy portion of the main road from Gallipoli to Edirne. This was the main road to Edirne from the south (unless people came up the Meriç River from the Aegean port of Ainos

30 Bab 81–82. On the Yeşil Türbe in Bursa, see Goodwin, *History*, pp. 58–69.

31 Bab 83–87.

32 Bab 88.

33 Bab 94.

34 Aşıkpaşazade does not date this event, but Imber places it in 1423, for which see Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 96.

(today's Turkish Enez), including from Anatolia for those who came across the Dardanelles. The area had long provided cover for thieves and thugs who preyed on travelers of all types. Moreover, the soft, wet ground would have made difficult going for armed cavalry, foot soldiers, and civilians alike. The motivation for building the bridge at this precise moment is unclear but not obscure. First and foremost, it was a route for the army, which had to have a direct and secure passage from Anatolia to the Balkans as the fighters followed the shifting battlefronts. One can speculate that traffic of all kinds was increasing along the road leading to Edirne as the city gradually came to play a more central role as a thriving urban center in the growing Ottoman polity. The bridge, completed in 1443, afforded easier and safer passage and demonstrated the commitment of the sultan equally to the well-being of the local, settled population and those traveling through. It was an investment in the future of the region, including Edirne, as Ottoman.

The bridge displayed the sultan's wealth, an investment to celebrate his victories as well as the engineering and construction skills of his corps. His benevolence funded an *imaret*, a Friday mosque, a bath, and a bazaar built for the town at its southern end. Each of these institutions was meant to encourage people to settle and provided the core of a new urban entity.³⁵ Of note in the celebrations that marked the opening of the bridge were the scholars (*ulema*) and sufis (*fukara*) whom Murad brought from Edirne to lend a further air of sanctified legitimacy to the proceedings, to enjoy the feasts provided by the kitchen, and to collect a share of the coins distributed as part of the festivities.³⁶ Resident communities of scholars and sufis in Edirne signaled its expanding status as a civilian Ottoman town, one with a learned population enjoying imperial and other patronage. However, when Ya'kub Beğ, the ruler of the vassal state of Germiyan centered on Kütahya, paid an official visit to Murad in Edirne

35 The basic discussion of this can be found in Barkan, Ömer Lütfi: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler*. I. İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942), pp. 279–386, and Kuran, Aptullah: *A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals*. Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, in: *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), pp. 114–131.

36 Bab 102. See the discussion in Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib: *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*. *Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, Istanbul 2007 (reprint of the 1952 edition), pp. 216–217. Gökbilgin quotes Badi Ahmed as saying the bridge was built in 829 AH/1425–1426, whereas Hoca Sadeddin dates the beginning of construction to 831 AH/1427–1428. Gökbilgin claims it took 18 years to build the bridge and that it was completed in 847 AH/1443–1444, based on the date of an inscription on a *mesjid* (a mosque, not intended for congregational Friday prayers) at the Ergene town end of the bridge. See also Akçıl, N. Çiçek: *Uzunköprü*, in *TDVİA*, vol. 42 (2012), p. 266.

in the 1420s,³⁷ he could not yet enjoy the advantages the bridge would eventually provide.³⁸

Aşıkpaşazade recounts that on his way to Edirne, Ya'kub Beğ stopped in Bursa to make a pilgrimage (*ziyaret*) to the tombs of the sultans. Murad had ordered that this Ottoman vassal ruler be received there with an appropriate and deferential welcome. As Ya'kub approached Edirne, *beğs* and pashas came out to greet him; the next morning he was received by the sultan with full honors, enjoying three days of imperial hospitality before returning home.³⁹ In Aşıkpaşazade's account, this was the first time that Edirne appeared as the site for a major political and diplomatic event. Obviously, the city may have hosted such events prior to the 1420s, and the sultans most likely had conducted important audiences when camped at the city while on campaign. Although Ya'kub Beğ's pilgrimage to Bursa while *en route* to Edirne emphasized the stable status of that imperial necropolis, his reception by the sultan in Edirne pointed to the consolidation of Edirne's position as a center of imperial political activity.

Bertrandon de la Broquière provides an additional anchor to Aşıkpaşazade's chronology of Edirne's development into an imperial urban headquarters. The Frenchman passed through Edirne twice in January–March 1433 on his way home from Constantinople. He later narrated at length the imperial audience he attended there as part of the retinue of the Duke of Milan, describing a well-staffed court and formalized protocol for receiving visitors on official business in the Edirne palace.⁴⁰ More details of the imperial court and the reception of foreigners can be found in the account of Pero Tafur, a Spanish traveler who made a special trip from Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Edirne in the company of a Genoese merchant in late 1437, a few years after de la Broquière. Tafur stayed only a few days in the city. Although he was given an imperial audience so that he might be questioned about the Byzantine emperor, Tafur describes none of the ceremonial reception recounted by de la Broquière. However, he did get a

37 Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 78.

38 According to Aşıkpaşazade (Bab 103), Ya'kub Beğ came via the new bridge, although this does not seem possible, given the dates.

39 Bab 103. Aşıkpaşazade says this visit took place in 832 AH/1428–1429, but see the discussion about Germiyanoglu in Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 104–106.

40 Bertrandon de la Broquière (d. 1459) traveled in the service of the house of Bourgogne, including the trip to Constantinople, which also brought him to Edirne (Andrenopoly) in the winter of 1433. He describes the route from the Byzantine capital to the Ottoman one, as well as the surrounding region of Thrace and eastern Macedonia, and recounts in detail the Sultan's ceremonial reception of the Duke of Milan, in whose company he was traveling. For de la Broquière on Edirne and the surrounding areas, see Schefer, Ch. (ed.): *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, Paris 1892, pp. 167–199.

tour through the vast Ottoman encampment outside the city, where he says the sultan preferred to reside with the army, living alongside his commanders in well-appointed tents, with space for women and servants.

Tafur's account adds an important dimension of human movement in and around the city. Tafur says he learned that the sultan went into town from the imperial military camp only for the bath (*hamam*),⁴¹ a procession that Tafur witnessed himself:

[The sultan] went thither with drums and music and buffoons singing, and a great crowd of women, who, they said, were his body-women, to the number of 300 and more. Thus, with great noise and shouting they entered the city and remained there until midnight, when the Grand Turk returned to his tents.⁴²

"The city" by this time would refer to the old Roman-Byzantine walled area and the Ottoman changes and additions inside it, and perhaps more substantially to the Ottoman city built outside the walls. An active commercial area was expanding close to the walls and there were residential neighborhoods to the north and east. Mosques and baths already dotted the urban landscape.⁴³ Tafur also accompanied an imperial hunting party, giving him an opportunity to observe hunting customs as well as arms, horsemanship, and dress. The popularity of Edirne as a hunting site is consistently attested in the Ottoman period.⁴⁴

It is also in the 1430s that Aşıkpaşazade begins to introduce another aspect of Edirne to his readers: the presence of an active slave market. He periodically quotes the going price for captives in Edirne, either as a way to emphasize how many prisoners were taken in a particular campaign (hence driving down the price per person) or else describing his own gains by quoting how many captives he had received for his own participation and how much he was able to earn by selling them in Edirne. De la Broquière himself met a party of two Turks leading

⁴¹ This may even have been the so-called *saray hamamı*, lately restored to use. It is located just outside the north corner of the Selimiye mosque perimeter, close to where the old imperial palace is believed to have been.

⁴² Tafur, Pero: *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439*, translated and edited by Malcolm Letts, London 1926, p. 127.

⁴³ For a discussion of how the city evolved spatially and structurally, see Kuran, A Spatial Study, pp. 118–122. A more recent discussion of the commercial expansion and the spatial logic of Edirne can be found in Kontolaimos, Panagiotis: The Transformation of Late Byzantine Adrianople to Early Ottoman Edirne, in: *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 3 (2016), pp. 7–27.

⁴⁴ See Artan, Tülay: Ahmed I's Hunting Parties. Feasting in Adversity, Enhancing the Ordinary, in: Amy Singer (ed.): *Starting with Food. Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*, Princeton 2011, pp. 93–138.

15 men and ten women chained together, Bosnian captives from a recent raid who were being taken to Edirne for sale.⁴⁵ In the campaign against the Hungarians in 837 AH/1433–1434 that followed the conquest of Selanik, Aşıkpaşazade reports that the price of a Hungarian (*Unguruz kafirinün gayet eyüsini*) in the Edirne market was only 300 *akçe*.⁴⁶ He quotes a similarly low price following a subsequent campaign against the Hungarians: a slave girl could be bought for the price of a boot. Aşıkpaşazade himself took nine captives back to the Edirne market, and sold them for 200–300 *akçe* apiece.⁴⁷ After this campaign, Murad spent the winter in Edirne before heading back to conquer the fortress of Semendire in 841 AH/1437–1438.⁴⁸ It was in this same period of campaigns that a Hungarian student named George was taken prisoner by the Ottomans and sold in the Edirne slave market. His account echoes the details of both de la Broquière and Aşıkpaşazade.⁴⁹

One clear sign of Edirne's increasing prominence was the celebration there of the marriage of Murad II and the daughter of Vilkoğlu, usually named as Mara, daughter of George Brankovich.⁵⁰ Although the girl was brought to Edirne with all due ceremony, Aşıkpaşazade reports that Murad decided that “the daughter of a *si-pahi*” (a cavalryman) did not deserve a wedding celebration. In naming her this way, Murad chose to stress her father's subservience, rather than characterizing him with the status of a vassal ally. After some time, Murad sent her to live in Bursa and brought to Edirne the previously mentioned daughter of İsfendiyyar whom he had married earlier in Bursa,⁵¹ and who apparently had been left there in the interim.⁵² Bursa now seems to house women of the harem who were not individually in immediate demand, perhaps including older women, imperial princesses, and the women

⁴⁵ Schefer, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, pp. 199–200.

⁴⁶ Bab 106. In 1437, 100 *akçe* (silver coins used by the Turks) equaled 9 Byzantine *hyperpyron* (originally gold, but circulating in silver by the second half of the 14th century). Slave prices in Constantinople in the later 1430s varied from 50 to 135 *hyperpyron*. The price of 300 *akçe* or 27 *hyperpyron* points to a glut of slave captives for sale in the wake of Ottoman victories. On currency equivalencies, see Fleet, Kate: *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State. The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey*, Cambridge 1999, p. 142; on slave prices, *ibid*, pp. 147–149.

⁴⁷ Bab 112.

⁴⁸ Bab 113.

⁴⁹ de Hongrie, Georges: *Des Turcs. Traité sur les moeurs, les coutumes et la perfidie des Turcs*, translated by Joël Schnapp, Toulouse 2003.

⁵⁰ See Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 116, who says this took place in 1435; Peirce, Leslie P.: *The Imperial Harem. Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, New York 1993, p. 29 says this is the final interdynastic marriage of an Ottoman sultan (but not of Ottoman princes).

⁵¹ Bab 92.

⁵² Bab 104, 108.

who served them. These political and domestic details reinforce the idea that the status of Edirne had undergone a transition to become the chief residence of the sultan, although it is not clear how often and for how long he stayed. He may not actually have been in residence there for long periods, but it was his final destination after campaigns.

By the 1440s, Edirne was also clearly the imperial political center, not only a sometime residence and the platform for organizing campaigns in the Balkans. It was there that the political dramas of those years unfolded, punctuated by the abdications of Murad II (r. 1421–1451) and installations of Prince Mehmed as Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481).⁵³ Aşıkpaşazade's telling of this is completely abbreviated, particularly concerning events in the city of Edirne, and he omits much of the detail that other historians include. As synthesized in Colin Imber's account, Murad, having arranged what he thought were long-term agreements with the Hungarians and the Karamanids, abdicated in late summer 1444 and retired to Manisa; within a few months he was recalled to lead the Ottomans against a Hungarian coalition in the late fall. After victory at the battle of Varna, he stopped at Edirne and then retired again to Manisa.⁵⁴ The Hungarian threat remained, however, possibly to be renewed with additional papal support. Meanwhile, late in the summer of 1445, an enormous fire in Edirne damaged mosques, homes, commercial spaces, and goods. Before a year had passed, a janissary revolt brought Murad back to Edirne and returned Mehmed to Manisa.⁵⁵

Aşıkpaşazade mentions none of these events, but continues his narrative of those turbulent years after Varna with the Ottoman conquests in Albania and the second great battle at Kosovo in 1448.⁵⁶ In Aşıkpaşazade's narrative, the final Edirne episode of Murad II's life was the impressive marriage celebration he organized for Prince Mehmed with Sitti Şah, the Dulkadır princess. The wedding took place in Edirne over a period of two months in the fall of 1450, after which Mehmed left again for Manisa. Yet it was not long before Murad died and Mehmed was recalled to Edirne to take the throne.

⁵³ Bab 117–118.

⁵⁴ Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 134. See also Ménage, V. L.: The “Annals of Murad II”, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39. 3 (1976), pp. 570–584 for a thorough discussion of what exactly is in Aşıkpaşazade's account and which authors provide the missing details.

⁵⁵ Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 136–137.

⁵⁶ Bab 119–120.

4 Conclusion

By the mid-15th century, an imperial wedding did take place in Edirne. It was also in Edirne that Mehmed formally succeeded his father as sultan. Both ceremonies featured the city as the most suitable venue and Edirne's population as worthy witnesses and beneficiaries of the accompanying celebrations. Nonetheless, Murad's body was taken to Bursa to be buried, cementing a distinction between these two cities that is visible even today. Yet a third town served the sultan and the court in these same years, although the details on this one are more elusive: in 1433, the French traveler de la Broquière noted that the Ottoman treasury was kept in Dimetoka, which he described as extremely well fortified.⁵⁷

Once conquered and constructed, however, Istanbul appropriated to itself the central ceremonial and administrative roles of the empire along with many of the subsidiary ones. The discovery, sanctification, and development of the tomb of Ebu Eyüp el-Ensari as a shrine just outside the Byzantine walls displaced Bursa from that premier spot. The former Byzantine capital could also offer the defensive advantages of Dimetoka, and so the treasury was stored in the new Yedi Kule fortress built onto another corner of the same walls. One imperial residence was built, and then another, at choice locations in the city. Spaces on both sides of the Bosphorus were available for mustering the troops, expanding the markets, housing workshops, receiving foreign guests, and shaping gardens and other pleasure spaces.⁵⁸

Even so, Bursa continued to host imperial pilgrimages while Edirne remained the preferred mustering place for the army when it headed deeper into the Balkans, and it continued to be an imperial residence for months on end, year after year, and for almost the entire second half of the 17th century. The city's attractions included a comfortable and well-supplied palace, good hunting, and a certain distance from the thick of politics in Istanbul. This

57 Schefer, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, pp. 172–173, 180. Despite this observation by de la Broquière, it is not certain that the treasury remained at Dimetoka for the entire time during which Edirne had a pre-eminent status. Recent work on Ottoman Dimetoka includes: Bessi, Ourania: The Topographic Reconstruction of Ottoman Dimetoka. Issues of Periodization and Morphological Development, in: *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination. Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, edited by Marios Hadjianastasis, Leiden 2015, pp. 44–85 and Kontolaimos, Panagiotis: Small Place, Large Issues. Didimoteicho/Dimetoka and Early Ottoman Urban Practices, in: *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 5 (2018), pp. 143–67.

58 On the development of Constantinople to Istanbul, see Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*; Necipoğlu, Gülru: *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, MA 1992, and Inalcik, Halil: Istanbul. An Islamic City, in: *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990), pp. 1–23.

seasonal migration of the court outside of Istanbul seems to have ended (or at least become an exception) after the so-called Edirne Event (*Edirne vakası*) in 1703. At the time, the *şeyhülislam*, the chief religio-legal official of the empire, was assassinated, Sultan Mustafa II was deposed, and his successor Ahmed III was obliged to return his full-time residence and the court to Istanbul.

The preceding discussion has offered an initial experiment on how one can discover something more about the first century of Edirne's Ottoman history, which is very sparsely described and accounted for in contemporary Ottoman sources. The concentrated examination of early Ottoman Edirne reveals more than just the gradual transition from one capital to another. A distribution of roles among cities identified with the Ottoman dynasty was already discernible in the early 15th century as Bursa's preeminence was challenged by the growing importance of Edirne in the post-Timurid reconstruction era. This is a different dynamic from the one internalized by every beginning student of Ottoman history, wherein the Ottoman capital moved from one city to the next in a neat progression: Bursa–Edirne–Istanbul. A closer approximation of the situation (and a more useful one) might describe a group of cities that shared among them the functions that defined a city as capital or dominant at that time. In the period before the conquest of Constantinople, when the imperial Ottoman character was still in gestation, the foremost cities included Iznik, Bursa, Dimetoka, and Edirne. Another group of cities – Amasya, Manisa, and eventually Trabzon – was emerging as the locus of princes' households, the centers of their training to govern and command, until the late 16th century when the princes began to remain in Istanbul as part of the shifting character of the imperial household.⁵⁹ Further research will identify the cities that were part of this group at one time or another and sort out events and activities that established and preserved the specific roles of each one.

For the moment, one can point to a long phase during which Edirne became gradually more central as an Ottoman city and took on a more complex importance. Edirne seems to have remained prominent, or at least at parity in some of its aspects, in the shift of its capital functions to Istanbul after the conquest. These transitions (as distinct from transfers) highlight the existence of multiple and moving capital spaces in the early Ottoman state such that it is misleading to speak of *the* Ottoman capital in the singular at any time before the conquest of Constantinople. It may thus be appropriate to reconsider the nature and status of the Ottoman capital in later eras as well. Edirne looks

⁵⁹ On the nature of the imperial Ottoman household and its transformations, see Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*.

to be an important key to a more complex understanding of the early Ottoman Empire and for this reason deserves to be considered with greater care and detail than has been the case until now.

As this project on early Ottoman Edirne advances, more flesh will be added to the present skeleton based largely on Aşıkpaşazade's account, to propose a more dense and synthetic narrative of Edirne in its first two Ottoman centuries. Aşıkpaşazade is a marvelous if sometimes opaque and abbreviated storyteller, and he should be read with some caution as an historical source if only because it is so difficult to confirm what he tells us from an independent source.⁶⁰ Yet he does contribute much to organizing chronological and spatial frameworks for understanding Edirne, and perhaps we can rely on his narrative for a basic account of movement to and from the city and thereby offer one answer to the initial question: where is Edirne?

60 The critical work on Aşıkpaşazade is, by now, extensive. A very thorough bibliography can be found in Özdemir, Lale: *Ottoman History Through the Eyes of Aşıkpaşazade*, Istanbul 2013.

Panagiotis Kontolaimos

The Formation of Early Ottoman Urban Space. Edirne as Paradigm

Urban history writing used to focus on the form of a city and on certain typologies of its buildings. In contrast to that, many contemporary studies in historical urbanism published in the last decades prefer to conceive towns in a given area as the spatialized reflection of social and economic relationships within the framework of a particular culture or the intersection of cultures. This trend, which correlates space and society, became increasingly popular through the work of Bill Hillier and his team, which combined sociology and urbanism and came up with what is known as space syntax theory. According to it, urban space is a result of planning and transactions performed by a given society and at the same time functions as a generator of social relations and mobility.¹ For the Ottoman city in particular, one needs to mention the work of the urbanist Dimitris Karidis on Ottoman Athens and its development after the 15th century in relation to the economic and social institutions of the Ottomans. Karidis used all relevant historical sources to document, in the example of local urban history, the more general socio-economic developments of the Ottoman period.² Hence, the study of a city like Edirne will not be understandable unless it is placed within the context of the specific social and economic conditions of Ottoman society during the second half of the 14th century and the early 15th century.

1 The Date When Edirne Became a Capital

According to later Ottoman sources, the Ottomans conquered the city of Edirne around 1360/61 CE, a date, however, that some scholars have recently called into question, preferring to place the event after 1369.³ Proponents of the latter view emphasize the frequent lack of accuracy in Ottoman sources; they also refer to the silence of contemporary Byzantine sources, which nonetheless

¹ For more on this approach, see Hillier, Bill and Hanson, Julianne: *The Social Logic of Space*, Cambridge 1984.

² See Karidis, Dimitris N.: *Athens from 1456 to 1920*, Oxford 2014.

³ Zachariadou, Elizabeth A.: The Sultan's Residence and the Capital. Didymoteichon and Adrianople, in: Elias Kolovos (ed.): *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek Lands. Toward a Social and Economic History. Studies in Honor of John Alexander*, Istanbul 2007, pp. 357–361.

narrate other occurrences around 1360. They argue that had this siege already taken place at this early date, certainly Byzantine historians would have mentioned it, as they do with several even minor hostilities in the region in this decade. Moreover, the Byzantine emperor visited the city in 1369 and faced no harassment. Furthermore, because the situation in the Balkans did not really develop in favor of the Ottomans before 1371, the year of the battle of Çirmen at the river Meriç (gr. Evros, bulg. Maritsa), it is doubtful that they achieved any significant control over the town of Edirne before this date.⁴ Therefore, it was probably only afterward and more particularly around 1375 that we can assume a first Ottoman effort to interfere with the city's shape and structure.

No matter what the exact date of its conquest was, Edirne became an integral part of the newly founded Ottoman state in a very crucial period, when its internal structure and identity were still being negotiated, leading to institutional reforms evident already from the 1370s on. The gradual centralization of political power that set in during the last quarter of the 14th century is the framework within which urban developments in early Ottoman Edirne need to be understood. It is exactly this process that led from the small Ottoman principality (*beylik*) to the Ottoman Empire and that turned Edirne from a merely regional center into an imperial capital, something that lasted – in an official political sense – until the third quarter of the 15th century.⁵ It is therefore necessary, before proceeding to the actual urban developments, to provide a comprehensive overview of the social landscape of Ottoman rule around the 1360s and 1370s.

2 The Different Formative Societal Elements and Structures

In the middle of the 14th century, Ottoman society was not yet very different from other neighboring beyliks and certainly not detached from the general political developments in Anatolia. The gradual collapse of the Seljuk and Byzantine powers had led to political and social fragmentation. Apart from the creation of smaller and larger states in Anatolia already from the 13th century on, local societies reflected this unstable environment also by creating or

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Barkey, Karen: *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 74–83, 130–142.

adopting social identities and institutions of Islam, which found increasingly fertile ground in Anatolian Muslim states of the time.

2.1 The *Gazis*

These were the social group of the warriors (*gazi*) fighting neighboring states, usually but not exclusively within the ideological framework of the Holy War of Islam. The Ottoman Beylik was no exception to this, and very soon it attracted these warriors, due mainly to the opportunities of land and booty that the Ottoman expansion was offering.⁶ But what started as effective help for the Ottoman dynasty soon became a major political threat to it, especially after 1371, when the newly conquered territories in the Southern Balkans were claimed by these warriors, who did not always see themselves as obedient subjects of the sultan, but rather as equal partners. Great warlords like Evrenos Bey (d. 1417), who assisted the sultan in expanding his territory, found themselves possessing and controlling vast territories, and probably some of them saw no reason to grant all subsequent rights to the sultan without decisive benefits for themselves particularly at the early stages of the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, as well as after the Ottoman defeat at Ankara in 1402.⁷ A scheme was therefore needed to incorporate these new major landowners and warriors into Ottoman society without threatening the interests of the sultan. Ultimately, two strategies were pursued: the first was to appoint them as officers of the Beylik and the second was to guarantee their rights over lands they already possessed, which tied them to the interests of the dynasty.⁸ The latter solution coincided also with the implementation and spread of the institution of a certain type of charitable foundation in accordance with the rulings of Islam (*vakıf*) that was already practiced by another influential social group of that time, namely the dervishes.

6 Kafadar, Cemal: *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, London 1995, pp. 60–62.

7 For the Ottoman expansion into the Balkans and the role of Evrenos Bey and other warlords, see also: Lowry, Heath W. and Erunsal, Ismail E.: *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar. Notes and Documents*, Istanbul 2010, pp. 3–8, 20–36, 83–85, 89–96, 123–24; Lowry, Heath W.: *Osmanlı Döneminde Balkanların Şekillenmesi 1350–1550. Kuzey Yunanistan'ın Fetih, Yerleşme ve Altyapısal Gelişimi*, Istanbul 2008, pp. 16–17; Dennis, George T.: The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403, in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 33 (1967), pp. 72–88.

8 At least this was the case of Çandarlı Hayrettin Pasha. For his role in the Ottoman administration and his donations, see also Arslan, Çetin: *Türk Akıncı Beyleri ve Balkanların İmarına Katkıları (1300–1451)*, Ankara 2001, pp. 121–153.

2.2 The Dervishes

Someone classified as a dervish, namely a follower of a sufi ascetic path, cultivated a mystical way of experiencing his relation to God when he embraced Islam. This process implied a deeper contact with the divine and it was therefore based on the individual. However, some of the early dervishes became influential by creating and leading larger groups of people; but, unlike Christian monks, they showed a strong social presence, participating in battles and creating large families. Coming to Anatolia in large numbers, they quickly joined the efforts of the newly established Ottoman Beylik and became an integral part of early Ottoman society. Their presence is very well recorded as early as 1323, since the first surviving Ottoman document is a donation deed made by the Ottoman ruler to a dervish, providing him with land and assisting him in his effort to establish a dervish hospice and lodge (*zaviye*) in the area of Bithynia in Asia Minor.⁹ This document of 1323 can be regarded as the earliest proof of the function of an Ottoman *vakf*, a pious Islamic foundation.

Those groups of dervishes that had been favored by the sultan in Bithynia on the Asian side followed the Ottoman warriors to the Balkans in the middle of the 14th century. It is then that, in 1352, we hear for the first time of a deliberate military campaign against the Byzantine Empire on European soil.¹⁰ The presence of the dervishes within the Ottoman armies of the time was justified not only to provide moral support to the marching troops, but also as physical assistance in war, since many of the dervishes were also great warriors, according to narratives and traditions of the time.¹¹ In exchange for this dual contribution to the Ottoman conquest of Thrace, many of the dervishes and their companions were granted land, particularly along the riverbed of the Meriç and mostly around the small town of Didimoteicho/Dimetoka (nowadays in Greece) and Edirne. The donation of this land, however, was not only an act of gratefulness on the part of the Ottoman administration, but also an effective policy aiming to rapidly repopulate these previously Byzantine but now widely deserted areas with newcomers from Anatolia, who settled around the dervishes. In turn, the dervishes taught them the sedentary way of life and thus incorporated them within the wider interests of the newly founded beylik. Since the topic has been

⁹ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène: *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des Sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Bucharest 1967, pp. 77–83.

¹⁰ The incident of 1352 is known as the conquest of the town of Tzimbi/Çimpe, the first Ottoman settlement in the Balkans. For the broader picture, see also Liakopoulos, Georgios C.: *The Ottoman Conquest of Thrace. Aspects of Historical Geography*, MA thesis, Ankara 2002.

¹¹ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, pp. 90–117.

discussed extensively elsewhere, we limit ourselves here to mentioning that the areas of Edirne and Didimoteicho were a hub of religious heterodoxy for centuries to come.¹² At the same time, however, the dervishes were the best defenders of Ottoman interests on the local level, since not only were they established in strategic locations, they were also keen on approaching the local Christian population and propagating Ottoman religious and political tasks among it and other people.

2.3 The *Ahis*

A third social group – apart from the *gazi* lords and the dervishes – of early Ottoman society that played a crucial role in Ottoman affairs was the so-called Brethren (Turk. sing. *ahi*).¹³ Like the dervishes, they were a branch of the Muslim *futuwwa* tradition, a set of sufi beliefs and practices aiming at spiritual perfection and institutionalized social presence. They were extremely important in the late Seljuk period, mostly after the middle of the 13th century, since, after the collapse of the Seljuk state, they were the ones who managed to maintain social peace in central Anatolian cities and allow for economic and social activities. The *ahis* were young members of society who were able to carry weapons; they came mostly from the classes of the traders and craftsmen of Anatolian cities. It is very likely that they were not exclusively Muslim, since there is good reason to believe that local Christians also participated in these urban groups. They had various roles: they offered security within the city, defended weak people against the central administration, ensured that crime was punished, and provided hospitality and security for visitors who passed through. They had a structured organization with several levels of integration for their members, and they were supervised by the chief *ahi*. He would collect the earnings of all members at the end of the day, to purchase food for the members of the order. In this way, the order was self-funded and therefore able to proceed to major, more sustained projects, like the establishment of places of veneration, lodges, and hospices.¹⁴

¹² Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène: Seyyid Ali Sultan d'après les registres ottomans. L'installation de l'Islam hétérodoxe en Thrace, in: Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (ed.): *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule (1380–1699)*, Rethymno 1996, pp. 45–66, and in the same volume Mélikoff, Irène: Les voies de pénétration de l'hétérodoxie islamique en Thrace et dans les Balkans aux XIVe–XVe siècles, pp. 159–170.

¹³ Ocak, A. Yaşar: *Ahi*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, THREE, first published online 2013, last accessed 5 Nov. 2019.

¹⁴ Taeschner, Franz: *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*, Munich 1979, pp. 229–35; Brionis, Spyros: *I parakmi tou mesaionikou Ellinismou stin Mikra Asia kai i Diadikasia Eksislamismou*, Athens 1996, pp. 350–354; Arnakis, Georgios: *Oi protoi Othomani*, Athens 1947, pp. 110–125.

After the middle of the 13th century, the *ahis* became extremely influential and soon came into contact with the Ottoman Beylik. We know that Ibn Battuta, the famous 14th-century Moroccan traveler, was hosted in Bursa by such an order, only a few years after the Ottomans had captured the city.¹⁵ In any case, it is highly probable that many of the *ahis* found their way to the Balkans after the Ottoman conquest of the territory. This is how we can explain a later reference to *ahis* in the small town of Pheres/Ferecik on the river Meriç, as well as further testimonies elsewhere in Thrace.¹⁶ *Ahis* became a serious problem for the Ottoman rulers after 1360, when Ankara became an Ottoman territory. The *ahis*, possibly together with dervishes and the local elite, had managed the city until that time.¹⁷ In the long run, this kind of urban administration by local toughs would not have provided unquestioned support to the central government in terms of either politics or finance. However, because of their contribution to and know-how about town management, it was not advisable to suppress them immediately.

It seems that after a while other alternatives were found. After the capture of Ankara, the Ottomans practiced a twofold policy toward the *ahis*, namely the sultan's appropriation of their titles (by calling himself an *ahi*) and their gradual mingling with the existing religious orders of dervishes, with whom they shared many common values, both being parts of the religiously tinged *futuwwa* tradition.¹⁸ Thereby, the *ahis* lost their fiscal independence, because incorporation in dervish orders meant not only a change of task, but also dependence upon the generosity of the sultan, whose revenues would be used to erect *zaviyes* and other beneficial venues. Unlike the dervishes, *ahis*, as urban artisans, did not receive land from the authorities – or at least we know nothing about it – and their function was primarily civic. However, their mingling with the dervishes

15 Brionis, *I parakmi tou mesaionikou*, pp. 350–354.

16 Kiel, Machiel: Ottoman Building Activity along the Via Egnatia. The Cases of Pazargah, Kavala and Ferecik, in: Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (ed.): *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule (1380–1699)*, Rethymno 1996, pp. 145–158.

17 In the past, some historians have disputed that Ankara was ruled by local groups such as *ahis*; however, recent analyses of central Anatolian civic centers have proven the decline of the central sultanic urban markets in favor of the ones clustered around dervish orders in peripheral locations. This is an indication of both the gradual merging of artisans and sufis and their prominent role in urban development and management until the middle of the 14th century in the same region. See Ocak, Ahi and Wolper, Ethel Sara: *Cities and Saints. Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia*, University Park, PA 2003, pp. 42–81.

18 Brionis, *I parakmi tou mesaionikou*, pp. 350–54, Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften im Islam*, pp. 405–406.

in Anatolian cities, already beginning in the late 13th century, changed their status in the eyes of the sultan.¹⁹

2.4 Turkmen Nomads

A fourth element of early Ottoman society was the Turkmen nomads, populations that gradually infiltrated Anatolia and, by marching westward, ended up in the Ottoman Beylik. These people were valuable manpower for the Ottomans not only for agricultural cultivation, but also because of their capacities as warriors and their potential as settlers in newly conquered lands. These Turkmen nomads originally did not feel particularly connected to an institutionalized society and its structures, but thanks to the dervishes they soon became dedicated to both sedentary life and Islamic principles. A considerable number of these groups must have moved to Thrace after the middle of the 14th century, creating new settlements or repopulating older ones as the Ottoman warlords expanded westward.²⁰ Here, the means of integration was land, granted by the Ottomans to induce them to settle, thus becoming taxpaying subjects of the central power.

In all probability, it was members of these distinct but already interrelated groups who captured Edirne, presumably around 1370 and almost certainly without the assistance of the sultan.²¹ The city was taken after considerable resistance and its population suffered during the siege.²² In the aftermath of the conquest, Christians and Muslims lived in mixed neighborhoods inside the walls of Edirne, while older Christian churches were appropriated for the purposes of the new Muslim community.²³ Changes were to occur gradually during the following decades, but it was only in the early 15th century that the results of a clear spatial planning conducted by Ottomans became visible.

To some, the idea that the social groups described above mingled upon their arrival in the Ottoman domains, creating along with the Ottoman dynasty and its court the habitus of power for the Early Ottoman Period, might seem too

¹⁹ Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, pp. 42–81.

²⁰ Vogiatzis Georgios: *I proimi Othomanokratia stin Thraki. Amesos Dimografikes Sinepeies*, Athens 1998, pp. 200–207.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 119–120.

²² Zachariadou, *The Sultan's Residence and the Capital*, pp. 357–361.

²³ Eyice, Semavi: *Bizans Devrinde Edirne ve Bu Devire Ait Eserler*, in: Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz (eds.): *Edirne. Serhattaki Paytaht*, Istanbul 1998, pp. 9–47.

simplistic. However, we should not forget that when we analyze a society this is usually done by examining the relevant social groups and their agency, that is their actions for promoting and defending their interests on the basis of which those same groups are originally formed. We do not imply that this social coexistence was something unique to the Ottomans. Other Anatolian beyliks must have had a similar social structure. It was however the Ottomans, namely the sultan and his environment who managed to overcome this social fragmentation by organizing a coherent administrative system incorporating all those social components acting in their domains. It also goes without saying that a single person could combine one or more of those identities in this lifetime, exactly like people combine different identities in modern societies. Nevertheless, eventually one of those identities prevails as the major one, defining the means used by the same agent for his social development. Finally, it is exactly those groups, the sultan, his court and the other groups mentioned above, which by participating in the social habitus of their time create what we call the “Ottoman identity” of the period, being themselves the “Ottomans” par excellence. Like any identity it was not static and was fully subject to the historical conditions of its time. In the 14th century the Ottoman identity was very close to the one of other Anatolian beyliks. However, at the end of the same century and during the early years of the 15th this developed, by means of administrative organization, into a more imperial-like identity.

3 The Centralization of Power and the Emergence of New Institutions

The respective policies the Ottoman dynasty adopted toward each of the aforementioned social groups were useful in gradually integrating them into Ottoman society, which was still under formation in the 14th century. However, these policies did not yet provide an answer to challenges like these groups’ questionable long-term obedience to the Ottoman ruler and his unchallenged sovereignty over the Ottoman state. It was therefore necessary for the Ottoman elite to develop means that would strengthen the central administration and create institutions that would diminish the sultan’s reliance on these groups. In other words, a centralized state had to be formatted. This gradually started after 1370, in parallel with the successive incorporation into the Ottoman administration of people from other political entities who possessed knowledge of the religion of Islam and considerable administrative experience in Muslim

societies, namely persons collectively known as *ulema*.²⁴ Some of these scholars of Islamic religion and law soon became chief advisors of the sultan; by adjusting and implementing already-tested laws and policies, they contributed to the systematic curbing of the power of the other social groups.

The foundation of a *vakıf* was an important jurisprudential, economic, and political act, since it implied control over the land to be donated, the will of the donor to provide social services, and the approval of a Muslim judge (*kadı*). This early political measure of the Ottoman ruler conveys two interesting pieces of information: the first is the Ottomans' adoption, already beginning at a very early date, of the institution of *vakıf*, namely the systematic aid of the state by assigning certain property to people who needed food, shelter, and security in broader terms. This means that the Ottomans already perceived themselves as the possessors of the land donated. The second interesting piece of information is the reference to a *kadı*, which implies the existence of an organized, sedentary Muslim community with a limited but already visibly emerging bureaucracy. This kind of institution was later to become the key instrument for managing internal Ottoman policies in the 14th century, because it was thought that the sultan was able to control various groups of his subjects and, at the same time, establish almost all known urban infrastructures of the empire for the centuries to come. At the same time, the *kadı* developed into an implementer of the sultan's law all across the Ottoman Empire, even for issues not strictly related to religious life. A *kadı* was a person who would oversee the application of both religious and sultanic law and therefore *de facto* supervised the application of the sultan's will. The importance of the *kadı* as administration officers increased together with the sultan's power in the last quarter of the 14th century. Most importantly, a *kadı* was linked with the market, whose legitimate function he closely supervised together with other Ottoman officials.²⁵ Setting both the *vakıf* and the guilds under the supervision of the *kadı* meant linking these bodies to the interests of the central administration and, indirectly, to the sultan.

We have already seen the function of the institution of *vakıf* and the role it played in the incorporation of dervishes and warlords. It is not by accident that the creation of *külliye* (a complex of buildings belonging to a *vakıf* and supporting its charity activities) in Ottoman lands that were not patronized by the

²⁴ Darling, Linda T.: The Development of Ottoman Governmental Institutions in the 14th century. A Reconstruction, in: Vera Costantini et al. (eds.): *Living in the Ottoman Ecumenical Community. Essays in Honor of Suraiya Faroqhi*, Leiden/Boston 2008, pp. 17–34.

²⁵ For the *kadı*'s powers, see also Beldiceanu, Nicoara: *Recherches sur la ville ottomane au XV siècle. Études et actes*, Paris 1973, pp. 115–19; Gradeva, Rossitsa: *Rumeli Under the Ottomans 15th–18th Centuries. Institutions and Communities*, Istanbul 2004, pp. 23–51.

sultan accelerated considerably after 1380 and only around 1400 became the primary framework for the establishment of every public building in Ottoman lands. There are indications that before that later date, other social frameworks existed, implying different ways of funding public works – ways that ceased to exist around 1400.²⁶ Through the implementation of the *vakıf*, the sultan would guarantee control over land by an institution run usually by family members of the donor of the land, who were at the same time forced to use the revenues mainly for public benefit. In this way, the sultan acquired better control over the growth of his subjects' private property.

Around the beginning of the 15th century at the latest, guilds (*esnaf*) made their appearance in Ottoman society.²⁷ They were the ultimate means by which Ottoman policy dealt with the *ahıs*, aiming at the gradual introduction of their tradesmen into these professional groups. From then on, the craftsmen of each city, who would previously have turned to the *ahıs*, joined guilds. The difference between these religious and the *futuwwa* groups is that the new craftsmen's institutions were not strongly inspired by any of the *futuwwa* values and were tightly controlled by the central administration, due to their key role in a city's economic life. Thus, without confronting them directly, the Ottomans managed to incorporate the *ahı* brotherhoods into their central institutions, which were directly or indirectly supervised by the sultan and directly by a sheikh and the local *kadı*.²⁸

This incorporation of the *ahıs* into the Ottoman administration must have taken place in parallel to that of the *gazıs*, something that presumably happened around 1380, at least in the case of Evrenos Bey. This occurred when the sultan ended his dependence on their military power by establishing his own personal army, namely the infantry force of the Janissaries (*yeni çeri*), shortly before 1385 (if we believe the first extant mention of this institution).²⁹ The Janissaries, who were men mainly of Christian background, were systematically turned into Muslims and obedient servants of the sultan. Soon after their

²⁶ We are referring mostly to certain hamam structures around Bursa and a T-shaped *zaviye* building in Komotini, which probably were not originally part of any *vakıf* institution. See also Şehitoğlu, Elif: *The Historic Hammams of Bursa*, Istanbul 2008, pp. 110–115.

²⁷ On the existence of guilds in the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world at this date, see also Havemann, Axel: *Männerbünde im islamischen Orient. Soziale Bewegungen in Iran, Irak und Syrien*, in: Rahul Peter Das and Gerhard Meiser (eds.): *Geregeltes Ungestüm. Bruderschaften und Jugendbünde bei indogermanischen Völkern*, Bremen 2002, pp. 68–90, and Hanna, Nelli: *Guilds in Recent Historical Scholarship*, in: Salma K. Jayyusi, Renata Holod, Attilio Pertuscioli et al. (eds.): *The City in the Islamic World*, Leiden 2008, pp. 895–921.

²⁸ Taeschner, *Zünfte und Bruderschaften*, pp. 229–235.

²⁹ Arnakis, *Oi protoi Othomani*, pp. 107–109.

appearance on the scene, the central power could also rely on military forces that served the sultan in exchange for land revenues granted to them (*timar*). This new class of *timar* holders was emerging together with the Janissaries. Both of these new categories of soldiers made the traditional landlords less and less relevant starting from the end of the 14th century.

Last but not least, the central administration needed funding to pursue its goals and to employ the personnel necessary for its functioning. This was achieved by organizing a unified taxation system based on land registration and was implemented all across the empire. The earliest tax cadasters that have been preserved date from 1430, but this does not mean that they were really the first. There is good reason to assume that this practice was organized already earlier, from the reign of Murad I (1362–1389) on, and that the sultan could claim one-fifth of the war booty for himself.³⁰ Soon after that, approximately between 1380 and 1390, we are informed about several kinds of taxes being levied on the population by the central government and collected by the authorities.³¹ This practice provided the financial means for the Ottoman state to function, maintain its bureaucracy, and fund its internal policies on all levels. The policy that gave residence to as many nomads as possible and to have its subjects cultivate as much land as they could soon led to increased agricultural production and its tax revenues, which together with the trade tolls and duties filled the state's treasury.

All these steps toward the formation of a solid central administration to serve the interests of the sultan met with resistance, of course. After his defeat at the battle of Ankara in 1402, the members of the house of Osman, apart from their own dynastical competitors, had to confront both the Anatolian beylik dynasties, restored by the victorious Mongols, and the warlords of the Balkans who were directly challenging their power.³² A few years later, the movement of Sheikh Bedreddin even upset the foundations of the Ottoman order. Bedreddin had been appointed *kadı*; however, soon after, he started to gather followers and to propagate a new way of managing the state (namely with no radical religious divisions between Christians and Muslims on the one hand and less emphasis on Sunni Islam on the other, and certainly less centralization). He came into opposition to the sultan, and, after several incidents, he was arrested and executed in Serres/Serez (today in Greece) in 1416. His movement was to some extent a reflection of the ideas of dervish circles and other social groups that saw their interests

³⁰ İnalçik, Halil: *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-ı Arvanid*, Ankara 1954.

³¹ Darling, The Development of Ottoman Governmental Institutions, pp. 17–34.

³² Lowry, *Osmanlı Döneminde Balkanların Şekillenmesi*, pp. 16–17; Dennis, The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty.

restricted by the introduction of a centralized Ottoman administration. His movement was very popular among circles of craftsmen, too, and it was particularly widespread in the eastern Balkans and the valley of the river Meriç, the region of Bedreddin's origin.³³ However, after his death, there was no one else to prominently oppose the implementation of the centralized system of administration formed at the end of the 14th century.

It seems, therefore, that during the last quarter of the 14th century, the Ottoman dynasty managed to coopt and control all other social elements by gradually introducing institutions of a centralized administration and taxation. The result of this policy was a step-by-step restriction of the social role of the warlords, dervishes, and *ahis*, as well as their gradual incorporation within the wider Ottoman administration. This procedure, although challenged after the 1402 breakdown, was pursued again by the descendants of Bayezid (1389–1402), who continued the endeavors toward a unified society and state. The transformation of the city of Edirne into an Ottoman imperial capital reflects this process in many ways.

4 The Infrastructural and Architectural Formation of Ottoman Edirne

This phase of transition must be described in view of the tissue of the former Byzantine city. During the late Byzantine period, Adrianopolis, as it was then called, was a major Balkan city and certainly the center of the area. It was home to some of the most powerful families of the Byzantine provincial aristocracy of the time, which were particularly influential in the late Byzantine period.³⁴ At that time, Edirne was a walled city with a rectangular layout that had largely preserved its Roman grid of streets, including the major axes, the north-south connection of the *cardo*, and the west-east axis of the *decumanus*.³⁵ It was accessible both by land, via the *Via Militaris*, the main artery of the Balkans since the Roman period that united the Marmara region with Central Europe, and by water route, since the river Meriç was navigable from the

³³ Zenginîs, Eustratîos: *O Mpektasîsmos stin D. Thraki. Symvoli stin istoria tis Diadoseos tou Mousoulmanismou ston Elladiko Choro*, Thessaloniki 1988, pp. 100–127.

³⁴ Such as the Vranas family. See Nicol, Donald M.: *Viografiko leksiko tis Vizantinis Autokratorias*, Athens 1993, p. 82.

³⁵ Yerolympos, Alexandra: A Contribution to the Topography of the 19th Century Adrianople, in: *Balkan Studies* 34 (1993), pp. 49–72.

Aegean all the way up to Plovdiv/Filibe/Philippopolis for the largest part of the year, when its water was deep enough (Figs. 1 and 2).³⁶

Edirne was exactly at the junction of these networks and thus in a very privileged position for trade. The city is known to have had two *extra muros* suburbs, one on the west bank of the river Tunca, which may have communicated with the walled city via a bridge, and another one to the east, just outside the eastern wall circuit, where the road from Istanbul ended. The first one was called Ainos, bearing the same name as the coastal city on the Aegean near the delta of the river Meriç. It is very probable that traders from the coastal town of the same name originally created this settlement to accommodate inland trade.³⁷ The second suburb was called Emporion, namely “center of commerce.” Certainly, it was the location of the city’s late Byzantine market, hosting also its trade community. *Intra muros* Edirne was internally divided into two unequal parts by a wall that separated the palace area from the rest of the town.³⁸ If one relies on later Ottoman narrations, the rulers of the city fled via the river during the city’s siege.³⁹ Scholars assume that if a Byzantine palace existed, it must have been located at the southwestern edge of the city, the one closest to the river.⁴⁰ This assumption is supported by parallel urban developments in other Byzantine cities of the time and by the street layout of this part of *intra muros* Edirne.⁴¹ However, only future excavations may shed sufficient light on the whereabouts of the late Byzantine administrative center. The sketch given below conveys an idea of the general structure of the city when the Ottomans conquered it in 1361, or more likely, as expounded in the beginning, around 1370.

36 Asdracha, Catherine: *La region des Rhodopes aux XIII et XIV siècles. Études de géographie historique*, Athens 1976, pp. 45–47; Ousterhout, Robert G. and Bakirtzis, Charalambos: *The Byzantine Monuments of the Evros/Meriç River Valley*, Thessaloniki 2007, pp. 9–15; Avramea, Anna: Chersaies kai thalasies epikoinonies 4os–15os aionas, in: Ageliki Laiou: *I oikonomiki istoria tou Vizantiou*, Athens 2006, p. 138.

37 Nikolaidis, Nikos: *I Adrianou mas, keimeno, apopseis tis Andrianoupolis*, Athens 1993, pp. 56–59, Avramea, Chersaies kai thalasies epikoinonies, pp. 134–135; Ousterhout and Bakirtzis, *The Byzantine Monuments*, pp. 9–15.

38 Vogiatzis, *I proimi Othomanokratia stin Thraki*, p. 315; Asdracha, *La region des Rhodopes*, pp. 137–148.

39 Zachariadou, Elisavet A.: *Istoria kai Thriloi ton Palaion Soultanon*, Athens 1999, pp. 193–194.

40 Kazancıgil, Ratip: *Edirne Sarayı ve Yerleşim Planı*, Edirne 1994, p. 7.

41 Even in Istanbul itself, the late Byzantine administrative center was transferred to the junction of the land walls and the Golden Horn, in the suburb of Vlachernae.

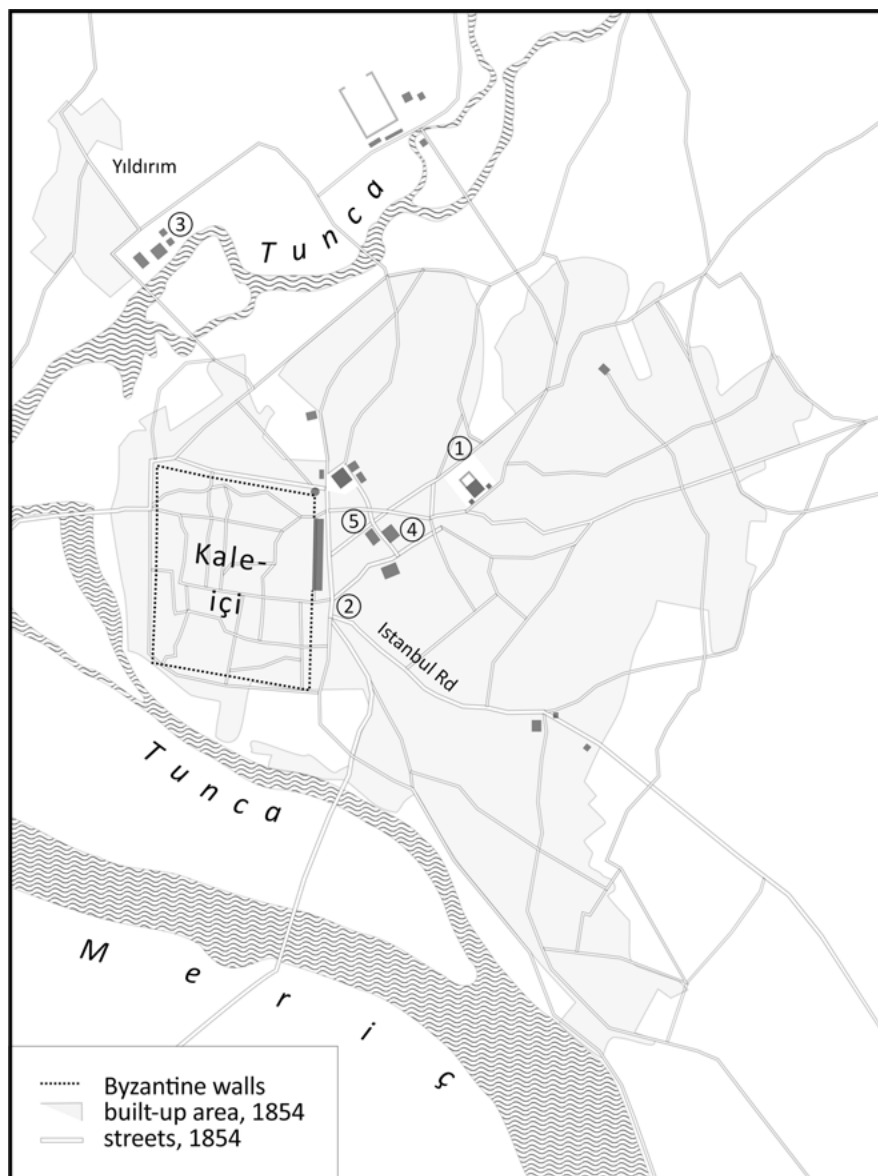


Fig. 1: 1854 map showing the relation between Edirne and its rivers, the medieval fortification as the historical core of the city, as well as the principal monuments of early Ottoman Edirne: 1) the first palace, 2) the Old Bedesten, 3) Imaret of Bayezit, 4) Old Mosque (Eski Cami), and 5) New Bedesten.

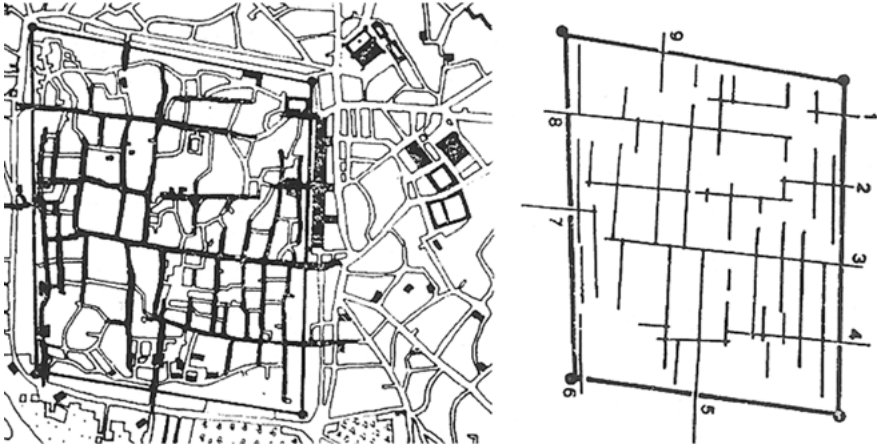


Fig. 2: The walled section of Edirne and the surviving paths of the original Roman grid. Streets number 3 and 5 are what is visible from the Roman *cardo-decumanus* system.

Thus, the early establishment of the Ottomans in the city of Edirne became possible by appropriating its urban infrastructure. We have later testimonies of churches converted into mosques, while tax registers from the 16th century refer to neighborhoods with religiously mixed population within the wall circuit.⁴² If this is the case, then the city must have been conquered by force and the two communities – Christian natives and Muslim newcomers – must have coexisted within the walls. Unlike the case of Bursa, it took the Ottomans several years to expand beyond the limits of the Byzantine city; and from what we can tell today, this must be described as a gradual process. The first step in this direction must have taken place shortly before 1385, when the Ottoman sultan decided to erect the first palace of Edirne, situated on a low slope to the northeast of the fortified town, only a few hundred meters away from it. Although this building was called palace (*saray*), it was, in reality, more a venue for training the new military body, the janissaries, than a royal residence.⁴³ The erection of such a building must thus be contemporaneous with the formation of the corps of the janissaries, whose existence has been dated as far back as this early time, if we believe some

⁴² Gökbilgin, Tayyib: *XV–XVI Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası. Vakıflar–Mülkler–Mukataalar*, Istanbul 1952, pp. 162–165; Şakir-Taş, Aziz Nazmi: *Adrianopol'den Edirne'ye. Edirne ve Civarında Osmanlı Kültür ve Bilim Muhitinin Oluşumu (XIV–XVI Yüzyıl)*, Istanbul 2009, pp. 52–66.

⁴³ Therefore, the building must date to around 1385, when we have the first references to the Janissaries. See Arnakis, *Oi protoi Othomani*, pp. 107–109.

early testimonies from Christian sources of the time.⁴⁴ Indeed, the use of this first palace as a military barracks is also certified by later references to it. During the course of the centuries, it was expanded and renovated several times to increase its capacities and to serve Ottoman military ambitions in the Balkans. This makes perfect sense, since it was in Edirne that the military forces were regularly rallied. Virtually nothing remains of this building today, although we do know its location. It occupied the site where the famous Selimiye Mosque now stands, and its buildings probably spread well to the north. The significance of this site lies exactly in the fact that it was both a palace and a military camp; therefore, it was the most institutional residence of the sultan erected so far – at a time when the Ottoman administration was still trying to shape its basic structures. From this perspective, it is the first real Ottoman palace, since it served primarily as a public infrastructure rather than as a mere private residence. Besides, this later function was established in Didimoteicho and the royal residence there, safely protecting both the sultan's family and treasures.⁴⁵

The Ottomans' second major step in organizing urban space in Edirne was probably taken somewhat later, namely with the construction of the city's first covered market (*bedesten*). This building is known to us only from traveller's accounts from the 17th century.⁴⁶ It was located in the city's Byzantine suburbs near the eastern gate where the road to Istanbul begins. Its site is known, since, long after it was burned and abandoned in the 17th century, its name and function became a local name for the external area of the eastern gate of the city, usually described as the "old bedesten."⁴⁷

There are two reasons for dating this structure around or slightly after 1385. The first is the later references, which clearly indicate that it was erected in the period of Murad Hüdavendigâr, who was sultan until 1389.⁴⁸ The building probably belongs to the later period of his reign, since some of the rural caravanserais or khans, i.e., roadside inns, on the way to Edirne date to around 1389/1390.⁴⁹ It

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Zachariadou, *The Sultan's Residence and the Capital*, pp. 357–361.

⁴⁶ Katib Çelebi: *Cihannüma – İklim-i Rum*. Transcription of the text according to Halet Ef. Ktb. no. 640, I–II (35a–169b) manuscript of Süleymaniye Library, typescript Istanbul 1971, p. 27; Nikolaidis, *I Adrianou mas*, vol. I, p. 110.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Katib Çelebi, *Cihannüma*, p. 27.

⁴⁹ For these khans, see also Kiel, Machiel: Four Provincial Imarets in the Balkans and the Sources About Them, in: Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann and Amy Singer (eds.): *Feeding People – Feeding Power. Imarets in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul 2007, pp. 106–109; Kiel, Machiel: İhtiman, in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 21, p. 571, and Lowry and Erunsal: *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar*, pp. 83–85.

is important to understand that these buildings formed a wide network that accommodated transregional trade and must have functioned in relation to one another; otherwise, it would make no sense to have a *bedesten* in Edirne without providing a safe way from there farther into Europe, the Aegean, and Anatolia. All of these khans and *bedestens*, although they belong to different institutions, served each other, so that Edirne's *bedesten* would not have functioned if various venues accommodating interregional trade and commodity storage had not existed in the region simultaneously.

We know nothing of the form of Edirne's first *bedesten*, but it is likely that it was not yet a stone structure like the later Ottoman *bedesten* buildings. As in the case of Bursa, we can imagine a khan-shaped building with a rather humble construction, erected mostly from wood, to house both trade goods and travelers with the necessary security.⁵⁰ The location of the building in the old Byzantine trade quarter also seems to fit its purposes, since it reused existing urban road networks to upgrade local trade. Apart from its historical significance, this structure is also very important because it is related to processes of the centralization of Ottoman power in the same period. *Bedestens* were buildings intended to house the lucrative long-distance trade, to safely store valuable items of locals, and to host the international traders of the time. Their services were of particular interest to the Ottoman sultan, since they provided a source of great income in the form of trade taxes. In other words, the *bedesten* infrastructure represented a major source of funds that gradually enabled the Ottoman dynasty to distinguish itself from the rest of the warlords of Anatolia and the Balkans and to fund their domestic policies. The presence of a *bedesten* was therefore an unmistakable sign of a region's incorporation within wider international trade networks.

It was this trade and fiscal development that, in turn, gave the Ottoman dynasty the opportunity to overcome the political objections of the rest of the warlords of the Balkans and convinced them to join the Ottoman cause. This process is reflected in the third decisive advancement of the region and the city of Edirne, namely the establishment of the first *vakıf* buildings. The earliest of these institutions made their appearance in the Balkans during the last decade of the 14th century and were sponsored by members of the Ottoman military class.⁵¹ As already indicated, the institution of *vakıf* was an instrument the sultan used to control the wealth and power of his rivals and subjects, since it forced them to

⁵⁰ Gabriel, Albert: *Une capitale turque*, Brousse, Paris 1953, pp. 43–51.

⁵¹ Typical of this category of donations are those of Oruç Bey in Didimoteicho. See also Kiel, Machiel: Two Little Known Monuments of Early and Classical Ottoman Architecture in Greek Thrace, in: *Balkan Studies* 22 (1981), pp. 127–146.

spend a considerable part of their income for the benefit of newly established Muslim communities. By granting them land properties, it made them dependent upon his will and thus obedient to his political ambitions.

This process must have started right before the siege of Thessaloniki/Selanik in 1387 and was in operation in all the following years. Evrenos Bey himself was granted the right to form a *vakıf* including lands he had conquered, probably around this date.⁵² Muslim foundations were the prime instrument for Ottoman urban planning strategies, since they connected rural areas with a given center in which revenues were invested for the well-being of the local community, including service infrastructures like hamams, mosques, medreses, etc. From this point on, Balkan cities started to develop their peculiar Ottoman shape, quite distinct from what had been there before. The oldest surviving building of the Ottoman city of Edirne lies in the western Byzantine suburb now called Yıldırım and consists of a T-shaped building; it was a dervish convent.⁵³

This particular structure and its location marked the beginning of a policy that would continue in the next decades, which included the establishment of a mosque and social complex (*külliye*) in every larger Ottoman town. The *külliye* very soon became an integral part of the Ottoman urban cityscape, since it was around these complexes that social life developed, constituting the main framework for almost all urban infrastructure in an Ottoman city. Moreover, this one, probably the lodge of a dervish order, was placed at the entrance of the city, but at the same time on its edge. It seems that after 1400 the general policy was to build sultanic monuments in the city center, whereas venues of religious orders, donated either by the sultan or other members of the elite, were set up at the edge of the town.⁵⁴ We see this clearly for the first time in Edirne – a pattern that soon became a model for most Ottoman cities.

Within this institutional framework, the city of Edirne continued to flourish during the second decade of the 15th century. After the restoration of Ottoman power in the aftermath of the defeat in Ankara in 1402 and the breakdown that followed, the new ruler Mehmed I (r. 1413–1421) completed the construction of

52 Demetriades, Vassilis: Vakıfs Along the Via Egnatia, in: Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (ed.): *The Via Egnatia*, pp. 85–96. For the founding act of his *vakıf*, see also Beldiceanu-Steinherr: *Recherches sur les actes des regnes*, pp. 228–236.

53 Eyice, Bizans devrinde Edirne, p. 37–39, Yerolympos: A Contribution to the Topography, p. 53.

54 Boykov, Grigor: Reshaping Urban Space in the Ottoman Balkans. A Study On the Architectural Development of Edirne, Plovdiv and Skopje (14th–15th Centuries), in: Maximilian Hartmuth (ed.): *Centers and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture. Rediscovering a Balkan Heritage*, Sarajevo/Stockholm 2012, pp. 34–45.

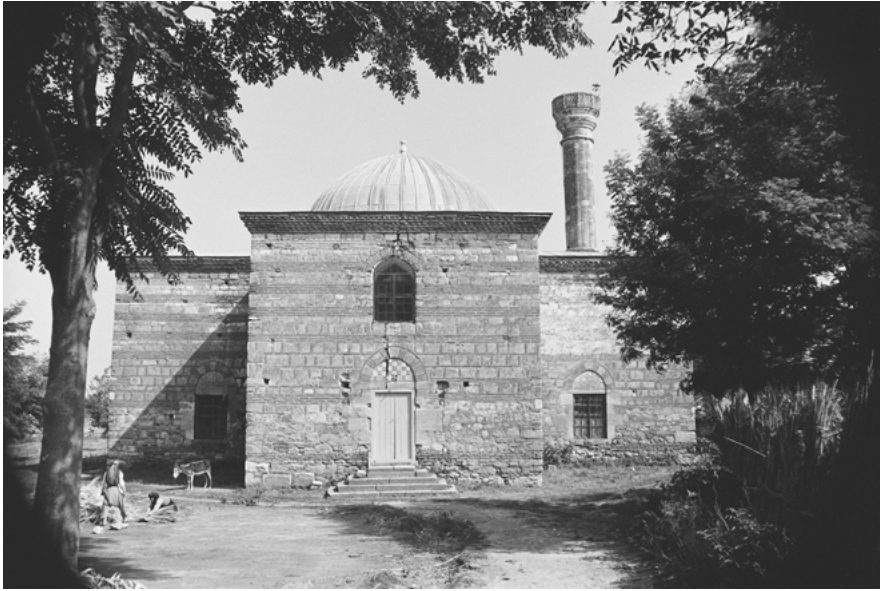


Fig. 3: The western façade of the Imaret of Bayezit.

two buildings emblematic of the city of Edirne: the Old Mosque (Eski Cami) and the nearby New Bedesten. Both of them belonged to the same religious foundation, sponsored by royal donation and established right between the old Byzantine trade suburb and the Old Palace.⁵⁵ These two buildings are of great architectural value even today, and they mark the last phase of the creation of what one might call the early modern Ottoman Balkan city. This new way of organizing urban space is characterized mostly by the strict separation between productive and retail areas (*bazar*) and residential quarters (*mahalle*), the urban center developing around a major *külliye*, the spatial interconnection between trade (*bazar*), religion (*camî*), and public authority (kadi's office), and finally its accessibility from the countryside, due to the lack of fortification walls. This new *vakf* of Edirne, originally planned by Bayezit (d. 1403) before his defeat in Ankara, was completed a few years later, in the second decade of the 15th century. The New Bedesten is remarkable in terms of financial and institutional development, since it bears witness to the expansion of Edirne's need for such venues, due to the intense flourishing of trade in the early decades of the 15th century.

⁵⁵ Kuran, Aptullah: A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals. Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul, in: *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), pp. 114–131.

Its placement outside the Byzantine core of the town and closer to the palace perfectly reflected the connection of this institution with the Ottoman central administration and its need to supervise this trade. The building also reflected the institutional organization of local markets in the Ottoman cities, where goods were taxed, prices regulated, and the provision of raw materials controlled by the state authorities under the supervision of the *kadı*.⁵⁶ This compact *bedesten* building of Edirne became the economic heart of a fast-developing empire, in close association spatially and institutionally with the palace. Its inauguration in 1418 modified the street network in the city by pushing the west end of the road to Istanbul from the gate of the wall to the new center, thus bypassing what had been Byzantine Edirne. From this stage on, the Ottoman city developed primarily around this main axis, which gave direct access to the Balkans, while the rest of the walled part of the town gradually was to become the place for Christian and Jewish communities.⁵⁷

The second building of the wider complex or composite infrastructural unit, the congregation mosque for communal prayer (*cami*), is of no less value, both architectonically and ideologically. Erected right next to the *bedesten* in 1414, it is the most ancient mosque of this size and scale in Edirne, a true work of an imperial power that was quickly developing at that time.⁵⁸

This very clear statement of the religious and social identity of the newly established Muslim society of Edirne gains additional significance if compared with the anarchic activities of the aforementioned Sheikh Bedreddin and his supporters at the time of its construction. The latter social movement with its wider political and social demands was perceived as an expression of opposition to the sultan's centralizing policy by those social groups that saw their interests and political power minimized by the newly introduced Ottoman institutions. The association of many of the members of these classes with heterodoxy invested this political rivalry with a strong religious dimension. Therefore, an impressive central mosque in Edirne was a clear signal set in stone that finally crystallized the visions of the ruling elite concerning the nature of the state and the role of Sunni Islam in it. We need not ourselves believe that a piece of the famous Black Stone was somehow taken from the Kaaba in Mecca, but the claim that it was incorporated in the eastern wall of this central building and that it was part of the structure already from an early date, demonstrates clearly the Ottoman elite's decisive effort to create and

56 Beldiceanu, *Recherches sur la ville ottomane*, pp. 115–119; Gradeva, *Rumeli Under the Ottomans*, pp. 23–51.

57 Şakir-Taş, *Adrianopol'den Edirne'ye*, pp. 52–66.

58 Kuran, Aptullah: *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago 1968, pp. 154–157.



Fig. 4: The Ottoman core of Edirne with the New Bedesten (right) and the Old Mosque (left).

propagate a vivid religious-political ideology based on the sovereign's power linked with Sunni Islam as a unifying force for early Ottoman society.

It is precisely the spatial coexistence of the sultan's Old Palace, the Old Mosque, and the New Bedesten that marks the early landscape of this Ottoman capital by bringing together in fully developed forms the vital components, i.e., the blueprint of expanding Ottoman society, propelled by its economy, politics, and state ideology. The fact that this spatial union was first established in Edirne and served as a paradigm for the empire allows us to proclaim this city the first true imperial Ottoman capital, in contrast to Bursa, which represents developments only on the level of a beylik administration.

5 Conclusion

At the time of the Ottoman emergence in Anatolia in the early 14th century, several local power stakeholders had emerged from the collapse of the Seljuk power. Groups like the dervishes, the *ahis*, the *gazis*, and the Turkmen nomads had managed to form an interrelated network of power that provided relative stability for the cities of Central Anatolia. These interrelated groups

corresponded to equally interrelated social identities and were not in favor of the creation of a strong centralized regional power. It was exactly these groups and their identities that the Ottoman sultans manipulated for their own benefit in the second half of the 14th century. Gradually, toward the end of the 14th century, *ahıs* were merged with the dervishes and the newly established guilds, while nomads were extensively settled in new lands and *gazıs* were incorporated into the newly established Ottoman institutions.

The further social and economic process of urbanization in the late 14th- and early 15th-century Balkans consists of three decisive phases: the first was the development of centralized military force, the Janissaries. The second step was the incorporation of the city of Edirne in the wider trade networks and the simultaneous organization of market institutions and space. Finally, the implementation of the *vakıf* system in all aspects of internal construction activity was another key factor in the creation of almost all known venues of the period in Edirne and its surroundings. The combination of these three elements led to the formation of the Ottoman city, as we know it from Thrace and Bithynia, the region to the east of the Bosphorus. Edirne itself was the first and most prominent place where this format was brought to fruition. It thus created the role model for later urban developments in the Balkans and elsewhere. The organization of the Ottoman city around its bazaar is a development seen almost simultaneously in Bursa and Edirne. However, it is more distinct in the latter, since in Bursa the city's bazar originally spread around the *külliye* of Orhan, which included a number of buildings irrelevant to trade (with the exception of a khan), while in Edirne the *bedesten* itself constitutes the *külliye*.⁵⁹ In addition, in Edirne, one notes the presence of the royal palace/barracks, which in the first instance represent the sultan, a feature that is completely absent from Bursa. It has become evident that the city of Edirne was to a considerable extent the result of the political balance achieved between the sultan and the rest of the stakeholders of the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. The city of Edirne around 1420 perfectly reflected the prominent position of the sultan: he had the first word in the formation of the city center, placing his *vakıf* venues there, while the *vakıf* of minor members of the elite would proportionally radiate around it, placed – like those of the dervishes and warlords – at the edge of the city, near its Balkan countryside. This pattern of radial placement of venues in accordance with the status of the donor would soon become a model of spatial organization for cities all across the empire. In many cases, the *külliye* of the founder of the city was placed in its center, while other minor institutions,

59 Gabriel, *Une capitale turque*, p. 47; Kuran, *A Spatial Study*, pp. 114–131.

particularly those relating to religious orders, were relegated to its periphery. In short, Edirne was the first city in which economic progress found accompanying expression in new political and architectural structures, which manifested and propelled the development of the early Ottoman society. Edirne thus became *the* locus of the newly established sultanic power and the witness of the successful integration of all other social groups in early Ottoman society.

M. Sait Özervarlı

Connecting Capitals. Edirne Among Early Ottoman Scholarly Destinations

The functional divergence between the official capital of a modern nation state and a more vibrant cultural center is a frequent phenomenon; Bern/Zurich, Den Haag/Amsterdam, and Ankara/Istanbul are well-known examples. Nevertheless, there is a widespread expectation that administrative centrality should be matched by cosmopolitan cultural radiation, as in the case of Paris or London. The status as the capital of a country is nothing naturally given, but depends on various factors determining this, ultimately political, choice. In Islamic history, there are several examples of shifting the capital, although, to the best of my knowledge, this has not yet been dealt with in a systematic, comparative manner. The much more modest aim of this chapter is to offer an alternative reading of the shift of the capital from Ottoman Edirne to Constantinople when the Ottomans finally seized the city from the Byzantines in 1453 and to trace its repercussions for Ottoman scholarship. Analyzing such occurrences, one has to distinguish between an immediately effectuated or, at least, officially declared transfer of political power from economic aspects and cultural, artistic, and scientific production. The ensuing shift of the latter may be delayed or drawn out considerably; earlier functions may persist or even prosper at a quite different pace in the pertinent town after its official loss of central status.

This study strives to question the idea of the necessary and across-the-board centrality of a pre-modern Islamic capital. It elucidates the dimension of pious scholarly activity in Islamic sciences and at the same time challenges the perception of *the* capital as a self-evident notion of centrality and bundling of all-important societal aspects. In that sense, it focuses on Edirne as an intellectual hub starting from the 15th century and until the first decades of the 16th century, but does so with regard to its exchange of intellectual manpower and ideas with Bursa and Istanbul. It argues that, instead of perceiving these two as merely the prior and the later capital, one should, rather, assume a diversification of functions among all three cities within a wider conglomerate that amounts to a rather flexible and larger imperial Ottoman scholarly network whose parts catered to similar, interwoven tasks.

In the West, the long-lasting Ottoman Empire (1299–1923) is mainly associated with Istanbul as its signature capital. However, Constantinople, as it was formerly called, had not yet been taken from the Byzantines in the 14th century,

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when Ottoman forces penetrated into Europe in the Balkans, in the 1360s conquering Adrianople, whose name was henceforth shortened to Edirne.¹ It was thus only several decades later that the Ottoman army under Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481), proceeding from Edirne and captured Constantinople in 1453 after finally successful planning. Despite the nearly 500-year stable status of Istanbul as capital, the early phase of the Ottoman Empire was particularly but not exclusively characterized by shifting centers of gravity, even between the two sides of the Marmara Sea that divides Europe from Asia (Minor), a feature that has yet to be explored more diligently in its manifold dimensions. The emerging Ottoman Emirate, then Sultanate, was initially located in the Western Anatolian town of Bursa, which was taken by Orhan in 1331; but already in the late 14th century it gradually transferred its capital to Edirne, which served as the main gate for expanding further through Rumelia, as the Ottoman domains in the Balkans were called in contradistinction to Anatolia on the Asian side.

What happens after a former capital has lost its prior status as the center? In the case of Bursa in early Ottoman history, it cannot simply be described as total neglect or an immediate decline. Bursa remained one of the centers of Ottoman sultans, merchants, and scholars. Thus, I argue that – even after the twofold transfer of the capital – the towns of Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul need to be perceived all together as a triad of administrative and cultural clusters, although Istanbul was to become the ultimate center of power. This distribution of functions can be compared to the role of the capital cities of the Anatolian Seljuks, namely Konya, Kayseri, and Sivas, in the previous centuries, which will also be discussed below.² However, the main project undertaken here is to monitor over a decisive period of time Edirne's scholarly exchange within the depicted urban triad. Speaking simply of a clear-cut sequence of cities or capitals would not sufficiently capture the sense of functional fluidity that emanates from the historical sources.

1 Historical Sources for the Scholarly Landscape

With this instauration in mind, I have unearthed certain details from Ottoman primary sources that provide us with insight into telling scholarly activities. They

¹ Cf. the discussion of the date of conquest by Kontolaimos, Panagiotis: *The Formation of Early Ottoman Urban Space. Edirne as Paradigm*, in this volume.

² Akdağ, Mustafa: *Türkiye'nin İktisadî ve İctimai Tarihi*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1995, vol. 2, pp. 10 and 27.

comprise biographical and historical sources, such as *Shaqaiq al-Nu'maniyye*, *Hadāiq al-Shaqaiq*, *Hesht Bihisht*, and *Riyâz-i Belde-i Edirne*. The *Shaqāiq* was written by Taşköprizade Ahmed (d. 1561) in Arabic with the full title *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawla al-'Uthmāniyya* (The Crown Anemones on Scholars of the Ottoman State), which is the most significant full-fledged biographical encyclopedia of Ottoman scholars (*ulema*/*'ulamā'*) and sufi personalities (*meşayih*/*mashāyikh*). The word *al-Nu'māniyya* in the title refers to Hanafites, namely the eponym of this school of law, Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān b. Thābit (d. 767), since the substantial majority of Anatolian/Ottoman scholars were Hanafite. In his introduction,³ Taşköprizade points out the deplorable lack of information on the lives and works of Ottoman scholars, which risked historical amnesia, despite a continuous tradition of biographical writing in Islamic history up to that time.⁴ He indicates that he had been interested in collecting anecdotes about earlier personalities and had noted down his findings since his childhood (as he put it: when he started to differentiate right from left), while only later did some of his colleagues encourage him to compose them into a whole book. The ensuing monograph presents more than five hundred scholars and sufis displayed throughout ten chronological chapters and adds the autobiography of the author at the very end. Taşköprizade's own long madrasa teaching had started in 1525 in Dimetoka (in the vicinity of Edirne and an important center that, for a time, housed the sultan's treasure) in the Oruç Paşa Medrese, and after several other institutions he also came to teach in Edirne's prestigious Üç Şerefeli Medrese before he was promoted to Istanbul's Sahn-i Seman in 1539. Sahn-i Seman, also known as Fatih madrasas, were founded in 1471 as the earliest and the most comprehensive madrasa complex in Istanbul. This long period, including some years serving as a *kadı*, helped Taşköprizade to gather many pieces of information while writing several other works, until he decided to finally put together this major biographical collection in 1558, just a few years before his death in 1561. His other major work on Islamic intellectual history in the context of this chapter is *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda fī maḍū'āt al-'ulūm* (The Key of Happiness and the Light of Nobility in Classification of Knowledge),⁵ written in Arabic on the classification and description of disciplines in Islamic learning. Many translations were made of the *Shaqaiq* into Ottoman Turkish even already during Taşköprizade's lifetime, but the complete version was rendered by Mehmed Mecdi

3 Taşköprizade 'Isam al-Din Ahmed b. Mustafa: *Al-Shaqāiq al-Nu'māniyya fī 'ulamā' al-dawla al-'Uthmāniyya*, Ahmed Subhi Furat (ed.), Istanbul 1985, pp. 2–3.

4 For the pre-Ottoman biographical dictionaries (*ṭabaqāt*), see al-Qadi, Wadad: Biographical Dictionaries. Inner Structure and Cultural Significance, in: George N. Atiyeh (ed.): *The Book in the Islamic World*, Albany, NY, 1995, pp. 93–122.

5 Edited in three vols. by Kamil Kamil Bekri and Abd al-Wahhab Abu al-Nur, Cairo 1968.

(Majdi) (d. 1591) and titled *Hadaïq al-Shaqaiq*; it is more detailed and as famous as the original text. It is better known as *Tercüme-i Şekaik*⁶ and offers additional information and additional names of scholars. This translation is also among the sources for Edirne scholars who are consulted here.⁷

Another early Ottoman history book that is relevant as a primary source for my purposes was written in Persian by İdris-i Bitlisi (d. 1520) and called, in accordance with the Persian literary style, *Hesht Bihisht*, i.e., “Eight Gardens,” because it deals with the period of the first eight sultans, ending with Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512). The book came to be known as such, although its original title is *Kitabu sıfât al-thamāniya fî dhikri qayāsirat al-‘Uthmāniyye* (The Book of Eight Attributes on the Praise of Ottoman Emperors).⁸ Bitlisi’s monograph was completed in 1506 after thirty months of writing and is especially valuable for its evaluations of and insights into cities and the people living in them. Later history books written in Turkish, such as Hoca Sadeddin’s (d. 1599) *Tāj al-tawārīkh* (The Crown of Histories) and Gelibolu Mustafa Ali’s (d. 1600) *Kunh al-akhbār* (The Essence of Events) were heavily influenced by Bidlisi’s opus. Following early examples, Ottoman historiography flourished considerably throughout the 16th century.⁹

In addition to that, I refer to the late Ottoman bureaucrat and author Ahmed Badi Efendi (d. 1910) who composed a three-volume book on the history of Edirne titled *Riyâz-i Belde-i Edirne* (The Gardens of the City of Edirne), which covers the monuments and celebrities of Edirne. The book relies mostly on basic information about Edirne given by the historian and poet Hibri Abdurrahman Efendi (d. 1659) in his *Anīs al-musāmīrîn* (Companion of Evening Entertainments),¹⁰ yet with major corrections and additions. Badi’s voluminous work has recently been published by

6 Mecdi, Mehmed: *Şekaik Tercümesi*. Hadaikü’ş-Şekaik, in: Abdülkadir Özcan (ed.): *Eş-Şekaiku’n-Nu’māniyye ve Zeyilleri*, vol. 1, Istanbul 1989. An Ottoman edition was printed in Istanbul at Dar al-Tiba’at al-Amire in 1269 AH/1853.

7 For other translations of and commentaries on *Shaqaiq*, see Özcan, Abdülkadir: *Eş-Şekaiku’n-Nu’māniyye*, in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 38, Istanbul 2010, pp. 485–486.

8 İdris Bidlisi: *Heşt Bihîşt*, translated by Abdülbaki Sa’di and transliterated by Mehmet Karataş, Selim Kaya, Yaşar Baş, Ankara no date. This work is sometimes confused with Sehi Bey’s (d. 1548) *Heşt Bihîşt*, which rather focuses on biographies of Ottoman poets.

9 İnalcık, Halil: The Rise of Ottoman Historiography, in: Bernard Lewis and Peter M. Holt (eds.): *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, pp. 152–167; see also Murphey, Rhoads: *Essays on Ottoman Historians and Historiography*, Istanbul 2009.

10 Abdurrahman Hibri: *Enīsü’l-mūsāmīrîn: Edirne Tarihi 1360–1650*, rendered into modern Turkish by Ratip Kazancıgil, Edirne 1996.

Edirne's Trakya University in a transliterated edition.¹¹ Moreover, bibliographical and bio-bibliographical works, such as Katib Çelebi's (d. 1657) *Kashf al-zunûn* (Removal of Doubts) and Bursalı Mehmed Tahir's (1925) *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (Ottoman Authors), are also consulted here as sources when needed.¹² The latter two works are sort of library catalogues of sources and scholarly productions of Ottoman authors, which also offer clues concerning teacher-student linkages and commentary on particular texts.

In this contribution, I suggest the notion of a pre-modern central Ottoman region consisting mainly of Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul, and – with Edirne as its entry point – I analyze the dimension of scholarly dynamics among the three. I do so by browsing through the mentioned sources to extract exemplary cases that allow me to illustrate, though in a still tentative manner, broader functional patterns of religious-intellectual scholarship. These shed light on hetero-chronological developments that need to be tested and substantiated on a wider scale somewhere else. However, I will claim and exempify here that, counter to the idea of a monolithic shift in the center of gravity, various gradually changing constellations, especially concerning the existence of a wider intercity scholarly hub, can be witnessed over the period under investigation. Before identifying such distinct patterns, a bird's-eye view of intellectual activities in pre-Ottoman and early Ottoman cities will be given. This outline needs to be tied to a very short historical sketch of institutions, notably the madrasa, mainly in the Anatolian realm.

2 Shifting Institutions and Centers of Early Ottoman Intellectual Activity

According to İhsanoğlu, “the main features of Ottoman educational traditions are drawn during the first one and a half centuries of Ottoman history, before the accession of Mehmed II to the throne and his move to conquer Istanbul.”¹³ The

¹¹ Ahmed Badi: *Riyâz-i Belde-i Edirne*, transliterated by Niyazi Adıgüzel and Raşit Gündoğdu, Istanbul 2014.

¹² Katib Çelebi: *Kashf al-zunûn ‘an asâmi’l-kutub wa’l-funûn*, Kilisli Muallim Rifat and Şerafeddin Yaltkaya (eds.), 2 vols., Ankara 1941–1943; Bursalı Mehmed Tahir: *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire 1333 AH/1915.

¹³ İhsanoğlu, Ekmeleddin: Emergence of the Ottoman Medrese Tradition, in: Yavuz Köse and Tobias Völker (eds.): *Şehrâîyn. Die Welt der Osmanen, die Osmanen in der Welt. Wahrnehmungen, Begegnungen und Abgrenzungen. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 67–106, here p. 90.

first phase was characterized by dominantly “*şeyhs, dervishes and babas*, who played an important role in the spiritual life of the Turcoman tribes for a long time [and] occupied a more active place than the *ulema* during the formation of the Ottoman principality.”¹⁴ However, the demand for a learned class and experts in various fields of knowledge continuously increased and was met by the rising institutional triumph of the madrasa. It is simply not sufficient to start with the first madrasa or mosque complex in Edirne. To better grasp the dynamics of this early Ottoman period, one needs to widen the view in time and space.

The most significant pre-Ottoman Anatolian towns with scholarly activities are located predominantly in the central and eastern regions of Anatolia; there are larger ones, such as Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, as well as smaller ones, like Karaman, Sivrihisar, and Niksar. They are worth mentioning particularly concerning the transmission of Islamic scholarship and madrasa education from the Arab, Iranian, and Central Asian lands during the Anatolian Seljuks and Emirates periods.¹⁵ Their importance stemmed from being centers of their regions, situated at crossroads, and possessing libraries and traditional institutions for a long period. A monumental work in two volumes lists and describes the madrasas of Anatolia in the pre-Ottoman periods, which shows the spread of institutions of learning in almost all towns before the Ottomans seized power and united the Anatolian emirates.¹⁶ Therefore, it needs to be emphasized that Ottoman scholars were not those who had initiated the implementation of the Iranian-born madrasa system in formerly Byzantine towns and cities, but were, in fact, the followers and carriers of the Anatolian Seljuk tradition that had early on appropriated this Islamic institution. The latter turned into the most widespread and influential model of higher Islamic learning for a long time to come. The Anatolian branch of the Seljuks can take credit for carrying it even further, to destinations in Rumelia. That is to say, the flourishing kickoff of religious scholarship in Edirne in no way started from scratch and would otherwise not have been possible in this impressive range and speed.

The early Ottoman centers of considerable intellectual activity shifted after some time to West Anatolia, namely to the cities of Iznik/Nicea, Bursa, Edirne, and later Istanbul. Amasya and Manisa, however, were merely cities of princes (sing. *şehzade*), who were trained there and gained administrative experience as governors of the province. Iznik, which lies in the nowadays modern Turkish

¹⁴ İhsanoğlu, *Medrese Tradition*, p. 72. Cf. also Kontolaimos, *Early Ottoman Urban Space*.

¹⁵ Cahen, Claude: *Pre-Ottoman Turkey. A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History C. 1071–1330*, London 1968, pp. 189–202; Çetin, Osman: *Selçuklu Müesseseleri ve Anadolu’da İslamiyet’in Yayılışı*, İstanbul 1981, pp. 156–157.

¹⁶ Sözen, Metin: *Anadolu Medreseleri. Selçuklular ve Beylikler Devri*, 2 vols., İstanbul 1970.

province of Bursa, is not only a locality famous in Christian Church history, it later turned into and *remained* an important production center of the world-famous Iznik tiles that started to be fabricated also in Damascus.¹⁷ The first Ottoman madrasa was actually established in Iznik by Orhan Bey in 1331, i.e., the Orhaniye Medrese of Davud-i Kayseri (Davud al-Qaysarî) (d. 1350).¹⁸ Bursa had two new madrasas of notable prestige, namely the Manastır Medrese of Şemseddin Mehmed Molla Fenari (Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Mawla al-Fanārî) (d. 1431), and the Sultaniye Medrese of Hizir Bey (Khidir Beg) (d. 1459), whose career will serve below as a case study.¹⁹ But, after a while, Edirne followed suit. When the Ottomans conquered this city, it took some decades to build up new educational infrastructures worthy of its status as the capital of the expanding empire. Many Sultans used Edirne as an additional or alternative base, especially for their plans to move into the Balkans to pursue ambitions in Europe, until the capital was fully installed there by Murad I. The Balkan Peninsula was the gate to Central Europe and comprised elements of three large civilizations, namely ancient Greek, medieval Christian, and conquering Islamic Turkish, with cities like Edirne, Sofia, Skopje/Üsküp, Thessaloniki/Selanik, and Plovdiv/Filibe that flourished rapidly. İdris-i Bitlisi describes in his *Hesht Behisht* that Edirne attracted immigrants from outside of its ancient castle after it was declared the capital (*dāru's-saltanat*) and was quickly equipped with new palaces, pavilions, bridges, madrasas, soup kitchens, and mosques.²⁰ The assets of Bursa continued by being the seat of the tombs of the Sultans, but Edirne was a crossroad in many senses, a circumstance that is aesthetically visualized by the beauty of its long and stylish bridges over the Tunca and Meriç rivers, which are still used.²¹ The attraction of Edirne, more particularly, came from its being at the edge of the *daru'l-jihad* on the Ottoman frontiers and the main door to Rumelia, which more easily rewarded the rulers of the vigorous dynasty's desire to expand. The earliest madrasas are the Eski Cami Medrese (since 1413), Oruç Paşa Medrese (1420s) and Şah Melek Medrese (1431). The particular religious institution of the *darülhadis* was built by Murad II in 1435. It was set up to teach disciplines of revealed knowledge (*naklî* or

¹⁷ Denny, Walter B.: *Iznik. The Artistry of Ottoman Ceramics*, London 2004.

¹⁸ İhsanoğlu, Medrese Tradition, p. 72.

¹⁹ Hızlı, Mefail: *Osmanlı Klasik Döneminde Bursa Medreseleri*, İstanbul 1998, pp. 19 and 81.

²⁰ İdris Bidlisi: *Heşt Bihişt*, 1:308, pp. 325–326.

²¹ Kienitz, Friedrich-Karl: *Städte unter dem Halbmond. Geschichte und Kultur der Städte in Anatolien und auf der Balkanhalbinsel im Zeitalter der Sultane 1071–1922*, Munich 1972, pp. 185–186.

şer'î ilimler). The founding scholar of Edirne's *darülhadis* was Fahrreddin-i Acemî (d. 1460?), and the next one in charge of this institution was Sinan Paşa (Sinan Basha) (d. 1486), both of whom will be presented further below. Up to hundred teachers (sing. *müderri*) can be personally identified in the history of Edirne's *darülhadis* instruction.²² Moreover, the impressive and recently renovated Üç Şerefeli Cami Medrese in the city center was built by Murad II in 1448. After the conquest of Constantinople, two other madrasas were added in the second half of the 15th century, namely Saatlı and Peykler, or also known Atik and Cedit, which hosted several high-ranking teachers, such as Hızır Bey, Alaaddin Ali Tusi ('Alā al-Dīn 'Alī al-Tūsī) (d. 1472), Molla İzari Kasım (Mawla 'İzari Qāsim) (d. 1495), and Şemseddin Ahmed Kemalpaşazade (Shams al-Dīn Ahmad Kamāl Bāsha Zāda, d. 1534), who will also be discussed in this survey.

Intellectual life in Edirne before the capital was shifted to Istanbul, was characterized by three main, mutually reinforcing features: first, it was a rising and quickly expanding city center and the gate to Rumelia with its rich intellectual diversity. In his *Seyahatname* Evliya Çelebi (d. 1684?) lists it among the seven most important cities (*bilad-i seb'a*) in Rumelia and emphasizes that Edirne was number two after Istanbul. In Evliya's list, Edirne is followed by Sofia (Sofya-yi safiye), Belgrade (Belgrad-i beheşt-abad), Buda (Budin-i sedd-i Islam), Sarajevo (Bosna sarayı), and Thesseloniki (Kal'a-yi Selanik).²³ Its geographical location in central Rumelia certainly provided an advantage over Bursa, the prior capital town in West Anatolia. Although the Ottoman dynasty arose in Anatolia, its main direction had always been westward and even toward Rumelia, which had already experienced a period of volunteer sufi missions since the Anatolian Seljuks (Selacika-i Rum). The second feature that enhanced the radiating force of Edirne was the industrious building of splendid new madrasas that came to host an increasing number of scholars. They came to the city from various places, so that Edirne increasingly overshadowed the scholarly institutions in Bursa. A third motor and indicator of Edirne's vibrant intellectual scene was the culture of debating. This habit, staged at official events, constituted the most important tool of Ottoman intellectual activities, so that confrontations and controversies of this type started most visibly in Edirne, a city of diverse communities, and therefore attracted many scholars to the town. The Ottoman biographer Taşköprizade testifies to debates held in

²² Yıldırım, Selahattin: *Osmanlı İlim Geleneğinde Edirne Dârulhadisi ve Müderrisleri*, İstanbul 2001, pp. 61–62.

²³ Evliya Çelebi: *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 305 Yazmasının Traskripsiyonu – Dizini*, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (eds.), İstanbul 1999, vol. 3, p. 265.

Edirne and Istanbul.²⁴ He also reports on the quality of their teaching and text analysis practices. A notable example is the case of Molla İzari, who taught in Edirne and conducted long discussions among students on only a couple of lines of a text, highlighting all details and problems of the issue, and who spent time with them rendering scholarly explanations even during their weekend holidays and games or walks.²⁵ That is to say, as an intellectual hub, Edirne was in full swing and witnessed a seemingly unstoppable rise when it was affected by the military victory over the Byzantines in Constantinople more than 200 kilometers to the east.

3 Emerging Functional Patterns of Scholarly Activities after 1453

When Istanbul became the capital city after the conquest in 1453, it quickly arranged an attractive collection of suitable buildings to start with higher Islamic learning; it already had of a convenient infrastructure and took measures to gear the city up to its new needs as seat of the Muslim dynasty of the Ottomans, including architectonically by erecting new buildings. However, expeditions to the Balkans continued to pass via Edirne and the sultans still enjoyed spending part of the year in Edirne's palaces and hunting grounds. The aforementioned Sahn-i Seman Medrese close to the Fatih Mosque began its service in Istanbul in 1471 and became the highest educational institution of the time.²⁶ Istanbul offered huge opportunities for scholars from Edirne to be promoted. For the Semaniye Medrese teaching positions, Edirne's Darülhadis and Üç Şerefeli Medrese were the best recruiting grounds, rearing the most experienced candidates in the Ottoman lands. Given the attraction of new madrasas in Istanbul, Edirne's madrasas became secondary in the hierarchy. Nevertheless, even after the establishment of the Semaniye Medrese and further institutions of higher learning in Istanbul, such as the Bayezid and Süleymaniye Medreses, Edirne was at least a stepping stone for an early career position before getting a higher-ranking job in Istanbul, as will be demonstrated further below. As the

²⁴ See for instance Taşköprizâde, *Şaḡāiq*, pp. 91 and 128.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 284–285.

²⁶ This occurred really quickly, given that on “the average it took 40–50 years to establish *medreses* in conquered lands, but this was not always the case,” İhsanoğlu, *Medrese Tradition*, p. 80.

primary sources reveal and as this chapter shows in some detail, there are several reasons for this.

Furthermore, Edirne also *gained* attractiveness through newly erected institutions. That the city repeatedly received large sums of money to build top-level institutions even *after* being supplanted as the official capital city testifies to the vivacity of its intellectual activities and manifest political interests. It is therefore worthwhile to examine Edirne's protracted significance also in the scholarly realm. A very prominent case in point is the Bayezid Külliye²⁷ founded by Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) in 1488; scholars such as Lütfullahzade Bahaeddin (d. 1489), Kemalpaşazade and Taşkoprizade taught there. More than a century after the transfer of the capital, during the reign of Selim II (r. 1566–1574), the imperial master architect Sinan established the Selimiye Külliye, crowned by UNESCO in 2011. It includes Darülhadis and Darülkurra Medrese, and the Selimiye Library.²⁸ The Darülhadis, which is also known as the Müderris Medrese, was completed in 1571. The building serves today as a museum of Turkish-Islamic works (Edirne Türk İslam Eserleri Müzesi). Darülhadis madrasas in general were established as institutions that promoted the disciplines of prophetic traditions during the Zengi, Ayyubi, and Mamluk dynasties beginning in the 12th century and continued to exist in the Ottoman period.²⁹ The earliest Ottoman darülhadis madrasas had been built in İznik and Bursa; however, the most famous one was established by Murad II in Edirne in 1425, much earlier than the Selimiye Madrasa. Edirne Darülhadisi, which was headed by Fahreddin-ı Acemi, is no longer extant as a building. However, the Selimiye Darülkurra Medrese is currently used as the Museum of Foundations (Vakıflar Müzesi), which exhibits tiles and calligraphic art works. The *darülkurra* type of madrasas aimed to educate the reciters of Qur'an, thereby following an early Islamic tradition. This variegated infrastructure bears witness to the scope of scholarly differentiation in Edirne during the period under investigation.

I will now look at how scholarly careers in the new madrasas that spread in the Ottoman Empire provide insight into a variety of career patterns. This study

²⁷ Ibid., p. 71, sees this *bimaristan medrese* in contrast to Makdisi's well-known thesis that claims that rational sciences were excluded in favor of the religious and especially legal ones that came to dominate the curriculum.

²⁸ On this mosque, see Geisler, Philip: Challenging Hagia Sophia. The Imperial Image of Selimiye Mosque as Ottoman Empire Branding, in this volume.

²⁹ Cihan, Sadık: Les liens de l'enseignement de la tradition et l'importance donnée de la science de Hadith à l'époque Ottomane, in: *Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 3 (1989), pp. 1–41.

traces how Edirne emerges from the aforementioned sources with regard to hierarchical ranking and for which exact functions it was sought after as a scholarly destination. This exploration of the topic offers only a tentative sketch, but not yet a full-fledged analysis that could make any statistical claims. What interests here is the variety of scenarios in which the academic and political landscape of Edirne played a major role shortly before, but significantly also after the city had already lost its official status as the capital of the Ottoman Empire to Istanbul. I present my deductions from browsing through the biographic dictionaries and chronicles, using prominent cases to exemplify discernable patterns and providing some historical context to them.

3.1 Pattern 1 (Acemi): Coming from Bursa and Stopping in Edirne

A number of scholars made it from Bursa in Anatolia to Edirne in Rumelia, the European side. The very best of them seem to have been selected to serve the new institutions in Edirne. However, some of them played too hard or even fell victim to their own stubbornness, too eager to promote themselves as God's sword on earth. Fahreddin Acemi is the most prominent of such cases. As indicated by his name, Fahreddin Acemi (d. 1460?) is a scholar of Persian origin, who possibly studied under the well-known theologian of Timurid Central Asian, Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjānī (d. 1413), and moved to the Ottoman territories in the early 15th century and settled in Bursa. After taking lessons with various scholars including a fellow countryman named Burhaneddin Haydar Herevi (d. d. 1426/1427), who had been a student of the other famous Timurid figure, Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī (d. 1390),³⁰ he became an assistant to Mehmed Şah Fenari (d. 1435?)³¹ at the Sultaniye Medrese in Bursa and later a teacher in other madrasas of that town. In the 1430s, the Ottoman sultan Murad II (r. 1421–1451) appointed him Mufti of the new capital, Edirne. Acemi became the second mufti or *şeyhülislam*

30 Both Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī and Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjānī were major sources of pre-modern Ottoman thought.

31 Son of the famous Molla Fenari and himself a theologian-jurisprudent who became a teacher at Sultaniye Medrese in Bursa while a teenager, a post that he kept until his death. He is the author of several books in linguistic and religious disciplines. Cf. Mecdi, *Şekaik Tercümesi*, pp. 48–49 and 56–57.

after Molla Fenari,³² and he kept this post also under Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481). He was known and widely respected for his pious, self-sacrificing manners, such as scrupulously returning to the state what he saved from his salary.

However, Fahreddin-i Acemi's piety, strict conservative approach, and inability to compromise led to brutal persecution in Edirne, although this town in particular and Rumelia in general were known for a pluralistic environment and considerable tolerance for heterodox beliefs. The social fabric of those who prepared the ground for and carried out the military expansion is very much characterized by this diversity.³³ It happened that the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha became suspicious of the growing influence of Hurufis in Edirne. They were the followers of Fazlullah-i Hurufi (d. 1394), who had been influenced by Gnosticism and believed in the sacred symbolism of numbers. They had captured the ear of Mehmed II and even obtained positions at court. Hurufis were well aware of possible negative reactions to their views and therefore usually did not speak out publicly. The vizier drafted a plan, invited them for a meeting to his residence, and asked them questions, while he let the hidden Mufti Fahreddin listen to them. He continued in this vein until they talked about incarnation, when all of a sudden the scholar emerged from his concealment and insulted them. Their leader escaped to the court, while Fahreddin followed him to the office of the sultan and had him arrested. Although the sultan himself did not want to confront a religious authority, the mufti called for a public gathering at the newly erected Üç Şerefeli Mosque, declared that their apostasy was evident, and pronounced a fatwa demanding their execution. They were killed immediately and the group leader was brutally burned alive in front of the townsfolk.³⁴ Evliya Çelebi grimly comments that perhaps in that period, there was not a virtuous person or scholar who could have taught them that God alone has the authority to punish human beings by fire.³⁵

Although he was invested with all the scholarly credentials of his Persian background and high-level academic upbringing in Anatolia, Acemi's holier-than-thou attitude did not fit the pluralistic ambience of the Empire's Balkan West and the specific social conditions that expansion encompassed. His date of death is not explicitly mentioned in the biographic sources, but Mecdi gives the year 870

³² Considered the founder of Ottoman scholarly tradition, Molla Fenari combined theology with mystical philosophy, which became one of the major paths in Ottoman intellectual history. Cf. Taşköprizade, *Şaḡāiq*, pp. 22–29.

³³ See Kontolaimos, *Early Ottoman Urban Space*.

³⁴ Taşköprizade, *Şaḡāiq*, pp. 59–61, also see Ocak, Ahmet Yaşar: *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler (15.–17. Yüzyıllar)*, İstanbul 1998, p. 133.

³⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 3, p. 267.

AH/1465 as the date of the appointment of the following Grand Mufti Molla Abdülkerim (d. 1489),³⁶ which suggests his death by then. Obviously, when suitable candidates were picked for high-level positions in recently conquered Istanbul, Acemi had been bypassed despite his elevated academic standing.

3.2 Pattern 2 (Hızır Bey): Bursa–Edirne–Istanbul as Full Circle Promotion

Hızır Bey (d. 1459) fared better than his stubborn colleague and won more recognition as a reliable partner. Originally from Sivrihisar, he was the son of a *kadı* named Celaleddin. He came to Bursa to study under the supervision of Molla Yegan Mehmed b. Armağan (d. ca. 1461)³⁷ and finally married one of Armağan's daughters. Hızır Bey was invited to Edirne for the first time to participate in a debate against a scholar (*alim*) from an Arab part of the empire. The event was set up to take place in the presence of Mehmed II. The Arab scholar had won all previous debates with Rumi (Ottoman) scholars, a fact that met the sultan's discontent. In the beginning, the Arab likewise overlooked Hızır and even made fun of his shabby appearance. But due to his surprisingly outstanding performance, Hızır proved not only able to answer all questions posed by the guest, but also managed, in return, to silence him with questions of his own, taken from 16 various fields of scholarly disciplines. As a result, despite his young age and modest dress, the local hero was rewarded with an appointment to serve as a *müderris* in Bursa's Sultaniye (Yeşil) Medrese. This event shows the high esteem and relevance of debating in Ottoman scholarly life. The culture and power of debates was taken up by Hızır Bey's own students and transformed into a tool for gaining authority in the eyes of the rulers, scholars, and the public.

With the appointment of Hızır to the Sultaniye in Bursa, this institution became the main training ground for Ottoman intellectuals at that time. Among its many students, three names stand out: Hocazade (the example for pattern 3),

³⁶ Educated in Edirne, Abdülkerim later became a teacher there and then moved to Istanbul to teach at some madrasas, including the Sahn-i Seman established by Mehmed II. Cf. Taşköprizade, *Şaḡāiq*, pp. 97–98; Mecdi, *Şekaik Tercümesi*, pp. 176–178.

³⁷ Molla Yegan studied under Molla Fenari in Bursa and succeeded him as Mufti. On his way back from pilgrimage in 1441, he brought the jurist Molla Gürani (d. 1488) with him from Egypt to Istanbul. Gürani was appointed Şehzade Mehmed's private teacher by his father Murad II. Cf. Taşköprizade, *Şaḡāiq*, pp. 79–80; Mecdi, *Şekaik Tercümesi*, pp. 99–100.

Şemseddin Ahmed Hayali (d. 1470?),³⁸ and Muslihuddin Mustafa Kesteli (d. 1496),³⁹ who later became one of the leading figures of the Ottoman school of theology (*kalam*) and philosophy (*falsafa*). After becoming a distinguished scholar (*'alam al-ilm*) who came to be known in Bursa as the second Ibn Sina, Hızır Bey was promoted in 1451 to Edirne's Üç Şerefeli Medrese, which was by then already regarded as a more prestigious institution than the Sultaniye in West-Anatolian Bursa. Furthermore, Hızır Bey functioned as the *kadı* of Yanbolu (today Yambol in Bulgaria), a small town close to Edirne on the Tunca/Tundzha River. After the conquest of Constantinople, he was chosen to be the first judge (*kadı*) of the new capital, thus bypassing his high-ranking rival Fahreddin Acemi, whose legal opinions were much stricter. Hızır's biographers credited him with being an expert in the rational sciences and a scholar of mathematics, a discipline he learned through the Caucasian scholar Fethullah Şirvani (Fath Allah al-Shirvani) (d. 1486). At the same time, he was considered the greatest living authority of Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsir*). He authored books, treatises, and commentaries in theology and exegesis.⁴⁰ With his extraordinarily broad academic portfolio, Hızır Bey made full use of the splendid possibilities that the three main locations of higher learning offered to him; he served in a broad range of functions, managed to arrange himself with those in charge, and consolidated his influence also through his well-tutored students.

3.3 Pattern 3 (Hocazade): Bursa–İstanbul–Edirne as Promotion in Appearance but Exile in Reality

As the son of a merchant who did not relish his son's interest in scholarship, Hocazade (d. 1488) resisted pressure from his family to carry on its business, continued his studies in hardship, and became an assistant student (*mu'îd*) of the aforementioned Hızır Bey at Bursa's Sultaniye Medrese. Then, under Murad II, he was appointed *müderres* of the Esediye Medrese in the same town. Following the

³⁸ Being (despite his short life) one of the Ottomans' most prolific philosophical theologians, Hayali was a *müderres* in Filibe, İznik, and Bursa and died at the age of 33. Cf. Taşköprizade, *Şaqâiq*, pp. 139–142; Mecdi, *Şekaik Tercümesi*, pp. 158–161.

³⁹ Kesteli was a student and son-in-law of Hızır Bey and served as a *müderres* in Mudurnu, Dimetoka, and İstanbul's Sahn-i Seman medreses, but also as a *kadı* in the three cities, Bursa, Edirne, and İstanbul. In the final years of Mehmed II, he was appointed *kazasker* (military judge). Kesteli was even familiar with the writings of Avicenna.

⁴⁰ Taşköprizade, *Şaqâiq*, pp. 91–93; see also Şakir-Taş, Aziz Nazmi: *Adrianopol'den Edirne'ye: Edirne ve Civarında Osmanlı Kültür ve Bilim Muhitinin Oluşumu* (XIV.–XVI. Yüzyıl), İstanbul 2009, pp. 146–147.

conquest of Istanbul and Mehmed II's invitation to scholars to move there, Hocazade went to the new capital. According to some sources, the Sultan's growing respect for Hocazade and their repeated consultations provoked the jealousy of members of the higher bureaucracy.⁴¹ Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha and his deputies plotted against Hocazade: Mahmud Pasha let the Sultan know that Hocazade secretly desired to become the *kazasker* (chief military judge) of Rumelia. In acknowledgement of his scholarly credentials, Mehmed II accepted the request. Surprised by the sudden appointment, Hocazade was not eager to accept the offer, but Mahmud Pasha called on him and reminded him that it would be utterly rude to reject a promotion by the Sultan. The indirect communication between Mehmed II and apparently his personal teacher Hocazade through the vizier implies some doubts about the reliability of the anecdote, but the absence of official records precludes further questioning of such biographical narrations.

According to the same account, Hocazade grudgingly went to Edirne as its new *kazasker*. While in Edirne, his father and brothers, who always overlooked his studies, visited him. He welcomed them with the state officials outside the city. Impressed by the wealth and power of Hocazade, his father became embarrassed and apologized to him. When Hocazade arranged a party for them, his rich brothers could not find a seat because of the presence of the high-level guests. Hocazade thanked God for bestowing this position on him. After completing his unwilling duty in Edirne, he was appointed *müderri*s of Sultaniye Medrese in Bursa at the age of 33. Although Hocazade was revered again and after a while was invited by Mehmed II to return to Istanbul, his challenges did not come to an end. Though he found himself engaged in scholarly competitions with other scholars and received many rewards, his successes and new appointments as the judge of Edirne in 1466 and in Istanbul in 1467 met the jealousy of the subsequent grand vizier, Karamanlı Mehmed Pasha (d. 1481). The vizier suggested to Sultan Mehmed that Hocazade did not like Istanbul's weather and requested a position for him in İznik. The alleged wish was accepted, seemingly without consulting Hocazade himself, and he was appointed *müderri*s and judge of İznik. However, Hocazade declined the position as judge and stayed there only as *müderri*s until the death of Mehmed II. When Bayezid II ascended to the throne in 1481, the new Sultan honored Hocazade and appointed him teacher at the Sultaniye Medrese in Bursa with a high salary. Shortly after that, Hocazade had serious health problems and died in 1488.

41 Taşköprizade, *Şaḡāiq*, pp. 129–130; Mecdi, *Şekaik Tercümesi*, pp. 147–149.

In his troubled scholarly life of ups and downs, Hocazade markedly stood out as a man of debates. Career advancement and many imperial awards were offered to him after these debates. His scholarly conversation in front of the sultan and high bureaucracy with Molla Zeyrek Mehmed (d. 1498?), who criticized the view of al-Jurjānī, was the first such debate. Zeyrek was a *müderriş* first in Bursa, and then in Istanbul in a monastery-turned madrasa under his name. Some reported details of this debate are interesting: the debate was about the legitimacy of *burhan-i temanu* (*reductio ad impossibile*) as a proof of divine unity that necessarily refutes the plurality of God. It continued for seven sessions, and the referees were the famous Mufti Molla Hüsrev (d. 1480) and Grand Vizier Mahmud Pasha, who finally found Hocazade's argument more convincing. His argumentation abilities and responses during the debate caught the attention of Mehmed II, too, so that the Sultan selected him to be his own teacher, and in addition gave him Zeyrek's teaching position.⁴²

The major event, however, was Hocazade's book competition with Alaaddin-i Tusi (d. 1472). Two leading scholars in Istanbul were commissioned to write books similar to al-Ghazzālī's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* and to discuss the opposite theses of al-Ghazzālī and the philosophers in a short period. The two scholars accepted the invitation, completing their own commentaries in about six months. A scholarly committee examined the two books and awarded each of them a large amount of money while acknowledging the relative superiority of Hocazade's work with a traditional robe (*kaftan*) as an additional gift. Later, further commentaries were written on these texts. Alaaddin-i Tusi felt upset about the difference of reward and left the country for Iran soon afterwards.⁴³ Biographers point out that Tusi was the teacher of the vizier Karamani, and his departure was one of the reasons of why the vizier banished Hocazade from Istanbul.⁴⁴

There is one case, however, when Hocazade lost a debate: it was on an unspecified topic with his former classmate Hayali, who was a profound scholar and won him over. According to the source, Hocazade was always in fear of facing scholarly challenges from Hayali, and after the latter's unexpected death

⁴² As a consequence of the "defeat" in this public debate and the loss of his position, Molla Zeyrek left Istanbul to resettle in Bursa under the protection of a certain Hacı (Khaja) Hasan. Despite Mehmed's regret and invitation back to Istanbul Hocazade did not return and spent his last years teaching in Bursa. Cf. Taşköprizade, *Şaḡāiq*, pp. 123–125; Mecdi, *Şekaik Tercümesi*, pp. 143–145.

⁴³ Özervarlı, M. Sait: Arbitrating between al-Ghazzali and the Philosophers. The *Tahafut* Commentaries in the Ottoman Intellectual Context, in: Georges Tamer (ed.): *Islam and Rationality. The Impact of al-Ghazali*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2015, pp. 375–397.

⁴⁴ Taşköprizade, *Şaḡāiq*, p. 130; Mecdi, *Şekaik Tercümesi*, p. 130.

at a very early age, he expressed that he could sleep better without any further encounters with Hayali.⁴⁵ Despite his bright career and scholarly fame, Hocazade voiced regret that he could not achieve even more. He admitted that his administrative occupations, like being a judge or *kazasker*, prevented him from reaching the scholarly level of Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjānī, the famous spiritual instructor of Timur.⁴⁶ He was barred from the highest academic honors and from a permanent stable position in Istanbul by repeatedly falling victim to other people's conspiracies and pressures.

3.4 Pattern 4 (Sinan Pasha): Edirne–Istanbul–Edirne as Protection and Restoration of Reputation

As a son of Hızır Bey, Sinan Pasha (d. 1486) spent his childhood in Edirne during his father's appointment there. As a teenager, he moved to Istanbul with his family and was already famous as a junior student. Latvefi describes him as eloquent while still a child (*bâliḡ olmadan belîḡ*) and as giving talks already at the age of seven.⁴⁷ He returned to Edirne as a young *müderris* at the Darülhadis just after the death of his father in 1459. He was interested in philosophy and rational disciplines; and known as a skeptic since childhood. Sinan spent a decade in Edirne until he was appointed to a position in Istanbul in 1470 as the private teacher of the sultan and soon as his vizier in order to render him advice even more closely. He obtained the title of pasha from the latter post. However, in 1477, Sinan was dismissed, for some bureaucratic reasons and put in jail. The imprisonment of a scholar caused an unusual protest in Ottoman academia, and the *ulema* of Istanbul altogether threatened Mehmed II that they would burn their books and leave the Ottoman lands. The protest was effective and Sinan was released from prison, which shows the role and power of scholars in early Ottoman times. Sinan was afterwards sent somewhere far away, and had to serve as a *kadı* in Sivrihisar, and had to stay there until the death of Mehmed II in 1481.

When Bayezid II took the throne he reinstated Sinan Pasha's titles and once again sent him to teach in Edirne at the Darülhadis with an exceptional salary of 100 *akçe* a day just to protect him from his enemies in Istanbul. After some quiet years of writing and teaching in Edirne producing a gloss (*hashiya*) on Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjānī's *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* (Commentary on Stations) and

⁴⁵ Taşköprizade, *Shaqāiq*, p. 141.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴⁷ Latî Tezkiretî'ş-şu'arâ ve tabsiratü'n-nuzamâ, Rıdvan Canım (ed.), Ankara 2000, p. 310.

Turkish books on spirituality, such as *Tazarrûnâme* (Book of Appeal) and *Maârifnâme* (Book of Learnings), he was back in Istanbul when things finally returned to normal, but after a while, he died in Edirne in 1486.⁴⁸

Debates of the period were not always oral. Scholars also exchanged opposing views and criticisms in written pieces. Sinan Pasha entered such an exchange with Kesteli, for instance, when the latter raised objections to Sayyid Sharîf al-Jurjânî's views on some philosophical issues frequently discussed since Avicenna, such as the possibility of necessary knowledge, relations between essence and attributes, and so on, which he later composed in a treatise. After Kesteli put his views into writing, Sinan discussed and rejected them in another treatise.⁴⁹ Sinan's heavy involvement in philosophical sciences and his meticulous approach to scholarly questions led him to a more skeptical tendency, which led to complaints from other scholars including his own father, Hızır Bey. Sinan's curiosity and skepticism influenced his student Molla Lutfi Tokati (d. 1495), who likewise received the disapproval of conservative scholars and was punished by death.

3.5 Pattern 5 (Kemalpaşazade): Edirne to Istanbul as Change of Career Paths

Originally from Tokat in northern Anatolia, and, according to some sources, born in Edirne, Şemseddin Ahmed Kemalpaşazade (d. 1534) began his official career as a *sipahi*, a cavalryman, and participated in some expeditions of Bayezid II (reg. 1481–1512), but decided to change his career path when he witnessed the aforementioned Molla Lutfi in poor clothing being seated in a more honorable position than the legendary commander Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Bey at a meeting in the office of Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha, who was the grand vizier of Bayezid II from 1498 to 1499. Impressed by the high status and prestige of scholars, he left the army and began to pursue intensive studies under Molla Lutfi at the Darülhadis in Edirne and completed his madrasa education there. Kemalpaşazade first became a teacher at Ali Bey Taşlık Medrese, then the Halebiye Medrese, and afterwards of the Üç Şerefeli Medrese. In this period, Sultan Bayezid II commissioned him with a generous grant to write an *Ottoman History* (*Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*) in Turkish. He was finally appointed to the Sultan Bayezid Medrese in 1511.

⁴⁸ Taşköprizade, *Şaqaîq*, pp. 173–177; Ahmed Badi, *Riyâz-i Belde-i Edirne*, pp. 1321–1323; Şakir-Taş, *Adrianopol'den Edirne'ye*, pp. 160–161.

⁴⁹ See manuscripts in Köprülü Library, Asım Bey, MS. no. 721.

During the Ottoman campaign against the Safavids by Selim I, Kemalpaşazade wrote treatises about the heresy of the Shiites and the legitimacy of fighting against them, which multiplied his popularity and made him *kadı* of Edirne in 1515 and *kazasker* a year later. He was invited to take part in the expeditions to Syria and Egypt, which ended with the conquest of Mamluk lands including the Hijaz on the Arabian Peninsula. It is anonymously reported that, on their victorious return together from Egypt, Selim honored him by saying “The dust that splashed from the horseshoe of a scholar was like an ornament and glory for him.” In 1520, he became *müderris* at the Darülhadis with an exceptional salary of daily 100 *akçes*, and at the Bayezid Medrese two years later. In 1524, he was appointed senior *müderris* at the Sahn-i Seman in Istanbul, and shortly after, he became the grand mufti or *şeyhülislam* until his death in 1534 during the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent.⁵⁰

Kemalpaşazade benefited from the wide-ranging encyclopedic environment of Ottoman scholarship and wrote around two hundred works in three main Islamic languages (Arabic, Persian, and Turkish). His numerous treatises and commentaries in theology, philosophy, law, and literature evoked a comparison with the productive Egyptian author Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), but with a more rationalist approach. Among his many students, Ebussuud Efendi (d. 1574), as the most famous of all Ottoman *şeyhülislams* ever, marked the scholarly life of the 16th century.

4 Conclusion

Despite its special strategic position in Rumelia, back in the mid-15th century, Edirne had no chance to remain the capital of the Ottoman Empire in an administrative sense because of the extraordinary nimbus of Constantinople with its already splendid and differentiated infrastructure. Hence, Islamic institutions quickly followed suit in Istanbul, so that at least a certain brain drain from Edirne soon began to set in. Nevertheless, a close reading of Ottoman biographical and historical sources, especially Taşköprizade’s *Şaḡāiq*, reveals a range of patterns of temporarily upheld, regained or newly acquired intellectual importance for Edirne. Five tentative patterns have been identified and illustrated here with some selected prominent examples. These patterns provide evidence that, as the new capital, Istanbul was effective in an academic sense through

50 Taşköprizade, *Şaḡāiq*, pp. 377–379; Abdurrahman Hibri, *Enisü’l-müsāmirin*, p. 89.

exchange relations with its surroundings, even with smaller towns such as Dimetoka in Rumelia and İznik in Anatolia, and in particular with the previous capitals Edirne and Bursa. Interconnections among the three – at different times – capitals were not only one-directional, like from Bursa to Edirne and from Edirne to Istanbul; there were multiple patterns of cultural flows and exchange. The analysis also shows how strong and lively the interchanges were among these three main centers of scholarly activities. For Ottoman scholars, the two capitals in the west and the Anatolian one east of Istanbul were normally places of early-career positions, but sometimes also possibilities for a timeout, (temporary) withdrawal, or escape from the attention and conspiracies of the court, and yet possible destinations of relatively soft exiles. A more severe exile at that time was rather sending someone to a faraway place, such as Sivrihisar in central Anatolia or a small town further away in Rumelia. Although high positions like at Istanbul's Fatih, Edirne's Üç Şerefeli, and Bursa's Sultaniye Medreses were highly competitive, and therefore created fierce rivalries among scholars, there were also cases of scholars' joint resistance and solidarity against undue punishment or discrimination. Inter-marriages among families of scholars and in some cases between students and daughters of teachers strengthened these links of multiple interactions.

Teaching, writing, and debating were the three main activities of a prototypical higher *müdderris*, who could move among Edirne, Istanbul, and Bursa at different stages of his scholarly career. Apart from their regular salaries, it was common for such scholars to receive extra awards, especially for their performance at such discussion meetings. However, being ready for a public or a court debate and winning the contested case with stronger or better-presented arguments was a matter of prestige. Scholars who won such an important encounter usually received a higher position, a substantial amount of extra money or gifts from the Sultan, plus public acknowledgement of their scholarly level. A defeat in a serious debate, however, resulted in humiliation, sometimes even in the loss of one's job or voluntary leave for another town. In several cases, those whom the referee officially announced as defeated parties considered this a blow to their dignity and left the town, convinced that they should not remain there. While it was the Ottoman capital and afterwards, Edirne hosted several such debates and was a main theater for these far-reaching events. In view of all these activities, exchanges, career makings, successes, and defeats, Edirne was and remained a scholarly hub, closely linked to and embedded in a cluster of scholarly destinations around the Marmara Sea. This chapter demonstrates that Edirne had already become so important and well-equipped that it provided a space of variegated options or operative moves as a

sort of second city,⁵¹ if not semi-capital, that has to be taken into account in its broader functional dimensions. As mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, despite Istanbul's extraordinary and long-lasting domination in Ottoman cultural history, even centuries after its conquest, Edirne and Bursa fueled the minds of scholars with their prestige and academic options.⁵² At least for the larger period of early Ottoman history discussed here, we need to abstain from the monolithic model of the one-and-only (cultural) capital in favor of an interplay among this triad of towns that constitute a meaningful wider region of cooperate scholarly centers, although in the long run Istanbul came to outweigh everything else. However, with its more than auxiliary functions, Edirne contributed to the nimbus of Istanbul's intellectual splendor and still deserves to have scholars revisit it because of its own merits.

⁵¹ Cf. Wippel, Steffen: Edirne as a Secondary City. Global Reconfiguration of the Urban, in this volume.

⁵² Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, vol. 3, p. 265.

Part II: Imperial Architecture

Philip Geisler

Challenging the Hagia Sophia. The Selimiye Mosque in Edirne as Ottoman Empire Branding

This chapter¹ is concerned with the relationship between Edirne's Selimiye Mosque and social complex (built in Edirne 1568–1574, inscribed in the World Heritage List since 2011) and the initially Byzantine cathedral and then Ottoman mosque, the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, which is often referred to as the Selimiye's prototype. The main objective is to provide a comprehensive formal analysis of the buildings, which is so far lacking in studies that describe the alleged inferiority of the Selimiye to the Hagia Sophia. Such a comparison tackles important premises on which Ottoman city images were based. It reveals the role of Byzantine aesthetics for Ottoman building practices and subsequently highlights some political implications, namely the assertion of the Ottomans' rightful status as heirs to the Byzantine Empire through architectural appropriation and incorporation. This paper will not join a historiographical debate that has emphasized the dependency of the Selimiye on the Hagia Sophia or, to the contrary, follow scholarly considerations that have argued for the absolute independence of the Edirne mosque, as is more in line with Turkish nationalist thought.²

Rather, my ideas will be developed primarily in conversation with the perceivable architectural structures on the ground and their historical genesis, at least insofar as the secondary sources allow insights less influenced by modern ideological discourses. To pursue this approach, three analytical steps will structure the following remarks to reveal how the Selimiye challenges the Hagia Sophia in terms of form, style, urban context, literary narratives, and image

1 I would like to express my gratitude to Birgit Krawietz for her support in publishing this chapter. I wish to thank Christian Freigang for his intellectual and personal encouragement as well as Haytham Bahoora, Wendy M.K. Shaw, Gülru Necipoğlu, Felix Torkar, Hannah Baader, Özge Yıldız, Florian Riedler, and Klaus Kreiser who assisted in the editing or offered helpful comments. I also thank Gülru Necipoğlu, Felix Torkar, Sabiha Göloğlu, and Arild Vågen for generously providing the images that are used in this chapter.

2 Nationalist thought has also constructed a dominant representation of Sinan himself, mitigating against a broad contextual understanding of the architect's oeuvre, Morkoç, Selen B.: An Architect to Challenge Them All. Sinan Phenomenon in Architectural Historiography, in: *Fabrications. The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 19 (2009), pp. 7–25.

construction and how this mosque was part of a competitive architectural discourse³ within the “shared early-modern preoccupation with challenging the past.”⁴

Part one clarifies the historiographical context of connections between Ottoman and a variety of other Middle Eastern visual and architectural cultures. This short introduction to a branch of Islamic art historiography traces scholarship in which discourses of the artistic hierarchy of peoples and civilizations served and still serve to produce Ottoman culture as inferior, especially compared to Persian culture (see below, section 1).

Part two begins with a description of the general design features of both the Selimiye (2) and the Hagia Sophia (3). Under the title Appropriation and Reform (4), similarities and differences will be analyzed in a formal comparison of the two buildings. This will include, in particular, thoughts on the distinct – if not opposite – functional profiles (5). This second part will be summarized by determining nine crucial features of the Selimiye (6).

Part three uses these key features to exemplify the mosque’s role for the construction of architectural, urban, and imperial images in the 16th-century Ottoman Empire in terms of both the structure’s narrative implications (7.1) and its architectural modifications (7.2). Eventually, I suggest the term “empire branding” (8) for this enterprise of remodeling urban spaces and introducing them into a new imperial power context by redesigning their architectural and infrastructural characteristics with the aim of changing behavior, lifestyle, habitus, taste, and political opinion to accord with official Ottoman worldview. Given the success of empire branding, I will conclude by framing the Ottoman imperial mosque as the quintessential mental image of a mosque (9).

It is crucial to first define the specific relationship between the two buildings in order to understand the role that *the* principal Byzantine monument, the Hagia Sophia, came to play in the Ottoman context. The comparison of the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye also addresses the larger question of Ottoman city spaces and images which provides the basis for the terminological and

3 As Gülru Necipoğlu mentions, this aspect of Islamic architecture began long before the Ottomans with the imperial aspirations of both the Umayyads and the Abbasids, for example with the Dome of the Rock (completed in 691) in Jerusalem, challenging the modest structures of the early caliphs in Medina as well as Byzantine architecture in Syria. Another example is al-Mansur’s city of Mansuriyya from the 10th century, whose round form challenges Baghdad, Necipoğlu, Gülru: *Challenging the Past. Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture*, in: *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), pp. 169–180, here p. 169 f. Thus, Sinan was not the only figure engaged in a project of asserting the architectural superiority of the present by challenging the past, as will be elaborated below.

4 Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 169.

conceptual coining of a historic process of empire branding. Certain architectural prototypes and narratives were incorporated in very specific ways in the cultivation and circulation of city images, both tangible and perceptual. With the broader historical process of empire branding in mind, the specific focus of this paper is the question of the exact function of this incorporation process in the well-known examples of the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye. I argue that in the 16th century, as today, the Selimiye was not and cannot be seen as merely an Islamized replica of the Hagia Sophia, as it has inappropriately been described in both popular and academic Western literature.

1 Hierarchies of Aesthetics and the Relationship between the Two Buildings

To elaborate this thesis, one has to free both the architectural structures and the field of Islamic art history from a distinct and influential discourse that theorized a Western colonial, hegemonic paradigm in the cloak of formal analysis. From the archaeological excavations in Western Asia in the 19th century until the 1990s, Western scholars have constructed a narrative of an inferior Ottoman architectural culture, especially compared to the Persian. One aim of this chapter is to reveal the specific architectural features of Ottoman visual culture as a distinct aesthetic and to disassociate from approaches establishing an aesthetic hierarchy among regional practices, either without clear criteria or based in racialized thought. Nasser Rabbat highlights these implications in his 2012 critical analysis of the field, in which he describes in broad depth and historical perspective

this determinedly divisive and not a little racist theory of a separate and rather inferior Oriental lineage [that] formed the conceptual backbone for numerous future studies on Islamic art and architecture and reoriented the field away from investigating the continuous connections with other, Westerly traditions of art and architecture.⁵

One crucial aspect of my chapter is a reassessment of the theory that Rabbat outlines. In recent years, various articles have dealt with the history of this discourse that evolved in the 19th century in the writing of scholars such as Owen Jones

⁵ Rabbat, Nasser: *Islamic Art at a Crossroads?*, in: Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber, and Gerhard Wolf (eds.): *Islamic Art and the Museum. Approaches to Art and Archaeology of the Muslim World in the Twenty-First Century*, London 2012, pp. 76–83, here p. 78.

and Michel Lavoix, continuing into the 20th century in the works of Josef Strzygowski.⁶ Rabbat contextualizes this as being influenced by a scholarly tradition of an “authoritative historiography of art and architectural history,”⁷ methodologically and structurally creating a “chronologically, geographically and even ideologically prescribed historical and artistic hierarchy.”⁸ In this hierarchy, Ottoman culture was most often ranked among the lowest, in contrast to those cultures that Western scholars could easily connect to medieval Europe through a racialized construction of Aryan pedigrees, such as the Persian.⁹ The Persian and Indo-Persian schools were thus favored and extolled due to their constructed racial notions of Indo-European and Aryan cultures. They were ranked above those of the Semitic Arabs and nomadic Turks in an artistic hierarchy of peoples established by European colonial and Orientalist thought respectively.¹⁰ In the academic production of knowledge, this paradigm enabled the

6 In Owen Jones’ (1809–1874) *Grammar of Ornament*, “Arabian” and “Moresque” idioms are considered superior to derivative mixed styles, Necipoğlu, Gülrü: The Concept of Islamic Art. Inherited Discourses and New Approaches, in: *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012), <https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/number-6-june-2012-2/>, last accessed 8 Mar. 2019, p. 4. The publication of the *Manuel d’art musulman* (1907) popularized the views of the Louvre expert on Arab coins and medals Henri-Michel Lavoix (1820–1892). Lavoix argued that Islam was influenced by the advanced civilization of Byzantium and revealed an art that proved its “inherent degeneracy,” Shaw, Wendy M.K.: The Islam in Islamic Art History. Secularism and Public Discourse, in: *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012), <https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/number-6-june-2012-2/>, last accessed 8 Mar. 2019, p. 14. The two authors of the *Manuel d’art musulman*, the architect Henri Saladin and the Louvre official Gaston Migeon, replicated Lavoix’s arguments. In the first volume of this influential work, Saladin contemplates the variety and originality of an art that was not based in Islam, but in visual practices of bordering civilizations, Shaw, The Islam in Islamic Art History, p. 17.

7 Rabbat, Islamic Art at a Crossroads?, p. 76.

8 Ibid. Within this production of knowledge, Islamic architectural structures and objects were classified as being from Late Antiquity and thereby connected to Western culture. For more details on this, see *ibid.*, p. 77.

9 Rabbat shows how Strzygowski’s (1862–1941) construction of a pan-Aryan field of culture, including Iran and Armenia, was transferred via Anatolia to the Germanic lands, tracing the origin of medieval European art to the former, *ibid.*, p. 78. Also Vernoit, Stephen: Islamic Art and Architecture. An Overview of Scholarship and Collecting, c. 1850–c. 1950, in: *idem* (ed.): *Discovering Islamic Art. Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, London and New York 2000, pp. 1–61, here p. 6.

10 Necipoğlu, The Concept of Islamic Art, p. 6. According to Necipoğlu, Arthur Upham Pope’s *Introduction to Persian Art* from 1931 describes Seljuq Turks as “lacking in the graces of civilization,” *ibid.* This thinking influenced early European museum collections of objects, art, and textiles, as stated by Wearden, Jennifer: The Acquisition of Persian and Turkish Carpets by the South Kensington Museum, in Stephen Vernoit (ed.): *Discovering Islamic Art. Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, London and New York 2000, pp. 96–104, here pp. 97–99.

construction of a narrative of a timeless Persian genius resisting numerous invasions by peoples such as Turks and Mongols.¹¹ Islamic and Byzantine art and architecture were then used as “ultimate missing links for explaining the evolution of Western art”¹² and the praises given to Persian art as emblematic of Aryan visual culture served to connect classical Greek and Roman civilizations with that of early modern Europe. After its early centuries of evolution, Ottoman architecture was thus marked as a peripheral station of transition on the teleological path toward what was considered the climax of Western cultural practice, the Italian Renaissance. In this way, the classical heritage had arrived in its new place of artistic reception and production in the 15th century.¹³ The spaces in which this problematic paradigm of hierarchies between artistic fields was perpetuated included museums, exhibitions, and, most importantly, academic publications.¹⁴

It seems that by the end of the 20th century, scholars would have become conscious of the flawed historiographies of one century earlier and that they would have understood how these historiographical positions informed their arguments. However, the narrative of inferior cultures continues to be upheld, particularly by Western academics who have been influenced by exhibitions and texts from much earlier decades. In his article about the Burlington House Exhibition of 1931, the scholar and keeper of metalwork at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Basil William Robinson, tellingly frames this exhibition – that he attended – as highly influential to a large number of young scholars. However, it becomes clear in his text that this exhibition perpetuated the

11 E.g. in Arthur Upham Pope's later work *Survey of Persian Art*, Rizvi, Kishwar: Art History and the Nation. Arthur Upham Pope and the Discourse on 'Persian Art' in the Early Twentieth Century, in: *Muqarnas* 24 (2007), pp. 45–66, here p. 56 and Necipoğlu, The Concept of Islamic Art, p. 6. The same allegation that the Ottoman contribution was minor can be traced in art historical analyses of garden culture, Necipoğlu, Gülru: The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture, in: Attilio Petruccioli (ed.): *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires. Theory and Design*, Leiden 1997, pp. 32–71.

12 Shalem, Avinoam: What Do We Mean When We Say 'Islamic Art'? A Plea for a Critical Rewriting of the History of the Arts of Islam, in: *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012), <https://arthistoriography.wordpress.com/number-6-june-2012-2/>, last accessed 8 Mar. 2019, p. 5.

13 The canon that was established through this paradigm of hierarchy and connectivity is reflected in Henri Saladin's writing. As the major civilizations representing the art of Muslim cultures, he mentions “grecque, persane, syrienne, égyptienne, espagnole, indoue: mais s'il faut faire la part de tous, on ne peut nier que, sans avoir été jamais exactement définie jusqu'ici, celle des Arabes ne soit la plus grande.” Saladin, Henri: *Manuel d'a musulman*, vol. 1: *L'Architecture*, Paris 1907, p. 9. Cf. Shaw, The Islam in Islamic Art History, p. 17.

14 Over a long period, Ottoman and Arab artifacts were portrayed as Persian or Turco-Persian in European museums, Vernoit, Islamic Art and Architecture, pp. 6–8.

forementioned hierarchies of a preponderant Persian/Safavid art over Mongol and Timurid cultures. Robinson's mythicizing praise consequently demonstrates the problematic lasting effects these exhibitions had on visitors, including scholars and their academic production.¹⁵

A notable example of this paradigm of racialized aesthetic judgments in European publications is the framing of Ottoman architecture in the article "Die iranische Moschee" (The Iranian Mosque) by the former professor of Iranian Studies and author of several publications on the architecture of the Middle East, Heinz Gaube, published in the journal *Spektrum Iran* in 1993, where he gestures favorably only toward the Iranian contribution:

The "new" Friday mosque of Isfahan represents *the* masterpiece of Iranian-Islamic architecture par excellence and, in its mastering of the building task of a "mosque," in my view it is only to be compared with the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, knowing that sublime monuments were created under the Ottomans in the territories of their rule. However, these are based on a form that did not grow (or develop) out of the Ottomans' own culture or tradition and therefore represent a peripheral line in Islamic sacred architecture. Indeed, nobody can doubt that the "ur"-structure of the Turkish-Ottoman mosque is the Hagia Sophia of the Byzantine emperor Justinian, which is neither Turkish, nor Ottoman, nor Islamic; and there is every indication that Christians were essentially, or at least not essentially, involved in the design and execution even of later sultans' mosques in Istanbul.¹⁶

15 "All these varied characters, and many more, were brought together in spirit, if not physically, by the great Burlington House Exhibition, and very many left it, like me, with an enhanced vision of Persia and its art, and with brains in a rich ferment. [...] we (or some of us) began to arrange and collate in our minds what we had seen with our eyes, and to commit our conclusions to paper. [...] Behind most of this immense volume of writing can be described, sometimes faint and distant, but nevertheless unmistakable, the still potent impulse of things seen at Burlington House in 1931." Robinson, B.W.: The Burlington House Exhibition of 1931. A Milestone in Islamic Art History, in: Stephen Vernoit (ed.): *Discovering Islamic Art. Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850–1950*, London and New York 2000, pp. 147–155, here p. 154.

16 Gaube, Heinz: Die iranische Moschee, in: *Spektrum Iran. Zeitschrift für Islamisch-Iranische Kultur* 4 (1993), pp. 5–33, here p. 5. The translation into English is mine; the German original reads as follows: "Die 'neue' Freitagsmoschee von Isfahan stellt *das* Meisterwerk iranisch-islamischer Architektur schlechthin dar und ist mir in der Bewältigung der Bauaufgabe 'Moschee' nur mit der Umayyadenmoschee von Damaskus vergleichbar, wissend, daß unter den Osmanen in den von ihnen beherrschten Gebieten grandiose Bauwerke entstanden sind. Sie gründen aber auf einer nicht aus der eigenen Kultur und Tradition gewachsenen (oder entwickelten) Form und stellen damit eine Nebenlinie in der islamischen Sakralarchitektur dar. Kann doch wohl niemand daran zweifeln, daß der 'Ur'-Bau der türkisch-osmanischen Moschee die weder türkische, noch osmanische, noch islamische Hagia Sophia des byzantinischen Kaisers Justinian ist, und es spricht vieles dafür, daß an Entwurf und Ausführung selbst späterer Sultansmoscheen in Istanbul Christen maßgeblich, oder zumindest nicht unmaßgeblich, beteiligt waren."

With this argument, Gaube articulates the aforementioned widespread Western view of the inferior status and meaning of certain branches of art history, such as Ottoman art history, portraying Ottoman art and architecture *as merely blending* Byzantine and Italian Renaissance styles.¹⁷ By using the analytically inflexible category of origin, he perpetuates the hegemonic structure created by Western art history that controls conventions of the production of knowledge by defining an original historical essence, downgrading other cultures and pushing them to the periphery.¹⁸ According to Wendy M.K. Shaw, this notion of foreignness was particularly associated with Turks and Mongols. Rooted in the writing of Oleg Grabar, this idea “not only echoes the trope of decline through cultural mixing that was suggested by Lavoix, but asserts the prominence of ethnic over religious and formal over intellectual categories in the production of culture.”¹⁹ At the same time, Oleg Grabar underscored the dynamic traditions that the Muslim world inherited right after its formation, in which “fresh interpretations and new experiments coexisted with old ways and ancient styles.”²⁰ Referring to this statement of Grabar’s, Gülru Necipoğlu emphasizes that this approach also shaped Ottoman architecture after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.²¹ It did not, however, merely repeat a preexisting tradition. Rather, it created a complex synthesis resulting in “monuments with an intertextual dimension.”²² What is more, the dismissal of Ottoman architecture as uninventive ignores that Romano-Byzantine traditions were also reinterpreted in various other historical contexts. The Italian Renaissance, which Gaube would certainly not perceive as “peripheral,” reinterpreted classical forms, too. His following arguments

17 Gülru Necipoğlu points out yet another aspect of the difficult position of Ottoman art history that is rooted in the medievalization of early modern Ottoman art and architecture due to the denial of a post-medieval Islamic art. Necipoğlu furthermore argues that, following colonial ambitions in the time of the formation of the art history of Islamic lands, a hierarchy of peoples had been created in which Turks had inherited the lowest rank, being inferior to the Indo-European, Aryan pedigree, Necipoğlu, *The Concept of Islamic Art*, pp. 4–6.

18 Rabbat, *Islamic Art at a Crossroads?*, p. 79. This essentialization of Persian art led to peculiar phenomena, as Marianna Shreve Simpson demonstrates about the role of classical Persian painting and its acquired privileged aesthetic and aura in the context of the production of fake miniatures in the early 20th century, which the author frames as dissimulation, Shreve Simpson, *Marianna: Mostly Modern Miniatures. Classical Persian Painting in the Early Twentieth Century*, in: *Muqarnas* 25 (2008), pp. 359–395, especially p. 387 f.

19 Shaw, *The Islam in Islamic Art History*, p. 27.

20 Ettinghausen, Richard and Grabar, Oleg: *The Art and Architecture of Islam: 650–1250*, Harmondsworth 1987, p. 23.

21 Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 169.

22 *Ibid.*

concerning a “national” Persian architecture clarify that his reasoning is marked by a double standard and a nationalist interpretation²³ of architectural cultures:

In Damascus, the idea of the “mosque” found a Syrian form – or a Syrian expression; in other places, it found an “Arab” form, and in the Islamic West, we encounter it in its Maghrebian shape. Iran, however, went its own way, the Iranian way, in mosque building at the latest from 1100. It incorporated pre-Islamic Iranian forms and created national, unmistakable, and distinctive mosque architecture. [...] In a state that became “Persian,” the ruler may have been of Turkish origin and his intelligence may have mastered the Arabic language without effort while reviving the Persian and with that language integrating old Iranian ideals into the Islamic world (the question arises, of course, which Arab made and makes the effort of learning Persian) – in such a state, new architectural forms had to be found. New forms that were old forms.²⁴

Such presumptions of a pure and original art posit a static character in art throughout history. This, however, contradicts the production of culture in any kind of interconnected, geographically widely spread civilization. Gaube applies pan-Islamic and national character traits to cultures that existed prior to

23 Rabbat contains more examples of this nationalist discourse in art history as a paradigm of connecting parts of another place’s (art) history to the historical process of local history. He particularly mentions how (Pahlavi) Iran served as the best example of this narrative, and how the Ottoman, Umayyad, and Abbasid eras were excluded in the construction of an “uninterrupted national art and architectural evolution,” Rabbat, *Islamic Art at a Crossroads?*, p. 81. These approaches, which mark Gaube’s statements, reflect Hegel’s theory of artistic styles as embodiments of national “spirit” or “genius,” establishing a hierarchical classification through ahistorical, essentialized categories. This is further elaborated in Necipoğlu, *The Concept of Islamic Art*, p. 4, who problematizes this school that Gaube and other scholars follow as an “injustice to the cultural complexity of Islamic lands ruled by multiethnic, multilingualistic and multiconfessional polities,” *ibid.*, p. 7.

24 Gaube, *Die iranische Moschee*, p. 6 and p. 25. The translation into English is mine; the German original reads as follows: “In Damaskus gewann die Idee ‚Moschee‘ eine syrische Form – oder einen syrischen Ausdruck, anderswo eine ‚arabische‘ Form, und im islamischen Westen begegnet sie uns in ihrer maghrebischen Gestalt. Iran ging aber im Moscheebau spätestens seit ca. 1100 seinen eigenen, den iranischen Weg, der vorislamische iranische Bauformen aufgriff und damit eine nationale, unverkennbare und unverwechselbare Moscheearchitektur schuf. [...] In einem Staat, der ‚persisch‘ wurde, mag der Herrscher auch türkischen Ursprungs gewesen sein, dessen Intelligenz das Arabische mühelos beherrschte, dennoch das Persische belebte und über diese Sprache alte iranische Ideale in die islamische Welt einbrachte (die Frage stellt sich natürlich, welcher Araber gab und gibt sich die Mühe, Persisch zu lernen), mußten neue architektonische Formen gefunden werden. Neue Formen, die alte waren.”

the rise of nations and follows a school of thought that groups complex and individual structures in overarching typologies.²⁵ His aforementioned quote falsifies his explanations of Ottoman architecture; in fact, they emphasize the parallels between the Ottoman and the Persian field that the author still ranks differently in his hierarchy of aesthetics. Furthermore, the participation of Christians in the design and building processes is by no means an argument against an explicitly Ottoman architecture and aesthetic language. On the contrary, it reflects a pluralistic social context, which marks the Ottoman production of knowledge, culture, aesthetics, and law.²⁶ Christian art itself evolved from Jewish art in Late Antiquity.²⁷ The connection of one field of visual culture to another, in this case the Ottoman to the Byzantine, is part of typical historical negotiations in the formation of styles. Therefore, establishing hierarchies based on arguments of origin becomes biased distortion; and this chapter intends to show how, after a short period of time, incorporated features can in fact form an aesthetic language of their own. These aesthetics, like any others in the field of Islamic culture, must be situated in a more complex matrix of reciprocal connections characterized by the mobility of artistic materials, things, and ideas, as Avinoam Shalem has argued.²⁸ Establishing an artistic hierarchy among regional practices without clear criteria, however, runs the risk of repeating practices of an earlier era, in which aesthetics were used as explicit proof of racial hierarchies.²⁹

25 This approach seems to be particularly typical of the 1990s, given the many publications in that time that deal with schematic groupings of diverse architectural structures, e.g. Hillenbrand, Robert: *Islamic Architecture. Form, Function, Meaning*, Edinburgh 1994; Frishman, Martin and Khan, Hasan-Uddin (eds.): *The Mosque. History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*, London 1994; Pereira, José: *Islamic Sacred Architecture. A Stylistic History*, New Delhi 1994.

26 Yilmaz, Ihsan: Diversity, Legal Pluralism and Peaceful Co-Existence in the Ottoman Centuries, in: Kemal Karpat and Yetkin Yıldırım (eds.): *The Ottoman Mosaic. Exploring Models for Peace by Re-exploring the Past*, Seattle 2010, pp. 81–98, in particular, deals with the topic of law.

27 Shalem, What Do We Mean When We Say ‘Islamic Art’?, p. 7.

28 Ibid, p. 4.

29 An excellent article dealing with the racist implications of the art history of Islamic cultures is Wood, Barry D.: ‘A Great Symphony of Pure Form’. The 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art and Its Influence, in: *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000), pp. 113–130. For further analyses of hierarchies in art history, cf. Çelik, Zeynep: Colonialism, Orientalism, and the Canon, in: *The Art Bulletin* 78 (1996), pp. 202–205, and Bozdoğan, Sibel: Architectural History in Professional Education. Post-colonial Challenges to the Modern Survey, in: *Journal of Architectural Education* 52 (1999), pp. 207–215.

An art historical analysis that reconciles formal versus contextual approaches may help to overcome the rendering of the Ottoman style as a separately developed field and as a mere derivative of Byzantine prototypes,³⁰ a rendering that does not adequately acknowledge the Ottoman mosque's design traits and historical meanings. A systematic comparison of two outstanding examples of Ottoman building styles is therefore a decisive and central task for understanding both of these styles and related aspects of the city spaces they help to constitute. Moreover, none other than the architect Mimar Sinan (ca. 1490–1588) himself³¹ established a connection between the Selimiye and the Hagia Sophia in the 16th century and in fact, comparative studies and a comparing gaze related to architecture were common practices in Ottoman times.³² The question that must therefore be asked is: what exactly did the Ottoman Empire's chief architect have in mind when he mentioned in his (auto-)biography that the most important religious building of the Byzantine Empire served as an inspiration for his Edirne mosque? After referring to the height of the building that was to be viewed by the people from afar and emphasizing the achievement of the design of four sublime minarets around the dome, each of which includes three staircases,³³ he continues:

Those that pass for architects among the Christians say that they have defeated the Moslems because no dome has been built in the Islamic world that can rival the dome of Aya Sofya. It greatly grieved my heart that they should say that to build so large a dome was so difficult a task. I determined to erect such a mosque and with the help of God, in

30 The concept of Ottoman culture as derivative was strongly influenced by Charles, Martin A.: Hagia Sophia and the Great Imperial Mosques, in: *The Art Bulletin* 12 (1930), pp. 321–344.

31 Sinan's (auto-)biography plays a crucial role in framing the building and has to be taken into critical account, especially regarding its construction of literary topoi that relate to his architecture and genius. Much of what is written in the *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan* does not yet have historic evidence, revealing the general lack of certain information on Sinan's life. An examination and reevaluation of the five autobiographical texts on Sinan is included in Crane, Howard, Akin, Esra, and Necipoğlu, Gülru: *Sinan's Autobiographies. Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, Leiden 2006, and Morkoç, Selen B.: *A Study of Ottoman Narratives on Architecture. Text, Context and Hermeneutics*, Bethesda, Dublin and Palo Alto 2010. Cf. Morkoç, An Architect to Challenge Them All.

32 The 17th-century traveler Evliya Çelebi confirms this when writing about a European commission studying the Süleymaniye Mosque's geometry. Evliya reports that he asked the commission's members to compare the structure to Hagia Sophia in order to judge the architecture aesthetically. In addition, both 16th- and 17th-century writers compare the domical concepts of various mosques, Necipoğlu, Challenging the Past, p. 174.

33 Sinan after Egli, Ernst: *Sinan. Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, Erlenbach-Zürich and Stuttgart 1954, p. 93 f. In fact, only two of the minarets possess three intertwined staircases.

the reign of Sultan Selim Khan,³⁴ I made the dome of this mosque six cubits [nearly 3 m] wider and four cubits [nearly 2 m] deeper than that of Aya Sofya.³⁵

Sinan connects the two buildings in a way that must be more closely assessed: obviously, the Hagia Sophia represented a specific construction knowledge, which symbolized Byzantine superiority over Muslim society. This perception was still prevalent in the 16th century and is relevant for understanding the specific challenge the Hagia Sophia posed for the imperial chief architect and his commissioners. Sinan, however, decided to apply *aesthetic* strategies that formed a challenge to the Byzantine structure itself: the Selimiye is by no means larger or higher than the Hagia Sophia, but its visual, aesthetic, and branding implications constitute a creative response that nonetheless surpasses the Byzantine church for Ottoman and Muslim benefit. This claim underscores the necessity of a full-fledged formal comparison, beyond peripheral commentaries.

The following remarks build on two central studies: Gülru Necipoğlu's 1993 paper "Challenging the Past. Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture" initiated the examination of intertextual architectural discourses in Ottoman, as well as Uzbek, Timurid, Safavid, Fatimid, and Mughal realms.³⁶ As my title indicates, I would like to position my analysis in the same analytical framework that assesses discourses and practices of challenging past or preceding power. While Necipoğlu provided a large number of architectural case studies and located the general phenomenon in connected histories, my remarks will focus on one specific Ottoman structure, the Selimiye, and its relationship to an earlier Byzantine building, the Hagia Sophia. I thereby hope to establish a few new aspects of the form and aesthetics of the built structures and of certain strategies that defined Ottoman aesthetic practices within competitive discourses.

In addition to Necipoğlu's study, Howard Crane's historical analysis provides the basis for such an understanding of the Ottoman mosque structures in a comparative perspective. The following remarks carry his observations on formal and historical evolution and meaning further, connecting to his perception of Ottoman imperial architecture as "tangible symbols – icons – expressive of the values, authority, power, and legitimacy embodied in the person of the prince and his

³⁴ Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574).

³⁵ Sinan after Taylor, Jane: *Imperial Istanbul*, London and New York 1998, p. 306. The passage is an extract of Sinan's (auto-)biography *Tezkiretül-Bünyan* by Sâî Mustafa Çelebi: *Yapılar Kitabı. Tezkiretül-Bünyan ve Tezkiretül-Ebniye (mimar Sinan'ın Anıları)*, edited by Hayati Develi, Samih Rifat, and Doğan Kuban, Istanbul 2000, and idem: *Mimar Sinan and Tezkiret-ül Bünyan*, edited by Suphi Saatçi and Metin Sözen, Istanbul 1989. However, the actual sizes differ, as stated in section four.

³⁶ Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*.

state.”³⁷ Crane’s research offers very helpful groundwork for the aim of this chapter, which regards two specific buildings and whose formal and iconographical detail elaborates a variety of aspects that Crane’s historical approach insinuates. He states that the monuments’

formal meaning derived from considerations of a more general nature – their vast scale, their sumptuous materials and fine workmanship, their strength and durability. And where, in fact, specific forms were employed to convey meaning, this was done in a direct and obvious manner.³⁸

In this very sense, I suggest that the construction of the Selimiye was apparently not understood merely as a visible and specific building, but also as a powerful answer to a persistent challenge and to the persisting narrative of Byzantine invincibility. With this successful architectural achievement, the military victory over the Byzantines a century earlier was culturally confirmed as well as symbolically conveyed in an image, directed toward both the West and the Ottoman peoples. The second part of this chapter (sections 2–6) therefore engages in such an understanding and differentiation of the two buildings.

2 Design Features of the Selimiye (Built in Edirne 1568–1574)

The rectangular, enclosed layout (Fig. 1) of the Selimiye reveals an axis-symmetrical plan. The enclosing wall has five portals, while the inner structure of the mosque and its front court possess seven entrances, marked by staircases. The construction of the building consists of a squared core containing an octagon with a round dome above and with semi-domes. The corners of the interior square constitute exedras. In the exterior (Fig. 2), a central façade portal is built behind a porch that functionally belongs to the mosque, but visually seems to connect to the court. These principles of rhythm, loggia-style arcades, differentiation between horizontal levels, and wide portal bays are repeated on the side façades (Fig. 3). The south end (Fig. 4) is differentiated by the long uninterrupted arcades and by a monumental rectangular niche with windows and embrasures. The complex (Fig. 5), originally including a *medrese* (Islamic school of religious sciences) and a

³⁷ Crane, Howard: The Ottoman Sultan’s Mosques. Icons of Imperial Legitimacy, in: Irene A. Bierman, Rif’at A. Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi (eds.): *The Ottoman City and its Parts. Urban Structure and Social Order*, New Rochelle, NY 1991, pp. 173–243, here p. 173.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 227.

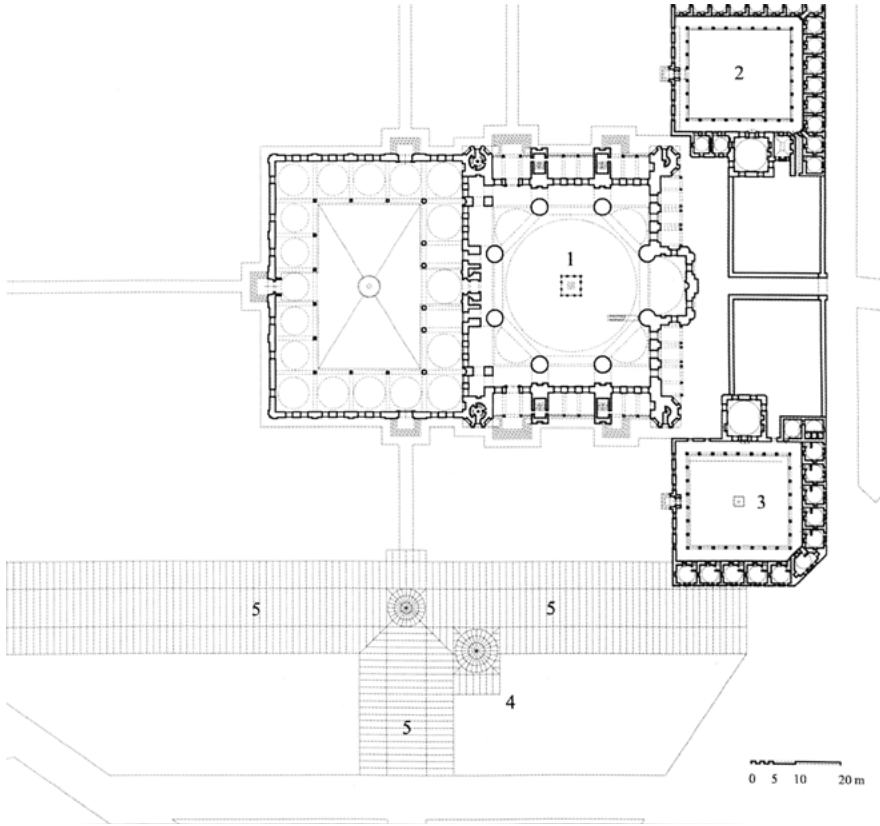


Fig. 1: Plan of the Selimiye Complex: 1. Mosque, 2. Madrasa (hadith college), 3. Madrasa (Koran recitation school), 4. Elementary School, 5. Arasta. Drawing: Arben N. Arapi. Copyright/ Source: Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 239, fig. 209.

darülkurra (recitation school), is situated on a platform. The Selimiye is a highly symmetrical building that incorporates a hierarchical self-centering toward the soaring central dome. The minarets are especially tall at 83 m and display decoration such as *muqarnas* consoles³⁹ and gallery ornamentation. Typical of the overall décor are visual contrasts evolving from stone colors as well as from the opposition of *muqarnas* and pyramidal basic motifs, of horizontal and vertical concepts, and

³⁹ *Muqarnas* is the geometric subdivision of a squinch, a cupola, or a corbel used in Islamic and Persian architecture, mostly found in niches or under protruding architectural elements. Their subdivision into smaller squinches creates a cellular structure without load-bearing function, resembling stalactites.



Fig. 2: Selimiye Mosque, northern portal and court. Photo: Reha Günay. Copyright/Source: Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 245, fig. 216.



Fig. 3: Selimiye Mosque, west façade. Photo: Reha Günay. Copyright/Source: Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 243, fig. 214.

of the vertical walls and round domes. The Selimiye is a highly proportionate and balanced rational structure, meaning that it communicates its construction system in its exterior design. It creates plasticity on the front façade with stepped buttresses, an entrance hall, and other more detailed forms, such as the strips of the tambour that resemble lesenes (Fig. 2). The isolated pendentive dome type is marked by the transition of semi-domes above the corners of the basic square, leading over into an octagon.⁴⁰ Every item seems to suggest the following part, rendering the Selimiye a rather integrated building. It is furthermore marked by a strong rhythmic character, with its monumental façade with three horizontal levels, a changing system of keel and pointed arches, cornices, buttresses and flying buttresses, and the eight sustaining turrets around the dome. The material is

⁴⁰ For a sectional analysis of Ottoman pendentive dome mosques, Hassan, Ahmad Sanusi, Mazloomi, Mehrdad, and Omer, Spahic: Sectional Analysis of Pendentive Dome Mosques during Ottoman Era, in: *Canadian Social Science* 6 (2010), pp. 124–136.



Fig. 4: Selimiye Mosque, south façade.



Fig. 5: Selimiye Complex, from the west. Photo: Reha Günay. Copyright/Source: Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 242, fig. 213.

plastered carved stone, lead, granite, marble, and limestone from the region around Edirne, as well as sandstone and porphyry for the main buttresses.⁴¹

3 Design Features of the Hagia Sophia (Built in Constantinople 532–537)

The Hagia Sophia complex in its late Byzantine shape⁴² shows a symmetrical, rectangular disposition (Fig. 6), in which a basilican longitudinal structure is

⁴¹ Taylor, *Imperial Istanbul*, p. 307.

⁴² The historian Procopius delivers historic knowledge about the building, mentioning Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus as architects of the structure built between 532–537. Information about earlier churches on the same site is given further below.

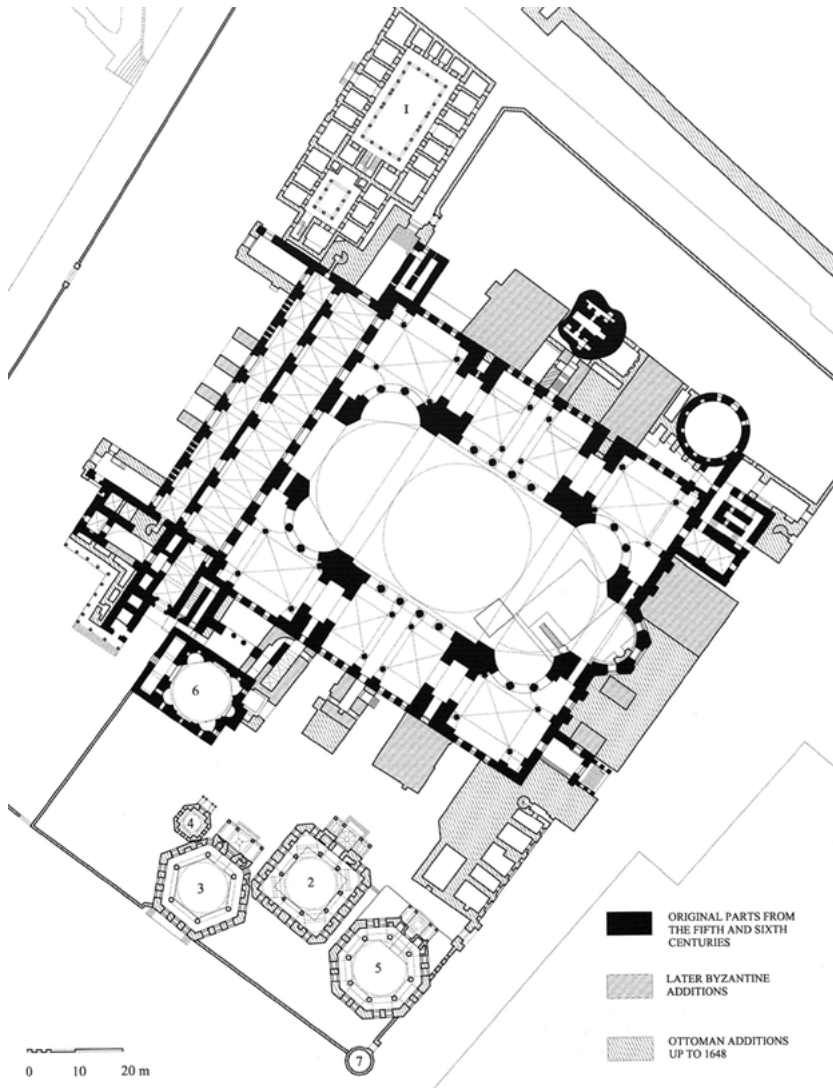


Fig. 6: Plan of the Hagia Sophia in the 17th century: 1. Madrasa (1453–81), 2. Mausoleum of Selim II (1576–77), 3. Mausoleum of Murad III (1599–1600), 4. Undated mausoleum of princes, 5. Mausoleum of Mehmed III (1608–09), 6. Baptistry, 7. Domed water dispenser. Drawing: Zeynep Yürekli. Copyright/Source: Necipoğlu, Gülrü: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 81, fig. 54.



Fig. 7: Hagia Sophia, from the south.

integrated into a three-aisled central-plan building.⁴³ This basic layout defines its structural theme as a system of domes and vaults with a large central dome on four arches and pendentives followed by two hierarchical levels of two equally sized semi-domes and four smaller semi-domes respectively.⁴⁴ Nine entrance units follow an enclosed atrium in the west with vaults after deeply protruding buttresses. The main hall reaches a width of almost 70 m and a length of 80 m. The side staircase buildings stress this wide appearance. A separated domed square hall with pendentives dominates the interior. The principle of isolation of interior

43 According to Marcell Restle, this synthesized structure evolved from the idea of integrating a domed central basilican space into the octagonal central-plan building of the Church of the Saints Sergius and Bacchus, Restle, Marcell: *Die Hagia Sophia Kaiser Justinians in Konstantinopel*, in: Volker Hoffmann (ed.): *Die Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Bilder aus sechs Jahrhunderten und Gaspare Fossatis Restaurierung der Jahre 1847 bis 1849*, Bern 1999, pp. 17–28, here p. 20.

44 Restle pointed to similar constructions of Hellenistic and late Roman architecture, with a possible model function of the Eastern mausoleum in the city of Side, *ibid.* An analysis of the structural influences of the Hagia Sophia and its handling of the dome and semi-domes mainly on 15th- to mid-16th-century Ottoman mosque architecture is included in Ahunbay, Metin and Ahunbay, Zeynep: *Structural Influence of Hagia Sophia on Ottoman Mosque Architecture*, in: Robert Mark and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak (eds.): *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, Cambridge, New York and Oakleigh 1992, pp. 179–194.



Fig. 8: Hagia Sophia, interior hall.

units is a basic concept of the space. Due to the encapsulating spaces of the side aisles, the building can be described as a double-shell structure, hiding its construction system of pillars and side-space vaults. The exterior (Fig. 7) is multiform. Nevertheless, the Hagia Sophia appears quite cohesive and – due to its rising center – cubic. It is based on a platform.⁴⁵ Hans Jantzen theorized the possibility of a

⁴⁵ The space around the structure was not cleared until after an imperial decree by Selim II, adapting the monument to contemporary Ottoman mosque layouts, Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Life of an Imperial Monument. Hagia Sophia after Byzantium*, in: Robert Mark and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak (eds.): *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, Cambridge, New York and Oakleigh 1992, pp. 195–225, here p. 210.

flattened calotte in Ottoman times.⁴⁶ The interior (Fig. 8) is reflected in the exterior appearance mainly by the situation of the domes. Most of the forms visible on the outside are slightly varied on each side, so that there is little consistency in the overall design. Only the southern and northern lateral sides reveal a distinct construction element of the dome, which is the monumental semi-circular arch, followed by supporting towers. The building appears almost without ornament.⁴⁷ It is dominated by mass and weight even in small motifs, such as cushion capitals and the window surfaces. The exterior concept is one of lifting and lowering along the west-east axis. The eastern façade is the only element that has been designed with a small amount of details, such as embrasures, niches, and lesenes. A covering of white marble is dominant.

4 Appropriation and Reform

Certainly, there are parallels between the two structures, although other 16th-century mosques, such as the Kılıç Ali Pasha complex in Istanbul, resemble the Hagia Sophia more than the Selimiye does.⁴⁸ Each of these buildings is connected to a single ruler of a respective empire in which religion and state complement each other and which are marked by universalistic ambitions.⁴⁹ Originally, the first Hagia Sophia was a place of memory and worship of Constantine the Great (died 337) celebrating not divine wisdom, but the wisdom of the Roman Emperor.⁵⁰ While the rebuilt Hagia Sophia lost its connection to Constantine and

⁴⁶ Jantzen, Hans: *Die Hagia Sophia des Kaisers Justinian in Konstantinopel*, Cologne 1967, p. 25.

⁴⁷ Heinz Kähler mentions that a central aspect of the structure emphasized in early descriptions by Procopius, Agathias, and Paulus Silentiarius is the exterior of the building functioning as merely the shell for the interior. According to him, almost all configurations of the Hagia Sophia until the late medieval period had concerned the interior space, Kähler, Heinz: *Die Hagia Sophia. Mit einem Beitrag von Cyril Mango über die Mosaiken*, Berlin 1967, p. 21.

⁴⁸ These mosques are rarely subjected to formal comparison, even though their integration in such analyses would greatly clarify the role of the Hagia Sophia for Ottoman architecture. For a closer description of the 1580/81 Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque and the contemporary view that it was built in the style of the Hagia Sophia, Ahunbay and Ahunbay, *Structural Influence*, p. 182.

⁴⁹ Necipoğlu, *The Life of an Imperial Monument*, p. 225.

⁵⁰ For the role of this building in the cultivation of an emperor cult, Berger, Albrecht: *Die Hagia Sophia in Geschichte und Legende*, in: Volker Hoffmann (ed.): *Die Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Bilder aus sechs Jahrhunderten und Gaspare Fossatis Restaurierung der Jahre 1847 bis 1849*, Bern 1999, pp. 29–38, here p. 30. Later, the Hagia Sophia, as the Holy Wisdom, was related to the Church of the Holy Peace (Hagia Eirene) in Constantinople; and finally, a triad evolved from legends connecting these two with the Holy Power (Dynamis).

the emperor cult, the Selimiye is explicitly named after and thus connected with the commissioning sultan. The mosque has four minarets, which Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–1574) had also added to the Hagia Sophia during his rule, thereby associating the former church building with himself, as well. Both buildings are positioned on platforms and hills rendering them widely visible and each of them possesses a central dome. The combination of this central dome with surrounding semi-domes leads to an appearance of hierarchical plan buildings,⁵¹ even though the solution of the dome structure of the Selimiye refers only remotely to the Hagia Sophia. Nevertheless, the theme of a central dome framed by two or more semi-domes is a direct response of Ottoman mosque architecture to the Hagia Sophia. It first appears with the mosque of Fatih in Istanbul (1463–1470) and was preceded by single-domed spaces, which could be surrounded by smaller domed compartments as the Üç Şerefeli Mosque (completed in 1447) shows.⁵² In the later case of the Selimiye, its octagonal core is communicated in the outside elevation just as the square core of the Hagia Sophia is revealed when looking at the building. According to Aptullah Kuran, this construction system and aesthetic concept is a central one of Byzantine architecture and of important memorial structures, such as the Dome of the Rock and numerous Istanbul monuments from the sixth century.⁵³ What can be traced back to Byzantine style within the Selimiye complex is the deck-like design of the stepped exterior levels and the windowed bottom of the dome, as well as the motif of the protruding apse. A tendency to dissolve the overall wall in a window surface is visible; but viewed from the outside, it is put into practice much more thoroughly in the Hagia Sophia. One can assume that, in the 16th century, the buildings were more similar to each other in terms of a coherent outside composition. This former clarity of the Hagia Sophia has been obscured by later additions. Before these changes, several Ottoman elements had been added to it, which in fact intensified the building's impression of being composed as an aesthetic entity. Among these were the supporting pier elements, connected spaces, and enclosing minarets. This already reflects a major difference between the structures, namely the stronger integration and centralization in the Ottoman structure.

51 This term describes how all subsidiary elements emphasize one central and raised element of a structure, mostly within central-plan buildings. Terraced levels stepped back toward the highest point of the building evoke this hierarchical impression on the exterior.

52 Ahunbay and Ahunbay, *Structural Influence*, p. 180.

53 Kuran points out the role of the former Church of the Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Istanbul and its influence on Ottoman architecture in general and on the Selimiye in particular, Kuran, Aptullah: *Sinan. The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture*, Washington and Istanbul 1987, p. 244.

The central elements of difference between the two buildings are the two domes and their general integration into the structures. Related to this are the exposed, visible construction forms and their relation to the central domes, as well as decoration, the slim and steep minarets as elements of Islamic buildings, and the multiplied presence of the dome in the courtyard of the Selimiye. The interaction of these creative appropriations is the key feature that explains the nature and functioning of Sinan's challenge to the Hagia Sophia, as will be shown.

First, comparing the layouts of the two buildings, the Selimiye is marked by its centralized composition, by its proportions relating elements to each other and creating a balance, as well as finally, by its tendency to appear as a central-plan building. It possesses upstream (front) staircases and prominent portals. In contrast, the Hagia Sophia has an elongated character, even though the supporting elements on the sides reduce this visual front-side perception. The main building and the front court are clearly distinguished in their dimensions, whereas the Selimiye complex's parts have similar dimensions. This first aspect already reveals one main challenge that the Selimiye poses, namely the stronger internal relatedness of the dimensions of parts of the complex pointing to a highly systematized construction planning, which leads directly to the question of the integration of the key architectural element in these structures: their domes.

The Selimiye's layout plan illustrates how every element serves to emphasize and augment the dome. The dome of the Hagia Sophia is merely a centrally positioned element, which is clearly displayed, of course, but which at the same time does not dominate the external appearance of the building, since it is located among numerous supporting elements (some of which were admittedly added only in Ottoman times), annex buildings, and the voluminous side aisles (Fig. 7). Imagining a flattened dome of the original Byzantine structure, this becomes even clearer.⁵⁴ Its side towers, which lean against the central building but which are not integrated into its wall compound, further illustrate this lack of encompassing domination by the dome. Consequently, at first sight the towers do not reveal any direct relevance to the dome, let alone their subordination or belonging to it.

Considering the dimensions of the domes, one has to return to Sinan's claim that his explicit goal was to surpass the Hagia Sophia by constructing the Selimiye as a larger monument than the Christian church.⁵⁵ Precisely, Sinan mentions the

⁵⁴ Not only Hans Jantzen refers to this, as mentioned above; so does Restle, Hagia Sophia, p. 25, who explains the history of different compartments of the church.

⁵⁵ Ahunbay and Ahunbay, *Structural Influence*, p. 180, note 8. Oylar Saguner describes one *zira* or *arşın* (cubit) as measuring 0.7577 m in classical Ottoman architecture, to be distinguished from the early Ottoman *zira* (0.7245 m), Saguner, Oylar: *Die Selimiye Moschee und das Erscheinungsbild des osmanischen Hofbaumeisters Sinan. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Betrachtung*

mosque's *dome* as being six *ziras* higher and four *ziras* larger in circumference. However, the actual measurements reveal that the Hagia Sophia is larger both in the diameter of its dome (31.80 m versus 31.22 m), the span of its interior domed space (67.50 m versus 45 m), and the height of the dome's summit (55.40 m versus 44 m).⁵⁶ Sinan exceeded the dimensions of the Byzantine church only in the length of the intercolumniations between the main pillars.⁵⁷ Gülru Necipoğlu shows that this seeming contradiction can be explained by the fact that in Ottoman times, the heights of domes were measured independently from the level of their bases – which would in fact render the Selimiye's dome higher than that of the Hagia Sophia.⁵⁸ If one turns away from the actual measurements, though, and focuses on the *aesthetics and conceptual handling* of the domes, a shift in perception takes place: the coherence and greater lateral flatness of the Selimiye evolve from a distinct handling of the arcades (Fig. 3), which are integrated into the side façades as loggia-like halls. This visual strategy leads to a compression of the external structure toward the center of the dome, which together with its high drum makes the dome of the Selimiye *appear* eminently higher than that of the Hagia Sophia – an essential feature in an architectural culture and history, in which the Byzantine church building had been seen as a microcosm representing the Christian universe and in which similarly, the major Ottoman mosque with its essence – the dome – was now the symbol of the new empire and represented its official view on the world and the universe.⁵⁹ The minarets' harmonious form and relation with the dome add to this impression (Fig. 5): they contribute to the visual impression that the Selimiye rises extraordinarily high and steep. The Hagia Sophia's outer appearance is in fact much more connected to the ground, seeming heavier and wider due to its side supports and towers as well as to the monumental arches on its sides.

So, viewing the buildings, it is more in a sense of visual strategies than mere scale that Sinan challenges and surpasses the Hagia Sophia. His narrative of

der Entwicklung der osmanischen Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts, Ph.D. thesis, Essen 2004, p. 261, note 275.

⁵⁶ Measurements as proof of superiority were a constant part of architectural competitive discourses, Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 170.

⁵⁷ The earliest publication of the measured dimensions of the mosque is found in Wegner, Armin: *Die Moschee Sultan Selim's II. zu Adrianopel und ihre Stellung in der osmanischen Baukunst*, in: *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 55 (1891), pp. 329–355, here p. 342.

⁵⁸ Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 175. Accordingly, all of Sinan's mosques, as well as contemporary practices of comparing domes of different buildings, reveal the duality of these structures.

⁵⁹ Yerasimos, Stéphane: *Légendes d'empire. La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques*, Paris/Istanbul 1990, p. 239.

greatness incorporates not only the actual or the visually and aesthetically evoked height, but also the construction challenge that the Byzantine church's dome posed and that Sinan appreciated, stating that "no dome has been built in the Islamic world that can rival the dome of Aya Sofya."⁶⁰ Planning and executing a dome such as the Selimiye's, Sinan sends the message that he – and thus Ottoman imperial culture – is able to recreate the Hagia Sophia's dome without extant construction plans. This, too, can be read as clearly communicating that the architect had mastered the knowledge of construction incorporated in the Hagia Sophia, whose original dome, as Sinan proudly proclaims, had collapsed while his own construction triumphantly rose.⁶¹ Thus, the dome manifests Ottoman abilities in construction planning and design, technical building skills, in financial power, and in reaching a level of greatness by formally and aesthetically surpassing another world-renowned imperial dome such as the Hagia Sophia's, transferring it into and redefining it through a new, namely Ottoman context of perceived meaning. This also related to the literary narratives that were included in the image construction of the Selimiye and that will be described in section 7.

Another main difference is the decoration of the buildings and their more detailed elements, which in the case of the Selimiye both relate to the emphasis on the rising dome. The Hagia Sophia's wide, earthbound, and massive character is intensified by its detailed motifs, as the windows show: while the Selimiye incorporates high, round arched windows, the Hagia Sophia's windows in the arches are wide and flat. Above the side window surfaces, its massive arches reveal a strong plasticity not found in the Selimiye. Instead, Sinan constructed a rather flat side wall with detailed ornamentation. The decorative elements never disturb the soaring character of the building on its hilltop location – a topographic strategy already applied skillfully in earlier mosques, such as the Süleymaniye. On the contrary, all decorative forms reflect and emphasize this rising character anticipated in the topographical site, as the lower arcades, the keel arches, the high window frames, and the stepped piers show. The form of the arcade arches around the Selimiye can be described as vertically rising, and thus they, too, formally anticipate and echo the central dome. By contrast, the Hagia Sophia is characterized by monumental buttresses, as revealed in its western portal zone. These elements, however, are not stepped consistently on each new level of the building, differing from the construction legibility and internal relatedness of the Selimiye. Furthermore, the mosque's floral decorative skin, literally emerging out of the ground and out of important construction points and extending toward the sky,

⁶⁰ Sinan after Taylor, *Imperial Istanbul*, p. 306.

⁶¹ Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 172.

shapes its visual perception and its connection to the hilltop ground, out of which it organically grows, concluding what topography suggests.⁶² This vegetal décor adds to Sinan's visual challenge, making the building seem taller than the Hagia Sophia. It creates an analogy to the overall rising (growing) character, while the whole structure of the Selimiye with its dome is also marked as being earthbound in a system of carrying and loading, which differentiates the building from the general idea of the Hagia Sophia's dome, as will be shown. The ornamentation of the mosque – which is scant in the Hagia Sophia – features floral window grills, blue ceramics, *muqarnas* consoles, Islamic calligraphy, and the form of the keel arch, all of which shift the outer appearance of the mosque to a specifically Ottoman-Islamic formal context.

Besides the dimensions of the layout plan, the visual strategies enhancing the dominating character of the dome, and the connected aspect of decoration, the structural engineering concept of the Selimiye is also part of its challenge to the Hagia Sophia. This is especially relevant to the perception of the structure's interior space. Historically, the mosque's skeletal system of beams can be seen as a shift from Byzantine construction: load is taken off the walls and the construction weight rests on piers and buttresses and their connected arches, which organically integrate with lower levels of the structure.⁶³ The Byzantine architecture does not display this dualism of noticeable support and load, but covers it.⁶⁴

This concealing of construction logic and elements is most important for the layout of the interior space of Hagia Sophia. The colonnades on both sides of the domed hall (Fig. 8) semantically refer to the Roman basilica and ancient architecture, as Marcell Restle notes.⁶⁵ The colonnades create a border for the central space, but do not seclude it. In combination with the arched openings toward the entrance area and the apse, the space follows an idea of orientation and rhythmic, linear movement toward the East. The use of the double-shell structure behind these colonnades masks the main pillars and arches, which bear the weight of the

⁶² Its inscriptions will be treated below. For a comprehensive framing of the inscriptions, Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005, pp. 252–254.

⁶³ Linking main piers and buttresses by lateral arches was in fact a new feature in Ottoman mosque architecture, after the Ottomans conquered Constantinople in 1453. However, it is unclear whether the use of flying buttresses, as found today in the base of the Hagia Sophia's dome, evolved from studying this very building. Cf. Ahunbay and Ahunbay, *Structural Influence*, pp. 189–192.

⁶⁴ Most often, it did not include horizontal entablatures. It thus differed from antiquity's ideal in its use of columns and arches, Sözen, Metin: *Sinan. Architect of Ages*, Ankara 1992, p. 245.

⁶⁵ According to him, the reference to ancient architecture is especially relevant, considering the use of colonnades in multistory structures, Restle, Hagia Sophia, p. 22.

dome. The ornamental handling of the walls adds to this effect: marble as well as gilded and silver-grounded mosaics reinforce perceptual strategies that shift attention away from the static system. Numerous subtle ornamental structures balance the perception of massive construction elements.⁶⁶ These ornamental and iconographic surfaces are closely connected to the handling of light. Numerous windows (or windowed surfaces) are systemized, creating multiline groups. These translucent surfaces organize the interior compartments, creating a hierarchy of spaces through light. While the central space receives direct light, which is enhanced by the reflecting golden dome surface, minor compartments are lighted merely indirectly. Moreover, the artificial light that illuminated the interior of the church at night shone through these windows and was widely visible in the city and beyond.⁶⁷

Turning to the interior space of the Selimiye (Fig. 9), one notes that it is marked by its eight piers, various forms of Islamic decoration such as *muqarnas*-corbelled squinches, and the overall organic transition in a space of total unity. The main hall, just like the exterior design of the mosque, constitutes a space of subordination in which all elements, again, serve to underscore the soaring of the dome ceiling. Gülrü Necipoğlu suggests the possibility of an influence of Byzantine churches on the design of the prayer niche (*mihrab*) and the upper galleries.⁶⁸ The centralized outside appearance persists on the inside, since there are no side aisles to constitute a second layer of interior rooms, and since the tribune for the leader of the communal prayer (*müezzin mahfili*), which is constructed above a marble pool, marks the center of the space within the domed, unified hall.⁶⁹ Light enters equally into the interior through the standardized windowed surfaces on all the flat upper walls which enhances the unified character of the space. Basic geometric shapes such as squares, octagons, and circles make universal references.⁷⁰ Most interesting is the wall system, which with a clear division between interior and exterior penetrates what Necipoğlu terms a “double diaphragm.”⁷¹ The dome

⁶⁶ For a detailed analysis of these strategies and the design of the walls, *ibid.*, pp. 29–31.

⁶⁷ The church even functioned as a lighthouse for the boats on the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara, *ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶⁸ Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 251.

⁶⁹ For a concise study of the location and formal characteristics of the Selimiye's *müezzin mahfili* and pool, their implications of state power and sovereignty as well as of homage to the past, including Shamanistic conceptualizations of space, and of the spring of immortality that Alexander the Great had longed for, Akin, Günkut: 'Müezzin Mahfili' and Pool of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, in: *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), pp. 63–83.

⁷⁰ Necipoğlu depicted the superimposition of square, octagon, and circle, Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 251.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* She further analyses: “The lateral buttresses are concealed on the ground floor by an internal diaphragm and external porticoes, complemented on the upper floor by an external



Fig. 9: Selimiye Mosque, interior hall. Photo: Reha Günay. Copyright/Source: Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 248, fig. 219.

diaphragm and internal galleries. Undesirable areas of interior space are thus transformed into external porticoes that support the luminous arcaded upper galleries inside. The dynamic manipulation of wall surfaces, causing a reversal of interior and exterior, is likened by Kuban to a ‘palpitation’,” *ibid.*

balustrade is windowed as in the Hagia Sophia, but here the dome visibly rests on its supporting elements, since it is absolutely anticipated by and bound to the lower structure. The interior ornamentation around the dome windows illustrates the supporting function of all vertical elements, rendering the dome a light but load-bearing structure. The octagon, which marks the Selimiye's inner space and upper exterior, reinforces this aspect by organically transitioning from the rectangular layout to the circle of the dome. The Hagia Sophia contains such transitions in a rather linear disposition: on the east-west axis, a movement of lifting and lowering by such architectural elements as the arched window fields, protruding barrel vaults, and semi-domes is the basic compositional idea that culminates in the main central dome.⁷²

These two ways of handling the more or less visible construction system are a key factor differentiating the two buildings. In the Hagia Sophia, the integration of the four main pillars into the double-shell structure, the lighting concepts, and the interior decoration conceal this system, relativizing the static role of various elements.⁷³ Furthermore, forty windows dissolve the bottom of the dome (without tambour), allowing both a clear entry of light and air into the interior space and the separation of dome and hall by a circle of light.⁷⁴ Procopius described this effect of the separated dome, which to him seemed to lightly float down from heaven.⁷⁵ This downward movement of the Byzantine dome, which does not reveal its earthbound, load-bearing means of construction in the lower part of the building, is opposed to the absolute upward gesture of the Selimiye. Here, the construction system lifting up the dome is not concealed, but clearly visible, and the ornamentation and more detailed architectural elements emphasize the logic of the construction. The mosque is clearly earthbound and its dome rises in an upward movement.

The external appearance of the Selimiye reflects and communicates this interior space and concept in a distinct manner, whereas the plurality of forms in the exterior of the Hagia Sophia reduces the clear legibility of construction and design. This can be observed in its semi-domes, which are naturally clearly recognizable

⁷² Kähler, *Hagia Sophia*, p. 23.

⁷³ For example, the decoration and ornamentation around the groins of the dome give rhythm to the gilded ground, framing the depiction of Christ blessing and ruling the world as *pantocrator* in the zenith of the dome in light and shining gold. Cf. Restle, *Hagia Sophia*, p. 25.

⁷⁴ The Ottomans' fascination with this solution led to the immediate adoption of this kind of dissolved dome base in the Fatih and numerous other mosques, Ahunbay and Ahunbay, *Structural Influence*, p. 184.

⁷⁵ A reference to the original statement by Procopius was also made by Restle, *Hagia Sophia*, p. 23.

in the overall layout and elevation but which do not possess any dominant character in the overall external shape and do not show the viewer what kind of space they might comprise in the inside. The Hagia Sophia, therefore, appears to be a much more enclosed structure, restricting external legibility. Incorporating this legibility in the Selimiye, Sinan's creative response signals both his reaction to contemporaneous building principles in Italy and his aim of profitably reassessing them.

To sum up, examining the architectural differences between the two structures reveals two main challenges of the Selimiye that are at the same time key features of Sinan's creative response to the Hagia Sophia: first, the mosque seems larger, higher, and more consistent through visual, aesthetic, and construction strategies that directly relate all the lower elements, such as the ornamental skin, detail motifs, basic architectural forms, and overall appearance, to the soaring character of the central dome. Second, the Selimiye interweaves interior and exterior space through design methods that, for example, let a viewer read the interior constellation from the outward appearance. Thus, the Selimiye's internal coherence and visible subordination of every construction element to the exposed and dominating central dome challenge the Hagia Sophia. The structure marks a skillful and creative reassessment of distinct preceding construction knowledge, building principles, and forms – but, at the same time, resonates with contemporary Italian practices.

In fact, the mosque's structural concept should be but has not yet sufficiently been compared with a simultaneously emerging style in Italy. Indeed, it is likely that Sinan knew of large building projects in the West, just as the Italians were informed about the enterprise in Edirne. In these 16th-century dialogues, at a time in which images could easily be circulated by prints, Marcantonio Barbaro, the Venetian ambassador in Istanbul between 1568 and 1574 (the exact building time of the Selimiye), played a crucial role. In fact, Barbaro was a friend of Sinan's and had close relationships with central Ottoman actors such as the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who was in charge of major building enterprises.⁷⁶ According to Howard Burns, Barbaro reported to the Venetian senate about his visits to construction sites and the design of Sinan's buildings.⁷⁷ Burns connects several buildings by the architects Andrea Palladio and Sinan, who might have reciprocally influenced each other in projects including the Mausoleum of Rüstem

⁷⁶ For Sokollu's power, Fleischer, Cornell H.: *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The Historian Mustafa Ali, 1541–1600*, Princeton 1986, pp. 41–69 and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 331–368.

⁷⁷ Burns, Howard and Davies, Paul: *Mediterranean Dialogues. Palladio and Sinan*, in: Guido Beltrami and Howard Burns (eds.): *Palladio*, Madrid 2009, pp. 236–243, here p. 238.

Pasha (Istanbul), the Sokollu complex in Lüleburgaz, the Villa Foscari, and Il Redentore.⁷⁸ Apart from parallels in such actual structures, there seems to be a shared reference related to ancient Greek theories of ideal place. The hilltop site of the Selimiye and of many Istanbul mosques, particularly the Süleymaniye overlooking the Golden Horn, not only renders them tools for the design of silhouettes and points of orientation within the cities' streets, but also relates them to topoi of ideal place design. In these, a sacred site such as a temple or a private villa like Palladio's Rotonda (before 1570) is erected as the center within a ring (or theatre) of hills representing a circular and ordered microcosm that references cosmological topoi, the ideal city, and enables a choreographed gaze onto ruled land.⁷⁹ This gazing from structures that are skillfully integrated into topography is particularly interesting considering Mehmed II viewing conquered Constantinople from the top of the Hagia Sophia. Given the ways the Ottomans made use of topography in later times in order to fashion distinct silhouettes, it is likely that this practice originates in such theories of ideal place.

All of this suggests that the Selimiye is a mosque that emerged out of a considerably complex transcultural matrix of knowledge, taste, and aesthetic endeavor; simultaneously in both cultures, architects were striving for a revival of monumental domed structures, which over centuries had been considered a form of the past.⁸⁰ It also has to be mentioned that while the Hagia Sophia played an important role in the formation of Sinan's late style, so did Anatolian and Persian approaches to space. Overall, the architect's formal ideas and their functional contexts clearly transcend mere adoption and one-dimensional formation, let alone supporting the idea of the Hagia Sophia's clear or unique role as the sole prefiguration for mid- to late 16th-century Ottoman architecture.

78 Ibid, p. 238 f. The extent to which St. Peter's Basilica was modeled on Ottoman, and possibly even Edirne structures and in what way the Italian project, vice versa, influenced the construction of the Selimiye, remains a still open question. Future research on St. Peter's relation to the Hagia Sophia would also be of interest, since St. Peter's was initially supposed to resemble the Byzantine monument. It was only in the course of the construction work that this resemblance was downplayed, as Gülru Necipoğlu points out, Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 92. Still, travelers such as von Kemepele, who will be mentioned below, emphasized the Selimiye's analogies to St. Peter's.

79 Blum, Gerd: Palladios Villa Rotonda und die Tradition des ‚Idealen Ortes‘. Literarische Topoi und die landschaftliche Topographie von Villen der italienischen Renaissance, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 70 (2007), pp. 159–200.

80 Necipoğlu, Challenging the Past, p. 171.

5 Distinct Functional Profiles

These fundamentals of two differently designed spaces – the Selimiye as centralized, unified, and rising domed space and the Hagia Sophia as rather linear, in a movement of lifting and lowering – are directly connected to their specific functions in historical contexts. Crane emphasizes the importance of these uses of the Ottoman imperial complexes:

Even more than concrete form [...] it was the activities that took place within the environment of the imperial mosque complexes, the uses to which they were put, the social ends which they were intended to meet, that gave these great ensembles meaning and definition.⁸¹

Both the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye are main centers, each erected at the behest of a leader who combined sacred and royal power in one person. The Hagia Sophia has to be regarded as *the* main episcopal church of the city of Istanbul and *the* most important church (*megale ekklesia*) of the Byzantine Empire. It was both the patriarchal and the imperial church, where coronations had taken place since 641.⁸² Its combined central and longitudinal structure thus reflects its double function in the political and religious context, as Marcell Restle observes.⁸³ According to him, this double function referred to the one emperor, the one empire, the one Byzantine people and Church, and to the design as being closely tied to religious processions during high holidays. The building had to enable and serve these liturgies, rendering it a frame for horizontally moving individuals and community. The horizontal liturgical path was crucial for the layout of the building. This path included various acts of subordination on the part of the Byzantine Emperor, which the interior space marked. Not only was he to take off his crown when entering the church and leading various feast days' processions; he also strode under ceiling and past wall depictions of his kneeling predecessors in front of Christ. This and several other images of former Byzantine emperors marked the role of the current ruler as Christ's representative on earth and as part of a lineage. This functional context of a church can exist only singularly. The building's dimensions, design, and concepts of light⁸⁴ correspond with its Byzantine function as a church and as a symbolic sign of the empire, the community, and the *ecclesia*.

⁸¹ Crane, *The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques*, p. 227.

⁸² Restle, *Hagia Sophia*, p. 17.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

The design of the Selimiye, however, foregrounds its sultanic implications and the commemoration of an individual leader. As a Friday mosque, it is a site of community and liturgy, but in a very different sense than the Hagia Sophia: in contrast to the Christian-Byzantine horizontally moving liturgy, the Friday prayer's liturgy is vertically moving, in the sense that individual bodies move up and down and thus unify in one space. While the Hagia Sophia as a space provides paths for processions, the Selimiye facilitates communal orientation. In the 16th century, the head of this community was the sultan, who had used the title of Caliph since the end of the 14th century.⁸⁵ Thus, the Selimiye is donated by a ruler who acted not only as (earthly and spiritual) representative, but who titled himself Successor of the Prophet and God's Shadow on Earth – titles strongly associated with world conquest.⁸⁶ This is closely connected to the history of the building site: according to Lokman, the Selimiye was erected on the royal site of the territory of the Old Palace of Edirne at Kavak Meydanı.⁸⁷

The dome of the Selimiye spans a space of communal orientation and the exaltation of the ruler as Successor, while the Hagia Sophia's dome covers a hall of linear movement and subordination to the ruler as representative. As shown, these diverging backgrounds of religion and concepts of representation and succession explain (and constitute) the visible forms of the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye, especially in respect of their domes – moving down from heaven in the case of the Hagia Sophia; rising in a visible construction system in the case of the Selimiye. While the Hagia Sophia's central dome is based on the aforementioned hidden construction system, the Selimiye positions its

⁸⁵ Crane, *The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques*, p. 199. In fact, the notion that the sultan did not inherit this title until after 1517 in the sequel of the conquests of Syria and Egypt and the defeat of the Mamluks does not accord with contemporary sources and seems to be a myth created in the 18th century. The sultan had already been associated with this title in correspondences that date back to earlier centuries. Crane provides various examples in official statements by Bayezid I (reigned 1389–1402).

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 240. The Hagia Sophia, in contrast, had been erected in the sixth century on the grounds of former Christian churches. In 324–330, Constantine built the new city of Constantinople with a sacred building on one of its highest hills (some sources suggest that the first building was only erected by Constantine's son Constantius). The church was consecrated in 360. Albrecht Berger suggests that, due to the long building phase that some sources imply, this first church originally served as a place of worship of the emperor, before his son turned it into a Christian church. This would suit Constantine's lifelong affection for the Roman cult of the emperor and state, Berger, *Hagia Sophia*, p. 29 f. In the fifth century, this church burned down and was rebuilt by Theodosius II. After the Nika riots, Justinian commissioned the rebuilding of the third church in its known form in competition with Anicia Iuliana's (died 527/28; daughter of the Western Roman Emperor Anicius Olybrius) Church of St. Polyeuktos.

dome on a visible, rational, self-explanatory structure. Whereas the Hagia Sophia reflects the Kingdom of God descending to earth, the Selimiye rises with sultanistic, imperial, and religious confidence in a former border zone, opposite a political and ideological competitor.

6 Nine Characteristic Features of the Selimiye

Informed by various building traditions as well as the lifelong aspirations and practice of its architect, the Selimiye creates an emphatically distinguished idiom of overall design as a magnum opus monument in its own right in terms of the appropriation of aesthetics, production of space, and internal coherence. In fact, Sinan did not have to create a completely new architectural language – it already existed by the time he became chief architect. However, he had to critically revise and refine the late 15th-century style in order to create a new idiom.⁸⁸ This visual idiom, which can be inferred from my conclusions, was constitutive of the Ottoman urban image in Edirne and of the challenge that the Selimiye represented to the Hagia Sophia. It also embodies a crucial paradigm for analyzing consecutive spatial approaches to the city after 1574. I argue that it consists of nine main features:

(i) Floating dome

By constructing the Selimiye with a large dome on top, Sinan marks his construction knowledge and his mastery of Byzantine (and contemporary European) building principles. With the rising appearance of the structure, its spherical dome, and arcades with domes, Sinan varies an already known approach: smaller domes frame the central one, exalting it and thereby setting it farther apart from the ground. The architect's visual strategies let it seem taller than it actually is. The central dome consequently visually floats above the structure. After Sinan's architectural projects and urban interventions, the motif of the floating dome at the same time appears and reappears when travelling through the Ottoman Empire, particularly in Istanbul and the two former capitals Edirne and Bursa. The Ottoman dome consequently becomes a motif representing the capital under legitimized sultanistic rule reinforcing the idea of the three cities being conceptualized as a fluid capital, as will be elaborated below.

⁸⁸ Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 173.

(ii) Canonization of minaret design

The four steep and thin minarets with galleries, handrails, conical lead roofs, and ornamentation represent visual marks of Islamic and Ottoman space, of sultanic donation, and of both visual and auditory presence of the religious. Minarets in a specific Ottoman and in individual dynastic styles had already been differentiated from other types of Islamic towers before Sinan, who canonizes the design of the Ottoman minaret in the Selimiye.⁸⁹ This sign of sultanic and Sunni identity frames the building and focuses the viewer's eyes on the central competitive element, the dome. Furthermore, a refined and integrated solution like this commented on earlier mosque buildings close to the Selimiye: with its three differently designed minarets, the Üç Şerefeli Mosque is virtually downgraded by the Selimiye, whose architect must have had little appreciation for such incoherent earlier design practices.

(iii) Accessibility and permeability

The Selimiye communicates the structure of its interior space in its external appearance. It emphasizes accessibility and approachability as a formative collective space. For instance, the staircases are constructed in front of portals and numerous entrance bays that proclaim the structural identity of a space that constitutes a community and that is functionally related to the communal prayer. In this regard, the transition of the mosque's base into the *arasta* and its connection with the *bedesten* directly associate the religious complex with urban life beyond its precinct. Its outward boundaries are thus rather permeable and manifold inward activities, such as instruction in study circles or contemplative recreation, are facilitated through the architecture by a variety of means (see v).

(iv) View from outside the city

Sinan's œuvre skillfully conceptualizes urban design. His structures are integrated into city spaces in highly elaborate ways. In the case of the Selimiye, viewers right outside of the city immediately see the contour of the hilltop architecture dominating and defining the silhouette of Edirne.⁹⁰ The fact that 16th- and 17th-century writers compared domes (instead of whole structures) suggests that "they conceptualized space from above rather than from the ground plan."⁹¹ Architecture is

⁸⁹ Goodwin, Godfrey: *Sinan. Ottoman Architecture and Its Values Today*, London 1993, p. 79.

⁹⁰ The perceptual aspect of the dome's urban dominance has been described by Evliya Çelebi in Kreiser, Klaus: *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyâ Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, Freiburg i. Br. and Munich 1975, p. XXIV and p. 183.

⁹¹ Necipoğlu, Challenging the Past, p. 174.

developed from the very element that would act as the crown of the city. From a distance, the interplay of the Selimiye's dome with other high structures creates a horizontal urban map, marking important buildings, squares, and axial connections. This effect is perceivable from nearly all sides when approaching the town.

(v) Perception and experience inside the city and the mosque space

Reversely, the mosque's domination of the city's silhouette means that anyone granted access to its minarets, dome, or higher structural levels is rewarded by splendid vistas of the city and the suburban lands. The building's elevated status was twofold in that it not only defined the urban silhouette, but also constituted a luxurious, philanthropic, and hospitable place: in contrast to the narrow and hot streets of the city, the courtyard with openings in its surrounding walls provides a vast outdoor space with cool and fresh air; gardens around the mosque invite people to relax and nap. The Selimiye and its direct environment were made a primary location within the city encouraging people to enter, dwell, and enjoy the spaces' benefits. Such day-to-day uses and attractive benefits complemented the main function of the mosque as a gathering space for the Friday prayer. As explained above, this communal function was clearly represented in the conceptual handling of the floating dome, which interacts with the city space: a person walking through the streets of Edirne perceives the dome, its spires, and the minarets set on the city's highest point, as equally floating above the urban space – a phenomenon present in contemporaneous Italian urban settings, too. The dome appears and disappears as one moves through the streets and perceives it from changing axial perspectives providing partial or open vistas of the town's towering figure. By positioning the mosque exactly at this point, Sinan redefined intra-urban axes and structures. A new center marginalized some (non-Muslim) quarters while others were highlighted. Immediately around the mosque, calligraphy and décor constitute intra-urban Ottoman features referencing, for example, the titles of the Sultan and the Caliph as world conqueror. A relation to the empire thus exists both stylistically and semantically;⁹² it is also present in the many indirect references to the workshops that constituted the imperial architectural system, such as those of miniature painters, jewelers, carpet makers, and calligraphers. One finds Islamic and Ottoman décor motifs in columns, arches, niches, window

⁹² For the *naskh* style of the calligraphy and its stylistic connection to the Ottoman dynasty as well as for the inscriptions and their dynastical semantic frame, Odenthal, Johannes: *Istanbul, Bursa und Edirne. Byzanz – Konstantinopel – Stambul. Eine historische Hauptstadt zwischen Morgen- und Abendland*, Cologne 1990, p. 357.

frames, tiles, and even in smallest details, such as the colonettes' hourglass motifs.

(vi) Sacred exaltation

The dome as a confident sign of specifically sultanic and religious imperial triumph and rule, as well as of Ottoman mosque architecture within the semantic field of domed space, including its Byzantine connotation, serves to exalt the *mihrab* visually.⁹³ This creates a legitimizing connection between past and present rule, between ascendancy and contemporary claims for present and future and the religion of Islam. To emphasize this, Sinan constructed a highly integrated building that reveals an internal relatedness of proportions and architectural elements, all of which are contingent on the central dome. Every element seems to suggest the next part, from the lower levels up to the summit of the dome. This particularly marks the architect's competence in interior design.

(vii) Constant interplay between interior and exterior

The ideal of the interpenetration of interior and exterior is a dominating concept. This feature is interwoven in many ways in the architectural fabric. Instruments for this are, for instance, the arcade halls and the outside galleries, as well as the *müezzin mahfili*. An important aesthetic strategy for this is the continuation of various motifs in varied materials outside and inside. This emphasizes the character of an interwoven space whose forms and motifs originate in solid stone, pass through fine ceramics and soft carpets, and are eventually transcended through translucent materials and abstract patterns inside the domed space.⁹⁴

(viii) Clear-cut, harmonious construction system

Ultimately, the Selimiye is a building based on the principle of clear structure and consciously used décor underlining the construction system, on axial relations and symmetry.⁹⁵ The structure is conceived as insinuating harmony between the interior and the exterior, between space and material, and between vertical and horizontal elements.⁹⁶

⁹³ For a closer analysis of this fact, *ibid.*

⁹⁴ European Gothic churches enact a very similar transcending and dissolution of sacred spaces by using translucent materials.

⁹⁵ The relationship between ornament and construction principles is discussed in Müller-Wiener, Martina: *Die Kunst der islamischen Welt*, Stuttgart 2012, p. 260.

⁹⁶ Godfrey Goodwin describes the concept of harmony relating to material and space in Goodwin, *Sinan*, p. 112. Gülru Necipoğlu includes main aspects of the functioning of interior and exterior space in her comprehensive Sinan monograph, Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 251.

(ix) Triumphant over preceding structures

The Selimiye is not only exalted above the city, but also triumphs over its Ottoman predecessors, particularly the ones nearby. In this sense, Sinan not only challenges the Byzantine past, but also and very powerfully the Ottoman-Islamic tradition that he builds on. The urban configuration and the positioning of a number of mosque structures, such as the Üç Şerefeli Mosque and the Old Mosque (Eski Cami, completed in 1414) stimulate direct comparison, in which the latter buildings are outplayed. In the case of the Üç Şerefeli, this is realized not only through the coherent minaret design but also through surpassing its tallest minaret, which until the Selimiye had been the tallest in the Ottoman Empire and had been a showpiece of skilled engineering and aesthetic refinement.⁹⁷ In fact, the new Islamic and collective stamp that the Selimiye puts on the city of Edirne becomes especially clear when imagining the city before Sinan's projects. Even though its older mosques had provided space for a large number of people, the Selimiye eminently surpassed these structures in the space offered for participants in the Friday prayer – a space that could be perceived as all-encompassing in terms of the complete urban Ottoman and Muslim collective present. For the first time, prayer space for such masses was provided in the city. Sinan's outplaying also applies to more subtle elements such as the Selimiye's *müezzin mahfili* with its implications of prevailing over Shamanistic spatial conceptualizations.⁹⁸

This catalogue of nine characteristic features – and there may be even more – that emerges from my in-depth architectural analysis and that I suggest for discussion is already enough to perceive the Selimiye as more than just “a peripheral line in Islamic sacred architecture” that merely mimics the Hagia Sophia as its “ur-structure,” as suggested by Gaube. However, this achievement cannot be attributed solely to the Selimiye as a solitary jewel, but has to be perceived, at least tentatively, against the background of Sinan's overall construction of a

⁹⁷ Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 175.

⁹⁸ On Sinan's discussion on *nezâket* (sophistication, refinement) in relation to both older buildings, Kafescioğlu, Çiğdem: *Itinerant Gaze. The Representation of Ottoman and Medieval Anatolian Architecture in the Seyahatnâme*, in: Nuran Tezcan, Semih Tezcan, and Robert Dankoff (eds.): *Evliya Çelebi. Studies and Essays Commemorating the 400th Anniversary of his Birth*, Istanbul 2012, p. 315. While Sinan's (auto-)biographies frame the Selimiye as the highlight of the architect's artistic career, these sources do not support the widespread belief originally reported by Evliya Çelebi that Sinan himself stated that the Şehzade was his apprenticeship work, the Süleymaniye his work as a journeyman, and the Selimiye his work as a master, Crane, Akın, and Necipoğlu, *Sinan's Autobiographies* p. xi.

discernable empire style within the long sequence of his vast œuvre displayed in many regions of the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁹ It is in this regard of his own architectural œuvre, too, that he declared that the Selimiye was his masterpiece. In the third part of this chapter (7–8), I therefore carry my argument further and turn to the tremendous image appeal, if not role model character, of the Selimiye as Sinan’s showpiece of mosque architecture and reflect on the importance of what I label Ottoman empire branding, which constitutes the final challenging complex of the architect’s “dialectical emulation of the past”¹⁰⁰ in relation to the Hagia Sophia.

7 Architecture and Image Construction

As Metin and Zeynep Ahunbay have formulated, “the influence of a major monument like Hagia Sophia on Ottoman architects was inevitable.”¹⁰¹ They traced several fundamental elements of 15th- and 16th-century Ottoman architecture, which evolved from the examination of the Byzantine church; a detailed view of the closely connected sites reveals a highly complex situation, though, that goes beyond adapting or reevaluating Byzantine themes of basic structural patterns like dome and semi-domes, transition zones, arches, piers, (flying) buttresses, and galleries, at least for the structures considered here.¹⁰² The Selimiye did not surpass the Hagia Sophia in concrete dimensions, nor can one diagnose an uninterrupted continuation of building ideas and style beyond basic patterns. In view of the Hagia Sophia, Sinan refers not merely to an actual built structure, but to something more that the former Byzantine church represented and that the Selimiye was to challenge. It is likely that in his reference, Sinan reveals the central contemporary role of perceptual images that architectural spaces

99 For publications listing Sinan’s dispersed œuvre, O’Kane, Bernard: Sinān, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Brill Online 2012, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/sinan-COM_1081, last accessed 8 Mar. 2019; Babinger, Franz: Sinān, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, First Edition* (1913–1936), Brill Online 2012, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-1/sinan-COM_0186, last accessed 8 Mar. 2019; Crane, Akin, and Necipoğlu, *Sinan’s Autobiographies*; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*; Yerasimos, Stéphane and Arnsperger, Ursula: *Konstantinopel. Istanbul’s historisches Erbe*, Cologne 2000; Kuran, Sinan; Goodwin, Sinan, and the (auto-)biographies themselves, Çelebi, Sâi Mustafa: *Yapılar Kitabı*, and idem: *Mimar Sinan and Tezkiret-ül Bünyan*.

100 Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 176.

101 Ahunbay and Ahunbay, *Structural Influence*, p. 194.

102 For the Hagia Sophia’s role in earlier Ottoman mosque architecture, *ibid.*, pp. 179–194.

incorporated – especially those that acquired mythical topoi such as the Hagia Sophia, the Pantheon, the Parthenon, and the like. The Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye are therefore related in terms of image construction as part of a larger process of empire branding, as the following remarks about the Byzantine church as a literary narrative and imperial gesture in Ottoman collective memory will show.

7.1 Narrative Implications and Ottoman Triumph

Under Christian rule, the Hagia Sophia had been framed by numerous legends that marked its sanctity and divine origin.¹⁰³ The church was an image of Christian imperial superiority and victory, of the Byzantine past, and of a long-lasting empire.¹⁰⁴ The Ottoman historian Tursun Beg (probably born in the 1420s) described its interior as paradise-like.¹⁰⁵ It is apparent that the Ottomans were familiar with and influenced by this mental image and that they knew of the importance of related circulating narratives. Thus, after having conquered Constantinople in 1453, Mehmed II ordered the rewriting of the Hagia Sophia's history and the production of myths about the new Islamic mosque.¹⁰⁶ Immediately after his conquest, the sultan visited the church and walked through it with a group of learned

103 Berger, Hagia Sophia, pp. 29–38. According to the *Diegesis peri tes Hagias Sophias* legend, the Hagia Sophia was above all connected to the idea of perfection in every aspect including its material and numerical symbolisms of 40 windows, 365 doors, and three niches in the Eastern wall. It was also seen as the successor to Solomon's temple following a remark by Justinian, which was actually referring to the Church of St. Polyeuktos. This church, which Justinian strove to surpass, had been erected by the princess Anicia Iuliana in 527 after the model of the biblical description of King Solomon's temple, *ibid.*, p. 34.

104 Accordingly, after his conquest, Mehmed II saw himself as heir to the Byzantine emperors, which was testified through his rebuilding of Constantinople and the transformation of his own power both of which became related with the narrative of inheriting Byzantine power, Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire*, pp. 210–214.

105 Tursun Beg after Necipoğlu, *Life of an Imperial Monument*, p. 197.

106 İnalçık, Halil: Istanbul. An Islamic City, in: *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990), pp. 1–23, provides an insightful analysis of the conquest of Istanbul, explaining the conversion of structures such as the Hagia Sophia and the processes of urban design that made Constantinople an Islamic city. He emphasizes the structuring role of the institution of the *imaret* and the administrative instrument of the *waqf*. Another revealing study regarding the appropriation of the city after the Ottoman conquest is Michael Angold, *The Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans. Context and Consequences*, Abingdon and New York 2014.

men in order to understand its construction. Tursun Beg reported that Mehmed climbed its dome.¹⁰⁷

Subsequently, Mehmed had texts written to create a new Ottoman-Islamic narrative of the Hagia Sophia that was designed to become part of the Ottoman collective memory.¹⁰⁸ Basic motifs of this narrative had existed before the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople as part of Christian thought. These texts were changed, written down, and circulated after 1453. Gülru Necipoğlu notes that the court historian İdris-i Bitlisî (died 1520) related the sacral significance of the Hagia Sophia to that of the Kaaba in Mecca and the Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, which demonstrates that this enterprise had been partially successful by the early 16th century.¹⁰⁹ One of these legends narrates how the semi-dome above the apse had collapsed in the night of the Prophet Mohammed's birth. A reconstruction of the semi-dome did not succeed. Byzantine men visited the Prophet, who prophesied that the structure would one day become Islamic and subsequently sanctioned its reconstruction. As Necipoğlu states one version of this legend includes a passage about a mortar mixed from sand from Mecca, water from the well of Zemzem, and the Prophet's saliva, which the Byzantine men took to Constantinople and used to successfully re-erect the semi-dome.¹¹⁰

107 Tursun Beg after Necipoğlu, *Life of an Imperial Monument*, p. 197. The moment of Mehmed climbing the dome seems to be fundamental in understanding the role of the Hagia Sophia for the Ottomans. Obviously, besides a possible personal story behind this moment (such as fulfilling a goal of his ancestors: already Bayezid I had expressed visions of turning the church into a mosque, according to *ibid.*, p. 196), there are meaningful political implications in climbing the very structure, which Mehmed himself already aimed at surpassing through newly built mosques a century before Sinan built the Selimiye, Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire*, pp. 143–159. From above, Mehmed could view the lands that were now his property – this motif of owning by overlooking is an ancient one. There could not be a more powerful action signaling ownership than the direct kinetic experience of a space. In this sense, power reveals itself as connected to the body, to physical presence and experience. This action bears an interesting implication if one considers the picture of Christ as the *pantocrator* in the zenith of the dome: Mehmed, by climbing the dome, positions himself near the Christian messiah (and God) and possibly even above him. This aspect might play a crucial role in understanding the Selimiye in the sense of reenacting this imperial moment of Mehmed II in architecture. This then signifies a materialized act of creating a historical moment anew in a built structure. In this sense, the architecture embodies performance.

108 Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire*, pp. 128–143.

109 Necipoğlu, *Life of an Imperial Monument*, p. 201. The memory of victory was also preserved by exhibiting war trophies in the mosque and having the reader of the Friday prayer hold a sword in his hands, symbolizing the history of conquest, Berger, Hagia Sophia, p. 36.

110 Berger, Hagia Sophia, p. 37 and Necipoğlu, *Life of an Imperial Monument*, p. 200. Cf. Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire*, p. 36.

Despite these efforts to make the structure Islamic,¹¹¹ it nevertheless was always associated with its past as a Byzantine and Christian building. The process of changing its image struggled against the widely known origin of the Hagia Sophia, its related circulating texts, depictions, as well as reports, and (Christian) legends connected to the site. Authors of literary texts tried to not only create a new Islamic meaning for the building in collective memory, but also to emphatically disconnect it from the Christian emperor Justinian by attributing its construction to the will (and name) of Constantine's wife Asafiya. This happened despite extant knowledge about Greek sources that provide information about the building's origins. The process of Islamization was also slowed by opponents of Mehmed II who were not in favor of their ruler's new imperial attitude and who produced anti-imperial versions of legends connected to the Hagia Sophia.¹¹² Studies of how the Byzantine church was handled under new Ottoman rule reveal that it was to be both structurally and functionally Islamized and preserved regarding its visible Christian origin.¹¹³ It seems difficult, however, to succeed in both preserving the Hagia Sophia as a commemorative monument – which includes a subtle yet visible preservation of its Christian-Byzantine past – and simultaneously re-establishing it as the central Islamic-Ottoman building of

111 The practice of transforming churches into mosques is outlined in works on spolia and appropriation, such as Brilliant, Richard and Kinney, Dale (eds.): *Reuse Value. Spolia and Appropriation in Art and Architecture, from Constantine to Sherrie Levine*, Farnham 2011; Flood, Finbarr Barry: *Objects of Translation. Material Culture and Medieval 'Hindu-Muslim' Encounter*, Princeton 2009, and Nelson, Robert S.: Appropriation, in: idem and Richard Shiff (eds.): *Critical Terms for Art History*, Chicago 2003, pp. 160–173, and in works on single structures, such as Pedersen, Jens, Hillenbrand, Robert, Burton-Page, John et al.: *Masjdjid*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, Brill Online 2012, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-islam-2/masjdjid-COM_0694, last accessed 8 Mar. 2019; Kaldellis, Anthony: *The Christian Parthenon. Classicism and Pilgrimage in Byzantine Athens*, Cambridge 2009; Mark, Robert and Çakmak, Ahmet Ş. (eds.): *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, Cambridge, New York and Oakleigh 1992; Hoffmann, Volker (ed.): *Die Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Bilder aus sechs Jahrhunderten und Gaspare Fossatis Restaurierung der Jahre 1847 bis 1849*, Bern 1999, and Emerson, William and van Nice, Robert L.: Hagia Sophia and the First Minaret Erected after the Conquest of Constantinople, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 54 (1950), pp. 28–40; for the broader Ottoman context, Ousterhout, Robert: The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture, in: *Gesta* 43 (2004), pp. 165–176, and Bierman, Irene A., Abou-El-Haj, Rif'at A., and Preziosi, Donald (eds.): *The Ottoman City and its Parts. Urban Structure and Social Order*, New Rochelle, NY 1991.

112 Necipoğlu, Life of an Imperial Monument, p. 202.

113 Schlüter, Sabine: Gaspare Fossatis Restaurierung der Hagia Sophia 1847–49, in: Hoffmann, Volker (ed.): *Die Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Bilder aus sechs Jahrhunderten und Gaspare Fossatis Restaurierung der Jahre 1847 bis 1849*, Bern 1999, pp. 139–148, here p. 147.

the empire. By combining both paths, the Hagia Sophia remained connected to its Christian past, evidenced by the preservation of its mosaic decoration. This, though, kept the memory of its actual origin alive.¹¹⁴ Various other historic events related to the Ottoman preservation policy show that, despite efforts to officially render the building an Islamic one, its Christian past (and knowledge of its pagan origins) could not be wiped out – and actually, did not need to be erased, since preserving its Christian image served to a certain degree as a constant reminder of the conquest of 1453, an approach that is in line with the theological understanding of Islam as the finisher of the religion of Christianity. Additionally, Europeans themselves engaged in perpetuating the building's Christian image. For example, in a report, the Polish traveller Simeon writes about an Ottoman worker relieving himself from the top of Hagia Sophia into a bucket of plaster. When he wanted to use this mixture for works on the mosque, the building threw him down to death, as Simeon puts it. He underlines this as a “miracle to those disrespectful toward God's saints who are the honor of the Trinity and the pride of Christians.”¹¹⁵

A new and independent sign of the two themes of universal empire and religion was still needed more than a century later, when Selim II sought to represent the empire and to signal Ottoman triumph and Islamic collective belief to the West. It was built (in stone) and constructed (as image) in the Selimiye. When Selim II commanded the erection in his name, he was perfectly conscious of the described historical situation connected to the Hagia Sophia. A process of image transfer was initiated, which marked the Selimiye as the new space of Ottoman-Islamic commemorative triumph. For this, legends relating to the Hagia Sophia were rewritten and connected to the Selimiye. The legend of the mortar, mentioned above, was extended by passages about its transfer from the apse of Hagia Sophia to the zenith of Selimiye's dome.¹¹⁶ Selim's founding declaration connected his *waqf* with motifs that must have been familiar to those who knew the legends of the Hagia Sophia: in this written document of law, it

114 This also concerned the newly added minarets: the Hagia Sophia has been variously described as merely having been symbolically transformed (by minarets) but architecturally having primarily remained an icon of the Byzantine past, Eldem, Edhem, Goffman, Daniel, and Masters, Bruce (eds.): *The Ottoman City between East and West. Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, Cambridge 1999, p. 207.

115 Simeon after Necipoğlu, *Life of an Imperial Monument*, p. 216. For further information on the historical efforts and conflicts around the Islamization of the building while preserving its Christian heritage, *ibid.*, pp. 202–225 and Berger, *Hagia Sophia*, pp. 36–38.

116 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 241 and p. 255 f.

was framed as paradisiac and as the most glorious mosque known to mankind – a new heritage site was being orchestrated.

The mosque's inscriptions and spolia play an important role in this alignment and in its relation to the Hagia Sophia: as Fokke Theodoor Dijkema observes, inscriptions in Ottoman mosques established the specific political meanings and individual programs of buildings.¹¹⁷ In the case of the Selimiye, the Koranic parts that have been chosen for its interior and court design relate above all to the fame of Selim II, his dynasty, and his imperial mission. But how is the building architecturally framed in a semantic context of triumph and as a monument of victory? This question connects to the financial and memorial aspects of the Selimiye. The foundations of the mosque were built just before the Ottoman military campaign in Cyprus began. The building is thereby strongly imperially connoted and related to implications of the sultan's titles, becoming a confident anticipation of his victory over those in Europe who were perfectly familiar with the building plans. After the conquest of Cyprus in 1571, financial means and spolia from the region were used to conclude the building of the Selimiye – at a time when resources were most extensively available in the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁸ This strategy of "conquest-sustained empire-building"¹¹⁹ can be read as a direct response of the Selimiye to the legend of spolia in the Hagia Sophia. Justinian was believed to have commanded the integration of rare stone spolia from ancient pagan sites from all over his empire into the Hagia Sophia. The victory of Christianity was thereby rendered as divine will. The stones displayed the imperial power of both Church and Emperor. These spolia, however, were nothing more than legend.¹²⁰

Their real counterpart, though, was integrated in the Selimiye, establishing a factual challenge to the older myths and substituting the widely known mythic legend with a visible representation of power, claiming for itself the narrative influence of such known mythic tropes. By integrating spolia from the campaigns against Christian Europe into the Selimiye and by letting the building display both imperial mission and patterns that subtly reference the Hagia Sophia, Sinan updated narratives about the Byzantine Christian structure,

117 Dijkema, Fokke Theodoor: *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne*, Leiden 1977.

118 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 240.

119 Watenpugh, Heghnar Zeitlian: *The Image of an Ottoman City. Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Leiden and Boston 2004, p. 11.

120 For the absence of spolia in the Hagia Sophia and the reasons for imagining them to be present in the space in Byzantine times, Berger, *Hagia Sophia*, p. 32. Exceptions are the porphyry columns on the ground floor of the main hall.

transferring its image into the Ottoman-Islamic context. In this process, Islam becomes victorious, Ottoman rule is factually and visibly associated with imperial power, and, most importantly, the Hagia Sophia – as a still vivid representation of Christian victory and Byzantine imperial claims – is outdone by a structure possessing its own marked autonomy. The mosque's connection to the campaign in Cyprus was widely known and, as late as in the 18th century, the Austrian traveller Kempelen reports on this fact and cites the similarities of the building to ancient and contemporary sites such as St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Many of these are in his eyes surpassed by the Selimiye.¹²¹ The mosque constituted an imperial sign of triumph relating to conquered European territory and it performed an aesthetic gesture of a ruler who saw himself as a successor of the Prophet of Islam. These textual implications of memory and literary topoi are what make the Selimiye – in association with the physical size of the structure – a *monumental* building.

7.2 Architectural Modifications and the Role of Selim II

One key feature of the Selimiye is its four high minarets. Modifying the plan of the Hagia Sophia, Sinan added two of the four minarets during Selim's reign. This architectural modification closely connects the two buildings – and with them the two cities of Edirne and Istanbul – since four minarets positioned around the central dome of a mosque (instead of at the corners of the courtyard) are found only in the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye.¹²² While Selim II did not erect a major sultan's mosque in the capital, his signature was placed in Istanbul and Edirne by a recognizable and unique architectural form, dominating both skylines.¹²³ The sultan's distinct image was thereby projected onto the buildings, visually associating the Hagia Sophia (his burial site) and the Selimiye (his sultan's mosque) and revealing a unique urban imprint and recognizable architectural brand of Selim II.

¹²¹ *Descriptio itineris legatorum Caroli VI. a. 1740 ad Mahmud Turcarum imperatorem missorum*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, HAN, Cod. 8640, p. 101. I would like to thank Heidrun Riedler for her translation from the Latin original. Cf. Kreiser, Klaus: Zwei unbekannte Beschreibungen des Serails von Edirne aus den Jahren 1740/41, in: *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1982), pp. 114–142.

¹²² Berger, Hagia Sophia, p. 37.

¹²³ The two minarets Selim ordered to be added to the Hagia Sophia were left incomplete at the time of his death in 1574. His son Murad III completed the project.

Again, this highlights the formal challenge and conquest that the Selimiye represented. Here, the question arises as to what extent the sultan himself was involved in the creation and implementation of this Ottoman and/or sultanic image, especially as accounts on Selim II are highly ambivalent and have largely been shaped by ideological European views, for example in diplomatic correspondences constructing an image of an incompetent ruler. Specifically, this picture of the sultan evolves from letters of the Venetian diplomat Marcantonio Donini, in which in 1562 he describes Prince Selim as a man of big appetite and a drunkard.¹²⁴ Marino Cavalli, the Venetian ambassador sent to congratulate Selim on his accession to the throne in 1567, mentions his excessive lifestyle, denying the sultan any military talent:

He is fat and always very red in the face, which is a sign of the great amounts of liquor he consumes. He acts with an extreme gravity and affected manners [...] He takes pleasure in dressing extravagantly.¹²⁵

The truthfulness of these accounts and the extent of their ideological bias remain to be examined by putting Ottoman sources on Sultan Selim II and such Western narratives in critical conversation.¹²⁶ The need for such examinations is, for example, highlighted by other accounts in which Selim is described as a skillful poet.¹²⁷ Notwithstanding the above, these ambivalent renderings might not have altered or might even have increased Selim's intention and will to surpass the legacy of his predecessors and certainly did not detach the sultan from what Martin Warnke, in his sociology of European medieval architecture, calls a "compulsion to construct."¹²⁸ This practical and representative demand is constituted through supraregionally shared levels of aspiration in architectural competition among individual rulers or powers. Constructing sacred buildings, then, becomes a matter of struggles between conflicting groups of power and their actors.

Though Selim was certainly conscious of such global dynamics of building decorum and compulsive representation, the extent of the sultan's personal

124 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 230.

125 Cavalli after *ibid.*, p. 231.

126 This task surpasses the scope of this contribution. Still, secondary literature until today has a strong focus on the image of Selim as an incompetent drunkard, as revealed in the cited sources.

127 For a detailed biography, Emecen, Feridun: Selim II, in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 36, Istanbul 2009, pp. 414–418.

128 Warnke, Martin: *Bau und Überbau. Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Architektur nach den Schriftquellen*, Frankfurt am Main 1979, pp. 13–15.

involvement in architectural projects on the ground, in my view, must have been minor. He most likely acted as a broad-minded sponsor, who was naturally in favor of a potentially globally acknowledged monument erected in his name and increasing his fame, but who delegated all of its planning and execution.¹²⁹ Imperial decrees show that Sinan was in charge of all matters of planning, construction, and decoration of the Selimiye. In these sources, the chief architect merely informs about the status of the project and negotiates the decoration with Selim, who seems interested solely in practical questions of ornamentation.¹³⁰ Primarily, though, the topics that Selim and Sinan discuss relate to logistics, such as the employment of workers, the transport of material, and the completion of central parts of the building. Selim's direct and documented influence mainly concerns the manner of decoration and of Koranic inscriptions around the *mihrab*. He approved everything that Sinan – described by Stéphane Yerasimos as an emancipated architect striving for achievement and recognition¹³¹ – asked of him, including the later design of the mosque's urban surroundings and requested building materials:

Since you have petitioned these matters, I order you to have all of them built according to the manner you have reported and to see to their completion without any probability of overspending; and to have the houses required for the wholesale market bought for their value by the state and have it built as you deem appropriate (*münāsib*).¹³²

This indirect role is also consistent with the sultan's involvement in various other fields of rule: Selim's political practice was based on the delegation of state affairs to viziers, particularly to Grand Vizier Sokollu, and he was not personally involved in any military campaigns. Compared with his predecessor Süleyman's empire-wide architectural patronage, Selim commissioned only a small number of structures. Besides the Selimiye, the architectural

129 These roles in the construction process are reflected in Sinan's (auto-)biography, which explicitly mentions Selim's order to erect a mosque matchless in the world; however, it is made clear that it was Sinan who invented the plan for the Selimiye as a piece of world architecture, Sâi Mustafa Çelebi, *Mimar Sinan and Tezkiret-ül Bünyan*, fols. 15r–v, and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 238 f.

130 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 242.

131 Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire*, p. 242.

132 Selim II after Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 242 f. Necipoğlu lists a variety of archival sources concerning the building process. The quote is part of a written order stored in Istanbul's Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Mühimme Defterleri 21, no. 461, p. 191, dated 21 *Zilkade* 980 AH (25 March 1573 CE).

projects conducted under his rule included the renovation of the Hagia Sophia, a bridge, a water canal, the renovation of a part of the Kaaba, the conversion of two Christian churches into mosques, the erection of a school for Koran recitation, two dervish convents, an elementary school, and the mosque complex in Karapınar.¹³³ For all of these, the concrete role of Selim II (and of other sultans in earlier projects) in relation to Sinan has to be further scrutinized in historic sources.¹³⁴

It is also revealing to note that distinct stylistic patterns communicating the Ottoman image of architecture and city spaces had already been elaborated before Selim II came to power. The sultan ruled for only eight years, until 1574. A number of features of a distinct architectural image, however, are already manifest in Sinan's buildings from before 1566, e.g. in Şehzade Mosque (1548), in the Rüstem Pasha mosques in Rodoscuk (1552/53) and Tahtakale (finished 1561–1563) with their octagonal upper outside levels, in the Süleymaniye Mosque (1557–1559), in the Edirnekapi Complex (1568/69) with its vertical wall design and horizontal hierarchies, and in many of the grand viziers' mosques from the 1550s and '60s. Sinan's smaller structures similarly display the ongoing development of key elements that in their synthesis and integration culminate in the Selimiye.¹³⁵

For these reasons, it is rather likely that the architect was the main actor behind the creation of the architecture, its image, and the evolving empire branding. The latter becomes the last step of a process that originated in Sinan's participation in war campaigns, followed by his service to three sultans, in all of which he accumulated knowledge and was supported in his stylistic and structural ideas. The condensed images of the Selimiye and Edirne thus find themselves at the end of a continuous path, on which Sinan advanced an imperial architectural culture based in an architectural model to be adapted when meeting topographical or related challenges, as e.g. in the Sokollu Complex in Kadirgalımanı, turning them into tools that helped stage imperial architecture.¹³⁶ Sinan mastered such architectural as well as urban problems as answers to

133 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 233.

134 A comparative study of his activities as a patron of poetry might be revealing.

135 E.g. the dervish convent Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya in Damascus and importantly the Sultaniye Complex of Karapınar, which paved the way for the Selimiye. For an analysis of Sinan's late-period mosque structures and their environmental relations, Katipoğlu, Ceren: *An Analysis of Architect Sinan's Late Period Mosques*, Master's Thesis, Ankara 2007. Rogers, John Marshall: *Sinan*, London and New York 2006 illustrates the architect's practice and growing elaboration.

136 This logical progression of an "evolutionary architectural history" can be traced back to the Üç Şerefeli Mosque in Edirne, as Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 173 shows.

challenges from the past and finally merged them in a distinct style: “From the primitive hut to Hagia Sophia the gradual development toward greater aesthetic refinement culminates in Sinan’s works, owing to the grandeur of the Ottoman state and Islam and the virtuous architect’s God-given talent.”¹³⁷ At the same time, it seems likely that he used the opportunity posed by the lack of cultural policy under Selim II to also increase his own fame. The architect’s dictated (auto-)biographies and the plans for structures such as his tomb¹³⁸ show that he was a self-fashioning genius cultivating his own image, as well – last but not least through the positioning of the Selimiye in close proximity to and towering above two older imperial mosques, namely the Old Mosque and the Üç Şerefeli Mosque, rendering them backdrops that emphasized the chief architect’s contemporary style and new approaches.¹³⁹ This is a practice that was also common among the Safavids and Uzbeks who juxtaposed their monuments with older structures.

The architectural structures and their images are thus orchestrated through both individual as well as dynastic and religious imperial ambitions, which relate the two buildings with each other and which alter the narrative framing of the surrounding city spaces. Through the construction of the Selimiye and its own architectural modification, the Hagia Sophia is triumphantly integrated into the victorious context of Ottoman-Islamic rule. It is neither erased nor subordinated, but redefined by a creative response. The Selimiye, in contrast, is the new autonomous, commemorative monument of victory, incorporating the Hagia Sophia’s former status literarily and stylistically. This mosque was to be seen by both Ottomans and Western visitors, being built in geographical proximity to the West, and to be passed by numerous diplomats, merchants, and travellers from Europe on their way to Istanbul.

The question has often been asked why Selim II had his monumental mosque built in Edirne and not in Istanbul. Assumptions include Selim’s personal affection for the city, where he had spent time before becoming sultan and where he frequently returned in later times, as well as the lack of an empty and

137 Ibid, p. 172.

138 Erzen, Jale Nejdett: *Sinan. Ottoman Architect. An Aesthetic Analysis*, Ankara 2004, p. 176 describes such aspects of Sinan’s tomb and fountain at a corner opposite of the Süleymaniye Complex.

139 The way Sinan advertises his achievements recalls simultaneous practices in poetry relating to literary theories of imitation, *ibid.* In this regard, it is also revealing to consider Sinan’s (auto-)biography in which he positions himself at the end of a genealogy of architectural history beginning with the construction of the celestial vault, followed by the construction of the Hagia Sophia’s dome, and resulting in his Selimiye, Yerasmios, *Légendes d’empire*, p. 240.

exposed hilltop in Istanbul. It is true that, in Edirne, the structure was not in-filled into a gap site, but on the contrary constructed to tower above all other buildings of the city and the Thracian plateau, which underscores the parallel to Istanbul's city silhouette as defined by the Hagia Sophia. The chance to dominate a whole city silhouette without letting other buildings compromise this visual supremacy was not given in Istanbul. Similar architectural modifications to the Selimiye and the renovated Hagia Sophia, particularly the application of four minarets to both buildings, might, however, provide an approach for an alternative answer. As Gülru Necipoğlu writes:

[. . .]like the four minarets surrounding the dome, the madrasas would have enhanced the long-distance dialogue between Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye complex, which features two madrasas. The intended connection between these imperial monuments is also suggested by an Italian source from 1575, which reports that "Santo Sofia is now called Selimiye after the name of Sultan Selim."¹⁴⁰

This relation is an important tie between the two structures after the Islamization of the Hagia Sophia.¹⁴¹ Considering the construction and transfer of legends, a structure was created in the Selimiye that was to signal an independent imperial image of Ottoman-Islamic triumph and rule at the former Western border of the Empire (in a city that continued to serve as a military base in many campaigns), whereas the Hagia Sophia and not the Asian town Bursa became the funerary site of the very sultan commissioning this new imperial, triumphant building.

However, there is not only a dialogue between these two sacred structures and between Istanbul and Edirne. Some authors have compared the Selimiye to the Church of the Saints Sergius and Bacchus, also known as Little Hagia Sophia (Küçük Aya Sofya) in Constantinople, which had served as a model for the Hagia Sophia.¹⁴² The design of the Selimiye incorporates commemorative dimensions, as briefly mentioned above in respect to the sultan. This fact, though, is not only marked by its naming, but also visible in its form: the structure reveals close connections to early Christian memorial sites – much more than it does to the Hagia

140 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 233, and extract from Genoa, Archivio di Stato, no. 2170 (dated 19 February 1575). The Venetian Senate already followed the early building process and was informed by Marcantonio Barbaro about the size, material, and splendor of the planned monumental mosque.

141 For the history of the Hagia Sophia's minarets with a focus on one, the first minaret, which is no longer extant but was erected after the conquest of Constantinople, Emerson and van Nice, *Hagia Sophia and the First Minaret Erected after the Conquest of Constantinople*, pp. 28–40.

142 Restle, *Hagia Sophia*, p. 20. In this sense, the Hagia Sophia varies and recombines this building type, whereas the Selimiye reconsiders it in its original form as a central-plan building.

Sophia. These sites were erected as central-plan buildings, serving the commemoration of martyrdoms, as mausoleums, or tombs.¹⁴³ These architectural resemblances create further long-distance ties and dialogues, not only between Edirne and Istanbul, but also between these two and the town of Bursa, where many commemorative and funerary complexes had been established. Thus, the three capitals of the Ottoman Empire were continuously connected in specific architectural form and functional ways; in relationships and competitive discourses.

As Crane highlights, Bursa represented the earliest site for royal mosque complexes and a major funerary space for the Ottoman sultans, while Istanbul could be seen as the city of large complexes (*imarets*, often described by the modern term *küllîye*).¹⁴⁴ When Edirne had already become the new capital of the Ottoman Empire, imperial foundations continued to be commissioned in Bursa.¹⁴⁵ Both cities also served as grounds for experiments in architecture and urban design; and the gained knowledge of building rules, city patterns, and garden design shaped later practices in Istanbul.

It is true that, at first sight, it seems surprising to construct a major sultan's mosque in Edirne – a place often described as peripheral in the static concept of one main center contrasted with the periphery. The Selimiye, earlier royal foundations such as the Old Mosque, and the many layers of long-distance relations suggest, however, that Edirne was not considered peripheral in the first place. Architectural building projects kept being commissioned and constructed in Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul even after the capital status had shifted to another city. In all of these places, royal foundations kept being built in various sizes, with diverse and recognizable functions (including institutions of education, charity, religion, and economics), and often as urban developing tools, connecting the three capitals in terms of similar urban infrastructures, of equivalent strategies of integration of architectural landmarks into the city space, and of the visual form of these major buildings. Given all this, Ottoman architectural culture, from the Orhan complex in Bursa (the first building completed in the first half of the 14th century) to the Hamidiye in Istanbul (late 19th century, also known as Yıldız Mosque), suggests a completely different understanding of the capital, even though after 1453, sultans were generally buried in Istanbul as the capital city where the bodies should be collected. In fact, the ways in which the Selimiye and other built structures interacted with buildings in Istanbul and Bursa rather foreground the concept of fluid capital as relevant for the Ottoman context of the 16th

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 19 f.

¹⁴⁴ Crane, *The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques*, p. 174–176.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 177.

century. Rethinking the model of the static and sole Ottoman capital in such a way would then render the question of Edirne's lacking spectrum of monumental architecture obsolete.¹⁴⁶

Such an approach that considers the factual architectural practices addresses the question why the Selimiye, as a monumental 16th-century work, was not located in Istanbul, but in Edirne in a novel way: rethinking the capital as less static and much more mobile changes the perception both of the capital's function and of how society and its capital(s) functioned reciprocally. In this sense, then, Edirne was not at all peripheral; rather, the center of the empire was located wherever sultan architecture was constructed. Large building projects and decisions about the building sites did not relate so much to individual motives or necessary compromises as suggested by Stéphane Yerasimos,¹⁴⁷ but rather to a more general aspect of the capital as being primarily realized through architectural practice. This suggests an explanation for the time that Selim II repeatedly spent in Edirne.¹⁴⁸ Architectural modifications and further resemblances with the Hagia Sophia show that the Selimiye could be erected only in Edirne. Seen through the concept of fluid capital, Edirne was not peripheral: it was central.

Sinan was undoubtedly familiar with these ideas when he dictated his words about the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye for his (auto-)biography *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan*.¹⁴⁹ This document reveals the architect's consciousness of stylization, image building, and their ability to influence the opinions and perceptions of those who would come after him, for example when he claims that no art or craft is more difficult than architecture and that whoever works in this field has to be righteous and pious.¹⁵⁰ In fact, no other, similar text exists in Islamic architectural

146 The concept of fluid capital is also discussed in various other chapters of this volume, particularly in Amy Singer's, Panagiotis Kontolaimos', and M. Sait Özervarlı's contributions.

147 Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire*, p. 241.

148 In fact, it would not only explain Selim's sojourn's, but also, almost a century later, the decision of the Ottoman court to move to Edirne for more than four decades – as well as the pivotal role that Edirne's urban configuration of ephemeral wooden structures, waterfront palaces such as the New Imperial Palace, and squares with large fountains came to play for the initiation of a new, water-related urbanism, of new architectural structures and social practices in Istanbul under the rule of Ahmed III after 1703.

149 Ottoman officials and the broader public were familiar with these meanings of the style, image, and function of the structure, Necipoğlu, *Life of an Imperial Monument*, p. 225.

150 Meriç, Rıfka Melul: *Mimar Sinan, Hayatı, Eseri*. Vol. 1: *Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatına Eserlerine Dair Metinler*, Ankara 1965, p. 21.

history.¹⁵¹ It was dictated to and recorded by the poet and painter Mustafa Sâi (died 1595/96). Here, Sinan refers to the Hagia Sophia in a double sense: on the one hand, as an architectural structure that he aimed to surpass; on the other hand, as an image that the church in Istanbul and also smaller structures such as the Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki incorporated and that was closely connected to an imperial context and power struggles between two ideological and religious world actors. Both buildings, then, become condensed representatives or images of their societies, entering this very global power struggle, with the Selimiye challenging the Hagia Sophia in exactly such mental image constructions. In contrast to literal analyses that merely inquire what buildings and texts concretely meant to people in their own time, a critical analysis of the two structures including their images and power frameworks goes beyond such limiting theorizations of power and reveals that what was achieved with the Selimiye concerns a far larger part of Ottoman building culture: with his aesthetic strategy, Sinan succeeded in developing a general pattern of subversively undermining, incorporating, subduing, and redefining not only the large and well-known, but even the smallest and most remote Byzantine Christian structures within the territory of the Ottoman Empire.

Just as the buildings contained symbolic political and religious meaning, their environments were equally involved in these global contexts. Edirne was emphatically redefined as an imperial space of an Ottoman-Islamic collective through its architecture, which was intensely influenced by the taste of the ruling elite and above all the ability and ambitions of a single architect (who by constructing a self-image and projecting this onto his buildings prefigures modern habits).¹⁵² Sinan was able to realize his encompassing ideas about Ottoman architectural culture in a historical moment of wealth, stability, and well-functioning bureaucracy that provided him with an empire-wide efficient structure and large staff in his workshop, whose exact contribution to the planning of building projects has to be further assessed. Only these factors enabled him to direct an impressively large number of (often simultaneous) building and renovation projects all over the empire, in an area extending

151 Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 171. The emerging notion of the individual artist reflects yet another similarity to Italy, as does the text's style of prose and verse, which, according to *ibid.*, p. 172, resembles Manetti's life of Brunelleschi and Condivi's life of Michelangelo.

152 Yerasimos rightly – and rhetorically – asks whether the true hero in the connection between the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye is Selim II or if it is rather Sinan. In his view, Sinan is neither the servant of the sultan nor the mere instrument of God any more, but an emancipated architect interested in human achievement through knowledge and talent – and thus a truly early modern architect, Yerasimos, *Légendes d'empire*, p. 242.

from Mostar in the Western Balkans to Baghdad and from Yevpatoria in Crimea to Mecca.¹⁵³

After its long history of conquests, Edirne was eminently connected to imperial claims.¹⁵⁴ The city had been a key military base for Ottoman campaigns since 1362, especially against Istanbul and the later campaigns against the West. In this sense, too, Edirne was a highly suitable site for the erection of a mosque as a commemorative monument of victory. When Sinan relates the two buildings, he does not primarily speak about stylistic similarity or mere spatial dimensions, but, first, reveals the crucial role of buildings as triggers for images of power and, second, constructs his own image. Certainly, Sinan referred to the Hagia Sophia having a function as model, and this can be traced to a certain extent in the buildings, as was shown. Centrally, though, he also speaks about the Hagia Sophia as an image and narrative of Christian superiority. Against this background, one-dimensional connections of the two buildings, in which the Selimiye is a mere derivative of the Hagia Sophia – and hence the Ottoman style a mimicry of the Byzantine style with Islamic trappings – is a simplistic and misleading idea in the much more complex context of Ottoman architectural culture.

8 Image and Empire Branding

With the Selimiye mosque, Edirne possesses a highly prominent landmark that is widely visible from afar. Moreover, it illustrates the construction and perception of characteristic city images in the Ottoman Empire by means of architecture and spatial politics. As shown, this comprised not only the erection of new buildings, but also the production of literary topoi and references to the semantic and narrative context of key structures such as the Hagia Sophia. The construction of distinct images that were connected to architectural structures must have changed the understanding of city spaces themselves accordingly. In fact, I argue that one can understand these city spaces in a synthesizing perspective of art historical methods

153 The catalogues of Sinan's works contained in his (auto-)biographies comprise both his original buildings and his renovation projects. The total number of his buildings is unclear, with estimates varying up to 477, Kuran, *Sinan*, pp. 254–267. A large number of these structures either cannot be attributed to him, are unidentified, or have been destroyed, leaving 52 reconstructed or renovated buildings, 25 surviving as ruins, and 195 that are preserved today in their original character, *ibid*, pp. 291–297.

154 Özendes, Engin: *Edirne. The Second Ottoman Capital. A Photographic History*, Istanbul 1999, pp. 12–14.

and branding theory in which Ottoman visual and architectural politics foreground a historical phenomenon of empire branding.

In the past, the term of putting a “stamp” upon the city has been used for this phenomenon in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵⁵ Numerous authors have referred to the creation of visually consistent city spaces without suggesting a more comprehensive theoretical framework or the terminological tools of branding. Crane, in particular, refers to such a process when putting Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul into a comparative perspective, stating that “dynastic imperial or state-sponsored architecture embodying and projecting fundamental values of a particular society and linking them with the power and authority of a ruling elite”¹⁵⁶ were a means of asserting state power, ideology, and legitimacy in the Ottoman context. Thus, in the historical perspective that Crane outlines, the existence of conveyed messages in architecture and urban design has been known for a while. The term of empire branding is chosen here because of its close relation to visual/aesthetic and perceptual strategies. The term is understood as the enterprise of consciously stamping spaces, a process strongly related to the habitus, taste, worldview, and political ideology of a small group of people involved in commissioning and designing imperial architecture.¹⁵⁷ Implications of the concept of branding can fruitfully be understood within an art historical framework, following approaches of place image as well as the construction, imagination, and experience of spatial configurations.¹⁵⁸ Fesenmaier and MacKay define image as a pictorial, spatial, cultural, political, or religious representation:

Image is purported to represent and convey a culture as it is expressed by a selective authoritative voice. [. . . It] is a cultural impression of a place for which cues are used to trigger inferences and influence attitudes.¹⁵⁹

155 E.g. in Eldem, Goffman, and Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West*, p. 207, Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 174, and Günay, Reha: *Sinan. The Architect and His Works*, Istanbul 2011, p. 12.

156 Crane, *The Ottoman Sultan’s Mosques*, p. 173.

157 For an examination of the direct effects of changes in city spaces on this group in the case of Istanbul, Eldem, Edhem: *Istanbul: from Imperial to Peripheralized Capital*, in: idem, Goffman, and Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West*, pp. 135–206, here pp. 135–137, and Eldem, Goffman, and Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West*, p. 208 f.

158 To establish a theoretical framework in historical perspective, one might refer to analyses of contemporary cities and applied terminologies, e.g. by Govers, Robert and Go, Frank: *Place Branding. Global, Virtual and Physical Identities, Constructed, Imagined and Experienced*, Hampshire and New York 2009 and Fesenmaier, Daniel and MacKay, Kelly: *Deconstructing Destination Image Construction*, in: *Revue de Tourisme* 51 (1996), pp. 37–43.

159 Fesenmaier and MacKay, *Deconstructing Destination Image Construction*, p. 39.

Achieved perceptual images thus are part of a larger process including the design of spaces and orchestration of their meanings, their perception and experience, and in many cases the distribution of these images through texts and depictions, e.g. of cities' silhouettes, which frame the city as a medium and emphasize the iconic value of its architecture.¹⁶⁰ This process can be called empire branding. Naturally, for Ottoman times, branding can not be understood as conforming with later capitalist branding strategies, yet visual and architectural strategies employed in the latter of course formed through historic practices. As shown, the sequence of Sinan's buildings does not reveal a completely uniform method of branding (as in corporate architecture, for example). Ottoman empire branding rather frames specific building practices themselves as branding, including the use of an adaptable basic model for mosque buildings as well as methods of establishing accents and hierarchies in space and visual confrontations when moving through the urban and suburban environments.

The approach of empire branding thus highlights theoretical and experiential concepts of Ottoman-Islamic spaces. The perceived impression of an Ottoman city would historically contain specific features that synaesthetically referenced the empire itself – by visual, auditory, kinetic, and olfactory means and the like. As has been shown in the comparison between the Selimiye and the Hagia Sophia, image flows were used to communicate specific power claims regarding past and present. Within empire branding, cities such as Edirne became a medium of the exercise of power and of the self-conception of official Ottoman actors. In order to substantially investigate this approach that deconstructs Ottoman cities, viewing them as discourses and ways of constructing meaning, interdisciplinary theoretical and terminological frameworks will have to be further developed.¹⁶¹ This chapter intends to give an impulse for such a research direction.

The idea of image building for 16th-century Ottoman cities might seem especially problematic in view of younger comparative and deconstructing analyses such as Edhem Eldem's, Daniel Goffman's, and Bruce Masters' volume *The Ottoman City between East and West* (1999). Despite arguing against research that

160 To mention one example, Johann Christoph Wagner included an engraving of Edirne in his *Delineatio Provinciarum Pannoniae et Imperii Turcici in Oriente* in 1684. Comparable depictions of Istanbul are described in the exhibition catalogue on Gaspare Fossati's restoration of Hagia Sophia, Hoffmann, *Hagia Sophia*. The production and meanings of topographical drawings of landscapes and cityscapes by Europeans, as well as the distribution of depictions by the Ottomans, highlights architecture's iconic ability to be an image, which is a central part of early and current branding practices.

161 An informative example for the basic agenda and terminologies of such a project is given in Govers and Go, *Place Branding*, p. 15.

is organized around categories such as the “Ottoman” city, the authors themselves posit an ambiguity about cities like Istanbul, which they consider both quintessential and atypical. They note a singularity of Ottoman cities in the context of narrative accounts.¹⁶² In their conclusion, the authors state that embellishments created the skylines of cities like Istanbul, which were noticeable by their dominating architectural structures. The concept of empire branding addresses how this aspect can be understood and how it was implemented in a way that created a powerful idiom and image for the city. Sinan’s architecture is particularly relevant for this question: it is able to immediately inform us today about the Ottoman past, and in the 16th century, it informed viewers about aspirations for present and future power. A fundamental idiom was created in the 16th century and, in fact, texts from a century before the Selimiye’s execution inform us that contemporaries knew and perceived the concepts of image and idiom, as when the historian Tursun Beg wrote about the new idiom of Mehmed II’s mosque as related to the Hagia Sophia.¹⁶³ Over time, Sinan’s idiom has become such a powerful brand that even contemporary projects from the Çamlıca Mosque (Istanbul) through Sabancı Merkez Mosque (Adana) to the Berlin Şehitlik Mosque and Ankara’s Melike Hatun Mosque still refer to that very style of architecture, following the – on the surface – same visual strategies, yet in a completely changed socio-political and religious context. Not only are these examples similar architecturally, their contemporary designers also still follow Sinan’s strategies of integrating them into the city space, creating branded silhouettes. Such spatial gestures of the incorporation of mosque architecture into topography can be traced back to Sinan’s Süleymaniye crowning the Golden Horn and to numerous other examples of his work. The construction of city images was closely connected to the much-described Ottomanization process, and the outcome of this process bore implications that enabled the continued expression of a distinct Ottoman style in the modern and post-modern eras. The terminology must not be misunderstood, though, as implying the creation of monolithic cities. Indeed, the complex changing of the cities’ appearances comprised reactions to different pasts, population structures (especially connected to different relations between foreigners and the Ottoman government in different cities), geographical locations, geo-historical conditions, and certain categorizations depending on a city’s major function(s) within the Ottoman context. This process was not successful all the time, nor was it able to impose the same “identity” on each city, so that exceptions such as Izmir evolved: a port city whose population always included many non-Ottomans, who influenced its layout in later

¹⁶² Eldem, Goffman, and Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West*, p. 207.

¹⁶³ Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 171.

centuries.¹⁶⁴ Gradually, varying city images reflected pragmatism as well as different historic realities, which neither architects nor central rulers could treat in an overall identical way. What was intended to be “Ottoman” could incorporate diversity and alteration. These notions evolve from what Rabbat calls the “substantial intracultural variety and purposeful continuity within Islamic art and architecture” that was defined by conscious interactions.¹⁶⁵

This seems to be consistent with concepts of Islamic and Ottoman governing and administrative realities.¹⁶⁶ For the multiethnic Ottoman context, a cultural reality described by Thomas Bauer as pluralistic ambiguity¹⁶⁷ can be seen in the subtle incorporation of Mamluk architectural features into newly established Ottoman structures, e.g. in Aleppo. Being positioned on the same street axis, the Ottoman monuments redefined the former style, shifting its aesthetic meaning but still granting it presence. These cities were thus rendered consistent with the Ottoman context. An orchestrated pluralism characterized early modern Ottoman city spaces, marked by distinct urban cultures and identities.¹⁶⁸ While absolute, normative terms such as “Islamic” city or “Ottoman” space are problematic, qualities of cities within a larger framework undeniably exist that one can recognize without overemphasizing them, much less making them the one and only way to read and understand these spaces. Some of these characteristics reach beyond geography and economics, extending to the sphere of aesthetics, in which a distinctively Ottoman urban impress is certainly not the sole defining element. Their Ottoman background is a part of these spaces as are specific typological features or other categories that one might apply to them. It would be another and evidently

164 Eldem, Goffman, and Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West*, p. 209 f.

165 Rabbat, *Islamic Art at a Crossroads?*, p. 79. Obviously, at specific moments in Ottoman history, the intentions of these conscious interactions changed, while the overall phenomenon continuously characterized Ottoman practices. During the 19th century, for example, a new Western modality of art entered Ottoman visual culture, revealing a parallel process, as mentioned here. Shaw, Wendy M.K.: *Ottoman Painting. Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*, London and New York 2011 describes how the Ottoman Empire incorporated materials, methods, and practices of viewing from the West as practices of exchange and translation (rather than direct import). It incorporated forms and modified content to fashion a modern Ottoman Empire to compete with European powers. This began with architecture and architectural images, as shown here, and was followed by painting, which equally signaled a new identity affiliated with Western actors: “Ottoman and early Republican artists worked in a borrowed medium through a system of complex, mutually referential codes.” Ibid, p. 180.

166 The cosmopolitan character of the heterogeneous societies of the Islamic lands in history is shown, e.g., in Armstrong, Karen: *The Holiness of Jerusalem. Asset or Burden?*, in: *Journal of Palestine Studies* 27 (1998), pp. 5–19.

167 Bauer, Thomas: *Die Kultur der Ambiguität. Eine andere Geschichte des Islams*, Berlin 2011.

168 Eldem, Goffman, and Masters (eds.), *The Ottoman City between East and West*, p. 213.

enriching step to connect these (dynastically and politically defined) Ottoman cities in a comparative way to other cities of the globe, especially to Venice. This global approach would reveal yet another perspective, namely, how the function of a city anywhere on the globe produced an aesthetic space that had more in common with its functional equivalent in the Ottoman context than Ottoman cities had in common with each other. This, however, does not call for abandoning the still valid meaning of a city's Ottoman context. Rather, it is crucial to see both the exceptional and the general trajectories and thus the encompassing plural implications of Ottoman city spaces in order to fully understand them.

In this theoretical perspective, Edirne's urban and architectural space accordingly becomes a space of design with implications of image strategies, which are especially relevant in a context in which a centralized bureaucratic apparatus commissioned, organized, and controlled architectural projects over a large geographic territory, which was the case in the Ottoman Empire of the 16th century. This centralized system of empire building as a process of conquering, designing, and ruling enabled to construct and convey an Ottoman image with strong ideological messages to both Eastern and Western competitors, as well as to its own people across a vast territory. A plural and at times ambiguous coherence in the design of city spaces was created. This can be explained by the fact that a city was in situ most often defined by its individual function in the imperial context as well as by its geo-historical context. This did not preclude the construction of coherent city images but, on the contrary, was a decisive part of empire branding.¹⁶⁹ Multiple appearances incorporated certain common features that were able to differentiate Ottoman cities and their collectives from distinct political competitors around the empire's diverse borders and at the same time to condense its urban societies in an empire-wide network, relating them to an overall and negotiable aesthetic idea. This idea had become much more manifest and static in the course of the 16th century, which is why empire branding is especially likely to be relevant for this time.¹⁷⁰

169 For an exploration of the functionally based redesign of city spaces under Ottoman rule, see Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City*, who analyzes the image of Aleppo as an Ottoman trading city framed by imperial architecture that created specific urban experiences.

170 As Necipoğlu shows, when expansion slowed, the Ottoman Empire developed a stronger emphasis on aesthetic distinction from other world powers. Before, however, it had been marked by the ability to culturally and architecturally integrate newly annexed parts with strong influences on similarly integrative aesthetics. Yet, when the empire was no longer based on universal expansion, this focus shifted to a self-display as an orthodox Islamic and Sunni society. For this and its connections to the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and the Shiite Safavids, Necipoğlu, *Life of an Imperial Monument*, pp. 195–197.

9 Conclusion

This paper examined the relationship of the Ottoman Selimiye Mosque and the Byzantine Hagia Sophia in their built forms, literary topoi, and image constructions. The main interest, elaborated in part II, was to provide a coherent, encompassing formal comparison between the architectural structure in Edirne and the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul to gain a better understanding of the Ottomans' creative response to and reformulation of Byzantine – and other – forms that are appropriated in the Selimiye. My thoughts were grounded in the work of Howard Crane and transposed his historical analysis to formal and aesthetic contexts. Such an approach seemed necessary and relevant, given that the architect Sinan himself associated the two buildings and because past Orientalist Eurocentric paradigms depicted Ottoman architecture as peripheral in the global context and as inferior in an artistic hierarchy of peoples – a perception that part I problematized critically. I showed that Ottoman aesthetics, like other aesthetic systems in the field of Islamic culture, rather are to be situated in a more complex matrix of reciprocal connections and the transregional mobility of forms. When Sinan related the two buildings to each other, the Hagia Sophia represented the planning and design skills as well as the construction knowledge of Christian Constantinople as *the* central seat of Christendom, which had maintained the implication of Christian superiority over Muslim society in general. So, the Hagia Sophia posed a specific challenge for the imperial chief architect and his commissioners. After I outlined the most important layout features and external design elements of both buildings, a comparison revealed major challenges that the Selimiye poses, initiating a competitive discourse that is manifest in differences in the handling of forms and overall design. The Selimiye is a much more proportionate, plastic, balanced, and integrated structure that communicates its building system in its exterior design and uses visual strategies through which its dome seems to rise higher than it actually does. Fundamental layout differences between the two differently designed spaces evolve from their specific functions in historic contexts. Whereas the Hagia Sophia architecturally and functionally reflects the Kingdom of God coming down on earth, the Selimiye rises with sultanic, imperial, and religious confidence, constituting an architectural gesture of memory and community in close proximity to a political and ideological competitor. I highlighted distinct functional profiles, following Crane's important suggestion that the uses, the "day to day functions [. . . of] the imperial mosques, gave expression to a set of images in terms of which the Ottoman ruler was able to cast himself as an ideal Islamic prince"¹⁷¹ and that he

¹⁷¹ Crane, *The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques*, p. 227.

was “thus able to garner unto himself an appearance [...] that conferred on him and on his dynasty the aura of legitimacy.”¹⁷² It was thus not only formal aspects or semiotically charged referencing of a certain past and present that connected the Selimiye with challenging meaning and placed it in a context of imperial image construction; patterns of use and the visual perception of the structure in the city’s streets were equally important in this respect. A catalogue of nine characteristic features, to which more may be added, emerged from my in-depth architectural comparison. I elaborated how these features are the key parts of Sinan’s creative response that challenges the Hagia Sophia by visual and aesthetic strategies as well as by means of construction and narrative and that succeed in redefining it. Moreover, the silhouettes of the two cities are equally involved in this struggle – in Edirne, Sinan could place his mosque above the Thracian plateau, letting the structure dominate and define the whole city silhouette. This contrasts with Istanbul’s silhouette being fragmented by a visual competition of major architectural landmarks. As this architecture seems to have been conceptualized from above rather than from a ground plan, the competition of city silhouettes originates in the highest architectural element crowning the cities: the dome. Thus, cities and domed structures were to be perceived from a distance, while ornament functioned as an intra-urban code of vernacular belonging. With this, the Selimiye and what it stands for cannot be understood as a mere peripheral line in Islamic sacred architecture mimicking the Hagia Sophia. I emphasized that this achievement cannot be attributed solely to the Selimiye as a solitary space, but has to be perceived against the background of Sinan’s overall construction of a discernable empire style that seems to be his personal achievement rather than that of a particular commissioning sultan. It is in this sense that he declared that the Selimiye was his masterpiece. While the building is by no means larger or taller than the Hagia Sophia, its implications of image construction, its branding, and its aesthetics constitute a structure that nevertheless surpasses the Byzantine church for Ottoman and Muslim benefit. I therefore carried my argument further in the third part of this paper, marking the strong image appeal of the Selimiye. Within this process, literary narratives were produced in association with the architectural structures. Gülru Necipoğlu, the second scholar on whose research this chapter essentially built, referred to this aspect in competitive discourses as the combination of “subtle quotations and intertextual allusions becoming avenues for creative expression.”¹⁷³ While the Christian Hagia Sophia had been connected to *topoi* that were widely known among the

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Necipoğlu, *Challenging the Past*, p. 170.

Ottomans, a new, powerful, and independent sign of the two themes of universal empire and religion was needed to represent the current empire and its ruler Selim II and to represent Ottoman triumph and Islamic collective belief. It was built in stone and constructed as an image in the Selimiye, asserting the Ottomans' rightful status as heir to the Byzantine Empire, with the Ottoman sultans inheriting the charisma of ancient and Biblical rulers. This act of legitimization included architectural incorporation and conscious image flows that updated narratives about the Byzantine Christian structure, transferring its image into the Ottoman-Islamic context. Likewise, other buildings, skylines, and whole city spaces were connected to this distinct Ottoman image. In fact, Sinan himself possessed a tremendous consciousness of stylization and personal image building, which is revealed throughout his widely dispersed architecture and in his (auto-)biographies. It is likely that he thus refers to the Hagia Sophia in a double sense: as an architectural structure that he aimed to surpass and as a perceptual or mental image that the church (and other churches, especially in the Balkan region) incorporated and that was closely connected to imperial power struggles between two world actors. Both buildings become condensed representatives of their societies, entering this very global power struggle of images. Edirne as a (former) Western border city was a highly suitable site for the erection of a mosque as a commemorative monument of victory, and, at the same time, it was one of the three capitals of the Ottoman Empire that, through architecture, consistently entered a long-distance dialogue with other major cities – which raises questions about the concept of the (one) static capital and rather suggests a much more fluid understanding of what the capital is and where it is located. I concluded by arguing that one can understand these city spaces in the broader sense of aesthetic practices suggesting a synthesizing perspective of art historical methods and branding theory in which Ottoman visual politics describe a historical process that I label empire branding. This term proposes a new theoretical, terminological, and methodological framework for the understanding of historical building processes and the shaping of city spaces in the imperial context of the Ottoman Empire. Applying this to the relationship between the Hagia Sophia and the Selimiye revealed that the question of the aesthetic strategy Sinan established in the Selimiye refers to a subversive pattern of Islamic transformation that immediately also applied to various other structures in the empire, particularly in the Balkans, where one found dominant Byzantine architecture. The strong effect of Sinan's empire branding evolved from his great respect for the Hagia Sophia. At no point does his oeuvre reveal any premature or inadequate imitation of the Istanbul structure. Sinan was conscious that surpassing the Hagia Sophia meant a lifetime of studying the building's key features, while simultaneously practicing his own building skills in diverse topographic and urban situations. His respectful distance is obvious in many of his

buildings: even though the Süleymaniye, for example, is situated in a certain proximity of the Hagia Sophia, viewers on the northern side of the Golden Horn have to turn their heads considerably to see the Byzantine monument. After Sinan's time, building sites on hills became rare and his approach of respectful distance diminished, as can be seen in the Blue Mosque that was built by his student Mehmed Ağa directly vis-à-vis the Hagia Sophia. Sinan's appreciating and refining way of incorporating and finally challenging the Hagia Sophia in an act of creative response enabled Ottoman empire branding to fashion a distinct and powerful visual idiom, with the consequence that the Ottoman imperial mosque has today advanced from being an example of the familiar typology of mosque architecture¹⁷⁴ to the position of *the* quintessential mental image of a mosque.

174 These typologies that fashion schematic groupings of what in reality are highly diverse architectural structures have been outlined in a number of survey books in the past, among them Korn, Lorenz: *Die Moschee. Architektur und religiöses Leben*, Munich 2012; Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture*; Frishman and Khan, *The Mosque*; Pereira, *Islamic Sacred Architecture*; Vogt-Göknil, Ulya: *Die Moschee. Grundformen sakraler Baukunst*, Zurich 1978.

Robin Wimmel

Edirne as a Stopover Destination. The Ekmekçioğlu Caravanserai and the Ottoman Road Network

Edirne has a prominent position in the history of the Ottoman Empire. The notion of the city's Ottoman heritage is justly related to its imperial mosques like the Selimiye and other monuments located mainly in the historic center. However, modern tourists seldom make the short detour to another "classical" Ottoman building situated off the most frequented paths. This chapter focuses on the Ekmekçioğlu (or Ekmekçizâde) Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, a structure closely linked to Edirne's location on a major land route. It addresses the city as a stage and destination on the trunk road to Istanbul in the early 17th century by discussing this impressive caravanserai. To fully understand its extraordinary significance as a historical monument its accommodation on the road and in Edirne, its architecture in this context, and the historic circumstances under which it was build will be examined.

Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Pasha was born in Edirne at an unknown date and died in 1618. He was a high official for Sultan Ahmed I, at whose command he erected the caravanserai, which was completed in 1609/10. This relatively unknown building is an outstanding representative of the travel-related architectural genre of the caravanserai.¹ Caravanserais, along with roads and bridges, form the material evidence of the Ottoman system of long-distance communication, still investigable in various states of preservation. From the travelers, the actors in the system, only written testimony remains. Their accounts are most valuable for our understanding of the complex phenomenon of travel in Ottoman times. To examine the land route connecting Edirne with Istanbul and with Central Europe, this chapter makes use of a selection of illustrative historical textual sources from the 16th and 17th centuries,² supported by rare graphic material on architectural vestiges.

1 This chapter partly bases on research for the author's dissertation *Architektur osmanischer Karawanseraien. Stationen des Fernverkehrs im Osmanischen Reich* (completed in 2015); the thesis, including a catalogue, is retrievable as open access at the Technische Universität Berlin: <https://depositonce.tu-berlin.de/handle/11303/5872>.

2 Among others, Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq and Hans Dernschwam for the 16th century and Maximilian Brandstetter and John Burbury for the 17th century. Sources like Ottoman court records, tax registers, and foundation deeds are of eminent significance for research on a topic like this, especially concerning questions of the dates and patronage of caravanserais. These documents lay the foundations for results in much of the quoted scientific literature. However, these sources usually do not give architectural details.

1 Edirne, an Ottoman Imperial City

Edirne did not vanish into oblivion after the capital was established in Istanbul, but remained attractive to the sultans. The two cities became collaborating parts in courtly life and therefore should not be regarded as two separate entities with one dominating. Edirne's persisting role as royal residence, with a new vast palace area, laid the foundations for its close political, economic, and cultural relationship with Istanbul. The sultans' frequent preference for this city seems to have much to do with their passion for hunting. In the 17th century, in addition to this leisure activity, even official affairs and events that had hitherto taken place in the capital were increasingly held in Edirne. This process was already initiated by Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–1617), the true patron of the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai. The building inscription in fact refers to the sultan's passion for hunting and his stay in Edirne, as we will see below. Three trips to Edirne can be determined, namely in October 1605, in winter 1612/13, and in 1613/14.³ Sultan Ahmed's successors to the throne were likewise drawn to the city surrounded by imperial hunting grounds, and under Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687) Edirne's significance as quasi-state center increasingly challenged Istanbul's position as capital. Mehmed held court in Edirne, and even the circumcisions of the princes, the most important ceremonies representing the power of the House of Osman, were performed there.⁴ In 1703, a complex coalition of dissatisfied military and commercial circles initiated the "Edirne Event" that terminated the city's prominent position. Mustafa II, who held court

3 Ahmed succeeded to the throne at the age of thirteen. The teenager secretly escaped from the Topkapı Sarayı for the first time with only a small escort. He intended to spend the winter in Edirne to go hunting in the surrounding country, like his ancestor Sultan Süleyman, whom Ahmed tried to emulate throughout his reign. Later he wanted to campaign against the Habsburgs. However, after only eight days holding court in Edirne, Ahmed was urged back to Istanbul by the troop commander Nasuh Pasha because of a defeat inflicted by rebels; Börekçi, Günhan: *Factions and Favorites at the Courts of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and his Immediate Predecessors*, Dissertation, Ohio State University 2010, pp. 117–119, https://etd.ohio-link.edu/!etd.send_file?accession=osu1278971259&disposition=attachment, last accessed 1 Sept 2015. For details of Ahmed's activities while hunting, see Çelik, Senol: *Osmanlı Padişahlarının Av Geleneginde Edirne'nin Yeri ve Edirne Kazasındaki Av Alanları (Hassa Şikâr-gâh)* in: *XIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara, 4–8 Ekim 1999. Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, vol. III, part 3, Ankara 2002, pp. 1886–1903; pp. 5–6 in the online edition: http://www.academia.edu/5505842/Osmanlı_Padişahlarının_Av_Geleneginde_Edirne_nin_Yeri_ve_Edirne_Kazasında_Av_alanları_Hassa_Şikâr-gâhı, last accessed 1 Sept. 2015.

4 Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib: Edirne, in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (TDVİA), vol. 10, pp. 425–431.

in Edirne and hunted in the vicinity, was dethroned by rebelling soldiers from Istanbul, who were supported by many civilians.⁵

Edirne's distinguished role also had much to do with its geographical position on a major land route. This ancient route connected Europe with Asia Minor since Roman times and even before. Edirne was situated in a strategic position on this route where the open country that stretches east toward Constantinople meets the mountainous terrain of the Balkan Peninsula. Therefore, it is only logical that Edirne became a base for early Ottoman expansion to the west and later the conquest of Constantinople was launched from this city. The military function of the *Via Militaris*, one of the route's names in Roman times, played an important role in Ottoman warfare. But as will be discussed below, the route served manifold civil and religious purposes, especially if we take into consideration the route's eastward extension beyond the Bosphorus. Edirne's significance stood in direct relation to its connection with other urban centers by this land route. To facilitate travel and to maintain the interconnection of imperial lands, the Ottoman state established an infrastructure along the long distance roads. Caravanserais, the roadside inns for travelers and significant spatio-temporal markers of long-distance roads, were one of the most important elements of this infrastructure. In particular, the section of the road connecting the two abodes of the sultanic court, Istanbul and Edirne, was densely equipped with caravanserais, frequently as components of larger building complexes at the halting places. Evidently, caravanserais marked the course of the road also beyond Edirne to the west as well as beyond the Bosphorus to the east. Edirne, as an integral part of this system of land routes, was connected to nearby places and faraway regions and destinations within the territorially still growing empire. Thus, at the beginning of the 17th century, Edirne was no longer a border town. The lands in every direction had been under Ottoman sovereignty for a long time and the city's obsolete fortifications were in a state of ongoing decay.

2 Ottoman Land Routes

The Ottoman road system consisted of two main parts, the Anatolian and the Rumelian part, each with a middle, a right, and a left branch, in Turkish *orta*,

⁵ Shaw, Stanford: *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. 1, Cambridge 1976, pp. 227–228.

sağ, and *sol kol*.⁶ The Ottoman-Turkish word “Rumeli” here denotes the territories west of Istanbul, i.e., roughly the region called the “Balkans” today.

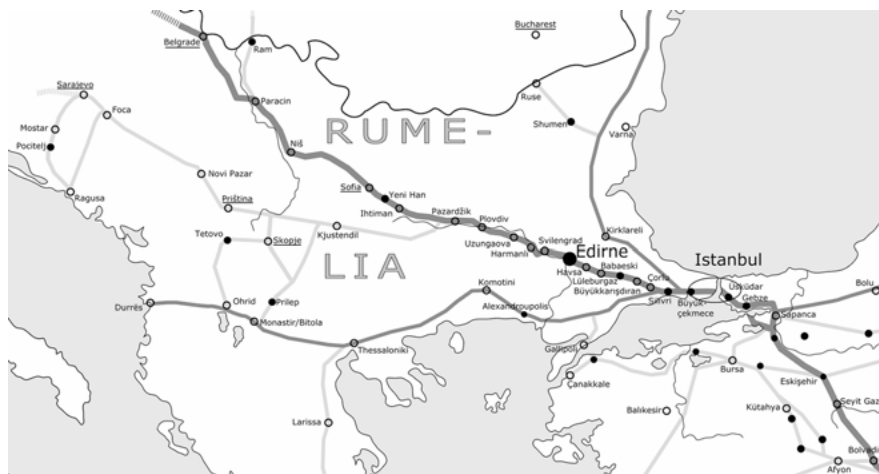


Fig. 1: Edirne in the Ottoman road system. Dark grey: Rumelian middle, right and left branch; Anatolian right and left branch. (Broad: Great Diagonal Road.) Light grey: secondary routes. Dark spots: locations of caravanserais at least partly preserved.

- The Anatolian left branch led through northern Anatolia to Tabriz in Iran. For most of its course, it was a medieval trade route mainly for silk from Azerbaijan (the region in northwestern Iran) that was sold to European merchants in Bursa. Despite many conflicts between Ottomans and Safavids, the silk trade remained significant at least until the mid-17th century.⁷
- The middle branch had a common track with the left branch up to the region of Tokat in central northern Anatolia, from where it took a course toward the southeast, with its terminus in Baghdad.
- The right branch, sometimes called the Diagonal Road, was an ancient track from Byzantium/Constantinople to Tarsus and further to Syria. Like the Via Militaris in southeastern Europe (which was also called the Diagonal Road

⁶ For a summary, see Müderisoğlu, Fatih: *Menzil Roads and Menzil Complexes in the Ottoman Empire*, in: Çiçek, Kemal (ed.): *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilization*, Ankara 2000, vol. 4, pp. 380–388; Yerasimos, Stéphane: *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman (XIV–XVI siècles)*. *Bibliographie, itinéraires et inventaire des lieux habités*, Ankara 1991.

⁷ İnalcık, Halil: *The Ottoman Empire*, London 1973, p. 146.

or Via Diagonalis), many parts of it followed a Roman road.⁸ In Ottoman times, it served especially the Muslim pilgrimage, the hajj. Pilgrims from Anatolia, Istanbul and Rumelia used it to Damascus, where they stayed to gather for the big caravan continuing to the Hejaz. The road also served for purposes of trade and administration, but compared with the Via Militaris it was less significant for warfare.⁹

- The Rumelian middle branch road, the Via Militaris or as it was called in German, the Constantinopler Heerstrasse, was the route from Constantinople/Istanbul to Belgrade.¹⁰
- The left branch likewise partly followed an ancient track. It used the same route as the middle branch up to a junction near Silivri on the Sea of Marmara, from where it took its way to Greece and over the Macedonian mountains to Durrës on the Adriatic Sea, today in Albania. The connection between Constantinople and the port was part of the Roman Via Egnatia.¹¹
- The right branch followed a track parallel to the coast of the Black Sea, crossed the Danube, and further north split toward destinations in Poland and Crimea, the Ottoman vassal state of the Crimean Tatars.

For the Rumelian part of the Ottoman road system, the middle branch became the most important artery for all kinds of traffic. Besides warfare, it served trade, administration, pilgrimage, and last but not least diplomacy. The rich corpus of reports by diplomats and educated members of their entourage provides us with detailed information on this road in various centuries.

The western terminus of the Via Militaris, Belgrade, was firmly ruled by Ottoman power, as was Damascus, the terminus of the Diagonal Road in Syria. Within this range, the routes linked some of the empire's most important urban

8 The track used more frequently in Ottoman times branched off from the ancient route near the Taurus passageway of the Cilician Gates (Gülek Boğazı) to go directly to Adana; for the routes and caravanserais, see Wimmel, Robin: Passing through Cilicia. Sub-regional Caravanserai Architecture in a Geo-cultural Borderland, in: *4^{ème} Congrès du Réseau Asie & Pacifique (proceedings)*, Paris 2011. Download: <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00776181/document>, pp. 2–3, last accessed 14 Mar. 2016.

9 Ottoman campaigns in eastern directions frequently took routes deviating from the roads for civil traffic like the Diagonal Road, see Taeschner, Franz: *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, part 1, Leipzig 1924, pp. 53–54. Taeschner is still outstanding in information about the western and central Anatolian road system in Ottoman times up to the 17th century.

10 For the route in detail in Roman, medieval, and Ottoman times, see Jireček, Constantin Josef: *Die Heerstraße von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe*, Prague 1877.

11 At Selanik (Thessaloniki) was a junction with a road to Euboea and Athens, a less important track.

centers, such as Sofia, Edirne, and Aleppo, with Istanbul as well as with each other.

These two routes taken together can be regarded as one Great Diagonal Road, the main Ottoman highway serving as the Empire's backbone for land communication. The Great Diagonal Road was 2,600 km long. Travelers of the 17th century needed 26 to 30 days to cover the one thousand kilometers from Belgrade to Istanbul and 37 to 39 days for the distance of sixteen hundred kilometers from Istanbul/Üsküdar to Damascus.¹²

3 Decoupling Caravanserai and Khan

From Belgrade to Damascus, the Great Diagonal Road was equipped with public accommodations called caravanserai (a word that was adopted by European languages) or khan (*han*). *Kervansaray* is a Turkish word composed from the Persian *karvan* (caravan) and *saray* (house). Khan is rooted in the Persian word *khāna* for house or room and a common word for inn in Persian or Turkish.¹³

In the following, I will differentiate this terminology, using caravanserai for the roadside inn and khan for buildings in the urban context; all structures were erected by Ottoman patrons if not otherwise indicated. As will be shown, the buildings belong to two different categories with regard to their performance as inn and in terms of their architecture.¹⁴

12 A pilgrim itinerary of Kadri that was probably based on a hajj made in 1647 provides information on the Üsküdar–Damascus track. For a tabular summary, see Coşkun, Menderes: Stations of the Pilgrimage Route from Istanbul to Mecca via Damascus on the Basis of the *Menazilü't-Tarik ila Beyti'llahi'l-'Atik* by Kadri (17th Century), in: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 21 (2001), pp. 307–322. Coşkun hints at the popularity of such pilgrim itineraries and that a good number of them are preserved in the archives. Kadri was a pseudonym of the writer Abdülkadir Çelebi.

13 In this chapter, specific terms and building names (without suffixes) are used as is common in (Ottoman) Turkish, including loans from Arabic or Persian. Khan is an Arabization from Persian *kāhna*, *hān* was used in Persian and Turkish; Crane, Howard: *Risāle-i Mi'māriyye. An Early-Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture*, Leiden 1987, p. 90. Crane deals with the biography of the Ottoman chief architect Mehmed Ağa, a manuscript considered the only Ottoman treatise on architecture. It contains a kind of dictionary of architectural terminology in the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century. Mehmed Ağa may have been the architect of the Ekmekçioglu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, as will be explained below.

14 One of the first scholars to make this distinction was Jean Sauvaget: Caravansérails syriens du moyen-âge I. Caravansérails ayyubides, in: *Ars Islamica* 6.1 (1939), pp. 48–55, here p. 48; similarly Kreiser, Klaus: *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Çelebi. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, Freiburg 1975, p. 156.

The khan was a structure basically used by merchants from other places for longer sojourns, but it also served other kinds of travelers as a hostel.

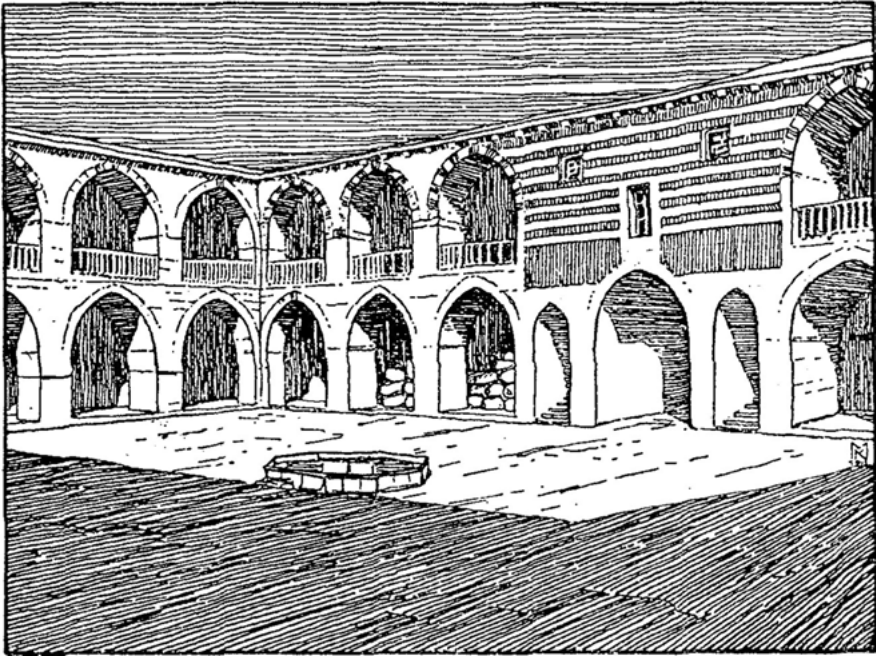


Fig. 2: "Typical" urban khan.

In addition, craftsmen lived and worked in khans. These facilities combined accommodation in individual rooms on one or more upper floors with offices, workshops, and wholesale vending on the ground floor. Thus, the khan is part of the bazaar district of an oriental city, and in many cases a building was named after the kind of goods traded there, e.g. Pamuk Khan when cotton was sold. The multistoried buildings are arranged around a courtyard with open galleries giving access to the rooms. The ground floor may contain magazines or small rooms like the upper floors; a special form holds only stables. More frequently, stables are attached to the khan as an additional small structure. Normally, the commercially operated urban khans were revenue-generating components of pious foundations (sing. *vakıf*) of high Ottoman officials. The rents paid by guests and tenants financed charitable components, like mosques or public kitchens. In many cities, khans are still in use today in the bazaars for their functions for trade and crafts; sometimes they are modernized to serve as hotels.

In contrast to such an urban setting, the caravanserais, as roadside inns, sheltered travelers with their beasts of burden for up to three nights.



Fig. 3: “Typical” Ottoman caravanserai with fireplaces on platforms and chimney stacks on the roof.

The caravanserais’ basic principle was to offer a shared accommodation for humans and animals in one hall; there are no upper floors. Caravanserais usually were erected at halting places (termed *menzil*, which also can mean inn or caravanserai) along the route, commonly in or together with a small settlement. Because cities were stages on long-distance routes, too, caravanserais also exist there, but usually on the outskirts rather than in the bazaar district. They were free-of-charge components of pious foundations frequently endowed by grand viziers; the sultans sometimes ordered their construction, but rarely acted as patrons. These caravanserais were in many cases parts of stop-over complexes comprising also small mosques and facilities serving travelers’ needs, such as soup kitchens. In the 16th century and later, such charitable kitchens were termed *imaret*. However, the meaning of the word was not restricted to this latter function or building; it was used sometimes

(in written form) for an entire halting place complex or for a mosque complex with dependencies in an urban setting.¹⁵

Today, the better-preserved examples of caravanserais have lost their original function, but they are used for all kinds of purposes, in Turkey sometimes in a much altered form as Butik Otel.

The Ottomans adopted the concept of caravanserais from already existing models (e.g. the Anatolian Seljuqs) but developed an own peculiar architecture of diversified forms. Also, with their expansion to the west, the Ottomans introduced this building genre to regions where it did not exist before.¹⁶ Thus, caravanserais were essential to the Ottomanization of the Balkan landscape. Almost none of these buildings, which once numbered in the hundreds, is preserved. In the Rumelian part of the Great Diagonal Road from Istanbul to Belgrade, only six caravanserais exist today, mostly in ruins. Four are located in Turkey (Büyükkçekmece, Silivri, Lüleburgaz, and Edirne) and two in Bulgaria (Harmanlı and Yeni Han). Just five caravanserais in different states of conservation are present on the other Rumelian routes, besides the one mentioned in Greece (see Fig. 1).¹⁷ This critical situation of a comparatively small number of caravanserais preserved in Southeastern Europe reveals the significance of the

15 For the different meanings of *imaret*, see Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005, p. 71. For broader discussions, see Ergin, Nina, Neumann, Christoph K., and Singer, Amy (eds.): *Feeding People, Feeding Power. Imarets in the Ottoman Empire*, Istanbul 2007.

16 I.e., beyond the western edge of the Anatolian plateau. The probably first caravanseraï on European ground was the Evrenos Bey Khan, as a partly well preserved structure located in today's Alexandroupolis in Greece. Founded between 1389 and 1417 it belonged to a route connecting Bursa and Edirne but also to a route from Constantinople to the Adriatic Sea, the Via Egnatia, the road that was to become the Rumelian left branch after the conquest of Constantinople. It was "discovered" by Machiel Kiel, see Kiel: *The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans. The Imaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gümülcine (Komotini) and the Evrenos Bey Han in the Village of in Ilica/Loutra Greek Thrace (1370–1390)*, in: Machiel Kiel: *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, Aldershot 1990, part XIV, pp. 117–138. The construction date is based on parts of the inscription found after Kiel's investigations, see Lowry, Heath W. and Erünsal, Ismail E.: *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar. Notes & Documents on Haci Evrenos & the Evrenosoğulları. A Newly Discovered Late-17th-Century Secere (Genealogical Tree), Seven Inscriptions on Stone & Family Photographs*, in: *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 32 (2008), pp. 121, 124–125. For Evrenos Bey, also see Kontolaimos, Panagiotis: *The Formation of Early Ottoman Urban Space. Edirne as Role Model*, in this volume.

17 Ram in Serbia, Shumen in Bulgaria, Pocitelj in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Tetovo and Prilep in Macedonia. Probably all the structures are from the 17th century (a date for Tetovo is unknown).

Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai as a most rare testimony of Ottoman architecture.

The situation is better in Anatolia and Greater Syria, the two other regions where Ottoman caravanserai-building activity took place.¹⁸ In Turkey, we can identify 53 still existing caravanserais, in Greater Syria eleven (two in Israel, nine in Syria).¹⁹ 22 of these buildings are located along the eastern part of the Great Diagonal Road from Üsküdar to Damascus.

4 Notes From the Road: Historical Travel Accounts

A selection of four historic accounts of the conditions of traveling through Rumelia to Istanbul will provide authentic observations on the experience of lodging in an Ottoman caravanserai. These are the travel accounts of Hans Dernschwam and Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq from around 1550, Maximilian Brandstetter's description of his journey in 1608, and John Burbury's from 1664. As already indicated, written sources are indispensable for our knowledge on caravanserais. Besides the basic fact that a particular caravanserai existed at a certain location, some travel accounts give first-hand information about how these facilities operated. Of special interest are reports that discuss architectural features of the caravanserais. The travelogues quoted here were written by Europeans and are part of a huge volume of manuscripts and books depicting the circumstances in the "Turkish" lands based on travel experiences in the Ottoman Empire.

The first two accounts dating from the 16th century were written by Hans Dernschwam and Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq (also spelled Augier Ghislain de Busbecq), who traveled together for a time. Dernschwam (1494–ca. 1568), in the

18 To estimate a realistic number of all the caravanserais that once existed is extremely difficult. One approach is to work with toponyms. A list of 664 settlements including "han" and 13 including "kervansaray" in their names was established for Turkey; Tuncer, Orhan Cezmi: *Anadolu Kervan Yolları*, Ankara 2007, pp. 107–114. For Bosnia-Herzegovina, a list of 134 toponyms related to "han" was published; Krešeljakoć, Hamdija: *Hanovi i Karavansaraji u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1957, pp. 73–75.

19 This was the case in 2008. At least the Khan Murad Pasha in Ma'arrat an Numan, which hosted an archaeological museum, was destroyed by barrel bombs presumably dropped by the Syrian Army in summer 2015. It had been the best-preserved Ottoman caravanserai in Syria, dating from 1566/67; cf. <https://www.ibtimes.co.uk/maarra-mosaic-museum-suffers-massive-destruction-barrel-bomb-attack-by-syrian-army-1507171>, last accessed 13 Nov. 2015.

service of the banker Anton Fugger before his journey, accompanied at his own expense Franz Zay, the envoy of King Ferdinand I, future Holy Roman emperor (1558–1564), to Constantinople and further to Amasya in northern Anatolia. Dernschwam wrote a diary from June 1553 to August 1555 recording an abundance of details concerning daily life as well as political and geographical information, ancient inscriptions, and even sketches of diverse kinds of artifacts and buildings. Of special significance for historians are his rare observations from 16th-century Anatolia. His manuscript certainly was not written to be published; a few copies existed before a first edition was released only in 1923.²⁰

Busbecq (1522–1592) was a Flemish diplomat and ambassador. Sent by King Ferdinand I to the court of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520–1566), his mission was to reduce pressure on (and possibly to negotiate a truce in) Hungary, which was under massive Ottoman influence. He wrote his report in Latin as a series of four letters (1555–ca. 1562) to an old friend from his student days. Besides descriptions of common life, Busbecq gives much information on his encounters with Ottoman officials. He clearly regards the Turks as opponents, but at the same time speaks with greater impartiality about people and customs than Dernschwam's account, which is characterized by deprecatory bias. Although there were probably not intended to be published, Busbecq's *Turkish Letters* were printed in various editions and therefore attained a wider audience than Dernschwam's diary did.²¹

Hans Dernschwam reports from a period some decades before the construction of the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai. His "caravan" to the court of Sultan Süleyman I comprised ca. 64 persons and 52 horses and thus was smaller than the embassies of the 17th century.²² Dernschwam describes in extraordinary detail the buildings he stayed in, and his account is used as a source here because he also gives general descriptions of public inns. However, it is difficult to draw the line between caravanserai and khan in Dernschwam's

20 Dernschwam, Hans: *Hans Dernschwams Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55). Nach einer Urschrift im Fugger-Archiv*, edited by Franz Babinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923 (reprint 1986). For a recent study edition with the language adapted to modern German, see *Ein Fugger-Kaufmann im Osmanischen Reich. Bericht von einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien 1553–1555 von Hans Dernschwam*, edited by Hans Hattenhauer and Uwe Bake (with an epigraphic supplement by Patrick Breternitz and Werner Eck), Frankfurt am Main 2012.

21 The edition used here is de Busbecq, Ogier Ghiselin: *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554–1562. Newly Translated from the Latin of the Elzevir Edition of 1663 by Edward Seymour Forster*, Oxford 1927.

22 Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 43–44. The numbers are from the account Dernschwam made when he stayed in Constantinople. Five vessels were needed to transport horses and wagons on the Danube in the first part of the journey, *ibid.* p. 4.

account, since he uses only the term “karwasarayen” synonymously for both categories. In the passage quoted below, from which some details have been omitted for better understanding, he seems to start with caravanserai and then passes to khan:

It [the *karwasaria*] is built like a public inn for foreign travelers and military personal, which are found now and then; numerous big and small *karwasarai* are to be found everywhere, in cities as well as in small hamlets. Nowhere in Turkey do inns like in Christendom exist where foreigners and guests have to pay and can stay as long they wish, which is why everybody has to lodge in a *karwasarai*, built by wealthy people like sultans, pashas, and begs and endowed to their mosques, public baths, and *Spitals*.²³ Such a big and long *karwasarai* of the sultan exists in Constantinople, with food distributed free of charge for three days to everyone who has to do business there, as is their custom.

It is impossible to stay in someone's house like in Christendom [...], that's why all merchants and military personnel stay in the *karwansarai* or camps on the fields like gypsy folk must do.²⁴ [...]

Karwan in Turkish means a group of travelers, like merchants, who travel together for security [...] *Saray* means court, castle, palace, and dwelling and also storehouse for goods [*Niederlage*], where a group of foreign travelers can move in freely; one might term it *xenodochium* [i.e., inn or hospice] in Greek, that is an inn [*Gasthaus*] [...]. In such *karwasarayen*, every foreign traveler, whether a merchant, Turk, Jew, or Christian, can stay. They have big stables and multiple chambers with fireplaces, one or more guests have to pay one asper rent per room [...] and for the horse in the stable; they belong to the mosques.

At such *karwasarayen*, hay and barley can be bought; there is also a blacksmith selling horseshoes [...]. The hosts or managers of such *karwasarayen* do not cook for guests, no kitchen exists, everybody buys meals at the “fast food” stands [*Sudelküchen*] or on the market [...]. No women are brought into the *karwasaraien* and one does not travel with women as in Germany. But where one comes with women and prisoners, especially to town, there are special courts where rent is to be paid only for persons and animals by the day and night. Therein nothing more is present, as indicated above.

The revenues of these *karwasaraien* and from elsewhere are endowed to mosques/churches where needy people inscribed by the hoca/priest are fed daily in a house.²⁵

Dernschwam also gives detailed descriptions of the “karwasarayen” he stayed at in Edirne, which will be analyzed further below, and in Istanbul, namely the Elçi Hanı. These buildings had the special form of khans with stables around a courtyard and multiple rooms on an upper floor. It is very likely that rent had to be paid in Edirne and in Istanbul.

Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, who was later joined by Dernschwam, also describes two kinds of public inns. One is a caravanserai chosen because it was

²³ For the term *Spital*, cf. below. p. 165.

²⁴ Travelers stayed in private houses; see for instance Brandstetter as quoted below; p. 167.

²⁵ Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 35–37.

very typical (cf. Fig. 3; the description of how it operated can basically be applied to the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, too), whereas the exact nature of the other inn is slightly obscure:

It is time that I should tell you something of the inns we frequented; you have probably been long expecting an account of them. At Nish [Niš, Serbia] I was lodged in the public inn [*diuorsorium publicū, deversoriolum*, (small) inn], or caravanserai, as it is called in Turkish. It is the most usual form of lodging in these parts, and consists of a vast building, rather long for its breadth. In the middle is an open space for the baggage, camels, mules, and vehicles. It is usually surrounded completely by a wall [a platform] some three feet high, adjoining and built into the outer wall of the building. The top of the low wall is flat and about four feet broad, and serves the Turk for bed and dining table; on it they also cook their food, for there are fireplaces at intervals built into the outer wall. This space on the top of the wall is the only place which the traveller does not share with the camels, horses and other animals; and, even so, these are tethered to the foot of the wall in such a way that their heads and necks project right over it, and they stand there like attendants, while their masters warm themselves and even dine, and at times take bread or fruit or other food from their hands. On this wall also the Turks make their beds, first unfolding a rug, which they generally carry attached to their horse-cloths, and laying a cloak on the top of it. A saddle serves as a pillow, and they wrap themselves up at night in the long robes reaching to their ankles and lined with fur, which they wear in the daytime. Thus they have none of the usual blandishments wherewith to court sleep.

These inns provide no privacy; everything must be done in public, and the darkness of night alone shields one from the sight of all. This kind of inn inspired me with particular disgust; for the Turks kept their gaze fixed upon us in astonishment at our habits and customs. I always, therefore, tried to find accommodation beneath the roof of some unhappy Christian; but their hovels are so small that very often there is no room to place a bed; so I often slept in a tent or in my carriage.

I sometimes lodged in a Turkish khan [*Turcica xenodochia*]. These are most spacious and quite imposing buildings with separate bedchambers [*cubiculis*]. No one is refused admittance, whether Christian or Jew, rich or poor; the door is open to all alike. They are used by Pashas and Sanjak-Beys when they travel. I was always given as hospitable a reception as if it were a royal palace. It is customary to offer food to all who lodge there; and so, when dinner-time arrived, an attendant used to present himself with an enormous wooden tray as large as a table, in the middle of which was a dish of barley-porridge with a piece of meat in it. Round the dish were rolls of bread and sometimes a piece of honeycomb.²⁶

26 de Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, pp. 16–18. I am grateful to Klaus Kreiser for making me aware that the translation of “*Turcica xenodochia*” in the original Latin text to “Turkish khan” in the English version is problematic. The Latin terms are taken from the 1605 edition of *Legationis Turcicae Epistolae quatuor* available online at <https://books.google.de/books?id=wSM8AAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=busbecq&hl=de&sa=X&ved=0CBsQ6AEwADgKahUKewi7p53KIYbJAhXDcQ8KHTHwB3Y#v=onepage&q=busbecq&f=false>, last accessed 13 Nov. 2015.

Conspicuously, both authors use the term *xenodochium* to illustrate their descriptions to the European reader. In the 16th century, the word was probably rather used in its meaning of “hospice” (German *Spital*) than “inn.” Two kinds of hospices usually existed as components of monasteries: one was for lodging all ordinary travelers and pilgrims demanding shelter, while the other was a house for guests of some rank. It is not entirely clear what kind of “Turkish” facility Busbecq is comparing to a *xenodochium*. One possibility is a more sophisticated halting place comprising a caravanserai with multiple guest rooms attached to it or present as an extra component (*tabhane*), combined with an *imaret*. The other possibility is an *imaret* as part of a charitable complex around a mosque with guest rooms but possibly no caravanserai hall. Both facilities provide more comfortable separate rooms (similar to monk cells) and especially the charitable provision with food, as in a Christian hospice. It seems that, like Dernschwam in his comparison, Busbecq also has in mind that the facilities were open to all kinds of travelers. An important difference between the two *xenodochia* is that Busbecq’s is free of charge, very probably not only for food but also for accommodation, and Dernschwam’s is commercially operated. The latter clearly relates *xenodochium* to the special form of the khan as a combination of multiple rooms and big stables.

An open question remains what specific “most spacious and quite imposing” stations Busbecq is thinking of when he speaks of the “Turcica xenodochia.” There were “deluxe” halting places with numerous extra rooms and sometimes even little apartments besides just a caravanserai hall as shelter for man and beast. Büyükkarışdırın, located halfway between Edirne and Istanbul, is the only such station that can be identified with some certainty on Busbecq’s route in the middle of the 16th century.²⁷ His definition also fits perfectly the complex of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha at Lüleburgaz, the third stage after Edirne, but these buildings were erected about twenty years after Busbecq had passed the place. On the other hand, we know about a number of *imarets* on the route²⁸ and also at Edirne that could have served Busbecq for “most convenient” lodging. We will come back to some of these buildings below.

A third important travel account comes from Maximilian Brandstetter (or Prandstetter), who accompanied as secretary the Austrian ambassador Adam Freiherr zu Herberstein, sent to Constantinople in 1608. The diplomatic mission, the first imperial *Grossbotschaft* (great embassy), a pompous self-representation

²⁷ For the buildings in Büyükkarışdırın, see below pp. 196–197.

²⁸ Belgrade, Sofya, Ihtiman, Filiibe, Hasköy, Edirne, Lüleburgaz, Çorlu, Silivri, see Singer, Amy: Mapping Imarets, in: Ergin et al., *Feeding*, pp. 43–55, map 3.

of the House of Habsburg, was to negotiate details of the treaty of Zsitvatorok concluded in 1606 to end the so-called Great War that had started in 1593. Brandstetter reports extensively on the consequences of the treaty and on meetings between the members of the embassy and Ottoman officials while traveling. The itinerary, also written as a diary, gives valuable information about the route and accommodations between Belgrade and Istanbul at the time shortly before the construction of the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanseraı was finished in 1609/10.²⁹ The embassy comprised 110 persons, 15 or 16 stagecoaches, 82 horses for the coaches, two baggage wagons, 12 “Turkish” wagons for presents, and other goods. In addition, many Turkish horsemen and wagons from this escort accompanied the *Grossbotschaft* to Constantinople.³⁰

Maximilian Brandstetter’s text is of special interest here because of the description of how flexible his “caravan” was – or was forced to be – about lodging.³¹ Coming from Vienna, the embassy departed from Belgrade on the Via Militaris on August 2 and reached Istanbul on September 2, 1608. The journey back took place in winter 1608/1609. Brandstetter frequently speaks of caravanserais at certain locations on the route, but the members of the “caravan” stayed in them only reluctantly. Brandstetter describes the buildings as inns without a host, just “horse stables” of different sizes for two hundred horses or more (a number that is plausible for the biggest of the caravanserais) with platforms and fireplaces as places for lodging. He explains that no other inns or hostels existed in “all Turkey.”³² As can be learned from other reports like Dernschwam’s and Busbecq’s, this was not quite accurate, because at least in towns accommodation in khans was sometimes available. Furthermore, it was possible to stay in *imar-ets*, a fact that is also reported by Brandstetter himself, as we will see.

On the journey to Constantinople during the summer, only the horses were sheltered inside the caravanserais, while the men camped outside. Brandstetter

²⁹ For the edited transcription from a 17th-century copy and an introduction, see Nehring, Karl: *Adam Freiherrn zu Habersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel*, Munich 1983. Brandstetter’s original manuscript was destroyed in World War II.

³⁰ Nehring, *Gesandtschaftsreise*, pp. 44, 112. The part of the journey from Budapest (Ofen) to Belgrade was made by navigating the Danube in 13 “big ships of our own” accompanied by 12 Turkish barges; *ibid.*, p. 92.

³¹ For descriptions of different kinds of lodging on the Via Militaris and Via Egnatia compiled from almost a hundred travel accounts, see Vingopoulou, Ioli: *Routes et logements des voyageurs dans la région de la Thrace (XVIe–XIXe siècles)*, in: *The Historical Revue/La Revue Historique*, INR/NHRF 7 (2010), pp. 300–322. Vingopoulou covers the time from the 16th to the 19th centuries; no details are provided concerning the architecture or the mode of operation of caravanserais, khans, *imar-ets*, or other facilities like posting stations and private inns.

³² Nehring, *Gesandtschaftsreise*, p. 113.

writes that with three exceptions the ambassador stayed in a tent or on his wagon. The secretary and the other subalterns slept in leaf huts, under the open sky, or on the wagons as well. In Niš, the ambassador preferred to lodge in an abandoned house outside town, in contrast to Busbecq, who spent his night in the caravanserai.³³ in Sofia, many men were sick and lodged “in houses”³⁴ and in Plovdiv the ambassador stayed in a “beautiful house beside the water.”³⁵ The Turks of the escort used tents for their lodging.³⁶ However, on the way back from Constantinople to Vienna in November/December, even the ambassador and the members of the “caravan” took shelter several times inside the obviously detested caravanserais in the usual manner by sharing the hall with the horses. They did so in Büyükçekmece (today part of Istanbul) and Kazali,³⁷ Batočina and Smederevo,³⁸ Hisarlach,³⁹ and Prhovo.⁴⁰ Because of heavy snowfall, even the Turkish escort preferred to stay inside.

Last, John Burbury, who accompanied another embassy, reports on a journey from England to Constantinople made in 1664.⁴¹ Burbury was a member of the entourage of an English diplomat and an Austrian ambassador to the court of Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687). The travel company comprised nearly two hundred wagons. His account is quoted here because Burbury gives a rare detailed description of an identifiable caravanserai just one stage west of Edirne that is lost today. Like Ahmed Pasha’s foundation, it is of the distinct double-stay type that will be treated below.

The next place was *Mustapha-Basha-Cupri* [Mustafa Paşa Köprüsü (Bridge), today Svilengrad in Bulgaria], where there is a Royal *Han* or Caravansaria which I thought to describe in my return from *Constantinople*, for in our passage thither we lay without the Town, in the open Fields in Tents, or in waggon. But this Structure being Regal, and the best I have seen, I think it now best to acquaint the Reader with it, who may easily fancy a spacious Oval Court, and opposite to the Gate that leads in, a high and stately Porch, on both sides of which, a Building as vast, as magnificently cover’d with Lead, is presented to the Eye. ’Tis supported by four and twenty Pillars of Marble, which are of that bigness, they cannot be fathom’d, and resembles two huge Barns joyn’d together, as aforesaid.

³³ Ibid, p. 114.

³⁴ Ibid, p. 116.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 119.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 115.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 171, Kazali, one stage after Harmanlı in present-day Bulgaria.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 174.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 175, Hisarlach/Hisarcik near Belgrade.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 178, beyond Belgrade.

⁴¹ Burbury, John: *A Relation of a Journey of the Rt. Hon. Henry Howard from London to Vienna and thence to Constantinople*, London 1671.

Within on each hand, besides the main Wall (where the light comes in at several little Slits) is a Wall two Cubits high, and as broad, and about some ten foot distance from each other, several Chimneys are erected for the service of Passengers, as well to dress their Meat, as to warm them in the Winter. The said Wall serves for Bedsteads, for Tables, Stools and other Conveniencies, which the common Inns in *Christendom* afford. There are no Partitions, but all things clear and obvious to others, when you eat or lye down, and the same Roof is for Camels and Horses, as I said before, which are ty'd to Rings fastened to Posts. 'Tis easily to be imagined what sleep and repose the weary Travellers may expect, and what smells and what noises he must be subject to. At the Gate, Hay and Barley (for I saw no Oats in *Turky*) and Wood too are commonly sold, but the provision for the Horses is ordinarily the best, for besides ill bread, and Wine (which is usually good) if the Travellers meet with any Flesh or Fish, they must dress it themselves, if they have no Servants with them. These are the Inns in *Turky*, and the place takes the name from *Caravana*, which is a Company that travel together, for 'tis not safe in *Turky* to travel alone. This place is likewise famous for an excellent Bridge of white Stones, which resembles that of *Ratisbone*, or *Prague*, as well for the breadth as the length.⁴²

All these statements have the common purpose of conveying an idea of the “Turkish” inns to the European reader. Some depict a specific building as an example, while others draw conclusions in a more general way. Dernschwam puts his descriptions in the broadest functional and especially economic context and even provides linguistic information, but gives the fewest details on architecture, at least on this occasion. Dernschwam elucidates relations in caravanserai operation that cannot be comprehended from the architectural appearance alone. However, the fact that he does not clearly distinguish between a charitable caravanserai and a commercial khan poses a problem, because most readers would not know the difference. Busbecq gives a very lively depiction of the common roadside inn by describing the basic architectural features in direct combination with how the guests used them. He puts his own experience of discomfort and comfort in the center but, compared with Dernschwam, neglects the background of the business. Yet Busbecq's report is important for imagining and understanding the conditions of lodging when we look at a monument like the Ekmekçiöğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai today. Brandstetter's report treats one of the largest numbers of caravanserais noted by any author on his journey on the Rumelian middle branch. Brandstetter's depiction of the alternatives that were often preferred to a stay inside a caravanserai adds much to our knowledge about traveling in Ottoman Southeastern Europe. Burbury, writing more than a hundred years later, still confirms Busbecq on details of the use

⁴² Burbury, *Relation*, pp. 138–142. This description also greatly resembles that of the caravanserai in Harmanlı, one stage further west on the Rumelian middle branch route, which will be treated in section seven.

of certain furnishings in a caravanserai. More important is that he describes another building of the group of double-wing caravanserais and he twice emphasizes that it is “Royal.” This may be not only because of the building’s impressive architecture, but also due to its use for hunting parties of Sultan Mehmed IV.⁴³ These sources will be revisited repeatedly in the following chapters.

5 Arriving in Edirne

Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq gives a compact description of Edirne on his arrival in winter 1554:

It is situated at the junction of the Maritza, or Hebrus, and the smaller rivers Tundja and Arda [...] The extent of this city, as enclosed by the ancient walls, is not very great; but it has spacious suburbs, the buildings of which, added by the Turks, greatly increase its size.⁴⁴

No fundamental changes seem to have taken place until the 17th century. The city’s shape was “Ottomanized” by the end of the 16th century at the latest, with the Selimiye Mosque and its four minarets as the crown of the city already visible from afar. Maybe of greater significance for the city was that it enjoyed renewed favor as an abode of the sultanic court, as reported by Brandstetter, who arrived in Edirne in summer 1608:⁴⁵

Adrianople, as can still be seen by the ancient ring of walls, strong towers, and decayed buildings, was once a beautiful big and fortified city, built by the Roman emperor Adrian; however, now, on this road to Constantinople, it is still the biggest *et altera sedes imperialis Turcica*; there are mainly merchants and all kinds of trade, and in part the city walls still stand, but are decayed in many places, and, like other cities and castles, the Turks have not preserved a single building, so there is no city gate that could be locked. The city outside the walls is bigger than inside, all in all almost as big as Prague.⁴⁶

43 The architecturally similar caravanserai in Harmanlı, one stage further west, served the sultan when hunting, see Teply, Karl: *Die kaiserliche Großbotschaft an Sultan Murad IV. 1628. Des Freiherrn Hans Ludwig von Kuefsteins Fahrt zur Hohen Pforte*, Vienna 1976, p. 67. Both caravanserais are discussed below in the final section.

44 de Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, p. 24.

45 The sultan’s short stay in Edirne and the reference in the building inscription of the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai were mentioned above, see p. 153. However, it is possible that Brandstetter is alluding to the city’s past role as capital.

46 Nehring, *Gesandtschaftsreise*, p. 120.

In the following decades, Edirne maintained its general appearance and the vitality of an important economic and administrative city. The new Ottoman residential quarters flourished and the fortifications certainly became even more obsolete. Giovanni Benaglia writes from his visit, probably in April 1680:

All around here [in Edirne] can be seen how the land is worked by buffalo, and if one is going up on a long paved way alongside a hill, one could observe the suburbs, which are embellished with so many neatly cultivated gardens. One also passes on a stone bridge over the Maritsa, with which not far away Tunca and Arda unite, and some nice small islands form at the city, which is quite big, very populated, and fortified only with an old wall, with some mostly collapsed towers.⁴⁷

Only few remains of the fortifications are left, but the walled precinct as the old core, called *kaleiçi* (inner castle), is still readable in the city's layout today. The Ottoman extensions, mainly to the north and east, called *kale dışı* (outside the castle), comprised two layers: the new center as a combination of socio-religious and commercial functions and the surrounding residential quarters. The second outer layer thinned out toward the periphery, the area chosen for the Ekmekçiöğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai. There the houses were combined with gardens, as mentioned by Benaglia, which was the preferred form of Ottoman settlements.

Besides an Old Palace in *kale dışı*, the New Palace was established in the north on grounds outside the city on an island formed by the Tunca. Murad II began construction in his second reigning period (1446–1451).⁴⁸ The palatial complex was subsequently enlarged and finally became a kind of town of its own with up to ten thousand people living there at the end of the 17th century.⁴⁹ Badly damaged in the wars of the 19th century, today the area of the New Palace is being archaeologically investigated and restored.⁵⁰

Another important complex was also built outside the city on the banks of the Tunca. A little downstream from the New Palace, Sultan Bayezid II founded a Friday mosque, inscribed with the date 1488, with *medrese*, hospital

⁴⁷ Benaglia, Giovanni: *Außführliche Reißbeschreibung von Wien nach Constantinopel (etc.)*, Frankfurt am Main 1687, pp. 39–40. Benaglia was the secretary of the Habsburg envoy Albrecht Caprara. They set out from Vienna with 80 persons in 17 vessels (two of them for horses and coaches) on the Danube in January 1680. For the journey from Belgrade to Constantinople, 70 wagons with wagoners were acquired: “These have very big wheels, are drawn by three horses, covered with braided mats or ‘Kotzen,’ are by the way very slender, but go at high velocity,” *ibid.*, p. 29. In April 1680, the “caravan” arrived at Edirne. See also below p. 179.

⁴⁸ Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib: Edirne, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, vol. 2, pp. 683–686.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ See Riedler, Florian: The Resurrection of Edirne's New Imperial Palace as National Heritage, in this volume.

(*dariüşşifa*), *imaret* (in the sense of a soup kitchen), and accommodation for guests (*tabhane*). We will also revisit this complex.

Approaching Edirne from the west on the Rumelian middle branch road, a traveler entered the city by crossing the Tunca over the Mihal Bridge.⁵¹ Probably travelers passing through did not set foot in the walled “inner castle,” but bypassed it on its northern and eastern flanks to reach the new city quarters and stay there in the various kinds of khans or caravanserais before continuing their journey. A track on the western and southern side alongside the bank of the river seems unlikely because of the frequent heavy floods.

From the east, the city was approached on the Rumelian middle branch road, termed Istanbul Road (İstanbul Yolu), which connected the capital with Edirne. The map from 1854⁵² (Fig. 4) shows that the road entered the suburbs of Edirne quite abruptly. This shift from fields and garden land, today replaced by large-scale facilities like Trakya University, a stadium, and industrial sites, was located ca. 200 meters east of Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa’s caravanserai at the Kadı Bedrettin Mosque.⁵³ Today the Istanbul Road is a multi-lane highway, called Talat Paşa Street, that was broken straight through the grown city fabric, leading to a roundabout at Eski Cami, taking a turn there to the west, and following the “northern bypass” to a new bridge parallel to the Mihal Bridge. Originally, the course of the Istanbul Road through Edirne was different. The old road, now called Old Istanbul Road (Eski İstanbul Caddesi), branches off from Talat Paşa Street at the Kadı Bedrettin Mosque. From the caravanserai on, the way to the center follows an escarpment that ascends slightly to its north. This old main road once met the eastern *kaleiçi* bypass at the place before the Fish Market Gate (Balık Pazarı Kapısı) at the center of the eastern wall.⁵⁴ Through-traffic certainly avoided, as far as possible, the inner bazaar as well as the *kaleiçi* area, but an inevitable narrow passage could have been the street from this gate up to the northeastern corner tower of the *kaleiçi*, the only one preserved, known by various names such as Macedonian, Clock, or Fire Tower

51 Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, p. 47, a restored Roman construction. Mehmed I started repairs in 1420; Kreiser, *Edirne*, pp. 194–197.

52 Yerolympos, *Alexandra: A Contribution to the Topography of 19th Century Adrianople*, in: *Balkan Studies* 34 (1993), fig. 1.

53 Built in 1530, altered after several earthquakes; http://www.edirnevdb.gov.tr/kultur/kucuk_camiler.html, last accessed 13 Nov. 2015. See also Dijkema, Fokke Theodoor: *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne*, Leiden 1977, no. 27.

54 For the gates and towers, see Kreiser, *Edirne*, appendix with maps. See also Kontolaimos, *Early Ottoman Urban Space*. According to Kontolaimos, the place was the area of a Byzantine suburb already serving commercial activity. For this it was called Emporion, and the main market was located here in late Byzantine times.

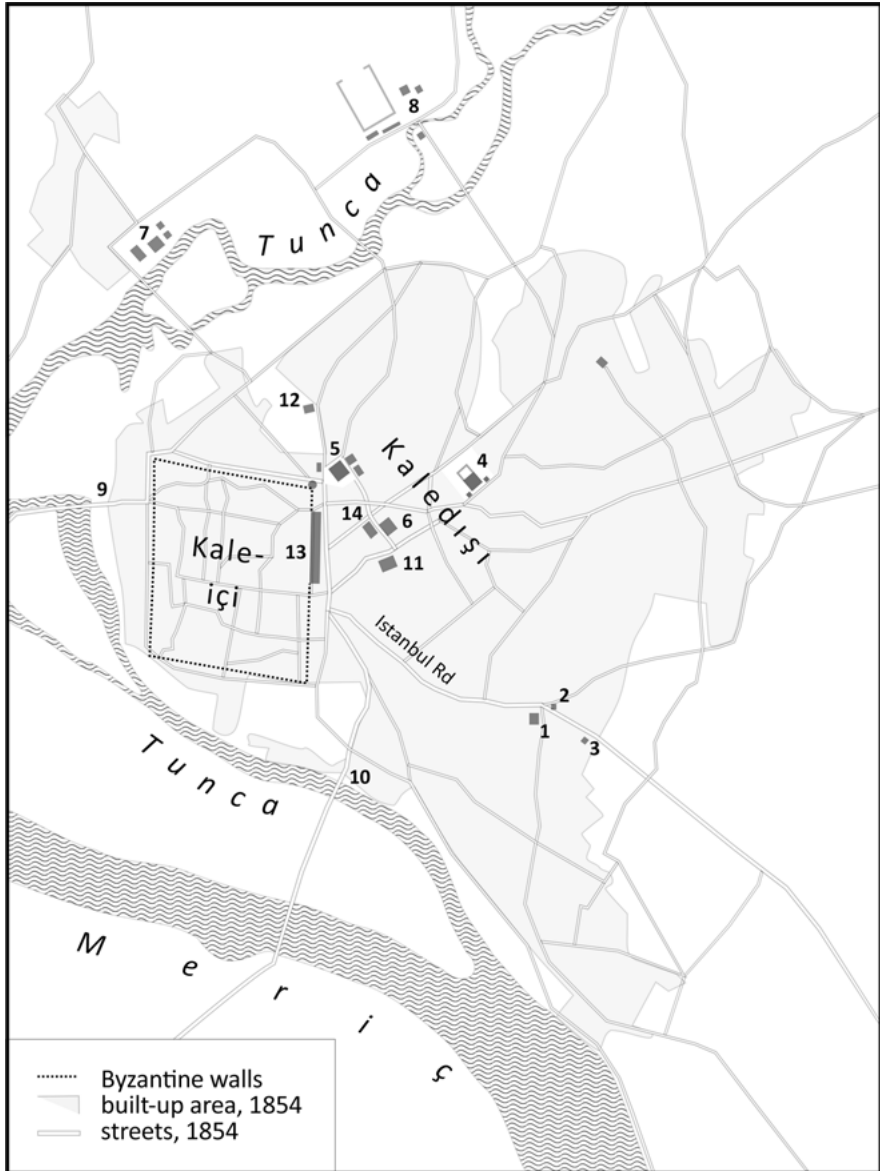


Fig. 4: Plan of Edirne in 1854: 1) Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, 2) Ayşe Kadın Mosque, 3) Kadı Bedrettin Mosque, 4) Selimiye, 5) Üç Şerefeli Mosque, 6) Old Mosque/Eski Cami, 7) Sultan II Bayezid Complex, 8) New Palace, 9) Gazi Mihal Bridge, 10) Old Bridge/Ekmekçizade Ahmet Paşa Köprüsü, 11) Rüstem Pasha Khan, 12) Devinci Khan, 13) Ali Paşa Çarşısı/Market, 14) Bedesten.

(Makedonya, Saat, or Yangın Kulesi). Here city life culminated with the Ali Paşa Market, probably the Ali Paşa Caravanserai, the Taşhan with the adjacent big hamam, and the Üç Şerefeli Mosque.⁵⁵

6 Where to Lodge in Edirne?

Edirne was not just another ordinary stage *en route* to Istanbul. From the travel accounts quoted above, we know that their authors were well aware of the city's economic and political significance and were impressed by the number of its large Ottoman monuments. However, in the layout of the flourishing city sketched above, obviously no area or zone existed that functioned exclusively as the halting place (*menzil*) for passing caravans before Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Pasha constructed his caravanserai in 1609/10. So where did travelers stay with their mounts, wagons, and beasts of burden when making a halt at Edirne? As will be shown, Edirne provided a large choice of khans and other alternatives for lodging, but there is no definite evidence for the existence of other caravanserais besides Ahmed Pasha's foundation. Even if information from the accounts is limited, there are hints that the guests from abroad were channeled to this new facility from the time it commenced operations.

Evliya Çelebi states that a total of 53 khans and caravanserais existed in Edirne and lists 23 "world-famous" ones by name.⁵⁶ Because he uses the terms khan and caravanserai synonymously, it is not clear which category a structure

⁵⁵ Kontolaimos hints at a shift of the terminus of the road from Constantinople to the center of the new Ottoman bazaar. He states that there was a modification of the street network due to the construction of the New Bedesten as the city's economic hub in 1418 (constructed between 1411 and 1413; Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 169.) The west end of the road was now relocated from the place at the gate to the new center and thus bypassed the old Byzantine quarter, cf. Kontolaimos, Panagiotis: *The Formation of Early Ottoman Urban Space*. Edirne as Paradigm, in this volume. Merchants who had to do business in Edirne certainly went to the new center, but for caravans in transit this is unlikely. The 1854 map (Fig. 4) does not indicate this shift in the terminus, but only the old main road leading to the center of the eastern wall.

⁵⁶ Evliya Çelebi is the author of an extensive manuscript known as *The Book of Travels* (*Seyahatname*). The text is a primary source for the study of Ottoman history and at the same time the subject of studies itself. Evliya (born 1611, died after 1683) traveled throughout the Ottoman Empire on various missions for more than forty years. For a biography and commentary on the *Seyahatname* (with extensive references to the editions and further bibliography) by Klaus Kreiser, see <https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historian/evliya-celebi>, last accessed 13 Nov. 2015.

belongs to. Evliya introduces his account by “praising the caravanserais (*karbansaray*), inns for travelers, the gratuitous buildings, i.e., the big caravanse-rais for the sake of God.”⁵⁷ From this we can deduce that he does not include the commercially operated khans. In a later part of his manuscript, Evliya starts to list the “merchant-khans” (*han-ı hacedan*); conspicuously, he again counts 53 buildings altogether. However, after the first khan whose name is omitted, “inhabited mainly by very wealthy businessmen” (*anka bazırğanlar*), the list abruptly ends. So it is plausible that Evliya mixes charitable and commercial inns in his account of the “the gratuitous buildings.”⁵⁸

Kreiser did not identify the exact function and location of all 23 khans and caravanserais. Five of them likely engaged in commercial activities like the sale of food or crafts. The lost structures İmaret Khan and Ali Paşa Caravanserai may have been operated as free-of-charge inns. Only the name of the İmaret Khan indicates an affiliation with a charitable facility.⁵⁹ In the foundation deed, the Ali Paşa Caravanserai is termed a “large inn (*menzil*) with stable, three shops, and a vacant area (*boş bir arsa*).” It was designed by the famous Chief Architect Sinan for the grand vizier Semiz Ali Pasha between 1561 and 1565.⁶⁰ The emphasis on the large size and the presence of a stable and a vacant area suggests that it functioned to accommodate caravans. This complex may have been located very close to the market founded by the same patron outside the northeastern corner of *kaleiçi*.⁶¹

Only two structures from Evliya Çelebi’s list still exist today: the Rüstem Pasha Khan and the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai.⁶² The Rüstem Pasha Khan is comparatively famous. This spacious building, too, was designed

⁵⁷ Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 156. The identification and location of the 23 khans and caravanserais are discussed in detail in *ibid.*, pp. 154–165. Evliya’s report is based mainly on his first visit to Edirne in 1653; *ibid.* pp. XXII–XXIII.

⁵⁸ Kreiser suggests that Evliya first made a draft of the manuscript intending to give two distinct lists but later changed this plan; *ibid.*, pp. 165–166.

⁵⁹ However, the name could also refer to a location in one of the two city’s western quarters, Orta İmaret or Yeni İmaret; *ibid.*, p. 163.

⁶⁰ Küçükkaya, Gülcin: Mimar Sinan Dönemi İstanbul – Belgrad Arası Menzil Yapıları Hakkında bir Deneme, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* 21 (1990), pp. 183–253, here p. 208. Mimar Sinan was chief of the royal corps of architects 1539–1585; on this institution see Necipoğlu *Sinan*, pp. 153–160.

⁶¹ From his reading of the *vakfiye*, Küçükkaya gives the location opposite to the Ali Paşa Çarşısı; *ibid.* Kreiser, while assuming with some certainty that Evliya’s and Sinan’s caravanse-rais are indeed identical, states that the *vakfiye* does not tell about the location; Kreiser, *Edirne*, pp. 157–158.

⁶² Evliya also lists an Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Han; Kreiser located remains of it at Yediyoğaz (between Eski Cami and Selimiye); *ibid.*, p. 161.

by Sinan for Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (d. 1561). It consists of two parts called “big” and “small” Rüstem Pasha Khan. The large part had about seventy small rooms with fireplaces around a courtyard on two stories. The little one had mainly stables and latrines around a second courtyard and small rooms on the upper floor. The building originally served the trade in silkworm cocoons.⁶³ It was restored to be used as a 150-room hotel in 1972 and won the Aga Khan Award for Architecture for the restoration of the monument. Its façade with shops aligned on ground floor level is the scenic backdrop to a square with the Eski Cami and the Bedesten on its other flanks.⁶⁴

We also know about khans that were not included in Evliya Çelebi’s account. Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579) erected two khans in Edirne. The Taşhan was built together with Sokollu’s hamam west of the Üç Şerefeli Mosque in 1568/69. Like the *hamam*, it is present today in a much mutated state and serves as a hotel. It still has some characteristics of a khan (façade, fireplaces in the rooms), but having an L-shaped plan, its courtyard is partly closed by the adjacent *hamam*. The second khan was known as Sokollu Khan, but does not exist anymore. It was built one year later, nearby in the Kızılminare Mahalle, a quarter around Kızılminare Mescit,⁶⁵ north of the Üç Şerefeli Mosque. It seems to have contained many small rooms, like the Taşhan. Both khans were designed by Sinan.⁶⁶

A fourth existing khan is the Deveci Khan, today used as a culture center. Well preserved but certainly altered and restored, it is located on Hükümet Caddesi, 250 meters north of the Üç Şerefeli Mosque.⁶⁷ It has the characteristic plan of a khan: two stories around a courtyard with galleries giving access to approximately 31 rooms on the upper level. The original layout of the ground floor is unknown, so it is uncertain whether it had had one big stable around the courtyard or smaller spaces like the rooms on the upper floor. A most striking feature consists of four round window openings with ornamented stone grilles on the ground floor level of the khan’s street façade on both sides of the portal. This kind of window may indicate the original presence of a big stable on the ground floor. The building’s original purpose is disputed. According to one opinion, it is an early 15th-century example of a khan; according to

⁶³ Ibid., p. 160, note 1.

⁶⁴ The site was the location of an “iki kapılı han” listed by Evliya Çelebi; *ibid.*, pp. 156, 162. An old photograph shows the complete ensemble; Özendes, Engin: *The Second Ottoman Capital Edirne. A Photographic History*, Istanbul 1999, p. 45.

⁶⁵ Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 66.

⁶⁶ Küçükkaya, *Menzil Yapıları*, pp. 210–211.

⁶⁷ The building is visible in a photograph from ca. 1890; Özendes, *Edirne*, p. 44.

another, it was built to serve as an archive for official records (*defterhane*). An inscription from 1847 above an additional entrance on the south side refers to its reuse as a prison until the mid-20th century; in point of fact, the building is still known as Old Prison (Eski Hapishane).⁶⁸

All of these buildings lie within the new Ottoman city center, the inner layer of *kaleđışı*. The only obvious exception is the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, the only roadside inn purposefully built on the eastern periphery.

In most cases, the written sources are silent about where their authors took shelter on their sojourn in Edirne. Yet, some European travelers already introduced above provide at least some hints. Two refer to diverse kinds of accommodation before the completion of Ahmed Pasha's caravanserai; three travelers report from a date after that, and indeed, two of them mention with certainty this very caravanserai as the place they stayed. Finally, Evliya Çelebi gives an enthusiastic report on the building, but not telling whether he actually lodged in Ahmed Pasha's caravanserai or somewhere else.

In 1553, Hans Dernschwam stayed with the big entourage of the Austrian envoy, which included many horses and wagons, for one night and half a day in a khan in Edirne. He terms the building "karwasalia," as he does synonymously for all the roadside inns he mentions in his itinerary. Located on a hill in the city, it was built by a pasha "for himself" as well as alien "ramblers." The detailed description given by Dernschwam leaves no doubt that it was an urban khan, two stories high, with the special layout of stables on the ground floor. Built as a single unit encompassing the courtyard, this stable served for "600 horses or more," a number that seems to be exaggerated. The floor of the upper story was made of timber with supporting stone columns; a gallery could be reached by four wooden staircases. 56 chambers were arranged one next to the other around the courtyard like "monk cells" (*munichs cellen*). Each had a fireplace and was built of wood against the higher outer wall, which obviously was of stone. Craftsmen, mainly cobblers, all of them bachelors, lodged in the chambers.⁶⁹ Evliya Çelebi confirms that unmarried men lived in special khans in Edirne. He states that 70 such facilities existed and mentions two of them by name. One was the bachelor home of Zağanos Pasha between the Old Medrese

⁶⁸ Dijkema, *Inscriptions*, no. 117 with the information that the structure was originally built to serve as "land register archives of the Vilayet Office (Hükümet Konağı)," giving a historian from the 19th century as source. See also: <http://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/genel/gezilecekyer/deveci-hani-eski-hapishane>; <http://www.edirnevdb.gov.tr/kultur/hanlar.html>, both last accessed 13 Nov. 2015.

⁶⁹ Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 24–25.

(which was located at the Üç Şerefeli Mosque)⁷⁰ and the courthouse; the other was Daya Kadın (he mentions no location). Evliya claimed that 1,000 cobblers lived in the first building, shoemakers in the second.⁷¹ It is unclear whether Dernschwam and his fellow travelers stayed in such a khan of bachelor cobblers or whether he indeed stayed in precisely this khan described by Evliya. Even if Evliya's number of 1,000 cobblers can hardly be true, it must have been a spacious building. The 56 chambers counted by Dernschwam are a comparatively large number,⁷² and it is possible that for just this reason the khan was able to host Dernschwam's caravan in addition to its usual inhabitants. The Elçi Hanı (Ambassador Khan) in Istanbul, which served him as a home for his long stay from fall 1553 to spring 1555, was, as its name indicates, more specific concerning its guests. Its floor plan was similar to the building in Edirne, but Dernschwam counted only 42 rooms.⁷³

In the year 1608, when the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai must have been under construction, Maximilian Brandstetter stayed in Edirne for two days. In his description of the city, Brandstetter mentions neither caravanserais nor khans, but the "Spital" of Bayezid II as an inn. He states that all traveling people could lodge there and get food and drink for three days "as it is their custom," which certainly means free of charge.⁷⁴ Brandstetter also mentions that food was served twice every day to people who came for it, and even sick persons could pick up medicine prepared by special staff. The facility termed "Spital" is not directly integrated into the famous hospital component of the complex of Bayezid II. Certainly Brandstetter is referring to the two free-standing buildings containing a kitchen combined with refectory (*imaret*, soup kitchen or hospice) and spaces for other services like a stable (or even a small caravanserai hall). Multifunctional rooms that could be used as guest rooms (*tabhane*) are attached to the mosque, evoking the early-Ottoman T-type plan of

⁷⁰ Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 74.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 166. Giovanni Benaglia lodged in a "han" with many tailors at Plovdiv in 1681; Benaglia, *Reißbeschreibung*, p. 38.

⁷² This approximately matches the number of rooms on the upper floor of the big and small Rüstem Pasha Khan taken together, which in its construction deviates remarkably from the building described by Dernschwam. The assumption sometimes made that he stayed in the Rüstem Pasha Khan is therefore implausible.

⁷³ For the description, see Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 37–41, further references by Babinger, p. 283, note 191.

⁷⁴ "[E]in gestiftet Spital, da man alle fürraisende Leuth zur Herberg einnimbt und drey Tag Essen und Trincken gibt nach ihrer Arth;" Nehring, *Gesandtschaftsreise*, p. 121.

zaviye mosques. It is tempting to assume that Brandstetter's caravan camped around the *imaret* with the envoy lodging in his own room.⁷⁵

John Burbury, who gave the detailed account quoted above of the caravanse-
rai at Mustafa Paşa Köprüsü, the last station before reaching Edirne from the
west, spent about one month in Edirne in summer 1664. At first, the embassy
camped in tents for two days "within two hours of Adrianople [...] near the
Banks of the River *Hebrus* [Maritsa/Meriç]." Burbury describes minutely the dip-
lomats and their entourage, which "passed to the City of *Adrianople*, through the
midst of the *Ottoman* Camp, by the *Grand Visier's* Tent, and near the *Serraglio*."
He continues: "[W]e came to our Quarters, which were in the Suburbs on the
other side of the town."⁷⁶ From this can be deduced that Burbury and his co-
travelers first stayed at some distance outside the city, approached it coming
near the *serail* located to the northwest on an island of the Tunca, and then
moved for their longer stay to a southeastern suburb, maybe to the Ekmekçioğlu
Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai. However, Burbury left Edirne for Havsa, the next stop
on the way to Constantinople, "passing the River Hebrus, over a great and long
Bridge, march'd by the Turkish Camp."⁷⁷ This is quite puzzling, because no river
has to be crossed going from Edirne to Constantinople via Havsa. Having given
the military camp near the *serail* as the only clear location, passing it again
would have meant leaving the city traveling westward.⁷⁸

Finally, the two authors Jakab Nagy de Harsány and Giovanni Benaglia men-
tion a stopover in Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai. They traveled in the
time of Sultan Mehmed IV, called the Hunter (Avcı, r. 1648–1687). Unfortunately
they did not care to report any architectural details, as Dernschwam frequently
did. Jakab Nagy de Harsány writes:

At Edirne and Eskibaba, I saw inns [*haneler/aulas/Gasthöfe*] where travelers of all prove-
nances and all creeds are given accommodation, food, beverages, fodder for the horses,
hay entirely without money. We stayed with 30 men and 60–70 horses at Edirne, in the
saray of Ekmekçioğlu, for two days without paying because its founder ordered that money
is to be taken from no one. In this empire, such inns are to be found in many places.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ For the terminology used by Evliya Çelebi for *imarets* and for other *imarets* of Edirne, see Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 240.

⁷⁶ Burbury, *Relation*, pp. 143–149.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 187. A wooden bridge over the Maritza, extending the Eski Köprü of Ahmed Pasha over the Tunca, was built in 1550; Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 203, note 3.

⁷⁸ Burbury mentions no bridge in his report on entering the city. Coming from the west, he must have made use of the Mihal Bridge or the bridges over the Tunca at the Bayezid complex. That the bridges upstream at the New Palace were open for common traffic seems unlikely.

⁷⁹ Hazai, György: *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsány*, Budapest 1973, pp. 168–169. Jakab Nagy de

About two decades later, in 1680, Giovanni Benaglia, who stayed in Edirne for four or five days with his group of 89 persons and 70 wagons with wagoners, writes: “We moved into a spacious caravanserai [Hann], which was built by a woman with two fountains in the forecourt [Vorhof].” With little doubt, Benaglia is referring to the caravanserai of Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Pasha, which was commonly known under the name Ayşe Kadın Caravanserai. The princess had founded a predecessor caravanserai in this spot right next to her still existing mosque.⁸⁰ Benaglia continues describing commercial facilities like the khans and *bedestens*:

There are also other public buildings, like the khans [*hann*, also for pl.], where the merchants do their business and sell; they are made in a beautiful shape and are locked up by two big gates. In addition, there are the *bedestens* [*Basisenes*], where everything is offered and sold.⁸¹

As Kreiser remarks, Evliya Çelebi dedicates most of the space in his account of the khans and caravanserais of Edirne to Ahmed Pasha’s foundation. As was common, Evliya names the building after the princess:

However, larger than all the aforementioned caravanserais is the gratuitous inn of Eşe Kadın. In the time of Sultan Ahmed, it was a small khan. The *defterdar* [minister of finance] Ekmekçioğlu-Ahmed Paşa knocked down that small khan completely and erected a very big one that had no equal either in Edirne or in Istanbul. Only the caravanserai built by Makbul İbrahim Paşa in Tatar Bazarcığı is comparable to it. This Eşe Kadın Han has two hundred fireplaces. On one side of the courtyard are comfortable (*içli tışlı*) private rooms (*harem hücreleri*). Its stable holds one thousand horses. Outside a sky-high “dovecot” (*güvercinlik*) [note 1] takes in one hundred mule teams. Ledges (*soffa*) are on its four sides. The outer yard (*taşra harem*) holds one thousand mules and camels. It is a rich fortress-like khan. Above the iron gate, opening toward the north on the main road, is located this dating verse [chronogram]: “Kisbi [17th-c. poet of Edirne] looked upon (the khan) and spoke to its completion the date verse ‘Built was the khan of Sultan Ahmed, it

Harsány was a scholar and diplomat in German service. He wrote a first Turkish-Latin dictionary (with Turkish in Latin letters) as a fictitious dialogue between an envoy and a Turkish companion. De Harsány had earlier lived in Istanbul for seven years, and it is plausible that he integrated experiences from his own traveling in his writing. The text refers to Sultan Mehmed IV and Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (in office 1656–1661). For a digital copy of the 1672 edition: <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN718322878>, last accessed 13 Nov. 2015.

⁸⁰ Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 163.

⁸¹ Benaglia, *Reiẖbeschreibung*, p. 42. A *han* named after his two gates “iki kapılı han” stood next to the Rüstem Pasha Khan, see above note 64.

was built matchlessly well' In the year 1018." It is a lead-covered khan that was presented after completion as a gift to Sultan Ahmed.⁸²

With this contemporary statement in mind, we continue by taking a closer look at the architecture of Ahmed Pasha's caravanserai and certain circumstances of its construction.

7 The Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai

The Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai is an extraordinary building and, as a rare example of a special type, it is very relevant for the study of Ottoman caravanserais; for the city of Edirne it is important as the major monument from the time of Sultan Ahmed I. Despite this historic significance, the building was largely neglected until the early 2000s.⁸³

The eponymous founder of the caravanserai, Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Pasha, was chief *defterdar* (minister of finance) from 1606 to 1613⁸⁴ and probably simultaneously held the office of vizier to Sultan Ahmed I.⁸⁵ He already served under Murad III and Mehmed III as *defterdar*.⁸⁶ Ahmed Pasha was born in Edirne, where he built another still preserved monument, the Eski Köprü (Old Bridge, 1607/08) over the Tunca.⁸⁷ Together with a second wooden bridge over the Maritsa it served traffic in a southern direction to the Aegean coast and to a junction with the Rumelian left branch route. Near the aforementioned khan in the city center, he erected a coffeehouse with integrated *sabil* (or *sebil*, a small

⁸² Kreiser, *Edirne*, pp. 156–157 (quotation without diacritic marks). Note 1 informs the reader about the meaning of *güvercinlik* (dovecot). Evliya explains it in his report on the caravanserai in Tatar Bazarcigi/Tatar Pazarcik (today Pazardžik in Bulgaria) as a place to stay in summer, a large area beneath a “sky-high timber roof.” Along the walls were platforms without fireplaces. Kreiser also hints at the meaning for “roofed terraces” in use in various regions of Turkey.

⁸³ The description of the caravanserai given here is based mainly on my own observations made in July 2008.

⁸⁴ Eyice, Semavi: Ekmekçizade Ahmed Paşa Medresesi, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 10, pp. 547–548.

⁸⁵ Dijkema, *Inscriptions*, p. 70.

⁸⁶ Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 148. For a time, he may have been the governor of the province Aleppo, where he finished construction of the *tekke* (dervish convent) of Abu Bakr; Watenpaugh, Heghnar Zeitlian: *The Image of an Ottoman City. Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Leiden 2004, p. 142.

⁸⁷ An inscription dated 1113 AH/1701–1702 says the bridge was completed in 1016 AH/1607–1608; Dijkema, *Inscriptions*, no. 65. It is assumed that Ahmed Pasha sympathized with or belonged to the dervish order of the Gulshaniyya/Gülşeniyye. Cf. also Eyice, Ekmekçizade Ahmed Paşa Köprüsü.

building for the distribution of drinking water)⁸⁸ and in Istanbul he founded a *medrese*. There is also information about another caravanserai whose construction was started by Ahmed Pasha on the Great Diagonal Road in Ereğli in Central Anatolia that, however, was completed by Grand Vizier Bayram Pasha and therefore bears his name.⁸⁹

Actually, the inscription of Ahmed Pasha's caravanserai in Edirne, also known as Ekmekçizâde Ahmed Paşa Kervansarayı or Ayşekadın Kervansarayı, states that the sultan gave the order to build the caravanserai to his *defterdar*:

He who is equal to Faridun [legendary heroic king of Persia], who ranks as high as the sun in the firmament and is angel-natured, namely His Presence Ahmed Khan, that king whose custom it is to (show) kindness:

When he mounts his steed of felicity to go out hunting, many fleet hunters who (expertly) bring down game fall at his stirrup (and must acknowledge his superiority).

That Shadow of God threw his shade over (i.e., showed favor to) his residence Edirne and delighted the people of the town with his imperial fortune.

The wise-hearted king, feeling sympathy for that exhilarating town, proposed to himself that he should build a new khan.

When that king of high degree ordered that it be made, among the viziers his *defterdar* was obedient to his command.

He then built a charming khan with Kawtar-like [river in Paradise, al-Kawthar also is a sura of the Quran] water; many master craftsmen exerted their best efforts in its construction

That king of high degree is a rest-giver to the travelers; they receive the stipulated delights and are freed from care.

Truly there has been no inn as strongly built as this since the Omnipotent Architect built the inn of the world.

Kesbi [a poet of Edirne, d. AH 1050] gazed upon it and spoke for its completion a chronogram: "The khan of Sultan Ahmed has been made; it has become a matchless building."

The year 1018 (= 6 April 1609–25 March 1610).⁹⁰

The literature provides hints about the architects of Ahmed Pasha's caravanse-
rai, but they are difficult to verify. In her pioneering study on Ottoman architec-
ture in the 17th century, Zeynep Nayır speaks of Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa and
Hacı Şaban from Edirne as the authors of the plan.⁹¹ Sedefkar Mehmed Ağa was

⁸⁸ Dijkema, *Inscriptions*, no. 44.

⁸⁹ Orhonlu, Cengiz: Bayram Paşa Kervansarayı, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* 10 (1973/74), pp. 199–218, here p. 200. It is unknown whether any remains of the building, which was already severely decayed in the past, still exist. Orhonlu's focus is on another Bayram Paşa Caravanserai near the Cilician Gates in the Taurus. Bayram Pasha was grand vizier from 1637 to 1638.

⁹⁰ Dijkema, *Inscriptions*, no. 46, there with diacritic marks and explaining comments. Square brackets mine.

⁹¹ With craftsmen from nearby villages and from Enez/İnoç (a town in the delta of the Maritsa) allegedly having worked on the caravanserai's construction: "Mimarbaşı Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa ve Edirne'li mimar Hacı Şaban tarafından tasarlanan hanın yapımında çevre

chief architect (*mimarbaşı*) under Sultan Ahmed I, for whom he designed the Ahmedîye (Sultanahmet Camii) at the Hippodrome in Istanbul.⁹²

7.1 Description of the Building Complex

The caravanserai and the other buildings of the complex stand on a site bounded in the north by the Eski İstanbul Caddesi (Old Istanbul Road), whose name commemorates the route of the Rumelian middle branch; in the east by the Uzun Kaldırım Caddesi leading toward the meadows and poplar groves at the junction of Tunca and Maritsa; and in the south by a narrow dead-end alley. The western flank has no direct connection to any public street; the neighboring area is occupied by buildings on Eski İstanbul Caddesi and a big garden.

Most of the northern and eastern enclosures of the complex are formed by a row of twenty shops. One next to the other, they follow the bend from Eski İstanbul Caddesi into Uzun Kaldırım Caddesi. They are interrupted only by the entrance to the complex. All the shops are tunnel-vaulted structures open to the street through round arches topped with cantilevered eaves. One unit where Uzun Kaldırım Caddesi branches off is accented by being covered by a dome. In the recent past, the shops offered everyday items, serving as a small neighborhood bazaar. Across from this market at the intersection of the two streets, a bit elevated on an escarpment to the north, stands the Ayşekadın Mosque, completed in 873 AH/1468.⁹³ A staircase, shaded by tall trees, ascends to the mosque. On the left side is a *sabil* with an inscription concerning its restoration in 1222 AH/1808.⁹⁴ It is shaped in the form of a small building with a tiny garden. A fountain (*çeşme*) is at the bottom of the stairs to the right,

köylerden ve İnozdan gelen işçiler çalışmıştır.” Nayır, Zeynep: *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi ve sonrası (1609–1690)*, İstanbul 1975, p. 207. The source given is: Altınay, A. Refik: *Hicrî Onbirinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı*, İstanbul 1930, p. 36.

⁹² Mehmed Ağa took office in 1606; Çobanoğlu, Ahmet Vefa: Mehmed Ağa, Sedefkâr, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 28, pp. 430–431. Çobanoğlu attributes the Ekmekçiöğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai to Mehmed Ağa. There is a manuscript of Mehmed Ağa’s biography that is regarded as the only Ottoman treatise on an architect of the Royal Corps of Architects and on architecture in general. The text does not include building lists and greatly differs from Sinan’s autobiographies in other ways as well. Howard Crane edited and commented the manuscript of Mehmed Ağa’s biography, Crane *Risale* (see note 13). Crane seems to affirm Nayır’s assertion that Mehmed Ağa was the architect; he also says no other caravanserais were attributed to him; pp. 12–13 with note 117.

⁹³ Dijkema, *Inscriptions*, no. 21.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 96.

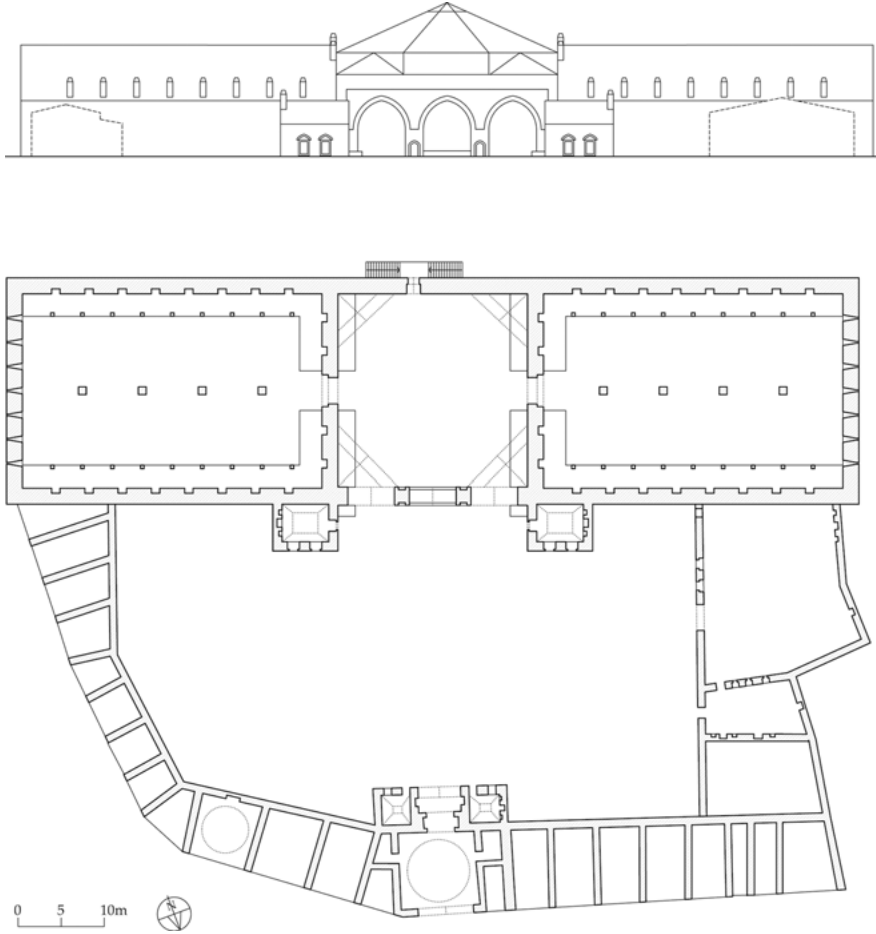


Fig. 5: Ekmekçiöğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, plan and elevation.

embellishing the plaza-like space at the intersection, as well.⁹⁵ The ensemble of the caravanserai complex with the shops, mosque, and fountains forms the charming nucleus of a somewhat neglected quarter with traditional timber houses and apartment buildings from the 1960s and 70s.

⁹⁵ The *çeşme* is combined with the mosque's *şadırvan* for ablution; the inscription from 1057 AH/1647–1648 refers to Hacı Müslî's completion by of a hot water boiler; *ibid.*, no. 51. See also Ayşekadın Hacı (Müslî) Müslîm Çeşme, 1057 AH/1647; Tunca, Ayhan: *Edirne'de Tarih Kültür İnanç Turu'nda*, İstanbul 2010, p. 89.

The caravanserai and its dependencies are arranged around a courtyard. The caravanserai is of the double-wing type, i.e., two halls of the same size and shape are attached mirror-symmetrically to a central hall. With a total length of 100 meters, it occupies the entire southern side of the courtyard. The back wall of the shops closes the courtyard on its eastern and northern side, except for a single gateway. This sole entrance into the complex is spanned by a lofty pointed arch. It leads into a domed gatehouse, which is flanked by two tiny windowless chambers. The original pendentive dome had collapsed and was repaired in the middle of the 20th century. A second shallow arch spans the actual gate, and the inscription panel is placed above it in a rather gloomy position. A corridor behind the gate protrudes into the courtyard and is flanked by two small vaulted rooms. They probably served the caravanserai's manager (*hancı*) and the gatekeeper (*kapıcı*). The western side of the courtyard was occupied by a group of rooms of different sizes with a kind of zigzag wall adjacent to the neighboring plot on Eski İstanbul Caddesi. The irregular shape may result from the constraints posed by the boundaries of the adjacent plots, which were established before the construction of the complex. This group of rooms, almost completely reshaped today, was largely destroyed in the past. The remains contained some fireplaces and niches built into fragments of the walls. It is plausible that the rooms formed the *imaret* of the complex with a kitchen and other services.⁹⁶ This assumption is supported by the report of de Harsány, who mentions in connection with his stay in Ahmed Pasha's caravanserai that free food was distributed in inns at Edirne.

All the walls are made of limestone masonry. The exterior of the gatehouse in particular shows good ashlar. Brick is visible only in some of the arches on the front sides of the shops. The domes and roofs are covered with lead.

Three of the double-wing caravanserai's four sides form the outer wall of the complex. Along with the inner side on the courtyard, the eastern gable wall of one hall was designed with special care. Certainly, this façade was chosen because it is the only side that was once visible from a main public street (now Uzun Kaldırım Caddesi). The wall is 25.50 meters long and ca. 13–14 meters tall at the peak of the gable. An unusual detail is the design of the corner near the attached shops. A cylindrical column-like element surrounded by a frame with a simple profile accents the corner. Frequently, such decorations flank entrances like mosque portals in a much more elaborated manner sometimes called hour-glass motif.

⁹⁶ Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*, p. 209.



Fig. 6: Ekmekçiöğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, exterior with eastern gable wall and south long side.

Greater attention reveals the extraordinarily large number of windows in the wall in combination with their decoration. Besides ordinary slit windows in the lower part, there are three tiers of big windows in the gable. Most striking are the stone grilles filling the openings. They consist of huge monolithic limestone elements and bear beautiful geometric patterns of stars and circles. The two windows on the central axis are particularly elaborated; the circular window evokes a rose window with the tracery of a church. Most surprisingly, the fragile grilles are preserved in very good condition with only minor damage.⁹⁷

The southern side of the caravanserai has in contrast an utterly sober, plain surface made of small, rough-hewn limestone blocks. However, of special interest is a small door placed well above ground level in the part of the wall belonging to the central hall, in front of which is a modern staircase. This door certainly gave access to latrines attached here to the main structure. An identical arrangement existed in a caravanserai in Harmanlı, two stages west of Edirne and today situated in Bulgaria. And indeed, the features of this building's

⁹⁷ It is astonishing that Evliya Çelebi does not mention this aesthetic feature in his account of the caravanserai; cf. Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 165.



Fig. 7: Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, detail of window grill eastern gable wall.

architecture resembled those in Ahmed Pasha's caravanserai in more important ways than the location of latrines, as is discussed below.

The western, inaccessible side of the caravanserai has basically the same design as the eastern side, but the façade is executed with much less attention to detail, especially concerning the windows.

The northern side of the caravanserai, like the eastern side, was clearly designed with the utmost care. But as a distinctive feature, this façade is visible only to a viewer in the courtyard. The monumental or even colossal appearance strikes the visitor immediately when stepping out of the gateway, even if this one is built a little askew from the middle axis of the caravanserai. This appearance is created by the central hall with its broad triple arched front and lofty roof, whose height greatly surpasses that of the adjacent halls. Today, the roof is a shallow eight-sided pyramid with lead-covered faces and a vertex made of glass. Before this modern construction was put on the central hall the space had been uncovered for an extensive period, probably about 250 years. No information is available about the shape of the original roof.

Two small "houses" flanking the triple arch are attached to the windowless walls of the two halls. At first glance, they seem to be later, somewhat awkwardly made additions, but they feature the same high-quality ashlar as the façade of the central hall and the exterior eastern gable wall. The interior of each room is equipped with a fireplace flanked by two niches and is covered by a brick vault. Older photos show that the roofs were destroyed, and it is questionable whether the vaults originally existed or if rooms were covered by timber constructions like the halls. The original function of these rooms was to provide extra guest



Fig. 8: Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, courtyard.

rooms, and it is likely that these are the “private rooms” (*harem hücreleri*) Evliya Çelebi mentions in his description of the building. A small number of such spaces were commonly part of caravanserais, architecturally more or less well integrated in one building together with the obligatory hall.

The central opening of the triple arch is blocked by a basin or trough. This was where guests watered their animals, and the arches’ pillars feature shallow niches once equipped with fountains. These are surely the fountains that Giovanni Benaglia observed and to which the building inscription alludes with the comparison to the river in Paradise; identical equipment is visible on the interior faces. For the water supply, these fountains must have been connected by a pipe to the local water system.⁹⁸

The two outer arches provide entrance to the central hall. An automatic glass door is now installed here; all the remaining parts of the originally triple arch are enclosed with a similar glass-and-metal construction. Originally, the arches were all open without any kind of gate or screen.

⁹⁸ Sultan Süleyman invented a system for supplying Edirne with water; cf. Kreiser, *Edirne*, pp. 204–205, who notes that it is not proven that Mimar Sinan was the engineer. On the water system, see also: Onur, Oral: *Edirne Su Kültürü*, Istanbul n.d. (1978).

The surfaces of the walls in the lower quadrangular part in the interior of the central hall are limestone ashlar. The octagonal tambour features alternating layers of stone and brick evoking the Roman-Byzantine technique of an *opus mixtum*. This building tradition was still quite popular in Ottoman architecture, and the appearance of many buildings is strongly shaped by stripes of stone and brick, e.g. the Bedesten and parts of the Rüstem Pasha Khan in Edirne. It is remarkable that the outer façades of this caravanserai abandon the tradition in favor of stone masonry. Four lofty, obliquely arranged pointed arches made of ashlar support the octagonal roof in addition to the walls of the quadrangle. The modern roof's substructure consists of rather slender metal profiles and spans the ca. 22 m of the central hall without any posts. The four remaining corners are covered by huge squinches, which are reconstructions. The central hall is equipped with predominantly reconstructed platforms alongside the western and eastern walls. The aforementioned small door on the southern side is accessible without any stairs, thereby indicating that the ground sloped upward from south to north.

One function of the central hall was to shelter wagons, as we have learned from Evliya Çelebi and as Brandstetter confirmed later. That this *güvercinlik* (dovecote) could hold one hundred mule teams is of course exaggerated. Even if Benaglia describes the seventy wagons that accompanied him as being slender vehicles, it would have been difficult to fit them into the 400 square meters of the central hall; but the courtyard with more than 2,000 square meters could easily hold them.

The two lateral halls are almost identical. They are accessible from the central hall through gates under shallow arches. As part of the sparse decoration program, additional multi-curved “flamboyant” arches frame the gates on the halls’ interiors. Actually, these constructions are not real arches, but corbel arches.⁹⁹ The walls are made of rough limestone blocks, ashlar is used for the three rows of tall stone pillars supporting the roof. The timber truss is a modern engineering construction, but probably similar to the original truss. Platforms are built along the long sides and the short entrance side; the long sides each have eight fireplaces, and the shorter sides have two each. These fireplaces are “classical” Ottoman *ocaks* with half-pyramidal hoods supported by segmental arches on bent consoles.

⁹⁹ This decoration element appears in a number of caravanserais and other kinds of buildings, like mosques. It is always applied over the interior of doorways, as if it were a kind of “farewell” to those leaving.



Fig. 9: Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, interior central hall.

7.2 Changes in Function and Reconstruction

Exactly when Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Pasha's complex ceased to be used as a caravanserai is unclear – in the 19th century, at the latest, but it is plausible that caravans ceased stopping here much earlier. In the first decades of the 19th century, Ami Boué saw the ruins of many of the Balkan caravanserais from the Ottoman “heyday.”¹⁰⁰ This certainly had to do with a shift in trade business from “foreign” Ragusan, Venetian, and Armenian merchants to local entrepreneurs.¹⁰¹ Reduced financial power of the pious foundations may also

100 Boué, Ami: *Die europäische Türkei*, 2 vols., Vienna 1889 (1st ed.: *La Turquie d'Europe*, Paris 1840), vol. 1, p. 510. Boué gives an illustrative overview of the kinds of contemporary Balkan inns on pp. 507–519.

101 Jireček, *Heerstrasse*, p. 136. Jireček says the Turkish population was decimated by epidemics and wars around 1800. The vacant places in the cities were occupied by local Christians, seemingly driving the emigration of “foreign” merchants.

have played a role.¹⁰² A devastating earthquake hit Edirne in 1751, causing damage to the city's buildings as well as to the economy. Ahmed Pasha's complex was affected, but to what extent is unknown; in particular, we can only guess whether the roof of the caravanserai's central hall was destroyed at this time.¹⁰³

From later periods, we have some scattered knowledge about changes in the usage of the various components of the complex. The lead cover of the roofs was taken down and shipped to Istanbul in 1853, and in 1876/77 the military moved in, probably to use the caravanserai as a stable for the cavalry.¹⁰⁴ The available sources do not provide information about the condition and use of the complex before the 1940s–1950s. In photos that were probably made in the 1940s, the dome above the gatehouse is visibly being reconstructed. The squinches of the central hall's roof, which must have collapsed or been taken down later, are present and a roof too low to be original covers the one, only partly photographed hall.¹⁰⁵ The German art historian Kurt Erdmann (1901–1964) visited the complex in 1958. He mentions a wheat depot in the halls and a hospital in the right corner of the courtyard, without giving further details. This hospital must have been a structure of modest size complementing the remains of the assumed *imaret*. Erdmann also describes the dome of the gatehouse without alluding to a renewal. He tells us that the central hall allegedly had likewise been covered by a dome, a fact he thinks is “barely imaginable.”¹⁰⁶

Later, the complex was used by the Turkish postal service PTT as a parking lot for its vehicles.¹⁰⁷ After some efforts in the mid-20th century to restore

102 Kreiser speaks of six *imarets* as components of sultanic mosque complexes in mid-16th century Edirne, but only two still existed in the 19th century. He explains the decrease with a decline in revenues earned by the foundations; Kreiser, *Edirne*, p. 240.

103 The historian and poet Örfi Mahmud Ağa observed the events from his garden adjacent to the caravanserai in the west, where today a kind of garden can still be found; *ibid.*, p. 165 with note 1.

104 *Ibid.*; Kreiser also hints at the Crimean War, which started in 1853. The “süvari kışlası” (cavalry barracks) is mentioned by Çobanoğlu, Ahmet Vefa: Ekmekçizâde Ahmed Paşa Kervansarayı, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 10, pp. 546–547.

105 Akozan, Feridun: Türk Han ve Kervansarayları, in: *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri* 1 (1963), pp. 131–167, here p. 156. For a plan and additional photos of the caravan-serai, see Nayır, *Sultan Ahmet Külliyesi*, ill. 150–155.

106 Erdmann, Kurt: travel diary, 21 April 1958, p. 3379, *Erdmann-Nachlaß, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. Erdmann was Professor for Turkish and Islamic Art at Istanbul University from 1951 to 1958.

107 Çobanoğlu, Ekmekçizâde Ahmed Paşa Kervansarayı.

components like the gatehouse dome, the building was generally neglected and consequently decayed. Damage affected mainly the roofs, and no traces of the original construction exist anymore. The photographically documented roofs of the halls certainly were built to replace the original ones made when the caravanserai was built in 1609/10. To save timber, they were much less steep and so the tops of the gable walls stood free. Maybe these roofs covered by barrel tiles were created in the context of reuse as cavalry barracks. Some decoration of the bolsters, visible in the photographs, indicates that the truss was made in the 19th century.¹⁰⁸

In 2004, the repair and reconstruction of the caravanserai began as a Turkish-Bulgarian cooperation. This project is the first preservation of a monument in Turkey co-financed by the EU. After the termination of works in 2008, the caravanserai was to be used for events fostering Turkish-Bulgarian cultural relations.

8 Edirne's Double-Wing Model in Bulgaria: The Harmanlı Caravanserai

The Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai is a singular monument today. Actually, the building was just one sample of an important type of Ottoman caravanserais. To fully comprehend its historic meaning, it is appropriate to discuss some of the context of architecturally related buildings.

Primarily one caravanserai, in Harmanlı on the Rumelian middle branch route 70 kilometers west of Edirne, obviously served as a model for the building in Edirne. This building commissioned by Grand Vizier Siyavuş Pasha was completed before 1609, very probably in 1587.¹⁰⁹ Only a short stretch of a wall with one hall gate is still preserved, but luckily in 1741 an Austrian engineer was able to measure the building and to draw a ground plan, a cross-section, and an elevation. Such historic documentation of a caravanserai is unique.¹¹⁰

The building was another caravanserai of the double-wing type. With dimensions of 167.60 x 24.60 m, it exceeded even the building in Edirne (100 x

108 Components of the truss were stacked in a pile in the courtyard in 2008.

109 A manuscript dated 1587 tells about the delivery of lead for the construction of buildings by Siyavuş Paşa in Sofia and Harmanlı; Necipoğlu, *Sinan*, p. 506.

110 The author was “Kriegsingenieur” Schad, who accompanied the Großbotschaft Ulefeld, see Teply, Karl: Das Han von Harmanlı, in: *Südost-Forschungen* 33 (1974), pp. 291–295, here p. 294. On Harmanlı, see also Teply, *Großbotschaft*.

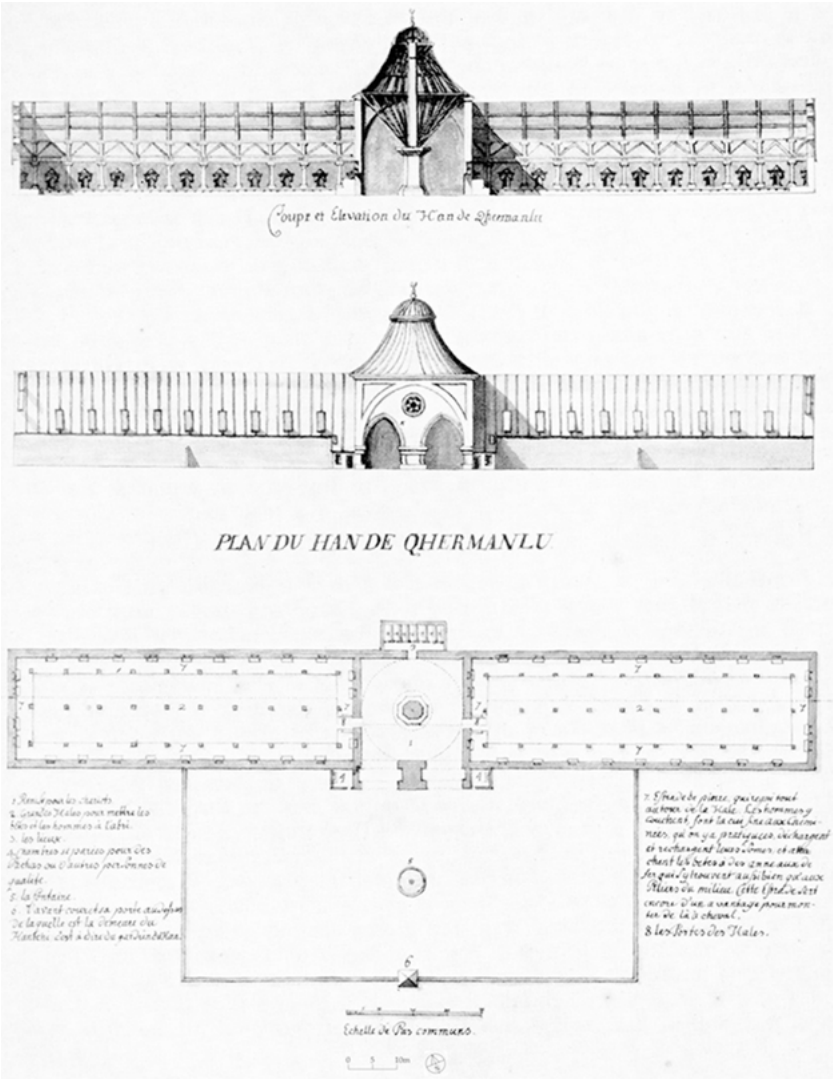


Fig. 10: Harmanlı, survey plans 1741.

25.50 m) and was indeed the most spacious caravanserai in the empire. Maximilian Brandstetter describes this halting place thus:

On the 21st [of August 1608, I had] been up before sunrise again and came to a village [called] Harmanlı on the river Mariza [after] a long day's journey; there is a very beautiful Caravansaria, completely covered with lead. It has a nice wide court, in the midst a large,

pleasant fountain from which the water for watering the horses runs. Further, a broad round vault to put the wagons beneath, on both sides the caravanserais. In each there are thirty stone-built pillars, between which the horses can be tied, beside its common fireplaces for cooking. They are building just now a beautiful mosque there and there is right here over the river Hebrus or Mariza a stone bridge with four arches, of which the central one is quite tall, which shows that the river must gush at times.¹¹¹

The layout of the building is almost identical to the one in Edirne, including the two rooms equipped with fireplaces to the side of the arches opening the central hall. They are described as “rooms for pashas and other persons of rank” in the plan legend (*Chambres séparées pour des Pachas ou d’autres personnes de qualité*, cf. image credits). This central hall features, instead of a triple arch, just two lofty pointed arches on the side next to the yard. The façade is depicted with a rectangular front and horizontal molding on top similar to the façade in Edirne, but in addition it has a large circular window in its center. In the drawing, the window is filled with some patterned structure, making it plausible that it held a decorated stone grille. The plans do not provide information about the appearance of the gable walls of the lateral halls. Another drawing, a panorama done in 1741, also shows the caravanseraï together with the mosque of the halting-place complex and a bridge from some distance.¹¹² A rich fenestration similar to Ahmed Pasha’s building is visible here with three circular windows in the wall’s upper part. The central hall in Harmanlı was covered with a timber construction, as indicated in the section drawing. Its concave shape evokes a tent rather than a dome. Nonetheless, the top is convex and crowned with an *alem*, the crescent-shaped finial usually put on a minaret or mosque dome. This roof was supported by one mighty central pier. How the transition from the quadrangle of the walls to the circle of the roof was made is not clearly depicted in the plans; perhaps pendentive-like elements were

111 “Den 21. [August 1608] dito abermahl vor Tages aufgewesen und bis zu einem Dorf Harmanlı, am Fluß Mariza [mistakenly for the Uludere] gelegen, ein starkhe Tagrais gelanget; alda hat es eine sehr schöne Caravansaria, all mit Bley bedeckt; hat einen schönen weiten Hof, in Mitten darinnen einen schönen weiten Brunnen, darauß das Wasser springt, den Rossen zu tranken; alsodann ein weit, rund Gewelb, die Wägen darunter zu stellen, auf beeden Seiten die Caravansarien; in jeder hat’s dreysig gemauerte steinere Seulen, zwischen denen die Roß angebunden werden, neben seinen gewöhnlichen Caminen zum Kochen; sye bauen auch jetzt alda ein schöne Moscheen; unnd allhier hat es über den Fluß Hebrus oder Mariza [erroneously for the Uludere] ein steinerne Bruckhen von vier Schwibögen, darunter der mittlere gar hoch, darauß abzunehmen, daß der Fluß zu Zeiten sehr giessen muß.” Quotation after Teply, Harmanlı, p. 293. Harmanlı is situated on the Uludere, a tributary of the nearby Maritza. It seems remarkable that the mosque was built later than the bridge and caravanseraï.

112 Teply, Harmanlı, ill. 2.

used.¹¹³ The panorama drawing of the caravanserai from the back with the latrines shows triangular gable walls and probably the exterior planes of pendentives on this side and the sides with both attached halls. There is also a third picture showing the caravanserai, a gouache from 1628 or 1629, that basically matches the other drawings.¹¹⁴



Fig. 11: Harmanlı, gouache 1628/29.

It offers a variation of the roof of the central hall, a combination of strangely stepped gables and squinches. The latter are found in Edirne, but it is more plausible that pendentives covered the corners of the central hall in Harmanlı. The legend explaining the different components painted in the gouache designates the roof as a “big lofty vault” (*Grosses Hohes gewelb*, cf. image credits at the end of this volume). It appears rather unlikely that the vault or dome was originally stone, because this would have had to have been substituted by the timber construction before 1741. In his description from 1608, Brandstetter mentions a vault too; maybe this term was used to refer to the somewhat curved shape of the roof.¹¹⁵ The gouache shows other interesting details not included

¹¹³ Remains of pendentive-like elements exist on the preserved part of a wall; for photos, see *Kiel-Archive*, The Netherlands Institute in Turkey, <http://www.nit-istanbul.org/kielarchive/>, last accessed 1 Mar. 2016.

¹¹⁴ Kept in the Osmanenmuseum Perchtoldsdorf, Austria. Teply, *Großbotschaft*, plate 3, p. 117 (part of a series of eleven pictures).

¹¹⁵ The caravanserai was still rather well preserved in winter 1829/30: “we reached Arhmaneh, a village, with signs of former importance, shown in a vast burial ground, and a large khan of curious construction, with a cupola *à la Chinoise* [made of timber?], built, we are told, more than 200 years later, by Sci Ayoush, Grand Vizir of Amurath;” Slade, Adolphus: *Records of Travels in Turkey, Greece &c.*, London 1833, vol. 2, p. 19. Boué adds a further version for the construction of Harmanlı, saying the central hall was a “well preserved room consisting of two very high lead-covered vaults”; Boué, *Türkei*, p. 510.

in the plans. There are additional spaces in front of the extra rooms flanking the arches of the central hall. These spaces appear to be wooden, maybe temporary structures, and are designated as “chambers planked with boards where horse fodder is sold for money” (Verschlagene Camer darin man Pferdfuetter umbs gelt verka). Another detail concerns roofed galleries along the sides of the lateral halls facing the yard. According to the legend, the space under the roofs was for “lodging dryly.” Very similar roofs were attached to the walls on the courtyard in Edirne in the aftermath of main repairs in 2008.

It is most likely that the caravanserai in Harmanlı was erected before Ahmed Pasha’s foundation. Therefore, the architecturally ambitious building located in a hamlet two days’ journey away from Edirne would have served as the model for a caravanserai located in one of the empire’s most important cities. Its historic depictions also give the only hint how the central hall’s roof might have been shaped in Edirne. It is unknown who the architect of the earlier caravanserai was, and it is plausible but unproven that Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa was indeed responsible for the later one; maybe the same master designed both caravanserais. Without a doubt, the buildings are representatives of an Ottoman imperial art. Their design is a product of the empire’s central architectural office (the Royal Corps of Architects, *mi’maran-ı hassa* or *hassa mi’marları*). At the turn of the 16th to the 17th century, this office still stood under the influence of Mimar Sinan. It was during his term of office from 1539 to 1588, under the sultans Süleyman I, Selim II, and Murad III, when architecture was becoming a refined integral part of Ottoman culture and developing different “codes of decorum” depending on the status of a patron.¹¹⁶ The Ottoman system of inventing and distributing architectural forms was by no means limited to mosques, but extended to other building genres, too, and caravanserais are outstanding examples. The education of architects was also a task of the office. As chief architect, Sinan had trained his later successor Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa.

The general layout of the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, the plan type of a double-wing caravanserai, is one genuine Ottoman invention linked to the central office. Such a layout did not exist before Ottoman patrons set out to build caravanserais, and it was not applied contemporaneously in non-Ottoman territories.

The double-wing caravanserai evolved in two variations distinguished by the shape of the central hall: one type with a central hall as a transition space, and a second type with a semi-open central hall giving access only to the mirror-

116 This is discussed as a central aspect in Necipoğlu, *Sinan*; on the Royal Corps of Architects, see pp. 153–160.

symmetrically attached halls. The first type also functions as a main entrance into the precinct of a building complex; it thus has a lockable gate instead of open arches. Because of its geographic distribution and the clues given in textual sources, it is plausible that the second type, chosen for the caravanserais in Harmanlı and Edirne, came into being with an increase in vehicle traffic on the Rumelian main road by the 16th century.¹¹⁷

Some roadside inns are termed double-caravanserai (*çifte han*) in Ottoman documents such as foundation deeds. In some cases it is evident from the preserved buildings that a *çifte han* can be a double-wing caravanserai. There are also examples of two equal but separate caravanserais as components of the same complex. This lack of exact designation of a building form sometimes makes it hard to identify the type of a caravanserai when only written evidence is available. It is known that Sinan was deeply involved in the invention of the double-wing caravanserai. Furthermore, he claims to be the architect of the earliest building that is definitely of this type. This is the still existing caravanserai with the additional function of an entrance (by stairs) into the complex of Çoban Mustafa Pasha in Gebze, two stages east of Üsküdar on the Great Diagonal Road. The mosque is dated 1523 by inscription.¹¹⁸

The chronologically next candidate for being a double-wing caravanserai was undoubtedly built by Sinan, but no longer exists. Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha founded a halting-place complex in Büyükkarışdırın, the fifth stage on the route from Istanbul to Edirne; it was completed before 1550. The caravanserai is the only building in this complex that the architect lists in his autobiography.

117 As we have seen, the embassies used many vehicles, partly brought with them but also acquired on Ottoman territory; cf. note 47.

118 On the complex, see Müderrisoğlu, Fatih: Bâni Çoban Mustafa Paşa ve Bir Osmanlı Şehri Gebze, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* 25 (1995), pp. 67–124. For Sinan's disputed authorship, see Barakat, Heba Nayel: Further Observations on the "Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque" at Gebze, in: *Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* (Middle East Technical University) 13: 1–2 (1993), pp. 17–30, here pp. 19–20 (with possible date for the caravanserai 1538–1540). Even before the foundation of the caravanserai in Gebze, a "double khan" may have existed in Çorlu as a station halfway between Istanbul and Edirne. It was part of an "important complex" founded by "Hain Ahmed Paşa, a rebel governor of Egypt who was executed in AH 927–8/1521;" Faroqhi, Suraiya: An Edirne Scholar on Ottoman Architecture and Politics. The Pilgrimage Account of Abdurrahman Hibri, in: Maximilian Hartmuth and Ayşe Dilsiz (eds.): *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts. Papers on Ottoman Europe Presented to Machiel Kiel*, Leiden 2010, pp. 91–106, here pp. 95–96. Abdurrahman Hibri, historian from Edirne, author of a pilgrimage itinerary basing on a hajj made in 1632, is the only source mentioning this complex. In a note Faroqhi remarks: "There is no mention of any pious foundation, in Çorlu or elsewhere." On Hibri, see Kreiser, Klaus: *Abdurrahman Hibri*, <https://ottomanhistorians.uchicago.edu/en/historian/abdurrahman-hibri>, last accessed 13 Nov. 2015.

However, no detailed description is available, and therefore it remains uncertain whether the “double-caravanserai” was indeed one building integrating a central hall or just two halls in juxtaposition.¹¹⁹ Dernschwam, on his way back in 1555, reports a little confusingly on “three big caravanserais” he saw, “an old one and a new one covered with lead and also a lead-covered mosque.”¹²⁰ With some caution, the lead-covered caravanserai might be interpreted as one building with two halls, that is, as a double-wing type.¹²¹

For the following caravanserai at Mustafa Paşa Köprüsü/Svilengrad, we have clear evidence that it was of the double-wing type; the first with a semi-open central hall. John Burbury’s description above must refer to a building in a complex (at least the mosque was designed by Sinan) containing “two caravansarays” built from 1558 to 1560. The patroness was Haseki Hürrem, the primary wife of Sultan Süleyman.¹²²

The next double-wing caravanserai is part of a complex built in the years 1560–1564 in Karapınar, a halting place on the Great Diagonal Road in central Anatolia. The founder was Crown Prince Selim with the approval of his father, Sultan Süleyman.¹²³ The present huge caravanserai, whose capacity was second only to that of Harmanlı, is a reconstruction (partly based on excavations) except for the central hall. However, this original part of the building makes it evident that this double-wing caravanserai belonged to the group that functioned as an entrance into a complex. Strictly speaking, Karapınar is the first caravanserai being positively of the double-wing type with Sinan’s claim of authorship undisputed.

119 Necipoğlu speaks of a “double-caravanserai” and quotes the Venetian diplomat Catharin Zen, who in 1550 saw “two very beautiful caravansarays built for the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha together with an attractive residence (*casa*) where he stays when he goes there, as do all other visitors;” Necipoğlu, *Sinan*, p. 318. It is possible that de Busbecq had this complex in mind when he spoke of the *Turcica xenodochia*.

120 “[E]in dorff, haist Karistran, alda 3 grosse karwasalia, ain altte und newe, mit pley gedegt, darbey auch ein meczith mit pley gedegt. Sol ein bascha haben gepawt mit namen . . . [probably name illegible];” Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, p. 242.

121 The site plan provided by Küçükkaya represents the remains of the caravanserai in a layout not easily connected to any kind of a double-caravanserai; Küçükkaya, *Menzil Yapıları*, drawing no. 5.

122 Necipoğlu, *Sinan*, p. 280. The bridge, which is the only preserved Ottoman monument, and a caravanserai had already been built by Çoban Mustafa Pasha in 1528–1529; *ibid.*, p. 278. See also Antonov, Aleksander: XVI. Yüzyılda Bulgaristan Topraklarında Orta Kol Üzerindeki Menzil Külliyyeleri, in: Eren, Güler (ed.): *Osmanlı*, vol. 10, Ankara 1999, pp. 510–513, here pp. 510–511 (erroneously with Damat for Çoban).

123 Necipoğlu, *Sinan*, p. 236.

At about the same time, Sultan Süleyman commissioned Sinan to build a caravanserai in Büyükçekmece, the second halting place after Küçükçekmece from Istanbul on the road to Edirne.¹²⁴ The building present today is with high certainty the caravanserai listed in Sinan's autobiographies. It must have been constructed in the years 1562–1568.¹²⁵

This caravanserai consists of a single hall of modest size with a kind of unusual semi-open vestibule or porch attached to one of its short sides. However, the original layout of the building was different. The most striking feature is the rich fenestration of the gable wall opposite the wall with an entrance from the porch.



Fig. 12: Büyükçekmece, Sultan Süleyman Kervansarayı, 1562–1568, exterior with eastern gable wall.

Besides the common slit windows also broad and tall openings spanned by pointed arches alternating with circular ones exist. All openings are filled with grilles made of plaster of Paris forming star patterns. Similar grilles existed before,

¹²⁴ At Küçükçekmece, the embassies usually had to wait for a time before an escort brought them to Istanbul.

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 562 (Appendix 2). The building is without inscription, but a reference to the construction date is given by inscriptions on Sinan's nearby famous bridge and on a fountain. See also Eyice, Semavi: Büyükçekmece Kervansarayı, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 6, pp. 519–520.

but originally there was just one circular opening on the central axis, just as in Edirne. Sinan deliberately designed this wall to be perceived as an aesthetic element integrated in the building's complete plan. This kind of treatment of a gable wall paved the way for the design of the correlating walls of the caravanserais in Harmanlı and Edirne. Another relationship of these buildings to Büyükçekmece can be observed in the porch. The present structure was altered, but certain is that the original space was open on the side prolonging the hall's long side and closed on the opposite side by an extra room (its remains include an *ocak*). Also the stone bench lateral to the hall's entrance must be original. Compared with the caravanserais in Harmanlı, Edirne, and Lüleburgaz (four stages further toward Edirne), the sultanic foundation in Büyükçekmece is a rather small building. Conspicuously, the hall in Büyükçekmece corresponds in size and interior layout, including the roof system, almost exactly to each of the twin halls in Edirne, thereby providing just half the capacity to accommodate travelers and animals. If the plan were mirrored on the axis of the present northwestern wall of the porch, a perfect double-wing caravanserai would result, the first of the type with semi-open central hall designed by Sinan. I propose that the plan intended by Sinan was in fact that of a double-wing caravanserai, but that it was altered during construction.¹²⁶

Subsequently, Sinan built two "double-caravanserais" before he designed another building that was definitely a double-wing type.¹²⁷ In Lüleburgaz and Havsa, the sixth and eighth stages on the Istanbul-Edirne road, he arranged two halls with facing entrances but without a central hall. These huge halting-place complexes, with very similar components and layout, were both commissioned by Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the years 1565–1569/70 and 1573/74, respectively.¹²⁸ They are the expression of competitive building activity setting in on the Great Diagonal Road in the second half of the 16th century. The contest was triggered by sultanic engagement, like the caravanserais in

126 One reason could have been that the chosen site is too near the lagoon traversed by Sinan's 635-m bridge. In 1563, there was a devastating flood that could have damaged the foundations of the wing closer to the lagoon, see Egli, Hans G.: *Sinan. An Interpretation*, Istanbul 1997, p. 107.

127 In the meantime, Sinan designed a "special" double-wing caravanserai for Grand Vizier Lala Mustafa Pasha in Iğın, another station on the main road in central Anatolia. This recently repaired building is unusually shaped, probably because of restrictions resulting from its location in a settlement (like the "zigzag" limit of the site in Edirne), but it is basically a double-wing caravanserai.

128 For the dates, see Necipoğlu, *Sinan*, for Lüleburgaz p. 348 and ill. 335 (restitution plan), for Havsa pp. 444–445. See also Küçükkaya, *Menzil Yapıları*, for Lüleburgaz pp. 198–199, for Havsa p. 205; drawing no. 6, restitution plan Lüleburgaz, and drawing no. 8, attempt of restitution plan Havsa.

Karapınar and Büyükçekmece, and by stipulations issued by Sultan Süleyman to foster the establishment of pious foundations.¹²⁹

Near the end of his career, Sinan was commissioned to construct a complex of buildings in Üsküdar. The Atik Valide Complex, founded by Nurbanu, the wife of Selim II, is the third-biggest in Istanbul. It consists of two parts, one with a mosque and other religion-related facilities, and one with a caravanseraï and the additional charitable functions of an *imaret*. The caravanseraï was finished before 1582.¹³⁰ It is of the double-wing type, with its central hall serving as the main entrance into the charitable complex. The lateral wings are much altered due to a long history of many functional changes, but the central hall is well preserved. It is covered by a stately pendentive dome made of brick.

Finally, there is Tatar Pazarcık, Evliya's "Tatar Bazarcığı" (Pazardzhik in Bulgaria), dated between Harmanlı and Edirne. In 1596, Grand Vizier Damat İbrahim Pasha "erected upon request of the local population an enormous double caravanseraï" and *imaret*.¹³¹ As we have learned from Evliya's description and comparison with Ahmed Pasha's caravanseraï, the no longer extant building was of the double-wing type with a semi-open central hall. This design format became an established shape for caravanserais on the Rumelian segment of the Great Diagonal Road, as shown by the examples in Edirne, Harmanlı, and Tatar Pazarcık. Most probably, more double-wing caravanserais were founded there, like the buildings in Büyükkarışdırın, possibly in Uzunğaova¹³² (one stage west of Harmanlı near Hasköy/Haskovo), in Mustafa Paşa Köprüsü/Svilengrad, and maybe even in Yeni Han.¹³³

¹²⁹ One major means was the transfer of tax-free state domains to foundations, the *temlik*; for a basic explanation, see İnalçık, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 148. The transferred property could include villages as revenue-generating components of a *vakıf* (foundation). The vouchsafing of *temlik* increased extremely under Süleyman, favoring members of the family including the husbands of the sultan's daughters and other members of the political elite.

¹³⁰ Necipoğlu, *Sinan*, p. 284, 287.

¹³¹ Kiel, Machiel: Tatar Pazarcık. The Development of an Ottoman Town in Central Bulgaria or the Story of How the Bulgarians Conquered Upper Thrace Without Firing a Shot, in: *ibid.: Turco-Bulgarica. Studies on the History, Settlement and historical Demography of Ottoman Bulgaria*, Analecta Isisiana CXX, Istanbul 2013, pp. 293–321, here p. 304.

¹³² Uzunğaova/Bulgaria. Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha endowed a foundation in 1593; it was ordered at the demand of the local population and comprised two caravanserais (of which few traces remain), a Friday mosque (later converted into a church), an *imaret*, two *hamams*, and shops; Kurio, Hars and Schwarz, Klaus: *Die Stiftungen des osmanischen Großwesirs Koga Sinan Pascha (gest. 1596) in Uzunğaova /Bulgarien*, Berlin 1983, p. 4. See also (with plans of the site and a piece of wall with arched entrance) Antonov, Orta Kol, p. 512.

¹³³ Novi Han/Bulgaria. Founded 1669/70; Antonov, Orta Kol, p. 512, with plans of the site and ruin. This "New Caravanseraï" was one of the last built in Ottoman times.

By contrast, on the Anatolian routes, double-wing caravanserais remained rather an exception. Besides the mentioned ones, such structures still exist in Vezirhan and Alaca Han in western respectively eastern Anatolia. From Greater Syria, we know of only one double-wing caravanserai. It is located in Sa'sa' on the prolongation of the Great Diagonal Road toward Jerusalem and Egypt, some forty kilometers southwest of Damascus. This caravanserai is part of a vast halting-place complex founded by Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha in the 1580s. Here the central hall functions as the portal of the ruined complex. Sa'sa' is very important evidence that the centrally organized architectural office was able to convey *tarz-ı Rum*, Ottoman imperial style,¹³⁴ to a region with a very strong building tradition of its own far from the capital.

9 Conclusion

This chapter tried to unfold the relationship between Edirne's capability to provide shelter for the traveler and aspects of an outstanding but relatively unknown monument from the early 17th century. This relationship cannot be investigated in isolation from the context of Edirne's geographical position, the major Ottoman road network, Ottoman architecture, practices of accommodation, and certain correlations between actions of the sultan and distinctive features of this city. As a base for access to these different layers of impact, a selection of written sources was brought together with the built evidence in Edirne and in other locations on the main Ottoman land route. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Edirne was excellently connected by the Great Diagonal Road to Istanbul, as well as to places in Southeastern Europe and the Near East. This combination of the Rumelian middle branch and the Anatolian right branch route was the Empire's vital line reaching from Belgrade to Damascus. It served commercial, religious, administrative, and military purposes in various proportions. In this investigation, the focus was on traffic from Europe via Edirne to Istanbul. A side effect of the European diplomatic missions to the Sublime Porte is a rich corpus of travel accounts eagerly written by members of the ambassadors' entourages. From the reports of their manifold experiences, we learn about travel conditions, especially where to find accommodation in rural areas or in towns. This first-hand information is a decisive counterpart to the

¹³⁴ Imperial style, termed *tarz-ı Rum* by Evliya Çelebi; see Kafescioğlu, Çigdem: "In the Imge of Rum." Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus, in: *Muqarnas* 16 (1999), pp. 70–96, here p. 70.

limited material evidence of inns we encounter today. The comparatively well-preserved Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai is a piece of luck in this context. The sources, strongly assisted by Evliya Çelebi, tell us that Edirne was well equipped with khans as the urban form of public inns. We also learn that the charitable institution of the *imaret* provided not only food, but also shelter to travelers, regardless to faith. However, up to the construction of the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai in 1609/10, Edirne very probably lacked a big roadside inn, the kind of facility that would have been regarded as appropriate to a prominent stage on the major land route. It was the sultan himself who commissioned the construction of the caravanserai and who is commemorated in the building inscription. Although the financier, Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Pasha, is named as the *defterdar* “obedient to his command,” too, the verses include many more references to Ahmed I; in them, the mention of his being a hunter and a resident of Edirne must attract special attention. The latter statement demands explanation. At this time, young Ahmed had been to Edirne only once for a few days in the fall of 1605. Apparently, the simple fact that the sultan had been present in the city – and had held court – justified the formulation “his residence Edirne.” It remains unknown whether the sultan had further intentions beyond the erection of a necessary charitable caravanserai for travelers, which is also mentioned in the inscription. His mosque in Istanbul certainly was not built out of need for another spacious Friday mosque, nor was it legitimated by a victory over the infidels and therefore was not financed by the spoils of war. The basic structure of the Ahmediye was modeled on the Şehzade Mosque, originally planned to be Süleyman’s I imperial mosque, which was rededicated to Prince Mehmed, who had died in 1543. With his mosque in the “classical” Ottoman idiom, Ahmed sought to put himself on the same level as his venerated ancestor. However, the Ahmediye was to be the last big sultanic foundation for a long time. During Ahmed’s tenure as sultan, the decentralizing process of shifting power to various factions affiliated with the court gained momentum. Besides grand viziers, the eunuchs of the imperial harem and the queen mothers became protagonists in ever-changing constellations of stakeholders. The high officials assumed the main role in constructing buildings now, though these were not primarily mosques, but educational complexes and numerous caravanserais.

Ahmed’s commission in Edirne, executed by his *defterdar*, marks a climax and simultaneously an end. In many cases, the later caravanserais of the 17th century were built on what had been secondary roads. In Anatolia, their foundation was probably partly intended to reconstitute infrastructure and safety in regions devastated by ongoing domestic unrest. The architecture of the caravanserais continued to display the imperial hallmark and sometimes the even

colossal expression already found in such monuments as in Harmanlı and in Edirne, but at the same time, design was innovative in creating new layouts and thus abandoned the double-wing type.

The Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai was the last ambitious and most elaborate double-wing caravanserai with a semi-open central hall, a “classical” Ottoman building very plausibly designed by the current chief architect Mehmed Ağa or his office. However, as in the Ahmediye, decisive features, if not the building type itself, had originally been developed by Chief Architect Sinan for Sultan Süleyman’s caravanserai in Büyükçekmece on the road between Istanbul and Edirne. With some of this background data in mind, the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai provides rare insight into the conditions of lodging for the traveler in Ottoman times. The caravanserai is also clearly a product of its time in the early 17th century. Its construction must be contemplated within a wider context of the history of Edirne in its indissoluble connection to changes in the Ottoman Empire. Like the sultan’s mosque in Istanbul, the caravanserai in Edirne marks the ambiguous moment in Ottoman history immediately before the beginning of a dissociation from the “classical” age.

Part III: Heritage Construction in the Turkish National State

Florian Riedler

The Resurrection of Edirne's New Imperial Palace as National Heritage

Until the late 19th century, the New Imperial Palace (Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire) was one of Edirne's outstanding Ottoman monuments. Around 1450, Sultan Murad II (r. 1421–1451) initiated the construction of the first buildings that were to form the New Palace on the banks of the river Tunca outside the city center of Edirne. Ultimately, they would replace the old palace within the city that served as a home for the ruler and his family, but that also was used as a barracks for the janissaries. In contrast to the inner-city location of the original palace, the new site offered the comforts of nature, combining scenic landscapes with fresh water and hunting grounds. Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481) continued his father's project and added, among other structures, the iconic central tower, the Belvedere (Cihannümâ Kasrı). The New Palace became the sultan's regular domicile, where he planned the conquest of Constantinople. But even after the final military victory and the ensuing shift of capitals, the New Palace in Edirne remained an important place from where the empire was governed and where the sultan's power was represented. Furthermore, it served as a model for Topkapı, Mehmed's palace in Istanbul, which was constructed in the 1460s and officially was also named the New Palace, because it likewise replaced an older building complex erected immediately after the conquest in another part of Istanbul. There were strong formal parallels in the layouts of Topkapı and Edirne's New Palace that reflected their common ceremonial function and ultimately traced back to the tradition of the Ottoman military camp.¹ Both palaces were used in parallel and were constantly expanded over the centuries. In the 17th century, the number of buildings in the palace area of Edirne ranged up to 100. The palace's architectural history is still not known very well, for the simple reason that the complex was hit by a devastating fire in 1878. The fire and subsequent neglect of the remains destroyed almost all of its material traces.²

1 Necipoğlu, Gülru: *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, New York 1991, pp. 54 and 73.

2 For a history of the New Palace, cf. Rifat Osman: *Edirne Sarayı*, ed. Süheyl Ünver, 2nd ed., Ankara 1989; Akçıl, N. Çiçek: Saray-ı Cedid, in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 36, pp. 126–128; Özer, Mustafa: *Edirne Sarayı (Saray-ı Cedid-i Âmire). Kısa bir değerlendirme*, Istanbul 2014.

Only recently has there been a growing academic but also public interest in the New Palace. This has led to ongoing archaeological examination of the site, the restoration of some of the ruins, and plans for future reconstruction projects. The significance that Ottoman history has gained in Turkey in recent decades has led to the inclusion of the New Palace and other monuments in Edirne in a redefined national heritage.³ Among these monuments, the New Palace presents a particularly interesting case, because it is an almost-vanished building complex. This urges us to question the role materiality plays in recent discourses on heritage and, instead, to closely examine the interpretations of history constructed through and around these monuments to explain processes of heritage formation. The most pertinent interpretative framework in this respect is that of Ottomanism or Neo-Ottomanism, i.e., the positive reference to the Ottoman past and its use as a resource in debates concerning the national identity of modern Turkey.⁴ This chapter will use the example of the New Palace to sketch the evolution of different strands of Ottomanism and their respective heritage discourses by analyzing the writings of conservative Turkish writers and intellectuals, such as Tosyavizade Rifat Osman (1874–1933), Sedat Çetintaş (1889–1965), Süheyl Ünver (1898–1986), and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (1899–1984). Additionally, it will analyze the history politics of the Turkish state and of contemporary popular culture.

The example of the palace not only illustrates the process of heritage formation in modern Turkey, but also sheds light on Edirne's close connection to Istanbul and the centuries-long coexistence of the two cities as one functional unit. Therefore, the first section will explore in more depth how the palace fell out of use and increasingly disintegrated even before the final act of its destruction. To a large extent, this was the result of the disconnection between Istanbul and Edirne since the beginning of the 18th century, as this paper argues. In the next step, I will examine the different stages of the reevaluation of the Ottoman built heritage from the beginning of the 20th century and the role Edirne's New Palace played or rather did not play in this. Finally, I will tackle the most recent rediscovery that should be part of the reintegration of Ottoman history in contemporary Turkish popular culture.

³ For a general discussion, cf. Girard, Muriel: What Heritage Tells Us About the Turkish State and Turkish Society, in: *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey* 2015.

⁴ Ovunc Ongur, Hakan: Identifying Ottomanisms. The Discursive Evolution of Ottoman Pasts in the Turkish Presents, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 51.3 (2015), pp. 416–432.

1 Decay and Destruction

The relationship between Istanbul and Edirne as alternative capitals was seriously disturbed in 1703. In what is called the Edirne Incident (Edirne Vakası), rebellious janissaries supported by a large part of the capital's elites and commoners marched from Istanbul to Edirne to depose Sultan Mustafa II (r. 1695–1703). They protested against his peace policy with Austria, but also against the blatant favoritism of his chief advisor, *şeyhülislam* Feyzullah, who was subsequently killed by the rebels. Their political demands were mixed with a good dose of the local patriotism of Istanbul citizens, who resented the sultan's absence from the capital. This decreased the janissaries' influence on the ruler and, at the same time, diminished business opportunities for the craftsmen who produced for the court.⁵ For a long time, Edirne had been one of the sultans' favorite places of residence. Mustafa II's father, Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687), in particular, had used it as a base for his hunting trips to the countryside. The wars against the Habsburgs after 1683 even highlighted Edirne's geostrategic position, which was also underlined symbolically. For example, Mustafa's predecessor Ahmed II and Sultan Mustafa himself were both enthroned in Edirne's New Palace in a ceremony that originally was closely connected to Istanbul. When Mustafa's successor Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730) was made sultan by the rebel faction, he had to promise not to go to Edirne except when on campaign.⁶

With the return of the sultan to Istanbul after 1703, the fortunes of Edirne and the New Palace began to wane. However, it seems that Edirne's cultural influence lived on for a while. Besides other cultural forms, also the palace buildings Ahmed III commissioned in Istanbul, most famously Saadabad Palace on the Golden Horn, seemed to have been influenced by the courtly culture that had developed under Ahmed's father Mehmed IV in Edirne on the shores of the river Tunca. As the most obvious stylistic and functional reference for Saadabad, architectural historians have identified the courtly architecture in Isfahan that Saadabad was to surpass in order to show the superiority of the Ottomans over the Safavid rulers of Persia. But the regional building

5 Abou-El-Haj, Rifa'at: *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*, Leiden 1984, pp. 5 and 19.

6 Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, pp. 38–39; Ertuğ, Zeynep: Edirne'de Yapılan Son Cülus Töreni, in: Ender Bilar (ed.): *I. Edirne Sarayı Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Edirne 1999, pp. 97–101.

tradition of Thrace should also be taken into account as another possible inspiration for the palace's style, its location, and the courtly culture it served.⁷

In Edirne, the New Palace remained empty but largely intact, as occasional visitors acknowledged, such as members of the foreign embassies who passed through Edirne on their way to the capital. According to Gerhard Cornelius Driesch, the Secretary to the Austrian Ambassador, who visited the palace in 1720, the last royal occupant was Ahmed III's mother. When she died four years ahead of Driesch's visit, the palace gardens started to be neglected.⁸ For the Habsburg diplomatic mission of 1740, the palace was still worth a visit. Three of its members, Philipp Franz von Gudenus, Johann Andreas Christoph Kempelen, and Captain Schad, left detailed descriptions of the abandoned building complex.⁹ All of them stressed its similarities to Topkapı Palace in Istanbul and took note of the neglected state of Edirne's New Palace. The empty throne room in the Belvedere (Cihannümâ Kasrı) prompted Kempelen to remark:

No ornaments, such as have been deployed in the other rooms, although worn and withering with age, give testimony to Ottoman greatness. And this could not be otherwise, because this room has lain abandoned for such a long time, and what was of some value together with the seat of power was brought to Constantinople. Most of the building was saved from demise by today's prefect of the gardeners, who supported what had cracks from old age and repaired what was worn.¹⁰

The earthquakes that struck Edirne in 1752 and 1753 further damaged many palace buildings. They were partly repaired for the occasion of the sultan's visit in 1768, but eight years later, a fire again destroyed many buildings and their interiors. Periodic repairs that were ordered in 1786, 1802, 1807, 1811, and 1827, could not halt the decay of the complex.¹¹ When Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) came to

⁷ I would like to thank Philip Geisler for making me aware of this; cf. also Erimtan, Can: The Perception of Saadabad. The "Tulip Age" and Ottoman Safavid Rivalry, in: Sajdi, Dana (ed.): *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee. Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, London 2007, pp. 41–62.

⁸ Driesch, Gerhard Cornelius: *Historische Nachricht von der Röm. Kayserl. Groß-Botschaft nach Constantinopel*, Nuremberg 1723, pp. 134 and 444–445.

⁹ Fritsch, Gerhard: *Paschas und Pest. Gesandtschaft am Bosporus*, Graz 1962, pp. 224–226; Kreiser, Klaus: Zwei unbekannte Beschreibungen des Serails von Edirne aus den Jahren 1740/41, in: *Archivum Ottomanicum* 3 (1982), pp. 114–142.

¹⁰ Kreiser, Zwei unbekannte Beschreibungen, p. 132; I would like to thank Heidrun Riedler for her translation from the Latin original *Descriptio itineris legatorum Caroli VI. a. 1740 ad Mahmud Turcarum imperatorem missorum*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, HAN, Cod. 8640, p. 112.

¹¹ Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, pp. 42–43.

Edirne in 1831 on one of his tours through the country, he preferred to sleep in the Imperial Tent (*otağ-ı hümayun*) and made but a short visit to the New Palace.¹² Helmut von Moltke, who visited Edirne in 1837, once again together with the sultan, confirmed the ruined condition of parts of the palace. While some of its pavilions were still very impressive and largely intact, the central tower and the harem section in particular appeared to be no more than ruins, with their walls badly damaged and the decoration spoiled. An Austrian engineer passing through in Edirne in 1869 witnessed the same state of decay.¹³

The palace's most comprehensive renovation was ordered when Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) planned to visit Edirne in 1867 on the occasion of his trip to Europe. Although in the end the sultan did not pass through the city, many of the palace buildings were subsequently completely overhauled.¹⁴



Fig. 1: The Belvedere after restoration.

The photographs that documented this renovation turned out to be the last recorded visual impression of the palace, which burned down completely a couple

¹² Mutlu, Şamil: *Yeniçeri Ocağının Kaldırılışı ve II. Mahmud'un Edirne Seyahati*. Mehmed Dâniş Bey ve Eserleri, İstanbul 1994, pp. 94–95.

¹³ Kreiser, Zwei unbekannte Beschreibungen, p. 119; Hochstetter, Ferdinand v.: *Reise durch Rumelien im Sommer 1869*, in: *Mittheilungen der kais. und königl. geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 13 (NF 3) (1870), pp. 193–212 and 350–358, here pp. 351–352.

¹⁴ Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, p. 44.

of years later in the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877/78. It was not the Russian enemy who set the palace ablaze, but the Ottoman commander and the city's governor, who, confronted with the approach of the Russian army, evacuated Edirne on 19 January 1878 and ordered the ammunition and material stored on the palace site to be destroyed. Set on fire by the Ottoman soldiers themselves, the depots exploded and destroyed the surrounding palace buildings.¹⁵ After the war, Edirne's governor sold some of the surviving valuable items, such as painted tiles and copper vessels, to a collector from the British embassy. At the same time, the city's inhabitants were officially allowed to search the site for building material. This practice, which apparently continued until as late as the 1950s, was why the palace ruins gradually disappeared: even the foundations of most buildings were being dug up.¹⁶



Fig. 2: Ruins of Cihannümâ Kasrı.

In sum, until the late 19th century, the New Palace was treated mainly as a functional building and was only superficially taken care of. It was badly damaged because of its use as a military depot and ultimately destroyed for its use value as

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 47–52.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 51; Öz, Tahsin: Edirne Yeni Sarayında Kazı ve Araştırmalar, in: *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600. Fetih Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara 1965, p. 218.

building material. This neglect started to change only at the beginning of the 20th century, when the palace ruins were turned into a historical monument as part of national Turkish heritage. The next section will examine the first steps in this slow process of heritage formation that continues today.

2 Rediscovery

Tosyavizade Rifat Osman (1874–1933), a radiologist by profession who was stationed in Edirne as a military doctor from around the turn of the 20th century and later became the director of the municipal hospital, was the first to rediscover the New Palace and appreciate it as a historical monument. As an amateur historian, he collected sources and published articles and a book on Edirne's past in general and that of the New Palace in particular. His expertise even survived his death in 1933, because in 1958, the Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu, TTK) posthumously published a monograph on the New Palace that consisted partly of already published and partly of previously unpublished texts, drawings, and photographs from Rifat Osman's collection. For more than half a century and until quite recently, this monograph remained the only book on the subject.

Rifat Osman's relation to the palace was fundamentally different from the utilitarian approach of most of his contemporaries. For him, places like the New Palace and Topkapı Palace, which he visited in 1919 and whose neglected state shocked him, were historical monuments (*âsâr-ı tarihiye*) that had to be preserved and studied. Consequently, he condemned in the most severe terms the Ottoman officials responsible for the decision to blow up the New Palace. Referring to the exemplary conservation of Venice he stated: "I humbly recommend that you investigate the degree to which nations that want to rise and have a will to life (*yaşamak arzu eden*) are connected to history." The urgency of the matter is reflected by the second example of this fateful connection between nationalism and history he cites, i.e., how Bulgaria plundered historical objects when it occupied Edirne during the First Balkan War in 1913.¹⁷

Another publication, his *Edirne Rehniması* (Edirne Guide) reflects the same preoccupation with the historical continuities and roots of the Turkish nation. At first glance, the book is a tour guide that describes the city's most famous historical monuments to visitors, adding some practical information like a city map. Published in 1920, when Edirne, like Istanbul, was under Allied occupation (or was under threat of being occupied) and it was not clear at all to which state both

¹⁷ Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, pp. 39–40.

cities would belong in the future, the guide may also be read as a manifesto of Edirne's essentially Turkish character. As is typical for 19th-century nationalism, Rifat Osman looked for Edirne's Turkish character in a distant past. He ascribes the city's origin to one Tirak Khan, chief of a Turkic tribe from Central Asia, who conquered the region in the seventh century BCE and gave his name to the region Thrace (Trakya). According to this theory, for which Rifat Osman cites the French archaeologist and traveler Charles Texier as an authority, the conqueror also founded a settlement called Eski Damak. Later it became known in the corrupted form of Uscudama before the city was renamed Hadrianopolis.¹⁸

The book does not deny Edirne's cosmopolitan character in Ottoman times; there is a detailed discussion of the ethnic composition of the city quarters. However, the author underlines the city's Turkish/Muslim character by pointing to the numerical majority of the Muslim population, as well as by describing in detail the city's Ottoman historical monuments, among which the New Palace features prominently. The book was intended not only for the Turkish/Ottoman public, but also for Europeans, for whom parts of the book were translated into French as *Guide d'Adrianople* and attached to the main part in Ottoman Turkish. In all his publications, Rifat Osman's historicism, which stressed the importance of the past for the definition of national identity, contrasts strongly with the modernist strands of Turkish nationalism as it was established in the 1920s. His lifelong attempt to inscribe Edirne into the nation's history is still widely acknowledged today.

Supplementing this historicist approach, Rifat Osman also adopted a nostalgic perspective on the New Palace. This can best be understood with reference to his general characterization of Edirne. In a retrospective description of his first visit to the city in 1904, he was struck by the similarity of Edirne and his familiar neighborhood in his home city Istanbul, both being run down, bleak, and deserted.¹⁹ The palace integrated particularly well in this picture of decay that was shared by many writers and intellectuals in late Ottoman and Republican Istanbul and that in a way continues until today.²⁰ Many walks took Rifat Osman to the ruins, which were embedded in a beautiful landscape and served him as a motif for his hobby of painting. At the same time, these ruins triggered Rifat Osman's historical imagination perhaps more than intact buildings would have done. On several occasions, he conjured up dreamlike scenes of past palace life that the sight of the New Palace's ruins inspired in

¹⁸ Tosyavizade Rifat Osman: *Edirne Rehnüması*, Edirne 1336, p. 10/p. 2 in the French part.

¹⁹ Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı*, p. 111.

²⁰ Pamuk, Orhan: *İstanbul. Hatıralar ve Şehir*, Istanbul 2004, pp. 231–248.

him. With his gaze of a visitor and a painter, Rifat Osman transformed the few remains of the New Palace into a cultural imaginary.²¹

In this transformation, the palace's material dimension was very restrained; it almost seems as if the palace's appreciation depended on its destruction. This was quite atypical for national Turkish heritage as it was canonized in the 1920s and 1930s. The next section will briefly recapitulate the position of the Ottoman past and its monuments in the process of heritage formation in Republican Turkey, before turning to the consequences for the New Palace.

3 Conservation

On an official level, the Turkish Republic founded in 1923 by a revolutionary movement rejected the Ottoman regime and adopted modernism as a state ideology. In schoolbooks as well as the state-controlled press, the Ottoman past was deemphasized. Only in the 1930s did the Republic begin to discover history as an additional source of legitimacy. Yet, it was not the country's continuity with the Ottoman Empire that was stressed; rather connections were made to an imagined Turkish past as it was discovered in the ethnically interpreted medieval empires of Central Asia and Anatolia. As a less obvious case, Turkish history was also connected to the Hittite Empire. Reference to Ottoman history, and here especially to the 15th- and 16th-century phase of expansion and power, was reserved for contexts outside of officially endorsed history policy. However, the considerable changes that put the Ottoman legacy center stage in the 1950s were prefigured at the margins of the official discourse.²²

Most notably, the old capital Istanbul provoked a constant debate over the Ottoman past. Until the 1950s, the city's structure and architecture remained predominantly Ottoman. Even its population with its high percentage of Orthodox, Jewish, and Armenian inhabitants was very similar to what it had been in Ottoman times. Also, Turkey's intellectual and cultural elites were still mostly concentrated in Istanbul, and some of them were engaged in promoting the Ottoman past as a source for Turkish national identity. What particularly incensed these

²¹ I take this idea of "engagement" from Alsayyad, Nezar: *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage. Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, London 2013, p. 4.

²² Çinar, Alev: National History as a Contested Site. The Conquest of Istanbul and Islamist Negotiations of the Nation, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43.2 (2001), pp. 365–371; Brockett, Gavin D.: *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk. Provincial Newspapers and the Negotiation of a Muslim National Identity*, Austin 2011, pp. 70–76.

intellectuals as well as architects and other professionals was the visible neglect of many historical buildings, most importantly the great sultanic mosques from the classical Ottoman period. In local patriotic fashion, many blamed the regime for favoring Ankara, which was massively developed as the nation's new capital. An institutional and personal continuity in the field of urban preservation supported this emotional impulse in the face of crumbling mosques, palaces, and khans. Already in the late 19th century, mosques and churches had ceased to be evaluated only in functional terms and were redefined as historical monuments. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ottoman government created the legal framework and the institutions for their preservation. The Ministry of Pious Foundations (Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti) that administered the country's mosques since the first half of the 19th century opened up a department for restoration. The Imperial Archaeological Museum (Müze-i Hümayun), founded in 1891, and the Council for the Preservation of Monuments (Âsar-ı Atika Encümeni), founded in 1915, were also concerned with urban conservation, mostly in the Ottoman capital. These institutions continued to work in early Republican Turkey, often with the same officials and professionals as members of different advisory councils and committees. One very prominent case of this continuity was Halil Edhem (Eldem), the director of the Archaeology Museum, who held office from 1910 to 1931. Another example is the architect Ahmed Kemalettin, acting as director of restoration at the Ministry of Pious Foundations from 1909 to 1919 and at the ministry's successor, the Directorate General of Foundations (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü) from 1925 to 1927.²³ Kemalettin was one of the most influential figures in architecture of the late Ottoman and early Republican era. He not only trained some of the architects and conservationists, such as Sedat Çetintaş and Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, whom we will encounter later in this chapter. As an architect, Kemalettin also decisively defined the architectural idiom later dubbed the "First National Style," an Ottoman revivalism that made heavy use of Seljuk and Ottoman stylistic elements grafted onto modern building types. An excellent example of this style is Kemalettin's 1915 Edirne train station at Karaağaç.²⁴ The fact that this style remained dominant until the Republic adopted architectural modernism in the 1930s shows that the disassociation from the Ottoman past was not equally pronounced in all fields.²⁵

23 Altinyıldız, Nur: The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul and the Ideology of Preservation, in: *Muqarnas* 24 (2007), pp. 285–293.

24 Cf. Riedler, Florian: Building Modern Infrastructures on Ancient Routes. Road and Rail Development in Nineteenth-Century Edirne, in this volume.

25 Bozdoğan, Sibel: Art and Architecture in Modern Turkey. The Republican Period, in: Reşat Kasaba (ed.): *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 4. *Turkey in the Modern World*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 419–472, here pp. 423–426.

Because of this existing institutional structure in 1920s Istanbul, preservation work was undertaken at least on some of its top monuments, such as the Hagia Sophia and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, despite Turkey's difficult political and economic situation. It seems that the Directorate of Foundations included Edirne's principal mosques, like the Selimiye and the Üç Şerefeli mosques, in these restoration efforts.²⁶ For monuments of a lower rank and those in other provincial towns, however, the situation was much less favorable. As a consequence, in 1933, the government established the Commission for Preservation of Monuments (Anıtlar Koruma Komisyonu, AKK) under the leadership of the Ministry of Education, which published a list of endangered monuments and a draft for a Turkish code of preservation.²⁷ In this publication, the commission explained its initiative by quoting from a letter from President Mustafa Kemal to his prime minister. Here, the president underlined the importance of the country's museums and urged the government to preserve the historical treasures to be found in the country. The occasion for Mustafa Kemal's intervention was a tour that took him, among other places, to Konya, the ancient capital of the state of the Rum Seljuks in Western Central Anatolia (1075–1308), from where he also posted his letter. To a certain extent, the president's agenda was reflected in the list of endangered monuments, which included not only Ottoman mosques, medreses, caravanserais, and fortresses, but also many Seljuk buildings, as well as architectural structures from the pre-Ottoman beyliks of Anatolia. It was the expressed aim of the initiative to take the preservation of these monuments under national supervision, because the local authorities lacked the means and in many cases also the will to save them. However, the Directorate General of Foundations, which was responsible for most of the listed mosques, seems not to have taken care of them in the majority of provincial towns.

Despite this 1930s initiative that declared preservation a national task, the issue remained problematic. The AKK was mainly concerned with listing and documenting historical monuments and with increasing public awareness of the importance of conservation. The most prolific figure among its members in this respect was the architect and conservator Sedat Çetintaş (1889–1965). In hundreds of newspaper articles, he fought for threatened historical buildings, mainly in Istanbul but also in other parts of the country. In an article published in 1935 in the leading daily *Cumhuriyet*, he deplored the demolition by the “blind pickaxe” (*kör kazma*, a term he adopted from a 1921 text by the poet Yahya Kemal) of

²⁶ Madran, Emre: *Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi* – I, in: *ODTÜ MFD* 16 (1996), pp. 59–97, here p. 64.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 69–72; *Tarihi Abide ve Eserlerimizi Korunmağa Mecburuz*, Istanbul 1933.

historical buildings that should be preserved as witnesses to the Turkish nation's past greatness.²⁸ What Çetintaş had in mind were cases of demolition in Republican Turkey, such as the erasure of Ottoman inscriptions, the neglect of historical mosques, the Directorate General of Foundation's practice of selling them off to private owners, the destruction of Ottoman bridges, and other instances of neglect or destruction of historical buildings. Interestingly, he linked these practices to historical examples, such as Saadabad Palace, which had been razed in 1730 in a rebellion against the sultan – an event that Turkish historiography describes in very negative terms as the violent insurrection of a reactionary mob against an enlightened ruler. And he also refers to the destruction of Edirne's New Palace, alluding to the irresponsible behavior of the local Ottoman authorities that had already enraged Rifat Osman. Çetintaş commented:

This happened because at that time the level of culture was very low. It would be of immense value if this palace, which was founded by Sultan Fatih, who frightened all of Europe, would have remained in our hands. Unfortunately, today the place is just plain.²⁹

All of this, so the general message of the article, was unworthy of Turkey, if it wished to belong to modern civilization, which was characterized by a respectful relation to historical monuments. Elsewhere as well, Çetintaş used the New Palace as an example of a great monument of civilian Ottoman architecture that was irretrievably lost, for instance in the context of his fight for the protection of Ibrahim Pasha's palace on the Hippodrome in Istanbul.³⁰ Like other professionals in architecture and preservation, Çetintaş stressed the importance of Ottoman "secular" architecture, also in an attempt to counter the stereotypical treatment of Ottoman architecture by European historians, who frequently reduced it to mosques.³¹

In contrast, in his practical work, Çetintaş was famous for his idealized drawings of sultanic mosques in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne done in preparation for their restoration. These drawings did not represent the actual conditions of the respective monuments, but presented idealized versions of them. This had repercussions on restoration practice, which was often reduced to

28 "Kör Kazma," in: *Cumhuriyet* 12, 14–15 Temmuz 1935, in: Çetintaş, Sedat: *İstanbul ve Mimari Yazıları*, ed. İsmail Dervişoğlu, Ankara 2011, pp. 13–19.

29 Ibid., p. 14.

30 *Saray ve Kervansaraylarımız Yanında İbrahim Paşa Sarayı*, Istanbul 1939, in: ibid., pp. 72–88, here p. 73.

31 Bozdoğan, Sibel: Reading Ottoman Architecture through Modernist Lenses. Nationalist Historiography and the "New Architecture" in the Early Republic, in: *Muqarnas* 24 (2007), pp. 199–221, here p. 212.

cleaning and whitewashing the buildings' surfaces. These and other monuments that were included in major publications and picture postcard series were singled out to serve as national icons.³²

What consequences did this turn to history politics in the 1930s have on the local level? From the beginning, Edirne played a pronounced part in this formative phase of the Turkish national heritage. In 1930, on his tour through the country that initiated heritage politics, Mustafa Kemal also visited Edirne, where it was his principal aim to support the repair of the Selimiye and other mosques that had been damaged in an earthquake. He also visited the city's museum, founded in 1925 and newly arranged for the visit, which had an archaeological as well as an ethnographic section.

In 1935, the semi-official Society of the Friends of Antiquities in Edirne and its Region (Edirne ve Yöresi Eski Eserleri Sevenler Kurumu) was founded. The province governor was its president and among its members were many officials, such as the Member of Parliament for Edirne, the director of the local branch of the Directorate General of Foundations, the scientific staff of the city's museums, and many local architects. Similarly to the AKK on a national level, the Society of Friends was to coordinate preservation works and restoration projects on a local level, make proposals for urgent restorations, and support them financially. In this way, the society was involved until 1941 in several projects in which those khans and caravanserais that had already been mentioned in the 1933 list of endangered monuments played a predominant role. Among other projects, the society initiated the restoration of the Ekmekçioğlu Caravanserai and financially supported the restoration of Rüstem Paşa Khan in the center of Edirne.³³

As in other parts of the country, in Edirne the official heritage policy did not focus exclusively on Ottoman monuments. In 1937, the Turkish Historical Society/TTK initiated archaeological excavations of prehistoric tumuli in Thrace. These were conducted by Arif Müfid Mansel (1905–1975), Vice Director at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum and a professor at Istanbul University. The results of these excavations were made known to a wider public in a booklet published by

32 Gasco, Giorgio: Bruno Taut and the Program for the Protection of Monuments in Turkey (1937–38). Three Case Studies: Ankara, Edirne and Bursa, in: *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture* 27.2 (2010), pp. 15–36, here pp. 19–22; Altinyildiz, The Architectural Heritage of Istanbul, pp. 293–294.

33 Madran, Emre: Cumhuriyet'in İlk Otuz Yılında (1920–1950) Koruma Alanının Örgütlenmesi – II, *ODTÜ MFD* 17 (1997), pp. 75–97, here p. 84. On the Ekmekçioğlu Caravanserai cf. Wimmel, Robin: Edirne as a Stopover Destination. The Ekmekçioğlu Caravanserai and the Ottoman Road Network, in this volume.

the Society of Friends.³⁴ Public relations were an important field of activity, too. A series of postcards issued by the society promoted Edirne's mosques and most notably the Selimiye as important national monuments. The TTK officially acknowledged these restoration works and presented them to international experts, like the architect Bruno Taut, who worked as an advisor to the Turkish Ministry of Education.³⁵

In this official effort to inscribe Edirne's monuments in the national heritage, for several reasons the palace did not play any significant role. Because of its ruinous condition, it was not suitable to be presented as an architectural icon. So, preservation initiatives of the 1930s paid less attention to it than even to other "secular" Ottoman monuments such as khans, caravanserais, and palaces. Preservationists like Çetintaş did not even acknowledge the ruins as relevant, but only referred to them as something irretrievably lost. This changed to a limited degree in the 1950s, when Ottoman history was popularized, as will be analyzed in the next section. Only in the 1990s and due to the constant evolution of Turkish heritage politics did a radically new approach to the palace emerge, as the last section will elaborate in detail.

4 Popularization

The Republican regime's history politics in the 1930s, which were rather elitist and in which the Ottoman past played only an ambiguous role, changed dramatically during the 1940s and '50s. After the introduction of the multi-party system in 1945, accompanied by the revitalization of the Turkish press, there was an upsurge in public interest in Ottoman history. To profit from this trend, the government decided to turn the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople into a popular event and to promote it as the decisive world historical moment of the Turks. On the initiative of the Ministry of Education, from the beginning of the 1940s, several commissions were charged with preparing for the anniversary, but in many ways World War II made any effective planning impossible. Likewise, the change of government in 1950, when the oppositional

³⁴ Eyice, Semavi: *Türk Trakya Araştırmalarının Öncüsü*. Ord. Prof. Dr. Arif Müfid Mansel, in: *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4–5 (1976/1975), pp. 301–330, here p. 309.

³⁵ Gasco, Giorgio: The Contribution of the Turkish Historical Society to the First Stage of the Governmental Program for the Protection of Monuments in Edirne (1933–1941). Preservation Policies and Ideology in the Representation of Architectural Heritage, in: *Belleten* 76.276 (2012), pp. 673–690; Gasco, Bruno Taut.

Democratic Party won the elections for the first time, had its effect, so that only in 1952 could serious preparations begin. The organization in charge, the Istanbul Conquest Society (İstanbul Fetih Derneği, which continues until today as the İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti), staged the anniversary on 29 May 1953 as a mass event. Large crowds attended the celebrations in Istanbul, where historical monuments were used as a backdrop for historical reenactments, speeches, and other events. Similar happenings to mark the jubilee were organized in many provincial cities, as well.³⁶

It would be very interesting to learn whether and how the anniversary was celebrated in Edirne and whether the New Palace was mentioned or its site used. Until further research, we can see only that the palace became a topic in the broad wave of publications ranging from articles in newspapers and popular magazines to scholarly monographs that followed the celebrations in 1953. This was the context in which Süheyl Ünver (1898–1986), like Rifat Osman a medical doctor turned heritage promoter and, in his case, Director of the Institute for the History of Medicine at Istanbul University, published a booklet entitled *Edirne'de Fatih'in Cihannümâ Kâsrı* (Fatih's Belvedere in Edirne).

Much of the material and many of the images in the booklet had actually been collected by Rifat Osman, who had become Ünver's fatherly friend already in the 1920s through their shared interest in Ottoman history. Like Rifat Osman, as an academic but also as a collector and painter, Ünver had a broad interest in Ottoman culture, including art, architecture, poetry, and sufi traditions. He was one of the intellectuals raised in the late Ottoman Empire who showed respect for the great tradition and tried to promote it as a basis for a modern Turkish nation. In this endeavor, Istanbul, as the center of Ottoman culture, played a crucial role – Süheyl Ünver was dubbed the “last Istanbul gentleman” (*son İstanbul efendisi*) – and made him an enthusiastic participant in the anniversary. He fully shared its principal aim of rehabilitating the Ottoman past by showing that this past was essentially Turkish and in this way reinterpreting national identity. In a way, his engagement for the anniversary can also be understood as a restaging of a conflict over the Turkishness of Istanbul that went back to the years after World War I, when the Ottoman capital was occupied by Allied forces (1918–1922) and its political future, like that of Edirne, was unclear. Very similar to the endeavors of his friend Rifat Osman in Edirne, Ünver was a member of a group in Istanbul called Friends of Architect Sinan (Mimar Sinan Muhibleri) that

³⁶ Brockett, Gavin D.: When Ottomans Become Turks. Commemorating the Conquest of Constantinople and Its Contribution to World History, in: *The American Historical Review* 119.2 (2014), pp. 399–433, here pp. 412–420.

undertook city walks to the monuments of the great architect. In the politically tense situation of occupied Istanbul, this could be seen as an act of claiming Sinan for the Turks to “prove” that Istanbul was essentially Turkish and therefore had to be incorporated into a future Turkish national state.³⁷

By authoring the 1953 booklet on the Belvedere in Edirne, Süheyl Ünver acquainted a wider audience with Rifat Osman’s work. Five years later, Ünver would also edit Rifat Osman’s posthumous book on the New Palace. Ünver fully acknowledged his indebtedness to his friend’s work and even called him the “second builder (*bâni*) of the vanished palace” who had rebuilt it through his research effort. To a large extent, they shared a melancholic appreciation of the New Palace in its present form, which Ünver also embedded in a corresponding interpretation of history. As he mused in the foreword of the 1953 booklet, the destruction of the New Palace was inevitable in the course of time, because buildings like humans have a finite lifetime. However, he said, it was a grave mistake not to take care of the ruins.³⁸

In the context of the conquest jubilee, yet another of the “nostalgic conservatives,” as a group of Turkish intellectuals with a special relation to the Ottoman past has been dubbed,³⁹ has to be mentioned. In the 1950s, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (1899–1984), an architect and conservationist, started to concentrate on his academic interest as a historian of architecture and became one of the most prolific members of the aforementioned Conquest Society. For the jubilee, he published the volume *Fatih Devri Mimarisi* (Architecture of the Fatih Period), a richly illustrated catalogue of 760 buildings. Many of the mosques, schools, libraries, hospitals, caravanserais, khans, *hamams*, and palaces that are presented in this volume still exist in Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne, but also in provincial Anatolian towns, as well as in the Balkans. Despite its destruction, Edirne’s New Palace was given a relatively large section with many illustrations, historical but also recent photographs documenting the state of the palace. In his subsequent publications in the series of the Conquest Society, which were all richly illustrated and printed on high-quality paper, the palace or parts of it like the Belvedere are

³⁷ Sayar, Ahmed Güner: *A. Süheyl Ünver. Hayatı, Şahsiyeti ve Eserleri, 1898–1986*, Istanbul 1994, pp. 140–141; Ünver characterized Rifat Osman’s *Edirne Rehnüması* as an attempt to present Edirne’s Turkishness to the world. Cf. Ünver, Ahmet Süheyl: *Edirne’de Fatih’in Cihannümâ Kâsnı*, Istanbul 1953, p. 32.

³⁸ Ünver, *Cihannümâ Kâsnı*, pp. VII–IX.

³⁹ Bora, Tanıl and Onaran, Burak: Nostalji ve Muhafazakârlık “Mâzi Cenneti,” in: Ahmed Çığdem (ed.): *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasî Düşünce, Vol. 5: Muhafazakârlık*, Istanbul 2003, pp. 234–260.

treated as outstanding monuments.⁴⁰ Another Turkish architect cum historian of architecture, Sedat Hakkı Eldem (1908–1988) also treats many of the structures of the New Palace in greater detail in his work *Köşkler ve Kasırlar / A Survey of Turkish Kiosks and Pavilions*. The book's two volumes were published in 1969 and 1973 respectively, but go back to the author's interest in the topic that started in the 1940s.⁴¹ This shows that at least in academic circles the importance of the New Palace was well acknowledged.

Ayverdi's work in the Conquest Society attests to the important position that the Ottoman past was able to occupy in Turkish cultural and intellectual life ever since. The development of Turkish society, the opening up of the political system after World War II, had led to including the Ottoman past in the state's history politics. At the same time, interest in this past found new forms of popular expressions, such as the celebrations of the anniversary and the ensuing media production, including the first feature film on the conquest. Not all who had advocated the Ottoman past as an important part of Turkish identity before were happy about this development. For instance, Sedat Çetintaş severely criticized the hypocrisy and vulgarity of history politics as expressed in the conquest anniversary. While the program proceeded, the Ottoman monuments of Istanbul were still neglected or even being willfully destroyed, as in the case of the caravanserai of the Fatih Mosque complex.⁴² This contradiction between a popularization of Ottoman history that went hand in hand with a destruction of its monuments, as Çetintaş observed, was to become even more pronounced in the following years. In 1956, the government started to radically redevelop and modernize Istanbul's historical center, resulting in the destruction of many smaller historical buildings and the Ottoman urban fabric that had still been largely intact. Another and even more tragic side of this de-Ottomanization of Istanbul was the pogrom of 6–7 September 1955 against the city's Orthodox population, which was also organized by the government under the Democratic Party.

In sum, the postwar period displayed contradictory trends in the process of heritage formation. While the Ottoman past as personified by Sultan Mehmed II was officially endorsed as a source of national identity, on the practical side preservation remained financially severely restricted and was often subordinated to political and economic concerns. Excepted from such restrictions were

⁴⁰ Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı: *Fatih Devri Mimarisi*, İstanbul 1953, pp. 369–381; *ibid.*: *Osmanlı Mi'mârisinde Fâtih Devri (855–886/1451–1481)*, İstanbul 1973, pp. 234–266.

⁴¹ Eldem, Sedat Hakkı: *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol. 1, İstanbul 1969, p. IX.

⁴² Fatih Evvela Bizi Fethetmeli, in: *Şadırvan* 13, 24 Haziran 1949, in: Çetintaş, *İstanbul ve Mimarî Yazıları*, pp. 391–392; Fatih'i Tahkir Mi Yoksa Kutlamak Mi? Tavi Geçmiş Demire Çekiç Vurulursa Kırılır, in: *Son Saat*, 29 Ocak 1951, in: *ibid.*, pp. 444–447.

some monuments that were closely associated with Sultan Mehmed, such as the Fatih Mosque and his mausoleum, which was renovated and opened to the public already in the 1940s in the run-up to the jubilee. Other prominent cases are Mehmed's famous fortress on the Bosphorus, Rumeli Hisar, and the Tiled Pavilion (Çinili Köşk) inside Topkapı Palace. Compared with these prominent monuments canonized as Mehmed's legacy, Edirne's New Palace was located rather at the margins. However, I would argue that from this period on, the palace (but not necessarily its material remains) became firmly coupled with this sultan and would from then on thrive on his popularity. The short-term effect on the palace as a site of ruins seems to have been minimal, with the exception of the 1956 archaeological examination, which was soon discontinued.⁴³ Only in the 1990s, when history culture in Turkey entered a new phase, did this begin to change considerably.

5 Resurrection

In 1995, in his opening speech to a conference held in Edirne on the topic of the New Palace, one of the organizers declared the palace's resurrection from the dead (*ba's-ü ba'd-el mevt*).⁴⁴ At a time when the palace was still officially listed as a ruin site (*ören yeri*), this sounded overly optimistic. However, in the decades since, many of the proposals for scientific study of the palace and the restoration and use of its remains that participants voiced in their conference presentations were put into practice. In 2009, a team of archaeologists from Istanbul Bahçeşehir University started with the archaeological excavations, still ongoing today, that constitute the first in-depth investigation of the whole palace site.⁴⁵ The most eye-catching development was the restoration and partial reconstruction of several significantly damaged or almost vanished structures. Among those in the central part of the site were one of the gates to the palace's second court, the Gate of Felicity (Bab üs-Saade, restored in 2004), three bridges connecting the palace area to the city (Fatih Köprüsü, Kanuni Köprüsü and Şehabeddin Paşa Köprüsü, repaired in 2006–2007), the palace kitchens (restored and partly reconstructed in 2009), a

⁴³ Öz, *Edirne Yeni Sarayında Kazı ve Araştırmalar*.

⁴⁴ Kazancıgil, Ratip: I. Edirne Sarayı Sempozyumu Açılış Konuşması, in: Ender Bilar (ed.): *I. Edirne Sarayı Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, Edirne 1999, p. 13.

⁴⁵ Mustafa Özer et al., *Edirne Yeni Saray Kazısı* (Sarayı Cedîd-i Âmire), in: *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 24.1 (2015), pp. 73–106.

bath (Kum Kasrı Hamamı, restored in 2011), and the Tower of Justice at the entrance of the palace area (Adalet Kasrı, whose interior was restored in 2012).⁴⁶



Fig. 3: Bab üs-Saade after the recent restoration.

The recommendations the architect and conservationist Hüsrev Tayla (1925–2014) made at the 1995 conference may even offer a glimpse of the future of the palace

⁴⁶ Özer, *Edirne Sarayı (Sarayı Cedîd-i Âmire)*, pp. 18–84. Already earlier there must have been lesser restoration attempts, as a photo of Bab üs-Saade (IV-1211631, 1971) from the 1970s in the Machiel Kiel Photographic Archive (<http://www.nit-istanbul.org/kielarchive/index.php>) shows. The same is true for Adalet Kasrı, whose restoration I could not reconstruct.

site.⁴⁷ Most pointedly, Tayla, who had worked since the 1950s for the Directorate General of Foundations and the Ministry of Culture on many restoration projects in Edirne, also included the Belvedere in his considerations. He advocated the restoration of the building's foundations and truncated walls and the reconstruction of the upper stories, including the umbrella-shaped tower. Tayla also called for the reconstruction of buildings that had vanished entirely, such as the Sand Palace (Kum Kasrı), to which the bath mentioned above belonged. New buildings such as this, he proposed, could be used to house a museum, for tourist services, or as administration buildings. Finally, to give visitors an impression of the overall layout, the palace's perimeter walls and those of all known buildings should be raised up to a certain level, he said. This outspoken advocacy for reconstruction is perhaps not surprising, considering that Tayla's most famous work as an architect was a gigantic copy of an Ottoman central-domed mosque opened in Ankara's Kocatepe quarter in 1987. The story of this mosque project that started with a modernist design, which was abandoned in 1967 in favor of Tayla's, cannot be retold here.⁴⁸ Instead, I will turn to Edirne's New Palace, which offers another example of how the Ottoman architectural heritage is taken up very differently in today's Turkey from before. This section will demonstrate how the resonance of history in popular culture and the latter's hunger for visualization has resulted in a new way of managing heritage. At the same time, the marketability of history and its growing importance for tourism purposes make large-scale reconstruction projects feasible.

Since the 1980s, Turkey has witnessed a presence of Ottoman history in public discourse to a degree never seen before. This phenomenon, sometimes dubbed Neo-Ottomanism, is a reflection of the profound internal and external changes the country was and still is subjected to. Although Neo-Ottomanism introduced many new contents, e.g. the focus on religious identity and forms, it shares with older references to the Ottoman past the aim of appropriating the past for the present by equating the Ottoman with the Turkish. One striking form of Neo-Ottomanism can be observed in Turkish foreign policy. Since the 1980s, conservative politicians such as Turgut Özal (prime minister from 1983 to 1989 and president until 1993) and successors like Tayyip Erdoğan (prime minister from 2003 to 2014 and president until today) frequently made reference to the Ottoman past to make plausible to the public the country's claims and actions in Central Asia, the Middle East, or

⁴⁷ Tayla, Hüsrev: I. Edirne Sarayı Sempozyumu Düzenleme Kurulu Başkanlığına, in: Bilar (ed.): *I. Edirne Sarayı Sempozyumu*, pp. 21–23.

⁴⁸ Meeker, Michael: Once There Was, Once There Wasn't. National Monuments and Interpersonal Exchange, in: Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (eds.): *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Seattle 1997, pp. 157–191.

the Balkans.⁴⁹ We will discuss below one way Edirne was included in this geo-nostalgia, i.e., through the recollection of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913).

Neo-Ottomanism as a political project to redefine Turkey's place in the world also had an economic side; in this, Istanbul, which the same actors promoted as a global city, played the predominant role. In Turkey's economic capital, Neo-Ottoman discourses had a direct imprint on urban space, for example in the efforts to preserve the Ottoman built heritage as important assets for the tourism industry; in historicizing architecture, especially new mosques; and, most recently, in reconstruction projects such as the Ottoman barracks that will replace Gezi Park on Taksim Square.⁵⁰ Most recently, some observers have noted a tendency to "banalization" in the development and scope of Neo-Ottomanism as visible in Turkish popular culture. Especially Turkish television, as the leading media, has successfully adapted Ottoman contents. This form of Ottomanism is no longer consciously employed by intellectuals or politicians, but emerges from a complicated interaction between public taste and profit-oriented media.⁵¹

Edirne's New Palace has to be perceived in this amorphous context of references to the Ottoman past, which in many ways has drawn attention to the palace. One of the important connecting points, which continues older lines, is the political myth of Mehmed the Conqueror. In the 1990s, the religious right started to appropriate the sultan's legacy and gave it a religious spin. On several occasions, the Islamist Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) organized celebrations on 29 May and attempted to style its rising success in local elections in Istanbul as a second conquest of the city from the established secular parties.⁵² Istanbul was "reconquered" in 1994 when Tayyip Erdoğan became the city's mayor. Since then, the image of Sultan Mehmed II has become an integral part of the history politics of the local government in Istanbul and beyond. The regular and institutionalized public celebrations of 29 May that had previously been only small official events,

49 Çolak, Yilmaz: Ottomanism vs. Kemalism. Collective Memory and Cultural Pluralism in 1990s Turkey, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 42.4 (2006), pp. 587–602; Taspınar, Ömer: Turkey's Middle East Policies. Between Neo-Ottomanism and Kemalism, in: *Carnegie Papers. From the Carnegie Middle East Center* 10 (2008).

50 Öncü, Ayşe: Narratives of Istanbul's Ottoman Heritage, in: Nikiforos Diamandouros, Thalia Dragonas, and Çağlar Keyder (eds.): *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation. Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey*, New York 2010, pp. 205–28; Sert, Özlem: Türkiye'de Nostalji Politikası, Kentte Gigantomani, Ev Ekonomisinde Saray Hayali. Yeni Osmanlı Hatırlamanın Halleri, in: *Birikim* 293 (2013), pp. 94–103.

51 Ongur, Identifying Ottomanisms, p. 425; Pekesen, Berna: Vergangenheit als Populärkultur. Das Osmanenreich im türkischen Fernsehen der Gegenwart, in: *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 12 (2015), pp. 140–151.

52 Çınar, National History as a Contested Site, pp. 379–383.

but even more so a museum staging the conquest in the form of a panorama, attest to the popularity and the new cultural forms that reference to the conquest has acquired in Turkey.⁵³ This popularity is even surpassed by the most recent product of popular culture, namely the 2012 Turkish film *Fetih 1453* (The Conquest 1453), the most expensive and most successful production up to now. The film very much aligns with the Islamic interpretation of the sultan, but here I want to draw attention to its particular way of representing the past. In its exposition, the film connects three locations, Medina, Constantinople, and Edirne, by following the flight of a falcon with the camera. This flight starts in Medina in the year 627, when the Companions of the Prophet Mohammed discuss the famous prophecy that a Muslim commander will someday conquer Constantinople. When the falcon passes the capital of the Byzantine Empire, the truth of this prophecy is underlined by a solar eclipse and a comet, divine signs that frighten the people. The falcon's flight ends in Edirne on 29 March 1432, as a subtitle tells the viewers, for us to witness the announcement of the birth of an Ottoman prince, the future Mehmed II. The falcon's flight, which covers space and time, offers the opportunity to introduce and visualize the main interpretation of Sultan Mehmed as the predicted Muslim commander. More important in our context, though, is the ability to set the stage by presenting historical cities from a bird's-eye view, which is supported by the digital animation technology that the film uses abundantly. This mainly concerns Byzantine Constantinople, which is depicted as an imposing imperial city of stone; but Edirne, at that time the Ottoman capital, also has an eight-second appearance as a green and pleasant place. Edirne's layout and architecture are largely fictitious, and so is the palace where the falcon lands at the moment of Mehmed's birth. However, among the various courtyards, porticos, cupolas, and arched gateways that the viewer is supposed to associate with Ottoman palace architecture, Edirne's New Palace has provided two recognizable elements for the film palace: its riverside location and the silhouette of a large tower resembling that of the Belvedere. This seems to attest to the success of Rifat Osman and his successors in creating visual knowledge about the New Palace that today is available even outside specialized academic circles. At the same time, it is interesting to see that cinematic visualization techniques also feed back into contemporary academic research. In the framework of the archaeological investigation of the palace site started in 2009 by Bahçeşehir University, a computer

⁵³ Kern, Patrizia: *Panoramen des Krieges. Verhandlung nationaler Identität anhand der Inszenierung kriegerischer Gründungsmythen in türkischen Museen, 2002–2009*, PhD thesis, Heidelberg 2013, pp. 155–171.

animation of the historical appearance of the palace was produced.⁵⁴ The animation, which uses a flyover perspective similar to that of the blockbuster gives a more detailed impression of the palace by including much scientific information. At the same time, its aesthetics, including the background music, are in tune with contemporary films and ultimately with those of computer games.

The New Palace's function in the local context of Edirne is as important as its inclusion in the increasing attraction of the Ottoman past on a national level. Since the destruction of the palace, the area has attracted other uses that today have created synergies to fully tap its tourism value. One of these uses is the recreational function of parts of the palace grounds. Already in the late Ottoman period, the gardens of Sarayı, the river island stretching in front of one of the palace's main entrances, served as a public park for Edirne's citizens. An Austrian engineer visiting Edirne in 1869 described it as a Sunday meeting point for the city's *beau monde*, where inhabitants of different ethnic backgrounds mingled while listening to the local military band, promenading, or picnicking.⁵⁵ The Turkish writer and journalist Nahid Sırrı Örik (1895–1960) still witnessed similar scenes in the 1930s when he came to Edirne. He also mentioned occasional wrestling matches being performed on the island of Sarayı.⁵⁶ The regional tradition of oil wrestling became much more popular after World War II and was increasingly professionalized. Today, each year, thousands of spectators visit the international wrestling competition held in a new, purpose-built stadium opened in 1984 in Sarayı. Oil wrestling has been heavily promoted as a national sport and, as such, in 2010 it was entered in the UNESCO list of intangible heritage.⁵⁷

A second function of the palace area is as a memorial site for the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) when, in a traumatic defeat by its neighbors Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro, the Ottoman Empire lost all of its provinces in Europe except eastern Thrace. Edirne, which was besieged by the Bulgarian army and capitulated only after heavy military and civilian losses, became a patriotic symbol of resistance. After the capitulation, the Bulgarian army used the palace area as a prisoner-of-war camp where, due to the occupiers' incompetence or indifference, many Ottoman soldiers died of disease and hunger. The story of these soldiers

⁵⁴ Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi, computer animation: Edirne Sarayı Kazısı, <https://vimeo.com/80537023>, last accessed 21 Nov. 2016.

⁵⁵ Hochstetter, *Reise durch Rumelien im Sommer 1869*, p. 355.

⁵⁶ Örik, Nahit Sırrı: *Anadolu'da –Yol Notları–. Kayseri, Kırşehir, Kastamonu. Bir Edirne Seyahatnamesi*, İstanbul 2000, p. 26.

⁵⁷ Krawietz, Birgit: *Designing Edirne's Heritage Trail and Turkish Oil Wrestling*, in this volume.

eating the bark from the trees of the former palace gardens is very present in Edirne to this day. In the aftermath of the war, a number of memorials, called “revenge stones” (*intikam taşları*), were erected, which was very unusual in Ottoman memorial culture.⁵⁸ These stones were placed at the outlying fortifications (*tabya*) situated a few kilometers outside the city, where the fighting had been heaviest. In the palace area that was not involved in direct fighting, not until the 1930s were two modest memorials, three gravestones, and a stela placed that refer to the martyrs of the Balkan Wars, but do not mention the POW camp expressly. Rifat Osman’s advocacy in a journal article in 1927 to include those dying of disease and hunger among the martyrs of the nation may have triggered this initiative.⁵⁹ In 1994, a much bigger memorial was opened adjacent to it consisting of a large white stela encircled by a lattice-style wall with an archway, the statue of a soldier, a relief depicting scenes from the Balkan Wars, and an open-air prayer site (*namazgah*). Patriotic poems from World War I and the War of Independence were used as inscriptions in different parts of the memorial. This iconography and these inscriptions make it clear that the memorial’s principal aim is to include the Balkan Wars in Turkish national memory. There is a particularly close association with a number of new monuments built in Gallipoli in the 1990s to modernize and update for tourism purposes the older memorials to the battle fought in 1915.⁶⁰

These two functions of the palace area that already abounded with references to the Ottoman past go together well with recent restoration and reconstruction activity on the New Palace. This treatment of the ruins certainly conflicts with their spiritual value as Rifat Osman or Süheyl Ünver conceived it, but the site gains a lot in respect to tourism, because there is more to see for visitors who are attracted by the wrestling stadium or the war memorial. The “resurrection” of the palace adds a cultural component to the site that tourism planners have identified in recent years as an important growth sector. In the master plan for the development of tourism in Turkey through 2023, Edirne is earmarked for the development of culture tourism. A representative of the ministry includes

⁵⁸ Kreiser, Klaus: War Memorials and Cemeteries in Turkey, in: Olaf Farschid, Manfred Kropp and Stephan Dähne (eds.): *The First World War as Remembered in the Countries of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Würzburg 2006, pp. 183–202, here pp. 184–185.

⁵⁹ *Milli Mecmuası* 90, 15 Temmuz 1927, p. 1451; Onur, Oral and Bağman, Latif: *Edirne Şehit Anıtları*, İstanbul n.d., pp. 72–73.

⁶⁰ Güler, E. Zeynep: Bir Ulusal Hafıza Mekanı Olarak Gelibolu Yarımadası, in: İnci Özkan Kerestecioğlu and Güven Gürkan Öztan (eds.): *Türk Sağı. Mitler, Fetişler, Düşman İmgeleri*, İstanbul 2012, pp. 307–344, here p. 328.

the palace among the other monuments of Edirne representing the “living Ottoman.”⁶¹ Further reconstructions would increase the tourism value, and, given the enduring fascination with Mehmed II, it is no surprise that his iconic Belvedere is at the top of the agenda. The local branch of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism mentions the reconstruction of the tower as an ongoing project on its website. However, it seems that up to now a lack of funds has prevented the realization of this project.⁶²

6 Conclusion

This chapter told the story of Edirne's New Palace using the dis/connected relationship between Istanbul and Edirne as a central motif. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Edirne's distance from the Ottoman center of power and its degradation to just an ordinary provincial city resulted in the neglect and vanishing of the palace. Its “resurrection” at the end of the 20th century was conditioned by the reintegration of the Ottoman legacy into Republican national identity, which was closely connected to a reappraisal of Istanbul as a central city first for Turkey, but later also on a global scale. While other historical buildings in Edirne, such as the Selimiye, were monuments *per se*, the New Palace needed to be imagined as one. This was the accomplishment of a group of conservative intellectuals who were nationalist and nostalgic at the same time. They were able to connect the palace to the symbolic figure of Mehmed II, whose image radiates widely beyond intellectual and academic circles. The Conqueror's popular appeal was constituted in the 1950s, renewed in the 1990s, and since then made ubiquitous by new media. For the time being, the final chapter in the story of the symbiotic relationship between the sultan and his palace is an intervention by the bestselling Turkish author Ahmed Ümit (b. 1960).⁶³ Coming to Edirne in 2014 to promote his new book, he deplored the Belvedere's state and called for an appropriate restoration. Unlike in the cases we have discussed previously, Ümit is neither a professional conservationist nor does he propagate a

⁶¹ Edirne'nin Turizm Potansiyeli Artıyor, <http://www.haberler.com/edirne-nin-turizm-potansiyeli-7186317-haber/>, last accessed 18 June 2015.

⁶² <http://www.edirnekulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,90601/projelerimiz.html>, last accessed on 20 Jan. 2016; Şengül, Enver: Cihannüma Kasrı Restorasyon Projesi 8 Yıldır tamamlanamıyor, in: *Vatandaş Gazetesi*, 30 Sept. 2014, <http://www.vatandasgazetesi.com.tr/gundem/cihannuma-kasri-restorasyon-projesi-8-yildir-tamamlanamiyor.htm>, last accessed 21 Jan. 2016.

⁶³ Ahmet Ümit: Cihannüma Kasrı'nı koruyalım, in: *AA*, 1 Mart 2014, <http://arsiv.taraf.com.tr/haber-ahmet-umit-cihannuma-kasrini-koruyalim-149518/>, last accessed 21 Jan. 2016.

nationalist or Islamist vision that would condition his intervention in favor of Ottoman heritage. His engagement in saving the Belvedere is connected to his popular fiction, which often takes up historical topics, in this particular case his 2012 crime novel *Sultanı Öldürmek* (To Kill the Sultan) on the mysterious death of Sultan Mehmed II in 1481. It remains to be seen how such an initiative from popular culture can work together with Turkey's conventional state-centered approach to heritage preservation and whether it can have an imprint not only on defining and preserving, but also on imagining and constructing Edirne's future Ottoman heritage.

Birgit Krawietz

Designing Edirne's Heritage Trail and Turkish Oil Wrestling

1 Chapter Outline and Central Idea

The main argument unfolded here is to identify Edirne as a hotspot of Neo-Ottoman and UNESCO heritage projects and to place Turkish oil wrestling within that heritage trail. The first third of this chapter demonstrates the ongoing development of such enterprises: these endeavors concern tangible as well as intangible cultural heritage assets. The former comprise buildings, like mosques (the Selimiye, built by master architect Sinan, was inscribed in 2011) or building complexes (the Health Museum or II. Bayezid Külliyesi Sağlık Müzesi was added to the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List in 2016); the latter include practices or customs, such as oil wrestling (inscribed in 2010) and Hidrellez festivals (added to the UNESCO list in 2017), both presented in Turkey with Edirne as their center of gravity. There is even more in the pipeline backed by municipal forces in Edirne and the central government in Ankara. The paper tackles these initiatives in passing in order to present a background tableau. Afterward, the second half of the chapter turns in considerable detail to Edirne's first UNESCO heritage success, namely oil wrestling, in very specific ways. This paper looks at Edirne through the lens of the neo-traditional sport of Turkish oil wrestling (*yağlı güreş*), but not at the athletic rules of the game as such.¹ Practiced outdoors on many lawns in the western half of Turkey, its competition venue in Sarayı on the outskirts of Edirne has turned Edirne into the capital city of this exhausting sports

¹ For introductions to Turkish oil wrestling, see Laqueur, Hans-Peter: *Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Stellung des türkischen Ringkampfes einst und jetzt*, Frankfurt am Main 1979; Stokes, Martin: "Strong as a Turk." Power, Performance and Representation in Turkish Wrestling, in: Jeremy Mac Clancy (ed.): *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, Herdon, VA 1996, pp. 21–41; Hershiser, Carl Mehmet: *Blood, Honor and Money. Turkish Oiled Wrestling and the Commodification of Traditional Culture*, unpublished PhD diss., University of Texas, Austin 1998; Krawietz, Birgit: *Big Bodies that Matter. Making a Difference in Turkish Oil Wrestling*, in: Hinrich Biesterfeld and Verena Klemm (eds.): *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam. Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Würzburg 2012, pp. 201–217. There is also a large amount of Turkish literature on oil wrestling with a wide array of information, including photographs, but it often lacks theoretical and methodological reflection. Pertinent publications will be mentioned when dealing with various aspects of oil wrestling. I thank Annabelle Böttcher, Alina Kokoschka, and Florian Riedler for critically reading different versions of the manuscript.

practice. The Kirkpınar festival week, during which around 2,000 male wrestlers² gather on the former Palace Garden island to compete with one another, gained the aforementioned UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage status in 2010 at its allegedly 650th annual tournament, officially related to the conquest of Edirne by the Ottomans. The analysis traces how oil wrestling has been inscribed into the urban realm. It then turns its focus to the former palace area of Sarayıçi due to the latter's – belated – rising importance as a national showroom and heritage quarter. It reflects on a number of buildings, monuments, and practices in Edirne that are perceived as being in conversation with each other. Aspects of placement, relational arrangement and design decisions in the urban landscape are regarded as telling.

2 Methodological and Theoretical Considerations

My sources are mainly personal observations, popular Turkish booklets and visuals, and an archive of pictures taken over the last years and sifted back and forth during the writing process. The insights discussed in this chapter stem from my annual field visits in the period of 2008–2015 and a follow-up trip in 2017.³ This contribution traces how, in the wake of Neo-Ottomanism, Edirne has joined the bandwagon of heritagization and UNESCO aspirations.⁴ It provides an oil wrestling-themed city tour, starting with the main road leading into the city center, then zooming down onto Sarayıçi Island. In the course of this presentation, the two topics of Edirne's systematic (re-)construction of a complex heritage trail, including a number of projects *other* than oil wrestling, as well as descriptions and impressions of the manifold presence of oil wrestling,

² In 2017, the mark of 2,000 participants was hit for the first time with 2,197 athletes, including 62 wrestlers of the highest category (*baş*); in 2016, the number had already risen to 1,969 participants with 56 of *baş* status, according to information from the Turkish Wrestling Federation (Türkiye Güreş Federasyonu), see (the local Edirne newspaper) *Hudut*, 13 July 2017, no. 13039, p. 5.

³ I speak of field visits (undertaken since 2007), not of field research in an anthropological sense. They started at the ZMO in Berlin within the framework of a co-project on different “worlds of sport” and their “competing patterns of order and forms of representation” (https://www.zmo.de/forschung/projekte_2008_2013/bromber_contest_sports_e.html, last accessed 13 May 2017). My focus on Turkey was initially restricted to the practice of oil wrestling, but I have gradually come to realize its impact on the urban landscape. Officially having to leave the project after only a year, I nevertheless continued research when moving to the Freie Universität.

⁴ Cf. Krawietz, Birgit: The Sportification and Heritagization of Traditional Turkish Oil Wrestling, in: *International Journal of the History of Sport* 29 (2012), pp. 2145–2161.

necessitate expositions that become increasingly intertwined in the successive development of this analysis. The paper is theoretically guided by the urban sociologist Martina Löw's concept of "space as a relational arrangement of living beings and social goods"⁵ that produces places. The distinction between space and place has become quite widespread in cultural studies and area studies beyond geography proper. Such approaches are related to Henri Lefebvre's trail-blazing understanding of space.⁶ The French philosopher's triadic model for understanding space, too, shall be used to further elucidate my approach to Edirne. In his influential book *La production de l'espace* of 1974, Lefebvre refuses to accept space as a per se entity and differentiates between spaces (a) as "conceived" (*l'espace conçu*) because they are planned and designed by certain groups or stakeholders, (b) as "perceived" (*perçu*) because they are experienced on the ground, and (c) as "lived" (*vecu*) or representational, due to their production of behavioral patterns or spatial practices. Clear-cut divisions between these categories are often not possible, because in many instances there is a considerable overlap. In this chapter, I place the most emphasis on how space is conceived, i.e., on the representations of space, by describing design decisions and explicit messages of the built environment. Lefebvre himself remarks: "This is the dominant space in any society."⁷ However, when turning to the representations of oil wrestling in the course of this paper, I also place much emphasis on how I myself perceive the places selected for closer investigation; these impressions are fed, in turn, by background talks I have conducted and

5 Löw, Martina: *The Sociology of Space. Materiality, Social Structures, and Action*, translated from the German by Donald Goodwin, New York 2016, pp. ix, 131. Löw emphasizes that in "contrast to spaces, places are always markable, nameable, and unique," p. xvii; places are "identified by the placement of social goods or people, but do not disappear with the goods or people, but rather are available to be otherwise occupied," p. 188.

6 Agnew, John: Space. Place, in: Paul Cloke and Ron Johnston (eds.): *Spaces of Geographical Thought. Deconstructing Human Geography's Binaries*, London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi 2005, pp. 81–96.

7 Lefebvre, Henri: *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford and Cambridge, MA 1991, pp. 38–39. Even in this translation, the text appears hardly digestible in a consistent manner, although the assumption of this triad has been so influential: "*The Production of Space*, arguably the most important book ever written about the social and historical significance of human spatiality and the particular powers of the spatial imagination. *The Production of Space* is a bewildering book, filled with unruly textual practices, bold assertions that seem to be tossed aside as the arguments develop, and perplexing inconsistencies and apparent self-contradictions. Yet its meandering, idiosyncratic, and wholesomely anarchic style and structure are in themselves a creative expression of Lefebvre's expansive spatial imagination," Soja, Edward W.: *Third Space. Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Spaces*, Oxford 1996, p. 8.

through the popular culture I have studied. The third aspect of lived spaces is treated only to a limited degree, when ritual sequences of behavior are mentioned.

Despite the tremendous top-down homogenizing efforts of the ruling Kemalist elite, there was no homogenous Turkish nation state with a dominant national identity in the first decades of the Republic. Brockett describes the situation as a state-induced civilizing mission of Turkish modernization that attempted internal colonization in the various regions of the young nation state.⁸ The whole enterprise was framed by “the claim of Kemalism to concentrate on Anatolia as the exclusive homeland of the Turks”⁹ – to the obvious detriment of the European outpost Edirne on the Balkans. However, it was the so-called Turkish-Islamic Synthesis¹⁰ formulated for politics in the 1970s and officially sanctioned after the 1980 military coup that officially allowed for a wider variety of options to link individuals and groups proudly back to the Islamic cultural heritage. The fuzzy concept of Neo-Ottomanism was expanded from a foreign policy focus to a much broader public understanding of relating to the cultural reservoir of the Ottoman Empire in order to interpret and shape the Turkish present and future, a practice that Onur depicts as “banal Ottomanism.”¹¹ The estimation and revitalization of Ottoman cultural remnants finds expression in, among many other things, the endeavor of national and local authorities to present cultural heritage to Turkish and international tourists. It has to be stressed that the town of Edirne possesses a copious array of Ottoman buildings: apart from architectural jewels spread in various places on the outskirts, the city center appears like an open-air museum with the Selimiye visually ruling the town and the wide Thracian plane.¹² As a nationwide backdrop, there is also a considerable boom in Neo-Ottoman popular culture that finds expression in phenomena such as folk

8 Brockett, Gavin D.: *How Happy to Call Oneself a Turk. Provincial Newspapers and the Negotiation of a Muslim National Identity*, Austin 2011, pp. 52–53.

9 Ginio, Eyal: Between the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and the “Third Balkan War” of the 1990s. The memory of the Balkans in Arabic writings, in: Amy Singer, Christoph K. Neumann, and Selçuk Akşin Somel (eds.): *Untold Histories of the Middle East. Recovering Voices from the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Abingdon and New York 2011, pp. 179–194, here pp. 180–181.

10 Atasoy, Yıldız: *Islam’s Marriage with Neoliberalism. State Transformation in Turkey*, Houndmills and New York 2009, pp. 94–97; Çalış, Şaban H.: *Hayaletbilimi ve Hayalî Kimlikler Neo-Osmanlılık, Özal ve Balkanlar*, Konya 2001, pp. 109–110.

11 Ongur, Hakan Ovunc: Identifying Ottomanisms. The Discursive Evolution of Ottoman Pasts in the Turkish Presents, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 51 (2015), pp. 416–432, here p. 417. The many versions of Neo-Ottomanism will not be pursued here.

12 On the famous mosque, see Geisler, Philip: Challenging Hagia Sophia. The Imperial Image of Selimiye Mosque as Ottoman Empire Branding, in this volume.

dance groups in historical costumes, Ottoman-style military bands (*mehter*), the offering of Ottoman cuisine, and historical soap operas.

3 Ottoman Heritage Highlights before 2010

Before turning to the victorious implementation of UNESCO heritage projects in Edirne since the year 2010, it has to be mentioned that concern for the repair and restoration of important buildings that garnered considerable international acclaim started already about three decades earlier. One of the most prestigious examples is the Rüstem Pasha Khan in Edirne's city center, which was also built by the famous Ottoman architect Sinan. The Directorate General of Foundations (located in Ankara but operating in cooperation with the local branch in Edirne) restored it beginning in 1960 and transformed it into a hotel from 1964 to 1972 when those in charge recognized its touristic potential. In 1980, the building, with a capacity of over 100 rooms, received the prestigious Agha Khan Award for Architecture.¹³

Edirne-based Trakya University undertook the important restoration and conversion project to turn the 15th-century Ottoman hospital (*dariüşşifa*) into a museum. This medical institution on the outskirts of Edirne on the western shore of the river Tunca is part of the complex that Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) erected in 1488, i.e., *after* the 1453 conquest of Constantinople, which, renamed Istanbul, then became the official capital of the Ottoman Empire. The whole museum complex is nowadays known as the *Sultan II Bayezid Külliyesi Sağlık Müzesi*.¹⁴ It was used as a medical center until the Crimean War in the 19th century. In 1997, it was converted into a museum for the history of medicine and, in 2004, it received the European Council Museum Award. In 2004, restoration was started on the Ekmekçioğlu Ahmed Paşa Caravanserai, a large, double-winged roadside inn that was constructed in 1609–1610 outside the old city center.¹⁵

¹³ See <http://www.akdn.org/sites/akdn/files/media/documents/AKAA%20press%20kits/1980%20AKAA/Rustem%20Pasa%20-%20Turkey.pdf>, last accessed 7 Mar. 2017. In its few critical remarks, the document advises against using the building as a hotel.

¹⁴ For an inventory and detailed information, see Ratip Kazancıgil: *Edirne Sultan II. Bayezid Külliyesi*, Edirne 1997. A bilingual English/Turkish version is provided by Enver Şengül and Ender Bilar: *Dariüşşifa*, Edirne 2007.

¹⁵ On this edifice as part of the intercontinental Ottoman road-system, see Wimmel, Robin: Edirne as a Stopover Destination. The Ekmekçioğlu Caravanserai and the Ottoman Road Network, in this volume.



Fig. 1a–b: Rüstem Pasha Khan.

Today, the mighty complex still appears strikingly robust, but seems to have strangely fallen out of time. Although its roof is still visible from the central traffic axis running through Edirne today, its ground level is located some meters below the bustling street and is thus visually blocked by later buildings. Apart from limited tourism and the organizing of some specific temporary events, such as, since October 2013, the Edirne Book Fair (Edirne Kitap Fuarı),

the city of Edirne has not been successful in socially resuscitating the compound.¹⁶

Edirne paid attention also to preserving cultural *practices*. The revival of local traditions serves as a supplementary strategy for reconnecting to the history of the city. Within that framework, oil wrestling is the major component. In 1984, the pharmacist İbrahim Ay, who himself had been an oil wrestler in his youth, became mayor of Edirne and initiated the construction of a large modern arena on the river island of Sarayıçi. It can host thousands of spectators and it replaced the rather improvised prior setting of the annual Kırkpınar oil wrestling festival.

Former Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal (r. 1983–1993) visited the games in the middle of the 1980s. Özal is generally associated with the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis and its systematic cherishing of local traditions, thus relaxing the tight grip of Kemalist top-down modernization. In his function as President of Turkey (1993–2000), another famous politician and supporter of oil wrestling, Süleyman Demirel, attended the Kırkpınar tournament in 1996 and appreciated the later completion of its observation tower and tribunes. Hence, two tribunes are still named after him and one after Özal.¹⁷ However, the popularity of oil wrestling and Edirne's hosting an annual top-event did not immediately attract attention beyond a limited crowd of fans in Turkey. It is indicative that it took some time before high-ranking politicians from Ankara were willing to attend the oil wrestling finals again. In his term as President of Turkey (2000–2007), Ahmet Necdet Sezer never paid a visit to this event, as people in Edirne still resentfully remember. Perhaps the image of oil wrestling as backward and out of fashion was still too persistent.¹⁸ It was only in the context of the UNESCO accolade that the then President of the Republic, Abdullah Gül, donned traditional local attire and took part in the 2009 oil wrestling finals. He was followed a year later by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who, however, did not opt to appear in the same costume, but wore a blue-checked, global-style jacket when he showed up in the very year of the UNESCO victory and the allegedly 650th public Kırkpınar performance and anniversary of the conquest of Edirne by the Ottomans.¹⁹

16 As of 2017, also the outer walls are undergoing renovation.

17 Another tribune is named after the sponsor Alper Yazoğlu; the remaining five tribunes each bear the name of a victorious Kırkpınar Head Wrestler (*başpehlivan*): Tekirdağlı Hüseyin, Mustafa Bük, Aydın Demir, Antalyalı Recep Gürbüz, and Kel Aliço Tribünü. Recently, oil wrestling's image has been shifting, so that it is increasingly covered by Turkish and international TV stations.

18 This is an impression gained by talking to people in Edirne and elsewhere.

19 It is unclear since when exactly this date is being claimed.

The growing popularity of the Kırkpınar festival is thus not only the result of better local infrastructure and an improved nationwide road network, but is strongly propelled by a general paradigm shift in Turkey toward the official acceptance of traditional proclivities – a door that Özal pushed open. The first half of the 1990s was a high time of Turkish nationalism and a period when regional particularities were appropriated and generalized for *national* purposes. A striking early example of this is the official policy of turning the Kurdish New Year festival of Nevruz into a state-sponsored nationwide event.²⁰ The media and politicians promoted this idea of a festival that might unify the ethnically and culturally diverse population when violent clashes between Kurdish activists and police reached a peak in 1992. In 1994, Tansu Çiller, then Prime Minister of Turkey and the successor of Özal, announced that, from the following year on, Nevruz would be a public holiday. The daily newspapers of the 1990s document how this political decision and its underlying concept of national cultural appropriation gradually gained ground. Especially active to this day is the Ministry for Culture and Tourism (T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı), which clearly combines Nevruz activities with advocacy for a national culture.

Nevertheless, this decisively national framework was widely expanded when a *multinational* application file was submitted to the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) list of the UNESCO and met with success in 2009. It was prepared collectively by Azerbaijan, India, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, *Turkey*, and Uzbekistan.²¹ This development followed up on prior historical connectivities across a wider region. Although Benedict Anderson suggested his concept of “imagined community” specifically for the historically late and artificial construction of nations in the 19th and 20th centuries,²² it is useful to contrast it here with the design of culturally shared heritage projects beyond or cutting through the nation state. Tying loyalty to cultural entities within institutionally protected and internationally monitored UNESCO lists equally produces versions of imagined communities. One could argue that, already considering

20 Schrode, Paula: Das türkische Nevruz-Fest. Erfindungen einer Tradition, in: Helga Anetshofer, Ingeborg Baldauf, and Christa Ebert (eds.): *Über Gereimtes und Ungereimtes diesseits und jenseits der Turcia. Festschrift für Sigrid Kleinmichel zum 70. Geburtstag*, Schöneiche bei Berlin 2008, pp. 111–135. See also Aykan, Bahar: Whose Tradition, Whose Identity? The politics of constructing “Nevruz” as intangible heritage in Turkey, in: *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (online), 19 (2014), pp. 1–20, online since 11 December 2014, <http://ejts.revues.org/5000>, last accessed 30 Mar. 2016.

21 See <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/nawrouz-novruz-nowrouz-nowrouz-nawrouz-nauryz-nooruz-nowruz-navruz-nevruz-nowruz-navruz-01161>, last accessed 26 Feb. 2017.

22 Anderson, Benedict: *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised and extended ed., London 1991, pp. 5–7.

Nevruz, the process of nationalization has, although somewhat paradoxically, given rise to a much wider, imagined cultural community. With regard to oil wrestling, a different development can be observed, so that the chosen national UNESCO framework seems to have become a sort of a straitjacket.²³ In any case, it makes sense to pay closer attention to the envisioned range of immediate addressees of the construction of various heritage spaces through the employment of UNESCO blueprints.

4 UNESCO Heritagization Efforts

After quickly introducing the genesis and format(s) of UNESCO cultural heritage, this subsection offers a grand heritage tour, visiting projects co-designed by the central government in Ankara and the local and provincial government in Edirne – taking recourse to other countries when needed. The overall result is the record-breaking number of more than half a dozen such high-level projects related to Edirne: the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) with its flagship program of heritage preservation has proven to be a highly important pathway for the city of Edirne. UNESCO, which was founded in 1946 and resides in Paris, currently has nearly two hundred member states. The best-known program of this international organization is the protection and promotion of cultural diversity worldwide by paying attention to certain regional and cultural history projects. Its Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted in 1972 and was followed in 1976 by the establishment of the World Heritage Committee, which started to inscribe sites on the World Heritage List in 1978. Turkey accepted the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1983. Meeting the necessary criteria to be included on this list requires a longer, monitored process that leads to the deciding vote at the annual member states conference. Proposals are eligible only from recognized members: “Only countries that have signed the World Heritage Convention, pledging to protect their natural and cultural heritage, can submit nomination proposals for properties on their territory to be considered for inclusion in UNESCO’s World

23 On the extremely wide historical range of different cultural influences, see Krawietz, Birgit: On Coming to Grips with Turkish Oil Wrestling. Conceptionalizing Muscular Islam and Islamic Martial Arts, in: Bettina Gräf, Birgit Krawietz and Shirin Amir-Moazami et al. (eds.): *Ways of Knowing Muslim Cultures and Societies. Studies in Honour of Gudrun Krämer*, Leiden 2019, pp. 327–354.

Heritage List.”²⁴ This is a lucrative business to the degree that the pertinent country manages to capitalize on a UNESCO badge through tourism. Four decades later, in 2008, UNESCO established another list registering Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH); it identifies and protects Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Wulf identifies seven criteria as decisive for this type of heritage: taking “the human body as medium, practices of communication and interaction, mimetic learning and practical knowledge, the performativity of cultural practices, central structural and functional elements, difference and otherness, and inter-cultural learning.”²⁵ The ICH list was launched to serve as a counterweight to the Tangible Cultural Heritage (TCH) list’s older format of acclaimed historic buildings, places, monuments, and artifacts. The much earlier TCH framing of assets worthy of preservation for the future used to privilege European sites and marginalize the Global South.²⁶ Thus, after repeated criticism, the ICH list program was finally launched as a supplementary measure. Turkey had joined UNESCO already in 1972, but despite its cultural riches, Edirne was accepted on the TCH list for the first time as late as 2011. This is because only states, not cities on their own, can propose their potential candidates.²⁷ Meanwhile, however, the sheer number of physical UNESCO-branded heritage artifacts and intangible attributes of a group is one way Edirne town and province can compete with the Istanbul metropolitan area, although Istanbul comprises a much larger number of high-level historical buildings. Istanbul, with its huge UNESCO showcase cluster of the Historic Areas of Istanbul (accepted on the TCH list already in 1985),²⁸ is quite often criticized for its lax preservation practices.²⁹

²⁴ Cf. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/nominations/>, last accessed 22 May 2017, with the step-by-step procedure for nominations.

²⁵ Wulf, Christoph: Performativity and Dynamics of Intangible Cultural Heritage, in: Christiane Brosius and Karin M. Polit (eds.): *Ritual, Heritage and Identity. The Politics of Culture and Performance in a Globalised World*, Abingdon and New Delhi, pp. 76–94, here p. 77.

²⁶ Strasser, Peter: Welt-Erbe? Thesen über das “Flaggschiffprogramm” der UNESCO, in: Dorothee Hemme, Markus Tauschek, and Regina Bendix (eds.): *Prädikat “HERITAGE.” Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen*, Berlin 2007, pp. 101–128, here p. 111, deplores three decades of focusing on European-Christian and stony-monumental heritage.

²⁷ Strasser, Welt-Erbe?, p. 104.

²⁸ Cf. http://www.alanbaskanligi.gov.tr/english/historic_areas_of_istanbul.html, last accessed 26 Feb. 2017.

²⁹ Marquart, Vivienne: Hopes and Limits to Local Heritage Discourses in Istanbul, in: Anna Hofmann and Ayşe Öncü (eds.): *History Takes Place. Istanbul. Dynamics of Urban Change*, Berlin 2015, pp. 64–76; <http://www.eth.mpg.de/3483551/project>, last accessed 10 Mar. 2017; <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/istanbul-municipality-approves-change-on-zoning-plan-in-historical-peninsula-despite-objections.aspx?pageID=238&nID=109999&NewsCatID=340>, 27.2.2017, last accessed 10 Mar. 2017.

Subsequently, Istanbul has not been overly active in obtaining UNESCO status for further objects.³⁰ As late as 2015, Istanbul submitted an application for the Yıldız Palace constructions³¹ in its Beşiktaş district and, in 2016, another one for the Nuruosmaniye Complex in Fatih.³² Compared with that and taking together those Edirne-based sites that are already accepted and others that still await their approval, the following summary can be put on record:

- the Kırkpınar Oil wrestling festival staged each summer in Sarayıçi and inscribed in the ICH list in 2010,³³
- the Selimiye Mosque and Social Complex (Selimiye Camii ve Külliyesi), inscribed in the TCH list in 2011, and
- the Sultan Bayezid II Complex (including the hospital turned into a museum), inscribed in the TCH list in 2016.³⁴

If the latter succeeds, too, Edirne will possess a remarkable triad of UNESCO sites in close proximity to each other, with the Selimiye in the very center of Edirne and the other two on its northwestern outskirts in the meadows of the river Tunca, both within the sight of the Selimiye. From the city center it is 1.5 km to Sarayıçi and from there another 800 m to the Beyazid II Complex. Thus, there is a triangle that, as the title of this chapter suggests, constitutes a first-class Ottoman heritage trail. In clear contrast to Istanbul, Edirne's top Ottoman assets lie within easy

30 However, Istanbul is involved in ICH projects, notably Mevlevi Sema, which was accepted in 2008, <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/mevlevi-sema-ceremony-00100>, last accessed 10 Mar. 2017; the Arabic word *samā'* denotes the commemorative sufi ceremony consisting of music, dance, and recitation.

31 Cf. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6044/>, last accessed 10 Mar. 2017.

32 Inscribed tentatively in 2016, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6122/>, last accessed 10 Mar. 2017; it is known for its hybrid Ottoman Baroque style. Candidacy alone already bestows cultural capital, Strasser, *Welt-Erbe?*, p. 115.

33 In 2008, the Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling had already “won the award of EDEN (European Destinations of Excellence) which is organized in Europe and Turkey participated for the first time,” <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/en/yazi/5-projeler/30-eden-projesi#sthash.NpASgr82.dpuf>, last accessed 26 Feb. 2017. For the oil wrestling nomination file, see <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/en/yazi/5-projeler/30-eden-projesi>. It was preceded by the admission of the Mevlevi Sema ceremony, also known as the Whirling Dervishes, in 2008, the same year in which the ICH list was established.

34 See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6117/>, last accessed 26 Feb. 2017. Meanwhile, the explanations below the objects of the museum, for years given only in Turkish, have been thoroughly supplemented with an English version; some digital screens allow visitors to visually scroll in richly illustrated medical manuscripts.

walking distance of each other.³⁵ This is all the more impressive when taking into account that, during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878, the military in charge of “the fortress city of Edirne” tragically blew up the gigantic Ottoman palace on its outskirts in a desperate, hectic decision. As a huge forerunner of Istanbul’s Topkapı Palace, it would be today – like the Selimiye – *the* major touristic attraction of the town and would be predestined for a UNESCO heritage label.

However, by gathering UNESCO heritage labels, Edirne has challenged its fate of marginalization and has been eagerly advocating its Ottoman heritage trump cards. Urban planners and heritage strategists have designed yet another ICH project idea, apart from oil wrestling, that has local implications for Edirne and more precisely for Sarayıçi, namely a UNESCO application for Hıdırellez as a transregional spring celebration. Hıdırellez is a kind of traditional popular festivity mixed with Islamic elements. Furthermore, the active involvement of the Roma population allows the self-presentation to be a colorful, variegated, tolerant, and celebratory transnational enjoyment, yet with an Ottoman flavor, because it serves as a reminder of the wider historical Turkic Balkans. The prominent participation of young women makes it a physical gender counterweight to the hyper-masculine oil wrestling event. The project was submitted in 2017 by Macedonia and Turkey and was accepted already in 2018.³⁶ The organizers had sensed that the aforementioned acceptance of the multinational Nevruz on the ICH list in 2009 still left enough room for such a supplementary, neatly tailored, smaller-scale initiative.

There seem to be even further aspirations of UNESCO heritagization, although they have not materialized yet. In a newspaper report in 2015, the governor of Edirne province, Dursun Ali Şahin, mentioned three upcoming application projects, namely for the Üç Şerefeli Mosque (in Edirne’s city center), the Muradiye (on top of a hill, halfway between the Selimiye and Sarayıçi) and the Beyazid-i Veli mosque (on one side of the river Tunca, adjacent to the former Palace area).³⁷ All three lie on the heritage trail postulated here. With the

35 According to the city’s mayor, Edirne, “compared to Istanbul, it is not chaotic. While you spend a significant amount of time in traffic in Istanbul, Edirne offers the finest examples of the Ottoman legacy with much less time spent in transportation. And obviously Edirne is much less expensive compared to Istanbul.” <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/enchanting-edirne-waits-to-be-discovered-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=112018&NewsCatID=379>, last accessed 18 Apr. 2017.

36 Cf. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/spring-celebration-hdrellez-01284>, last accessed 7 Oct. 2018; near its end, the video shows pictures from Sarayıçi.

37 Cf. <https://www.dailysabah.com/travel/2015/04/24/uzunkopru-placed-on-unescos-heritage-list>, last accessed 26 Feb. 2017. On the Üç Şerefeli Mosque, see Freely, *Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 68–70. For the Muradiye, see <http://www.edirnevdb.gov.tr/kultur/muradiye.html>, last accessed 10 Mar. 2017. Both files were obviously not submitted by autumn 2018.

Beyazid-i Veli mosque, Şahin apparently means the aforementioned historical health center, Sultan II Bayezid Külliyesi Sağlık Müzesi, which was restored and turned into a museum in 1997 and has been submitted to UNESCO in 2016.³⁸ In addition, there are efforts to promote fried liver as the “signature dish” of Edirne and have it inscribed on UNESCO’s World Cultural Heritage List.³⁹ Whether all these plans are accepted or not, the Sleeping Beauty of Edirne has been awakened in recent decades and now impressively competes in the international heritage circuit. As of now, no other destination in Turkey has a comparably successful and aspirational UNESCO heritage record.

Nevertheless, Edirne’s promotion of tourism cannot be regarded as full-blown yet, although hotel capacities have been considerably enhanced in recent years. Tourist maps of Turkey that show the specificities and “must-see” highlights of the country regularly represent Edirne with pictures of the Selimiye and the tradition of oil wrestling – the latter most often in the form of a couple of wrestlers with their traditional black leather trousers and naked upper body, confrontationally bowing down with arms placed on the back of the opponent, to signal the particular estimation of heritage culture.

The gigantic advertisement poster with touristic icons spread all over Turkey that hung above many Turkish travel agencies’ booths at the International Travel Trade Show (ITB) in Berlin in March 2017 presented exactly three images from the small European part of the country: the Selimiye, a pair of wrestlers in the aforementioned typical bent-down position, and the Long Bridge⁴⁰ – although no agencies or tourism representatives from Edirne itself were (yet) present.⁴¹ The collective arrangement of visual representations of the Selimiye Mosque, a wrestling pair, and a bridge (often the touristically most appealing Meriç Bridge in the south of Edirne), can be found time and again in the mediascape.⁴² The

³⁸ See <http://www.haberler.com/edirne-odullu-saglik-muzesi-unesco-gecici-8765271-haberi/>, last accessed 9 Sept. 2016.

³⁹ Cf. <https://www.dailysabah.com/food/2017/10/17/edirnes-fried-liver-aiming-to-make-it-on-unesco-list-1508185382>, last accessed 7 Oct. 2018.

⁴⁰ “Uzunköprü (Long Bridge), located approximately 60 km south from the modern city center of Edirne, was built on one of the most challenging passages of Ergene River” and was submitted to UNESCO in 2015, see <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6042/>, last accessed 27 Oct. 2018.

⁴¹ In the wake of the constitutional referendum of 16 April 2017, the audience response to tourism offers reached a historical low, although the country in general was heavily advertised. There was a costly promotional initiative specifically for Edirne at the ITB only in 2010, the year when oil wrestling was elevated to UNESCO status. The presentations even included some wrestlers and traditional musicians as entertaining elements.

⁴² This familiar combination, for instance, can be found on the cover of the annual *Tarihi Kırkpınar Sempozyumu Bildirileri Kitabı*, ed. by İlhan Toksöz in Edirne since 2005.



Fig. 2: Pair of wrestlers.

ITB is a decisive forum because it counts as the largest travel trade fair in the world. Recep Gürkan, the mayor of Edirne since 2014, states that the border city has not yet lived up to its economic and touristic potential and should be profiting much more from its specific location. During a three-day visit of a group of journalists that “was jointly organized by Daily Hürriyet, the Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TÜRSAB) and Edirne Municipality” in April 2017, the manifold cultural tapestry of the city was presented. In an interview, Gürkan emphasizes that Edirne, with its impressive Ottoman legacy, has been “overshadowed by Istanbul and Bursa” and that this is “a great injustice to Edirne, which has an untapped tourism potential,”⁴³ and he deplores that many people identify Edirne so much with the Selimiye that they overlook the tremendous richness of its other cultural assets.

5 Introduction to Oil Wrestling in Edirne

While the scenic Meriç River passes Edirne from the south, one of its tributaries, the Tunca, flows around Edirne in the northwest. On its banks, from the middle

⁴³ Cf. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/enchanting-edirne-waits-to-be-discovered-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=112018&NewsCatID=379>, last accessed 18 Apr. 2017.

of the 15th century on, the Ottoman sultans built the New Imperial Palace (Sarayı Cedid-i Amire), which served as a role model for its even larger counterpart in Istanbul, the Topkapı Sarayı.⁴⁴ The palace complex was extended several times and, in the phase of its widest expansion, covered a space of about three square kilometers. It also comprised an island in the river Tunca that was called Sarayıçi, i.e., the palace's inner space (iç). There, the annual summertime competitions of the Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling Festival are held. In Turkish, *kırk pınar* means "40 springs" and refers to its founding myth that dates its origin in this region of Thrace to the middle of the 14th century (see below for further details). A considerable number of sources relate it to the breakthrough of Ottoman forces onto the European continent, if not to the conquest of Edirne itself.

This chapter argues that Edirne, despite its gradual decline over the centuries, occupation by Russian, Bulgarian, and Greek forces, destruction, and tremendous losses during the final, war-torn phase of the Ottoman Empire, was not completely marginalized, but has undertaken strong efforts to reinvent itself. In an extraordinary process of cultural revivalism, oil wrestling has been systematically woven into historic and modern sites in the city, as will be shown in considerable detail. Decisive for Edirne's process of fighting its way back into the national and international arena is its systematic (re-)constructing of a UNESCO heritage trail. This is all the more important, because, apart from the Selimiye, oil wrestling is a major resource to *promote* tourism, but it is not itself a lucrative business.

Located on the fringes of Turkey only three kilometers away from the Greek border and blocked by the Iron Curtain that included neighboring Bulgaria 17 kilometers away, the town of Edirne served for decades as a weekend retreat in the hinterland for stressed-out Istanbulites. In contrast to the quick pace and bustling activity of the metropolis Istanbul, Edirne provides visitors with serene landscapes and a relaxed pace of life. Even after the breakdown of the Warsaw Pact in 1989 and Bulgaria's final admission to the European Union in 2007, Edirne did not automatically become a popular destination for international tourists. Despite the impressive Selimiye Mosque that marks the creative apogee of the world-famous Ottoman architect Sinan

44 On the history of the palace, see Riedler, Florian: The Resurrection of Edirne's New Imperial Palace as National Heritage, in this volume and *ibid.*: Ein Stadtschloss für Edirne. Ausgrabung, Restaurierung und Rekonstruktion des zerstörten Sultanspalastes, in: Christoph Bernhardt, Martin Sabrow, and Achim Saupe (eds.): *Gebaute Geschichte. Historische Authentizität im Stadtraum*, Göttingen 2017, pp. 229–247.

(ca. 1490–1588), the former “city of sultans”⁴⁵ was, outside its festival periods, often bypassed or visited only briefly, mostly for day trips. Those who came were mainly bargain-seeking shoppers from adjacent regions in the Balkans or international tourists based in Istanbul. Even though the main traffic axis to Bulgaria passes north of Edirne,⁴⁶ the town benefits little from its strategic location,⁴⁷ and large-scale tourism developed in the last few decades mainly due to the Kırkpınar oil wrestling event; the annual festival week drew predominantly lower-income Turks. Oil wrestling is an outdoor activity on long-grown lawn. In summer, the oil wrestling games are conducted on the outskirts of Edirne on Sarayıçi, a river island that provides a natural setting for the wrestling event – and at the same time space for some people to even sleep outdoors, while the town itself also offers free or cheap hotels for a considerable contingent of oil wrestling fans.

In the last decade, a growing number of better-off Turkish and international visitors have joined the circuit. The global trend to sportification and heritagization and the influx of journalists, (semi-)professional photographers, and cultural tourists necessitated better accommodation.⁴⁸ Boosted by the recent hype about “ethnic sports,” major changes and an increase of connectivities have set in throughout the urban landscape of Edirne. The main thesis expounded here is that – due to political macro-developments, but also to the destruction of its Imperial Palace – Edirne lacked attention and faced various disadvantages in courting international tourism, the acclaimed architectural status of the Selimiye notwithstanding. Visitors’ interest started to increase significantly after the green, but rather empty space of the palace quarter had been systematically turned into a showroom of Turkish nationalism as expressed on its major stage, the Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling Festival (Kırkpınar Yağlı

⁴⁵ For instance, a tourism flyer distributed by ETSO (Edirne Chamber of Commerce and Industry) in 2017 brands Edirne “The City of Sultans, the Sultan of Cities” (Sultanların Şehri, Şehirlerin Sultanı Edirne).

⁴⁶ The eastern holiday route for Turkish migrant workers coming by car from Berlin runs through Budapest, Sofia, and Edirne, whereas the tour via Greece goes from Thessaloniki directly to Istanbul. Inside Turkey, the west-to-east state road starts from the Bulgarian border checkpoint Kapıkule, which is the second-largest land border gate in the world, after the U.S.–Mexican border between San Diego and Tijuana.

⁴⁷ For complaints from Edirne’s mayor see, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-gate-to-europe-seeks-share-of-border-trade.aspx?pageID=238&nID=111811&NewsCatID=345>, last accessed 10 Apr. 2017.

⁴⁸ Krawietz, Birgit: The Sportification and Heritagization of Traditional Turkish Oil Wrestling, in: *International Journal of the History of Sport* 29 (2012), pp. 2145–2161.

Güreşleri Festivali).⁴⁹ That is to say, ostentatious postmodern nationalism heavily dosed with Neo-Ottomanism enhanced the visibility of oil wrestling and its various cultural representations, as shall be shown.⁵⁰

6 The Built Presence of Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling in Edirne

The following discusses one specific UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage and shows how oil wrestling is in many ways embedded in the urban realm of Edirne. It is the central part of the Kırkpınar festival week, full of music and other activities, and attracts a considerable number of visitors. It comprises the last three days of that week and functions as its highlight. However, as Edirne's mayor Gürkan informs us: "Annual spending for the event stands at around 5 million Turkish Liras. The main sponsor who wins the annual tender, named the 'ağa,' pays around 500,000 liras. The Tourism Ministry adds 300,000 liras to it and the rest is covered from the municipal budget."⁵¹ Due to this situation, but also as an important means of cultural self-assertion, there are throughout the city a number of permanent and temporary reminders of oil wrestling. That is to say, the heritage sports of *yağlı güreş* transcend their modern arena on Sarayıçi Island in the northwestern outskirts of Edirne, in that its sensory presence is – made – felt in various places throughout the cityscape. The next two subsections trace the degree to which (neo-) traditional wrestling is inscribed into the wider urban fabric. Afterward, in section eight, our attention focuses on the area of Sarayıçi itself, the official venue of the annual Kırkpınar competitions.

49 In a longer version, it is also known as the "Historical Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling and Cultural Activities Week" (Tarihi Kırkpınar Yağlı Güreşleri ve Kültür Etkinlikleri Haftası). The other activities comprise mainly music, folk dances, other types of sports, culinary competition, and photographic exhibitions.

50 On the *national* narrative of oil wrestling, see especially Krawietz, Birgit: The Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial and Intersensorial Remembrance in Edirne, in this volume.

51 Cf. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/enchanting-edirne-waits-to-be-discovered-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=112018&NewsCatID=379>, last accessed 18 Apr. 2017. Laqueur, *Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Stellung*, p. 48, notes the payment for the position of Ağa for the year 1978 at 176,000 TL (which he equates with about 17,000 DM), while the winner received 25,000 TL (less than 2,500 DM). For a list of the sums paid by these sponsors since 1955, see <https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/K%C4%B1rkp%C4%B1nar>, last accessed 6 Jan. 2017.

6.1 Entering Edirne at the Wrestling Roundabout Cum Fountain

Most visitors to Edirne in general and to the Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling Festival in particular get there from the east, coming by bus or car on the E80 toll motorway. With either means of transportation as they enter the plain of Edirne, the famous Selimiye is already visible from afar on its hilltop location as a perfect example of architect Bruno Taut's notion of a City Crown (*Stadtkrone*).⁵²

Martina Löw insists on analyzing elements of urban space not in isolation, but in the context of their spatial arrangements: "All spaces have a *symbolic* and a *material component*."⁵³ The first oil wrestling monument most tourists encounter employs the elements of water and green lawn plus flowers as carriers of meaning. That invokes the mythical place where Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling originated, although the sport is materialized on any lawn where athletes meet. Despite the fact that Edirne is not the only Turkish town with a monument or even a monument on a roundabout showcasing traditional wrestling, the compelling vista into which it is integrated in Edirne is unique.

The process of arriving is shaped by the wrestling paradigm. At the spot where the descent on the E5 Karayolu Caddesi merges into the Talat Paşa Caddesi, which turns into the (obligatory) Atatürk Bulvarı farther down, the oil wrestling cum fountain roundabout slows incoming vehicles. Also visually, it functions as a sort of city gate: passing the roundabout rewards the visitor with the sight of the direct approach to the Selimiye, which looms increasingly larger on the horizon and seems to float just above the city.⁵⁴ One city map distributed in 2017 depicts it as the Kırkpınar Memorial (Kırkpınar Anıtı) designed by a certain Adil Yılmaz. The dark stone monument at the entrance to this straight visual axis into town consists of a V-shaped pedestal topped by a pair of head-to-head, bent-over wrestlers.⁵⁵ The space between them symbolically shows what is at stake – the victorious defense of Edirne as represented by the Selimiye Mosque. At night, the contours of the wrestlers and the V-shaped base with the

⁵² Kuban, Doğan (main text) and Ahmet Ertuğ (Photography and Editorial Coordination): *Sinan. An Architectural Genius*, Bern 1999, p. 35. Compare <http://www.cloud-cuckoo.net/openarchive/Autoren/Taut/Stadtkrone/Taut1919a.htm>, no. 7: "Adrianopel, Selim-Moschee," last accessed 8 June 2017.

⁵³ Löw, *Sociology of Space*, p. 192.

⁵⁴ It is astonishing that some multi-storey, square-cut buildings that intrude into the panorama up to the lower line of the Selimiye dome were allowed to be constructed.

⁵⁵ See also the book cover <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/en/arsiv/1-books/2101-kirkpinar-agalar-albumu>, last accessed 23 May 2017.



Fig. 3: The Selimiye as City Crown from entrance roundabout.

emblem of the municipality are illuminated and serve as a popular motif on postcards and in city guides.

On each side of the roundabout monument, seven slightly arced streams of water appear, shimmering in changing colors in the dark.⁵⁶ Connected by an imaginary line, they form seven elegant concentric arcs and are topped by the curved backs of the primordial athletic couple. The common structural denominator between this typical wrestling posture and the Selimiye Mosque is a dynamically bent arc. This popular motif is present also in the region's historical stone bridges. Promotional pictures play with this seemingly ubiquitous motif of arches – in the case of bridges, they are additionally mirrored in the rivers. Such a presentation of oil wrestling is also significant because, instead of the

⁵⁶ E.g. <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/en/arsiv/3-brochures-posters-postcard-stamp-and-en-velope-catalog/2732-9-ulusal-kirkpinar-fotograf-yarismasi-katalogu>, 23 May 2017.



Fig. 4: Wrestlers' fountain at the city entrance.

otherwise ubiquitous celebration of a solitary winner standing erect and raising his fist in victory, it conveys the message of brotherly contests to prepare for combat against a common enemy who threatens the city, border, and nation. What counts is not the individual hero and his personal athletic record, but a powerful experience of communal solidarity.⁵⁷ At first glance, the seven pipes on each side of the roundabout fountain do not seem to faithfully implement Kirkpınar's famous foundational myth of "40 springs" (*kark pınar*), but closer inspection reveals that it "does have altogether 40 outlet pipes arranged in three parallel rows, however giving to the approaching spectator the impression of seven on either side – another number that signals sufficient magical multiplicity" for the evocation of this site of sacrificial death.⁵⁸ The purported mythical truth is correctly implemented, so to speak, but an aesthetically more convincing solution had to be found for the perception of the people who quickly pass this inaccessible monument: their transient perception can grasp seven on either side, but not 40 altogether, although they have to reduce speed considerably at this spot. Nevertheless, the motif of the "40," widespread in

⁵⁷ On another case of local versus global sports gestures that, however, increasingly fuse with traditional patterns of ritualized behavior, see Krawietz, Birgit: Prelude to Victory in Neo-traditional Turkish Oil Wrestling. Sense Perceptions, Aesthetics and Performance, in: *International Journal of the History of Sports* 31.4 (2014), pp. 445–458.

⁵⁸ Krawietz, Big Bodies, p. 203. For details see Schimmel, Annemarie: *The Mystery of Numbers*, Oxford 1993.

Muslim societies, is often combined in popular culture with oil wrestling and with the crossover of the Ottomans to the Balkans or to Europe in general. People also relate it to the mythical rendering of the successful conquest of Edirne in the 14th century.⁵⁹ The mythical, imaginary version of this development refers to 40 brave soldiers setting over Çanakkale Strait with rafts.⁶⁰ Training themselves with wrestling between encounters with the Byzantine enemy, two Ottoman vanguard soldiers are said to have been so dedicated to their contest that they finally both died by exhausting themselves. According to this narrative, their comrades, after completing the capture of Edirne from the Byzantines, returned to the spot of their untimely death and witnessed the miracle that meanwhile “40 springs” gushed at that very place; in a different interpretation of the expression *kırk pınar*, others speak of only one, though spirited, natural fountain, namely “the spring of the 40” [men]. This bears the signature of the aforementioned popular helper Hıdır (or Hızır), a hybrid mythical figure, who had travelled to the Fountain of Life.⁶¹ He is most intimately associated with this element and is a “transmitter of the sacred energy.”⁶² His main function is that he transforms newly conquered terrain through “its consecration by a hierophantic event,”⁶³ i.e., he turns profane space into blessed, sacred place – in this case, the conquest of European soil that could otherwise hardly be related to references in the holy sources of Islam.⁶⁴

6.2 The Constant Presence of Oil Wrestling in the City Center

To continue the city tour in terms of traditional wrestling, the next athletic monument a visitor is very likely to encounter comes just after passing the Selimiye, right before the area on the left, where protocol ceremonies are repeatedly carried out in front of the central Atatürk statue. The wrestling

⁵⁹ See the description of the Kirkpınar House in the subsequent section.

⁶⁰ The transfer was carried out in this area south of the Marmara Sea, because the northern strait, the Bosphorus, was still in the hands of the Byzantines, along with Constantinople itself.

⁶¹ In his foreword to Halman, Hugh Talat: *Where the Two Seas Meet. The Qur'ānic Story of al-Khidr and Moses in Sufi Commentaries as a Model of Spiritual Guidance*. Louisville, KY 2013, p. vii, Bruce Lawrence uses the expression “out of time sojourner.”

⁶² Franke, Patrick: Khidr in Istanbul. Observations on the Symbolic Construction of Sacred Spaces in Traditional Islam, in: Georg Stauth (ed.): *On Archaeology of Sainthood and Local Spirituality in Islam*, Bielefeld 2004, pp. 37–58, here p. 51.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶⁴ I do not enter here into the broad discussion of the jihad or holy war concept in Muslim sources, but restrict myself to representations in popular culture.

monument is situated within Uğur Mumcu Park. The small green area hosts a cafe and can be directly inspected from the sidewalk, although the sculpture is surrounded by a small, roughly triangular pool with a fountain. It stands close to the Londra Asfaltı, the main street between the Old Mosque and the roofed Ottoman market, on one side, and its westward continuation to Gazi Mihal Bridge over the Tunca River towards the border station Kapıkule, on the other.



Fig. 5: Wrestling monument in the city center.

Its prominent position is also enhanced by the fact that the well-known Turkish artist Tankut Öktem (1940–2007) was commissioned to produce this sculpture.⁶⁵ He had attended school in Edirne and, in 1973, won the bidding to create a Kırkpınar monument (*heykel*), for which he came up with the idea of showing “four wrestlers” in action, with one wrestler having gained the upper hand.⁶⁶ It is more plausible, however, to understand the sculpture as one and the same pristine pair of wrestlers presented twice, to cater to both perspectives alongside the road: Tankut Öktem’s wrestling monument flanks a ritual *axis mundi*. The latter is performatively invoked several times throughout the year by an official cortège that walks back and forth from the municipality to the Atatürk

⁶⁵ On his contribution to the Balkan War Memorial, see Krawietz, *The Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial*.

⁶⁶ “Edirne Belediyesi’nin 1973 yılında açtığı yarışmada birincilik kazanan ve dört pehlivanın güç gösterisini anlatan heykel Edirne Bedesten Çarşısının önünde bulunan parkta sergilenmektedir,” https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tankut_%C3%96ktem, last accessed 9 May 2017.

statue – Lefebvre's lived or representational space. This popular ritual is also practiced during the oil wrestling week, in which not only the national anthem, but also the Kırkpınar March, composed in 1995, is played in front of Atatürk.⁶⁷



Fig. 6: Central wrestling monument with Selimiye and Old Mosque.

On the way back, the Selimiye towers over this wrestling monument, as with the wrestling roundabout at the visual entrance of the city. Obviously, this coupling of the central icon with wrestling⁶⁸ emphasizes Edirne's invincibility, pride, and alertness. Furthermore, the sculpture and its contextual placing below the Selimiye puts oil wrestling in perpetual service of the mosque's defense. And again, the element of water plays a constitutive role: the pool comprises 40 pipes arranged in a low circle, among which a really powerful one in their middle shoots a fountain high into the sky, thus mimicking the shape of the four minarets of the Selimiye behind the fountain⁶⁹ and performing the

⁶⁷ The municipal council accepted it in 2004 as the official Kırkpınar march, <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/tr/yazi/2-ritueller/14-kirkpinar-marsi>, last accessed 9 May 2017.

⁶⁸ Compare the digitized covers of oil wrestling publications that are accessible at <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/en/arsiv/3-brochures-posters-postcard-stamp-and-envelope-catalog/1>, last accessed 23 May 2017.

⁶⁹ Obviously, this is a sort of compromise making it unnecessary to decide which version of the Kırkpınar myth to follow. Yazoğlu, Alper: *Balkanlarda Türk Yağlı Güreşleri Kırkpınar*, 2 vols., n.p. and n.d. (1993?), vol. 1, p. 17, speaks of the monument of Öktem as “Kırkpınar

idea that sacred spirits are joining forces. Recalling Löw's dictum that it is important to make connections between the various elements of an arrangement,⁷⁰ it should be highlighted that the city planners in Edirne make sure to narrow oil wrestling's ubiquitous character (it requires only a piece of lawn) by coupling it with the Selimiye, the city's most famous icon. This is most pertinent concerning the Kırkpınar monument just mentioned as well as the fountain cum monument at the entrance to the city, but can be witnessed in many other visual contexts. The local appropriation of oil wrestling in Edirne evolves by employing the forces of religion, folk narrative, and nationalism. However, the Selimiye should not be taken as a mere sign of regional self-advocacy and local patriotism, but as the proud emblem of a strategic border town meaningful for the whole of Turkey.

A few steps off the main east-to-west road through Edirne, there are two important places: the wrestlers' cemetery and the Kırkpınar House. The tiny cemetery consists of just a few graves in a corner. Only the double gravesite of two famous oil wrestling masters, Adalı Halil (d. 1926) and Kara Emin (d. 1941), is individualized. Adalı Halil was born and died in Edirne; he dominated the Kırkpınar tournament as victorious Head Wrestler for 27 years, while Kara Emin was the winner of the 1914 competition.

The graves were transferred from Sarayıçi to this part of the town to save them from the river's frequent floods, but also to include them more explicitly in public awareness. A stone panel informs visitors: "The Wrestlers' Cemetery (Pehlivanlar Mezarlığı) was transferred to this place and rearranged (*düzenlenmiştir*) by the late mayor Nuri Alışkan in the term of the year 1956." This clarifying statement was not attached until half a century later, as stated by the last line: "Edirne Belediye Başkanlığı 2004," a time when heritagization had set in, but had not yet reached full swing confirmed by UNESCO credentials.

This site has become a ritual cornerstone in lived space; the official cortège for the opening of the Kırkpınar festival week, consisting of politicians, prominent townspeople, last year's victorious Head Wrestler,⁷¹ journalists, and ordinary

Memorial" (*Kırkpınar Anıtı*); he refers to information from the local historian Oral Onur that the pool with its engineering devices and the water streaming out of "40 watering holes (*yalak*) immediately next to the memorial and from within it" was also carried out by the Edirne-based engineer Oral Alkan. The complex was completed in 1973 and "opened in a simple ceremony" (*sade bir törenle açıldı*). As of 2017, the fountain needs some maintenance, because not all the sprays function as originally planned.

⁷⁰ Löw, *Sociology of Space*, p. 70.

⁷¹ In 2017, Recep Kara did not show up to fulfill this task. In such cases, a young man in traditional Thracian attire steps in.



Fig. 7: Wrestlers' cemetery.



Fig. 8: Memorial rosette at wrestlers' cemetery.

spectators, marches through town as one station of the opening and then assembles in front of the wrestlers' graves to pay tribute to their memory and ask for good luck. Starting from the municipality, the ritual caravan walks up to this spot, and the mufti of Edirne conducts a prayer of supplication (*dua*) in Turkish (while mentioning the familiar mix consisting of efforts of the institutions involved,

wrestlers relevant for the competitions in Edirne in the early 20th century, Orhan Gazi, Atatürk, Çanakkale, and the necessary sacrifice for the fatherland), followed by a silent recitation (in Arabic) of the opening chapter (*fatiha*) of the Koran to obtain blessings for all protagonists, including the Turkish state.⁷² These two graves are marked by longish, two-dimensional, black oil wrestling trousers (*kıspet*) made of stone and attached to the gravestone, each topped by a historical photograph of the deceased.⁷³ The procession's visit is ritually scheduled for Friday morning before the competitions officially start in the later afternoon.

Interestingly, a visit to the Selimiye has not been made part of the collective ritual sequence, but, in my perception, many wrestlers afterward attend the Friday prayer in the famous mosque. The sermon on that day regularly addresses the topic of sports and competition. Although the Selimiye is in many ways iconographically combined with oil wrestling, its visit remains optional, thus downscaling religion and putting more emphasis on the nation (for the role of the religion of Islam in oil wrestling, see further below).

A historical townhouse off the Londra Asfaltı in the old Kaleiçi Quarter, but fairly close to the Wrestlers' Cemetery, serves as the Kırkpınar House (Kırkpınar Evi). It does not have the status of a real museum and exhibits no aspirations to scientific documentation, but its relevance lies elsewhere. Löw understands every "constitution of space" as "a performative act" and states that at "the moment of placement, we establish relations between elements (and classes of elements) with the result that we join these elements (the table, the door, the church, the lines on the map of a region) to yield a space."⁷⁴ Therefore, it is worth taking a closer look at the hierarchical assemblage of items within and in front of the building: the Kırkpınar House comprises only two upper stories with a few small rooms and a garden. It gives the impression of an old-fashioned clubhouse and, in fact, hosts the Association to Promote and Keep Alive Kırkpınar Culture (Kırkpınar Kültürünü Tanıtma ve Yaşatma Derneği). This place is filled with all sorts of paraphernalia related to oil wrestling, such as photographs of famous wrestlers and other protagonists, some of whom are cut out as nearly life-sized standing figures; in addition, the visitor faces old display typically dressed cardboard dummies depicting the traditional drum and shawm (*davul ve zurna*) musicians who acoustically accompany the matches, as well as text tables, trophies,

72 Cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jo2jf8ZkjHA>; <http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2vcx6w>, both last accessed 11 May 2017.

73 Kispets were traditionally made of buffalo leather and weighed between 15 and 18 kg; today, calf leather is used, which reduces the weight to about three kg. These trousers have to be completely soaked in olive oil during the competitions.

74 Löw, *Sociology of Space*, p. vii.



Fig. 9: Friday prayer at the Selimiye.

booklets, and press documents. A small selection of old newspapers, journals, and popular literature on oil wrestling is exhibited, although it is far from any systematic coverage. In contrast, the municipality itself is much more advanced in this regard, having undertaken significant efforts to digitize such documents, notably books and booklets with photographs, on a broader scale.⁷⁵

The most prominently placed item in the Kırkpınar House is a nearly four meter long painting titled “The Turkish Nobility of KIRKPINAR” (Türk’ün Asaleti KIRKPINAR). Its middle bears an accompanying white text written on green – the color of “the helper” Hıdır – and framed in gold. The four pictorial components are:

- a) in the upper left quarter, a raft carrying Ottoman soldiers with weaponry and horses over the Dardanelles or Çanakkale Strait (Çanakkale Boğazı)
- b) and, below, a paradigmatic couple of oil wrestlers in action.
- c) At the upper right, a group of Ottoman riders galloping forward on horses with drawn swords and,
- d) at the lower right, the two primordial wrestlers who died of exhaustion.

⁷⁵ Cf. <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/en/arsiv/1-books>, last accessed 18 May 2017; some of these publications are made available as a pdf in full length.



Fig. 10: Broad painting at Kırkpınar House.

The text in the middle of the picture refers to the allegedly established fact (*kabul edilmektedir*) that Kırkpınar wrestling began in 1361, the year when Edirne was taken.⁷⁶ Historians (*tarihçiler*) are said to report that Süleyman Pasha, the son of Orhan Gazi (d. 1326), the conqueror of Rumelia (the European part of the Ottoman Empire, in distinction from Anatolia), reached the European shore with two rafts (*iki salla*) carrying 40 advance troops (*akıncı*) of the Ottoman Empire's military.⁷⁷ Out of this vanguard group, the mythical pair of brothers began their wrestling match that led to their deaths by exhaustion and dedication to fighting on a Hidrellez day. Some Turkish sources even report their names as being Ali and Selim. The outer frame of the composition is likewise

⁷⁶ On the presumably later date of its conquest in the middle of the 1370s, see Kontolaimos, Panagiotis: *The Formation of Early Ottoman Urban Space. Edirne as Paradigm*, in this volume.

⁷⁷ According to the lexicon entry about Orhan Gazi by Eugenia Kermeli in the *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters, 2009, 442–444, 442, his “son, Süleyman Pasha, the conqueror of the Balkans, was the heir presumptive,” but died an untimely death already in 1357.

cast in gold, emphasizing its importance as the central message of the whole exhibition unit. Hence, it explicitly demonstrates that oil wrestling is about the reenactment of physical practices – its origin is related to a historical event, the conquest of Edirne – and that this victory should be seen in the wider framework of the military breakthrough onto European soil.



Fig. 11: Broad painting, picture detail of deadly wrestling combat.

Outside the building, at the entrance of the Kırkpınar House, the text of the Kırkpınar March and a turquoise-colored plaque schematically presenting a wrestling couple on a piece of lawn, topped by a laurel wreath, the Selimiye, and on top of all that a dark half moon enclosing a star, along with portrait busts in traditional attire of Alper Yazoğlu, Edirne's oil wrestling sponsor in the first half of the 1990s, and of Hüseyin Şahin (d. 1998), sponsor in the second

half of the 1990s. These two occupy the most prominent positions in the outdoor scenery on the garden side.⁷⁸



Fig. 12: Portrait busts of sponsors in front of Kirkpınar House.

At the back of the garden, five smaller and flatter busts of the wrestlers Adalı Halil (1871–1926), Kurt Dereli (1864–1939), Kel Aliço (1845–1898), Koca Yusuf (1857–1898), and Hüseyin Alkaya (1908–1982) are arranged in one row. The first two of these wrestlers are already known from the nearby Wrestlers' Cemetery. The manner of their placing is an interesting case of visually reproducing and steering existing social hierarchies: it can be inferred here that the demanding enterprise of oil wrestling is not only about the wrestlers, who, in the truest sense of the word, are sidelined in this front-side display of the Kirkpınar House, but also that the whole event has been made possible – in a collective spirit – together with the financial dedication and engagement of the respective sponsor. The latter is determined each year anew in a bidding process and ritual and, in a way, fulfills the role of the traditional landlord of a region (*ağa*). The same pattern of coopting and elevating, if not representationally privileging particular Aghas can be discerned in front of the oil wrestling

⁷⁸ Their importance is relativized only by an Atatürk bust on a pedestal further to the front. This triad faces passersby on the street.

arena in Sarayı. ⁷⁹ Since the middle of the 1920s, the Agha of the Kırkpınar event can be compared only to a sponsor, fulfilling merely representative functions, so that the duty is in great demand among businessmen and landowners in the European part of Turkey. ⁸⁰ The dynamic developments of the last years have fueled an increase in infrastructural and real estate projects. In light of greater demand, higher prices, and enhanced connectivities, it seems no coincidence that the Agha of 2009–2013, 2015–2019, Seyfettin Selim, is a developer from Istanbul. ⁸¹



Fig. 13: Vehicle of Agha Selim.

7 Temporary and Shifting Wrestling Appearances

The implementation of sports venues in cities often corresponds with a culturalization of athletic practices, and both processes are affected by economy-driven

⁷⁹ Both Aghas are represented as life-sized figures on a pedestal and in traditional attire in front of the oil wrestling arena.

⁸⁰ Laqueur, *Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Stellung*, p. 47. For a list of Edirne's Kırkpınar Aghas since 1950, see <http://www.edirnekulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,76392/kirkpinar-yagli-guresleri.html>, last accessed 25 June 2017.

⁸¹ Cf. <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/tr/biyografiler/1-seyfettin-selim>; http://www.selimin-saat.com.tr/pages/18/9/f/tr-TR/Biten_Projeler.aspx, both last accessed 25 June 2017.

festivalization and eventization.⁸² Klein even perceives cities as dynamic artwork, as living sculptures that are constantly shaped by people.⁸³ That applies not only to the sport event itself and its immediate staging, as will be shown later, but already to the preparations and advertising efforts that I shall first tackle for the case of Edirne. Furthermore, the urban festivalization of oil wrestling is produced by a variety of temporary appearances in Edirne's public space. This applies predominantly to the festival week itself, but also to its promotional announcements, and afterward to its more transient leftovers. The festive character of the event is celebrated, for instance, by pennons in the signature cloth of Turkish flags and others in brilliant colors that carry the emblem of the municipality or of the modern Turkish Edirne Kirkpınar Association, flapping in long rows in the wind. The main roads and pathways for pedestrians are richly lined with both sorts of emblems.

The traditional means of advertising the upcoming wrestling tournament is to present long white candles whose lower part is dipped in blood-red wax. It is the task of the Agha to send such *kırmızı dipli mum* weeks in advance;⁸⁴ in former times, they would be simply hung up in coffeehouses.⁸⁵ The origin of this tradition is unclear; for the older Kirkpınar event, it was least testified to toward the end of the 19th century.⁸⁶ The slim candle is attached upright to shop windows, and sturdier, self-supporting versions are presented at important official invitations.⁸⁷

My own take on the red-bottomed candle stems from today's many cross-references between oil wrestling and the Selimiye since the Balkan Wars:

The Selimiye mosque, the major architectural feature of Edirne, served as the main symbol of the imperial glory that was in peril. In addition to press reports, the drama of

⁸² Klein, Gabriele: Urbane Bewegungskulturen. Zum Verhältnis von Sport, Stadt und Kultur, in: Jürgen Funke-Wieneke and Gabriele Klein (eds.): *Bewegungsraum und Stadtkultur. Sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven*, Bielefeld 2008, pp. 13–27, here p. 14.

⁸³ Klein, Urbane Bewegungskulturen, p. 13.

⁸⁴ The local newspaper *Hudut* reports on 15 July/Temmuz 2017, no. 13041, 1 and 13, that a delegation consisting of the governor (*vali*) of Edirne, the mayor Recep Gürkan, the 2017 sponsor Seyfettin Selim, and the winner of the previous year, Recep Kara, had visited the President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to submit a massive *kırmızı dipli mum* with an invitation to attend the games; the report shows both the mayor and the champion shaking hands with Erdoğan.

⁸⁵ Laqueur, *Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Stellung*, p. 45.

⁸⁶ Laqueur, *Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Stellung*, p. 46.

⁸⁷ Cf. <http://www.edirnekirkpinar.com/en/yazi/1-items/5-the-candle-with-red-bottom>, last accessed 16 Apr. 2017.



Fig. 14: Kırkpınar announcement in barber shop.



Fig. 15: Former mayor of Edirne İbrahim Ay in the back of his pharmacy.

beleaguered Edirne spread around the state through other modes as well. Theatres staged plays that unambiguously portrayed scenes from Edirne to the audience.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Ginio, Eyal: Mobilizing the Ottoman Nation during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). Awakening from the Ottoman Dream, in: *War in History* 12:2 (2005), pp. 156–177, here p. 163. On the memory of the Balkan Wars in Edirne, see Krawietz, Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial.

In this sense, I interpret the candle, which is employed also in the Turkish republican context, as an analogous hyper-national stand-in for the mosque's typical pencil-like limestone minarets, while the red color signals the immediate danger that Turkish soil will be soaked with blood if forces are not mustered for its defense. In the last few years, I noticed that a number of shop owners attached the candle, upright, to the poster so that it continued the line of one of the minarets. This is in accordance with what Lefebvre depicts as the behavioral practices of "lived" spaces. At the same time, this phenomenon relates to the dimension of "perceived" space, in the sense that people realize what is at stake as a cultural background narrative.



Fig. 16: Poster at bus-stop near Old Mosque.

Meanwhile, even more often than the red-bottomed candles, posters combining a wrestling pair with the Selimiye are *the* main direct announcements of the event displayed in shops and restaurants in the city center. They have increasingly superseded the candle, because they can be more easily attached to glass windows and carry information that is more precise. There are some variations with the signature colors and motifs. Some large-format versions are glued to central billboards or are presented on one side of roofed bus stops. In addition, some official greeting announcements on posters of the mayor may be hung up along the roads.

There are just a few and rather improvised devotional objects associated with oil wrestling on offer in the three tourism-relevant Ottoman markets and no postcards or anything else that would showcase *specific* wrestlers, although these places abound with visual objects carrying the motif of the Selimiye. The near absence of official oil wrestling fan merchandise in these and other places in the town and the lack of a special Kırkpınar store are quite striking. This contrasts with the many photographic volumes on oil wrestling and with the several popular booklets from many decades on its “history.” There seems to be no major interest in a real personality cult of individual wrestlers in the form of postcards, posters, or T-shirts, although some victorious wrestlers are well-known and are still celebrated.⁸⁹ What seems to count for Edirne is that the wrestlers’ achievements follow the logic of service to the shared cultural community.

Another dimension of perceived (*perçu*) space highly relevant for oil wrestling is its typical soundscape, produced by a certain type of music and a specific manner of its distribution.⁹⁰ The whole city turns into a festive arena and various tribunals are set up in different places for invited musicians and singers.

The Western/global-style brass band of the municipality and the shawm or clarion and drum (*davul ve zurna*) band in traditional dress accompany the ritually scripted movements of the official cortège that assembles to pick up the Agha from his residence and walk to the Atatürk statue and the Wrestlers’ Cemetery.

These two bands play decisive roles in the Sayrayiçi stadium during the days of the wrestling competitions. The musical immersion experienced during the festival week is so thorough that there is hardly any escape from being engulfed in the soundscape. At times, I took a construction worker headset with me to occasionally block out the noise, at least in my hotel room.⁹¹ The *davul*

89 However, the Internet presentation of Turkish oil wrestlers has to be treated in a separate publication because it renders a different picture.

90 Krawietz, Prelude.

91 Escaping to hotels on the outskirts is not necessarily a wiser choice, because many wedding celebrations also take place during the evenings of the festival week.



Fig. 17: Announcement of musical events.

and *zurna* combo not only creates music typical of life-cycle rituals, such as birth or circumcision, but also produces a different kind of temporality: it functions as a historical reminder of the great Ottoman days and their celebration of noteworthy events. Hirschkind has underlined the importance of soundscapes in creating and expressing ideational alliances.⁹² Although he analyzes pious Muslims in Egypt (notably taxi drivers) who ostentatiously display their active listening to recorded preachers, the perspective he unfolds can be used here to depict the role of the ritually important shawm and drum players, dressed in full Ottoman garb, who still accompany people in important life-cycle events, such as the oil wrestling tournament and its joyous announcement. Listening to these tunes revives the memory of the glorious past. The musicians' wandering through the city center spreads an attention-grabbing, upbeat atmosphere and drums people in to Sarayıcı, where the musicians (both the Ottoman- and the Western-style municipal brass band) accompany the athletic tournament.

⁹² Hirschkind, Charles: *The Ethical Soundscape. Cassette Sermons and Islamic Counterpublics*, New York 2006.



Fig. 18: Ceremonial *davul* and *zurna* group.

Löw argues that social goods as well as human beings are constitutive of spatial constructions.⁹³ Taking the latter closer into account, another “sense,” in addition to visual and acoustic stimulation, turns out to transform space and function as yet another powerful reminder of oil wrestling. Normally, elderly men who do some shopping or frequent the many cafes dominate the public realm in Edirne.

During the *Kırkpınar* Festival, however, the ambience changes profoundly: all of a sudden, male youngsters of all ages and well-built grown-ups move around in groups. They have another way of walking and comporting themselves. I would not call this sense of perceiving the tremendous change that the town is undergoing merely visual or tactile/haptic,⁹⁴ because most visitors do not really touch any of the muscular guests, apart from ardent fans who greet their idols or happen to know some of them directly. Otherwise, “rubbing shoulders” most probably goes on in and around the crowded stadium in *Sarayıcı*. Yet,

⁹³ Löw, *Sociology of Space*, p. 132.

⁹⁴ The official five senses are sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch.

roaming with these wrestlers from all over Turkey who walk around in leisure clothes conveys some sort of physical reassurance and reminder of the days when Edirne was the regular rallying point of the Ottoman army, which left its winter quarters from here to set off on military expeditions farther into Europe. People greatly like to mingle with the wrestlers in a relaxed manner, and they talk about the positive feelings related to this as some kind of uplifting boost: they sit next to the wrestlers in the cafes and restaurants, see them passing by in minibuses from other parts of Turkey, strolling through town, and visiting landmarks, and they may have contact with them renting out rooms in the many small hotels, because the two thousand wrestlers are not accommodated in a central hotel complex, but spread all over town. Foreign visitors, too, can perceive them up close in such settings; the breakfast offered in such places is astonishingly good, because the athletes expect healthy and substantial nutrition.

However, I would not depict this phenomenon as strategically planned reenactment. Rather, I would take it as enhanced kinesthetics, as a refined sense of gaining confidence and of directing oneself. In a city like Edirne, with its history as the central garrison town for further westward conquest and for control of the European parts of the Ottoman Empire, this strengthening and amplifying of the local and national body conveys considerable somatic assurance. For a town of over 165,000 rather slow-moving inhabitants, it makes quite a difference that nearly two thousand young wrestlers and the groups that accompany them are present not only in Sarayı, but also stroll around the city center. That is to say that, temporarily, Edirne acquires “muscle,” and everyone can feel this. The invigorated landscape of bodies, despite T-shirts, mid-length shorts, and flip-flops, is not only martialized; the percentage of males also significantly rises. With this display of powerful masculinity in and outside the arena, wartime memories may be activated, but perhaps more in the sense of a functioning Ottoman military infrastructure with Edirne as its important relay station. I myself have sensed that the inhabitants of Edirne greatly enjoy the enhanced crowd experience in their bustling streets, as well as the increased prospects for their local retailing.

8 Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling in the Palace Garden Island of Sarayı

After the above tour through the city center in search of elements that alert us to oil wrestling, the focus turns now to the arena in Sarayı as its official venue. The garden island has a historical, Ottoman-era background as an area

for leisure activities, including wrestling. Nevertheless, the Kirkpınar Festival itself has to be regarded as an invented tradition that was geographically transposed to Edirne from farther away. However, that shift does not diminish the tenacity with which this competition is upheld and embellished within the framework of the Turkish Republic. In front of the arena, an ensemble of sculptures has been positioned that strongly reminds viewers of those already discussed for the Kirkpınar House.⁹⁵ That is to say, republican nationalism and its increasing Neo-Ottomanism have reshaped oil wrestling in many ways, but this last section will confine itself to describing oil wrestling and the invented tradition character of the site of action.

8.1 Historical Development of the Palace Garden

From the city center off the Hükümet Caddesi, a 20–30-minute walk (alternatively, cheap minibuses or overpriced horse-drawn carriages for tourists) leads to Sarayıçı. The destination presents itself as lush nature with various elements of infrastructure. The sole architectural reminders of the Ottoman era are the stone bridges and the Tower of Justice (Adalet Kasrı). The latter was a kind of entrance marker to the palace that was located on the other side of the Fatih Bridge, off the island.

Since its last flourishing in the late 17th century, the palace was heavily damaged by the great earthquakes of 1752 and 1753 and generally neglected from the 18th century on. When the Russian army entered Edirne for the first time, it stationed troops in the island garden of Sarayıçı, and when they withdrew in 1829, they plundered the palace. In the War of 1877/78 between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, there was an Ottoman ammunition depot inside the palace. When the Russians were about to enter the city, the Ottomans deliberately set the depot on fire, which spread to the palace buildings.⁹⁶ Afterward, Edirne was under Bulgarian (1913) and Greek occupations (1919–1922), but the 1923 Treaty of

⁹⁵ Some life-size standing figures of prominent oil wrestlers (Adalı Halil and Ahmet Taşçı in one group and, a bit less prominently displayed, Kurtdereli, Kel Aliço, and Koca Yusuf only on a group pedestal) as well as some Kirkpınar Aghas are set up opposite the oil wrestling arena. This phenomenon need not be explicated further in this chapter. There are no wrestling monuments of performing athletes here because we are already at the place of action itself.

⁹⁶ On the phases of demolition and decay and the first steps toward heritage reconstruction, see Riedler, Florian: *The Resurrection of Edirne's New Imperial Palace as National Heritage*, in this volume.



Fig. 19: Kanuni Bridge to Sarayıçi Island.

Lausanne that fixed Turkey's borders returned Edirne to the newly founded Republic of Turkey.

After long years of decline, conflict, war, and economic depression, the wrestling competition of Kırkpınar was revived in the 1920s by the Turkish Red Crescent (Hilâl-i Ahmer) and the Child Protection Society (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu) in Sarayıçi. Initially, the annual contests took place in rather improvised settings, but gained popularity. However, the story of how oil wrestling evolved in the following decades still has to be written in a diligent and critical historical analysis.⁹⁷ In 1946, the Municipality of Edirne took responsibility for the event. However, it was some decades before durable structures were built in Sarayıçi.

As for information on the younger history on Sarayıçi Island itself, there is a square fountain or, rather, water facility halfway between the Fatih and the

⁹⁷ The same would be needed for earlier phases, despite the efforts of Laqueur. Diligent archival work on all the institutions involved would be necessary.



Fig. 20: Fatih Bridge from Tower of Justice and arena toward former Palace area.



Fig. 21: Water facility on Sarayıçi Island.

Kanuni Bridges that informs readers at its top: “Built in remembrance of the deceased Süleyman Şahin, Kırkpınar Agha of the year 1968.”

Its concrete is painted off-white and is equipped with a large tableau of modern square tiles in middle and dark blue with smaller white ones. It is thus an interesting structure conveying the charm of modernism as the ruling design paradigm, following the aesthetics of rupture pursued by the Kemalists.⁹⁸

However, the reference to 1968 is misleading in that the fountain was erected considerably later, namely in 1986 – *after* the modern new arena had begun to take shape. As the Kırkpınar Agha (of 1991–1993) Yazoğlu states, it was sponsored by a certain İbrahim Bodur, the owner of a ceramics factory from Çanakkale, who had functioned as Agha in the years 1967–1968.⁹⁹



Fig. 22: Oil wrestling arena.

The large, squarish, concrete oil wrestling arena was set up as late as the second half of the 1980s. It not only ignores possible Greek-Byzantine predecessors from

⁹⁸ On the “rejection of Ottoman forms” as displayed in the capital Ankara, see Bozdoğan, Sibel: *Modernism and Nation Building. Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle and London 2001, pp. 47–54. Ironically, decorative fountains are an architectural genre in which the Ottomans excelled.

⁹⁹ Yazoğlu, *Balkanlarda Türk Yağlı Güreşleri*, vol. 1, p. 19. The author underlines that this was done without the involvement of the municipality.

whom the Turks had taken up the technique of oiling up for wrestling; it is also completely devoid of the organic forms of Neo-Ottomanism design. However, it is significant in itself that this type of historical physical exercise became valorized by such a large-scope modern community facility. In the early decades of the Turkish Republic, emphasis was rather on Western sports and the country's race to catch up. Atatürk is known for his enthusiasm for modern sports, including Western ones such as football and tennis, but he also promoted some hybrid activities that combined national strengthening with local traditions.¹⁰⁰ Neo-Ottomanism, rising since the 1980s, has cast remnants of past glory in a much more favorable light. When the modern functional style and fairly low-set oil wrestling arena was erected in Sarayı, it was placed with one corner next to the Ottoman Tower of Justice (Adalet Kasrı) that is today the highest structure in the whole area and serves as its landmark, a strong reminder of relational arrangement as highlighted by Löw.

The tower was built by the famous architect Sinan in 1561. It served as an entrance to the palace and had various functions.¹⁰¹ Since the middle of the 1990s, there has been an effort to take professional care of the ruins of the palace quarter – a process that led, from the first decade of the 21st century on, to the successive repair or reconstruction of some of its buildings, including this Tower of Justice in 2011–12.¹⁰² Although the squarish, concrete arena completely follows a modern-functionalist sports paradigm whose built elements lack any Ottoman resemblance, a “dialogue” with the palace remnants has thereby been opened. In that sense, the stadium of the middle of the 1980s already exhibits – although in the guise of Kemalist modernism – a subversive touch, apart from the traditionalist spectacle that it hosts behind its visually impenetrable walls.

The still uninhabited island of Sarayı is connected with the mainland by Ottoman stone bridges from the heyday of empire. These and the other imperial leftovers testify that the Kırkpınar wrestling event of today takes place on multi-layered and extremely important historic ground. However, from the viewpoint of mere practicalities, oil wrestlers would need nothing more than a

100 On Atatürk's endorsement of Zeybek, see Öztürkmen, Arzu: Modern Dance “Alla Turca.” Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Turkey, in: *Dance Research Journal* 35 (2003), pp. 38–60. There are some efforts to turn Atatürk into a fan of oil wrestling, but there are no pictures displaying him in a Kışpet or Agha attire.

101 Uğurluel, Talha: *Edirne ve Gezi Rehberi*, Istanbul 2005, pp. 160–162.

102 For the architectural excavation history that started in 1956 but was systematically picked up only in 2009, see Özer, Mustafa: *The Ottoman Imperial Palace in Edirne (Sarayı Cedit-i Âmire). A Brief Introduction*, Istanbul 2014, pp. 71–87.

longish lawn, so that the history-laden area of Sarayı provides visitors with quite an exceptional setting.

8.2 The Site of Kırkpınar Wrestling as Invented Tradition

This subsection deals with the character of oil wrestling as a tradition that has been considerably reframed, modified, and partly manufactured in accordance with the needs of Republican Turkey. The transition from the severely shrunken Ottoman Empire to the Turkish nation state that was established in 1923 was accompanied by considerable ruptures. Nevertheless, great efforts have been made to take up specific earlier modes of social ordering. I use the concept of “invented traditions” to take a closer look at some of these shifts, but for lack of remaining space, I restrict myself here to the aspects of the location and time of Kırkpınar oil wrestling.

For athletes and tourists, Kırkpınar oil wrestling has become *the* most important venue within the Turkish oil wrestling calendar. There are a number of rather well-known festivals in other Turkish towns and localities, as well, plus a host of rural competitions of mainly local impact, but it is in Edirne that the Champion of Turkey emerges victoriously each year as the best oil wrestler within the highest, head wrestler (*baş pehlivan*) class.¹⁰³ This has to do with the fact that the “sportification of ‘traditional’ wrestling styles is often linked to the elaboration of ‘national’ styles, i.e. to the standardization of a selected ‘traditional’ style and its organization as a sport on the national scale.”¹⁰⁴ As already mentioned, when the Kırkpınar Oil Wrestling Festival was accepted as a UNESCO ICH site in 2010, the official poster announced its 650th celebration. The year 1361 as the assumed date of origin is associated with the conquest of Edirne. A considerable number of booklets and visual representations – such as the raft with the Ottoman vanguard of the 40 in the Kırkpınar House – relate it not only to the conquest of Edirne, but even to the breakthrough onto the European continent in general. However, even Turkish popular literature narrates all sorts of *prior* historical events or

103 A wrestler’s athletic record within this whole circuit as well as his weight decide in which of the 14 wrestling categories he is admitted to the Kırkpınar tournament. In the course of his development as a wrestler, an athlete can move successively up into this highest wrestling class. In Edirne, tentative Turkish oil wrestlers enroll in the Mimar Sinan Spor Salonu in advance during the festival week before the wrestling days commence.

104 Bromber, Katrin, Birgit Krawietz, and Petar Petrov: Wrestling in Multifarious Modernity, in: *The International Journal of the History of Sport* (2014) (Special issue: *Wrestling with Multiple Modernities in International Journal of the History of Sport*), pp. 1–14, here p. 2.

developments that show that the exploration of southeastern Europe must have come at an earlier date and should be thought of as a longer, trickling process of migratory flows, rather than in terms of one clear-cut military vanguard initiative taken at a quite late, very specific date. It is therefore puzzling to frequently find a textual bricolage of contradicting notions. Perhaps it would be better to categorically distinguish mythical narratives, such as the vanguard unit of 40 men, from plausible historical assumptions. Obviously, local renderings show a heartfelt desire to relate the capture of Edirne (that, in a way, prepared the later 15th-century, world-historical event of taking Constantinople from the Byzantines) to a strong myth of origin. *Kırkpınar* wrestling is advertised as the oldest continuously practiced sports competition on earth, given that the Olympic Games were interrupted for many centuries.

Nevertheless, *Sarayıcı*, founded in the 14th century, was *not* historically the venue for this prestigious tournament. Despite *Sarayıcı*'s considerable historical role as a leisure garden and occasional military training ground that also hosted wrestling activities, the *Kırkpınar* tournament itself is a relative newcomer to this river island. Although surrounded by water, there are neither 40 crystal-clear springs, as the most widespread popular version of the foundation myth purports, nor even a single visible natural spring (no need to mention that the endowed modern squarish fountain structure of 1986 receives its water through laid pipes).

In his influential co-edited volume on invented traditions, Hobsbawm explains: "Traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented."¹⁰⁵ He does not reserve the phenomenon of artificially manipulating traditions that are no longer fitting or functioning to a specific historical phase, but affirms that

we should expect it to occur more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated: in short, when there are sufficiently large and rapid changes on the demand or the supply side.¹⁰⁶

A rapid sequence of ruptures and various changes are especially related to the wave of violent nationalisms that completely restructured the landscape of southeastern Europe about a century ago and caused severe losses to the Ottoman

105 Hobsbawm, Eric: Introduction. *Inventing Traditions*, in: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.): *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge 1996 (1st ed. 1983), pp. 1–14, here p. 1.

106 Hobsbawm, Introduction, pp. 4–5.

Empire. Experiencing an endangered, shrinking empire, the Ottomans and (from 1923 on) Turks have twice “rescued” the authentic historical Kırkpınar location to keep it within their realm. Thus, the authentic, *original place of Kırkpınar* lay until 1911 in what is now Greece, near the village of Samona. In the course of the Balkan Wars and World War I, the Ottomans moved the tournament of 1912 to Virantekke (today known as the checkpoint Kapitan Andreevo) – where, however, the same fate struck again. This time, another nation, Bulgaria, managed to capture the territory.¹⁰⁷ As a consequence, after a period of interruption, the athletic Spring of the Forty performances were *transferred* to Sarayıçi Island in 1924.¹⁰⁸ But even on the island itself, the exact site was shifted before it was positioned in its current location: Yazoğlu identifies “the wrestling place (*Güreş meydanı*) of the first phase of the Republic, 1924–1940” as located in a spot farther away from the Tower of Justice to the southwest of the Garden Island.¹⁰⁹ The site did not receive an official function until the middle of the 1920s. The Edirne-based sports scholar İlhan Toksöz claims: “After [the] Turkish army took back Edirne on 25 November 1922, [the famous wrestler] Adalı Halil İbrahim organized a symbolic wrestling in Sarayıçi in Edirne.”¹¹⁰ The athlete is a figurehead of the transition to modern-style wrestling in Sarayıçi (hence his presence in the Wrestlers’ Cemetery and the Kırkpınar House). The disruptions of World War I made sponsorship impossible, so that the Kırkpınar competition was shifted to Sarayıçi in 1924 and was organized in a revived fashion by the Turkish Red Crescent and the Child Protection Organization (*Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*).¹¹¹ Since 1946, responsibility for its administration rests on the municipality of Edirne. A stone block opposite the main/VIP entrance to the modern arena officially declares:

The historical and traditional (*geleneksel*) Kırkpınar oil wrestling matches began at the date 1361 in the meadow (*çayır*) of Kırkpınar. In the year 1924, they were taken (*alındı*) to Edirne, Sarayıçi. The Head Wrestler of Kırkpınar is the Head Wrestler of Turkey (*Kırkpınar başpehlivanı Türkiye başpehlivanıdır*). The invitation is made with the red-bottomed candle.

However, only when financial and infrastructural conditions within Turkey progressed did the festival manage to increasingly attract a wider range of active participants, meanwhile over two thousand, from other regions of Turkey, as

107 For these different places and their varying names, see the map in Erdem, Halis: *Doğuşundan Günümüze Kırkpınar Güreşleri*, 2nd ed. Edirne 2010, p. 25. Compare Laqueur, *Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Stellung*, pp. 6 and 15.

108 Krawietz, *Big Bodies*, p. 203.

109 Yazoğlu, *Balkanlarda Türk Yağlı Güreşleri*, p. 92.

110 Interview with Toksöz in 2009.

111 Cf. Laqueur, *Zur kulturgeschichtlichen Stellung*, p. 17.



Fig. 23: Plaque opposite the arena's VIP entrance.

well. With great determination, Edirne has come to overshadow other oil wrestling venues in Western Anatolia and develop into *the* main oil wrestling destination that crowns the annual national master of Turkey.¹¹² The “sportification of ‘traditional’ wrestling styles might take decades,”¹¹³ but was never completed in the case of oil wrestling. Hence, it is necessary to contextualize and study “local wrestling practices beyond the lens of sportification only, although it is an important issue to be discussed, especially when focusing on ‘modified’ forms of ‘traditional’ styles.”¹¹⁴

With regard to its current site in Turkey, Kırkpınar oil wrestling is an invented tradition, because its origins as a festival in the ritual calendar lie in what is today Greek territory. However, given the strong presence of the Ottoman army in that area and its function as leisure space, it should not be claimed that oil wrestling was artificially parachuted into Sarayıçı in the course of the 20th century; it links back to a plausible historical background of infantry training and court amusement and a form of occasional recreation also for ordinary people. Nevertheless, the double site-switching in the early 20th century wartime

112 Yet, this history with an exact analysis of the cooperation and conflicts between local and national governments remains to be written. The flood of Turkish popular literature on oil wrestling does not really elucidate this dimension.

113 Bromber et al., *Multifarious Modernity*, p. 2; for a discussion of such rubrications, see Krawietz, Birgit, *Coming to Grips*, pp. XX.

114 Bromber et al., *Multifarious Modernity*, p. 2.

upheavals and in general the large number of re-inventing adjustments to Turkey as a nation state can hardly be overlooked.

Yet, limited space prevents this chapter, “Designing Edirne’s Heritage Trail,” from exploring the festival’s copious wider range of invented traditions beyond *place*. Suffice it to quickly add here the dimension of *time*, because that affects place as well: in former days and according to the mythical narrative of Kırkpınar, the festival that culminated in the wrestling finals ended on a Hidrellez day, i.e., on May 6, but the municipality of Edirne decided to shift the games to the end of June and the beginning of July to make sure that the many children who participate would not miss school and that many grown-ups would already have holidays.¹¹⁵ In addition, the trend toward sportification led in 1975 to the introduction of a time limit to make this grueling sport more bearable for the athletes involved and to better orchestrate the athletic events for the spectators.¹¹⁶ Moving the Kırkpınar festival week to the end of June and the beginning of July¹¹⁷ created a vacancy for the high time of Hidrellez on May 5–6, which has thus been otherwise designed in a different way on Edirne’s Heritage Trail, as demonstrated above, and it has even kept a loose connection to oil wrestling through the employment of Sarayıçi as a multi-functional stage of action. People in Edirne and the pertinent popular literature do not generally feel uncomfortable about the change of places and dates of Kırkpınar. Obviously, they do not see it as a deficit of authenticity; on the contrary, it testifies to their tenacity and dedication to energetically uphold these traditions. One could therefore speak of authenticity of emotions, less of indebtedness to historical accuracy.¹¹⁸ What counts is the expression

115 Oral communication. The slight time switches in recent years are due only to Ramadan, which follows the shorter Muslim lunar calendar and starts a bit earlier every year. People do not want these two festival times to overlap.

116 On time restriction, see Krawietz, Sportification, p. 2153. Turkish oil wrestling is managed by the Turkish Wrestling Federation (TGF), Krawietz, Prelude, p. 8. However, this cannot be regarded as full-fledged sportification, but affect only certain aspects: “Innovations in ‘traditional’ wrestling are mainly along the lines of Olympic wrestling and judo, from which governing bodies borrow elements such as time limits, overtime (if the match is a draw in the regular time), systems of awarding points (in some countries, during a match the points appear on digital score board) and even (as in oil wrestling) passivity calls and doping controls.” Bromber et al., Multifarious Modernity, p. 8; in the Kırkpınar tournament “doping tests were introduced in 1998,” Bromber et al., Multifarious Modernity, p. 12.

117 The month of Ramadan may cause an ever later start, as has happened in the last few years.

118 See Langham, Eric and Barker, Darren: Spectacle and Participation. A New Heritage Model from the UAE, in: Karen Exell and Trinidad Rico (eds.): *Cultural Heritage in the Arabian Peninsula. Debates, Discourses and Practices*, Farnham and Burlington, VT 2014, pp. 85–98.

of communal solidarity and readiness for self-defense that is most plausible in a border situation with such a violent history.

9 Conclusion

The large, nearly void green area in and around Sarayıçi, as the former pleasure garden of the Ottoman palace has been called, today hosts only scattered historical remnants of its lost glory. Nevertheless, it was reconfigured in different ways, although initially very modestly, during the last century. This development picked up a more systematic drive toward heritagization during the last decade, but such activities already started in that area after the turn of the millennium. The restoration of selected historical reminders in Edirne in the last decades of the 20th century led to a new level of engagement through a considerable number of Ottoman-style UNESCO Cultural Heritage applications: to start with, the Intangible Cultural Heritage of oil wrestling. These endeavors assemble – step-by-step – what can now be identified as an important and interconnected heritage trail. Its major cluster lies (not only in the largely intact Ottoman city center that is adjacent to the older, pre-Islamic one, but also) in and around the Tunca River island of Sarayıçi. Real mastery can be asserted for the crafting of a range of heritage projects that comply with UNESCO formats. As has been demonstrated, these initiatives are not developed in isolation, but are clearly related to one another and are designed in view of other sites that have already been accepted as UNESCO heritage (candidates).

While the first part of this chapter meticulously uncovered heritage strategies for Edirne and its connectivities, its middle part analyzed, as a case study, how the urban landscape is molded through presentations of oil wrestling (since 2010 UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage) including visualization and other sensory invocation of mythical elements. The last part turned to the official place of athletic action at the outskirts of Edirne on the island of Sarayıçi. It becomes evident that what, in a certain way, can be called an invented tradition of oil wrestling is emotionally authenticated because it has perfectly met the mood of this battered border city.

The yardstick for evaluating Edirne's uttermost engagement for oil wrestling and the sport's major place within a complex heritage trail should not be reduced to historical accuracy and the privileging of authentic origins. Historical reality and the imaginary should not be perceived as sharply conflicting contrasts; instead, the widespread mythical rendering of oil wrestling and its interweaving with the Ottoman urban realm uses the imaginary as an elevation, sublimation,

and means to condense an object, here a very particular city.¹¹⁹ Taken from the viewpoint of oil wrestling, the cityscape of Edirne can be understood as a “living sculpture,” energized beyond the arena by three major components: i) the placing and visual arrangement of certain monuments and other visual representations in specific contexts, ii) the characteristic soundscape, and iii) a largely unconscious process of somatic transformation when the city acquires “muscle” – and, according to Lefebvre, produces characteristic “lived” (*vecu*) spatial practices.

Thus, oil wrestling is not merely a re-invented tradition staged *out there* on the Palace Garden island as a temporary annual event for those whom it might concern, but engulfs the whole city and, to a certain degree, maintains its presence all year round. As such, oil wrestling is part of a much larger (meanwhile UNESCO-branded) heritage structure that is decisively shaping the city and boosts its potential future as a tourist hub.

119 I take this idea from Lindner, Rolf: *Textur, imaginaire, Habitus – Schlüsselbegriffe der kulturalanalytischen Stadtforschung*, in: Helmuth Berking and Martina Löw (eds.): *Die Eigenlogik der Städte. Neue Wege für die Stadtforschung*, Frankfurt and New York 2008, pp. 83–94, here p. 87.

Part IV: Crossroads Edirne

Aziz Nazmi Şakir

The Formation of the First Ottoman “Mother of Israel” in Edirne

The first “mother of Israel” was Deborah in the biblical “Book of Judges” (5:7), who used this expression for herself to describe her role in the rebellion against the Canaanite king Jabin, who oppressed the Israelites.¹ Nearly three millennia later, sons and daughters of Israel fleeing from Western Europe used the same metaphor for a non-Jewish city they had found refuge in, whose rulers felt self-assured enough to remove its walls and use their material for public buildings. Most historians of the Ottoman Empire will recognize the city of Selanik, present day Thessaloniki, in this description. For nearly three centuries (16th–18th), its Sephardic Jewish community amounted to more than half the city’s total population, and in fact they nicknamed it *la madre de Israel* (the mother of Israel).²

Without denying Selanik’s importance, in this article I will argue that it was not the first, but in fact the second Ottoman “mother of Israel,” after Edirne. The first mention of this honorary title in connection with Edirne we know of was not until the middle of the 17th century, and it was in Hebrew.³ At least for now, in the archival and secondary sources there is no trace of an Ottoman equivalent of this term, which seems logical, considering that the expression bears an emotional rather than an administrative connotation. Despite this late mention, I will demonstrate below that, already a century before Jews arrived in Selanik, the then Ottoman capital played a very similar role to the one Selanik would later. The following chapter traces the paths of the first Jewish emigrants heading from

1 “The open villages ceased, in Israel they ceased, until I Deborah arose; I arose as a mother of Israel.” For other translations of the same verse, see <http://biblehub.com/judges/5-7.htm>, last accessed 18 Jan. 2019.

2 Cf. Naar, Devin E.: Fashioning the “Mother of Israel.” The Ottoman Jewish Historical Narrative and the Image of Jewish Salonica, in: *Jewish History* 28.3–4 (2014), pp. 337–372.

3 Hananel, Asher and Eli Eshkenazi (eds.): *Evreyski izvori za obshtestveno-ikonomicheskoto razvitiie na balkanskite zemi prez XVI vek* [Jewish Sources on the Socio-economical Developement of the Balkan Lands in the 16th Century], 2 vols., Sofia 1958–1960, vol. 2, p. 434. The expression “Mother of Israel” is used for Edirne by the Talmudist Moshe ben Nissim Benveniste (1608–1677) in a response to a question concerning the homicide in Batak of a Jew traveling from Pazardzhik to Seres in 1650. The exact phrase used is “Kislev 5410 (October 1650), decision of the scholarly rulers of the city mother of Israel.”

various parts of Europe toward the newly established second Ottoman capital Edirne, the formation of Jewish communities there, and their share in the social and cultural milieu of the city. The main sources used are Ottoman tax registers from three separate censuses held during the 16th century, textual descriptions of the city found in a number of travelogues, and monographs and articles related to the topics discussed.

1 The Pre-Ottoman Period

According to the Ottoman-Turkish historian Abraham Galante (1873–1961),⁴ the Jewish community in Adrianople (later Edrene or Edirne) dating back to the second century AD was among the oldest diasporas found in the Roman Empire.⁵ The earliest traces pointing to its existence (389 AD) were in the reign of Theodosius I (379–395 AD), who was the last emperor to rule over both the eastern and the western halves of the Roman Empire.

In the centuries to follow, the Jewish community was subjected to various methods of discriminatory pressure (including massacres, persecution, and enforced baptism) from a considerable list of “anti-Semitic” Roman and Byzantine emperors: Theodosius II (402–450), followed by Justinian I (527–565), Phocas (602–610), the initiator of the Byzantine iconoclasm Leo III (717–741), Basil I “the Macedonian” (867–886), Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944), and, last but not least, Andronikos Komnenos (1183–1185).⁶ When the army of the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204) entered Constantinople in 1203, the “Knights of Christ” slaughtered Jews residing in Pera.⁷ Not surprisingly, in the short-lived Latin Empire period (1204–1261) the “default” negative attitude toward Jews in most of Europe (where Latin crusaders were coming from) did not change for the better.⁸ The official pressure affected not only Jews’ daily life, but also their religious affairs. For

⁴ Abraham Galante (1873–1961) was an inspector in the Jewish Turkish Schools of Rhodes and Izmir. His principal field of scholarly activity was the study of Jewish history in Turkey.

⁵ See Galante, Avram: *Türkler ve Yahudiler*, 3rd edition, Istanbul 1995, pp. 16–21.

⁶ Besalel, Yusuf: *Osmanlı ve Türk Yahudileri*, Istanbul 1999, pp. 18–19; Shaw, Stanford J.: *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, London 1991, pp. 18–22.

⁷ Besalel, *Osmanlı ve Türk Yahudileri*, p. 19.

⁸ This led to several cases in which Byzantine Jews took refuge in the Seljuk Empire. See Shaw, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 25; Besalel, *Osmanlı ve Türk Yahudileri*, p. 20.

example, Jews in Adrianople were not allowed to celebrate Purim⁹ earlier than the Christian Easter, although the two holidays appear in the reverse order in the calendar. In addition, the Byzantine emperors forced the local rabbis to read the texts used during Shabbat services in their Latin and Greek translations.¹⁰

2 The Naturalization, Attraction, and “Import” of Jews to Early Ottoman Society

After the conquest of Adrianople by Murad I in the 1360s and the Sultan’s decision to turn it into the capital city, the local but still relatively small Jewish diaspora, which traded in textiles, leather, and wine, started to gradually increase. This was due to emigrants initially coming from the previous Ottoman capital Bursa and later on from several European directions where the Jewish population experienced various problems at the hands of the local political and religious authorities. The Jews of Edirne contacted the diaspora settled in the first Ottoman capital Bursa and urged them to move to Edirne, promising to help them learn the language of the new rulers, i.e., Ottoman Turkish.¹¹ Some seven centuries later, it is hard to estimate how influential that plea was, but it is known that it was followed by a mass migration of the addressees. No doubt, the main reason for this exodus was the Sultan’s strategic decision to move the center of the state to the newly conquered northwestern edge of his country. As a matter of fact, some of Bursa’s Jews moving to Edirne were actually money-changers originating from Adrianople (i.e., Edirne itself), who returned to take part in the development of the new administrative center repopulated by the Ottomans;¹² hence their adaptation to the new-old living place was less troublesome than the incorporation of their local relatives to the new ruling culture.

The fact that the new capital was, at least geographically, European and was skillfully backed by certain tax exemptions had one more important impact: it easily attracted new Jewish settlers from almost all the European

⁹ Purim is a Jewish holiday that commemorates the deliverance of the Jewish people in the ancient Persian Empire, where a plot had been laid to destroy them. The story is recorded in the biblical Book of Esther.

¹⁰ Bali, Rifat N.: Edirne Yahudileri, in: Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz (eds.): *Edirne. Serhattaki Payitaht*, Istanbul 1998, p. 205.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 206.

¹² Shaw, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 26.

diasporas, namely Bosnia, Serbia, Hungary, South Germany, Italy, France, Poland, and Russia. Logically, the first émigrés came from the neighboring non-Ottoman Balkan territories. In 1376, they were followed by a group expelled by the Hungarian king Louis I (1342–1382). The newcomers later founded the Budin (Buda) Synagogue. As Europe went on slaughtering and expelling its Jewish population, the number of their communities and synagogues in Edirne grew. During the Late Middle Ages, the chronology of these anti-Semitic events covered plenty of dates and geographical points in Europe's history: in 1391, Jews were massacred in Spain. In 1394, Jews driven out of France by Charles VI (1380–1422) took refuge in Edirne.¹³ In 1411, again in Spain, the diaspora was subjected to forcible baptisms. In 1421, many Jews were burned to death in Vienna and many others expelled from Austria. In the 1420s, a considerable group of Jews from Thessaloniki who were purchased by Venetian merchants fled, most probably also to Edirne,¹⁴ the closest safe place around.¹⁵

As a result of the abovementioned waves of emigration, in the first quarter of the 15th century, Edirne became home to Europe's largest Jewish community and acted as a de facto "Mother of Israel," long before this title was given to Thessaloniki. Consequently, the chief rabbis of Edirne enlarged their sphere of influence and were now in charge of all Jewish communities in Southeast Europe.¹⁶

In the 1430s, the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Yitzhak Tzarfati, who was considered the highest official in the Edirne Jewish community, wrote a remarkable letter addressing his coreligionists living in Western Europe. It said:

In the Turkish lands blessed by God, I found peace and happiness. Turkey may be the land of peace for you, too. Here there is nothing we can complain about: we own fortunes. Our hands are full of gold and silver. Our taxes are not heavy and our trading is free. Everything is cheap and everyone is calm and free.

In addition to the picturesque description of the flourishing Ottoman capital (reminiscent of the online ads for US green cards), Tzarfati, who himself had fled to Edirne from Christian Europe, also brought to the attention of his recipients the fact that the city was relatively close to the holy places. This meant easy travel for those who would undertake a pilgrimage or choose to be buried

¹³ Bali, Edirne Yahudileri, p. 206; Besalel, *Osmanlı ve Türk Yahudileri*, p. 20.

¹⁴ Emmanuel, Isaac-Samuel: *Histoire de l'industrie des tissus des Israélites de Salonique*, Lausanne 1935, p. 50.

¹⁵ A chronology of the waves of emigration from Europe to Edirne can be found in: Oral, Onur: *1492'den Günümüze Edirne Yahudi Cemaati*, Istanbul 2005, pp. 23–24.

¹⁶ Epstein, Mark Alan: *The Ottoman Jewish Communities and their Role in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Freiburg 1980, p. 54; Shaw, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 26.

in Palestine.¹⁷ This appeal most probably was coordinated with the Ottoman authorities, who recognized the major contribution Edirne Jewry made to the state economy. After Rabbi Tzarfati’s appeal (which can be interpreted as an unofficial visa to enter the Ottoman lands), much of the Ashkenazi population of Bavaria, Bohemia, Silesia, and other regions immigrated to Edirne and founded their own synagogue there.¹⁸ The fact that Jews and Turks did not share a common past was a major factor in the easy acculturation of the newcomers. Of all the non-Muslim, but protected *zimmi* communities, European Jews alone were Ottoman subjects by choice, not by conquest.¹⁹

3 The Jews of Edirne After the Conquest of Constantinople

However, in the course of two to three years after the conquest of Constantinople (1453),²⁰ Edirne’s Jewish population drastically decreased²¹ when considerable parts of both the orthodox Rabbanite and heterodox Karaite²² communities

¹⁷ Epstein, *Ottoman Jewish Communities*, pp. 21–22; Shaw, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 31–32.

¹⁸ Bali, *Edirne Yahudileri*, p. 206.

¹⁹ Braude, Benjamin and Lewis, Bernard: Introduction, in: id. (eds.): *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols., New York and London 1982, vol. 1: The Central Lands, pp. 1–34, here p. 24.

²⁰ Levy, Avigdor: Introduction, in: id. (ed.): *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton 1994, pp. 1–150, here p. 8, Bali, *Edirne Yahudileri*, p. 207.

²¹ Epstein, Mark Alan: The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the 15th and 16th Centuries, in: Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (eds.): *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols., New York and London 1982, vol. 1: The Central Lands, pp. 101–116, here p. 103.

²² Edirne Jews belonged to both orthodox Rabbinic and heterodox Karaite congregations. Karaites came to Adrianople from the Asian territories of the Byzantine Empire, the Crimean Peninsula, and parts of southern Poland, cf. Bali, *Edirne Yahudileri*, p. 214. Karaite Judaism or Karaism (Hebrew meaning “Readers (of the Scriptures),” is a Jewish movement characterized by the recognition of the *Tanakh* (the Hebrew Bible) alone as its supreme legal authority in *Halakha* (Jewish religious law) and theology. It is distinct from mainstream Rabbinic Judaism, which considers the oral Torah, as codified in the Talmud and subsequent works, to be authoritative interpretations of the Torah. Karaites maintain that all of the divine commandments handed down to Moses by God were recorded in the written Torah without additional oral law or explanation. As a result, Karaite Jews do not accept as binding the written collections of the oral tradition in the Midrash or Talmud.

moved to the new Ottoman capital.²³ Already from 1456 on, all the Karaite dignitaries who had been living in Edirne were now living in Istanbul.²⁴

Exile influenced Karaites deeply. In his book *Patshegen Ketav Ha-Dat*²⁵ (Written Religion), a collection of Hebrew sermons, Caleb ben Elijah Afendopolo (1464?–1525)²⁶ points out that, after the great King Mehmed in 5215²⁷ (1455) sent Jews away from Edirne and Pravato (maybe present-day Provadiya in northeast Bulgaria) to Istanbul, the Karaites' Torah reading traditions underwent a significant change.²⁸ With their neighborhood and synagogue named after Edirne (namely Mahalletü'l-Yahûdiyyîn Edirniyyîn and Edirne Sinagogu), Edirne Jews founded in the new Ottoman capital a smaller version of their prior hometown. For a couple of decades, they succeeded in upholding their economic ties with the Balkans. Some records found in manuscripts (dating back to 1472),²⁹ reveal that the guarantors of Jews taking fief land (*zeamet*) from Siroz (Serres) and its vicinity were from the Edirne Jews' neighborhood in Istanbul.³⁰ In the same year, the Edirne customs house was administered by an Edirne and a Niğbolu Jew who had settled in Istanbul. Besides, the guarantors were from the Tırhala and Edirne Jews' neighborhood in Istanbul, which proves that their recent roots were in the Balkans.³¹

23 Attias, Jean-Christophe: Intellectual Leadership. Rabbanite-Karaite Relations in Constantinople as seen through the Works and Activity of Mordekhai Comtino in the Fifteenth Century, in: Aron Rodrigue (ed.): *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry. Community and Leadership*, Bloomington 1992, pp. 67–86, here p. 68; Epstein, *Ottoman Jewish Communities*, pp. 103–104.

24 Hacker, Joseph R.: Ottoman Policy toward the Jews and Jewish Attitudes toward the Ottomans during the Fifteenth Century, in: Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (eds.): *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, 2 vols., New York and London 1982, vol. 1: The Central Lands, pp. 117–126, here p. 120.

25 A digitalized version of the 1867 manuscript of the book found in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary is available at http://garfield.jtsa.edu:8881/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=241150&local_base=GEN01, last accessed 18 Jan. 2019.

26 A Karaite scholar and poet who lived most of his life in Kramariya near Constantinople. He wrote on biblical, theological, ethical, and scientific subjects and composed liturgical poetry.

27 According to the Hebcāl Jewish Calendar. The date represents the number of years since Creation, calculated by adding up the ages of people mentioned in the Bible.

28 Hacker, Joseph R.: The Sürgün System and Jewish Society in the Ottoman Empire during the 15th to the 17th Centuries, in: Aron Rodrigue (ed.): *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry. Community and Leadership*, Bloomington 1992, pp. 1–65, here pp. 10–11.

29 These records belong to the Kâmil Kepeci classification (KK) cited in the next couple of footnotes.

30 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (BOA), KK 4988, p. 351.

31 BOA, KK 2411, p. 27; See Epstein, *Ottoman Jewish Communities*, p. 111.

Nevertheless, some families were allowed to remain in Edirne, where the Ottoman authorities deemed the continued presence of Jews highly desirable.³² The diaspora was enriched again in the second half of the century, after a number of anti-Semitic campaigns were carried out in various European cities and especially after Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492. From 1492 on, at the end of the Catholic Reconquista, Spain, Sicily, and Savoy, in 1498, Navarre and Provence, and, in 1510–1511, Naples exiled their Jews and thereby seriously contributed to the repopulation of the diaspora in Edirne. For decades, the groups coming from all over Europe and especially those from Italy, France, and Spain founded new *kehalim* (pl. of the Hebrew word *kahal* = community). According to the great Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi (1611–1682), who visited Edirne in 1652, these communities lived in four neighborhoods in the Kaleiçi area (which covered the *castrum* from the pre-Ottoman period), where most of the non-Muslim population of the city dwelt.³³ An Ottoman tax register (*tahrir defteri*) from 1519 (see Fig. 1 below) shows the existence of eight different Jewish communities in Edirne: One each from Catalonia (29 households and three bachelors), Portugal (45 households, three bachelors), Naples (33 households, four bachelors), Germany (eight households), Spain (42 households), Toledo (ten households), Aragon (24 households), and Spain (42 households), as well as one generically called *Gerush* meaning “exiled”³⁴ (40 households, four bachelors).³⁵

The figures in tax register No. 370 containing the results of the next “census” organized a decade later, in 1530–1531, show some interesting dynamics in terms of smaller increases and greater decreases in the number of households within some of the communities. For instance, the number of households belonging to the *Gerush* community declined from 40 to 27 and the Portuguese branch declined from 45 to 36 households.³⁶ In tax register No. 494 from 1570 to 1571 (see Fig. 2), we discover three new Jewish communities: Çeçilya (Sicily),

³² Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 22.

³³ Kazancıgil, Ratip: *Edirne Mahalleleri Tarihçesi 1529–1990*, Istanbul 1992, p. 105.

³⁴ *Geruz* or *Gerush*, from the Hebrew for “exiled.” See Bali, *Edirne Yahudileri*, p. 226, footnote 2. I could not find any particular information about the exact “European” origin of this community; however, the name suggests that its members were Sepharads exiled from Spain or Portugal.

³⁵ BOA, *Tahrir Defteri* no. 77, pp. 39–41; Gökbilgin, M. Tayyip: *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, Istanbul 1952, p. 66.

³⁶ BOA, *Tahrir Defteri* no. 370, p. 4.

Jewish neighborhoods of Edirne (Yahudiyân-i nefsi Edirne)	households	bachelors	converts	professions, titles
Cemaat-i Katalan	29	3		doctor (<i>tabîb</i>)
Cemaat-i Burtugal	45	3		
Cemaat-i Alaman	8			
Cemaat-i Aragon	24			
Cemaat-i İspanya	42			? (<i>sarcı</i>)
Mahalle-i Poliye (Naples) from the Catalan community	33	4	1	barber, Yusuf: new Muslim (<i>Müslim nev</i>)
Cemaat-ı Geruz	40	4		herbalist (<i>attâr</i>), gardener (<i>bostancı</i>), coppersmith (<i>kazancı</i>)
Cemaat-ı Toledo	10			
Total	231	10	1	

Fig. 1: Jewish communities in Edirne and the religious, social, and professional status of some of their members as mentioned in tax register No. 77 from 1519.

İtaliya (Italy), and “sürgünân” (the exiled).³⁷ The register notes about the latter group: “yahudiyân cedidûn-i Edirne end” (they are Jews new to Edirne). This clearly refers to the fact that the strong Jewish emigrant flow from Western European states and North Africa continued through the whole 16th century. As a result, the size of the Jewish populace doubled between the two censuses in 1530 and 1570–1571.

From what we read in the diaries of Western travelers and diplomats witnessing Edirne, we can conclude that in the following decades this tendency continued. According to the traveler K. Zenon in the second half of the 16th century, there were a thousand Jewish houses in the trading neighborhood of the city. His colleague Daniel Ungnat states, “In this town there are countless Jews, many more than in Istanbul.” From Baron Wenceslaw Wratislaw, a companion of Frederic Kregwitz, the ambassador extraordinary of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II to Sultan Murad III, who was astonished by the colorful picture of Edirne’s citizens from different ethnic groups, we learn that the nearly 16,000

³⁷ BOA, Tahrir Defteri no. 494, p. 89.

Jewish neighborhoods of Edirne (Yahudiyân-i nefs-i Edirne)	households	bachelors	converts	professions,
Cemaat-i Katalan	39	31		
Cemaat-i Purtukal	52+11	28+1 ³⁸		
Cemaat-i Alaman	18	2		
Cemaat-i Aragon	27	13		
Cemaat-i İspanya	45	19		
Cemaat-i Poliye	36	27		
Cemaat Geruz	50	20		kemp seller (<i>kaz fîrîiş</i>)
Cemaat-i Toledo	14	1		
Cemaat-i Çeçilye	14	1		
Cemaat-i Italiya	11			
Cemaat-i Sürgünân (exiled)	11	3		
Total	336	146		

Fig. 2: Jewish communities in Edirne and the religious, social, and professional status of some of their members as mentioned in tax register No. 494 from 1570 to 1571.

Jews there exceeded the Greeks in number.³⁹ Even if we take into consideration travelers’ common tendency to exaggerate, we have to admit that the Jews’ numbers and living standards were constantly increasing. In 1716–1717, Lady Mary Montagu, who visited Edirne and thus had the opportunity to inquire about the social status of the local diaspora, writes in her “Letters from Turkey”:

I observed most of the rich tradesmen were Jews. That people are in incredible power in this country. They have many privileges above all the natural Turks themselves, and have formed a very considerable commonwealth here, being judged by their own laws. They have drawn the whole trade of the Empire into their hands, partly by the firm union among themselves, and partly by the idle temper and want of industry in the Turks. Every pasha has his Jew, who is his *homme d'affaires*; he is let into all his secrets, and does all

³⁸ These eleven households and one bachelor are listed on p. 89 as a neighborhood separate from the “Cemaat-i Purtukal” mentioned on p. 87.

³⁹ Todorov, Nikolai: *Evreyskoto naslenie v balkanskite provintsii na Osmanskata Imperiya prez XV–XIX vek* [The Jewish Population in the Balkan Provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the 15th–16th Century], in: id. (ed.): *Prouchvaniya za istoriyata na evreyskoto naselenie v balgarskite zemi XV–XX v.*, Sofia 1980, p. 10. For Wratislaw’s description of Edirne see Wratislaw, Wenceslas: *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrovitz*, translated by A. H. Wratislaw, London 1862, pp. 40–42, available online: http://books.google.bg/books?id=llMBAAAAQAAJ&pg=PR7&source=ghs_selected_pages&cad=2#v=onepage&q&f=false, last accessed 18 Jan. 2019.

his business. No bargain is made, no bribe received, no merchandise disposed of, but what passes through their hands. They are the physicians, the stewards, and the interpreters of all the great men [...] They have found the secret of making themselves so necessary that they are certain of the protection of the court, whatever ministry is in power [...] There are many of them vastly rich, but they care to make little public show of it; though they live in their houses in the utmost luxury and magnificence.⁴⁰

4 The Jewish Communities' Share in the Formation of the Ottoman Social, Cultural, and Scientific Environment in Edirne

The initial factor behind Edirne Jews' success was the relatively tolerant attitude Ottoman authorities demonstrated toward its non-Muslim subjects. In the 15th and 16th centuries, non-Muslims formed the majority of the Ottoman population. This is especially true for urban Edirne. The diverse cultural traditions and conditions in the recently acquired territories and the Ottomans' striving for fast and smooth integration of the "others" led the new rulers to apply the sharia laws more flexibly and in accordance with Turkish and local customary practices (*örf*).⁴¹ The Ottoman state awarded its religious minorities a high degree of freedom to rule their own affairs and protection from violence.⁴² Thanks to this, large numbers of non-Muslims converted and participated in the highest levels of Ottoman government and various domestic institutions, which gave Ottoman society a plural character.⁴³ For example, during the reign of Murad II (1421–1451), a certain Jew, Ishak (Yitzhak) Pasha, served as the Sultan's chief physician, and his family was granted perpetual tax exemption. A much better-known figure who entered the service of the same sultan in Edirne, again as a chief physician, was an Italian Jew, Jacopo of Gaeta, known as Hekim Yakub (Jacob the Physician). His decision at a young age to migrate to Edirne must have been based on a certain measure of self-confidence and on the knowledge that Ottoman society needed trained people and therefore welcomed Jews. His confidence was justified, and his career is our foremost example of Jewish

⁴⁰ *The Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, edited by Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, Boston 1869, p. 86; Bali, *Edirne Yahudileri*, pp. 213–215.

⁴¹ Epstein, *Ottoman Jewish Communities*, p. 9.

⁴² Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

mobility in 15th-century Ottoman society.⁴⁴ By the time Mehmed II ascended the throne in 1451, Yakub was already a highly influential figure at the court, where he continued to serve as chief physician also under this sultan. Additionally, his education and familiarity with European sciences and politics paved the way for him to enter the Sultan’s most intimate circle of political advisors. Yakub has been credited with having aroused Sultan Mehmed’s interest in European sciences. Some Ottoman accounts maintain that Yakub served as *defterdar* (head of the treasury) and later was raised to the rank of vizier. Shortly before his death in 1483 or 1484, Yakub converted to Islam. It is significant, however, that the highest achievements of his career were attained as a Jew.⁴⁵ Epstein depicts Hekim Yakub’s life as “an Ottoman Jewish success story.”⁴⁶ It is interesting that, 120 years after it was issued, the tax exemption he and his descendants were granted became a bone of contention, after some circles within the Jewish diaspora started to insist that it should be annulled. We learn about this extraordinary event from a question directed to the Talmudist Rabbi Samuel de Medina⁴⁷ by “people in the synagogue” who were arguing with Yakub’s descendants. The long text of the question found in part four of Medina’s *Questions and Answers*⁴⁸ titled “Hoshen Mishpat. She’elot u-Teshuvot” (Necklace of Justice) contains detailed information about Hekim Yakub’s success story and reflects various facets not only of his personal, but also of Ottoman Jews’ common relations with the Ottoman authorities. The attitude de Medina demonstrates toward the state, its institutions, and all of the half a dozen Ottoman sultans⁴⁹ mentioned in the question is highly respectful. Here is an excerpt from the document:⁵⁰

One honorable and educated Jewish physician set off from his native land to settle in the Ishmaelite land, because people there are merciful. He came at the time of Sultan Murad in the place where the Sultan lived and that was his throne city Indrene (Edirne) [. . .] And

⁴⁴ Epstein, *Ottoman Jewish Communities*, p. 79.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 30–31, 80. See also: Epstein, *Ottoman Jewish Communities*, pp. 54–55, 75, 78–79.

⁴⁶ Epstein, *The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews*, p. 111.

⁴⁷ Samuel ben Moses de Medina (1505–1589), abbreviated RaShDaM or *Maharashdam*, was a Talmudist and author from Thessaloniki. He was the principal of the local Talmudic college, which produced a great number of prominent scholars during the 16th and 17th centuries.

⁴⁸ A collection of 956 responsa in four parts, of which the first two were published during the lifetime of the author (1578–1587?) under the title *Piske RaShDaM*.

⁴⁹ Murad II, Mehmed II, Bayazid II, Selim I, Süleyman I, and Selim II.

⁵⁰ Hananel and Eshkenazi, *Evreyski izvori*, vol. 1, pp. 14–16 citing Samuel de Medina’s *Hoshen Mishpat. Sheelot uteshuvot*, question no. 364, p. 194 b.

he was taken to the house of the Sultan and there, in the palace, his fame spread, also in the eyes of the prince, whose name was Mehmed [...] And the man [Jacopo] went with the prince and served him [...] He [the prince] seated on the throne of his father. In the second year of his reign the Sultan Mehmed built a small town in the locality called Akıntıburnu⁵¹ and named it Boğazkesen,⁵² today's Yeni Hisar, located right behind Galata. And the Sultan came from Indrene to see the town and its construction built by his servants and brought with him the physician. On that day, he deigned to raise the mentioned physician because of his wit and vast knowledge, and the Sultan deigned to conclude with him a contract: eternal alliance to stand between him and his heirs on one side and the physician and his descendants on the other. And he exempted forever the physician and his descendants, men and women and their descendants, from all sorts of taxes and obligations called *minda*,⁵³ *velo*,⁵⁴ and *eleh*.⁵⁵

Further, we find cited the text of the contract dated 856 AH (1452–1453) (in its Hebrew version) with a longer list including all tax exemptions, namely: *mas harosh* (poll tax), *mas hakerem ve hagan* (vineyards and gardens tax), *maser haterumot* (tithes on crops), *binian hachomot* (construction of fortified walls tax), *mine angaria* (unpaid service), *shalgin*,⁵⁶ and *avariz* (occasional cash taxes levied by the central government).⁵⁷ Bayezid II, Selim I, Süleyman I, and Selim II re-ratified the contract.⁵⁸ De Medina's response was that, in accordance with Jewish law, in all financial disputes between Jews, the sultans' decrees and the official legislation should have priority over the *halakhah*.⁵⁹ Interestingly, as it seems, despite of Jacopo's conversion, he went on paying certain taxes to the rabbinic community, thus he and his descendants continued to be considered part of the Jewish community by both the community itself and, which is more remarkable and thought-provoking, by the Ottoman authorities. The latter, as seen from the cited example, had a *carte blanche* to intervene in issues concerning financial relations established within the non-Muslim communities.

The wave of immigration caused by the Reconquista in 1492 and afterward brought to the Ottoman state more physicians who had been trained in the best medical schools of Europe. Those people preserved their bonds with colleagues in Europe and continued exchanging professional expertise, which allowed

51 A place located on the Bosphorus in today's Arnavutköy neighborhood in Istanbul.

52 Today's Yeni Hisar, the fortress on the Bosphorus.

53 *Minda*, a sort of land tax (see Book of Ezra 4:13).

54 *Velo*, a poll tax or *haraç* (see Book of Ezra 4:13).

55 *Eleh*, a road tax (see Book of Ezra 4:13).

56 An unidentified type of tax.

57 Hananel and Eshkenazi, *Evreyski izvori*, vol. 1, p. 16.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

them to achieve high levels of professionalism, especially in such a specialized branch of medicine as surgery. Most Ottoman families consulted with Jewish physicians. Even in plague times, these medical doctors kept visiting their patients. Actually, during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, most physicians working in Ottoman cities were Jewish subjects or converts descended from Jewish families. There were cases in which the Muslim community reacted negatively to this long-lasting “tendency.” For example, when a Jewish court physician in the palace of Edirne died, the chief physician pressed successfully for the appointment of a Muslim to fill the vacant post, pointing to the large number of Jews and small number of Muslims in such positions.⁶⁰

Both Rabbinate and Karaites gained relatively high positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy. We find Jews in the office of *subaşı* (captain), *başyazıcı* (head scribe), *kethüda* (chamberlain), *naib* (deputy), *ocak bazirgânı* (merchant-banker of the janissary corps), and others. It is also known that Jews acted as diplomatic envoys and mediators between the Ottoman state and the Christian powers.⁶¹ Jewish emigrants who operated with almost all languages, among them German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, French, Greek, Polish, Syriac, Chaldean, and Yiddish, and soon after their arrival updated their relations within their old home countries, became an indispensable part of the economic life of the city. The Ottomans who lacked urban-based craftsmen and other professionals such as merchants and bankers, doctors and tax farmers benefitted from the Jewish economic activities as well as from the skills and techniques that they brought from their former lands.⁶²

Contemporary Jewish sources reflect that, for the Jews, the most attractive aspect of life in the Ottoman state was the unprecedented measure of freedom that they enjoyed. They were generally free to settle wherever they wished; they could engage in almost every occupation and profession; they were able to travel freely for their business or for any other purpose; and they were free to practice their religion, to establish their own educational and social institutions, and to organize their community life with minimal interference on the part of the authorities.⁶³ Jews trusted the Ottoman justice system and did not hesitate to use it, even in their own internal affairs and despite the strong re-monstration of their rabbis.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Epstein, *Ottoman Jewish Communities*, p. 86.

⁶¹ Hacker, *Ottoman Policy*, p. 122; Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 40.

⁶² Hacker, *Ottoman Policy*, p. 117.

⁶³ Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 19.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

5 Educational Institutions of the Edirne Jewry

In the beginning of the 16th century, there were more than a dozen synagogues in Edirne: the Aragon, Majorca, Catalonia, Seville, and Toledo synagogues belonging to the Spanish community; the Little Portuguese synagogue and the Big Portuguese synagogue (previously named Evora after the Portuguese city); the Italy, Sicily, and Naples (Polia) synagogues belonging to the Italian community; Budin Synagogue belonging to the Hungarian community; Kefalonia Synagogue belonging to the Greek community; the German (Alaman) Synagogue belonging to the Ashkenazi community; and the Gerush Synagogue belonging to the community of the “exiled,” who were most probably of Sephardic origin.⁶⁵ All these were functioning as prayer houses (sing. *beth tefilla*), meeting houses (sing. *beth knesseth*), and studying houses (sing. *beth midrash*) with primary (*talmud torah*) and higher (sing. *yeshivah*, pl. *yeshivot*) schools.⁶⁶ As we have seen, in Ottoman society, both Jews and Muslims considered close relations between religious and educational institutions completely normal and operated them accordingly. Synagogues, as well as the *talmud torah* and *yeshivah* schools, were officially treated as charitable foundations (resembling *waqfs*), and their staff was freed from taxes. Not surprisingly, rabbis acted not only as clergy, but also as teachers (*marbitz torah*).⁶⁷ Similarly, the chief rabbis, in addition to their spiritual duties, held administrative and judicial powers. One chief rabbi contributed to the enlightening environment in Edirne by founding a *mishnah* school that hosted students from Russia, Poland, and Hungary. Besides its educational functions, this institution issued official responses to debated questions.⁶⁸ The career of many renowned rabbis reflects an unusually high level of mobility, which permitted them to seek the best opportunities for their educational advancement and, in the process, for the enhancement of Jewish scholarship and culture in general. The career of Joseph ben Ephraim Caro (1488–1575), author of the *Shulhan Arukh* (The Prepared Table), the widely accepted code of Jewish law, and one of the greatest Talmudic scholars of all times, may serve to illustrate this point.⁶⁹ Caro was apparently born in Toledo, and it seems that after its expulsion from Spain (1492) his family left for Portugal and then (not later than the expulsion in 1497) to the

⁶⁵ Bali, *Edirne Yahudileri*, p. 207.

⁶⁶ Shaw, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 66, 68; See also: Goodblatt, Morris S.: *Jewish Life in Turkey in the XVIth Century*, New York 1952, p.105; Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 47.

⁶⁷ Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 47.

⁶⁸ Bali, *Edirne Yahudileri*, p. 206.

⁶⁹ Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 20.

Ottoman Empire, where Caro lived for about 40 years. His first stop was Istanbul, but subsequently, no later than 1522, he started to live in Edirne where, at the age of 34, he began writing his great work the *Beit Yosef* (The House of Joseph) and worked on it unceasingly for 20 years.⁷⁰ As he states in the book's introduction, his aim was to make order out of the chaos caused by the multiplicity of codes and halakhic rulings that had brought about a bewildering variety of local customs. Caro used to give his decisive rulings by thoroughly investigating every single law, beginning with its source in the Talmud, discussing each stage of its development, and bringing in every possible divergent view. He gives an impressive list of no less than 32 works that he consulted.⁷¹ In 1536, Caro left for Safed, the most famous *kabbalah* center in Palestine,⁷² but apparently before reaching the Holy Land he stayed for some time in Selanik, Istanbul, and Cairo. In Safed, he served as the principal of the communal council and headed a large *yeshivah*, and nearly 200 pupils attended his lectures. He died in Safed at the age of 87.⁷³

Along with the aforementioned educational institutions, there were in Edirne also private primary schools, each headed by a well-educated tutor whom the congregations called a *melamed*. The schools were financed by tuition fees (*heder*) paid by the parents. These served primarily the wealthier classes.⁷⁴ Children from poor families attended the *talmud torah* schools sponsored by the community they belonged to. In both cases, the curriculum included Hebrew texts and prayers, the Old Testament via its Ladino translations and commentaries, the *rashi* script,⁷⁵ and the basics of arithmetic and algebra. The most successful students continued their (secondary) education in special Talmudic classes dealing with religious subjects. And again, after a thorough selection, a few of them were chosen to join the *yeshivot*. It is interesting that here, alongside religious subjects such as Torah, Talmudic issues, and Midrash anecdotes, profane sciences such as mathematics, astronomy, medicine,

⁷⁰ Tamar, David: Caro, Joseph Ben Ephraim, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 5, pp. 194–195.

⁷¹ Rabinowitz, Louis Isaac: Caro, Joseph Ben Ephraim. As a Halakhist, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 5, pp. 195–199, here pp. 195–196.

⁷² On the kabbalist Caro, see Werblowsky, R. J. Zwi: Caro, Joseph Ben Ephraim. As a Kabbalist, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 5, pp. 199–200.

⁷³ Tamar, Caro, p. 195.

⁷⁴ Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 137, footnote 174.

⁷⁵ Rashi script is a semi-cursive typeface for the Hebrew alphabet. It is named after Rashi, an author of rabbinic commentary on the Hebrew Bible (*Tanakh*) and the Talmud, and is customarily used for printing his commentaries.

philosophy, and logic were taught. It is also worth noting that the lectures were open to ordinary citizens.⁷⁶ Edirne hosted several *yeshivot*, the most famous of which was headed by Joseph Fasi of Toledo (d. 1462?).⁷⁷

As a strange matter of fact, the first higher school founded in Edirne was not a *medrese*, but a *yeshivah*.⁷⁸ Its academic syllabus included both religious and profane sciences, and the question whether the latter should be part of the general curriculum has never bothered the Ottoman Jewish scholars the way it troubled the *ulema*. Having in mind that these profane sciences were taught as subjects in a relatively independent milieu, far away from the “eyes” of the central *ilmiye* class, the extent this fact influenced Mehmed II’s reform in the *medrese* curriculum after the conquest of Constantinople can only be surmised. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that the Ottoman sultans from the so-called classical age, and especially Murad II and his son Mehmed II, were surrounded by a considerable number of *yeshivah* alumni: physicians, translators, advisors, and others.

According to Steven Bowmen, Edirne attracted not only Jewish scholars, but also some Jewish schools and academies, and, for a certain period, these institutions were superior to their counterparts in Istanbul.⁷⁹ The highly educated Jewish intelligentsia representing various European scientific schools and artistic traditions participated actively in the formation of the newly born Ottoman cultural environment in Edirne. Judaistic scholars like Hanokh Saporta (15th century),⁸⁰ his disciple Comtino Mordecai ben Eliezer (1420–before

⁷⁶ Shaw, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 60, 71, 98–99; Todorov, *Evreyskoto nacelenie*, p. 12.

⁷⁷ Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 39. On Fasi, see also Roth, Norman: *Medieval Jewish Civilization. An Encyclopedia*, London and New York 2003, p.3.

⁷⁸ The first medrese was founded in Edirne in the 1360s, half a century after the city’s conquest by the Ottomans. For details, see Şakir-Taş, Aziz Nazmi: *Edirne ve Civarının Osmanlılaşma Süreci*, in: Mustafa Kaçar and Zeynep Durukal (eds.): *Essays in Honour of Ekmeladdin İhsanoglu*, vol. 1, Istanbul 2006, pp. 103–128, here pp. 105–106.

⁷⁹ Abraham Danon: *Essai sur les vocables Turcs dans le Judeo Espagnole*, in: *Revue Orientale* 4, Budapest 1903, pp. 215–229 and 5, 1904, p. 29 as cited in Weiker, Walter F.: *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity/A History of the Jews of Turkey*, Lanham 1992, p. 100.

⁸⁰ Originally from a noble family in Catalonia, Saporta was the Rabbi in Edirne after Isaac Zarefati. In addition to his Torah learning, he was also versed in the sciences. He apparently participated in an effort the Rabbanites made at that time to reconcile with the Karaites. Because of the Karaites’ theological weakness, the Rabbanites sought to introduce Talmudic learning among them. This explains the presence of Karaites among his pupils. Saporta’s principal pupil was Mordecai Comtino, and his system of thought and learning can be traced in Comtino’s works. See the entry “Saporta Hanokh,” in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 14, p. 858.

1487),⁸¹ and Joseph ben Ephraim Caro (1488–1575),⁸² who spent significant parts of their academic lives in this city, conducted serious scientific research published in many monographs⁸³ and proved the para-ethnic and para-religious origin of the Ottoman scientific milieu.

6 Conclusion

The earliest Jewish communities in Edirne formed mainly as the result of waves of emigration throughout the 14th–16th centuries from Western and Central European lands to the first Balkan capital city of the Ottoman state, which they recognized at least for a while as their most important civilizational center and consequently called “Mother of Israel.” This honorary title, which was highly emotionally charged, expressed both the triumph of the naturalization process the local diaspora underwent and the gratitude of Edirne’s Jewish congregations toward their new motherland, hosted by the Ottoman society and its official institutions. This attitude enabled their vast share in the formation of the Ottoman social, cultural, and scientific environment, initially in Edirne and later in Istanbul and Thessaloniki, two other cities competing for the “motherhood” of Ottoman and world Jewry.

81 See Kupfler, Ephraim: Comtino, Mordecai Ben Eliezer, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 5, pp. 859–861.

82 See Tamar, Caro, pp. 194–195.

83 For instance, Comtino Mordecai ben Eliezer, who fled in 1450 to Edirne to escape the plague that broke out in his home city Constantinople, wrote many books and treatises in Hebrew on mathematics and astronomy. These manuscripts are in Leningrad, Parma, Paris, London, and Cambridge libraries. They include *Sefer ha-Heshbon ve-ha-Middot* (On Arithmetic and Geometry), *Perush Luhot Paras* (Interpretation of the Persian Tables), *Tikkun Keli ha-Zefihah* (On the Construction of the Sundial), a commentary on Euclid titled *Sefer ha-Tekhunah* (The Book of Astronomy), *Ma’amar al Likken ha-Levanah* . . . (On Lunar and Solar Eclipse As Seen in Nature), based on philosophy and the natural sciences, a commentary on Maimonides’ work on logic titled *Millot ha-Higgayon*, a commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, *Iggeret Senapir ve-Kaskeset* (On Clean and Unclean Fish), a commentary on the Pentateuch, etc. See Hacker, Sürkün System, p. 17; Kupfler, Comtino, pp. 859–861; Schub, Pincus: A Mathematical Text by Mordecai Comtino, in: *Isis* 17 (1932), pp. 54–70, here pp. 54–66.

Vjeran Kursar

The Diplomatic, Religious, and Economic Presence of the Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) in Ottoman Edirne

As the first Ottoman capital on European soil, Edirne was a place of great importance for diplomats of the Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa). With the gradual transfer of the political center to Istanbul in the period after its conquest in 1453, Edirne ceased to be the final destination of Ragusan diplomatic missions. However, it continued to be an important station for diplomats travelling to Istanbul. As a matter of fact, Ottoman sultans often resided in Edirne in ensuing centuries as well, so that Ragusan envoys also tended to dwell in the city, particularly in the second half of the 17th century. Although the 18th century was marked by the gradual disappearance of Ragusan merchants from Balkan towns, Dubrovnik even appointed a vice-consul to Edirne at the end of the century – the first and the last one, because in 1808 the French abolished the Republic. Even though there was no official Ragusan colony in Edirne, as one of the main trade centers of the Balkans, it attracted Ragusans as well as other foreign and domestic merchants. To meet the needs of envoys, the Republic of Dubrovnik maintained a residence in the city from the mid-16th century on, if not already earlier. In addition to the residence, there was a chapel that served the spiritual needs of diplomats and other Ragusans, as well as the wider Catholic “Latin” community. The existence of the church within the residential complex was in accordance with Ragusan privileges, but contradicted postulates of Islamic law. This brought about a series of litigations that lasted over a century, ranging from petitions for the church to be repaired to disputes with Jewish neighbors. The dispute over the chapel and residence in Edirne correlated with quarrels Ragusans had in other Balkan colonies with competing local merchants, such as Orthodox Serbs and Bulgarians, Muslims, and co-religious Bosnian Catholics, indicating that the cause of the dispute in Edirne was probably not mere confessional bigotry. Moreover, the question of the Ragusan church in Edirne throws light on the complex character of Ottoman law. In its regular form, the latter already represented a complex amalgam of two different and sometimes contradictory elements, namely Islamic law (sharia), and

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state law (*kanun*); the involvement of a third, completely alien element – capitulations with a foreign state (sing. *ahdname*) – led to misunderstandings by the local authorities and numerous litigations with Ragusans and interventions by the Porte as the highest legal instance. Be it as minor as it may in comparison with the histories of other major religious and ethnic communities of the city, the Ragusan example provides an important if peculiar insight into the complex commercial, social, religious, legal, and diplomatic realities of Edirne.

1 Ragusans and Their Special Relationship with the Ottoman Empire

The Republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) was a maritime merchant city-state situated on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic coast (today the southernmost part of Croatia) consisting of the town itself and the surrounding strip of land including the islands of Lastovo and Mljet and Pelješac peninsula, covering 1,092 km². Its population, originally of mixed Roman and Slavic-Croatian ethnic origin (5–10,000 living within the city walls, 35–45,000 in the territory of the Republic), engaged from early times in land-based trade in the Balkan hinterland, as well as in Mediterranean maritime trade, thus becoming an important middleman between East and West. Being a small city-state, in different periods Dubrovnik recognized the suzerainty of local powers such as the Republic of Venice, the Kingdom of Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire. After the recognition of Hungarian suzerainty in 1358, however, Dubrovnik enjoyed a very high degree of independence under the rule of its aristocracy, which it managed to preserve even under the Ottomans.

Dubrovnik obtained its first permission for free trade (*littera securitatis*) in the territory of the rising Ottoman state already at the end of the 14th century (1396).¹ However, the temporarily weakening of the Ottoman Empire following its defeat at Ankara in 1402 and the internecine war that lasted for a decade postponed further developments in Ottoman-Ragusan relations, although occasional contacts continued. In 1430, Ragusans felt the need to establish a more solid agreement with the Ottomans and sent their first official deputation, consisting of the noblemen Pierre Lukarević and Žuho Gučetić/Corci de Goci/Gozze (*plemeniti knez de Lukari i muž Gučetić*), to Sultan Murad II in Edirne. On December 6, the Sultan granted the Republic of Dubrovnik a charter that confirmed and

1 Božić, Ivan: *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku*, Belgrade 1952, p. 15 et passim.

expanded its privileges.² In the wording of the charter, on the basis of the manifested love and friendship (*ljubav i prijateljstvo*) of the Rector of Ragusa (*knez*, the head of government, with a one-month mandate) and its honorable patriciate (*knez dubrovački i časna vlastela*), the Sultan guaranteed Ragusan merchants security and freedom of trade and travel in the lands of his empire. However, to secure the benefits of Murad's charter and legitimize its business with the "infidel Turks" in the eyes of the Christian West, the Republic needed the approval of the Pope. During the session of the Church Council of Basel, on December 22, 1433, Pope Eugene IV issued "permission of free movement and action in the Oriental parts" (*Privilegium navigationis ad partes Orientis*). It included rights to (i) transport pilgrims by sea to the Holy Land and export goods to Muslim lands except forbidden objects, (ii) maintain contacts with Muslims, (iii) set up and maintain churches and cemeteries and perform Christian service in Muslim lands, (iv) elect consuls and other servants, and (v) enjoy all the rights the Pope had previously given to other towns and states in the East.³

Yet, relations with the Ottomans, the new lords of the Balkans, were not idyllic. In 1440, the Sultan demanded Ragusan recognition of his suzerainty and submission in the form of an annual tribute. After the Republic of Dubrovnik refused this sultanic request, all Ragusan merchants in the Ottoman lands were arrested and their merchandise was confiscated. Faced with the complete halt of their highly lucrative trade in the Ottoman Balkans, Ragusans eventually complied with the will of the Sultan. The new conditions were settled in the charter of 1442. Unlike the first charter of 1430 whose provisions were quite general, the charter of 1442 introduced a more precise set of rules that established the basis of Ottoman-Ragusan relations.⁴ Apart from the confirmation of the rights of free trade and travel in the Ottoman lands that were already comprised in the previous charter, this later one guaranteed the safety to

² The text of the charter was published in the Ottoman Turkish, Greek, and Slavonic languages; see Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, p. 54. The Ottoman version is not preserved. For the Slavonic version of the charter, see Truhelka, Čiro: *Tursko-slovenski spomenici dubrovačke arhive*, Sarajevo 1911, pp. 5–6. A French translation of the charter with a commentary was published by Bojovic, Bosko J.: *Raguse et l'Empire ottoman (1430–1520)*, Paris 1998, pp. 186–188.

³ Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, pp. 59–60.

⁴ Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, pp. 81–92. Cf. Zlatar, Zdenko: *Dubrovnik's Merchants and Capital in the Ottoman Empire (1520–1620). A Quantitative Study*, Istanbul 2010, p. 66; Bojovic, *Raguse et l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 23–25; Biegman, Nicolaas H.: *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship according to the Firmâns of Murâd III (1575–1595) extant in the State Archives of Dubrovnik*, The Hague and Paris 1967, p. 49. For the Slavonic text of the charter, see Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici*, pp. 9–10; for the French translation, see Bojovic, *Raguse et l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 190–194.

“Ragusa or its land or their government or their merchants or their men or their property.” Furthermore, it emphasized Dubrovnik’s autonomy in the sense that “their town and government stand in their [own] laws and freedoms” (*pače nih grad i nih vladanie stoit u svojeh zakoneh i u slobodah*), as well as Dubrovnik’s right of free communication with “people of all languages.”⁵ The charter placed a 2% tax on goods sold, “as is the law in the markets of Edirne, Filibe (Plovdiv), and Kratovo.” This stipulation put Ragusan merchants in a privileged position compared with other merchants, who paid higher taxes: Muslims at a 3% rate, non-Muslims at a 4% rate, and foreigners at a 5% rate.⁶ Apart from temporary changes during the reigns of Mehmed the Conqueror and Bayezid II, the 2% tax remained the rule, with the exceptions of the cities of Istanbul, with 5%, and Bursa and Edirne, with 3% tax rates.⁷ The charter solidified the safety of the merchants and their business. One Ragusan was not to be held responsible for the debts of another (*exactio ex alio*). Ragusan merchants living in the Ottoman Empire had the right to bequest their property to whomever they wished, and their inheritors had the right to inherit it (*ius albingai*). In case a Ragusan died without an heir, the Ragusan government had the right to take his or her belongings. The charter provided Ragusans with juridical autonomy in internal Ragusan disputes. The testimony of Ragusan witnesses was valid in litigations with Ottoman non-Muslims. However, if the other side was Muslim, the issue had to be solved in an Ottoman state court in front of a *kadi*. Moreover, if Ragusans wanted to solve their internal problems in a *kadi*’s court, they had the right to do so.⁸ In exchange for the privileges granted by the Sultan, Ragusans promised to send envoys with a gift worth 1,000 ducats every year. The charter of 1442 introduced a set of rules that determined Ottoman-Ragusan relations and was used as a basis for the charter of 1458, issued by Mehmed the Conqueror.⁹ Although Ragusans promised the annual payment of the tribute to Sultan Murad II, they stopped doing so already in 1444 and joined the anti-

5 Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici*, p. 10.

6 Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, pp. 225–226; Bojovic, *Raguse et l’Empire ottoman*, p. 123.

7 On taxes, see Milosavljević, Slavomir: Izvozne carine koje su Dubrovčani plaćali Turcima za robu izvezenu iz Turske u vremenu od 1481. do 1520. godine, in: *Istorski glasnik* 1–2 (1953), pp. 70–77.

8 “A koi gode bi pra bila megju muslomanina i Dubrovčanina, da poidu pred kadiju, ter kako je Božie povelienie, takoi da im se sudi. I ošte im učini milost carstvo mi: koju gode bi pru imali Dubrovčane megju sobom za imanie ili za koju sagrehu, da oni toi megju sobom sude; ako li od nih koi uzište, da poide pred kadiju, da im kadija sudi.” Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici*, p. 10.

9 Nedeljković, Branislav M.: Dubrovačko-turski ugovor od 23. oktobra 1458. godine, in: *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 11 (1970), pp. 363–392, here p. 383.

Ottoman coalition headed by Hungary. However, after the Ottomans defeated a crusader army at Varna (1444) and confirmed their hold of the Balkans by the conquest of Constantinople (1453), the Republic of Dubrovnik realized that a renewal of relations with the Ottomans was the only way to preserve its trade network in the Balkans and therefore it approached the Sultan in 1458. After lengthy negotiations, the Sultan issued the charter that renewed the privileges granted by late Murad II, but increased the yearly tribute to 1,500 ducats.¹⁰ All later charters were modeled upon Mehmed the Conqueror's text of the treaty. The amount of the tribute was the only thing that changed in the 15th century, until Sultan Bayezid II fixed it at 12,500 ducats in 1481.¹¹ In 1523, the tariff on goods (*gümriük*) was fixed at 2 %, and it was to be paid regularly in the form of a lump sum (50,000 *akçe* every six months).¹² With the charter of 1458, Ragusa became a tributary state of the Ottoman Empire, and it retained this status until the very end, i.e., the abolition of the Republic of Dubrovnik by the French in 1808. The main indicator of its vassalage was the payment of the yearly tribute, the *harac* (a tribute paid by vassal states; this was synonymous with a poll tax paid by non-Muslims, also known as *cizye*), in exchange for which the Sultan granted Ragusans *emn ü aman* (an expression used in the first preserved Ottoman Turkish version of the charter, namely the one issued by Selim I in Bursa in 1513),¹³ a pledge of security or of safe conduct by which non-Muslims outside the "abode of Islam" (*darü'l-İslâm*), who were theoretically citizens of enemy states (the "abode of war," *darü'l-harb*), received protection of life and property within the Islamic realm, because they were allotted the status of a *müste'min*. Unlike a *harbi*, a non-Muslim foreigner who was subject of an "enemy" state, a *müste'min* lost his character inimical as an enemy (*harbi*) upon acceptance of *emn ü aman* and acquired rights similar to those of a non-Muslim citizen of an Islamic state, the *zimmi*. Such charters were usually issued in the form of an *ahd* (pledge, contract) or *ahdname*, an imperial security letter.

10 Zlatar, *Dubrovnik's merchants*, pp. 67–68. On the charter of 1458, see Nedeljković, *Dubrovačko-turski ugovor*, pp. 363–392. For the French translation of the chapter, see Bojovic, *Raguse et l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 196–198.

11 Biegmann, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship*, p. 49.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 50. See for example the English translation of Murad III's charter of 1575 in Biegmann, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship*, pp. 56–59.

13 Akgündüz, Ahmet: *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, vol. 3, Istanbul 1991, pp. 385–387. The original of this charter does not exist, but only a copy in the *kadı* register of Bursa and a copy preserved in the State Archive of Dubrovnik, see Miović, Vesna: *Dubrovačka Republika u spisima osmanskih sultana*, Dubrovnik 2005, pp. 14–15; cf. Biegmann, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship*, p. 49.

However, it should be mentioned that the same term was also used for treaties with local non-Muslims, usually Catholic Christians, which in fact represent the *zimma* covenant (the basic agreement by which indigenous non-Muslims became protected citizens of an Islamic state, the *zimmi status*), e.g., the *ahdname* of the Catholics of Galata (Istanbul), of Bosnian Franciscans, of the island of Chios, of the town of Bar, etc.¹⁴

The Ragusan acceptance of Ottoman protection elevated Ragusans, with an allegedly likewise *müste'min* status, above other foreign merchants; upon payment of the *harac*, Ragusans were defined as tributaries (sing. *haracgüzar*), because the Ottomans considered the territory of the Republic part of their "divinely protected domains" (*memalik-i mahrus*).¹⁵ In this respect, Ragusans were regarded as Ottoman non-Muslim citizens, *zimmi*. However, they enjoyed privileges unknown to local non-Muslims: exemption as individuals from the *harac* tax, which instead was paid as a lump sum by the Ragusan government (*maktu*); exemption from *ispence* (a land tax paid by non-Muslims, somewhat higher than the *resm-i çift* paid by Muslims); exemption from other taxes normally paid by subjects (*reaya*); and lower duties (2% in comparison with 4% paid by *zimmi* merchants).¹⁶ Thus, it can be concluded that Ragusans were indeed "*re'âyâ* in its own way," as Biegmann put it, and thus enjoyed a status in their own right.¹⁷

They differed from those with *müste'min* status in so far as citizens of foreign countries usually had to pay a higher duty tariff of 5%, could neither purchase nor possess property (*mülk*) in the Ottoman lands, and in theory were allowed to stay in the Ottoman lands only for a shorter period. As Ottoman *harac* payers, Ragusans could count on a more sympathetic treatment by the government than other foreigners. As tributaries (sing. *haracgüzar*), Ragusans

14 Schacht, Joseph: *Ahd*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, vol. 1, p. 255; Schacht, Joseph: *Amân*, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, vol. 1, pp. 429–430; Pakalın, Mehmet Zeki: *Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, vol. 1, Istanbul 1971, pp. 29–30; Panaite, Viorel: *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace. The Ottoman Empire and Tribute Payers*, New York 2000, pp. 233–263; İnalçık, Halil: Ottoman Galata, 1453–1553, in: *ibid.: Essays in Ottoman History*, Istanbul 1998, pp. 271–376, here pp. 279–280, 286–287; Boškov, Vančo: *Ahd-nama Murata III stanovnicima Bara iz 1557. godine*, in: *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 28–30 (1977–1979), pp. 279–283, here p. 279, fn. 2; Fotić, Aleksandar: *Institucija amana i primanje podaništva u Osmanskom Carstvu: primer sremskih manastira*, in: *Istorijski časopis* 52 (2005), pp. 225–256, here pp. 241–248.

15 Biegmann, *Turco-Ragusan Relationship*, p. 33.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

17 *Ibid.*, 70.

were different from both categories, that is to say they enjoyed a position similar to citizens of other European tributary states, like Transylvania, Wallachia, or Moldavia. Their legal position was somewhere in between that of a *zimmi* and a *müste'min*.¹⁸ However, the charter of Dubrovnik provided the city with a freedom of action unknown to other tributary states, such as absolute autonomy in matters of its government and administration, religious affairs, contacts with other countries including the enemies of the Sultan, and the absence of any military obligations.¹⁹ Therefore, it seems plausible to adopt the term of the Ottoman documents themselves and treat people of Dubrovnik as a special category, namely *Dubrovniki*, or, *Dubrovnik taifesi*.²⁰ However, it should be mentioned that certain late 18th- and early 19th-century Ottoman documents address Dubrovnik's merchants also as having *müste'min* status, as in the case of a Ragusan merchant "from the *müste'min* group called Antonio Vadis" (*müste'min taifesinden Antonio Vadis nam Dubrovniki*), who in 1798/1213 AH complained about the practice of the local authorities in Edirne of imposing *reaya* taxes such as the *cizye* (another term for *harac*, the poll tax paid by non-Muslims) on him, and in the case of another Ragusan merchant who faced the same problem while trading between Izmir/Smyrna and Edirne in 1801/1215 AH.²¹ The reason for equating Ragusans with *müste'min* status might be that, in the later period, the status and rights of foreign citizens of Western European countries significantly improved, along with the rise of the power and influence of the West.

Since the charter contained general provisions without going into details, the need for separate solutions of specific daily problems was met by issuing additional documents, such as imperial decrees (*ferman*), which further elaborated certain stipulations of the charter, emphasized those that were neglected by local authorities, or dealt with specific individual cases.²² Although the last *ahdname* of Dubrovnik was granted by Sultan Mehmed IV in 1649, Ottoman-Ragusan relations continued to function as usually until the end of the Republic

¹⁸ Panaite, *The Ottoman Law of War and Peace*, pp. 427–429 et passim. Cf. Biegmann, *Turco-Ragusan Relations*, p. 34.

¹⁹ Biegmann, *Turco-Ragusan Relations*, p. 53.

²⁰ Cf. Glavina, Mladen: *Dubrovačka Republika u 17. stoljeću u registrima središnje vlade Osmanskog Carstva*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Zagreb 2012, p. 201. Glavina believes that the Porte "at latest until the 17th century assigned Ragusans a status of separate legal and political category of *Dubrovnik tâ'ifesi* or *sahih Dubrovniki* tâ'cirler."

²¹ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri, vol. 20/8, fol. 71, no. 584, and fol. 85, no. 738.

²² Miović, *Dubrovačka Republika u spisima osmanskih sultana*, p. 21.

in 1808 – despite the Ottoman insistence that each sultan had to reissue the charter (and other documents) of his predecessor in order for it (and them) to be legally valid.²³ In addition, other types of documents released by the central government, such as imperial diplomas or titles of privileges (sing. *berat*), title deeds (sing. *temessük*), etc., served the role of letters of protection and further expanded the field of law of Ragusans. These documents are to a great extent preserved in the State Archive of Dubrovnik, while the mainly abridged copies of the issued documents were included in the archival font *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defterleri* (Registers of Foreign States) for Dubrovnik, also known as Dubrovnik *Ahkâm Defterleri* (Registers of Decrees of Dubrovnik) covering the period of 1604–1806, with a long gap between 1665 and 1779.²⁴ This gap is closed by a Dubrovnik register (1651–1779) known as *Hadariye Defteri* vol. 2. It seems to have been extracted from the *Düvel-i Ecnebiye* series and moved to the *Hadariye* series of registers concerning peacetime *imdad-ı hadariye* and wartime *imdad-ı seferiye* taxes, along with four registers from the *Düvel-i Ecnebiye* series of Romania, France, the Two Sicilies (Sicilyateyn, the union of the Kingdom of Sicily and the Kingdom of Naples), and England.²⁵ In sum, the legal position of a Ragusan citizen was backed by several legal sources, while his status as *haracgüzar Dubrovnikliü* was somewhat ambiguous, not reducible to the general non-Muslim categories of *zimmi* or *müste'min*. It is not surprising, therefore, that local authorities could not easily discern the true status of these peculiar half-*zimmi* half-*müste'min* merchants.

2 Ragusans in the Balkans

In the pre-Ottoman Balkans, Ragusans were occupied with the exploitation of mines and had established themselves in mining centers such as Novo Brdo, Trepča, Priština, Peć, Prizren, Plana, Rudnik, Trgovište, Smederevo, and Kruševac in Serbia as well as Srebrenica, Olovo, Prača, Fojnica, Kreševo, and Zvornik in Bosnia. After the Ottoman conquest of the Balkan lands, the old centers of the

²³ Ibid.; Miović, Vesna: *Dubrovačka diplomacija u Istambulu*, Zagreb and Dubrovnik 2003, pp. 203–204.

²⁴ See Miović, *Dubrovačka Republika u spisima osmanskih sultana*, p. 21; *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, Ankara 2010, p. 43. The registry of the 14th volume of the Ragusan *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defter* was published in Serbian by Bojanić, Dušanka: *Sultanska akta izdata na zah-tev Dubrovačke Republike od 1627. do 1647. godine* (*Dubrovački defter br. 3*), in: *Mešovita grada (Miscellanea)*, 22 Oct. 1982.

²⁵ *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi*, pp. 48–49.

Ragusan Balkan network lost their importance due to the shift in the modes of production toward agriculture and trade.²⁶ Mining and the export of silver and gold, once the main source of profit for Ragusans, now became a state monopoly.²⁷ Traces of the government's determination to exclude Ragusans from the mining sector are seen in the *kanunname* and *yasakname* rulings banning the smuggling of silver, such as those for the mines of Kratova in 1475/880 AH, Novo Brdo (after 1455), and Zaplanina and Plana in 1499/904 AH.²⁸ Under these new circumstances, Ragusans quickly understood the advantages that the unified Ottoman market with one tariff offered to trade and merchants. Hence, Ragusans oriented themselves toward towns with great trading potential that became military and administrative centers, as well as toward those situated on main trade routes, such as Sarajevo, Belgrade, Novi Pazar, Skopje, Sofia, Plovdiv/Filibe, Târnovo, and Kratovo.²⁹ Six towns in the Balkans had special value for Ragusans, and their communities were organized as colonies in the legal sense and approved by the Ragusan government, namely Belgrade, Sofia, Sarajevo, Novi Pazar, Prokuplje, and Provadia.³⁰ In total, Ragusans had settlements in 30 to 40 towns in the Balkans, with a diaspora of 300–400 merchants in total.³¹ In a recent publication of 2010, Zdenko Zlatar counted 27 Balkan towns with Ragusan settlements. However, according to his data, the six colonies listed above were of major importance; these six colonies received 68% of the total Ragusan capital investment, while 1,080 merchants or 54.63% lived in them.³² According to Zlatar, Ragusans “only traded in Slavonic-speaking areas of the Balkans where they shared South Slavic languages with the native population,” covering in this manner “the territories of the former Yugoslavia and present-day Bulgaria. No Ragusan merchants traded in Greek-, Albanian-, and Turkish-speaking areas of the Balkans.”³³ While this may be so with some exceptions in both the southern and northern parts of the Ottoman Europe (Volos, Avlonya, Hungary), Zlatar's claim that Ragusans were absent from the main cities of the Ottoman Empire as places where they were obliged to pay higher taxes – 3% in Edirne and Bursa, and 5% in Istanbul – seems to

26 Bojovic, *Raguse et l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 94–99.

27 Ćirković, Sima M.: Dva zakasnela poleta u balkanskom rudarstvu: XV i XVI vek, in: *ibid.*, *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici. Društva srednjovekovnog Balkana*, Belgrade 1997, pp. 104–112, here pp. 106–107, 110–111; Bojovic, *Raguse et l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 103–104.

28 Akgündüz, Ahmet: *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri*, vol. 1, Istanbul 1990, pp. 549–552, 558–560; *ibid.*, vol. 2, Istanbul 1990, pp. 368–370.

29 Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, p. 282; Bojovic, *Raguse et l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 98–101.

30 Zlatar, *Dubrovnik's merchants*, pp. 137–138.

31 Đurđev, Branislav et al. (eds.): *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 2, Zagreb 1959, p. 222.

32 Zlatar, *Dubrovnik's merchants*, pp. 22–24, 213.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 20.

be overstated.³⁴ Leaving aside Anatolian Bursa, where apart from occasional itinerant merchants most probably no permanent settlement ever existed, Edirne and Istanbul, both as political and economic centers of the empire, were the cities where Ragusans had economic and political interests to be present. The not insignificant Ragusan presence in Istanbul is confirmed in the oldest Catholic Church record books of baptisms, marriages, and deaths of Istanbul's Catholic parishes of Santa Maria Draperis in Pera (since 1680) and of Saint Peter and Paul in Galata (since 1750), which testify that Ragusans were firmly rooted in the city.³⁵

3 Ragusans in Edirne after 1453

Many important documents concerning Ottoman-Ragusan relations were issued in Edirne, as the first Ottoman capital, some of them in the presence of Ragusan envoys.³⁶ After the conquest of Constantinople, however, Edirne became one of the stations for diplomats travelling to Istanbul.³⁷ Since the envoys had to submit *harac* payments to the sultan in person, this meant that if he was not in Istanbul, they had to submit it to him wherever he was at the given moment. During preparations for campaigns and in some other cases, the sultans often stayed in Edirne, which continued to function as one of the Ottoman capitals.³⁸ Thus, Ragusan envoys often submitted the *harac* in Edirne, especially in the second half of the 17th century.³⁹

³⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 19, 84–85; Zlatar, Zdenko: *Our Kingdom Come. The Counter-Reformation, the Republic of Dubrovnik, and the Liberation of the Balkan Slavs*, Boulder 1992, pp. 84–85.

³⁵ Archive of the Church of Santa Maria Draperis, Istanbul: *Libro Matrimoniale è Baptismale dell' Anno 1660 alli 30 d'Aprile della Chiesa Parochiale di Santa Maria Draperis della Religione di Sa. Fran. Mi. oss. Reformati. Conjugatorum (1662–1742) – Baptizatorium (1663–1739) – Mortuorum (1662–1737)*, vol. 1, fol. 33, no. 82 et passim; Archive of the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, Istanbul: *Liber I. Baptizatorium, Matrimoniorum et Mortuorum (1740–1823)*, fols. 16a et passim. I am grateful to Bishop Fr. Rubén Tierrablanca (Apostolic Vicar of Istanbul and former Prior of the Church of the Santa Maria Draperis) and Fr. Claudio Monge (Prior of the Church of Ss. Peter and Paul) for their help and assistance during the work in archives of their churches.

³⁶ See for instance Ottoman documents in Slavonic script published by Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici*, pp. 4–5 (1430), 5–6 (1430), 8–9 (1442), 26 (1466), 46–47 (1477), 62 (Mehmed II's reign), 63–65 (1481), 65–66 (1481?), 65–66 (1481), 69–70 (1482), 73–74 (1483), 76–77 (1484), 91 (1487), 121 (1500), 130 (1510), 137–138 (Bayazid II's reign), 139 (Bayazid II's reign), 145 (1514), 149–150 (1517), 154–155 (Selim I's reign), 159–160 (1525).

³⁷ See Miović, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, pp. 39–40.

³⁸ Cf. Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib; Edirne, in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, vol. 2, p. 684.

³⁹ Miović, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, pp. 49–50.

Edirne, as one of the main trade centers on an ancient Balkan trade route, attracted domestic and foreign merchants, including Ragusans. In addition, Edirne was one of the Ottoman cities, along with Istanbul and Bursa (earlier this was the case in Hopovo and Plovdiv), where Ragusan merchants paid taxes on goods sold. Nevertheless, there was no Ragusan colony with official status in the city. While there are a number of studies on non-Muslim communities of Edirne, above all Jewish ones, there is no truly comprehensive study of Edirne's Roman Catholics in general or Ragusans in particular, apart from Ekatarina Večeva's only six-page article on Ragusan commerce and Edirne in the 16th–17th centuries.⁴⁰ Hence, it is still difficult to draw firm conclusions from random news in the sources of Ragusan, Western, and Ottoman origin.⁴¹ Nevertheless, I will mention several significant entries from Ragusan sources that shed light on the character of the Ragusan presence in the city of Edirne. According to a document from the series "Diversa Cancellariae" from the Archive of Dubrovnik, a certain Ragusan by the name of Benedictus Nicole Pribissalich, known as Fornaro Arbitrer, acted as an arbitrator in litigation between two Ragusan merchants in Edirne in 1475.⁴² This information might indicate that there was a considerable Ragusan settlement in the city, which needed the services of an arbitrator for its internal disputes. This note also illustrates that Ragusans enjoyed *de facto* legal autonomy in internal Ragusan cases, even though this right was not specifically mentioned in the treaties after 1442.⁴³ Any dispute between a Ragusan and a Muslim (or any other Ottoman subject) had to be resolved in front of an Ottoman judge as prescribed in the charter of Mehmed II in 1458,⁴⁴ as well as in that of Bayezid II in 1481: "If they have any kind of case with Turks, they should go in front of the *kadı* let it be [solved] according to God's will and word."⁴⁵ In 1517, Süleyman the Magnificent, still prince at the time, sent a decree to Ragusan *knezes* (here meaning senate) with the order to find and force a Ragusan merchant named Bastijan to return either entrusted merchandise or its equivalent in silver coins to a merchant from Edirne, in accordance with the decree of the *kadı* of Edirne.⁴⁶ This means that the

⁴⁰ Večeva, Ekatarina: Andrinople et le commerce des Ragusains aux XVIe–XVIIe siècles, in: *Bulgarian Historical Review* 17 (1989), pp. 62–67.

⁴¹ Večeva concluded the same: "La nature des matériaux concernant Andrinople ne permet pas de tirer des conclusions plus complètes." Večeva, Andrinople, p. 67.

⁴² *Dubrovnički izvori za bālgarskata istoriya / Fontes ragusini historiam bulgarorum illustrantes*, edited and translated by Ioanna D. Spisarevska, *Arhivite govoryat*, vol. 10, Sofia 2000, no. 9, pp. 44–47.

⁴³ Cf. Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship*, pp. 33–34, 41.

⁴⁴ Truhelka, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici*, p. 19.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 149–150.

Ragusan senate had a duty to implement a verdict of the Ottoman *kadı* court on its citizens who took refuge in the Republic. Furthermore, it testifies to the connections of Ragusan and Ottoman merchants of Edirne, as well as the international character of that trade.

Perhaps because the Ragusan community in Edirne was not numerous, Ragusan merchants early established partnerships with local merchants, Muslims and Jews.⁴⁷ In 1493, the Ragusan Nikola Fifić was sued by Radovan Ilijić in the court in Dubrovnik for not returning the full amount of silver money he had borrowed in 1488.⁴⁸ In his defense, Fifić claimed that he had given the money to a Jew from Edirne who went bankrupt, which was the reason for his inability to return the full amount of 21,700 *akçe* (the equivalent of 417 Venetian gold coins according to the exchange rate in 1491), but merely 5,000 (96 Venetian gold coins).⁴⁹ Several years later, another Ragusan merchant, Troiano Lorenzo Grieva, passed through Edirne, probably on a business trip. He never returned home, but died in Edirne.⁵⁰ With the beginning of the 16th century, the number of Ragusans in Edirne multiplied. In 1502, Giovanni Giusti from Dubrovnik and Marino Florio in Edirne traded in cloth worth 7,000 *akçe* with their “Turkish” partner Mehmed.⁵¹ Some of the transactions and partnerships involved large amounts of capital. The biggest deal, which included 225 tons of cloth, was contracted in 1541 between the two Ragusans Giovanni Palmota and Bartolomeo Bona and the Jew Rabi Isaac.⁵² After a delay, a sum totaling 149,600 *akçe* was paid in 1543 to the Jewish partner. Three Ragusans served as the witnesses of the contract, which again confirms Ragusan presence in the town, although Bona and Palmota did not live in Edirne themselves, but traded with its merchants very often. They imported the cloth from Venice and England and exported cordovan leather. According to the French traveller Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, a Ragusan wine seller was present in Edirne in 1573.⁵³ This trade was a distinguished profession, according to the traveller, and most probably quite a lucrative one, bearing in mind sharia anti-alcohol regulations that prohibited Muslims not only from consuming alcohol, but also from engaging in its production and trade.

⁴⁷ Večeva, Andrinople, p. 64.

⁴⁸ Tadić, Jorjo: *Jevreji u Dubrovniku do polovine XVII stoljeća*, Sarajevo 1937, p. 35.

⁴⁹ For exchange rates of Ottoman and foreign coins, see Pamuk, Şevket: *Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326–1914*, in: Suraiya Faroqhi et al.: *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2, 1600–1914*, Cambridge 1997, p. 954.

⁵⁰ Večeva, Andrinople, p. 64.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., pp. 64–65.

⁵³ Fresne-Canaye, Philippe du: *Fresne-Canaye Seyahatnamesi, 1573*, translated by Teoman Tunçdoğan, Istanbul 2008, pp. 46–47.

While it is hard to estimate the number of permanently settled Ragusans in Edirne, a significant number of Ragusan merchants from Bulgaria and Macedonia were trading with Edirne and their Jewish or Muslim partners in the city.⁵⁴ The historian Bojovic claims that, in the 16th century, around 400 Ragusan merchants established a strong trade network in 40 Balkan towns, covering the region, and took the primary role as mediators in the trade between the Ottoman Balkans and the West.⁵⁵ A more recent study suggests that the number was even higher and that there were almost 2,000 Ragusan merchants in the Balkans between 1520 and 1560,⁵⁶ which makes the Ragusan trade network in the Balkans even more impressive. The account book of a Ragusan merchant resident in Sofia named Benedetto Marino di Resti provides an invaluable insight into the world of the Ragusan trade network in the southeastern Balkans, among Balkan trade centers such as Sofia, Varna, Vidin, Plovdiv, Skopje, Târnovo, Silistra/Silistre, Rodosto, Istanbul, and Edirne, in the period between 1590 and 1605.⁵⁷ Di Resti's notes confirm the impression that Edirne was indeed one of the important centers of Ragusan trade. The capital involved in business with Edirne between 1591, the date of the first transaction, and 1599, the date of the last one, amounts to 283,523 *akçe* (the equivalent of 2,362.69 Venetian golden coins at the exchange rate of 1588), that is 176,807 *akçe* (1,473.39 Venetian golden coins) as di Resti's credit and 106,718 *akçe* (889.31 Venetian golden coins) as debit.⁵⁸ The significance of the capital involved in business with Edirne becomes evident when compared with the total amount of Ragusan investment via loans in Sofia, the second most important Ragusan colony in the Ottoman Balkans, during the same period: 9,644.1 golden coins.⁵⁹ This means that Edirne was without a doubt one of the trade centers in the Balkans where Ragusans were strongly present, whether physically or via investments and partnerships. Without going into the details of each business transactions involving Edirne, it can be safely concluded that di Resti did not limit himself to doing business with his compatriot or coreligionist Ragusans and Venetians, but also had Muslim and Jewish partners, creditors, and debtors, such as Ali Başa (Ali bassa d'Arasta) and Jews Haim, Aaron Israel, and his brother Moses (Moisse). The

⁵⁴ Večeva, *Andrinople*, p. 66.

⁵⁵ Bojovic, *Raguse et l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 74–75.

⁵⁶ Zlatar, *Dubrovnik's Merchants and Capital*, pp. 212–213.

⁵⁷ Resti, Benedetto Marino di: *Libro dei conti (MDXC–MDCV)*, edited by Petar Petrov, vol. 1, Sofia 2004; di Resti, Benedetto Marino: *Smetkovodna kniga (1590–1605)*, edited and translated by Petar Petrov, vol. 2, Sofia 2004.

⁵⁸ di Resti, *Libro dei conti*, pp. 47, 66–69, 143, 288, 289, 291, 296, 298, 299, 313, 314, 322, 323; di Resti, *Smetkovodna kniga*, pp. 53, 55, 76, 77, 161, 320, 321, 328, 330, 331, 347, 348, 360, 361. For rates, see Pamuk, *Money in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 964.

⁵⁹ Zlatar, *Dubrovnik's Merchants and Capital*, p. 150.

merchandise in question included wool, *bogazi* fur, belts, *astar* (lining), *persinetti*, and different types of textiles, while Benedetto Marino and Jerolimo di Resti received additional fees when personally carrying the merchandise of other Ragusan and Venetian merchants to Edirne, for mediation, custom taxes (*giumrucho*, Ott. *gümriik*), and *kasap akçe* tax (tax levied on animals brought into the city). Since the 17th century, however, the presence of Ragusans in Edirne becomes less and less visible in the Ragusan sources.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, it is attested in the Ottoman sources on various occasions during the 17th century. In most cases, the documents in question are orders from the central authorities to the judges of Edirne and other Balkan towns against practices of the local authorities that contradicted the *ahdname* of Dubrovnik and violated the special status granted to Ragusan merchants and diplomats.⁶¹

4 The Ragusan Diplomatic Residence and Church in Edirne

As already mentioned, the Republic of Dubrovnik had chosen Edirne as one of the stops for its envoys on the way to Istanbul. While there, they personally served as arbitrators for the Ragusan community of that town. It is not certain when exactly the Ragusan Senate made a decision to buy a house to accommodate its envoys in Edirne, a town important as both a political and an economic center where a significant number of Ragusan merchants lived and traded. The first mention of such a residence and of a church owned by the Republic of Dubrovnik originates from 1576, when the envoys Džono Pucić and Valentin Đurđević received the task to collect documents from the Ottoman authorities that would prove that the Republic owned the buildings. Local Ragusan merchants helped the envoys fulfill this task.⁶² At the same time, the envoys asked the Sultan for permission to repair the church, which suggests that the Ragusan church of Edirne had already existed for a number of years. In this respect, Marco Antonio Pigafetta, a member of a Habsburg diplomatic mission to Selim II led by Antun Vrančić (Antonius Verantius, Antonio Veranzio),

⁶⁰ Večeva, *Andrinople*, p. 66.

⁶¹ BOA, *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri*, vol. 13/1, fol. 3, no. 2; cf. Goffman, Daniel: *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 2002, p. 178.

⁶² Popović, Toma: *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*, Belgrade 1973, p. 316.

mentioned a small Ragusan church already in 1567.⁶³ According to him, the church was situated far away from the city center. Later, however, the church was reported to be in the center, more specifically in the inner city (*kale içi, derun kal'ası*), near the gate of Manyas, along with the house for envoys, as ascertained in several sultanic decrees.⁶⁴ This choice of location for the house for envoys and of the church in the city seems logical, since the inner city was inhabited largely by non-Muslims, Christians and Jews, as asserted by Pigafetta and other travellers and as testified in Ottoman survey registers (sing. *tahrir defteri*).⁶⁵ Ragusan priests were present in Edirne even earlier. According to a testament, the Ragusan merchant Francesco Lucari in 1525 left his money to a Ragusan Catholic priest, his “spiritual father, Brother Alexandro de Ragusi, the chaplain of Edirne.”⁶⁶ In 1541, another priest, a member of the Franciscan order named Christoforo Nicolo, left the church of Edirne, to be substituted thirty days later by another Franciscan named Giovanni Dobernichio.⁶⁷

The Papal Visitor (official visitor and examiner) Pietro Cedulini provided two additional reports on the Catholic church(es) in Edirne in the later period. In a letter sent from Pera (Istanbul) in 1580, he noted that in Edirne there was a Catholic church, small like a chapel, with a single priest, serving the needs of many believers of “Hungarian and Bosnian language” (*linguaggio Ungaro et Bosnese*).⁶⁸ Perhaps “Hungarian” actually means “Croatian” here, bearing in mind

63 *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta gentil' houmo vicentino*, edited by Michaela Petrizzeli, Vicenza 2008, p. 223; cf. Matković, Petar: Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI. veka. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette, ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567. godine, in: *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, vol. 100, Filologičko-historički i filozofičko-juridički razredi, no. 29, Zagreb 1890, pp. 65–168, here pp. 109.

64 See for instance State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, 824 (K 348a–c) from the year of 1628/1039 AH, where the formula “mahmiye-i Edirne'de derun kal'ası Manyas kapısı kurbında” was used.

65 Emecen, Feridun M.: Tarih Koridorlarında Bir Sınır Şehri: Edirne, in: Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz (eds.): *Edirne: Serhattaki Payitaht*, Istanbul 1998, pp. 49–69, here pp. 61–69; *Itinerario di Marc'Antonio Pigafetta*, p. 223; Matković, Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku, pp. 108–109; Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib: *XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, Vakıflar – Mülkler – Mukataaalar*, 2nd ed., Istanbul 2007, pp. 36, 39–40, 66, 179.

66 Večeva, Andrinople, p. 64.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

68 Fermendžin, Eusebius: *Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica ab a. 1565 ad a. 1799*, Zagreb 1887, p. 1; cf. Gottlob, Adolf: Die lateinischen Kirchengemeinden in der Türkei und ihre Visitation durch Petrus Cedulini, Bischof von Nona, 1580–81, in: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 6 (1885), pp. 42–72, here p. 52. I would like to thank Stefano Petrunaro for his expertise and help with the Italian original of the reports.

that the southern part of the medieval Hungarian kingdom spread over ethnically predominantly Croatian lands (the northern part of today's Croatia, Slavonia/İslavonya, as well as part of Srijem/Sirem), while Bosnian and Croatian are very similar languages, if not the same, as Cedulini seems to suggest. In his letter, Cedulini mentioned a church with two or three houses attached to it, in the village called *Bosnocori*, also known as *Casale di Bosnesi* (Hamlet of Bosnians), which was situated half a day's distance from Edirne, near a small bridge. The village in question is most probably the one called *karye-i Bosna* in the Ottoman sources. This "Village of Bosnia" was one of the so-called *ortakçı* (share-cropper) villages mentioned in the *tahrir defteri* of 1529/935 AH, which the authorities established on the sultan's domain for forcibly colonized people from newly conquered territories in the north and northwest of the Balkans.⁶⁹ Interestingly enough, one of the neighboring *ortakçı* villages was named *karye-i Hurvad* and was inhabited by Croatian serfs. In exchange for their servile labor, these villagers were usually exempted from certain taxes, such as *harac* and *ispence*.⁷⁰ Perhaps the church of the village of Bosna can be equated with the church that Pigafetta described in 1567 as being far away from the city.

According to Cedulini's report from 1581, a "house of certain Ragusans" (*casa di certi Ragusei*) in the town proper was used as a chapel and contained the altar and other accessories necessary for the liturgy. Cedulini noted that this church was left without a priest for two years. In times when the church had a priest, Ragusan merchants from Plovdiv, who did not have a Catholic church or a priest, used to come to Edirne for Easter and Christmas. Afterward, however, they shifted their pilgrimage to Sofia.⁷¹ This note clearly indicates the importance of the Edirne's church as one of the spiritual centers of Ragusan Catholics within the wider region. Moreover, since the Ragusan chapel was the only Catholic church in Edirne in that period, it must have attracted other Catholics of the town and have served as the communal Catholic shrine. According to the report of Matteo Gondola (Matija Gundulić), Ragusan ambassador to the Porte, who visited Edirne in 1674, this was the only "Christian," i.e., Catholic church in the town, and it was attended by faithful *en masse*, although it did not have a chaplain at the time. The church was consecrated to

⁶⁹ Gökbilgin, XV. ve XVI. Asırlarda Edirne, pp. 69–70, fn. 164.

⁷⁰ For more information on the issue, see İnalçık, Halil: Servile labor in the Ottoman Empire, in: *ibid.*: *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, London 1985, pp. 26–51.

⁷¹ Fermentzin, *Acta Bulgariae*, p. 12. Cf. Stiernon, D.: Hadrianopolis, in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, vol. 22, Paris 1988, pp. 1442–1466, here pp. 1450–1451.

the Blessed Virgin Mary, who was represented there on a painting with the child Jesus, done by “an exquisite artist.”⁷²

The very existence of the Ragusan diplomatic residence in Edirne, and furthermore the appearance of the Ragusan Catholic church in various sources, indicate that the Republic of Dubrovnik paid special attention to Edirne as one of the most important centers of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, this might mean that there must have been a relatively important, though not numerous, group of Ragusans living in the town. Despite the fact that Edirne was not one of the official Ragusan colonies or a town with a large Ragusan settlement, it had a Ragusan church. Moreover, the Ragusan church of Edirne was one of ten Ragusan churches in the Balkans established in towns with significant Ragusan presence, such as Belgrade, Sofia, Novi Pazar, Prokuplje, Provadia, Plovdiv, Ruse/Ruşuk, Silistra, and Babadağ.⁷³ Ragusan churches in the second half of the 17th century are confirmed for Belgrade, Sofia, Novi Pazar, Silistra, Provadija, Ruse, and Edirne.⁷⁴ In addition to the churches, the presence of local chaplains is attested in the second half of the 16th century in the Ragusan settlements in Sofia, Novi Pazar, Prokuplje, Provadia, Skopje, Târnovo, Janjevo, Novo Brdo, Trepča, and Edirne.⁷⁵ In places where official church buildings did not exist, a priest or chaplain celebrated the holy mass for the Ragusan community in a lay building with the means of a portable altar, which could temporarily transform a secular space into an improvised church, as was the case in Kališevo (Caliscevo), a town three hours away from Plovdiv (Filibe, Philippopolis) according to the Gondola's report.⁷⁶ This practice was not employed uniquely by Ragusan priests, but is confirmed for Bosnia as well, where this kind of worship was widely practiced by Bosnian Franciscans who, due to the lack of proper churches in certain

⁷² Relazione dello stato della religione nelle parti dell' Europa sottoposte al dominio del Turco fata da me Matteo Gondola, stato Ambasciatore della Republica di Ragusa alla Porta Ottomana, in: Banduri Anselmo: *Imperium orientale, sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae in quatuor partes distributae*, vol. 2, Paris 1711, pp. 99–106, here p. 104. Cf. Horvat, Karlo: Novi historijski spomenici za povijest Bosne i susjednih zemalja, in: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 21 (1909), pp. 1–104, 313–424, and 505–518, here p. 385.

⁷³ Vojnović, *Dubrovnik i Osmansko Carstvo*, Belgrade 1898, p. 108.

⁷⁴ Večeva, Ekatarina: Dubrovnik, katoličeskata cärkva i bälgarite prez 17 vek, in: *Bälgari i Härvati prez vekovete*, 2, *Materiali ot konferencijata, provedena v Sofija (20–22 maj 2001)*, Sofia 2003, pp. 127–135, here p. 130.

⁷⁵ Molnár, Antal: *Le Saint-Siège, Raguse et les missions catholiques de la Hongrie ottomane 1572–1647*, Rome and Budapest 2007, p. 54.

⁷⁶ Relazione dello stato della religione, p. 102. Cf. Vojnović, *Dubrovnik i Osmansko Carstvo*, p. 108.

areas, held the mass in ordinary houses or even in the open air, in graveyards, or in woods.⁷⁷

Since the status of Catholicism and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire was not regulated by a direct agreement between the Sultan and the Pope, this issue was partially solved via appendices to agreements (capitulations, *ahdnames*) between the Porte and Catholic European states. Thus, the fate of Catholicism in the Ottoman realm was in the hand of European Catholic powers such as France, Venice, and the Habsburg Empire.⁷⁸ Although it could not compete with these big powers, the Republic of Dubrovnik nevertheless played a vital role for the state of Catholicism in the Balkans. As an Ottoman vassal state, Dubrovnik enjoyed various rights and privileges, which were extended to its churches and priests in the Balkan colonies.⁷⁹ On numerous occasions, however, Ragusans did not hesitate to assist local Catholics and Bosnian Franciscans to obtain documents securing their rights and privileges from the Porte or local Ottoman authorities.⁸⁰ Good connections between Ragusans and Balkan Catholics became institutionalized in 1623, when Dubrovnik, i.e., the archbishopric of Dubrovnik, became the main Catholic missionary center for the Balkans, under the newly founded papal office of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide.⁸¹ Dubrovnik was the obvious choice for Rome's plans. Besides friendly and thoroughly regulated relations with the Porte confirmed in the *ahdname*, the Republic of Dubrovnik's net of autonomous colonies and settlements throughout the Balkans offered the necessary infrastructure for Rome's missionary activities.⁸² In this respect, the so-called Dubrovnik Ahkâm Defteri, i.e., Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri no. 14/2, the Ottoman register concerning Ragusan affairs, which covers the period between 1627 and 1647, contains twelve documents concerning Ragusan assistance to or representation of

⁷⁷ See Jelenić, Julijan: *Kultura i bosanski franjevci*, vol. 1, Sarajevo 1912, pp. 177, 185–186; Džaja, Srećko M.: *Konfesionalnost i nacionalnost Bosne i Hercegovine. Predemancipacijski period 1463–1804*, Sarajevo 1990, p. 130.

⁷⁸ See Frazee, Charles A.: *Catholics and Sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire 1453–1923*, London and New York 1983, pp. 18–22 et passim; Molnár, *Le Saint-Siège*, p. 21.

⁷⁹ Cf. Molnár, *Le Saint-Siège*, pp. 57–58; Večeva, Dubrovnik, p. 130; Relazione dello stato della religione, pp. 104–105.

⁸⁰ Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan Relationship*, pp. 152–155; Večeva, Dubrovnik, pp. 127–135; Kursar, Vjeran: Bosanski franjevci i njihovi predstavnici na osmanskoj Porti, in: *Prilozi za originalnu filologiju* 60 (2011), pp. 371–408, here pp. 374–386.

⁸¹ Molnár, Antal: Relations between the Holy See and Hungary during the Ottoman Domination of the Country, in: István Zombori (ed.): *Fight against the Turk in Central Europe in the First Half of the 16th Century*, Budapest 2004, pp. 191–226, here pp. 201–202.

⁸² Molnár, *Le Saint-Siège*, pp. 53–54.

Balkan Catholics before the Porte.⁸³ On several occasions in the 18th century, some of the highest positions of the Catholic Church in Istanbul were held by Ragusan clergy, including the office of the patriarchal vicar.⁸⁴ Thus, evaluations that praise Dubrovnik as “the bastion of the Catholic Church in the Balkan Peninsula”⁸⁵ or as the “hearth for the spread of Christianity, nursery of apostolic envoys in the East”⁸⁶ may not be exaggerated.

The Ragusan residence and church in Edirne are mentioned for the first time in Ottoman documents in the *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri* in 1604/1013 AH, when, in reply to a petition (*arz-ı hal*) from the Ragusan envoy in Istanbul, the Sultan sent his order to the *kadı* and the *bostancıbaşı* (commander of the imperial guards) of Edirne.⁸⁷ The order stated that Ragusans had had “a church and private houses” (*bir kilisa ile bazı mülk evleri*) in the city of Edirne “since the time of the imperial conquest” (*feth-i hakaniden berü*). Recently, however, “some individuals” (*bazı kimesneler*) had forcibly settled in the houses and harassed the watchman of the church. In accordance with the envoy’s request, the Sultan ordered the local authorities to prevent and forbid such mischief, as being “contrary to the noble sharia” (*hilâf-ı şer-i şerif*). Nevertheless, four years later in 1608/1106 AH, upon the petition of an envoy of the Ragusan senate (Dubrovnik begleri), the Sultan had to interfere again and send the order to the *kadı*, the *bostancıbaşı*, and the commander of the janissaries of Edirne.⁸⁸ Although Ragusans appointed their representatives (*vekilü’l-nasb*) to watch over their private houses (*mülk evleri*), the janissaries and some individuals entered the houses “without sharia permission” (*bilâ izn-i şer*). As a result of the envoy’s action in Istanbul, the Aga of the Janissaries, *kaymakam* Hüseyin, issued a letter banning janissaries and others from entering the houses of Ragusans and ordering an end to the “oppression, transgression, and aggression” (*zulm ve taaddi ve tecaviüz*) against them. The Sultan’s order confirmed the letter of the Aga of the Janissaries, referring to the sultanic order (*emr-i*

⁸³ See the abstracts of the documents in Serbo-Croatian in: Bojanić, *Sultanska akta*, docs. 83, 103, 210, 268, 282, 283, 285, 34, 38, 84, 117, 194.

⁸⁴ See Belin, François Alphonse: *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, 2nd ed., Paris 1894, pp. 228, 356–359; Radonić, Jovan: *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje*, Belgrade 1950, pp. 475–478, 549; Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, p. 158.

⁸⁵ Molnar, *Le Saint-Siège*, p. 50.

⁸⁶ Vojnović, Kosto: *Crkva i država u Dubrovačkoj republici* (II), in: *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, vol. 121, Filologičko-historički i filosofičko-juridički razredi, no. 42, Zagreb 1895, pp. 1–91, here pp. 6–7.

⁸⁷ BOA, *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri*, vol. 13.1, fol. 18, no. 3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 14, no.2.

şerif) given to Ragusans by his father Mehmed III (1595–1603), which had been renewed by the current sultan, Ahmed I (1603–1617).

In 1627/1037 AH, Ragusans started an almost a century-long dispute with their Jewish neighbors in Edirne: in reply to a petition from the Ragusan envoys who came to Istanbul to visit the Sultan and submit the annual tribute (*harac*) to the imperial treasury, the Sultan ordered the mullah of Edirne to investigate the Ragusan charges against a Jew.⁸⁹ The term *molla* (mullah) was sometimes applied to the *kadı* of Edirne and other big cities,⁹⁰ while later documents use the terms interchangeably (see below). According to the petition, the Ragusans possessed private houses (*mülk evleri*) with a room for worship in Edirne, where the envoys used to stay for several days as a stop on the way to Istanbul. The room for worship was equipped with pictures and a silver candlestick used in the religious ceremony. According to the sharia, they did not harm anyone. However, a Jew who lived nearby had broken into the Ragusan house and taken the silver candlestick and other objects. Therefore, the Ragusans demanded an indemnity. The Sultan ordered the mullah to investigate the claims of the Ragusans, and, if true, to ensure that they received a compensation for their losses, while any future transgression against Ragusans or their property had to be forbidden. The State Archive of Dubrovnik holds the original of another sultanic order against probably the same Jewish neighbor of the Ragusans, dated 22–31 October 1627/Evasit of Safer 1037 AH,⁹¹ which means that it was issued immediately after the sultanic order from the Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri from Istanbul (10–21 October 1627/Evahir of Safer 1037 AH) mentioned above. Despite the logical assumption that the Istanbul copy might be a misdated abridged version of the Dubrovnik original, the contents of these two documents differ in some important details. According to the original order, Ragusan envoys started the renovation of their ruined private houses in Edirne, “doing no harm to anybody.” Nonetheless, a Jew named Abraham, who lived nearby, built a huge building that blocked the view from the windows of the Ragusan residence and prevented its further renovation. In addition, he threw out the Ragusan watchman, stormed into the house with the help of some brigands, and took away silver vessels and various other objects. If the Ragusan claims proved to be right, Abraham would have to return the taken goods without any damage, while any kind of attack on Ragusans or their

⁸⁹ BOA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri, vol. 14.2, fol. 45, no. 27.

⁹⁰ Cf. Algar, Hamid: Molla, in: *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 30, Istanbul 2005, pp. 238–239.

⁹¹ State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, vol. 16, no. 799 (A 7, 95).

property was forbidden. The Sultan expressed special concern to protect the rights of Ragusan envoys and men because “the Ragusan senate” was attested “to have served the Ottoman court since antiquity with sincerity and loyalty” (*Dubrovnik begleri atebe-i ulyam hulûs ve sadakat üzere ubudiyet-i sabit kâdem olmagla*). The Ragusan church, however, was not mentioned in this document at all. Two years later, the Ragusans received a sultanic order concerning the restoration of their church in Edirne.⁹² The original document in two copies is preserved in the State Archive of Dubrovnik, while its abridged copy is written down in the *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri*. This time the contents of the original and the abridged copy do not differ, apart from minor details. According to the original, the order was sent to the *kadı* of Edirne, while the copy uses the term *molla* of Edirne (see above). According to the order issued following the petition of the Ragusan envoys, the Ragusans possessed an old church and rooms to stay in that were used as a stop *en route* to Istanbul by the envoys who carried the *harac* of Dubrovnik and by merchants with their merchandise. Since the church was in very bad condition “on the verge of falling down” (*kenisaları harabe müşrif olmagla*), the Ragusans wanted to repair it according to the “old teaching” (*va’z-ı kadim*) and asked the *şeyhülislâm*, the highest legal authority in the Ottoman Empire, for a legal opinion, a fatwa (*fetva*).⁹³ However, despite the affirmative fatwa of the *şeyhülislâm*, who confirmed the legality of the renovation of the old and ruined church, some individuals prevented the Ragusans from doing so. Following the Ragusan petition, the Sultan ordered the *kadı* of Edirne to investigate the case and, if the Ragusan claims proved to be true, to stop the Ragusans’ opponents from interfering with their affairs and opposing the renovation of the church. The opponents were to be warned to obey the sharia, the *kanun* (sultanic law), and the sultanic order (*emr-i şerif*). Despite all the measures undertaken, within a month, on 28 November–7 December 1629/ Evasıt of Rebiülahir 1039 AH, the church and the residence were illegally seized again.⁹⁴ In reaction to the petition of the Ragusan envoys, the Sultan sent his order to the *kadı* and the *bostancıbaşı* of Edirne to investigate the Ragusan claims. The Sultan stressed once again that the Senate of Dubrovnik (*Dubrovnik*

⁹² State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, vol. 17, 824 a (K 348 a), 824 b (K 348 b); BOA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri, vol. 14.2, fol. 54, no. 48. See also the Croatian translation of the document in Miović, *Dubrovačka Republika u spisima osmanskih sultana*, p. 114.

⁹³ The abridged copy of the document from the *Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri* does not mention the *şeyhülislâm*.

⁹⁴ State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, vol. 17, no. 826 (K 348c); BOA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri, vol. 14.2, fol. 54, no. 50, provides the abridged copy of the document.

begleri) were *harac* payers obedient to the Ottoman court for four hundred years and that therefore their rights should be carefully protected. However, it seems that the sultanic order was not effective for a long time, since four years later, on 26 September–4 October 1633/Evahir of Rebiülevvel 1043 AH, the Sultan had to issue yet another order with basically the same content.⁹⁵ The *kadı* and *bostancıbaşı* of Edirne were ordered again to investigate the claims that the Ragusan residence and church had been seized and occupied by certain people connected with the janissaries. It was stressed that the *ahdname* forbade harassing the Ragusan envoys, merchants or *reaya* (common folk). Since there was no news to the contrary, it seems that the problem was settled for a certain time. Yet, seven years later, on 18–27 September 1640/Evail 1050 AH, a sultanic order with almost identical content, although without mentioning Janissaries, was issued again and sent to the *kadı* and *bostancıbaşı* of Edirne in reply to the petition of the Ragusan envoys.⁹⁶ A week later, the thirteen-year-old litigation with the neighboring Jew Abraham (see above) was resumed.⁹⁷ The Sultan issued an order at the request of the Ragusan envoys, who complained that Abraham prevented them from restoring their ruined houses. With the help of brigands (*eşkiya*), Abraham had thrown out the Ragusan watchmen, stormed the house, and seized silver vessels and other objects. The Sultan ordered the *kadı* of Edirne to investigate the Ragusan accusations, act accordingly, and protect the Ragusans and their possessions. For the most part, the order of 1640 reiterates the demands of 1627, including the assertion that Abraham's house blocked the view from the Ragusan residence. According to a prominent scholar of Ottoman architecture, Ottoman town planning was bound up with a canon that each house had a right to enjoy a view, so that "you might not block your neighbor's view."⁹⁸ This principle is confirmed in a fatwa of the early 19th century *şeyhülislâm* Sâmânizade Ömer Hulusi Efendi, who ruled that a person who builds a high building that leaves his neighbour's without light, should be repelled.⁹⁹ The sultanic decree especially stressed "that animosity and bigotry are contrary to the noble sharia and have to be abstained from" (*bu babda garaz u taassub ile hilâf-ı şer-i şerif iş olmaksan ictinab idüb*). Despite the orders of Sultan Murad IV and Sultan Ibrahim to protect the Ragusans and their property in Edirne, Sultan Mehmed IV, too, had to

⁹⁵ State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, vol. 18, no. 854 (K, 348 d).

⁹⁶ Ibid., vol. 19, no. 946 (K, 417 a).

⁹⁷ Ibid., vol. 20, no. 952 (K, 417 b).

⁹⁸ Goodwin, Godfrey: *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London 2003, p. 450.

⁹⁹ BOA, Meşihat Fetvaları, 1/110. The copy of the *fetvâ* with transliteration was published in *Osmanlı Arşivi'nde Şeyhülislam Fetvaları*, İstanbul 2015, p. 152.

reissue an order of almost identical content at the request of the Ragusan envoys on 21–30 July 1649/Evasit of Receb, 1059 AH.¹⁰⁰ Sultan Mehmed IV repeated that his late father had issued an order concerning the same matter, and once again ordered the *kadı* of Edirne to check the claims of Ragusans, and, if they proved correct, take the Ragusan property back from Abraham, who should be interdicted from insulting or doing any harm to Ragusans. An abridged version of this document is preserved as a copy in the Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri in Istanbul.¹⁰¹ Only five years later, in 1654/1064 AH, the Ragusan residence and church were seized again, while the chief watchman Şah Molla was not able to prevent the intrusion.¹⁰² This time, however, it seems that sultanic intervention on Ragusan behalf was more effective, since there is no news to the contrary for almost half a century. The French Jesuit author Thomas-Charles Armenonville in his book *Estat des missions de Grèce* published in Paris in 1695, conveyed a report of another Catholic missionary who visited Edirne somewhat earlier and stayed in the town for six weeks. The unnamed missionary worked among Catholics, whose number was around 80, while 50 of them were Germans of slave origin of both sexes, who were in extremely miserable condition. The only consolation the missionary had was to perform his duties in the church of the Republic of Dubrovnik, “with a perfect freedom.”¹⁰³ Armenonville claims that there was no permanent mission in Edirne in his time, but the missionaries, usually two or three, were coming from Istanbul and staying in the town for two or three months.¹⁰⁴ In 1879, Laurentio Caratelli, the Franciscan chronicler of the church and monastery of St. Anthony in Pera, Istanbul, wrote that Jesuits possessed a mansion in Edirne in 1687, “without doubt,” basing his claim on “documents in Turkish language” he consulted.¹⁰⁵ The documents, on the other hand, did not mention neither origin of the mission, nor the reason for its end.

100 State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, vol. 22, no. 1050 (K, 496).

101 BOA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri, vol. 15.3, fol. 86, no. 101.

102 BOA, Hadariye Defteri, vol. 2, fol. 9, no. 1.

103 Armenonville, Thomas-Charles: *Estat des missions de Grèce présenté à nosseigneurs les archevêques, evesques et députéz du clergé de France, en l'année 1695*, Paris, 1695, pp. 111–113.

104 Ibid., pp. 109–110.

105 Archive of the Church of St. Anthony, Istanbul: Cronache (AAI 3). Laurentio Caratelli, *Missio Orientalis. Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Conventualium. Origine de la Mission des Frères Mineurs Conventuels en Orient*, Istanbul, 1879, fol. 170. I am grateful to Fr Martin Kmetec (Church of St. Anthony) for his help and assistance during my research in the church's archive.

In 1696/1107 AH, however, the Ragusan residence was usurped once again.¹⁰⁶ On this occasion, the Ragusan property was seized by members of the “administration, army, and others” (*ehl-i örf taifesi, askeri ve sairleri*). The Sultan ordered the *kadı* of Edirne to investigate the Ragusan claims. In February 1698, a Catholic priest by the name of Arcangelo da Procida, who was in the company of the captain Carabusi, passed through Edirne and reported that there was “a small Ragusan church” (*una chiesetta dei ragusei*), but there was no priest for numerous Catholics, many of whom were Ottoman slaves.¹⁰⁷ It seems that before that time the Jesuit missions to Edirne came to an end. Upon the request of the Catholics, da Procida wrote to the superior of the mission of Franciscans Conventuals in Istanbul, Gregorio da Napoli, asking him to send a priest who knew other languages in addition to Italian “for better service to those Catholics.”¹⁰⁸ Gregorio da Napoli approved the request and sent Venanzio Lucznik, a member of the Franciscan Province of Bohemia (historical Czech territory) and a student of the Roman missionary college of St. Peter in Montorio, as a missionary to Edirne. After his arrival on May 8 1698, Lucznik started to work with Catholic slaves of Czech, Russian, Polish, and German origin. He helped many of them to regain their freedom and return home and even returned many converts to Islam back to Catholicism.¹⁰⁹ Apart from slaves, there was a small group of Catholic merchants who lived in the city or came to it itinerantly, locals, and officials of the embassies who dwelled in the city when the Sultan moved his court there. Lucznik was given permission to use the Ragusan church by the grace of the Republic of Dubrovnik as well. In 1699, another missionary by the name of Chiliano Rasen del Tirolo, a student of the college of St. Peter in Montorio, too, was sent to Edirne to help Lucznik.¹¹⁰ The following year, however, the mission in Edirne came to an abrupt end. In January 29, 1700, upon the accusation of Jews and Greeks, Lucznik was imprisoned by Ottoman authorities and punished with 200 lashes for helping runaway slaves. Afterward, Lucznik abandoned Edirne to recover at the Franciscan mission in Istanbul, but later he left the Ottoman Empire and returned to his homeland. After the mission in Edirne lost the support of the European diplomats who left Edirne following the return of the court to Istanbul, the Propaganda Fide gave it a subsidy of 50 *scudi*, but on 19 October 1700, the Franciscan mission

106 State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, vol. 34, No. 1351 (K, 712); BOA, Hadariye Defteri, vol. 2, fol. 112, no. 1.

107 Matteucci, Gualberto: *La missione francescana di Constantinopoli*, vol. 2, *Il suo riorganizzazione e secondo apostolato sotto i Turchi (1585–1704)*, Florence 1975, p. 620.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid., p. 621.

110 Ibid., p. 622.

abandoned the city, being unable to remain there without diplomatic protection against an increasingly hostile environment. In the words of the Patriarchal Vicar of Constantinople, Mons. Gasparini, “F. Venanzio stayed in that mission as long as there were ambassadors and Latin merchants, protected by the authority of the first, and staying in the house of the second; after their departure, he has had great troubles and has been in great dangers.”¹¹¹ At about the same time, the Ragusan church of Edirne burned in a fire, which sealed the fate of the mission despite its promising start several years earlier and forced the head of the mission and the Franciscan *custodia* in Istanbul Gregorio da Napoli to abandon the plan of founding a Franciscan hospice in Edirne.¹¹² In 1704, the Ragusan envoys Francesco Gradi and Luca Gozza petitioned the Sultan for permission to repair their residence and the burned church.¹¹³ They stressed that the church had already existed at the time of the conquest of the city, so its repair would not contradict the sharia. The Sultan ordered the *kadı* of Edirne to investigate the claims of the envoys, to establish whether the church and the rooms that burned in the fire had already existed at the time of the conquest, and, if so, to measure the height and width of the building and to issue an adequate decision. To help the renovation of the church, Pope Clement XI allowed Ragusans the free export of 1,000 *rubbi* (ca. 8.500 kg) of grain from the papal possessions in Marche in 1703.¹¹⁴ Despite all efforts, the church and the residence were not restored. In 1706, the Ragusan envoy Marin Caboga visited Edirne.¹¹⁵ During its six-day stay in the city, the Ragusan deputation was accommodated in “a palace” along with the envoys of Muscovy. The reason for the stay in what seems to be most probably a khan was that, as Caboga says, “our palace and the only Catholic church in Edirne (were) both in ashes.”¹¹⁶ However, it seems that the Porte approved the restoration of the church, according to the report of the Roman Congregation of the Propaganda of Faith in 1707, which intervened in Dubrovnik for the appointment of chaplains or missionaries who spoke at least three languages – Serbian, Greek,

¹¹¹ Cited in Matteucci, *La missione francescana*, p. 625.

¹¹² Matteucci, *La missione francescana*, pp. 622–624; cf. Stiennon, Hadrianopolis, p. 1450.

¹¹³ State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, vol. 34, no. 1365 (K, 722). For an abridged Croatian translation, see Miović, *Dubrovačka Republika u spisima osmanskih sultana*, pp. 114–115.

¹¹⁴ Matteucci, *La missione francescana*, p. 622; Miović, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, pp. 102, fn. 388.

¹¹⁵ Vojnović, Lujo: Zapisi plemenitoga gospara Marina Marojice Kaboge izvanrednoga poslanika Republike Dubrovačke na carigradskome dvoru, god. 1706.–1707., in: *Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije*, vol. 34, Drugi razred, no. 31, Belgrade 1898, pp. 205–249, here pp. 224–225.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 225.

and Turkish, the languages spoken by Catholics, who lived in large numbers in the city.¹¹⁷ Despite all these efforts, the church and residence were not restored, as is confirmed by the sultanic order of 1723.¹¹⁸ Ragusan envoys petitioned the Sultan to restore to them the plot of land where the church and rooms of the “Ragusan community” (*Dubrovniklü taifesı*) had been standing before the great fire. It was inspected and measured by the authorities, according to the imperial order of 1713–1714/1125 AH. A Jew later illegally seized the plot, so that the Ragusans sought the return of their property on the basis of the imperial order and a *kadı*’s *hüccet* (judicial decision). Once again, the Sultan ordered that if the petition proved to be true, the site had to be returned to the Ragusans. Thus, despite all Ragusan efforts, it seems that the century-long quarrel with the Jewish neighbors ended with Ragusan defeat, since this is the last time that the church and the residence were mentioned.

Crisostomo di Giovanni, the prior of the mission and chronicler of the Franciscan church and monastery of St. Anthony in Pera, Istanbul, and the former *guardian* (prior) of the recently established Franciscan hospice (*Ospizio*) in Edirne, revealed the fate of the church half a century later. In his chronicle he mentioned an old destroyed church that was close to the Franciscan hospice in 1762. According to di Giovanni, after the church’s destruction the site was incorporated into the fabric of a street called “Cicmassukak” (Ott. *çıkamaz sokak* meaning cul-de-sac).¹¹⁹ In order to recover the site, the “Turks” demanded 150 *piastres*. It appears that the burned Ragusan church was never renovated. The Franciscan mission of Istanbul, despite initial disaster in 1700, however, returned to Edirne in 1715 with the missionary Jean Antoine Vacca.¹²⁰ If not earlier, the Franciscans bought a house in Edirne for the hospice of the mission in 1737.¹²¹ In 1755, there were three Franciscan missionaries living in the hospice.¹²² According to the di Giovanni’s description, in 1762 the hospice of the

¹¹⁷ Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 518.

¹¹⁸ State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta turcarum, vol. 37, no. 1427 (K, 748). I would like to thank Vesna Miović for kindly providing me a copy of this document.

¹¹⁹ Archive of the Church of St. Anthony, Istanbul: Chronaca, Reverendo Padre Maestro Gio. Crisostomo di Giovanni, Prefetto Apostolico Delle Missioni, Pro(.)le Commissario e Visitatore Generale De Minori Conventuali, fol. 86. For more information on the chronicler and the chronicle, i.e., its late 19th century faithful copy that was used here, see Girardelli, Paolo: Between Rome and Istanbul. Architecture and Material Culture of a Franciscan Convent in the Ottoman Capital, in: *Mediterranean Studies* 19 (2010), pp. 162–188, here pp. 170–171.

¹²⁰ Archive of the Church of St. Anthony, Istanbul: Cronache, Laurentio Caratelli, *Missio Orientalis*, fols. 170–171.

¹²¹ Archive of the Church of St. Anthony, Istanbul: Chronaca, di Giovanni, fol. 64.

¹²² Ibid., fols. 57, 311.

mission was not poor and humble any more, but “a big house on two floors,” with six rooms, two salons, dining hall, cuisine, a gallery, and two big storehouses. In addition, the Franciscans possessed an old house on the corner of the hospice, which had two rooms and salon, while the big storehouse on the ground floor was for rent.¹²³ The church was inside the “hospice” complex, although it seems it was not officially recognized by the authorities as such. Ragusans did not act as protectors of the church of Edirne after the 18th century any more. Their place was taken by diplomats of more powerful countries, such as France, above all.¹²⁴

After the end of the 17th century, the Ragusans retreated from Balkan towns, including Edirne. One of the reasons was the general decline of Dubrovnik following the devastating earthquake that struck the city in 1667, whose effects were exacerbated by subsequent fire, which together caused the death of one-third of its inhabitants, while most of the public buildings and private houses were severely damaged. After the earthquake, the city-state was shaken by inner crisis that was aggravated by the threat of its neighbors – the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman pasha of Bosnia, who would have been glad to end Ragusan independence.¹²⁵ Although Dubrovnik managed to recover and rebuild the destroyed city over time, future events caused deep changes in the fragile balance of political and economic factors that had created the favorable constellation for this mercantile republic. The major Ottoman war with European Christian states allied in the Holy League since 1684 (the papacy, Austria, Venice, and Poland, joined in 1686 by Russia) following the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683, besides resulting in great territorial losses for the Ottoman Empire in Central Europe, ruined many parts of the Ottoman Balkans as well. Simultaneously with the rise of the West in military affairs, its share in the trade with the Ottoman Empire grew rapidly. In the Balkans, the main Ottoman partner in trade was Austria following the peace treaty of 1718.¹²⁶ In such circumstances, the Ragusan share in trade almost

123 Ibid., fol. 86.

124 In the first half of the 19th century, during the era of reform and modernization of the Ottoman state that limited the influence of sharia and its restrictive stipulations, a new Catholic church consecrated to St. Anthony of Padua under French protection was built. See Archive of the Church of St. Anthony, Istanbul: Cronache, Laurentio Caratelli, *Missio Orientalis*, fol. 171; cf. Stiennon, Hadrianopolis, pp. 1450–1451. The recently renovated, solid and attractive building from 1852 no longer functions as a church, because there are no members of the Catholic community left, but it is used as the multi-media room of a local school.

125 Harris, Robin: *Povijest Dubrovnika*, translated by Mirjana Valent, Zagreb 2006, pp. 327–348.

126 Vinaver, Vuk: *Dubrovnik i Turska u XVIII veku*, Belgrade 1960, pp. 36–37.

disappeared, while local merchants superseded Ragusan merchants in the Balkans. Starting in the mid-18th century, a major shift in investment in Dubrovnik's economy occurred, which turned from land-based trade to maritime trade.¹²⁷ As a result, Ragusans virtually disappeared from the Balkan towns after 1700. This may explain why the church and the residence of Dubrovnik in Edirne were not able to survive under such circumstances.

Owing to various measures and the encouragement of the Ragusan government, Ragusan merchants managed to come back later on, but only in small numbers. Hence, Ragusans occasionally showed up in Edirne in the course of the 18th century. The Ragusan consul in Istanbul, Luca Chirico, wrote a letter from Edirne in 1720.¹²⁸ Another, less fortunate diplomat, Vlaho Caboga, died in Edirne in 1750, *en route* to Istanbul as the envoy to Sultan Mehmed V.¹²⁹ Ragusan merchants appeared in Edirne from time to time in itinerant fashion, in search of business opportunities from other Balkan trade centers. One of them was Jozo Marković, who visited Edirne in 1718.¹³⁰ A number of sultanic orders were issued at the request of Ragusan diplomats and sent to the *kadı* of Edirne concerning the prevention of the illegal extortion of various regular and irregular taxes, such as *harac*, *cizye*, and *avanz-ı örfiye ve tekalif-i divaniye*, by local authorities from Ragusan merchants. They testify that a certain number of them were trading in Edirne from the 1720s on. In 1724/1136 AH, the Ragusan merchant Damiano Mori came to Edirne along with two assistants in order to trade. The *cizyedar* (collector of the *cizye* tax) of Edirne, however, forcefully extorted *cizye* from them, contrary to the *ahdname* and the sultanic order.¹³¹ According to the complaint of the Ragusan consul in Istanbul, in 1738/1150 AH, the *cizyedar* of Edirne forced Luca Chirico, a Ragusan dragoman (*tercüman*) and two of his assistants to pay the *cizye* tax, although they were exempted (*muaf*) from various taxes.¹³² Yet again, in 1762/1175 AH, the *cizyedar* in Edirne forced the Ragusan merchant Božo Mirković to pay the *cizye* tax, although the *harac* of Dubrovnik was annually paid by the Republic in the amount of 12,500 golden coins.¹³³ Toward the end of the century, Ragusans seem to have started to return to Edirne in more significant numbers. According to the 1785 petition

¹²⁷ Cf. Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, p. 64.

¹²⁸ Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, p. 22.

¹²⁹ Vojnović, *Dubrovnik i Osmansko Carstvo*, 90–91, fn. 6.

¹³⁰ Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, p. 59.

¹³¹ BOA, Hadariye Defteri, vol. 2, fol. 149, no. 1.

¹³² Ibid., fol. 172, no. 3; cf. *ibid.*, fol. 175, no. 4.

¹³³ Ibid., fol. 279, no. 12.

of the Ragusan consul in Istanbul Đuro Curić (Giorgio Zurich), a Ragusan merchant named Marko Milković complained that the merchandise he had bought in Plovdiv, consisting of 20 sacks that were transported via the river Maritsa (Meriç), had been pillaged by Hacı İsmail Oğlu in the village of Ahbar near Edirne.¹³⁴ The Sultan ordered the *kadı* and *bostancıbaşı* of Edirne to investigate the case and to secure the return of the lost goods to the Ragusan merchant if his claims proved true. In 1792, the Ragusan consul in Istanbul Chirico petitioned the Sultan on behalf of three Ragusan merchants, Dživan Karaman, Damiano Bračović, and Mato Basarović, who complained that they had been harassed on the roads and in the districts by *cizyedars* who were trying to extract taxes from them.¹³⁵ The Sultan decreed that in respect of the protection (*himayet ve simayet babında*) Ragusans enjoyed on the basis of the *ahdname*, the merchants should not be oppressed and harassed.¹³⁶ It seems, however, that the problem of Ragusan merchants illegally subjected to *cizye* and other taxes was not solved. In April 1801, the Sultan issued a similar order to the judges of Izmir, Cyprus, Chios, and Edirne, as well as those on the road between these districts, to protect the Ragusan merchant Nikola Vakula from illegal extortion of the *cizye* tax.¹³⁷ The trade network between Izmir and Edirne seems to be relatively often frequented by Ragusan merchants, since in the same month, another Ragusan merchant, Buča, experienced the same harassment by the *cizyedar*.¹³⁸ Obviously, the issue of subjecting Ragusan merchants to the *cizye* tax, which was already paid as a lump sum by the Republic of Dubrovnik, remained one of the main problems to be solved by Ragusan diplomats in Istanbul until the final days of the Republic as an independent state. On 17–26 July 1807/Evasıt of Cemaziyül’evvel 1222 AH, the last Ragusan consul Frederico Chirico petitioned the Sultan to protect the Ragusan merchant Hristofor (Cristoforo) Makelorivo (?), who traded between Edirne, Silistra,

134 BOA, Düvel-i Ecnebiye Defteri, vol. 19/7, fol. 41, no. 235.

135 Ibid., vol. 20/8, fols. 39–40, no. 271.

136 A similar petition was sent to the Sultan in 1798 on behalf of the Ragusan Antonio Vades (Vadis) of the *müste'min* community, from whom the *cizyedar* and other officials were trying to extort various taxes, disregarding the provisions of the *ahdname*. The Sultan responded with an order to the mullah of Edirne, the *serdar* (commander) of the janissaries, the *cizyedar*, and the *zabta* (constabulary) to inspect the issue, act accordingly, and prevent any injustice; see *ibid.*, fol. 71, no. 584. In March 1801, the merchant Pavlo Varjah (Varyah) (?) complained that the *cizyedar* in Edirne was forcefully demanding the *cizye* tax from him, contrary to the *ahdname*; see *ibid.*, fol. 84, no. 729.

137 Ibid., fol. 85, no. 736.

138 Ibid., fol. 85, no. 738.

Vidin, and Ruse, from illegal extortion of the *cizye* and other taxes.¹³⁹ In two cases in 1805, merchants were forced to pay illegal customs fees on their merchandise and one was forced to pay the *cizye* in addition. Consul Frederico Chirico petitioned the Sultan concerning this problem, and both merchants, Sokondi, who traded between Edirne, İslimiye/Sliven, and Izmir, and Dživo (Civo), who traded between Edirne and Izmir, received a positive answer from the Sultan on their behalf.¹⁴⁰ Attempts by local authorities and elites involved in trade to impose various taxes and customs on Ragusans and their merchandise in the Balkans are one of the main features of Ragusan-Ottoman relations in the 18th and early 19th centuries, judging on the basis of complaints by Ragusan diplomats in Istanbul.¹⁴¹ This movement of local authorities and elites allied with local merchants against the privileged position of Ragusan merchants had already started in the 17th century.¹⁴² The 18th century, however, brought a definitive and radical change of the balance of power, and, despite the protection of the central authorities, Ragusans were not able to withstand the challenge of rising local merchants who eventually took over international trade from their hands.

Although it is hard to establish whether any of the Ragusan merchants were permanently settled in Edirne or used the city as their base, the above-mentioned examples show that Edirne continued to play an important role in the Ragusan trade in the Balkans together with other trade centers, such as Plovdiv, Vidin, Silistra, Ruse, and Sliven. Furthermore, Edirne was involved in the trade traffic beyond the Balkans, given its connections with Eastern Mediterranean ports and islands, such as Izmir, Chios, Cyprus, and Crete. As for the question of a permanent or protracted diplomatic Ragusan presence in the city of Edirne, in the last quarter of the 18th century there were two Ragusan dragomans, Pušić and Radelja, who had received their training in Edirne. However, due to the outbreak of the plague in July 1778, the two young men temporarily left the city in precaution. In November, their house burned down and they lost all of their belongings. When the plague broke out a second time, they left Edirne for a while once again.¹⁴³ Dubrovnik appointed its vice-

¹³⁹ Ibid., fol. 130, no. 1004.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., fol. 125, nos. 982, 984.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, pp. 42–47.

¹⁴² See Köse, Metin Ziya: Osmanlı Balkanı'nda Kara Ticareti ve Rekabet. Rumeli'de Dubrovnik Tüccarları (1600–1630), in: *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 16 (2013), pp. 41–58. I would like to thank Cihan Yemişçi for drawing my attention to this article, which he kindly provided to me as well.

¹⁴³ Miović, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, p. 231.

consul in Edirne in this period as well.¹⁴⁴ In 1792, Frano Vernazza, who acted as Ragusan vice-consul in the city, was granted Ragusan citizenship along with his family for his useful assistance to the envoys.¹⁴⁵ This latest episode of Ragusan presence in Edirne was not to last for long, however, since the Republic of Dubrovnik was occupied by the French in 1806 and then abolished in 1808.

5 The Ragusan Church and Residence and Ottoman Law

The presence of a Ragusan church and residence in the Muslim city of Edirne raised a number of questions for the local authorities. The Sultan was eager to protect the rights of Ragusans based on the *ahdname*, stressing that Ragusans were faithful servants of the empire and regular *harac* payers. The Sultan forbade attacks on Ragusan property, arguing that the residence was the private property (*mülk*) of the Ragusans. However, the fact that the church existed in the center of a Muslim town must have been a problem for some people. The sultan was therefore careful to emphasize that the Ragusan church was old and had already existed before the time of the conquest, and that it was therefore legitimate for it to remain in Ragusan hands. This was also the basic precondition for its repair, since the sharia did not allow the erection of new churches. If it could be proved that the church was new, it would have been demolished or turned into a mosque. Another precondition for the church to remain in the hands of Christians was that the population of the town had surrendered it to Muslim conquerors by their own free will,¹⁴⁶ which was the case in Edirne. However, it is not at all certain that the Ragusan church had really already existed in pre-Ottoman times, since there are no reports on it before the second half of the 16th century. As early as 1442, the presence of the Franciscans (*fratri minori*) in Edirne was mentioned. According to the Florentine traveller and priest Francesco Bonsignori, the Franciscan Biagio *minorità* served as the chaplain of the Florentine colony of merchants in Edirne.¹⁴⁷ But it is not known whether the church building also already existed in Edirne in that period. In

¹⁴⁴ Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁵ Miović, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, p. 122, fn. 466.

¹⁴⁶ See Gradeva, Rossitsa: Ottoman Policy towards Christian Church Buildings, in: *Études balkaniques* 4 (1994), pp. 14–36.

¹⁴⁷ Matteucci, *La missione francescana*, p. 620; Stiernon, Hadrianopolis, p. 1450.

any case, the Ragusan claim could easily have been a fabrication, as in many other examples from places throughout the Balkans, as well as in Istanbul. The case of Istanbul was particularly delicate, given that, although it was conquered by force, some of the churches remained in Christian hands.¹⁴⁸

To get permission to repair a church, it had to have been ruined (*harabe*) and in poor condition, or, even more convincing, “on the verge of falling down” (*kenisaları harabe müşrif olmagla*), or, in an extreme case, burned down by fire, as was asserted in the reply to a petition to rebuild the church in Edirne in 1704.¹⁴⁹ To secure the positive outcome of their petition, the Ragusans obtained an affirmative fatwa from the *şeyhülislâm*; this shows that they well understood the legal procedure and value of such a document. This fact is attested in the State Archive of Dubrovnik, which holds a couple of dozens fatwas, legal opinions of the local muftis (*kenar müftileri*) and of the famous *şeyhülislâm* Ebussuud Efendi (1545–1575).¹⁵⁰ To silence objections from opposing Muslims, the Sultan asserted that the restoration of the church occurred in accordance with “old Muslim teachings” (*va’z-ı kadim üzere*) and that no one should prevent Ragusans from repairing their church. It was emphasized that, apart from being “in contravention of the sacred sharia” (*hilâf-ı şer-i şerif*), disobeying the Sultan’s order would at the same time “violate the *ahdname* and the Sultan’s decree” (*ahdname-i hümayunuma ve emr-i şerifime muhalif*). This example shows the complex nature of the legal status the citizens of Dubrovnik enjoyed, who were in fact extracted from the Ottoman legal system that had already been subdivided into *kanun* and sharia.¹⁵¹ On the contrary, instead of being exclusive on this matter, it seems more adequate to accept an inclusive approach that proposes that by including the Ragusans and other ‘foreigners’ in the sphere of Ottoman law, a legal triangle consisting of sharia–*kanun*–

148 See İnalçık, Halil, The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City, in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 23 (1969–1970), pp. 229–249, here pp. 248–249.

149 For example, in the 16th century, *şeyhülislâm* Ebussuud Efendi issued the following fatwa on the issue: “Question: If an old church of unbelievers is ruined, could they repair it? Answer: Yes.” Düzdağ, Mehmet Ertuğrul: *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*, Istanbul 1983, p. 106, no. 465.

150 State Archive of Dubrovnik, Acta Turcarum, C-III, no. 10.

151 See Kursar, Vjeran: Some Remarks on the Organization of Ottoman Society in the Early Modern Period. The Question of “Legal Dualism” and Societal Structures, in: Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Moačanin and Vjeran Kursar (eds.): *Perspectives on Ottoman Studies. Papers from the 18th Symposium of the International Committee of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies (CIEPO) at the University of Zagreb 2008*, Berlin 2010, pp. 837–856.

ahdname came into existence.¹⁵² By integrating foreign jurisdiction and its legal principles into Ottoman law in the form of *ahdnames*, the Ottomans reached the point where the term “legal pluralism” can justifiably be applied to their legal system.¹⁵³ Such a complex situation inevitably led to confusion and the misconception of certain legal concepts in the eyes not only of the ordinary people, but also of local authorities, who were denied jurisdiction in cases including foreigners. While in its regular form Ottoman law was already a complex amalgam of two different and sometimes contradictory elements, namely Islamic law (*sharia*) and state law (*kanun*), the introduction of the third, completely alien element, namely capitulations with a foreign state (*ahdnames*), provoked misunderstandings and considerable resistance from the local authorities and resulted in numerous litigations with Ragusans and interventions by the Porte as the highest legal instance.¹⁵⁴

Moreover, certain reports indicate that the Ragusans might have enjoyed a higher level of religious freedom than permitted by the *sharia*. According to Gondola, the Ragusans had the right to publicly exercise the divine cult and celebrate the mass in their churches, and possess their own graveyards that were distinct from the graveyards of other non-Muslim communities and were separated by the wall.¹⁵⁵ In Edirne, the deceased were buried in the church in the center of the city. At the time of the Gondola’s visit (1674), after the death of a prominent Ragusan, “one of our family,” his body was carried publicly in an open coffin through the streets of Edirne toward the grave in the church in a large public funeral procession led by the priest in habit with the cross in hand, followed by numerous Ragusan colonists with torches, who chanted psalms. The Greek Orthodox Metropolitan and the clergy participated in the funeral ceremony as well. Gondola asserts that such a ritual was performed in all similar occasions.¹⁵⁶ This case, if not exaggerated, indicates the esteem in which the Ragusan community of Edirne was held, as well as the liberty it enjoyed there, despite supposed legal restrictions for non-Muslims. According to the *sharia*, such public demonstrations of faith were forbidden. Thus, it seems plausible to conclude that the Ragusans enjoyed a higher

¹⁵² Van den Boogert, Maurits H.: *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System. Qadis, Consuls and Beraths in the 18th Century*, Leiden and Boston 2005, pp. 303–304.

¹⁵³ See Kuran, Timur: The Economic Ascent of the Middle East’s Religious Minorities. The Role of Islamic Legal Pluralism, in: *The Journal of Legal Studies* 33 (2004), pp. 475–515.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Goffman, Daniel: Negotiating with the Renaissance State. The Ottoman Empire and the New Diplomacy, in: Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (eds.): *The Early Modern Ottomans. Remapping the Empire*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 65–67.

¹⁵⁵ *Relazione dello stato della religione*, pp. 104–105.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105. Cf. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, pp. 270–271.

degree of religious freedom than that conferred on other, ordinary groups of non-Muslims. The Ragusan church served as a burying place not only for the esteemed Ragusans, but other respected Catholics as well, once again proving its wider communal character. In 1678, the Ragusan envoy Seko Gučetić replied positively to the petition of the Austrian Emperor's internuncio to bury the emperor's diplomat with the rank of resident, Kindsberg, in the Ragusan church of Edirne.¹⁵⁷

The actions of certain groups of Muslims, such as "members of the local administration, army, and ruling class in general" (*ehl-i örf taifesi ve askeri ve sair-ler*), were motivated by the desire to seize the property of Dubrovnik for their own material benefit. It seems likely that these Muslim groups represented rising classes engaged in trade, who took the chance to take advantage of Ragusans as rival merchants. This was not an isolated case, because local merchants and officials had started to challenge the Ragusans' privileged position in trade throughout the Ottoman Balkans since the beginning of the 17th century.¹⁵⁸ It was not only Ragusan special status that was disputed by local authorities, however, but also that of Venetians dwelling and trading in Istanbul, Izmir, and Chios, as well as of the French in Istanbul.¹⁵⁹ In the 18th century, the return of Ragusans to their previous colonies and markets abandoned during the 1683–1699 war was seriously challenged, particularly in Sarajevo, Travnik, Novi Pazar, and Sofia.¹⁶⁰ The fact that the residence and church were Ragusan private property (*mülk*) might have been confusing for local authorities, since foreigners, by way of their *müste'min* status, did not have the right to possess such private property; here, the Ragusans were an in-between category. To what extent the authorities' actions were motivated by religious concerns is hard to determine from the available sources. The general atmosphere toward non-Muslims in this period, however, gradually deteriorated under the influence of the fundamentalist Kadızadeli movement that tried to impose its literal and austere interpretations of Islamic law on public life, by force when needed and/or with the help of state. On several occasions, sultanic orders reminded non-Muslims to obey sumptuary laws based on the sharia, such as restrictions on the colors permitted for non-Muslim dress and the prohibition of wine even to non-Muslims. Usually easily granted permissions for the renewal of old and ruined churches and synagogues were denied following the great fire of Istanbul in 1660 that destroyed many non-Muslim places of worship. Afterward, former non-Muslim neighborhoods were spatially Islamized, with the erection of

157 Vojnović, *Dubrovnik i Osmansko Carstvo*, p. 90, fn. 5.

158 Köse, *Osmanlı Balkanı'nda Kara Ticareti*, pp. 41–58.

159 Goffman, *Negotiating with the Renaissance state*, pp. 65–68.

160 Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, pp. 38–41.

imperial mosques as a major project.¹⁶¹ The church of St. Francis, one of the major Catholic churches in Galata, was reopened ten years after the great fire. However, after the fire of 1697, the site was confiscated and the mosque called Yeni Cami (New Mosque) was built by the sultan's mother Gülnuş Valide Sultan in its place.¹⁶² Even though this action cannot be blamed on the Kadızadeli movement, which already had been suppressed by that time, the movement's legacy, as well as the crisis caused by the war with the Holy League, contributed to the continuation of the general negative attitude toward non-Muslims.¹⁶³ This intolerant and antagonistic religious atmosphere might explain the fate of the Ragusan church of Edirne better, as well.¹⁶⁴ The conversion back to Catholicism of slaves who had recently accepted Islam, which in Islamic law amounted to the grave offence of apostasy, might have further aggravated the chances for the restoration of the church, as it sealed the fate of the Franciscan mission in the city for some time. In a recent article, Marinos Sariyannis has shown a clear connection between the Kadızadeli supporters and Muslim merchants, implying that their actions might have had not only religious, but also more mundane, economic motivations.¹⁶⁵ Following Zilfi's argument that the Kadızadeli movement's attitude toward non-Muslims and their European protectors was a reaction against trade treaties that undermined Ottoman authority over non-Muslims, Sariyannis emphasized "the 'free-trade' connotations of the Kadızadeli" movement.¹⁶⁶ Thus, it seems possible that even conflicts of a seemingly religious nature were caused, or at least intensified, by rivalry between local Muslim and privileged Ragusan merchants.

The aforementioned case of the litigation with a Jewish neighbor might not have been caused merely by religious hatred, either, since in Edirne, as in other

161 Zilfi, Madeline C.: *The Politics of Piety. The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600–1800)*, Minneapolis 1988, pp. 150–159; Baer, Marc David: The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish Spaces in Istanbul, in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004), pp. 159–181.

162 Marmara, Rinaldo: *La communauté levantine de Constantinople. De l'empire byzantine à la république turque*, Istanbul 2012, p. 59; Girardelli, Between Rome and Istanbul, p. 169; Muzaffer Özgüleş: A Missing Royal Mosque in Istanbul That Islamized a Catholic Space. The Galata New Mosque, in: *Muqarnas* 34 (2017), 157–195.

163 Cf. Girardelli, Between Rome and Istanbul, p. 166; Özgüleş: A Missing Royal Mosque, pp. 157, 163; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 159.

164 I would like to thank Paolo Girardelli for drawing my attention to the issue of similarity of the fate of Catholic churches in Istanbul and Edirne.

165 Sariyannis, Marinos: The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon. The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?, in: Antonis Anastasopoulos (ed.): *Political Initiatives from the Bottom-Up in the Ottoman Empire*, Rethymno 2012, pp. 263–289.

166 Sariyannis, The Kadızadeli Movement, p. 274, fn. 61; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 152.

places, Ragusans usually had good relations with Jews and were often involved in mutual partnerships. Yet again, the cause of the conflict was probably mercantile rivalry, bearing in mind that 17th-century Edirne witnessed the rise of Jewish merchants who were willing to challenge the Ragusan privileged position in trade. Moreover, the Jewish population of Edirne doubled during the 17th century, and it seems that the community did not experience serious demographic losses until the mid-18th century. The strength of Jewish merchants' position was guaranteed by their alliance through partnerships with Muslim merchants and creditors, who were often members of the ruling class and administration, including high-ranking officials.¹⁶⁷ Thus, it seems that the clash with rising Jewish merchants backed by their powerful Muslim allies might have been one of the reasons for the Ragusan demise.

In this respect, however, the case of Edirne was not unique at all. Similar competition between Ragusans and Jews took place already at the beginning of the 17th century in Sofia.¹⁶⁸ On the other hand, local merchants ready to challenge privileged Ragusans were by no means only Muslims and Jews, but fellow Christians as well. The rise of "the conquering Balkan Orthodox merchants" and their involvement in international trade, as Traian Stoianovich has shown, greatly challenged the monopoly position of Ragusan merchants as the main, if not the only, middlemen in trade between East and West.¹⁶⁹ The conflict between the two was inevitable. Already in the first half of the 17th century, Ragusans complained about Greek Orthodox and Bulgarian merchants who were not paying their debts in Özi (Ochakov) in southern Ukraine and in Rumelia.¹⁷⁰ In the 18th century, the conflict became even more dangerous for Ragusans. Their attempt to return to the Balkan market was vehemently opposed by the Serbian Orthodox merchants of Sarajevo, who protested against it at the beginning of the century, saying, "We want no Ragusan church here, nor Ragusan houses, nor Ragusan merchants to trade here; they may pass through, but not stay here to grab bread from our teeth."¹⁷¹ While the motivation of

167 Gerber, Haim: The Jews of Edirne in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, in: Haim Gerber: *Crossing Borders. Jews and Muslims in Ottoman Law, Economy and Society*, Istanbul 2008, pp. 94–104; Karagedikli, Gürer: 'Altın Çağ' ile Modern Dönem Arasında Osmanlı Yahudileri. Edirne Yahudi Cemaati Örneği (1680–1750), in: *Kebikeç* 37 (2014), pp. 305–336.

168 Köse, Osmanlı Balkanı'nda Kara Ticareti, pp. 51–52.

169 Stoianovich, Traian: The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant, in: *The Journal of Economic History* 20 (1960), pp. 234–313.

170 Köse, Osmanlı Balkanı'nda Kara Ticareti, p. 51.

171 Quoted in Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska*, p. 39.

Serbian merchants is obvious, their opposition to the presence of the Ragusan church seems to indicate the importance of the church as the symbol of the identity and as the central institution of the Ragusan diaspora. Therefore, the joint complaint of Jews and Orthodox Christians against the Catholic priest of Edirne to the authorities may have been motivated not only by competition for religious prestige, or, at least equality with the Catholic Church, which enjoyed diplomatic protection, but by mercantile rivalry, as well.

Ragusans were not spared the clash with their local Catholic brethren who wanted their fair share in trade, as well. In Belgrade, Ragusans and Bosnian Catholic merchants fought over the possession of the city's Catholic church between 1612 and 1643; this ended badly for both sides.¹⁷² This type of negative development, however, was not peculiar to Ragusan merchants alone. Already in the beginning of the 17th century, for instance, Venetian merchants' acquisition of shops in the marketplace (*bedestan*) in Istanbul's Galata quarter provoked a counterattack not only by Jewish, but also by local Catholic merchants.¹⁷³ Thus, it can be concluded that the disputes in Edirne were probably more complex than a bigoted interconfessional clash.

6 Conclusion

The multifaceted story of the Ragusan presence in Edirne brings to the fore several significant issues. First, the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and the consequent gradual transfer of the court to the new capital of the Ottoman Empire did not mean that Edirne, the first Ottoman capital on European soil, lost all of its importance as a political center. It continued to be the second-most important city of the empire in the political context, as the sultans, including Mehmed the Conqueror, Selim I, and Süleyman the Magnificent, held their courts in Edirne as well. Thus, the city hosted the sultan and his court on various occasions, offering a more pleasant and tranquil atmosphere than the main capital. Sultans of the 17th century continued the tradition, while Mehmed IV (1648–1687), a passionate hunter (hence his nickname *Avcı*), spent most of his

¹⁷² Molnár, Antal: Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade (1612–1643). Trade and Catholic Church in Ottoman Hungary, in: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 60 (2007), pp. 73–143.

¹⁷³ Dursteler, Eric R.: *Venetians in Constantinople. Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, Baltimore 2006, p. 146.

reign in Edirne indulging in the famous sultanic hunts in the city's environment. At the same time, Mehmed IV was the last sultan with a great ambition for conquest and domination, which, however, ended in the disastrous war with the Holy League following the unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683. The city of Edirne thus retained its importance as the second capital and even prospered until the beginning of the 18th century, when it started to decay along with the empire itself.¹⁷⁴

In consequence, as an occasional host of the sultanic court, Edirne attracted the diplomats, envoys, and ambassadors of foreign countries, including representatives of the Republic of Dubrovnik. Even when the sultan and his court were not residing in Edirne, the city remained important as a trade center that attracted merchants from various nations, including Ragusans. The importance of Edirne for the Republic of Dubrovnik was confirmed by a decision to settle a diplomatic residence in the city, which served as a stop for its diplomats on the road to Istanbul. Within or next to the complex of the residence was a Catholic chapel, which met the diplomats' spiritual needs as well as those of local Ragusans of the city and its surroundings. Since this was the only Catholic church in the city and the wider region, it attracted Catholic believers of all nations, rising above the notion of a purely national Ragusan church. Thus, the Ragusan chapel in Edirne gained great importance for the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Balkans in general. After a fire at the turn of the 17th to the 18th century, which coincided with the retreat of Ragusans from the Balkans in general, the church was never rebuilt again, despite attempts by Ragusan diplomats and support from Rome. Individual merchants, however, appeared from time to time in Edirne until the beginning of the 19th century, proving that Edirne remained an attractive market for Ragusans even in the later period, despite the alleged general decline of the empire and the deterioration of the Ragusans' status.

The existence of the Ragusan residence and church in Edirne draws attention to some specific characteristics of Ottoman law. The fact that the *ahdname* of the Republic of Dubrovnik enjoyed legal standing in cases including a Ragusan party introduced a new element into the already complex legal system of the Ottoman Empire, which included sharia and *kanun*. Such further fragmentation of Ottoman law brought about misunderstandings by and reactions from the local authorities and the domestic population that disputed the privileged position and the special rights conferred on Ragusans by the Porte.

¹⁷⁴ See Gökbilgin, Edirne, p. 684. Cf. Karagedikli, Gürer: Bir Payitahtı Yeniden Düşünmek. 18. Yüzyıl Başlarında Edirne Şehrinin Sosyal ve Mekânsal Yapısı Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler, in: Ümit Ekin (ed.): *Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç'e Armağan*, İstanbul 2013, pp. 221–231.

Benjamin Braude's theory of the existence of an "ethnic trading system" that organized merchants on a strict ethnic basis, and via ethnic solidarity "had accomplished much in reducing the costs of trade: protection, negotiation, intelligence, and enforcement" and "defended liberty and property, facilitated the search for customers, gathered and spread news of the market, and administered justice,"¹⁷⁵ at first glance, seem to be valid in the Ragusan case, as well. There are, however, examples to the contrary, which show the need for a more nuanced approach. While the final result of what started as mercantile competition might confirm the presence of "ethnic trading systems," there are also many instances of inter-ethnic and confessional partnerships among all parties and even alliances between local parties against Ragusans as privileged foreigners, disregarding



Fig. 1: 18th century Panorama of Dubrovnik.

¹⁷⁵ Braude, Benjamin: Venture and Faith in the Commercial Life of the Ottoman Balkans, 1500–1650, in: *The International History Review* 8 (1985), pp. 519–542, here p. 541.

religious affiliations. However, the story of the Greek Orthodox metropolitan who honored the Catholic funeral, if true, seems to indicate that there was occasionally a level of inter-Christian respect and solidarity and perhaps a feeling of unity, which may have prevailed over mercantile animosities. Thus, in my opinion, inter-communal clashes need to be analyzed on several levels, including not only confessional and ethnic dimensions, but also social, economic, and class realities that often tend to stay behind the curtain of history.



Fig. 2: Panorama of Dubrovnik.



Fig. 3: Map of the territory of the Republic of Dubrovnik, 1746 by Miho Pešić.



Fig. 4: *Viaggio da Ragusi a Costantinopoli per la Bosna, Serbia, e Romania* (Voyage from Ragusa to Constantinople through Bosnia, Serbia and Romania). Vincenzo Maria Coronelli, Venice, 1696.



Fig. 5: *Marchant Ragusei* (A Ragusan merchant). From Nicolas de Nicolay: *Les navigations, pérégrinations et voyages faits en la Turquie*, Antwerpen 1576.



Fig. 6: *Fante de Raguse, ou porteur de lettres* (A Ragusan youth, or the carrier of the letters). From de Nicolay: *Les navigations*.

Part V: Disrupting and Re-framing

Darin Stephanov

The Beautiful and the Brutal. Bulgarian Images of Odrin (Edirne) and the Contours of the Ethnonational Mindset

And indeed this is a rare glory. Little Bulgaria, yesterday's slave girl, who has not yet shaken off the rust of five-century-old chains defeated in 40 days the great Ottoman Empire, and its heroic army today bathes in three seas: the Black, the Marble [Marmara] and the White [Aegean].¹

In the year 681, a state by the name of Bulgaria appeared for the first time² on a portion of the territory that is now occupied by the eponymous modern nation-state. Most standard narratives of what is called “Bulgarian” history today stretch from the 7th century CE to the present and take for granted (i) the existence and self-awareness of a Bulgarian people (*narod*).³ Within the scope of such studies, (ii) the 19th century is also particularly significant, since it is generally then that “the people” “awoke” from five centuries (1396–1878)⁴ of

1 Private Popov, Nikola: *Prevzemaneto na Odrin. Apoteoza na Bulgarskiya Geroizum. Dnevnik*, Haskovo 1936, pp. 26–27.

2 A state by the name of “Great Bulgaria” (Velika Bulgaria) directly preceded it, but occupied an entirely different stretch of land north of the Black Sea, mostly in present-day Ukraine.

3 The 1300th anniversary of Bulgaria, thus conceived, was celebrated with much pomp in 1981. One aspect of the activities entailed celebratory historical scholarship. Therefore, many titles came out, such as Genchev, Nikolai et al. (eds.): *Trinadeset Veka v Mir i Bran* [Thirteen Centuries in Peace and (Defensive) War], 2 vols., Sofia 1980; Krivorov, Ignat et al. (eds.): *1300 Godini na Strazha* [1300 Years on Guard], Sofia 1981, and other spin-offs, such as Babukova, Panka et al. (eds.): *Hilyada i Trista Godini Bulgaria i Bulgarskoto Obrazovanie* [A Thousand and Three Hundred Years of Bulgaria and Bulgarian Education], Sofia 1983; Obretenov, Alexander et al. (eds.): *Hilyada i Trista Godini Bulgarsko Izobrazitelno Izkustvo* [A Thousand and Three Hundred Years of Bulgarian Fine Arts], Sofia 1984, to name but a few.

4 The two ends of this periodization are set around the fall of the fortress of Vidin to the Ottomans in 1396, effectively ending the “Second Bulgarian Kingdom” (lit. “tsardom”) and the emergence of the Principality of Bulgaria (“Third Bulgarian Kingdom”) on the map of the Balkans in the aftermath of the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877–1878. The distinguishing marker between the “First” and “Second” Bulgarian kingdoms within the framework of both modern Bulgarian and foreign historiography is another period of foreign domination (i.e., “yoke”), namely the Byzantine one (1018–1185 CE). The period of Byzantine domination is set around the victory of Emperor Basil II “the Bulgar Slayer” (976–1025 CE) over Tsar Samuil (997–1014 CE) and his nephew, Tsar Ivan Vladislav (1015–1018 CE), on the one hand, and the revolt of two Boyar brothers – Peter (d. 1197) and Asen (d. 1196) in 1185 CE – and their subsequent independence and establishment of a new dynasty, on the other.

slumber under Ottoman domination – often conveyed by the negatively charged, evocative metaphor of a “yoke”⁵ – and underwent a period of “Bulgarian Revival,” literally, “Rebirth” or “Renaissance” (*vuzrazhdane*). These two often unspoken, yet underlying assumptions stem from two mutually reinforcing points of origin that are by no means unique to the Bulgarian national case today.

One such point of origin is the tendency for the self-perpetuating international order of nation-states that has been in existence for the past century or so to serve as a pervasive (hegemonic) setting for a myriad of partial, nation-based, and nation-constrained (re-)readings and (re-)visions of defunct imperial formations in the general direction of (sub)conscious self-inscriptions on the fabric of the past. This has to do with one of the many paradoxes of the national mode of thought and identification. Once “awoken” at a specific moment or over a relatively brief period of time, it tends to deliberately obfuscate the exact circumstances of this “awakening” while a) constantly searching for its roots further back in time⁶ and b) asserting its unlimited future, thereby establishing a more or less eternal temporal continuum for the nation.

The other point of origin for these two assumptions is the related practice of careful selection of particular, narrowly drawn sources on which to base the dominant interpretation of that past: accounts such as diaries, correspondence, polemical articles in the press, etc., invariably taken from a relatively small number of highly unrepresentative, yet outspoken and often prolific individuals, including teachers and writers, priests and revolutionaries. This eclectic reading was greatly facilitated by a sharp, at times knee-jerk antagonism toward imperial modes of thought and identification, in combination with a deliberate negligence and misunderstanding of them, which only deepened with the passage of time. Thus, a canon was born, both in terms of the construction of a national history and in terms of the construction of a national literature whose roots nested within a largely inaccurate to outright fictitious imperial context.

The purpose of this chapter is not to deny the national approach’s multiple advantages and accomplishments, whether in Bulgaria or elsewhere. Such an approach provides convenient, readily constructible, and easily digestible (if somewhat or largely misleading) narratives, which are institutionally embedded and

⁵ This metaphor featured most prominently in the title of a novel written in 1887–1889 by Ivan Vazov (1850–1921), widely considered the patriarch of Bulgarian literature – *Pod Igoto* [Under the Yoke] – which related events in a small Balkan town during the last years of Ottoman control.

⁶ For example, in the 1930s, a leading Bulgarian historian, Hristo Gandev, dated the Bulgarian Revival back to the end of the 16th century, see Genchev, Nikolai: *Bulgarsko Vuzrazhdane* [Bulgarian Revival], Sofia 2010 (1st ed. 1978), p. 12.

financially promoted, politically correct, and popularly palatable. It also provides the psychological comfort and the social harmonizing function that these narratives, along with the various types of national ceremonies crafted around them, have afforded generations of people over more than a century. It is certainly far easier to write textbooks this way, and the end result is largely on the mark if we take it for what it is, namely history in the way a narrow layer of society saw it and/or wanted it to be, both contemporaneously (in diaries, letters, or polemic articles) and retrospectively (in memoirs often written long after the events they described). If, on the other hand, the historian casts her or his net more widely, to capture the ways average imperial subjects viewed (and could have viewed) themselves and the world at large before the advent of the nation-state, not to mention the pathways and dynamics of their gradual becoming national citizens, the inadequacy of this approach becomes obvious. In one sense, this inadequacy is prone to grow only worse as the distance between the observer and the observed increases. As time passes, it becomes harder for witnesses to remember and easier for newcomers to imagine a history that was not really or not at all. That is why, as the matrix of the national mindset becomes ever more engulfing, it becomes harder for a study to step entirely outside its cobweb and dispense with an increasing number of ever more entrenched tacit assumptions in the process. However, in my view, this is precisely what is needed in order to recover and evaluate lost dimensions of historical human experience to compose a more balanced and truthful picture of realities and mentalities then as well as since; half-hearted attempts, even if they are well-meaning, can only lead to further entanglements with the cobweb of latter-day collective fancy.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to suggest an alternative paradigm that can tackle the “blind spots” of prior (national historiographical) scholarship, while complementing, challenging, and enriching its findings. It is designed from first principles, as a look from the past forward and the bottom up, and as such may carry considerable long-term implications for the study of the history of group identifications on the popular level.

This chapter consists of several parts. Sections one and two acquaint the reader with various historical and historiographical aspects of the Bulgarian national project against the background of nationalism in general. At their heart lies a two-pronged discussion. The first component outlines mainstream narratives of the Bulgarian Revival period in the late Ottoman Empire, allegedly this national project’s most formative stage. The second component advances an alternative analytical paradigm, centered on the concept (and observable phenomenon) of increased Ottoman monarchic ruler visibility and the resultant range of popular ramifications in the shape of modernizing effects on group consciousness among the members of this non-Muslim imperial community in

the mid-19th century. The main body of the chapter illustrates this new theoretical framework by means of a multiangle exploration of popular Bulgarian images of Odrin (Edirne), a large, multi-communal Ottoman city as the expanding new Bulgarian state came to encroach ever more upon it, culminating in the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913. Of particular interest are the myriad pathways for claiming Edirne, its conquest (symbolic and literal), and its incorporation into the Bulgarian national imaginary, centered on but not restricted to mental mappings. Section three utilizes poetic sources – soldiers’ and (pseudo-)folk songs – while section four focuses on wartime prose (diaries, letters, memoirs, and speeches).

1 Mainstream Narratives of the Bulgarian Revival

According to mainstream narratives, succinctly outlined, four strands eventually produced the “Bulgarian Revival.”⁷ The first belongs to the history of ideas. It originated in the person and activities of Paisii Hilendarski (1722–1773), a monk of the Hilendar Monastery of Mt. Athos, who wrote his *Slavonic-Bulgarian History of the Peoples, Tsars, Saints, and of all their Deeds and of the Bulgarian Way of Life* (1762). This book, written in Old Church Slavonic, was the first to connect the medieval kingdom of Bulgaria with Bulgarians living centuries later,⁸ admonishing the latter against the dangers of Hellenization.⁹ This work,

⁷ See Genchev, *Bulgarsko Vuzrazhdane*, first published in 1978, perhaps the most influential study on the subject by domestic historians. For a relatively recent comprehensive overview in English, see Daskalov, Roumen: *The Making of a Nation in the Balkans. Historiography of the Bulgarian Revival*, Budapest 2004. As Daskalov points out (p. 9, fn. 15), a historiography of the Revival, compiled by Kristina Gecheva in the early 1980s, already took up to 500 pages, see Gecheva, Kristina: *Bulgarskata Kultura prez Vuzrazhdaneto. Bibliografiya. Bulgarska i Chuzhda Knizhnina, 1878–1983*, Sofia 1986.

⁸ See Crampton, Richard J.: *A Concise History of Bulgaria*, Cambridge 1997, p. 47. Most of the summary that follows is drawn from this book (especially, pp. 46–86) as well as from Crampton, Richard J.: *Bulgaria, 1878–1918. A History*, New York 1983, pp. 6–20. Crampton bemoans the dearth of studies of Bulgaria in the West, an ill he sets out to correct with his 1983 book. Unfortunately, his observation remains valid to this day.

⁹ Greek was the language of the Orthodox Christian Church throughout the Ottoman Balkans in the 18th century. It also dominated the fields of non-Muslim education and trade. So it became a marker of individual sophistication among Ottoman non-Muslims and set the standard for an associated urban high culture. It opened avenues for social advancement and, increasingly, Europeanization. Paisii criticized all of these trends from a rural peasant Slavophone perspective.

much copied over the following decades before being first printed in 1844, and acknowledged as fundamental in 1871 by Marin Drinov (1838–1906), arguably the first professional Bulgarian historian, remains at the heart of the Bulgarian national project to this day.¹⁰

The second strand stems from shifting economic trends in the Ottoman Empire. According to it, Sultan Mahmud II's (r. 1808–1839) destruction of the janissary corps in 1826 and his creation of a regular Ottoman army in the aftermath of the Greek Revolution (1821–1829) opened up unprecedented avenues for many Bulgarians to enrich themselves via provisioning the imperial army with cloth and food. This wealth, which flowed through the respective guilds (*esnafi*), in turn facilitated cultural advances. It funded an ever-broader network of ever more sophisticated vernacular-based secular schools,¹¹ whose graduates increasingly traveled abroad seeking a higher education than was attainable locally.¹² One related development was the slow and fitful, yet irreversible growth of the vernacular periodical press, both within and outside of Ottoman borders from the mid-1840s to the 1870s. In a parallel fashion, widening consensus on grammatical conventions¹³ gradually led to an accepted standard literary form of the language, based on the Gabrovo dialect with a few West Bulgarian additions, by the 1870s.

The third strand is the movement for Church independence. It began with sporadic outbursts of popular indignation against the venality of the top echelon of the Orthodox Christian (Greek-speaking) hierarchy earlier in the century before gradually evolving into a more organized struggle for liturgy in the vernacular, as well as for the autonomy of Church administration and clergy appointments by the 1840s and 1850s. Several landmark events are worthy of mention in this context. On October 17, 1849, the Ottoman authorities gave permission for the construction of the first Bulgarian church in Istanbul on land

10 Here is the work's most widely quoted sentence: "Oh, senseless freak, why are you ashamed to call yourself Bulgarian?"

11 The first such school, providing instruction in the Lancaster-Bell system, opened in the town of Gabrovo in 1834.

12 Conveniently glossed over is the fact that a large number of students studying away from their birthplaces or nearby regions went to Istanbul. For example, in 1867, the town of Plovdiv could boast five students in Paris, four in Vienna, seven in Russia, two in Britain, and forty in the Ottoman capital; see Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria*, p. 9.

13 A very influential grammar book was published in 1844 by Ivan Bogorov (1820–1892), a public intellectual of encyclopedic bent and the founder of the longest running and most influential Bulgarian newspaper of the Revival period, namely, *Tsarigradski Vestnik* (1848–1862), based in Istanbul.

donated by Stefan Bogoridi (1775/80–1859),¹⁴ grandson of Sofronii Vrachanski (1739–1813), Bishop of Vratsa, who was in turn one of the earliest followers of Paisii Hilendarski.¹⁵ Erected a year later, still under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Patriarch of Istanbul, the Church of St. Stephen could hold its services in Bulgarian and appoint its own priests by way of its own governing council. Over the next quarter-century, this church became the focal point of Bulgarian cultural and political activities. It was here that the next pivotal event in the movement's history took place. On April 3, 1860, during Easter Sunday services, the Church's priest, Ilarion Makariopolski (1812–1875), with the full backing of the governing council and the city's Bulgarian guilds, omitted the customary prayers for the Patriarch, instead praying for all Orthodox bishops and the Sultan.¹⁶ According to Crampton, this incident legitimately dates the emergence of a Bulgarian national movement, whose intermediate goal throughout the 1860s was securing recognition for a Bulgarian Church.¹⁷ In 1867, in an unprecedented act of acknowledgement of their demands, Patriarch Gregory VI offered the Bulgarians an autonomous Church within the Patriarchate to be headed by an exarch.¹⁸ Due to its flawed territorial provisions, which would have constrained the proposed exarchate to the area north of the Balkan range, this measure was quickly rejected. Finally, with the key mediating role of the Russian Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Count Nikolai Ignatiev (1832–1908), the imperial decree (*ferman*) establishing the Bulgarian Exarchate as a separate ecclesiastical institution with its own clerical hierarchy came out on February 28, 1870. It was rejected by the patriarch. Nonetheless, two years later, on May 11, 1872 (old style), the day of St. Cyril and St. Methodius,¹⁹ the first Bulgarian Exarch, Antim of Vidin (1816–1888), unilaterally promulgated the decree in the Church of St. Stephen in Istanbul.

14 The fact that Bogoridi Pasha was a very high-ranking Ottoman civil servant and Hellenophile is usually mentioned only in passing, if at all. For a recent monograph on this remarkable man, see Philliou, Christine: *Biography of an Empire. Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*, Berkeley 2011.

15 Sofronii Vrachanski, who had met with Paisii Hilendarski in 1765, authored the first printed book in the “new Bulgarian” (*novobulgarski*) language.

16 For the most detailed study of this incident, albeit from a Bulgarian national perspective, see Zhechev, Toncho: *Bulgarskiyat Velikden ili Strastite Bulgarski*, Sofia 1995.

17 See Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria*, p. 14.

18 This is an ecclesiastical rank between archbishop and patriarch.

19 St. Cyril (826/7–869) and St. Methodius (815–885), Byzantine theologian and missionary brothers, devised the Glagolitic alphabet, which later served as a template for the Cyrillic alphabet. They are revered as Slavic educators and “enlighteners” in Bulgaria to this day.

The fourth and final strand of the “Bulgarian Revival” was the movement for political independence. Its origins are usually traced back to the ideology and activities of Georgi Rakovski (1821–1867),²⁰ who led a small Bulgarian Legion in support of the Serbian forces trying to expel the last Ottoman garrison from Belgrade in 1862. Rakovski set up a second Bulgarian Legion in 1867, shortly before succumbing to tuberculosis. In the meantime, he traveled extensively throughout the Balkans, writing prolifically and publishing an influential Bulgarian newspaper (*Dunavski Lebed*). Rakovski had a vision of a Balkan Christian federation that would be brought into existence by an armed uprising against the Ottoman Empire. At a preliminary stage, this vision entailed the incursions of armed bands (*cheti*) from Serbia along the Balkan range as a means of raising national consciousness among the Bulgarians. In 1866, Rakovski founded the Bulgarian Secret Central Committee. Over the next two years, it organized and dispatched several armed bands, which entered Ottoman territory from Romania before being swiftly defeated. Its successor, the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee (BRCC), set up in Bucharest in April 1870 and led by Lyuben Karavelov (1834–1879), Vasil Levski (1837–1873), and Hristo Botev (1848–1876), all of them Rakovski’s followers, was even more energetic. Its goal was the formation of an autonomous or independent state and a possible federation with Serbia, Greece, Montenegro, and Romania. The 1870s indeed witnessed a rise in Bulgarian revolutionary activity ranging from sporadic rebel incursions to systematic internal preparations, such as those led by Vasil Levski and Dimitar Obshti’s (1835?–1873) Internal Revolutionary Organization, which set up secret committees on Ottoman territory and made preparations for an armed uprising from within. Obshti’s arrest by the Ottoman authorities in connection with a major armed robbery resulted in the fortuitous uncovering of his and Levski’s revolutionary activities, then their trial and execution.²¹ In the aftermath of Levski’s premature death, the BRCC organized the abortive Stara Zagora Uprising of 1875 and the April Revolt of 1876.²² The latter resulted in many thousands of casualties, a fact much publicized in the West and the Russian Empire under the title “the Bulgarian Massacres,” sparking a public outcry. The April Revolt thus precipitated the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878, which led directly to the establishment of the modern nation-state of Bulgaria.

20 Interestingly, Georgi Rakovski was Stefan Bogoridi’s grandnephew.

21 Levski subsequently became enshrined as Bulgaria’s national hero. For the most comprehensive study of his mythological status, see Todorova, Maria: *Bones of Contention. The Living Archive of Vasil Levski and the Making of Bulgaria’s National Hero*, Budapest 2009.

22 See Jelavich, Barbara and Jelavich, Charles: *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920*, Seattle 1977, pp. 138–140.

2 The Concept of Monarchic Ruler Visibility and Its Empirical Utility

What all standard narratives altogether lack is an evaluation of two factors of profound significance for understanding 19th-century sociocultural processes in the Ottoman imperial realms. The first is the figure of the Ottoman monarch, the drastic contemporary changes in his public image, his policies, and the overall outlook of the Ottoman dynasty, on the one hand, and their myriad projections and ripple effects on the public imaginary and popular loyalties, on the other. The second factor, brushing the rather naïve metaphor of a national group's "awakening" aside, concerns the actual, historically salient forms of belonging that preceded the national identity marker. Therefore, drawing on some of my previous work,²³ this chapter offers a quick overview of an alternative argument and, by extension, an alternative narrative, which reorient the analysis around these two factors, before proceeding to the topic at hand.

In 1826, in a dramatic turnaround of events, Mahmud II, who had come to power with the help of the janissary corps,²⁴ finally abolished it. The outcome opened the door to reforms, whose attempt had cost his predecessor Selim III (r. 1789–1808) his life. Central among them was the drastic overhaul of the ruler's public image. Until the 1830s, the sultan was a very distant and rather vague figure in the minds of the vast majority of his subjects throughout the far-flung imperial domains. Since he played no role whatsoever in their day-to-day lives, his image was almost nonexistent. In the past two hundred years, the ruler had rarely left the palace complex and had almost never ventured beyond the capital, so that most people were not only thoroughly unaccustomed to being in his presence, but not even aware of his looks. The nucleus of the power structure in each provincial center, represented by a governor or a well-connected local magnate and his household and followers, radiated influence out to its regional periphery, in emulation of the imperial household itself. This local arrangement was the empire's face in the provinces, the only empire that locals knew. Therefore, this was the world they identified with. People saw themselves in loose confessional (Muslim, Christian, Jewish, etc.) and strict professional terms (artisan, peasant,

²³ See Stephanov, Darin: *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808–1908*, Edinburgh 2018.

²⁴ After their heyday as a formidable military force in the 15th and 16th centuries, the janissaries, a professional standing infantry and artillery corps drafted from non-Muslim child levies (*devşirme*), began by the early 17th century to play a larger role in domestic Ottoman politics, especially at the highest levels, frequently deposing and murdering sultans in a manner reminiscent of the Pretorian Guard of the late Roman Empire.

merchant, etc.). They were regionally defined; in the case of sedentary populations, this meant a village and its surroundings up to but rarely farther than the nearest town. After all, this was the zone of habitation and movement for most people. In it, the natural terrain, a mountain, a valley, or a river often played a key role. The terrain set the pace of everyday life in a number of ways – climate, types of livelihood available and types of clothing, tools, customs, regional dialects, and other specificities. Moreover, being born and raised in a town or village and its vicinity created a horizontal bond that frequently cut across religious or professional ties. This was one's "fatherland" in physical, linguistic, cultural, and emotional terms.²⁵

After the destruction of the janissaries, almost overnight, Mahmud II began changing his dress from Oriental splendor to simple military garb, riding a horse in the European fashion, and inspecting his troops like a Western ruler. More importantly, he chose to bypass the established chain of intermediaries, which had precluded direct contact, both physical and mental, between the ruler and the ruled. Thus, he undertook to thoroughly re-source the mystique of ultimate secular authority within the realm. At the core of this project lay the task of making the sultan's visage available to the public gaze.²⁶ So Mahmud II went on a number of imperial tours on which he could mix with his subjects and be seen and experienced by them. His portraits were painted, hung in public offices, and disseminated throughout the provinces. By reflecting his exploits on a regular, ever more frequent basis, the domestic press, which the sultan had jump-started in 1831, took the role of a magnifying mirror for and champion of his public image.

Finally, in 1836, the sultan broke new ground with the initiation of annual celebrations of the royal birthday (*velâdet*) and accession day (*cülus*) in the capital, the provinces, and abroad. His goal was twofold: to forge vertical ties of loyalty to the ruler, especially among non-Muslims at home, and to gain ceremonial and diplomatic reciprocity with the Western states, thereby securing a place for the Ottoman Empire in the international order. Both considerations stemmed

²⁵ For a more detailed picture and some empirical dimensions of this argument, see my "Bulgar Milleti Nedir?" Syncretic Forms of Belonging in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Istanbul, in: Richard Wittmann and Christoph Herzog (eds.): *"Istanbul" – "Kushta" – "Constantinople". Narratives of Identity in the Ottoman Capital, 1830–1930*, London 2018, pp. 239–245; Id.: Ruler Visibility, Modernity and Ethnonationalism in the Late Ottoman Empire, in: Kent Schull and Christine Isom-Verhaaren (eds.): *Living in the Ottoman Realm. Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, Bloomington 2016, pp. 259–271.

²⁶ See my article Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) and the First Shift in Modern Ruler Visibility in the Ottoman Empire, in: *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association (JOTSA)* 1. 1–2 (2014), pp. 129–148.

from the lessons of the Greek Revolution (1821–1829), in which Ottoman subjects-turned-insurgents rallied support in the West and succeeded in having an independent state of Greece chiseled out of Ottoman territory in 1832.

Mahmud II's son Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861) stayed the course politically so that the earlier policies could strike root. In 1846, he embarked on a tour of Rumelia (the European province of the Ottoman Empire) in the footsteps of his father's 1837 tour. As far as the Bulgars²⁷ are concerned, these were the first two instances of direct engagement with the ruler. Whereas the former seems to have caught locals largely by surprise, with many disbelieving that the Sultan would appear in person and still more not knowing how to react, the latter shows evidence of local planning, coordination, and preparation. At every step, poetic recitations and songs of praise and prayer, in both Ottoman and local dialects, welcomed the Sultan. In some locations, rehearsals lasted for several days before his arrival. Schoolchildren of all creeds, most clad in white uniforms and with flowers and green branches in their hands, took center stage. At every stop, cannon salvos were fired during the day and elaborate illuminations took place at night.

The 1846 tour had momentous long-term consequences in terms of the formation of an abstract (macro-)group consciousness.²⁸ The redefined close communal relationship of the Bulgars to the monarch (revered as both “sultan” and “tsar”) forged by this tour, the cultural production and celebratory practices it inspired, and the abstract communal public space/sphere these spawned only grew stronger over the following two decades. This relationship gradually became the central legitimating component in an increasingly politicized process of voicing communal concerns, in the crystallization and manifestation of communal agendas, and in the clash of communal rivalries. Thus, for a very advantageous starting point in the study of the roots of modernity and nationalism in the Ottoman imperial context, one may well look at the process of the extension

²⁷ I am purposefully avoiding present-day ethnonational markers, since these were not used in a consistent, standardized manner before 1878. In that year, with the creation of the Principality of Bulgaria by the Congress of Berlin in the aftermath of the 1877–1878 Russian-Ottoman War, what had previously been a loose religious (mainly Eastern Orthodox), linguistic (South Slavic), and cultural marker became ethnic and national. Therefore, for purposes of historical accuracy, I prefer to use the terms *Bulgar*-(minded) *Rum* or simply *Bulgar* (both “Bulgar” and “Rum” being Ottoman designations for Orthodox Christian populations) and “Bulgarian” (the modern nation-state designation), respectively.

²⁸ For a detailed treatment of the tour from this perspective, see my article Sultan Abdülmecid's 1846 Tour of Rumelia and the Trope of Love, in: Virginia Aksan and VeySEL Şimşek (eds.): *Living Empire. Ottoman Identities in Transition, 1700–1850*, The Journal of Ottoman Studies (JOS) 44 (2014), pp. 475–501.

of long-standing micro-regional (local) forms of belonging and their linkage to the center for a novel macro-imperial (global) form of belonging.²⁹ This, I argue, is a common process linking late imperial with early national sociocultural realities and establishing continuity in the construction of modern public space/sphere and, over time, the modern rules of politics.

Here is a list of some key constituent elements and open-ended processes of this new worldview derived from the case of the Bulgar(ian)s of Rumelia and open to testing in other (Ottoman or not) contemporary communal cases.³⁰ It began as a popular cult of the emperor in the mid-1840s and the 1850s, set in motion by the aforementioned ceremonies and their attendant cultural production, before gradually converting into a nation-centered mindset in the late 1860s and early 1870s that is still alive today:

- 1) new practices of naming oneself and a rising value of the blood connection;
- 2) new practices of naming “the Other”; transition from “enemies of the ruler” to “enemies of the community” to “enemies of the nation”;
- 3) evolving notions of a social pact and social (organic and familial) metaphors;
- 4) an innovative notion of a temporal continuum backward and forward and a timelessness of the “us” group;
- 5) extension of the micro-fatherland into a macro-fatherland, conversion into motherland;
- 6) personification, victimization, and sanctification of the motherland;
- 7) veneration of an abstract, faraway, imaginary center (first, “rule,” then “motherland,” then “nation”);
- 8) faith-based notions of community; transition from loose local forms of religious belonging to integrative practices of universalized faith and on to religious particularism and exceptionalism of the “us” group;
- 9) increased tendency toward mental geographic mappings of the motherland;
- 10) innovative concepts of necessity, duty, and sacrifice (first for the ruler, then for the “us” group);
- 11) rising importance of group unity and loyalty;
- 12) accelerating processes of group mobilization and totalization;
- 13) intensification of images of and justifications for militarism and violence.

29 For key terminology, see my article *Solemn Songs for the Sultan. Cultural Integration through Music in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1840s–1860s*, in: Aspasia Theodosiou, Panagiotis Poulos, and Risto Pennanen (eds.): *Ottoman Intimacies, Balkan Musical Realities*, Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, vol. 19, Helsinki 2013, pp. 13–30.

30 This model stems from my dissertation work as well as from a series of subsequent conference presentations and articles, some of which are listed above.

In other words, the stream of popular excitement for the ruler was gradually diverted toward communal causes, at first slightly and subtly, then more substantially and assertively. The centrality of the ruler even in core ruler celebrations was at first dulled, then altogether displaced by the ever more vivid, complex, and prominent image of a reified Bulgaria. The shift in the common mood is palpable in the memoirs of some of the Bulgar leadership in Istanbul. For example, Marko Balabanov³¹ spoke of “that common intoxicating wind for political freedom, which was blowing almost everywhere in our fatherland in the third quarter of the last [19th] century.”³²

3 Popular Bulgarian Images of Odrin (Edirne) from Soldiers’ and (Pseudo-)Folk Songs

This section illustrates the theoretical framework outlined above by exploring various aspects of the process of mental incorporation of the city (and *topos*, more broadly conceived) of Odrin (Edirne), which by the turn of the twentieth century was fast becoming a border town of the shrinking Ottoman Empire, into the vigorous and aggressive Bulgarian national project. It does so on the basis of popular Bulgarian soldiers’ and (pseudo-)folk songs dating roughly from the period of the Balkan Wars (1912–1913) and World War I (1914–1918).³³

With this task in mind, a brief excursus back in time to the popular sultanic songs of the mid-19th century is in order.

The Bulgar songs of praise and prayer for the ruler originating in 1846 and lasting until the mid-1870s,³⁴ today a completely forgotten historical phenomenon, offer unique opportunities to observe in minute qualitative and quantitative

31 Marko Balabanov (1837–1921) was a Bulgar lawyer and journalist in Istanbul. He later moved to Bulgaria, where he worked as a jurist and went into politics, serving as Foreign Minister and even Chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly.

32 See Balabanov, Marko: *Bulgarska Kolonia v Edin Ostrov* [A Bulgarian Colony on an Island], Sofia 1910, p. 369. The island in question is Heybeliada (Halki) of the Princes Islands near Istanbul, where a large number of influential Bulgars formed a tightly knit community from 1850 to 1876.

33 The territorial losses and lack of territorial gains (especially with respect to Macedonia) that Bulgaria experienced as a result of these wars became known as the “First National Catastrophe,” casting a long shadow over Bulgarian national aspirations for decades to come. See Crampton, Richard J.: *Bulgaria*, Oxford 2007, pp. 198–204.

34 Paradoxically, there is evidence to suggest that some of them survived as local folk songs at least until the early 1940s, outliving the Ottoman sultanic office itself.

detail the processes of the formation of modern (macro-)communal consciousness.³⁵ The first geographic markers contained in them, which supersede the local setting of a particular sultanic ceremony, are “Thrace” (Trakia) and “Bulgaria” (Bolgaria). They appeared in a popular poem about Abdülmecid’s 1846 visit to Tırnova (Turnovo).³⁶ Both of these terms were lacking in emotional attachment, however. They were loose geographical markers, denoting the lands south and north of the Balkan range, respectively.³⁷ Quite tellingly, self-referential terms denoting a macro-group (such as Bulgar) do not appear in these songs until the end of the 1850s. Moreover, the first expansive geographic mapping, indicating a nascent ethnonational project, does not appear until 1860:

May he [the sultan] live and not spare himself in giving (*da sya razdava*)
 In all of bulgaria [sic] today
 May the Black Sea, the Danube, the Sava
Jump to the skies
 May all countries listen
 May it be heard across the world
 How our dear tsar father
 Is loved and glorified³⁸

This is a specific territorial macro-mapping larger than the former Thrace and Bulgaria combined. It is also a personification of Bulgaria (“May the Black Sea, the Danube, the Sava jump to the skies”), accompanied by a parallel personification of the rest of the world (“May all countries listen”). This unusual juxtaposition draws attention for the first time to the nascent competitiveness of the “us” group (“May it be heard across the world”) and the corresponding self-assured assertion of its own exceptionalism.

³⁵ These songs were first composed by local teachers and sung by their students as part of welcoming ceremonies for the sultan along his 1846 tour route. Thereafter, they became an integral component of the local sultanic birthday and accession-day festivities, local school graduation ceremonies, newly invented ceremonies of communal self-celebration such as May 11, the day of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, and so on. Their texts appeared in multiple editions of various songbooks and their popularity grew to such an extent that some of them were sung on a daily basis in schools and churches.

³⁶ Yoannovich, Hadzhi Nayden: *Almanac or Calendar for the Year 1847*, Bucharest 1846. Hadzhi Nayden Yoannovich (1805–1862) was a Bulgar teacher, poet, publisher, and book vendor.

³⁷ The term “Bulgaria” in particular was a vague traditional usage, based on the geographical heartland and base of expansion (north of the Balkan range) of the medieval kingdom by the same name. In the West, this term survived the Ottoman expansion and the end of this kingdom in 1396, appearing on Western maps throughout the entire period leading to the 19th century.

³⁸ Belchev, Nikola Gerov: *Pesnopoyche* [Songbook], Istanbul 1860. Unless otherwise noted, the underlining is my own (D.S.).

Thereafter, in stages surrounding various wars of liberation (Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878), wars of unification (Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885), and wars of expansion (Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 and World War I, 1914–1918), the (macro-)communal project initiated with the sultanic songs developed further. It was taken up by later generations of popular songs of military and folk provenance. The main difference was that the group project was re-centered on the nation and its new monarch rather than the tsar-sultan, who had been gradually placed on a trajectory toward becoming “the Other” beginning with the foundation of the Principality of Bulgaria in 1878.³⁹ As closer examination provided by the rest of this chapter reveals, however, all remaining traits of the modern mindset connecting the individual to a faraway, imaginary center and resulting in a peculiar group ethos continued to flourish, changing in intensity rather than substance, and leading over time to a distinct ethnonationalism. Not surprisingly, the use of poetic mappings grew rapidly. The addition of geographical markers followed the trajectory of the ethnonational project, with the Balkan range as the point of departure. Some were natural-neutral (Balkan, *balkani*, Stara Planina),⁴⁰ others natural-turned-heroic (Shipka, a mountain peak where a crucial battle of the 1877–1878 Russo-Ottoman war took place),⁴¹ or a combination (Shipka Balkan).⁴² Consider the following poem dating from 1882:

Let's Recall, Dear Brothers

Let's recall, dear brothers,
 Our forefathers (*dedi*)
 And how bravely they once fought
Even in most awful troubles.
Battle, battle (*boy*) we desire,
 May the evil enemy die,
 May peace and justice reign,
 May [a] Bulgarian make home (*da domuva*).
 There, on Shipka, on the Balkan
 A clear dawn already shines,
 [And] Foretells that [on] that day
 Much blood will be spilt.⁴³

³⁹ Bulgaria did not gain its formal independence from the Ottoman Empire until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908.

⁴⁰ Kaufman, Nikolai: *Hilyada i Petstotin Bulgarski Gradski Pesni*, vol. 3, Varna 2003, p. 176 (dating from 1885), p. 185.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 193 (dating from 1878), p. 209.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

Already in 1882, some key elements of the ethnonational mindset are clearly present: the centrality of the blood connection (“brothers”), the negative image of the Other (“evil enemy”), and the collective ideal (“peace and justice”), conveyed through a natural metaphor of light (“a clear dawn already shines”). All of these appear among real mappings, with the whole scene being set in a mythical tone (“foretells”), so that the group goal turns into group destiny (“may a Bulgarian make home”). This constellation is immersed into a temporal continuum (“let’s recall . . . our forefathers”), including temporalized violence, that is, a type of violence legitimized across the past-present-and-future axis (“how bravely they once fought” > “battle, battle we desire” > “much blood will be spilt”). Clearly, the beautiful and the brutal go hand in hand, the latter being increasingly the price of the former. Thereafter, a gradually yet relentlessly expanding version of Bulgaria, ever more frequently personified, took center stage.⁴⁴ Understandably, once the passage of the Balkan range had been accomplished, the line of poetic and political (re-)conquest proceeded in a southern and southwestern direction. The former was marked by a reference to “the field of Edirne (Edirne *pole*)” in folk songs;⁴⁵ the latter unmistakably led to Macedonia. Here is an 1884 song glorifying the liberation of the town of Sliven at the southern foot of the Balkan range:

Sliven is Already Free

Rejoice Sliven town

And you, Bulgarian people (*narod*)

Today for you is a free day

Rescued and uncaptured (*neporoben*)

Refrain: Stand up, a mother’s voice summons (*zove*) you

Lift a rifle to your shoulders

Run up under the banners

Join up with the host

Lift up your proud brow,

Then look up and down

From the Danube and the Black Sea,

To Turkey and the White Sea [i.e., northern Aegean].

The whole Balkan, the whole Rodop,

Irin-Pirin, Shar Planina,

All of this is Bulgaria

And land of ours, guard it we will.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Here is a 1884 distich: “Bulgaria awaits us, // Longs for her Savior.” A messianic religious connotation is clearly discernible, see Kaufman, *Hilyada i Petstotin Bulgarski Gradski Pesni*, p. 189.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 193 (dating from 1878).

⁴⁶ Russev, Nikolai: *Po Sledite na Edna Bezsmurtna Pesen*, vol. 1, Paris, 1988, p. 239 (dating from 1884).

There are several components worthy of note here: the motherly dimension (“a mother’s voice”) to the standard familial (father-children) metaphor inherited from the sultan songs, the motif of solemnity (“summons”), individual mobilization (“lift,” “run up,” “join up,” “lift up”), and by extension, group totalization. Even individual body parts (“shoulders” and “brow” conveying organic symbolism) are infused with national pride, a new technique. The group is claiming the land in no uncertain terms. In fact, the end of the song reads like an oath of allegiance. In one direction, crossing the field of Edirne, the mappings reach the White Sea, a natural binding last frontier to the national imagination. In another, they creep toward Southern Serbia (Shar Planina serving as the divider). In terms of mappings, Macedonia, the golden apple, was signified by natural-landscape markers that included not only mountains (two of four above), but also rivers:

Onward, Heroes (Yunatsi)!

Drin, Vardar, Struma, Rila

Rodopi and Pirin

Are summoning every hour (vsekichasno)

Onward! WE WILL WIN!⁴⁷

As a matter of fact, four of the six territorial markers present in this quatrain are located in Macedonia – one mountain (Pirin) and all three rivers (Drin, Vardar, Struma), with the Drin cutting straight through present-day Albania. The elements of solemnity (“summon”) and urgency (“every hour,” “onward”) become standard features of the genre. Most vividly, however, Macedonia was conjured up by the mention of Ohrid, one of the capital cities of the “first Bulgarian kingdom” situated on the coast of the eponymous lake:

Ohrid Blue

I know a scepter of Ohrid blue,

Of pure gold and radiant ruby.

And he who pulls it from the cold waters,

Will be married to tsardom in Solun [Thessaloniki].

From the Danube to the White Sea [he] will rule,

He Balkan tsar, sung of in songs.⁴⁸

This song is purposefully cast in the mold of legendary lore; in turn, it casts a spell of medieval mysticism over the singer and, by extension, the listener.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 226 (dating from 1912). Capitalization is in accordance with the original.

⁴⁸ Capitalization is in accordance with the original. Kaufman, *Hilyada i Petstotin Bulgarski Gradski Pesni*, p. 438 (dating from 1913).

Such powerful symbolic weaponry, however, was unavailable to Bulgarian poets when it came to Odrin, a city that had never really been an integral part of a Bulgaria, be it medieval or modern. Whereas its countryside did have a relatively high number (and high concentrations) of Bulgars in 1912, Edirne itself had a relatively small Bulgar population compared with Turkish-speaking Muslims and Greek-speaking Christians, for example.⁴⁹ In point of fact, it was a sequence of military developments and strategic considerations that led to the siege of Edirne (November 21, 1912–March 26, 1913), reluctantly, by the Bulgarians⁵⁰ during the First Balkan War (October 8, 1912–May 30, 1913).⁵¹ If anything, having served as the Ottoman capital in the period immediately preceding the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Edirne was to the Ottomans what Ohrid was to the Bulgarians. Such an impediment, in any case, did not exhaust the number of aesthetic options underwriting Bulgarian claims for its possession. Here is an example from folklore, combining elements outlined above:

The Battle for the Conquest of Odrin

Near Odrin flow

Up to three large rivers

Maritsa, Tundzha, and Arda.

By the rivers were walking

Three Bulgarian generals,

To each other they say:

“Our rivers are three sisters

⁴⁹ See Ministerstvo na Voynata, Shtab na Armiyata, Voenno Istoricheska Komisiya: *Voinata mezhdur Bulgaria i Turtsiya 1912–13 god*, vol. 5, Sofia 1930, pp. 9, 27. For an earlier, non-military source, see Kusev, Metodi and Gruev, Georgi: *Ethnographie des Vilayets d’Andrinople, de Monastir et de Salonique*, Constantinople 1878. Based on the formatting of the official Ottoman provincial (vilayet) trilingual newspaper *Edirne*, which came out between 1867 and 1877, we may also conclude that, demographically, the Bulgar element was the city’s third largest.

⁵⁰ They were reinforced by a major Serb contingent. See Hall, Richard C.: *The Balkan Wars, 1912–1913. Prelude to the First World War*, London 2002, pp. 22–44. Apparently, the Bulgarian high command took the decision to besiege Edirne only on October 29, 1912, that is, three full weeks into the war (pp. 40–41).

⁵¹ The First Balkan War was waged by the Balkan League (Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia) against the Ottoman Empire for its European territories, which were to be divided based on a series of secret pre-war agreements. Each of the aforementioned Balkan countries claimed adjacent territories for the sake of the liberation of people belonging to its respective nation and hence its own ethnonational fulfillment. To this day, the most comprehensive and objective appraisal of these wars remains the *Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars*, Washington, DC 1914.

And we are three brothers
 We will take Odrin easily.⁵²

This peculiar, localized, subdued, yet still aggressive mapping is no less significant in terms of capturing the ethnonational vision. Since all three rivers originate in Bulgaria, they are naturally “ours.” Their confluence near Odrin serves as the basis for an organic metaphor. The logic of territorial expansion follows neatly from the logic of the natural terrain and the blood connection. As it turns out, this river *trinity* is the most frequent mapping; it occurs, either under identical circumstances or in passing, a total of four times in a span of fifteen songs in this collection.⁵³ Another aestheticized example of the imminent capture of Edirne, this time top-down in terms of its mode of origination and dissemination, displays a more nuanced, multilayered picture:

The Besieged Odrin

Odrin, Odrin, a storm is howling
 Today before your bulwarks,
 The final hour of yoke is striking,
 May the enemy force tumble down!
 We bring you liberty,
 We bring you bright days.
 The host will not pass by,
 You have awaited us for centuries!
 Welcome us with songs, with bouquets,
 We come in close lines!
 Whoever falls in battle for you,
Did not live in vain!
The Turks run away from our land, [...]
No memory will remain,
 A storm will blow them away.
Our pretty Balkans,
They will remember like a dream!⁵⁴

The author of these lines, the famous Bulgarian poet, Kiril Hristov (1875–1944), uses opposing binary sets to present Odrin as a worthwhile military destination – “them” (“the enemy force,” “the Turks,” “they”) versus “us” (“the host,” “a storm,” i.e., the force of nature), “tyranny” (“yoke”) versus “freedom” (“liberty,” “bright days,” i.e., metaphor of light). Once again, *time* is a key factor (“awaited us for centuries,” “final hour”), but in this instance with the added innovative

⁵² Rashkova, Natalia: *Folklor ot Sakar, Chast 2, Pesni i Instrumentalni Melodii*, Sofia 2009, p. 995.

⁵³ Section four charts further dimensions of this metaphor.

⁵⁴ Kaufman, *Hilyada i Petstotin Bulgarski Gradski Pesni*, p. 436 (dating from 1913).

potential for aggressive manipulation (“no memory will remain,” “they will remember like a dream”). An even more famous Bulgarian poet gears up the portrayal of the attackers’ dark determination and the ferocity of the ensuing battle a notch further. Consider the following song by Ivan Vazov (1850–1921), commonly acknowledged as “the patriarch of Bulgarian literature”:

The Onslaught [*Shturm*] on Odrin

The hills rumble
The earth resounds,
With a rain of cannonballs
The sky echoes.
Ferocious onslaughts,
Horror and hell!
Redoubts belch forth
Iron hail.
The battle roars
And day and night,
Echoes in the clamor
The cry “By knife [i.e., bayonet charge]!”⁵⁵
Heroic children
Do not know fear,
All of Bulgaria
Is looking at them.

Hurrah, fly!
 Hurrah, onward!
 Hurrah, rumble!
Odrin is taken!⁵⁶

The rush, the urgent forward movement discussed above, here (“fly,” “onward”) leads to an even more gripping description of the relentless ethnonational drive (“day and night”) of Bulgarian compatriots (“heroic children” of Bulgaria, a mother figure). What is unfolding is the marriage of natural and battle landscapes, the beautiful and the brutal into an awe-inspiring soundscape, the ultimate aestheticization of war.⁵⁷ A similarly intense bombardment of the listener’s

⁵⁵ During the Balkan Wars, the highly motivated Bulgarian troops gained fame for their bold infantry attacks in poor light, at dawn, or even at night, often well supported by artillery, see Hall, *The Balkan Wars*, p. 26.

⁵⁶ Russev, *Po Sledite na Edna Bezsmurtna Pesen*, p. 264 (dating from 1913).

⁵⁷ Interestingly, it was to none other than the poet’s younger brother, General Georgi Vazov, commander of the siege’s eastern sector, that the city ultimately fell. Yet another younger brother, General Vladimir Vazov, also distinguished himself in the Balkan Wars, though not at the siege of Edirne.

senses, delivered via a different set of stylistic tools, emerges from a folk song on the same theme:

The Conquest of Odrin

A song is sung of the battle,
Of the battle and of Odrin.
Listen, fathers and mothers,
Listen, brothers and sisters,
Our brothers are heroes,
Brave Bulgarian soldiers,
What torments (m'ki) they went through –
In muddy trenches they lay,
Heavy haversacks they carried,
Knee-deep water they waded,
Before capturing Odrin,⁵⁸
Odrin big city,
Odrin occupied.⁵⁹

The anonymous author emphasizes the blood connection more emphatically than ever – “mothers,” “fathers,” “sisters,” “brothers” (2).⁶⁰ The extensive listing based on familial relation serves as a sort of totalizing invocation (“listen,” 2) to the populace at large. Above all, the unknown poet glorifies *group sacrifice* (“what torments they went through”), a prominent subject throughout the song’s entire second half.⁶¹ What it reveals only gradually, one line at a time, another war poem accomplishes in a single and singularly tragic penultimate line:

Odrin

So you fell, proud, unreachable stronghold
Before the onrush of a whirling attack;
On your breast our foot firmly stepped,
Over you the flag of [our] native land (*rodniy kray*) is flying!
[...]
We fought with the children of Allah.

58 According to many contemporary international military experts, Edirne had the most sophisticated and thorough fortification system in the Balkan Wars, see Hall, *Balkan Wars*, p. 39. Some went so far as to say it was impenetrable.

59 Rashkova, *Folklor ot Sakar*, p. 852.

60 The number indicates frequency of occurrence.

61 The attitude of self-sacrifice among the attacking Bulgarians greatly impressed foreign observers, occasionally inviting comparisons with the Japanese. See Ashmead-Bartlett, Ellis: *With the Turks in Thrace*, New York 1913, p. 155; Howell, Philip: *The Campaign in Thrace 1912*, London 1913, pp. 157–158; and Immanuel, Friedrich: *Der Balkankrieg 1912*, Berlin 1913–1914, vol. 2, p. 41.

[...]

In fierce battle, in brimstone, hellish fire,
 With our foreheads, we shattered you, stronghold,
 And, having crossed on the corpses of [our] brothers,
 Our flag in your breast we planted!⁶²

In this poet's mind, the sudden lifting of the veil on a supreme and sinister self-sacrifice of people who are more than one's fellow soldiers justifies violence on a new scale altogether. Therefore, what begins as a conversation with a personified figure of Odrin, who is treated with at least a modicum of respect ("proud"), shapes up as a merciless life-and-death struggle, visualized by recourse to organic metonymies of "us" ("foot" and "foreheads") versus a complex, two-tiered "them" – the Ottomans ("children of Allah") and the city itself ("breast," 2). Surprising as it may be, the poetic pathways for enriching Odrin's personification pale in comparison with the number of possibilities and nuances present in the contemporary Bulgarian war prose, as section four will amply demonstrate. Here is a rare poetic example of the practice, quite widespread in prose, of employing the Selimiye Mosque,⁶³ Edirne's most prominent cityscape feature, as a personified metonymy of the city:

Odrin

Sultan Selim trembles, and the tough fortress [too]
 Under the mythic (*chutoven*), sublime, and mighty push!
 [...]

"Hurrah" – like thunder – shook the flustered heavens
 And, as if God repeated the desperate war cry! ...
 On the morning in Odrin, the dawn flustered too
 Lit up our steaming and bloody, victorious bayonet!⁶⁴

The list of familiar motifs includes a portrayal of the attacking forces as forces of nature ("thunder," "shook") and the symbolism of the dawn as a new beginning (in this case, a new belonging for the captured city). What is new is the encroachment of the violent besieging party ("steaming and bloody, victorious bayonet") on the higher realm ("flustered heavens") and this realm's cooptation ("as if God repeated the desperate war cry"), along with that of nature

⁶² Vazov, Ivan et al. (eds.): *Odrin–Chataldzha*, Sofia 1914, pp. 102–103. The author has signed only his initials – "G.N."

⁶³ This Ottoman imperial mosque was commissioned by Sultan Selim II and designed by his chief architect, Mimar Sinan, between 1569 and 1575.

⁶⁴ Popov, *Prevzemaneto na Odrin*, p. 2. The poem's author is the book's editor, Anton P. Tonev.

itself (“the dawn fluttered too”), for the group cause, which amounts to a forcible extraction of sanctification.

With the capture of Odrin, the natural next step is a dramatic enlargement of the scope of aggression on Ottoman territory. A spatial progression toward Istanbul is also a progression in degrees of violence. Here is a juxtaposition of two songs of military and folk provenance, respectively, each of which assigns yet another role to Odrin following its conquest – a mere stop on the way to Istanbul:

By Knife

To your knife we sing songs

[. . .]

From Odrin like a whirlwind (*vihrom*)

May you lads fly to Tsarigrad!⁶⁵

After this victory, we will meet you

With gonfalons and wreaths!

Onward, after our leader!

By knife, by knife, by knife!⁶⁶

And

Bulgarian Victories in the Balkan War

Our quick Bulgarians, mari

Once “hurrah” shouted

Once “hurrah” shouted

Odrin occupied;

Twice “hurrah” shouted

And Lozengrad [Kirklareli] conquered;

Three times “hurrah” shouted,

Even Chataldzha [Çatalca] reached,

Even Chataldzha [Çatalca] reached,

There tents erected.⁶⁷

The use of hyperbole (“like a whirlwind” and “fly” vs. “once/twice/three times shouted”) glorifies the nation’s extraordinary qualities and heroic feats in each song. The latter marks the course of the war by staking claims to towns with significant Bulgar populations (Odrin and Lozengrad), but does not stop there. At a

⁶⁵ Tsarigrad (Tsar City) is still a widespread nickname for Istanbul in modern Bulgarian and other Slavic languages. Ironically, it seems to have outlived its Ottoman counterparts in Turkey – Dersaadet, Asitane and others.

⁶⁶ Russev, *Po Sledite na Edna Bezsmurtna Pesen*, p. 226.

⁶⁷ Rashkova, *Folklor ot Sakar*, pp. 851–852. The author, Lyubomir Bobevski (1878–1960), a Bulgarian poet and writer, wrote the texts of 95 popular (soldiers’) songs.

distance of 55 kilometers from Istanbul, Çatalca, the farthest extent of the Bulgarian offensive, is lovingly remembered. Within the coordinate system of the ethnonational mindset, defeats are particularly valuable because they can be employed as nuclei for eternal bittersweet national exultation. Not surprisingly, the degree of violence is staggering, almost incomprehensible to the present-day reader (“to your knife we sing songs,” “by knife,” 3). What is surprising is that it is sanctioned, even sanctified by the deployment of references of religious symbolic nature (“after the victory we will meet you with gonfalons⁶⁸ and wreaths”).

One last unexpected role for Odrin in poetic texts, conveyed by some folk songs but by none of the soldiers’ songs I have come across to date, concerns the genre of parody. Here is an excerpt from a song, entitled “The Siege of Odrin”:

A letter writes Shehulislam [sic]
Shehulislam Sultan Mehmed
 A letter writes from Stambul [sic] big city
 From the Islamic capital . . .
 . . . to him Shukri [sic] pasha.⁶⁹
 The letter writes and says:
 “Do what you may, pasha,
 Watch carefully, pasha,
 So that these black infidels (*kara gyaouri*)
 With these pigskin moccasins (*svinski ts’rvuli*)
 May not enter Odrin city . . .⁷⁰

The voice of the negative “Other” in this case belongs to the Sultan himself.⁷¹ Interestingly, the sultan’s figure blends with the *şeyhülislam*’s,⁷² perhaps out of ignorance or confusion (both were called Mehmed) or for ideological purposes. Istanbul then becomes, quite naturally, “the Islamic capital.” In short, there are three religious references in a span of four lines. But there is more to come – a reference to a century-old Balkan Christian prophecy according to which a black man⁷³ wearing moccasins will bring about the end of the

⁶⁸ A gonfalon is a banner hanging from a crossbar used in some ecclesiastical processions.

⁶⁹ Mehmed Şükrü Pasha (1857–1916) commanded the Ottoman troops defending Edirne.

⁷⁰ Rashkova, *Folklor ot Sakar*, pp. 993–994.

⁷¹ Sultan Mehmed V Reşad (r. 1909–1918).

⁷² Mehmed Cemaleddin Efendi (1848–1917) served from 1890 to 1907, that is, under the previous sultan, Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909).

⁷³ Presumably from the bowels of the earth and the empire of the dead.

Ottoman Empire.⁷⁴ To really drive the point home, these two lines inciting religious fanaticism are repeated no fewer than four times throughout the text of the song, becoming a sort of refrain.

Shukri Pasha then tells the Sultan about Odrin's desperate situation on the verge of capitulation, culminating in the following ultimatum:

“...and the Bulgarian Tsar Ferdinand⁷⁵
 He, my sultan, is not waiting ...
 He gives a glorious command
 [To] the courageous Bulgarian army
 “Come on, boys, by knife!”
 So I [Shukri Pasha] will tell you
 To remember these words of mine well
 Either sign an armistice, my Sultan,
 Or board a ship
To escape to Asia Minor.”⁷⁶

Here, the term “Asia Minor” alone carries a cluster of meanings. Its wishful imaginary swiftly deprives the Ottomans of any Balkan (i.e., European) territory. Moreover, it carries an implicit Bulgarian claim to Istanbul itself. To dispel any shadow of a doubt about this, an explicit threat is also present in the same song (“Istambul [sic] city they [the Bulgarians] will occupy”). In another song, already mentioned – “Bulgarian Victories in the Balkan Wars,” a common soldier utters the same call in a letter from the frontline: “Let us conquer Tsarigrad [Istanbul] for ourselves!”⁷⁷ This thirst for conquest and occupation, this call for an aggressive offensive beyond the borders, however broadly conceived, of the ethnonational group, provides an example of the unrecognizable extremes to which an ethnonational project's manipulation (in this case, of space) can lead. In order to trace the routes to other such extremes and to complete the kaleidoscope of images of Odrin reflecting the intricate dynamics of belonging to an abstract macro-group, let us turn to some non-poetic first-hand accounts from the period of the Balkan Wars and World War I.

⁷⁴ See Stoianovich, Traian: *Balkan Worlds. The First and Last Europe*, Armonk 1994, p. 169 and Hatzopoulos, Marios: *Prophetic Structures of the Ottoman-ruled Orthodox Community in Comparative Perspective. Some Preliminary Observations*, in: Paschalis Kitromilides and Sofia Matthaïou (eds.): *Greek-Serbian Relations in the Age of Nation-Building*, Athens 2016, p. 126. I wish to thank Marios Hatzopoulos for pointing out this prophecy to me.

⁷⁵ Ferdinand I (1861–1948) was the ruler of Bulgaria from 1887 to 1918, first as *knyaz* (prince regnant) and then as *tsar* (1908–1918).

⁷⁶ Rashkova, *Folklor ot Sakar*, p. 994.

⁷⁷ “Tsarigrad da si prevzemem!”

4 Popular Bulgarian Images of Odrin (Edirne) in Wartime Prose (Diaries, Letters, Memoirs, and Speeches)

A sifting through a number of eyewitness accounts written mostly by members of the Bulgarian army's officer corps who took part in the siege of Edirne will enrich the foregoing analysis in several related ways. First, rather than the quick, atemporal snapshots of poetry whose contextual specificities remain unknown, this review relies on much longer, continuous, and (quite literally) grounded sources allowing a deeper, multifaceted perspective. Second, by maintaining a better balance between the emotional coloring inseparable from the human condition, on the one hand, and the attention to detail, which in the army becomes second nature, on the other, these expositions, free from metrical structure, provide a necessary corrective to the grandiose rhetoric and the overwrought pathos of (especially civilian) poetry. At the same time, the justifiably prized raw immediacy of wartime poetry has its counterpart in prose (the diaries' daily entries, for example). Third, even in its highly fictionalized, metaphor-laden segments, wartime prose can point us to fascinating contemporaneous hybrid spaces for the expansion and realization of the national imaginary, some of which have since gone extinct, but all of which can improve our understanding of the peculiar workings of the national mindset, Bulgarian or otherwise. The final section of this chapter will review just such source materials, in an interrelated manner, along three axes – of space, time, and “the Other.”

The three rivers defining the landscape of both Edirne and its hinterland are a natural point of departure or, in this case, return. They appear not only in poetry, but also in diaries and memoirs from the period.⁷⁸ For example, Ivan N. Popov, a judge and native of Edirne, wrote in his wistful memoir-cum-historical-overview⁷⁹ that these “three sisters,” embracing each other at the city, “set off to remind the white Aegean of the protests of a young people (*narod*) who wishes to come to the sea.”⁸⁰ A different, yet related “trinity” can be observed in the following excerpt from an officer's war diary:

78 In addition, there is a more prosaic, purely military reason for the three rivers to be etched so firmly into the popular memory – they neatly divided the besieging army into four sections: northwest, east, south, and west, see Hall, *Balkan Wars*, p. 41.

79 Published well after Edirne's return to the Ottomans in July 1913, the book lent historical support to nationalist Bulgarian claims to the city.

80 Popov, Ivan N.: *Iz Minaloto na Odrin*, Sofia 1919, p. 10.

And indeed this is a rare glory. Little Bulgaria, yesterday's slave girl, who has not yet shaken the rust of five-century-old chains, defeated in 40 days the great Ottoman Empire, and its heroic army today bathes in three seas: the Black, the Marble [Marmara], and the White [Aegean].⁸¹

These two sentences shed light on some curious aspects of the temporal and spatial expansion of the ethnonational project, not to mention its embodiment(s). Despite a lengthy period of Ottoman domination (“five-century-old chains”), both Bulgaria, whose victimhood is deliberately emphasized (“yesterday’s slave girl”), and its people are somehow “young,” an unproblematic assertion within the national frame of mind.⁸² Implicit in the second sentence is the assumption that the impending fall of Odrin would allow the merger of Eastern Thrace (adjacent to the Marmara Sea) and Western Thrace (adjacent to the Aegean Sea), with Bulgaria proper (already on the Black Sea).⁸³ Notably, this entry dates from March 7, 1912 (old style), i.e., six days before Edirne fell to the Bulgarians, when the prevailing mood among the troops brightened in anticipation of the approaching victory. A return to the long months of the siege, as reflected in the accounts of enlisted participants, paints a picture of the opposition us-versus-them very different from the one based on poetry. The simple yet easily overlooked fact that, due to the extensive surrounding fortifications, all the attackers could see of Edirne were the minarets of the Selimiye Mosque⁸⁴ meant that these became by far the dominant target of their excited imaginations. Consider the following five perspectives, listed chronologically:

- (1) The mood of the soldiers changed: they look menacingly at Odrin. The mosques’ minarets, which can be seen piercing the sky with their tips, seem to have pierced our hearts.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Popov, *Prevzemaneto na Odrin*, pp. 26–27.

⁸² Perhaps the count of their age begins from their recent “awakening.”

⁸³ Unlike the river trinity, which, probably due to the loss of Edirne, has long since disappeared from the national imaginary, a sea trinity of some sort shapes ultranationalist visions of a Grand Bulgaria to this day. It usually consists of the Black Sea, the White/Aegean Sea, and the Adriatic Sea (due to adjacent territories held by the first and/or the second Bulgarian kingdoms).

⁸⁴ Captain Tenyo Boydev acknowledged this much. See his Shipchentsi Shturmuvat Odrin, in: *Otechestvo* 273, 27 March 1926. So did, in effect, Captain Dimitar Azmanov in passage (5) below. See Azmanov, Dimitar: *Pobediteli. Kartini ot Odrin, 1913–1933*, Sofia 1933, p. 36.

⁸⁵ Popov, *Prevzemaneto na Odrin*, p. 21, a diary entry dated 31 Dec. 1912.

- (2) Every day, refugees and deserters come over to us in dozens and hundreds, and in spite of this Sultan Selim Mosque keeps grinning at us with its four minarets – natty (*gizdava*), tall, proud.⁸⁶
- (3) [...] and anger took hold of me, when I saw that despite the hellish cannonade of our cannons, all four minarets of Sultan Selim mosque still stuck out most brazenly!⁸⁷
- (4) Will God allow us to greet [each other] there among all the minarets of Sultan Selim?⁸⁸
- (5) There, behind you,⁸⁹ is located the city, whose slender minarets shine in the sun like a temptation for us!⁹⁰

A close look at the context of the first excerpt, dated December 31, 1912 (old style), that is, in the middle of the armistice,⁹¹ reveals that soldier resentment (“menacingly”) was not so much of the city per se as of the dragging war; it stemmed not so much from hatred for the enemy as from personal pain (“pierced our hearts”). The subsequent renewal of hostilities, understandably, took soldier frustration, fixed on the mosque, to new heights (“anger”). The Selimiye’s nascent personification (“brazenly,” “grinning”) evident from these references, however, proceeded along lines of more or less subtle admiration (“piercing the sky with their tips,” “natty, tall, proud”). A similar attitude pervades the only description of siege-time Edirne I have encountered to date, which was made from the air:

Odrin, surrounded by the green meshwork of the vineyards, occupies the entire valley at the confluence of the Tundzha and the Maritsa. The sea of red-tiled roofs, the snow-white minarets, and the heavy domes of the mosque, which from above appear like the giant shield [sic] of tortoises are very clearly observed with the naked eye. And above all of this chaos proudly reign (*tsaruvat*) the slender minarets of the Sultan Selim mosque.⁹²

86 Second Lieutenant Staynov, Gencho: *Pisma ot Odrin 1912–1913*, Sofia 2008, p. 64, from a letter to his wife and family, dated 9 Jan. 1913.

87 *Ibid.*, p. 68, from a letter to his wife, dated 22 Jan. 1913.

88 Popov, *Prevzemaneto na Odrin*, p. 26, a diary entry, dated 3 March 1913.

89 Here, word is of Ayvaz Baba and Aycı Yolu – two of Edirne’s most formidable fortifications – which were among the last to fall.

90 Azmanov, *Pobediteli. Kartini ot Odrin, 1913–1933*, p. 36, a diary entry dated 11/12 March 1913.

91 The armistice between the Balkan League and the Ottoman Empire, which temporarily halted the First Balkan War, lasted from December 3, 1912 to February 3, 1913.

92 Lieutenant Noev, Atanas: *Razgromut na Turtsia. Opisanie na Mladotur. Rezhim i Balkanskata Voyna. Srazheniata okolo Odrin*, Shumen 1913, p. 45. Although not precisely dated, this brief trip aboard the aerostat “Sofia” at an altitude of 300 meters must have taken place early in the siege, i.e., in the fall of 1912.

Touched by the serenity of Edirne's natural and urban landscapes, seemingly unperturbed by the ongoing war, the officer could not but marvel at the Selimiye minarets' beauty ("slender") and majesty ("reign"). Passages (4) and (5) above, one written eight days prior to the final assault and the other during its very course, further invest this beauty ("slender" again) with sacred ("Will God allow us . . . ?") and seductive ("temptation") nuances. The latter is a qualitatively new way of viewing Odrin, entirely absent from poetry, yet not uncommon in diaries and memoirs. Consider the following excerpts from a small commemorative booklet detailing the contributions of the 10th Infantry Rhodope Regiment in the final assault:

- 1) Our Odrin! Where we caught Baldwin alive? Today, instead of Baldwin, Shukri [sic] Pasha –
A child of our sworn enemy for the past 500 years.
Odrin! And the Bulgarian soldier's mouth remains agape in reverie.⁹³
- 2) Thus, dead tired they get⁹⁴ to Kaik Tabia,⁹⁵ to Odrin itself. The sun, smiling like the radiant face[s] of rodoptsi,⁹⁶ is greeting the forests with its warm rays. The sunbeams joyfully dance on the golden domes and the tall minarets of Sultan Selim Mosque, luring the eye of the victor.⁹⁷

In 1), the officer superimposed a salient blood connection ("child") onto the "Other" ("Shukri Pasha," "our sworn enemy"), where in all probability none existed, imperial identities being constituted rather differently from national ones. He did so by way of an imaginary movement back along the temporal axis over half a millennium, by now a familiar stretch of time, equaling the period of the perceived Ottoman "yoke." Yet, in an unprecedented manner, the author did not stop at that marker. By invoking the name of Baldwin I (r. 1204–1205), the first Emperor of the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople, defeated by Tsar Kaloyan

⁹³ Major Kapitanov, Nikola: *Podviga na 10-i Pehoten Rodopski Polk pri Atakata na Odrin na 12-i i 13-i Mart 1913*, Haskovo 1915, p. 13.

⁹⁴ The original Bulgarian text was written in the "present historical tense," which relates past events in the present tense, giving the reader the peculiar impression that these events are somehow not yet over. Instead, they seem to be in a constant state of unfolding.

⁹⁵ One of the many fortifications defending Edirne.

⁹⁶ This is a synonym for the rank and file of the 10th Infantry Rhodope Regiment (italics are my own). Since these troops were drafted from the Rhodope mountain region of South Bulgaria, there was a strong regional bond connecting them, which could be harnessed for the national cause and subsumed by it.

⁹⁷ Kapitanov, *Podviga na 10-i Pehoten Rodopski Polk*, p. 15.

(r. 1197–1207) of the “Second Bulgarian Kingdom” at Adrianople (Edirne) in 1205, Kapitanov found yet another way to lay a collective (modern) Bulgarian claim to Edirne (“our Odrin”). Thus, a temporal move resulted in a spatial claim. The implicit eternity of the Bulgarian nation meant that this move in time, pivoted to Odrin, could continue further back. And indeed it did. If Kapitanov went back 700 years with *rodoptsi*, Captain Azmanov took the rank and file of the 55th, 56th, 57th, and 58th Regiments, drafted from the West Bulgarian region of Shop, which centers on Sofia, a full millennium back: “Thus they [*shopi*]⁹⁸ resembled most closely their glorious ancestors, who . . . a thousand years ago must have roamed this same Odrin Field striking fear in the proud Byzantine rulers.”⁹⁹ The most extreme example of a sweeping imaginary movement back in time comes from a 1920 speech commemorating the seventh anniversary of the capture of Odrin, delivered by Stoyan Shangov¹⁰⁰ in the Cathedral Church of Sofia. In it, the orator mentioned no fewer than four rulers of the First Bulgarian Kingdom alone¹⁰¹ who allegedly had taken Adrianople,¹⁰² before adding the names of Vitalian (d. 520 CE), a general of the Eastern Roman Empire¹⁰³ and even Attila the Hun (434–453 CE), whom he considered “leader of the Huno-Bulgarians.”¹⁰⁴

98 Another example of a double (regional and regimental) identity marker nested within the larger (national and army) one. Italics are my own.

99 Azmanov, *Pobediteli. Kartini ot Odrin, 1913–1933*, p. 6. In the same passage, Azmanov noted that the Shops were dressed in their regionally distinct attire. Apparently, they could be identified as soldiers solely by their rifles.

100 Stoyan Shangov (1867–1925) was a Bulgarian journalist, newspaper publisher, and public intellectual. He was born in a village not far from Edirne, in what is today the district of Kırklareli in Turkish Thrace. During the Balkan Wars, he served as a correspondent, interpreter, and censor of the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency. After the fall of Edirne, Shangov was appointed its mayor.

101 In chronological order, these are Khan Kormisosh (753–756 CE), Khan Telerig (768–777 CE), Khan Krum (803–814 CE), and Tsar Simeon I (893–927 CE).

102 The city was (re-)founded eponymously by the Roman Emperor Hadrian (117–138 CE) on the site of Uskudama, a Thracian settlement. This name survived until the city’s fall to the Ottomans in 1362.

103 Shangov’s choice to refer to Vitalian as “leader of the Bulgarians” may have stemmed from his mixed (Roman and barbarian) origin as well as his birth in Zaldapa, a late Roman fortified town lying on territory (South Dobrudja) Bulgaria had just lost to Romania with the Treaty of Neuilly (November 27, 1919). The lack of any actual explanation or justification for this reference in the speech might signify that Vitalian’s entry into the national genealogy and pantheon, which would be incomprehensible to present-day Bulgarians, was common knowledge at the time. If so, this reference would have been doubly emotionally resonant with Shangov’s audience.

104 Shangov, Stoyan: *Rech Proiznesena ot g-n S. S. Shangov na 13 mart 1920 godina v Katedralnata Tsurkva v Sofia. Spomeni ot Odrin*, Sofia 1920, pp. 4–5.

Thus, on March 13, 1920, Shangov effectively traced 1500 years of Bulgarian history en route to staking a temporal (military) claim to Edirne. The tone of this belated and belabored point differed vastly from the tone of Shangov's spatial (military) claim, contained in the description of his own physical entry into Edirne on March 13, 1913, which appeared as a separate piece within the same commemorative edition:

It was 7:40 a.m. To the sound of [military] music, we set off through Kaik's¹⁰⁵ main street to Pasha Konak. Across [the way], under our feet, the splendid Maritsa valley, with the three silver garlands of the Arda, the Maritsa, and the Tundzha, had revealed its spring wedding trousseau. Green carpets, mottled with gardens and thickets, views and visions (videniya) of 1001 nights.¹⁰⁶

What had previously been only a distant hint or a vague allusion¹⁰⁷ inspired by the visible minarets of the Selimiye ("luring the eye of the victor") or the invisible city around them ("agape in reverie"), began, in line with the unimpeded march to the heart of the city, to take the distinct shape of an Oriental fantasy binding the parading Bulgarian soldiers and the blossoming land of Edirne, male and female, in a sensual trope of conquest. This was not an isolated ecstatic vision. Here is a passage from the diary of a private, who accomplished the ultimate conquest – ascending a minaret of the so-coveted symbol of Edirne:

The view from here [Sultan Selim's northwestern minaret] is magical. Odrin, like a black bird is perched on the three rivers – Arda, Maritsa and Tundzha – and sucks in their fertile moisture; here and there pretty patches of willows and shady meadows can be made out, like fantastic recesses of some magical land [. . .]. But today the crescent fell in the dust. And the proud lion¹⁰⁸ with a golden mane reigns over (tsaruva) Sultan Selim's four minarets.¹⁰⁹

The opposition "crescent"–"lion" is one of very few instances of a rhetorical clash between "the Other" (perceived as an *old* civilization) and the "us" group (a *new* nation) to appear in the wartime prose surveyed in this chapter.¹¹⁰ Even

105 A neighborhood of Edirne where many Bulgars lived.

106 Shangov, *Rech Proiznesena ot g-n S. S. Shangov*, p. 16.

107 See excerpts 1) and 2) on p. 374.

108 A lion is, to this day, the main heraldic symbol of the Bulgarian nation-state.

109 Popov, *Prevzemaneto na Odrin*, p. 29. Despite this brief outburst of national exultation, this soldier could not contain his admiration for the mosque's "magnificent architecture" and "indescribable [interior] luxury."

110 The only other instance that comes to mind is a fleeting reference to the departure of the 53rd and 54th "Pleven" Regiments for the war front as "a crusade" (*krustonosen pohod*). See Azmanov, *Pobediteli. Kartini ot Odrin, 1913–1933*, p. 5.

during the final assault on the city, at the very climax of the armed struggle, negative representations of “the Other” were quite nuanced. Let us juxtapose the following three excerpts in terms of the ways they depict the soon-to-be-vanquished foe:

- 1) This is it, the agony of Odrin. Odrin is dying. It is living its last days, if not hours. In its agony, it belches (*b'lvva*) fire and lead.¹¹¹
- 2) The whole city cringed in trepidation there below. We, dizzy and intoxicated, were observing it. Odrin, Odrin, how much strength, health, and life you devoured!¹¹²
- 3) I told Major Angelov: “The formidable Odrin is going through the last minutes of its agony.” [...] “Odrin breathed its last!” – Major Angelov told me. “Yes – I responded, it breathed its last for Turkey, but was born in blood, fire, and anguish for Bulgaria!”¹¹³

Whereas all speak of Odrin as a dying creature that has lost some or all of its humanity, with despair displacing reason, none takes a denigrating stance. Instead, the officers bemoan, more or less explicitly, the high human cost of capturing the city. The last passage carries a glimpse of Odrin’s imaginary apocalyptic rebirth, not unlike the mythic phoenix’s, within the Bulgarian national fold. If anything, it attempts to glorify the self-sacrifice of the “us” group, whose members made this transformation possible. Finally, let us probe what may well be the most suggestive, multilayered segment of wartime prose. It brings to a conjoined apex a number of themes previously traced and is therefore worth quoting *in extenso*:

For months on end the courageous Muslims [lit. “true believers” (*pravoverni*)], seeing before them the gilded domes of the mosques, defended with a rare dignity the second capital of their most glorious (*preslaven*) padishah, yet in a single moment dropped the weapons from their hands, like the Romans at Cannae.¹¹⁴ For many days, Odrin was to us a sphinx, who kept asking us the fateful question: “Either you will be rulers of my riches, of my magnificent homes of Allah and the Prophet, of the beautiful Selim mosque [...], of all my treasures – or [...] you will perish!” We fought with selfless (*bezzavetna*) devotion

¹¹¹ Staynov, *Pisma ot Odrin 1912–1913*, p. 82, from a letter to his mother, dated March 2, 1913.

¹¹² Lieutenant Angelov, Blagoy: Purviyat Probiv na Odrinskata Krepost – Padaneto na Forta Aydzhiolu (Lichni Spomeni), in: *Otechestvo* 279, 8 May 1926.

¹¹³ Lieutenant Colonel Slavchev, Stefan: Nyakolko Vpechatlenia ot Borбата Ni za Odrin, in: *Odrin. V Pamet na Padnalite Gerai*, Sofia 1914, p. 43.

¹¹⁴ This is a reference to Hannibal’s crushing victory over the Roman army in 216 BCE during the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE). Since the Ottomans eventually regained Edirne much the same way the Romans ultimately defeated the Carthaginians, the bitter irony of this analogy was probably not lost on the author.

to our duty and with a flaming love for the TSAR¹¹⁵ and the native land. And we won, for our treasures were more valuable! Yes. The treasures that Bulgarian officers and soldiers hide in their souls and hearts “bought” Odrin. These treasures, along with the victory at Odrin, we bequeathed to our sons. Today, the second capital of the Osmanlis is the domain of our souls, of the souls of the heroes, who perished under the ruins of its walls. Fate destroyed everything, but we calmly point to Selim’s mosque and proudly say to our children: “Look. From the top balconies of these natty minarets, Stoichko from Zhelyava¹¹⁶ and your grandpa Vuche from Golyamo Buche¹¹⁷ have joyfully gazed at the wide frontiers of the fatherland [lit. “the father’s land, (*bashtinata zemya*)] [. . .]”¹¹⁸

Written on the first anniversary of Edirne’s fall to the Bulgarians, this passage from a memoir conjures up the most elaborate exotic vision of Odrin, while at the same time painting the most dignified portrait of “the Other,” along undistorted religious and monarchic/dynastic lines. Taking the trope of treasure as his leit-motif, Captain Dimitrov lays out a detailed justification for the battlefield supremacy of the Bulgarian ethnonational monarchic project. In doing so, he touches on most of the principles of the theoretical framework outlined earlier in this chapter.¹¹⁹ These include the centrality of the blood connection, the exceptionalism and timelessness of the “us” group, the importance of individual duty and self-sacrifice, the accelerating processes of group mobilization and totalization, and the glorification and sanctification of militarism and violence in the name of an abstract macro-fatherland. What is less obvious, yet highly significant, is that in sharp contradistinction to all unbridled dreams and fantasies of the spatial expansion of the national domain analyzed in this chapter, this passage offers the first example of a contraction. Even as Dimitrov extols the view from the Selimiye’s minarets, this is already, and for the first time, a view backward to the heartland rather than to Istanbul, the Aegean, or the Marmara Sea.

5 Conclusion

This chapter charted the full cycle of Odrin’s (Edirne’s) creation as a map, symbol, and goal of the Bulgarian ethnonational project. Along the way, it took a close look at a wide range of metaphoric manipulations involving *space*, *time*,

¹¹⁵ Capitalization is in accordance with the original.

¹¹⁶ A village near Sofia (Bulgaria).

¹¹⁷ A village near Pernik (Bulgaria).

¹¹⁸ Captain Dimitrov, A.: Odrinskoto Sukrovishhte, in: *Odrin. V Pamet na Padnalite Geroi*, Sofia 1914, pp. 65–66.

¹¹⁹ See above, p. 357.

and “the Other” that accompanied Odrin’s incorporation into the Bulgarian national imaginary. Even though the particulars of ethnonational projects may be quite different, the general contours are not. Thus, the larger objective was to introduce a new methodological apparatus that could open up and harness a variety of untapped and/or undervalued sources pertaining to other ethnonational contexts as well. In this way, we can go beyond what the prevalent scholarly deployment of basic, crude, and “fuzzy”¹²⁰ terms, such as “modernity,” “nationalism,” and “patriotism,” has heretofore allowed, making it possible to study both large-scale patterns and small-scale processes of the construction of abstract group consciousness and macro-belonging.

120 “Fuzzy” due to the usual lack of clear and consistent definitions, the frequent, unannounced shifts in meaning, and habitual interchangeable usage.

Birgit Krawietz

The Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial and Intersensorial Remembrance in Edirne

The intersensorial experience evoked in the title ties together two places in close proximity to each other whose functions are different in principle: the first is a wartime memorial that looks to the past, the second an arena that hosts Turkey's most important oil wrestling tournament, whose activities, time and again, create an active presence. In the middle of the 1980s, the arena was built on the river island Sarayıçı on the outskirts of Edirne, with the effect that, after being extended and turned into a temporary sensorial interface, the Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial gained in importance, liveliness, and efficacy. In turn, the memorial also brought out more clearly the martial background of oil wrestling.

In terms of recreation, the Palace Garden island of Sarayıçı is pastoral: the combination of shaded meadows beside the river Tunca, copious vegetation, scattered ruins, and the presence of animals make for an idyllic landscape. Occasionally, a flock of sheep can be witnessed grazing among the remnants of the former Ottoman Palace.¹ The name of the northern part of the island, Chicken Forest (Tavuk Ormanı), may be a reminder of the times when rich dishes were served in the New Imperial Palace (Saray-ı Cedid-i Amire).² With the palace buildings in ruins or gone, the gardens and meadows on Sarayıçı Island became one of the favorite promenade and picnic grounds (*mesire*) along the river of Edirne's regular inhabitants. Hence, the area was mostly appreciated for its natural beauty and amenities. In this leisure space, occasional oil wrestling matches took place in the meadows of Sarayıçı. The Ottoman court had celebrated various festivals in this area, events that included also wrestling

1 On the palace, see Riedler, Florian: The Resurrection of Edirne's New Imperial Palace as National Heritage, in this volume. On the inner garden of the largely destroyed Ottoman palace, see Krawietz Birgit: Designing Edirne's Heritage Trail and Turkish Oil Wrestling, in this volume, pp. 271–276. I thank Aylin Yılmaz as my first eye- and ear-opener in Edirne. Alina Kokoschka and Florian Riedler were so kind as to critically read the manuscript in an earlier version.

2 We are informed about the menus in the successor to the Edirne palace, the Topkapı in Istanbul, for the middle of the 17th century, cf. Reindl-Kiel, Hedda: The Chickens of Paradise. Official Meals in the Mid-Seventeenth Century Ottoman Palace, in: Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph Neumann (eds.): *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House. Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, Würzburg 2003, pp. 59–88.

presentations. The infantrymen, the Janissaries, stationed in Edirne anyway, used to wrestle as part of their education. Thus, oil wrestling in its heyday can be regarded as having been a vibrant interface between court culture, military practice, and a popular custom of ordinary people.³

The joyous atmosphere emanating from that place is in sharp contrast to the nation's dramatic political setbacks, especially since the 19th century with repercussions on the ground turning the former Ottoman capital into an imperial outpost on the Balkans. In 1804, the Christian populace of Serbia turned against Ottoman suzerainty and similarly a revolt broke out in 1820 in Greece, thus threatening and gradually diminishing the Ottoman Empire. In the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878, the Russians, who had occupied Edirne already in 1829, inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Ottomans, who had to accept the independence of Bulgaria, Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia. The Ottomans also lost nearly all their European dominions, because the former empire that had been impressively present on three continents was reduced on the Balkans to a part of Thrace, including Edirne, Istanbul, and the Turkish Straits (i.e., the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus), as well as Macedonia and Albania. The Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 further exhausted the Ottoman Empire, until it was finally drawn into World War I.⁴ The long-term power structure was decisively revised when Ankara in faraway Central Anatolia was declared the capital city of the newly founded Republic of Turkey in 1923.

The two Balkan Wars occurred between 1912 and 1913. The first one started in the middle of November 1912, and on 26 March 1913 led to the Bulgarian occupation of the Ottoman fortress Edirne after a siege of five months. However, the Turks recaptured the city in the Second Balkan War that lasted from 29 June to 10 August 1913. The fate of Edirne played a significant role in public consciousness and the city was not regarded as just any other location in the quickly diminishing imperial territory. Ginio highlights the utmost symbolic importance of Edirne for the anxieties and self-perception of the Ottoman Empire:

³ On this particular sport and its character as partly invented tradition, see Krawietz, *Designing Edirne's Heritage Trail*, p. 276

⁴ Kreiser, Klaus: Vom namenlosen Glaubenszeugen zum patriotischen Heldenkult. Kriegerdenkmäler und Gedenkstätten, in: Manfred Hettling and Jörg Echternkamp (eds.): *Gefallenengedenken im globalen Vergleich. Nationale Tradition, politische Legitimation und Individualisierung der Erinnerung*, Munich 2013, pp. 469–486, here p. 469: "Osmanische Soldaten kämpften zwischen September 1911 und September 1922 in fünf Kriegen. Diese elf Jahre waren nur durch 22 Friedensmonate unterbrochen. Die Verluste der Bevölkerung durch unmittelbare Kampfeinwirkung, Massaker, Hunger, Krankheit, Flucht und Vertreibung waren gewaltig. Nur ein geringer Prozentsatz ist nach Namen und Herkunft bekannt."

Edirne turned out to be the most outstanding symbol of the Balkan wars. Its imperial significance as the first historical Ottoman capital in Europe, the grandeur of the city's architectural heritage and its proximity to Istanbul contributed to the city's distinguished position among the symbols of war. The agonies of this strategic city, which endured a long siege before succumbing to the Bulgarian army in March 1913, were transmitted to the Ottoman population in various modes and through various written and iconographic representations.⁵

The local mastermind of Edirne's defense General Mehmed Şükrü Pasha (1857–1916), is celebrated as a local and national hero, although he finally had to surrender. His dedicated fighting and unwavering defense for a decisively longer time than expected, i.e., holding out for months instead of just a few weeks or only days, is enthusiastically admired; and a monument to him was erected on the highest hilltop location in Edirne, where a bastion (*tabya*) can still be seen, namely the Şükrü Pasha Memorial and Balkan War Museum (Şükrü Paşa Anıtı ve Balkan Savaşı Müzesi).⁶ In contrast, the Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial (Balkan Savaş Şehitliği, hereafter BWMM) that is the topic of this chapter is dedicated to an – initially – anonymous, collective group of martyrs, but not to one particular outstanding hero.



Fig.1: Şükrü Pasha Memorial.

⁵ Ginio, Eyal: Mobilizing the Ottoman Nation during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). Awakening from the Ottoman Dream, in: *War in History* 12.2 (2005), pp. 156–177, here p. 162.

⁶ On Şükrü Pasha and the historical events related to this memorial, see Koz, M. Sabri (ed.): *Edirne Müdâfîi Mehmed Şükrü Paşa*, Istanbul 2008.



Fig. 2: Tabya.

Lefebvre's analytical triad of spaces is an important theoretical consideration here, because approximately the first half of this chapter takes the perspective of conceived space (Lefebvre's *l'espace conçu*) and offers a very detailed description of the memorial, while the subsequent part focuses on its perception (*l'espace perçu*) during the time of the oil wrestling tournament, more specifically its soundscape.⁷ The latter half of this contribution does not restrict itself to tracing solely my personal sense perception, because the impressions presented here are informed by background talks and consider wider traits of Turkish culture. The second section also contains remarks on the behavior patterns of visitors (Lefebvre's *l'espace vécu*). The main idea and line of argumentation developed here is that the importance of the BWMM was gradually geared up and found a hyper-national rendering in 1993, but has meanwhile become a bit outdated, so that significant changes are under way.

1 The Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial (BWMM) Versions I and II

The First Balkan War of 1912–1913 added a very bitter layer of meaning to the site of Sarayıçi when the island became a prisoner-of-war camp after the Bulgarian

⁷ Cf. Krawietz, Edirne's Heritage Trail.

conquest of the city. During the siege, the situation inside the city deteriorated: there was a shortage of food, and diseases like cholera were spreading. After its victory, the Bulgarian army detained tens of thousands of Ottoman soldiers and civilians on the island and in camps along the Tunca River and for some days was unable or unwilling to provide food and drink to the prisoners, who were also left without adequate protection from wind and weather. When the prisoners began to eat bark from the trees and drink water from the river, which carried many corpses, diseases like dysentery and cholera soon claimed many victims. Thus, nature is frequently presented in shapes that express this pain: to this day, the motif of trees with partly ripped-off bark or old trees (at times, with faces appearing on the trunk) serve in popular visual culture as a powerful reminder of the victims' pain.⁸

It is said that these victims were buried in mass graves along the river, but their exact locations and the number of the dead is not known. It is therefore not astonishing that popular culture often presents the rivers around Edirne as filled with blood. The Red Cross estimated that in April 1913 there were still around 20,000 Ottoman prisoners in Sarayıçi and other camps. Unlike the graves of the soldiers who fought at the bastions around Edirne, Sarayıçi and its victims did not become an immediate site of commemoration. In his work *Edirne Nehirleri* (Edirne's Rivers), which was serialized in the bimonthly journal *Milli Mecmuası* in 1927, Tösyavizade Rifat Osman (1874–1933) also described the history of Sarayıçi and its state in his time. After praising the island's natural beauty with its high trees, he mentions the events of 1913 and the horrid conditions in the prisoner-of-war camp, which he personally witnessed as an army doctor on duty in Edirne:

⁸ Cf., for instance, Kazancıgil, Ratip: *Balkan Savaşında Edirne Savunması Günleri*, Kırklareli 1986. The cover of this book presents a scenery of dead and half-dead bodies, several trees with their bark completely peeled off up to the height of a grown man, and, barely recognizable, the silhouette of the Selimiye in the back. The same picture is reproduced in the Edirne city guide by Uğurluel, Talha: *Balkanların Başkenti Edirne ve Gezi Rehberi*, İstanbul 2005, p. 254. Compare the picture volume *Edirne Resimleri* of the painter Tayyip Yılmaz, ed. Edirne Valiği Kültür Yayınları, 2015, p. 11, with a picture captioned “Sarayıçi Prisoner Camp” (*Sarayıçi Esir Kampı*) and presenting a face that appears on a tree trunk, with the Selimiye in the background. Recently, the Municipality of Edirne placed a stone tablet beneath one of the old trees that looks like or is made to look exactly like older such tablets on Sarayıçi Island. It reads: “The prisoners of war, privates, and officers of the fortress of Edirne who surrendered on 26 March 1913 who stayed here ate the bark of the trees from hunger. May their souls be happy. Edirne Municipality” (26 Mart 1913 günü teslim olan Edirne kalesinin er ve subayları tutsak, kaldıkları burada, açlıktan, ağaç kabuklarını yediler. Ruhları şâd olsun. Edirne Belediye Başkanlığı).



Fig. 3: Memorial tree, Sarayıçi.

Are these historical memories pointed to? In Edirne, Martyrs' Day is celebrated at Sarayıçi's grove, where these unexpected events took place. In parentheses, I would like to add that, sadly, the holy ground (*aziz toprakları*) where these martyrs were buried was not marked with a column or an inscription. Our nation was put through the mill with oppression that signifies a terrifying inscription of history, but it survived; this must not be forgotten, but taught to the next generation. Because when a nation parts with its history, it also says goodbye to its honor.⁹

⁹ *Milli Mecmuası*, no. 90, 15 Temmuz 1927, p. 1451: "Bu tarihi hatıraları mı işaret edildi idi? Edirne'de 'Şehidler yevm-i mahsusı' bu füc'eten sahne olan Sarayıçi meşceresinde icra olunur. İstitraden teessürlerle işaret etmek isterim ki o şehidlerin medfun oldukları bu aziz topraklara bir sütun veya bir levha konulmak lutfında bulunulmadı. Milletimiz, tarihinin facia bir

Rifat Osman wished that those who had died of hunger and illness at Sarayıçi would be remembered as martyrs of the nation, just like the soldiers who had been killed in battle. This understanding is in line with the capacious understanding of the word *şehid* (Arabic *shahid*, Turkish *şehid* or *şehit*), usually translated as “martyr” or “someone who dies in battle” for the sake of religion, to include someone who dies in battle for the nation, comprising any victim of war, even a destitute civilian.

It is not clear when exactly Rifat Osman’s appeal was heeded and a first small memorial was constructed on the site. The date of the three flat, oval memorial graves that represent these poor people is not known. The three graves are tucked away in a tiny grove – not on the island itself, but very close to it on the outer western shore of the Tunca and separated by a low wall. The three small stones, one in the foreground and two behind, do not reveal the names of the deceased people. However, the first grave has an erect tomb slab in dark red with an inscription in black letters on white that translates as follows:



Fig.4: Tomb slab near the Tunca river.

The malicious enemy’s boot did not intimidate us.
 Into history his black marks are engraved.
 Do not, my friend, forget those who are [buried] in Sarayıçi,

levhası demek olan şu zalimlerle yoğurulmuş günü mademki yaşamıştır, onu unutmamak, gelecek nesillere öğretmek icab eder: zira bir millet tarihinden ayrılır iken şerefine veda eder.”

Who died in honor for this holy fatherland (*mukaddes vatan*).
 For the homeland we gave away our dear lives.
 When the time comes, take our revenge (*intikamımızı*).
 Do not forget in your hearts the enemy's tyranny.
 Do not deprive us of your blessed opening prayer (*mubarek fatiha*).
 1329 D.M.Ç.¹⁰

In their study of war memorials in Edirne, Bağman and Onur claim that this tombstone presents a poem composed by a certain Sergeant Mehmed from Develi near Sivas (Develili Mehmed Çavuş). Allegedly, it was “taken from his pocket” after he died as one of the captives of the Bulgarians in the island camp.¹¹ The tombstone is dated 1329, which, in the Ottoman Rumi calendar, is the year 1913/14. I label this structure – the three graves and the texted tomb slab – BWMM I. The inscription clearly stands in the tradition of “revenge stones” (*intikam taşları*)¹² in and around Edirne and does not directly point to the history of the place as a prisoner-of-war camp or to those who died there. Without any additional knowledge, this monument is no different from other stelae set up on battlegrounds. It is unclear when the stone was actually carved and put in place. However, its use of Latin/Turkish instead of Arabic/Ottoman characters means that this memorial must date from after 1928. It is even possible that it was built as late as in 1939, like the following, additional monument.

Since the triple grave ensemble is a bit hidden and several meters away from the famous short Fatih Bridge that leads from a parking lot onto the island, a familiar stela for the Martyrs of the Balkan War (Balkan Savaşı Şehitleri) was constructed in 1939 as a better visible signal, here labeled BWMM II.¹³ It is painted mainly in the characteristic colors of white and red, and its inscription also refers to the date of Edirne's capitulation, 26 March 1913; the camp at Sarayıçi was opened soon after. The monument was constructed by the architect Kemal Altan, who was also responsible for other such monuments in Eastern Thrace. The

10 “Hain düşman çizmesi yıldırma dı bizleri / Tarihe yazılmıştır onun kara izleri / Unutmayın arkadaşım Sarayıçindeki / Mukaddes vatan için şerefle öldüklerini / Yurt için verdik aziz canımızı / Zaman düştükçe alın intikamımızı / Kalbinizden silmeyin düşman mezalimini / Bizden esirgemeyin mubarek fatihanızı. 1329. D.M.Ç.” Onur, Oral and Bağman, Latif: *Edirne Şehit Anıtları*, İstanbul n.d., p. 72. See <http://commondatastorage.googleapis.com/static.panoramio.com/photos/original/10919330.jpg>, last accessed 24 Aug. 2017.

11 Onur and Bağman, *Anıtları*, p. 72.

12 Kreiser, Klaus: War Memorials and Cemeteries in Turkey, in: Olaf Farschid, Manfred Kropp, and Stephan Dähne (eds.): *The First World War as Remembered in the Countries of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Beirut and Würzburg 2006, pp. 183–201, here p. 185. Also cf. Onur and Bağman, *Anıtları*, passim, especially pp. 36–41 and 86.

13 Cf. <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/10919305>, last accessed 24 Aug. 2017.



Fig.5: Stela of 1939 (BWMM II).

Association for the Preservation of Islamic Tombs commissioned it, and it was erected as a memorial (*anıt*) in close proximity to the martyrdom site (*şehitlik*).¹⁴

Onur and Bağman, the authors of a booklet on Edirne's commemoration sites, qualify this monument as “a sort of Memorial of the Unknown Soldier” (*bir tür Meçhul Asker Anıtı*).¹⁵ It seems that Onur and Bağman came to this conclusion because of the history of the place, which they retell at some length, rather than because of the monument itself. The cult of the Unknown Soldier developed in Europe and the US after World War I, when the first memorials for the nations' unknown soldiers were constructed in London and Paris; from there, the idea and the subtle rituals of choosing a corpse and transferring it to a specially designed tomb spread to many other countries. In contrast, this idea never became very popular in Turkey:¹⁶ most of the great war monuments

¹⁴ Onur and Bağman, *Anıtları*, p. 73.

¹⁵ Similarly “Balkan Şehitliğindeki isimsiz kahraman kabrı,” <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/10919330>, last accessed 22 July 2012. For Italy, Janz, Oliver: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Italy after the First World War, in: Olaf Farschid, Manfred Kropp, and Stephan Dähne (eds.): *The First World War as Remembered in the Countries of the Eastern Mediterranean*, Beirut and Würzburg 2006, pp. 203–211, here p. 204, speaks of “the War’s democratising dynamic” as expressed in the Unknown Soldier as the “potent emblem of the national.”

¹⁶ Kreiser, *Vom namenlosen Glaubenszeugen*, pp. 469 and 482.

commemorating the battles of the War of Independence concentrate on Mustafa Kemal as the architect of victory; the idea to put an unidentified soldier as the representative of the nation and its suffering at the center remained contested.

The memorial of 1939 was little more than a stone-built signal to draw attention to a small group of graves further behind. It was of merely local significance and very similar to other such memorials in the region. In the 1990s, a grand and elaborate new memorial complex supplemented this stela of 1939. Its most famous model is without any doubt Çanakkale, where the decisive Battle of the Dardanelles took place in March 1915, which inflicted severe losses on British and French warships. As a gigantic memorial site, Çanakkale comes closest to a national monument and presents a whole array of special memorial elements, some of which were later replicated nationwide. Many of the features described below take its features as models.¹⁷ The following section will analyze in considerable detail the new memorial in Edirne as an example of memorial culture in the new era of Turkish nationalism. The third section turns to the dimension of sense perception and its importance for a more encompassing analysis of the memorial compound.

2 The BWMM version III

The first half of the 1990s in Turkey was characterized by the national appropriation of regional trends (such as turning the widespread New Year festival into the Republican Turkish Nevruz as a hyper-national narrative).¹⁸ At the same time, an encompassing and spelled-out national upgrading was put in place next to the earlier BWMM, i.e., versions I and II. However, the earlier components were not torn down, but were reproduced two times in a modified manner while the older structure was supplemented, each time, at a few meters distance. The last version can be regarded as an especially interesting example of hyperreality. The concept of hyperreality has been developed by several scholars, such as Eco or Baudrillard, in partly conflicting manners. The basic idea is that original and real items are increasingly diminishing, making way for various sorts of look-alike or simply more appealing presentations. This is connected to increasing possibilities of producing copies of sorts. I use the term here merely to stress the idea of

¹⁷ Atabay, Mithat, Muhammet Erat and Halûk Çobanoğlu: *Çanakkale Şehitlikleri*, İstanbul 2009.

¹⁸ Krawietz, Edirne's Heritage Trail, pp. 240–241.

an *enhanced imitation*; an original is not only preserved in a copy but made much better, more appealing, by offering stronger sensory qualities, a process that leads to neglect of the original and to preference for the later version. In the presented case study, the decisive step is not that from version I to version II, but from both of them to version III: the latter is much higher and inviting; it offers a walking space around it and is virtually littered with explicit messages that press home the original message as a reminder of the atrocities of the Balkan Wars. However, version III provides the visitor with an important shift of emphasis in its message and many details of constructed narration. BWMM III employs the strategy of creating a strongly modified maxiature (as the opposite of a miniature), supplemented by further explanatory interpretive elements.¹⁹ The new memorial built in Edirne in 1993 captivates visitors more forcefully than the prior renderings. It was also erected closer to the famous Fatih Bridge²⁰ and is thus much more visible to passers-by:²¹ it consists of a white stela, this time considerably higher and much more commanding. The structure is encircled by a lattice wall with an archway and is reached by a white pathway. It was opened to the public on 14 January 1994 and includes “an open-space prayer site (*namazgah*), a mosque fountain (*şadırvan*), inscriptions (*kitabeler*) and a parking lot (*otopark*).”²² The statue of a soldier and a relief flank the pathway. The whole memorial complex was designed by the architect Nejat Dinçel, while the sculptor Tankut Öktem²³ was in charge of the central statue of a soldier (*Mehmetçik heykeli*), and the sculptor Metin Yurdanur added a relief with scenes from the Balkan Wars. Notably, all three were involved in various Çanakkale memorials finished before at the beginning of the 1990s.²⁴

¹⁹ By way of comparison, I draw attention to the decision of former German chancellor Helmut Kohl (d. 2017) to instruct the artist Harald Haacke (d. 2004) to scale up the size of a sculpture by Käthe Kollwitz (d. 1940) from 40 cm to 1.52 m. Its Pietà motif incorporates a mother mourning her son killed in war, following the Christian model of Virgin Mary's Lamentation after the Deposition of Christ. This maxiature was placed in the Neue Wache (Unter den Linden in Berlin) and has served since 1993 on the national Volkstrauertag (people's day of mourning) as Germany's central memorial to the victims of war and dictatorship.

²⁰ It is close because the pathway leading up to extends as far as the parking lot.

²¹ Cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balkan_Wars_Memorial_Cemetery_in_Edirne, last accessed 4 Apr. 2017.

²² *Edirne 2005*, published by the T.C. Edirne Valiliği, p. 294.

²³ He was already introduced as the creator of the wrestling monument in Edirne's city center. On Tankut Öktem, see also Gezer, Hüseyin: *Türk Heykeli*, 3rd ed. Ankara 1984, pp. 307–310, who lists for 1973 the Edirne Kırkpınar Anıtı, p. 310.

²⁴ See <http://www.mavidenizl.org/sehitlik.htm>, last accessed 24 Aug. 2017.

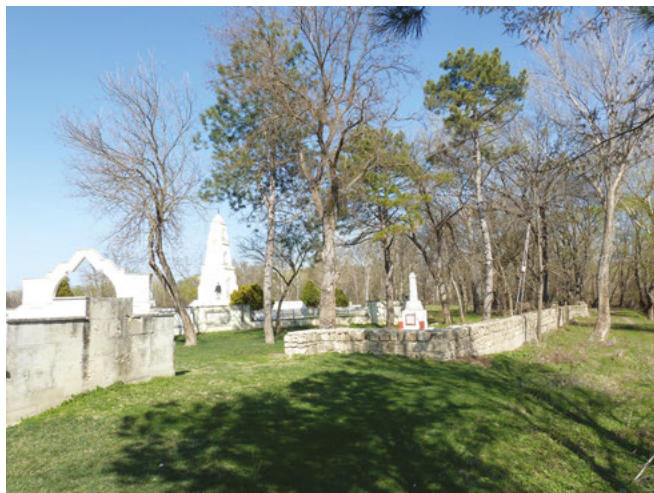


Fig. 6: The monuments in comparison.



Fig. 7: BWMM II and III.

2.1 The outer BWMM

Coming from Edirne, either from the river island over the small Fatih Bridge or by car from an outer ring road around the city, the visitor sees the central pathway to the new BWMM at the rear side of the parking lot and is confronted with the whitish obelisk-like, sturdy monument in the back.



Fig. 8: Entrance to the BWMM III.

Following the familiar characteristics of such places, the stela in the inner space becomes more fully visible to the onlooker through an archway in the wall that surrounds the monument.²⁵ The pathway itself is likewise set in light stone, thus indicating its connectedness with the central part. It is interrupted in the middle by a lawn in longish geometric forms, thereby already indicating the central motif of the memorial, namely the national ground or soil (*toprak*).²⁶ The entrance to the path leading to the main stela is set off with a surface of light reddish stones, the only instance in the outer part of the new memorial that uses the second signature color, red, that is so characteristic of Turkish war memorials. It is marked on the left by a rectangular white stone in the grass that labels the complex in large letters as a “Balkan Martyrdom Memorial” (Balkan Şehitliği) and identifies in smaller script the Turkish Ministry of Culture 1993 (T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı 1993) as its initiator. To the right is the only sign for a non-Turkish audience, a blue signpost on top of an iron rod that defines it as the “Balkan War Memorial.” However, the

²⁵ Cf. http://www.turkishclass.com/picture_810, last accessed 24 Aug. 2017.

²⁶ Cf. <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/10406394>, last accessed 24 Aug. 2017.



Fig. 9: View from BWMM III with Mehmetçik in the back.

compound seems to be intended primarily for Turks themselves. Along the path to the stela, there are three additional elements: to the left, a soldier's statue and a long relief; to the right, a prayer area, which we will now turn to.

At the beginning of the pathway, the visitor sees on the left-hand side the Mehmetçik, the Turkish equivalent of the unknown soldier, namely the statue of a soldier clad in a uniform characteristic of World War I with a rifle ready at his side. The reassuring figure is the first of a series of nationalistic signals. The paradigmatic soldier raises his arm dramatically and faces the oil wrestling arena. The sculpture stands elevated on a pedestal that quotes two poems on its front and back. One is a stanza from Orhan Şaik Gökyay's "Bu Vatan Kimin?" (To Whom Belongs This Land?); the other is the famous beginning of Necmettin Halil Onan's "Bir Yolcuya" (To a Traveller), "Dur Yolcu!" (Stop, Traveller!) Both poems have as their general theme the defense of the nation and its soil. Like other poems used in the memorial, they are not identified; the patriotic visitor is supposed to recognize them instantly as part of the familiar repertoire. The pose of the statue of a soldier together with Onan's poem directly link the memorial to the historical defense of Çanakkale, to which the poem was originally dedicated and later used purposefully in various memorials on the Gallipoli peninsula, most prominently in the famous huge example on a wooded hill.²⁷ The figure depicts the ordinary infantry soldier, a familiar sight because the generic figure of Mehmetçik is a widespread motif in Turkey.

²⁷ Atabay et al., *Çanakkale Şehitlikleri*, pp. 4–5.



Fig. 10: Relief Defeated but not beaten.

Next to the Dur-Yolcu-figure, on the right-hand side, a dark grey, monumental surface relief unfolds. On its utmost right, there is the figure of an upright military commander, obviously Şükrü Pasha, the supreme commander of the defense of Edirne, who nearly fills the height of the scene. Compared with him, all the other people, objects, and buildings that are presented appear smaller and more distant. It has to be noted, though, that the only three-dimensional human statue in this memorial ensemble is that of the aforementioned paradigmatic ordinary soldier.

In the very background of the relief to the left, the Selimiye mosque with its four minarets is clearly identifiable – in fact, one would only need to turn round to see it *realiter* in the background of Sarayıçi. Out of Edirne emerges a trek, mainly of soldiers. In addition, a group of Turkish Balkan refugees with a carriage, two veiled women, a woman with a child, an old woman with a rake, and two old men wearing turbans are depicted. Thus, weaker elements of society are also shown in this scene of defeat. Şükrü Pasha is walking upright, while his extended arm and hand express clear orientation. The trek also includes many soldiers on horses with rifles; one of them in the center carries a Turkish flag. The protagonists have serious and dignified, but also tired faces. The obvious message is of being defeated (albeit only temporarily) – after heroic fighting – but not beaten when the First Balkan War ended in March 1913. The relief expresses the local pride of having defended the “fortress city of Edirne” to the last,²⁸ until the military under Şükrü Pasha had to surrender.

²⁸ Nezir Akmeşe, Handan: *The Birth of Modern Turkey. The Ottoman Military and the March to World War I*, London 2005, p. 133.

The *Dur Yolcu* statue anchors the local sacrifices in Edirne within national memorial culture. While national commemoration can rely on a fixed set of modules that merely require allusion, local events have to be explained more graphically. This can again be observed in the center of the memorial of 1993: continuing on the pathway on the right-hand side, there is a prayer platform (*namazgah*) oriented toward the correct direction of Mecca (*qibla*) with a fountain for ritual purification. Visitors may be interested in praying there not only the obligatory Islamic prayer, but also supplications (*dua*) during the festival, they include oil wrestlers, who move through Edirne and Sarayı for several days. Entering this prayer place, the worshipper surely notices the memorial of 1939, just a few meters to the left. Approaching it, one perceives three dozens steps to the back of the three graves with the tomb slab introduced above. The prayer facility at exactly this place provides a religious alternative or, rather, a complementary element to the secular-nationalistic sacralization of the Balkan War victims and their defense efforts. It shows that the open-air *namazgah* is designed to proffer the site as a place for a broader audience to recollect and reflect on the price in blood or dedication of Turkish fighters.

2.2 The inner BWMM

Just before entering the inner memorial through an archway in the surrounding wall, the visitor is again confronted with patriotic poetry, as in the case of the statue of the soldier. On either side of the archway are large slabs of white stone that quote parts of the Turkish national anthem officially adopted by the Turkish Parliament in 1921, the Independence March (*İstiklal Marşı*) by Mehmed Akif Ersoy; the inscriptions also take up Orhan Şaik Gökyay's poem that is already quoted on the pedestal of the *Dur-Yolcu*-statue. In addition, the second half of the poem from the first memorial's tomb slab is cited and thus integrated into the national canon as a local example. Because the poem is not yet canonical, the name of the author is given in full as Yusuf Oğlu Mehmed from Kayseri Develi. It is rendered in brackets as "poem taken from a martyr" and dated 10 June 1913.

In the center of the memorial complex stands the elevated stela, built in three tiers with a spire and carrying further inscriptions on four window-like slabs on its four plain sides. The slab facing the entrance carries the dedication: "Our dear martyrs, the fatherland is thankful to you. May your souls be happy" (*Aziz şehitlerimiz, vatan size minnettardir. Ruhunuz şad olsun*), which is a

common formula also used in other war memorials. In the same vein, the other slabs continue to quote lines from famous patriotic poems.²⁹

Like the examples mentioned earlier, these poems function as a volley of predesigned messages to insert the Balkan War Memorial into the overall national culture of commemoration. Citation connects the memorial to other already existing memorials, the most famous of which is the one in Çanakkale. As in the former, the overall theme in the Çanakkale memorial is the defense of the Turkish home and soil. To the creators of the memorial, and probably also to the visitors, it makes no difference whether the Balkan Wars, World War I, or the War of Independence are thus remembered. In Turkish historical consciousness, all these wars belong to a long period of fighting that stretched from 1912 to 1922, representing the struggle for national survival.

The inside wall of the monument and the surrounding lawn are used for further dispatches. Like the pathway, the space around the central stela is also fitted with a combination of white ground to stand on and geometrical grass units that evoke the idea of the untouchable *toprak*. However, the latter is not permitted to speak for itself; rather, for readers of Turkish – no one else is explicitly addressed – four text tablets in the shape of open book pages finally relate the monument more specifically to the Balkan Wars.³⁰ The first of these tablets gives the historical outlines of the Balkan Wars in very neutral, fact-oriented language, mentioning in passing the capitulation of Edirne on 26 March 1913 “from hunger and lack of ammunition.” Mustafa Kemal’s subordinate role as a military commander in the Second Balkan War is duly noted; notably, the fact that it was his later rival Enver Pasha who “liberated” Edirne from the Bulgarians is passed over. The text closes by calling to mind the wars’ victims, the Rumelian refugees, and the 300,000 military and civilian “Turkish martyrs” (*Türk şehit*) of the war who were killed by the Bulgarians alone. It is claimed that at Sarayıçi 20,000 “died of hunger for the

29 “It is the blood on it that makes the flag a flag. The earth is only then fatherland when there is someone who dies for it.” (*Bayrakları bayrak yapan üstündeki kandır. Toprak, eğer uğrunda ölen varsa vantandır!*), Midhat Cemal Kuntay: *On Beş Yılı Karşılarken*.

“Our army is the expression of Turkish unity, Turkish, power and prowess; Turkish patriotism become steel.” (*Ordumuz, Türk birliğinin, Türk kudret ve kaabiliyetinin, Türk vatanseverliğinin çelikleşmiş bir ifadesidir.*), Atatürk 1937.

“Who will dig the grave that will not become narrow to you? If I say: ‘Let us bury you in history,’ you would not fit inside. [...] Hey, martyr, son of a martyr. Do not ask me for a grave. The Prophet is waiting for you with open arms.” (*Sana dar gelmeyecek makberi kimler kazsın? ‘Gömelim gel seni tarihe’ desem sığmazsın. [...] Ey şehid oğlu şehid. İsteme benden makber. Sana ağuşunu açmışduruyor peygamber.*), Mehmed Akif Ersoy: *Çanakkale Şehitlerine*.

30 For pictures of talking landscapes in the form of open books set in stone, see Atabay et al., *Çanakkale Şehitlikleri*.

fatherland” (*açlıktan vatan için öldüler*); others were tortured or thrown into the river. This is the first and only text instance within the new memorial of 1993 that explicitly evokes the memory of those who died in the prisoner-of-war camps.

A second table to the rear of the memorial is dedicated to the local hero Şükrü Pasha, Edirne’s military commander during the siege. It reproduces at length a telegram he sent to Grand Vizier Kamil Pasha on 26 March 1913 on the occasion of Edirne’s capitulation. In the text, the commander imagines a heroic last stand in which his soldiers and he would perish together with the city to keep it from falling into the hands of the enemy. However, as mentioned in the beginning, Şükrü Pasha and his military role are already commemorated much more comprehensively in his *ad personam* memorial in the east of the city on top of the highest hill, a former military bastion that overlooks the plain of Edirne.

Two other plates on the ground at the bottom of the stela offer yet another approach to regional history. One of them reproduces Yahya Kemal Beyatlı’s poem “Mohaç Türküsü” (Mohaç Song), the other a Turkish folksong entitled “Estergon Kalesi” (The Castle of Esztergom). By way of nostalgic reminiscence, both poems open the historical horizon to the Ottoman conquest in Europe. Here the approach is not retelling scholarly history, but making an emotional appeal relying on poetry and folk tradition. The function is to invoke the very long, widespread Turkish presence in the Balkans that ended in the Balkan Wars. These quotations can serve as very early examples of the now widespread Ottomanization of national Turkish memory (or the nationalization of Ottoman history) that is visible in many forms in present-day Turkey.



Fig. 11: Inner wall of BWMM III.

As already mentioned, the less than head-high wall of the memorial is partly open-worked with a geometric pattern, thereby relating it visually to the surrounding landscape. However, three parts of it are compact masonry: in these places, the inside of the wall presents eighteen stone tables with carved inscriptions.³¹ As the blood-colored text tells us, the tablets show “the names of some of our 20,000 holy martyrs – out of 300,000 Balkan martyrs – who died at the spot where you stand” (*300.000 Balkan şehidinden bulunduğumuz yerde ölen 20.000 aziz şehidimizden bazılarının isimleri*).

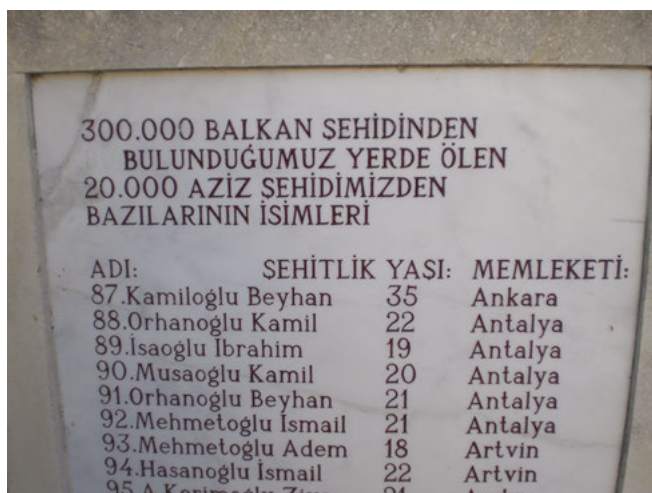


Fig. 12: 20,000 martyrs in Sarayıcı.

Paralleling Kreiser, who diagnoses a certain hesitation to adopt the Western notion of an Unknown Soldier memorial, the issue is in this case solved by partial, representative individualization: over 300 victims are invoked by their real names.³² Three corresponding low platforms invite the viewer to study these names more closely on the pertinent parts of the wall: first the names, ranks, and units of eighteen officers (*subay*) are given; then follows a list of three hundred fallen privates (*er*), who are listed with their names, ages, and hometowns. The latter list starts with thirty privates from Edirne proper and continues with another thirty names

31 Cf. <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/10919687>, last accessed 24 Aug. 2017.

32 Kreiser, *Vom namenlosen Glaubenszeugen*, p. 496.

from small towns of the region; in the remainder, the names of soldiers from virtually all the cities and towns in modern Turkey, from Adıyaman to Zonguldak, are given. One can observe visitors circumambulating within this structure in the intended manner, usually proceeding clockwise from the left to the right.

The attempt to insert local events into national history and at the same time to localize the national is brought to perfection here. The table suggests that soldiers from Edirne fought and fell together with their comrades from all over Turkey – a state that in 1913 did not yet exist. However, the will to recreate the map of modern Turkey in the minds of the memorial's visitors leads to some historical oddities: victims from cities outside modern Turkey are missing and two cities in Eastern Anatolia are listed, namely Artvin and Kars, that still belonged to Russia back in 1913. No mention is made at this memorial site of cities in Western Thrace, let alone of the rest of the Ottoman Balkans, from where young men were certainly drafted to defend Edirne.

3 Synesthetic perception of the BWMM

After providing a detailed *visual* description of the BWMM with its historical implications, the second half of this chapter adds the dimension of *listening*.³³ The sounds in question emanate from the oil wrestling arena during the tournament of the Kırkpınar festival week in summer, more precisely, during its last three days from Friday morning to Sunday evening. The wrestling stadium on the river island of Sarayıçi lies vis-à-vis the BWMM on the outer western shore of the river Tunca. It is enclosed by high concrete walls that block the view except where a few meters of open space lie between the highest seating rank and the functional roof that covers the ascending rows of the audience area on all four sides of the trapezoid building.³⁴ Inside the walls with their different entrances, there is a wide field of longish lawn, on which the wrestlers compete directly under the open sky.

³³ Actually, the smells, too, are quite indicative in and around Sarayıçi, but that dimension is not relevant for the BWMM or, perhaps, only in the sense that the partly nauseating smells are blocked off by the water between the two sites, in contrast to the sense perceptions of sight and sound.

³⁴ It has the same aesthetic appeal as the central bus station (*otogar*) on the other side of the city.



Fig. 13: Wrestlers lining up.

The decibel level is so high that even walking around the stadium at some distance still enables people to follow in principle what is going on inside and what the upcoming activities will be. The sound waves reach not only the wider surroundings on the island itself, but also the area of the memorial ground. Spatially, the two units are very closely together and are closely connected by the small Fatih Bridge.³⁵ I capture the particular Kırkpınar soundscape from my own experiences at both sites from walking around Sarayıçi and beyond, paying attention to the artifacts themselves and to the behavior of people.

Most vehicles are not allowed onto Sarayıçi Island. During the festival, only the cars of VIP guests may drive up directly to their entrance of the arena. All the other cars and the many buses (police vehicles, ambulances, and TV vans excluded) have to stay off of the island and use the parking lot in front of the BWMM as their closest possibility. The BWMM is located at a sort of bottleneck that has to be passed by all those who do not arrive on foot or by local bus from the city center. Parking space is temporarily allotted in the wider area where the Ottoman palace once stood and even toward the complex of Bayezid II Mosque

³⁵ On the bridges of Edirne and this one in particular, see Krawietz, *Edirne's Heritage Trail*, pp. 271–275.

situated a bit further to the west, downstream on the river Tunca. Hence, people pouring in from that side can hardly miss the ostentatious memorial structure and are very likely to enter it at some time during this wrestling period; those who arrive from the other side are unlikely to completely ignore the demanding structure, either. Most visitors to the athletic tournament do not constantly remain within the stadium on the quite uncomfortable seats, but intermittently stroll around the island and beyond.³⁶ Outside the building, there are various refreshment and snack offerings, groups of chairs functioning as cafes, temporary merchandise stands, information booths of sorts, and even the Kirkpınar photographic exhibition, so that it is highly probable that tourists will also take a short tour to the memorial. In addition, there is the open-air facility for ritual ablution with a water tap and a small prayer site close to the BWMM.³⁷

At other times of the year, version III is officially used as a stage for performances of sorts, such as wreath-laying ceremonies at the central stela. On 15 July 2017, the first anniversary of the 15 July Democracy and National Unity Day (15 Temmuz Demokrasi ve Milli Birlik Günü) was celebrated there and two Turkish flags hissed at the Şükrü Pasha relief indicate that the historical and local dimension of national defense are included as well. This was also the final destination of a mass walk related to that event, for which medals were handed out for both genders.³⁸ Although no official ritual is staged there during the oil wrestling games, the special effect while visiting the martyrdom memorial at this time of the year, to be analyzed here, can nevertheless unfold. Recall from the start that, apart from a single sign in English (obviously set up by the municipality), which identifies the place as “Balkan War Memorial,” everything else directly related to it on this site is exclusively in Turkish. The English translation of the “Balkan Savaş Şehitliği” as “Balkan War Memorial” is given; this name is also used in some tourist brochures, but that does not fully express the term *şehitlik*, so I have expanded this translation and added the notion of martyrdom, which is evident in the Turkified rendering of the Arabic word *shahīd*. It is safe to assume that the main addressees are Turkish nationals. Furthermore, many Turkish visitors attend the games more than once in their lifetimes in a somewhat regular manner, so that the memorial ground has become part of their visiting pattern.³⁹

³⁶ However, relaxing seats and a number of amenities are provided in the VIP section.

³⁷ Also, the arena has one prayer room that functions as a mosque (*mescit*) and has some faucets in front of its door.

³⁸ *Hudut*, 13 Temmuz 2017, 13039, p. 8.

³⁹ I have met old men who proudly report that they have never or hardly ever missed a Kirkpınar tournament in 50 years and that they even found ways to sneak out of the army base during their service to be able to attend.

3.1 The Kirkpınar Soundscape

The soundscape that reaches the BWMM has a decibel level only slightly lower than the one produced and experienced directly inside the arena, so that it pervades its surroundings on Sarayıçi Island and partly even beyond. The aural scope consists of three basic elements: instrumental music, announcements via loudspeaker, and frequent audience reactions in the form of applause or disagreeing shouts and whistling. It has to be underscored that all this is characterized by an absence of silence. Thus, it is fair to conclude that oil wrestling is not a sport to be watched in contemplation. The number of men with voices, whose severe hoarseness increases during the course of the games, testifies to the considerable degree of emotional mobilization supported by cheering, shouting, and other forms of vocal engagement. In captivating situations, the audience also jumps up and gesticulates. Within the stadium, the proclivity to this type of expressive behavior is most widespread in certain fan corners.

Oil Wrestling Music: the brass band of the municipality is a feature of the modern Turkish nation-state in world society, while the traditional clarion and pipe combo (*davul ve zurna*) plays a decisive role in shaping lifecycle rituals.⁴⁰ The latter accompanies and musically comments on the course of the wrestling event and expresses its suspense pattern. In contrast, the brass band is quite marginal in Sarayıçi, marks only the beginning and end of the athletic event, and serves as an acoustic indicator to hail the arrival of prominent politicians.

Before the tournament starts, members of the *davul* and *zurna* combo move through the city to acoustically draw attention to the event upcoming at its outskirts. Finally assembled on the oil wrestling field in Sarayıçi, it is stationed as a group on one side on the lawn opposite the observation tower. The full *davul* and *zurna* combo consists of 20 drummers and 20 clarion players in traditional garb, thus embodying the magical number of 40.⁴¹ However, their number is only gradually increased to 40 as the tournament evolves, thus indicating the desired increase of suspense. One member, dressed in the same traditional garb, functions as conductor. He has an eye on the wrestling field to catch the current development and prospects of drama, because it is the band's task to musically interpret what is going on athletically, to spur on the action, and to admonish stagnation.

The Ceremonial Announcer: like the music, the voice of the ceremonial guide (*cazgr*) transmitted via loudspeaker is very penetrating and becomes even more

⁴⁰ There is no need to deal here with this as a circum-Mediterranean phenomenon.

⁴¹ On the mythology of this number in the context of Kirkpınar, see Krawietz, *Designing Edirne's Heritage Trail*, pp. 252–253.

dramatic in the course of the events and especially toward the second half of the last day. His announcements go beyond such information as allotting wrestling numbers to the athletes and pairing them, demanding a certain status group to show up at the “field of men” (*Er Meydanına çok acele!*), and reprimanding passive wrestlers who lack initiative and fighting spirit. He also encourages applause to mark certain highlights (*alkış, alkış; alkışlar; alkışıyoruz*) and makes dramatic exclamations with a broad variety of religious, mythological, and nationalistic references.



Fig. 14: Wrestling pairs preparing for action.

The dense tapestry of sound results because several wrestling pairs from the same wrestling category compete on the field at the same time. Hence, there is nearly always athletic action on the lawn and, often, members of the next wrestling class already enter the field while one or the other pair from the previous class has not yet finished. Every now and then, the *Cazgır* calls the next athletic status group to prepare for their turn to perform. Thereby, a regular somatic substitution and refreshment takes place. Along with an impressive staff of attentive referees and other observers in the tower, the crowd management appears orchestrated as well. As each wrestling match is finished, the winner's name (*XY galip*) is announced.

The many athletes whose performance has to be processed on these three days are not equally important, so that vocal attention to them is clearly hierarchized. Those of more important ranks are mentioned explicitly not only with their club affiliation, but also with some bullet points and laudatory remarks on their wrestling credentials. The most drawn-out introductions are reserved for the finalists.

All this is interspersed time and again with considerably ritualized stanzas, notably Islamic and nationalistic supplications, and references to wrestling mythology, early 20th-century oil wrestling champions, the municipality in Edirne, and the usual nationalistic canon, including Atatürk, the *vatan*, Çanakkale, etc. Each Cazgır has his own style with different dramatizing effects, but most of them seem to prefer national references over religious ones.

3.2 The Concept of Synesthesia

The main target of my analysis is what I assume is the deliberately constructed possibility of a very special sensorial experience at this place and time. To make my point relating visits to the BWMM to the happenings in the nearby oil wrestling arena, I turn to a theoretical concept that pays attention to “the multiple sensory dimensions of objects, architectures and landscapes.”⁴² A very specific understanding of synesthesia provides a possible means of analytically bridging these two sites. Traditionally, synesthesia has been defined as the stimulation of one sensory pathway that, involuntarily, takes on board another one, such as seeing colors while listening to music. Hence, it borders on pathological states of mind in more or less rare neurological cases.⁴³

However, the German philosopher Gernot Böhme and the anthropologist and expert on sense studies David Howes suggest applying this term more creatively. Böhme, who himself draws on another philosopher, Hermann Schmitz, no longer narrowly defines synesthesia starting from the causes that are *ab initio* split into a neat set of separate categories of sensory emissions leading to stimulations within these channels of the five senses (sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch). Instead, he reverses perspective, thus distancing himself from a natural scientific view of the issue, arguing that composite atmospheres (hence the title of his book first published in 1995) are the rule rather than an exception and that the frequent coincidence of combined sensorial impressions

⁴² Howes, David: Scent, Sound and Synaesthesia. Intersensoriality and Material Culture Theory, in: Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler and others (eds.): *Handbook of Material Culture*, London 2006, pp. 161–172, here p. 161.

⁴³ “Medically speaking, synaesthesia is a very rare condition in which the stimulation of one sensory modality is accompanied by a perception in one or more other modalities. Thus, synaesthetes report hearing colors, seeing sounds, and feeling tastes,” Howes, *Synaesthesia*, p. 162.

should be acknowledged and analyzed as synesthesia.⁴⁴ Building on Lawrence Sullivan and others, Howes advocates a “model of ‘synaesthesia’” that goes beyond the “logocentric” paradigm of “culture as text,” but captures the unitary experience of multiple sensory coincidence. Howes even advises substituting the term synesthetics with “intersensoriality.”⁴⁵ This gambit is based on the basic conviction that people usually do not take in their surroundings through only one channel of sense perception.⁴⁶

The sensory experiences Böhme has in mind are in no way reserved to high culture, but thoroughly pervade societies in all kinds of situations. Making no difference between high and popular culture, Böhme identifies a category of people as “aesthetic workers” (*ästhetische Arbeiter*) whose shared practical concern is the production of synesthetic effects.⁴⁷ The aesthetic workers in this chapter are the planners of the BWMM, especially those who geared it up to version III, on the one hand, and the producers of the arena and its soundscape during oil wrestling, on the other. Actually, both artifacts are shaped by the municipality and appropriate models from the national and international sphere.

Not only in terms of language, the BWMM is most probably much less appealing to foreign visitors than to Turks themselves. Often, people from abroad do not realize the full scope and tenacity of nationalism in the presentation of an oil wrestling event, apart from its visual manifestation in the final flag ritual.⁴⁸ Therefore, my perception as elucidated here would not occur to just any non-Turkish tourist.⁴⁹ However, my assumption of a very special sensory apparition at this site testifies not only to my personal impressions, but also takes into account observations on the ground, conversations with people, and acquired

44 Böhme, Gernot: *Atmosphäre. Essays zur neuen Ästhetik*, Frankfurt 1995, pp. 87–88 and 90. The ability to sense atmospheres may not enter the level of consciousness, but it always produces effects in the background.

45 Howes, *Synaesthesia*, pp. 161–162 and 164; the expression intersensoriality was used in Dorinne Kondo’s analysis of the Japanese tea ceremony.

46 Here we need not discuss whether proprioception (*das eigenleibliche Spüren*) is an additional sixth sense, Böhme, *Atmosphäre*, p. 93.

47 He groups together painters, interior design architects, musicians, and vendors who produce the atmosphere of supermarkets, along with aesthetic workers like stage set designers and adds: “Wenn ein Verkaufspraktiker in einem Supermarkt eine bestimmte Musik erklingen läßt, so bringt er ja nicht ein Werk zu Gehör, sondern möchte eine verkaufsgünstige Stimmung erzeugen,” Böhme, *Atmosphäre*, p. 87.

48 Krawietz, Birgit: Big Bodies that Matter. Making a Difference in Turkish Oil Wrestling, in: Heinrich Biesterfeld and Verena Klemm (eds.): *Differenz und Dynamik im Islam. Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Würzburg 2012, pp. 201–217, here pp. 207–208.

49 Böhme, *Atmosphäre*, p. 7.

knowledge about national celebration and mediatized Turkish renderings of war experiences. In the following, my exposition is focused on the dimension of the “perceived” (*perçu*) and on the “lived” (*vécu*) or representational space that produces certain practices or behavioral patterns.

3.3 Intermittent Intersensoriality at the BWMM

People approach the BWMM using the pathway that leads straight to this semi-walled structure number III, built in 1993. Usually, they pay attention to versions I and II only afterward – if at all, because these are sidelined by the round structure and its central path that directs initial attention to the other side. Visitors socialized in Turkey certainly recognize the general character of this high-rising memorial.⁵⁰ Before entering it, they pass to the left, first, the smaller Dur Yolcu Little Mehmet (Mehmetçik) statue as the generic Ottoman and Turkish infantry soldier and, then, the broad relief. The latter positions the whole entity historically in a more precise manner within the First Balkan War, namely Şükrü Pasha’s persevering defense of Edirne and its battered, defeated, but upright populace’s exodus from the city.

Once visitors enter the walled circular structure, they usually circumambulate clockwise the alphabetized lists of more than 300 deceased, shown on the inside wall of the inner circle. Some of them not only take in the names by sight, but also repeatedly touch one or the other of the wartime victims’ names; the relief surface with its red letters also allows for a haptic experience. From my observations, people coming in small groups discuss their impressions on the ground. Tiny platforms invite one to pause and collect oneself.

Only afterward do they turn to the interior elements: the written tablets placed on the inside lawn require viewers to turn their bodies 180 degrees toward the center. The highest element, the stela in the middle, can be accessed by continuing the circumambulation and lifting one’s view to its messages on four sides or even by climbing up a few steps and inspecting them more closely from the small circular platform surrounding the raised messages of determination and comforting uplift. As the overwhelming majority of Turkish citizens, Muslims are already familiar with circumambulation as a devotional practice at the Kaaba in Mecca. They need not have already fulfilled this once-in-a-lifetime religious duty to know about its procedures. Apart from that, national memorials are widespread

⁵⁰ Böhme, *Atmosphäre*, p. 97, speaks of the “socialization of perceptions” (*Wahrnehmungssozialisation*).

in Turkey, so that a set of secular rituals has been developed by appropriating religious ones and fusing them with modern practices of commemoration.

Memorials recollecting the names of fallen soldiers are quite widespread in Turkey. I argue here that the efficacy of this structure does not result from the density of allocated inbuilt messages, but from the spiritual transition that it enables during the Kirkpınar oil wrestling tournament. My thesis is that the specific spiritual energy provided arrives virtually through the air, namely in the sound waves from the oil wrestling arena that allow an interplay between the aural and the visual, while visitors to the memorial move within this structure number III – perhaps adding afterward its historically authenticating, but sidelined earlier versions I and II. My assumption is that the kind of experience discussed here requires primarily familiarity with oil wrestling, so that visitors automatically imagine what goes on inside the arena, even when they are at some distance across the tiny river arm.

The immense impact on the predominantly male audience watching inside the arena⁵¹ results from its experiencing not only the thrill of increasing athletic excellence as weaker wrestlers drop out in the course of the games and the winners in the 14 classes successively compete against one another, but also from their response to the strong military dimension of oil wrestling and its historical subtext in the border city of Edirne. In the following, I dwell on these martial implications and elaborate on how the setting, charged with such ambivalences, enables spiritual transformation.

Creating Martial Space: the impression of a glorious body of infantry soldiers is induced orally, visually, and performatively. Contemporary Turkish oil wrestling events bear the additional temporality of successful Ottoman times. Although the martial strain is athletically put on stage, this is not a fight among fierce adversaries but among brothers within the communion of Turks, who thereby uphold their power of defense. The aim is not to harm anybody, but to physically express fierce dedication to protecting the national body.⁵² The sense of community can thereby be invigorated in this secular ritual. The ritual music combo evokes not only life-cycle rituals, such as birth, male circumcision, and marriage, but also the military register. The powerful soundscape within the arena consists of martial music of varying tempi. Drums functioned in the Ottoman army to deliver strategic messages across large distances and to frighten the enemy.⁵³ Among the six categories

51 The likewise important aspect of TV screening of the events cannot be covered in this volume.

52 This may also explain the constant insistence on fair play beyond the normal demands of modern athletic rationality.

53 The Harbiye Military Museum & Culture Center (*Harbiye Askeri Müze ve Kültür Sitesi*) in Istanbul hosts two gigantic army drums from Ottoman times, one from the 16th century called

of instruments in its military bands (*mehter*), drum and clarion are standard components and as such link the court with popular culture.⁵⁴ Due to the often large number of wrestling pairs on the field who compete within the same wrestling class and tour, the military, even battlefield character of the whole tableau is quite compelling.

The ceremonial announcer acoustically reverses the heartfelt, nearly complete loss of the Empire's European dominions in the Balkans by speaking repeatedly of the wrestlers' coming "from Rumelia" (i.e., the European part of the Ottoman Empire) and "from Anatolia," as if these entities were in any sense comparable in the modern Turkish Republic; only 3% of Turkish territory today remains in what was called Rumelia in Ottoman times. Although there is an impressive historic tradition of successful wrestlers especially from the region of Deliorman in what is now Bulgaria, these times are gone and the acoustic reversal of defeat with a somatic resurrection of the imperial framework is striking. This is all the odder, since wrestlers from Edirne and wider Thrace have only a modest athletic record compared with a number of energetic oil wrestling hubs, such as Antalya with its powerful clubs. This shows that it is not important that local winners emerge, but that anyone who really deserves it gains the victory. Hence, the identification with the oil wrestling rituals and their martial implications is addressed to any Turkish spectator. Because the names of the clubs that sent the wrestlers are respectively announced, the nation becomes physically and orally assembled on the field from various parts of the country.

The ritual music not only evokes a joyous festivity, but also creates a dramatizing martial setting that reminds one of mustering and emotionally preparing to fight. The names of the successively introduced wrestling classes mimic various Ottoman battalions. And the muscular bodies with their uniform trousers from navel to knee recall the infantry troops of the Janissaries. The ordered crowd management evokes the strategies of warfare. The athletic competition develops as a meeting of combatants and embodies battlefield strategies in that new units are sent to the field when the number of soldiers thins out. Hence, waves of attack, loss, and mobilizing new forces can be witnessed.

The overall choreography makes it clear that this is not about individual wrestlers acting merely on their own behalf, but that they have to strictly follow the rules. Although a number of minor disputes erupt, in principle the athletes

the "Big Drum used in the battle of Mohac 1526" and another "Big Drum" from the 20th century. Together they testify to this long-standing tradition.

54 Reinhard, Ursula and Ralf Martin Jäger: Türkei, in: Ludwig Finscher (ed.): *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, 21 vols, in two parts, 2nd ed., Kassel, Basel, London, et al. 1998, pp. 1049–1079, here p. 1058.

are supposed to obey the referee's decisions; if needed, the conflict is decided by the tower. Likewise, the wrestlers have to pay physical tribute to the VIP tribune with its political prominence and local representatives, so that the higher purpose of this gathering is made visible. The next upcoming wrestling class lines up opposite the VIP section, which ideally includes government representatives from Ankara.

Spiritual Transformation via Aurally Augmented Reality: the musical anthropologist Martin Stokes already remarked in 1996 that "there is no sport which carries as much symbolic 'weight' in Turkey as wrestling," but he uttered a warning that the "sentiments evoked by wrestling are far from static or consensual."⁵⁵ The human geographer Nigel Thrift deplorably asks why urban studies so often neglect the affective registers of cities, although cities can be regarded as affective maelstroms.⁵⁶ He pinpoints that "in the process of transformation, also the active engineering of the affective register of the cities as a positive power is realized."⁵⁷ The efficacy of oil wrestling as ritual is driven by a series of ambivalences that are turned to the positive, victorious side.

It starts with the name of the location itself, the Er Meydanı, which is often translated for foreign visitors simply as "field of men," thereby downplaying the martial implication (here, of a battlefield and of the athletes as reminders of ordinary soldiers), as has already been seen in the case of the BWMM. However, the term *er* also means "soldier" and "hero," so Turkish visitors to the BWMM immediately sense the connection when they hear the sound waves from the arena calling certain wrestling classes to the Er Meydanı. For them, the perception of the deceased privates (*erler*) – as listed by name in the memorial – merges with that of the upcoming competition of utterly alive wrestling heroes (*erler*).⁵⁸ The Cazgır (like many written sources) also employs stanzas in which he praises certain athletes as heroes (sing. *yığit*) in addition to the term *er*.

Current strength, enhanced by the music, proud stanzas, and the frequently interspersed announcements that XY has been victorious (*galip*; from the Arabic *ghalib*), turns the tables from weakness and humiliation in the Balkan War to

⁵⁵ Stokes, Martin: "Strong as a Turk." Power, Performance and Representation in Turkish Wrestling, in: Jeremy Mac Clancy (ed.): *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, Herdon, VA 1996, pp. 21–41, here p. 22.

⁵⁶ Thrift, Nigel: Intensitäten des Fühlens. Für eine räumliche Politik des Affekts, in: Helmuth Berking (ed.): *Die Macht des Lokalen in einer Welt ohne Grenzen*, Frankfurt and New York 2006, pp. 216–251, here pp. 216–217.

⁵⁷ Thrift, Intensitäten des Fühlens, p. 218, my translation.

⁵⁸ Even Erdogan himself uses in his speeches the *er meydanı* as a nationalistic metaphor for self-sacrifice, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TOB_FmnYyO8, last accessed 14 Aug. 2017.



Fig. 15: Er Meydanı Kirkpınar.

newly gained pride, from victimhood to uplifting victory, and from pondering death to finding fresh energies and gaining renewed strength. While the dynamics on the field are the embodiment of this regained strength, the BWMM is not merely the “embuidment” of losses and reconciliation with grief, but, at least temporarily, it also provides a very special transformative space that locates the athletic sacrifice and heroism in local and national history. It not only expresses the readiness of the border city of Edirne to defend itself, but also vows to ward off any encroachment of national soil. This is the dimension that skillful aesthetic workers put in place in 1993.

4 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the Balkan War Martyrdom Memorial (BWMM) close to Edirne’s oil wrestling stadium is a complex triadic structure that evolved over several decades and that – from its very humble beginnings and through its twice enlarged hyperreal amendments – was turned into a monument of wider national concern. Not only does it express the intrinsic logic of Edirne as a heavily contested and repeatedly traumatized border city that is fiercely determined to defend and assert itself; with its mixed memory of splendor and degradation, the area has also been upgraded into a major forum that conveys a message of utter

national importance: the 1993 enlargement of the BWMM shows that the rather backward-oriented memory of the Balkan War of 1912–1913 has been successfully integrated into a contemporary culture of vivid national commemoration. Linking the Balkan War to references to the Battle of Çanakkale in 1915 and the inclusion of both into *national* memory (although the Republic of Turkey was not founded until 1923) show how the center of gravity was shifted to the insistence on defending the national soil under any circumstances and in view of all future threats. The expressed emotional shift is from a mood of hatred and vengeance to an upbeat attitude of pride, but – still – of utter defense readiness.

Among the many other Turkish oil wrestling venues, the Kırkpınar tournament is *the* most important festival, from which the victorious “head wrestler” (*baş pahlivan*) and, in nationalist terms, the “Champion of Turkey” emerges who symbolically embodies the strength of the nation. After the founding of the Republic, the Kırkpınar event – which was officially adopted by the municipality of Edirne in 1946 – took place in Sarayıçi and, in close proximity, the BWMM (more precisely, its versions I and II) was set up. In the middle of the 1980s, the official modern-style oil wrestling arena was architecturally parachuted onto the sleepy meadow island. The growing popularity of oil wrestling and Edirne’s increasing number of participants from various parts of Turkey boosted the idea of connecting this traditional sport more explicitly with the narrative of defending the nation.

In the following decade, the BWMM was likewise enhanced and in 1993 synchronized with its modern neighbor, the wrestling arena, which not only hosted an increasingly important top athletic event, but also, at the same time, already served as a national theater to express the readiness for utter sacrifice on behalf of the nation and to symbolically enact border control. Thus, the BWMM was supplemented by its ostentatious version III (although the smaller precursors were not demolished, but only sidelined) – this time considerably magnified and with its ideology spelled out in a number of quite blunt messages set in stone.

The highly suggestive martial dynamic that emerges every summer from meanwhile more than two thousand oil wrestlers inside and outside the arena during the famous festival week, plus a plethora of predominantly, but not exclusively male visitors, who also roam the wider terrain, infuses the BWMM site with an additional performative dimension lacking in most other war memorials, which are enlivened only by one or more annual wreath-laying ceremonies. The memorial’s expansion of 1993 attracts additional visitors and secures attention from many people. Edirne’s Sarayıçi quarter has thus become a national stage on which the story of endurance, military prowess, and strength, but also of suffering, exhaustion, and death, are visually and ritually played out by combining various sense perceptions.

Berna Pekesen

The Anti-Jewish Pogrom in 1934. Problems of Historiography, Terms and Methodology

1 The Pogrom and the Jewish Exodus

In summer 1934, the Jews of Turkish Thrace, including the Gallipoli peninsula, became the victims of massive collective violence at the hands of Turkish nationalist mobs.¹ In a series of violent attacks beginning with an intense anti-Semitic press campaign, commercial boycotts, and demonstrations in the towns and cities of Edirne, Kırklareli, Lüleburgaz, Babaeski, and other small localities in Thrace and in Çanakkale and Gelibolu in the Dardanelles, the intimidations soon turned into physical violence. Beginning roughly in mid-June and continuing through 4 July 1934, Jews were beaten, Jewish women sexually assaulted, and their homes and businesses looted. In the course of these events, one gendarme was killed and one Jew wounded. It is reported that security forces remained passive and refrained from helping the victims. In Kırklareli, the Jewish population was given 48 hours' notice to leave their homes. Some of the Thracian Jews who had complained to the government that they had been compelled to leave their homes under pressure from the local authorities received the assurance from Prime Minister İsmet İnönü that all persons acting contrary to the law of the republic would be dealt with most severely. He recommended to the victims that they apply to the courts for the defense of their rights and punishment of the aggressors.

Two long-lasting weeks went by before the Turkish government ultimately took note of the massive violence perpetrated on the Jewish population. When finally Turkish troops were deployed to suppress the violence, most of the victims had already fled the region. Estimates of the total number of Jewish residents who left vary from 3,000 (according to the Turkish government) to 10,000 or 15,000 (according to foreign diplomats and Jewish sources). Many of them found shelter in Istanbul and abroad. In a declaration issued on 11 July, the government blamed local hooligans for the Jewish exodus and condemned anti-Semitism as the "root" of the crime that had arisen in the country since World War I and troubled the relations between Jews and Turks. Prime Minister İnönü declared that those responsible for the crime would be prosecuted and

¹ Much of this chapter is drawn from my book *Nationalismus, Türkisierung und das Ende der jüdischen Gemeinden in Thrakien, 1918–1942*, Munich 2012.

punished promptly. He promised to protect the Jews, and announced that he would send the Minister of the Interior to the site to make a thorough investigation. The *Millî İnkılâp*, a violently anti-Jewish newspaper that had frequently published eulogistic appreciations of Hitler's anti-Semitic policies, was banned. İnönü announced that its editor would be taken to court. Beside that, appeals were made to the Jews to return to their homes and assurances were given that they would be compensated for the material damage and losses. However, the majority of the Jews did not go back, nor were they repatriated by the state. Those arrested in connection with the pogrom, i.e., persons who acted as aggressors and officials who had not been active enough in stopping the pogrom, were acquitted in August 1934. Among them we find the mayor of Kırklareli, the president and vice-president of the town's chamber of commerce, and the police commissioner, who had stocked his house with pieces of furniture belonging to Jews. The courts sentenced only "six persons of unimportance" to terms of not less than six months' imprisonment. All these failures of restitution and of punishment of the culprits obviously were far from being an encouragement to the Jews to return to their hometowns. As a result, the number of Jews living in Thrace and the Dardanelles region declined by almost 50 percent. As commercial boycotts and intimidation of Jews continued, Jewish emigration from these regions and overall emigration from Turkey increased. By 1945, the earlier number of 13,000 Jews in Edirne (according to official figures of the early 1920s) had decreased to approximately 2,000.²

The violent actions in summer 1934 sealed the end of the Jewish communities in Thrace, and above all the rather numerous one of Edirne, which was one of the oldest and most important already in the times of the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the Thracian Jews, in most cases themselves expellees from the Balkan regions or their descendants, had already experienced flight and expulsion during a series of catastrophic wars between 1877 and 1922 – a period characterized by the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of the Turkish republic. The Jewish communities in the Balkans had been victims of the armed conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and the newly founded Balkan states. The newly established nationalist governments regarded Jews as loyal supporters of the odious Ottoman regime. During the Bulgarian War of Independence in 1878, there were large-scale offensives and anti-Semitic attacks against the

² Shaw, Stanford J.: *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic*, New York 1991, pp. 176 and 285. See also Toktaş, Şule: Turkey's Jews and Their Immigration to Israel, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 42 (2006), pp. 505–519.

Jewish population, accompanied by the destruction and pillaging of Jewish neighborhoods, sparking a Jewish exodus. The occupation of Ottoman Salonika by the Greek army (1912) was also accompanied by massive attacks against the Jews. During the Balkan Wars (1912/13), Jewish casualties were numerous.³ However, the scale of collective violence against Jews carried out by Muslims/Turks in Turkey in 1934 was unprecedented in a country that to this date was known for its relative hospitality to Jews.

Although we possess solid knowledge of the facts, the historiography of the anti-Jewish actions is not at all settled. There is little consensus as far as to sources, perpetrators, context, approaches, and terminology concerned. The issue at hand gets even more complicated by politically influenced interpretations, because by studying the events some historians are automatically suspected of taking on a political stance on Turkey and Turkish history in general.⁴ Scholars of the pogrom may face accusations of being members of an anti-Turkish historiographic faction as long as they do not follow the official Turkish line of interpretation; yet the same critical scholars may be suspected of confirming the pro-Turkish narrative of the events – a paradox without explanation in terms of scholarship. Thus, the violent attacks on Jewish life and property in 1934 are not only debated in historiography as one might expect, but research itself has been the cause of polemics.⁵

This makes it all the more necessary to offer a scholarly discussion that enables the reader to follow the ways research has taken so far. The following analysis may therefore help to put things into their historiographical perspective. This is also crucial because Turkish historiography has had many difficulties when concerning itself with the anti-Jewish actions, euphemistically referred to as the “Thracian incidents” (*Trakya Olayları*). For more than sixty years, these occurrences have constantly been tucked under the amnesic blanket of Turkish nationalism. For decades, official and semi-official historical writing tended to overstate the “exemplary friendship” between Ottomans/Turks and

3 Pekesen, *Nationalismus*; Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 253–254.

4 Bali, Rıfat: *Maziyi Eşelerken. Tarih, Basın ve Popüler Edebiyat*, İstanbul 2006, pp. 23–25, 37–38.

5 See Corry Guttstadt’s review of my book mentioned in footnote 1 in *H-Soz-Kult*, 27 Feb. 2014 and my commentary there. Cf. <https://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/rezbuecher-19661>, last accessed 9 Oct. 2018. All points of her critique except a minor one are neither supported by the relevant passages nor the argument of my book and have turned out to be simply unfounded.

Jews in their long shared history.⁶ There may have been some truth in this assertion. Indeed, the Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire never became victims of a Muslim anti-Semitism until the 20th century, and they survived the more than 400 years of Ottoman rule without suffering any major conflicts. It should be noted, however, that historical myths are usually not characterized by a lack of facts, but rather by the ways “facts” are shortened or distorted to create a “usable past” for the present. This line of approaching Turkish-Jewish history, i.e., stressing its congenial aspects while ignoring the less congenial ones, is still prevalent in official Turkish historiography. About 60 years had to pass before the Jewish expulsion of 1934 found admission to scholarly works.

Since the mid-1990s, studies in and outside Turkey critically challenging the state’s official version of Turkish national history and its monopoly on historical interpretation have increased remarkably in number. In this time, the Turkish public began to become aware of the record of the tremendous human and material costs of the ongoing war between the Turkish state and a Kurdish guerrilla. Against this background, critical voices opened up a scholarly and public debate on the founding myths of Turkish national history. While official Turkish historical accounts have reiterated the homogenous nature of the secular Turkish nation-state and have tabooed themes of its minorities (Armenians, Kurds, Alevis, Jews, etc.), the critics of this interpretation began to question the nationalist Kemalist legacy, its violent historical record, and the ongoing fetishization of Turkishness. Simultaneously a popularization of (national) history set in. Not only did the media present historical subjects to a wider audience; historically interested critical intellectuals also stimulated historical interest outside academia. In the course of this development, the main episodes of nationalist policies and acts of state-led violence, ranging from the genocidal violence against Armenians and other Christian groups in 1915 to the violent campaign against the Dersim Kurds (1938) and the anti-Greek pogrom (1955), became controversially debated topics of Turkish national history. The “Thracian incidents” were not left out and soon became an object of scholarly research. My aim in this paper is to explore the trajectory of the discussion of the Thracian pogroms, and, in doing so, to provide an overview of historiography’s differing approaches to why and how these acts of collective violence against Turkish Jews could happen.

⁶ See Güleriyüz, Naim: *The History of Turkish Jews*, İstanbul 1993; Yetkin, Çetin: *Türkiye’nin Devlet Yaşamında Yahudiler*, İstanbul 1992; Sharon, Moshe Sevilla: *Türkiye Yahudileri*, İstanbul 1992, and Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*.

2 Impacts of Nazi Germany and Anti-Semitism

Avner Levi was the first to make the “dark chapters” of 20th-century Turkish-Jewish history the object of a study. In his book on the history of the Turkish Jews during the formative years of the Turkish Republic, he highlighted some anti-Jewish state policies and activities, such as the Elza-Niyego episode (a press and popular campaign in 1927 against Jews in Istanbul), the “incidents” in Thrace in 1934, the wealth tax law of 1942, which applied only to non-Muslim and *dönme*⁷ merchants and industrialists and which led to the impoverishment of large parts of the Jewish population, and finally the nationalistic public campaign “Citizen, Speak Turkish!,” which initially aimed to encourage non-Muslims to speak Turkish in public, but soon assumed violent forms of xenophobia. Even though Avner Levi noted the Turkish government’s massive assimilation policy aimed at the Jewish and other non-Muslim population, which he characterized as inimical to the minorities, he refrained from viewing the “Thracian incidents” as an integral part or consequence of these policies. Instead, he suggested that it was not the state but anti-Semitic circles and pan-Turkists⁸ who instigated the violent acts in Thrace. Levi dwelled on the impact of anti-Semitic ideas from abroad, namely from Nazi Germany, which supposedly incited the Turkish imitators of National Socialism to launch the violent furor against Turkish Jews. Thus, he put the blame for the “Thracian incidents” on the anti-Semitic journal *Millî İnkılâp* (National Revolution) published by the Turkish anti-Semite Cevat Rifat

7 The term *dönme* (“those who turned” in Turkish) refers to the descendants of Jews who had followed Shabbetai Sevi, a self-proclaimed messiah, into Islam in the 17th century. The existence of *dönme* still provokes controversies and suspicions. In conservative and anti-Semitic circles in contemporary Turkey, *dönme* are often treated as “crypto-Jews.” Anti-Semitic attitudes and hostilities target not only Jews as such, but even more so the descendants of the *dönme*. See Baer, Marc David: *The Dönme. Jewish Converts, Muslim Revolutionaries, and Secular Turks*, Stanford 2010.

8 Pan-Turkism was an intellectual and political movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries advocating the political union of Turkic-speaking peoples of the Ottoman Empire, the Caucasus, the Volga-Ural regions, the Crimea, and Central and Middle Asia. Pan-Turkism was inspired by linguistic, ethno-linguistic, and racial studies and especially by the “Turan” studies in Europe since the 19th century. According to the defenders of Pan-Turkism, Turkic peoples of the world share some kind of common culture, language, religion, and ethnic origin. Pan-Turkist ideas first attracted Turkic intellectuals from the Volga-Ural region in Russia in terms of the “awakening of national consciousness.” Around 1900, these ideas also reached the Ottoman Empire. For an encyclopedic survey, see Pekesen, Berna: Pan-Turkism, in: *Europäische Geschichte Online*, 2014, <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/transnational-movements-and-organisations/pan-ideologies/berna-pekesen-pan-turkism/view> (last accessed 4 Oct. 2019).

Atilhan, and he explicitly exculpated the Kemalist government of any responsibility.⁹ Despite his insightful description of the rapidly worsening conditions of Jewish existence in “modern” Turkey, Levi did not focus (enough) on phenomena such as state- and nation-building as a determining factor of state-minority relations, or by the same token, on the impacts of exclusion through Turkish nationalism as a whole. However, Levi succeeded in inspiring young scholars in this field and in pioneering new research.

Levi’s assertions on the Thracian incidents soon triggered an intense debate in the monthly popular historical journal *Tarih ve Toplum* that has continued in the mid-1990s. The main debate revolved around the question whether or to what extent the ruling Kemalist Republican People’s Party (CHP) at this time could be held responsible for the occurrences in Thrace. Halûk Karabatak, for instance, regarded Levi’s assertion of Nazi influence as an overestimation and pointed rather to the state’s responsibility. Karabatak put the blame on “Kemalist racism” and explicitly criticized the CHP government for creating an atmosphere favorable to xenophobia and to the maltreatment of non-Muslims, which in his eyes enabled some “looters” to commit atrocities against the Jews.¹⁰ The sociologist Ayhan Aktar also pointed to the state’s role by emphasizing its nationalist premises. According to Aktar, the Kemalist regime considered non-Muslim groups, such as the Armenians, Greeks, and Jews, to be undesirable minorities. Either they were exposed to Turkification (meaning assimilation), or the government tried to get rid of them through expulsion or isolation. Aktar also downplayed the supposed impact of the anti-Semitic journal *Millî İnkılâp* and other anti-Semitic publications. Due to sparse communication and transport networks, and above all, the overall low rate of literacy, he assumed that these publications had little resonance in Turkey at this time.¹¹ Yet, new research has shown that, at least in Çanakkale, a commercial boycott against Jewish traders and merchants took place “exactly at a time when *Millî İnkılâp* called for one in May 1934.”¹² Soner Cagaptay, who is quoted here, suggests that the coincidence in time was

9 Levi, Avner: *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Yahudiler. Hukuki ve Sosyal durumları*, 2nd ed., İstanbul 1998; also cf. *ibid.*: 1934 Trakya Olayları. Alınamayan Ders, in: *Tarih ve Toplum* 151 (1996), pp. 10–18, and *ibid.*: Elza Niyego Olayı ve Türk-Yahudi İlişkilerine Yeni Bir Bakış, in: *Toplumsal Tarih* 25 (1996), pp. 23–27.

10 Karabatak, Halûk: 1934 Trakya Olayları ve Yahudiler, in: *Tarih ve Toplum* 146 (1996), pp. 4–16.

11 Aktar, Ayhan: Trakya Olaylarını Doğru Yorumlamak, in: *Tarih ve Toplum* 155 (1996), pp. 45–56. See also Aktar, Ayhan: Cumhuriyetin ilk Yıllarında Uygulanan Türkleştirme Politikaları, in: *Tarih ve Toplum* 156 (1996), pp. 4–18.

12 Cagaptay, Soner: *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey. Who is a Turk?*, London and New York 2006, p. 143.

not an accident. It has also become known that Jewish community leaders in Izmir and Istanbul petitioned the government several times and complained about the anti-Semitic tirades in *Millî İnkılâp*. Concerning the supposed complicity of state authorities, however, the historian Zafer Toprak has drawn attention to an archive document that provides evidence that the central party organs of CHP were not informed about the incidents. However, Toprak did not rule out the possible involvement of local party cadres, although there was no evidence at that time that corroborated it.¹³

The question of the extent to which the anti-Jewish actions were rooted in racism or anti-Semitism was closely linked to these considerations. While Karabatak saw a kind of Turkish racism at play, Aktar refused to identify racism as a cause since, according to him, Turkey in the 1930s lacked the necessary ideological or sociological preconditions that could give birth to modern racism.¹⁴ In a more recent study, Soner Cagaptay took up the question and noted the lack of “racialist” components in Turkish politics during “High Kemalism.” In this context, he mentions some “anti-anti-Semitic” policies of the government and calls attention to the admission of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany in Turkey, which shows that “the government did not view the Jews as a racially alien category.”¹⁵ Cagaptay’s assertion holds true even in the light of new research that proves that the Turkish government was far from implementing a pro-Jewish refugee policy during World War II. Instead, pragmatic reasons led to the appointment in Turkish universities of dozens of Jewish academics who had escaped from Nazi Germany to Turkey or were invited by the Turkish government. They were welcomed during the period of the Turkish university reforms in order to ameliorate the lack of university teachers, academic personnel, experts, and advisers for the modernizing country. Furthermore, the Turkish government also welcomed followers of the Nazi regime.¹⁶ It is also true that, during World War II, Turkey effectively prevented the mass migration of Jewish refugees into Turkey, and usually did not even allow transit passage through Turkey to Palestine.¹⁷ What is more, Ankara remained indifferent to

¹³ Toprak, Zafer: 1934 Trakya Olaylarında Hükümetin ve CHF’nin Sorumluluğu, in: *Toplumsal Tarih* 34 (1996), pp. 19–25.

¹⁴ Aktar, Ayhan: *Varlık Vergisi ve Türkleştirme Politikaları*, Istanbul 2000, pp. 89–99.

¹⁵ Cagaptay, Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey, p. 155.

¹⁶ Pekesen, Berna: *Zwischen Sympathie und Eigennutz. NS-Propaganda und die türkische Presse im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, Berlin 2014, pp. 60–66.

¹⁷ Friling, Tuvia: Between Friendly and Hostile Neutrality. Turkey and the Jews during World War II, in: Minna Rozen (ed.): *The Last Ottoman Century and Beyond. The Jews in Turkey and the Balkans 1808–1945*, vol. 2, Tel Aviv 2002, pp. 309–423, here pp. 421 et passim.

the fate of Jews of Ottoman/Turkish origin in the Nazi-ruled regions in Europe. Left unprotected and eventually declared stateless persons, most of them were deported and killed in the Nazi death camps.¹⁸ A contemporary Jewish observer pinpointed the Turkish government's ambivalent attitude in the Jewish newspaper *Vorwärts* in 1943: "The Turkish Government displays a dual role regarding Jews. She has pity on foreign Jews but persecutes her own ones."¹⁹ The Turkish government's restrictive attitude toward the admission of Jewish refugees is echoed by the well-known statement from Refik Saydam, by then Prime Minister of Turkey: "Turkey can be neither a refuge nor a homeland for all those who are unwanted elsewhere."²⁰

Meanwhile Rifat Bali had revealed how Turkey caused damage to its local Jewish communities. In his monograph on the anti-Jewish measures and policies of the Kemalist regime, Bali showed how the Jewish population in Turkey became one of the main targets of both assimilation and exclusionist state policies.²¹ Based on the extensive use of governmental statements, press articles, coverage, and interviews, Bali provided a comprehensive overview of the impacts and consequences of the Turkification policies. In 1942, the Turkish government imposed a heavy and unjust wealth tax on minorities and sent those taxpayers who could not provide the money to the forced labor camps in East Anatolia.²² Even though the communal leadership of Turkish Jewry showed a high degree of willingness to collaborate with state officials, for instance in giving up minority rights or in adopting Turkish as the language of schooling, they could not escape the status of second-class citizens. Bali has also drawn attention to widespread anti-Semitic or at least intolerant nationalist ideas and perceptions in the Turkish public, which became more prevalent during the founding years of the Republic. According to Bali, the Jewish exodus from

18 Mahrad, Ahmad: *Tauziehen zwischen Berlin und Ankara und das Schicksal türkischer Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, in: *Hannoversche Studien über den Mittleren Osten*, vol. 3, Frankfurt/M. 1988, pp. 113–181, and Guttstadt, Corry: *Die Türkei, die Juden und der Holocaust*, Berlin and Hamburg 2008.

19 Pekesen, *Nationalismus*, p. 30.

20 Friling, *Between Friendly and Hostile Neutrality*, p. 335.

21 Bali, Rifat N.: *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri. Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni (1923–1945)*, İstanbul 1999. On exclusionist minority policies during the one-party era see also Okutan, M. Çağatay: *Tek Parti Döneminde Azınlık Politikaları*, İstanbul 2004; and Yıldız, Ahmet: "Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene." *Türk Ulusal Kimliği'nin Etno-Seküler Sınırları (1919–1938)*, İstanbul 2001.

22 Bali, *Türkleştirme*, pp. 457–458. On the labor camps see also Akar, Rıdvan: *Aşkale Yolcuları. Varlık Vergisi ve Çalışma Kampları*, 2nd ed., İstanbul 1999.

Thrace was directly linked to the anti-Semitic campaign, as well as to the strategic government plan to promote the Turkification of the country.

3 Roles and Responsibilities of Turkish Authorities and Local Population

Following these discussions, several studies focused on the evolution of Turkish nationalism and its harmful impacts on the multicultural and multi-ethnic society from the final decades of the Ottoman Empire to the post-Ottoman Turkish state. While some authors analyzed the conceptualization, practices, and reproduction of Turkish nationalism as identity and citizenship policies, others concentrated on the often violent implications of nationalist policies by regarding particular non-Muslim or non-Turkish minority groups, ranging from the late Ottoman Young Turk era to the founding decades of the Kemalist Republic.

Concerning the impacts on the Jewish population in Thrace, scholars frequently have drawn attention to the Resettlement Law of June 1934, which stipulated the removal of “untrustworthy elements” from strategically sensitive regions such as Thrace and the Dardanelles region, as well as from the eastern parts of Turkey. There is no doubt that the promulgation of this law was related to security concerns, since Turkey considered Bulgaria’s revisionist policies and fascist Italy’s imperial expansion as threatening the territorial integrity of the country. The remilitarization of Thrace, which since the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) had been a demilitarized zone, was another step the Turkish government took, displaying the importance attributed to the border region. Concurrently, the law mirrored a deep mistrust of the non-Muslim population. The language of the law revealed the limits of Turkishness and defined very clearly who and what belonged to the Turkish nation and who and what did not. Paradoxically enough, despite its staunch laicism, the Kemalist rulers considered Muslimness and ethnicity the denominators of the nation, i.e., of Turkishness. As one scholar rightly pointed out, the Kemalists projected the “ideal” Turkish citizen as simultaneously being Muslim, Turkish, and secular.²³ Accordingly, as described in the Resettlement Law, persons of “Turkish culture” and “race” were supposed to settle in every part of Turkey, including the border regions, whereas non-Muslims residing in the sensitive border zones were to be removed. In other words, in eastern Thrace and the Dardanelles, settlement

²³ Bilici, Mücahit: Black Turks, White Turks. On the Three Requirements of Turkish Citizenship, in: *Insight Turkey* 11 (2009), pp. 23–35, here p. 27.

was allowed to people of “purely Turkish origin” and restricted to those without it. The stipulations of the law provided that no group of “alien culture” should exceed 10 percent of the overall local population. As recent studies show, this policy stands in continuity with the population policies carried out under the rule of the Young Turks (also known as the Committee of Union and Progress, CUP) in the early 20th century.²⁴

Historiography has characterized the Resettlement Law as a severe political instrument to foster demographic restructuring and ethnic homogenization. However, the existing scholarship still has problems determining how exactly and to what extent the stipulations of the law came into force. Because half of the overall Jewish population had permanently left Thrace and the Dardanelles region after the 1934 anti-Jewish campaign, the law became redundant, i.e., “the end result fitted the overall policy of Ankara to diminish the presence of Non-Muslims in frontier areas.”²⁵ To reinstate the law would have legalized the expulsion of at least some of the remaining Jews. Obviously, the Turkish authorities retreated from executing the law’s practical consequences right after the forced displacement of Jews.

It should be noted in this context that the law had been applied to Kurds in the eastern provinces as well. They were deported from their homelands and scattered all over Anatolia in order to dilute their ethnic cohesion and demographic concentration for the purpose of easier assimilation and of breaking down their traditional tribal networks and economies. Regarding the Jews, however, scholars have been suggesting a direct connection between the resettlement legislature and the forced collective displacement from Thrace and the Dardanelles region in 1934.²⁶ According to this “intentionalist” approach, the ruling CHP launched the anti-Jewish campaigns because they wanted to free the regions in question from “unwanted” elements. This explanation makes perfect sense, since the Kemalist regime, as indicated above, unequivocally stipulated the dislocation of the Jewish and other non-Muslim groups in its pertaining legislation.

The problem remains, however, why state authorities provoked the anti-Jewish pogrom when the Resettlement Law gave the government the “legal”

²⁴ Dündar, Fuat: *Modern Türkiye’nin şifresi. İttihat ve Terakki’nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913–1918)*, İstanbul 2008.

²⁵ Benbassa, Esther and Rodrigue, Aron: *Sephardi Jewry. A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th–20th Centuries*, Berkeley et al. 2000, p. 163.

²⁶ Among others, see Ülker, Erol: Assimilation, Security and Geographical Nationalization in Interwar Turkey. The Settlement Law of 1934, in: *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (2008), <http://ejts.revues.org/2123>, last accessed 15 Sept. 2015.

power to dislodge the “undesired” population. To answer this question, it is worth recalling the forced resettlement of Anatolian Armenians from Sivas to Istanbul in February 1934, which was carried out by state officials in an “orderly fashion.” This campaign did not provoke any reactions from either the Turkish or the international public. According to the US Ambassador Robert F. Skinner, the deportation of the Armenians from Sivas was carried out in a “regular way” partly because the Muslim neighbors of the Armenian population lacked “enthusiasm” for chasing out the infidel (*gâvur*). Skinner noted:

the Turkish police, in towns and villages where Armenians lived, attempted to instigate local Moslem people to drive the Armenians away. These efforts failed completely. The authorities then brought in Turks from Rumeli [the Balkan countries, BP] and intimidated [sic] to them that they could take over the Armenian possessions. This new element, however, instead of taking a hostile attitude toward the Armenians became most congenial with them. These two means failing, the Armenians were told [by the state authorities, BP] that they had to leave at once for Istanbul. They sold their possessions receiving for them ruinous prices. [...] The Armenians were obliged to walk from their villages to the railways and then they were shipped by train to Istanbul.²⁷

This observation shows once more the need for qualified explanations of the top-down, intentionalist approaches to dealing with the Thracian pogrom. Obviously, Skinner put the initiative of the state in the foreground, and he described the state’s final intervention when the process took an undesirable course. Additionally, a very concrete question arises: who were the actors in a process called “participatory violence”? Even if we assume that the collective violence that occurred in Thrace in 1934 was intentional and instrumental, we should be aware that the exercise of violence needs the participation of actors who laid hand on Jews and their properties. Thus, an analysis of the anti-Jewish violence in 1934 should ideally combine political and social history and focus on social change and social relationships among different groups, and on historical dispositions to violent behavior, including motives, causes, and conditions for certain groups and in particular generations in the regions under consideration. As Christian Gerlach showed in his seminal study on “extremely violent societies,” historians ought to understand why and how ordinary people took part in actions of collective violence. Without downplaying the role of ideologies, Gerlach proposes to “inquire into the entire social process of which mass violence is a part, the relationship between structural and physical

²⁷ Pekesen, *Nationalism*, pp. 18–19.

violence, between direct violence and dynamic shifts in inequality, and between social groups and state organs.”²⁸

It has been noted that the “Thracian incidents” are commonly conceived explicitly or implicitly as a crime perpetrated by the state or by state-linked actors. Recent research has supported this assumption to varying degrees. Hatice Bayraktar and the author of these lines paid attention to the dubious role of the General Inspectorate of Thrace in presumably instigating or at least tolerating the anti-Jewish atrocities.²⁹ The office of the Thracian Inspectorate was established shortly before the outbreak of violence in Thrace (in February 1934) in order to restore the war-torn region and to promote the fortification of the area. Indeed, Thrace and the western parts of Turkey in general had been theaters of wars since 1912. The region was widely depopulated and had gone to rack and ruin. Although at the gate opening onto Europe, the republican state had paid little attention to the region. Therefore, the Turkish government intended to engage in public works in the region, notably the reconstruction of the historic city of Edirne and the construction of an automobile road leading to Europe through the newly founded Thracian General Inspectorate. Beside the aim of strengthening Turkey’s position in her European provinces, the Inspectorate’s task was to repopulate the region with Muslim settlers. Eventually it was to link the central government with the vilayets (provinces) and the provincial population. The jurisdiction of the Inspectorate covered Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, and Çanakkale provinces and had its headquarters at Edirne. The Inspector General wielded authority over all civilian, military, and judicial institutions in his domain. In Thrace, İbrahim Tali Öngören was appointed to this office and started with an extensive inspection tour through the region by early June 1934. He wrote down his impressions and conclusions in a memorandum to the central government. In his account, packed with crude anti-Semitic stereotypes, he labeled the Thracian Jews “bloodsucking parasites of Turkish blood” and accused them of controlling the regional economy and of exploiting the worst-off Muslim Turks. İbrahim Tali proposed measures to concentrate all economic resources

²⁸ Gerlach, Christian: *Extremely Violent Societies. Mass Violence in the Twentieth-Century World*, New York 2010, p. 3. On the criticism of prevailing scholarly perspectives on the anti-Greek pogroms in 1955, see Kuyucu, Ali Tuna: Ethno-religious “Unmixing” of “Turkey.” 6–7 September Riots as a Case in Turkish Nationalism, in: *Nations and Nationalism* 11 (2005), pp. 361–380.

²⁹ Bayraktar, Hatice: The anti-Jewish Pogrom in Eastern Thrace in 1934. New Evidence For the Responsibility of the Turkish Government, in: *Patterns of Prejudice* 40 (2006), pp. 95–111, and Pekesen, Berna: Umumi Müfettiş İbrahim Tali Öngören. Müfettişlik İcraatları ve 1934 Trakya Teftiş Gezisi Raporu, in: *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 7 (2008), pp. 145–179.

in the hands of the Muslim/Turkish merchants and, thus, end “Jewish dominance.” The General Inspector also alleged that the Jews were spreading communist propaganda and were “spying for Bulgaria and other foreign agencies.” Furthermore, with the military threat from Turkey’s revisionist neighbor Bulgaria in mind, he suggested supplying the Muslim population of the border areas with arms and setting up irregular military formations and village guards to prepare them for the “use of defense.” Along with the tiny minority of Bulgarians in the region, the Jews were viewed as the main enemies of the nation, so that the “Jewish problem” had to be solved as quickly as possible, as İbrahim Tali urged his superiors in Ankara.

As chance would have it, both İbrahim Tali and the whole leadership of the Inspectorate General were absent from Edirne when violence erupted in the provinces and towns under its administration. İbrahim Tali and his entourage left Edirne on 18 June 1934 for Ankara to deliver the results of his inspection tour to the government; they came back on 7 July, right after the end of the pogrom. Several questions related to İbrahim Tali and to the chain of command have not been sufficiently clarified. Did İbrahim Tali, who was thoroughly obsessed with anti-Semitism, authorize or tolerate the anti-Jewish incidents? Did he leave his office in full knowledge of what was to come? Was the Inspectorate General left vacant in order to avoid legal charges, i.e., as an alibi? Did the aggressors exploit the situation of the Inspectorate General’s vacancy when they launched the violent actions? Or was the office left vacant in order to give the nationalist mobs plenty of scope? Due to the lack of or limited access to Turkish official records, these questions remain unanswered. In any case, there is no doubt that local authorities (police, gendarmerie, local administration officials, etc.) either turned a blind eye to the outburst of violence, or remained passive, or even participated in the violent actions.

Likewise, it is obvious that the government in Ankara was surprised by the incidents. In a memorandum sent to the CHP’s local party branches in Thrace, Recep Peker, Secretary General of the CHP, asked his party colleagues why they did not inform Ankara of the events. He wanted to know when local cadres had become aware of the incidents and what complaints they had received on this matter prior to the incidents. Peker also asked “for the names of people in the party who might have taken part in the incidents,” and “whether anyone in the CHP had taken advantage of the incidents for personal gain.” Since Peker was searching for possible accomplices in this classified report, it would appear that the CHP’s presidency was unaware of the exodus until it started.³⁰

30 Cagaptay, *Islam, Secularism, and Nationalism in Modern Turkey*, p. 147.

Yet, we still do not know what consequences these inquiries of the Secretary General entailed. Were sanctions imposed on party members who were identified as participants or bystanders, and if so, what sanctions? İbrahim Tali, however, remained in office for a year and resigned in August 1935 for reasons of poor health. But there are several inspection reports from Kazım Dirik, Tali's successor as chief of the General Inspectorate, that suggest an ideological cohesion and unity within the higher reaches of the regime. Dirik's reports and missives make clear that he was fairly in accordance with the policies of his predecessor. In his eyes, too, the Jews were "bloodsuckers," and he announced measures to break what he called the Jewish hegemony in Thrace, but then disapproved of violent actions against them.³¹ Indeed, the economic nationalism reflected in the later wealth tax of 1942 reveals a broad coalition of interests within the regime.

Seen from the perspective of the scholars dealing with this part of history, it seems clear that the Turkish state bears the moral or historical responsibility for the crimes, at least for not protecting its citizens from physical assaults. But the questions remain unanswered: Who were the perpetrators of the anti-Jewish actions and what was their motivation? As indicated above, there seem to be no official Turkish documents one can rely on. Yet recent research based on eyewitness testimonies and foreign embassy documents gives two main answers to this question: the perpetrators were men (indeed it was an all-male event) from all social groups, of all ages and social statuses; they were soldiers, students, schoolboys, peasants, and merchants; and newly settled Muslim immigrants (*muhacirler*) in the Thracian neighborhoods, above all in Kırklareli and Çanakkale, participated significantly in the violent actions against the Jews.³² According to British consular reports, for instance, some immigrants from Crete who had settled in Çanakkale went into Jewish establishments and terrified the owners by sharpening knives on their sleeves with hints of the use to which they were to be put. But we read as well that these actions were "not always officially encouraged" and that the aggressors had been "well-beaten by the police for such exercises."³³

The documents usually remain silent about the motives of the perpetrators. But we do know that nationalist fanatics from the local People's Houses, the Students' Union, and the Turkish Sporting Club took part, mostly "young hot-heads," who started the attacks by breaking the windows of Jewish houses. They were soon joined by a socially heterogeneous mob of men who ended their day's work by looting, beating, and committing occasional cases of rape. Many may

³¹ Pekesen, *Nationalismus*, pp. 264–265.

³² Bali, Rifat N.: *1934 Trakya Olayları*, Istanbul 2008, pp. 201–202.

³³ Pekesen, *Nationalismus*, p. 43.

have joined in the actions with an eye to the benefit to be gained by plundering Jewish possessions. They fairly naturally took the opportunity then presented. However, the rhetoric of nationalism, ramped up into chauvinism and aggressive xenophobia, provided a tool for their political mobilization.³⁴

According to the US Ambassador Skinner, the mob was obviously encouraged by rumors which were put into circulation throughout the Republic, beginning about the middle of June, to the effect that the government desired to dislodge the Jews of Thrace but preferred that the movements should not be accomplished in the broad light of day, but by means of combinations and pressure.³⁵

As the US consul in Istanbul, Charles E. Allen, put it, the idea has been to “get rid of the Jews but at the same time to make it appear that they had left on their own.”³⁶ British Ambassador Percy Loraine also saw a connection between the Jewish exodus and the Resettlement Law. Several governors of towns, among them Edirne, Uzunköprü, and Tekirdağ, clearly gave the Jewish population instructions to leave. These towns were part of the military zone. In his report to the Foreign Office, Ambassador Loraine supported the assumption that the central government in Ankara wanted to remove the Jews from Thrace in general, but this “was to be effected by a very slow process, such as the institution of a gradual boycott, the working up of minor incidents, and so on.” The local authorities, however, “having received a general direction from Ankara regarding the eviction of non-Moslems, became excited and consequently acted with undue precipitation.” They passed the oral instructions given to them from Ankara to unofficial Turkish institutions, among them the aforementioned Turkish Sporting Club, and the latter carried out the anti-Jewish actions “as a patriotic gesture.”³⁷ One can hardly avoid the conclusion that Ankara provided the general context of political aims and political language while the specifics on implementation were left to local initiative.

Another answer to the question whether the state authorities were involved in the pogrom can be found by looking at places other than Thrace. In the cities of Mersin and Izmir, local authorities’ energetic measures apparently were able to prevent violent actions. In both cities, Jews and other non-Muslim or non-Turkish groups (Arabs, Greeks, Kurds, Syrians, but also citizens of foreign countries such as Italy, France, Switzerland, and Britain) faced harassment and physical attacks from students and schoolboys on the grounds that they were not speaking Turkish in public. Others were arrested and maltreated by the Turkish

³⁴ See Haker, Erol: *Bir Zamanlar Kırklareli’de Yahudiler Yaşardı*, İstanbul 2002; Bali, 1934 *Trakya Olayları*.

³⁵ Pekesen, *Nationalismus*, p. 50.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50–52.

police on the same grounds. Hundreds of persons were arrested in Izmir for speaking a foreign language, the penalty being 94 hours' imprisonment. According to foreign embassy reports, the director of the People's Houses, Necip Macit Bey, succeeded in deterring the mob from attacking Jews and other non-Muslims on a large scale, thus effectively hindering a repetition of the "Thracian incidents."³⁸

4 Historiographical Approaches and the Problem of Terms and Terminologies

Existing historiography has offered different ways of analyzing and explaining the pogrom. Most scholars explicitly or implicitly consider it a concomitant feature of Turkish nation- and state-building, that is to say, a by-product of Turkish modernization. The Kemalist regime's adoption of the Western European formula of nationhood and ethnicity went hand in hand with political and social engineering practices designed to create an ethnically homogeneous homeland. The Kemalist elite thus not only continued late Ottoman demographic policies, but also subscribed to the idea that "modern" states, if they are to survive, must achieve a unified and cohesive national population. Thus, the Kemalist regime punched its way toward modern statehood and sovereignty, accompanied by strategies of national self-construction in terms of the invention of the "Turkish" nation and of construction and externalization of the "others," including violent actions against "minority" groups. Obviously, there is an intrinsic dialectic of (one's own) *nation-building* and (the other's) *nation-destroying* that is certainly not unique to Turkey during late 19th and beginning 20th centuries. In any case, the ascendancy of the very idea of nationalism rendered the ethnically pluralist society and particularistic identities outmoded. Therefore, they were to be transformed into a single national consciousness. Thus, in terms of long-term causes and preconditions, the starting point of 1934 seems to lie in the context of nation-building, modernization, and violence, which became explosive at the close of the 19th century, i.e., before the Turkish Republic was founded. Seen from this point of view, the 1934 violence emerged not only under the specific social, demographic, and spatial conditions of Thrace, but also as a result of a broader ("national") mindset of

³⁸ Ibid., p. 148.

historical actors who had gained social and political experiences, while different state authorities enabled them to transform these experiences into violent political action. The long-term explanation takes on even more weight when the personal continuity from the late Ottoman Young Turk elites to the Republican Kemalist elites is taken into consideration.³⁹ Many politicians during the Kemalist era, including İbrahim Tali, and many others below the top leadership level were also active in shaping politics during the Young Turk era.

Macro-structural interpretations, however, such as the aforementioned triadic disposition of nation-building, modernization, and structural violence, run the risk of over-generalizing and thus supporting an idea of history as a one-way road. Ideally, they ought to be combined with a micro-structural approach that enables insights into local conditions, local actors, and situational factors. Indeed, many studies dealing with minority issues in Turkish contexts often focus on ideas and ideologies to suggest that ideas make history. The discourse analysis approach should also be mentioned, which is steadily gaining popularity in explanations of structural violence (including physical as well as psychological, cultural, and social violence) against minorities and which has also been employed in the context of the anti-Jewish violence in Thrace. This approach certainly has some benefits. As in the case at issue, however, it tends to overemphasize the “texts” and declares “authors” to be the agents or causes of historical events; this approach does not cover sufficiently the social, demographic, and political backgrounds of the occurrences. In general, most of the historiography on the “Thracian incidents” has focused widely on the state’s responsibility in instigating the violence, but failed to give an insight into the conditions of society, not to mention its limited understanding of collective violence. Thus, usually we read of a pogrom, but we have no participants.

A micro-historical approach seems to be more appropriate in analyzing the local context of the Thracian pogrom. Unlike longitudinal perspectives and structural analyses, micro-histories, with their clear focus upon communities, regions, or single individuals, allow new and intensive insights into what happened. However, it is worth mentioning that scholars doing research on topics such as minorities, certain time periods, and historical events in the 19th to 20th centuries in the Ottoman Empire/Turkey, still face difficulties in gaining access to Turkish

39 Zürcher, Erik Jan: *The Unionist Factor. The Role of the Committee of Union and Progress in the Turkish National Movement 1905–1926*, Leiden 1984; Zürcher, Erik Jan: *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building. From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk’s Turkey*, London 2010; and Üngör, Uğur Ümit: Geographies of Nationalism and Violence. Rethinking Young Turk “Social Engineering,” in: *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (2008), <http://ejts.revues.org/2583>, last accessed 11 Aug. 2014.

archives. The author of these lines had her own experiences. Court records and police archives either do not “exist” or historians have no access to them. The files of the Ministry of the Interior and the Secret Police and the Intelligence Archive are closed. Archival documents of the Republican period, stored in the Prime Minister’s Republican Archives in Ankara (Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi, BCA), are accessible in theory. But the archival troves of the CHP were destroyed through specific treatment, e.g., tons of documents were sold as wastepaper during the 1980s. But even in the BCA in Ankara, which is accessible in principle, there are restrictions; some documents happened to be classified “off limits,” others, even if they are identified in the catalogues, are arbitrarily withheld by the archive staff, usually on the pretext that the document in question is either “miscataloged,” “too fragile,” or “not pertinent to the topic the scholar is working on.” For example, the archives of the Kırklareli Chamber of Commerce are also unavailable for researchers.

Nonetheless, the BCA in Ankara provides plenty of “safe” documents. They tell us several important facts: during the 1930s, tremendous efforts were made to repopulate Thrace with Muslim immigrants (*muhacirler*) from neighboring countries such as Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and the Greek islands, as well as from the more distant Azerbaijan, Syria, and Iraq. Between 1923 and 1933 alone, ca. 600,000 Muslim settlers came to Turkey, the majority of them settling in Thrace. In spring 1935, it was estimated that 500,000 immigrants had arrived in Thrace over the previous three years; İbrahim Tali’s grand project was to settle another 450,000 “brothers in blood” in Thrace during his governorship. Until the 1950s, these regions showed the highest population density within Turkey.⁴⁰ The *muhacirs*, however, faced great misery in their new “homeland”: housing facilities in the settlement areas were scarce; numerous immigrants did not find housing of their own in Thracian neighborhoods, and thus had to be housed by indigenous inhabitants; some others temporarily spent their days and nights in mosques and inns. The state agencies’ inefficient handling of the settlement of refugees combined with the lack of state funds made the newcomers’ situation even worse. There was no (more) state land available to be granted to the new settlers, and the financial aid offered by the government was barely enough for subsistence. Villages in Thrace sprung up almost entirely without government support. To make things worse, newly built housing estates for *muhacirs* in Thracian neighborhoods collapsed in the autumn of 1935 like houses of cards because the construction work was botched, leaving numerous residents homeless. Most of the Muslim immigrants

40 Pekesen, *Nationalismus*, pp. 206–212 and 261.

were unhappy in their new homes; some even endeavored to return to their countries of origin, but were hindered from doing so.⁴¹ All these developments took place within a couple of years. They certainly added to the already existing social rifts and tensions between the Muslim and the relatively well-off Jewish population.

The use of eyewitness accounts is another rewarding approach, employed most recently by Rifat Bali in his book on the “Thracian incidents.”⁴² It provides much insight into the experiences and subjectivity of contemporaries. But the method obviously has its restrictions, given that the pogrom occurred almost 80 years before Bali’s book was published. Unfortunately, the number of contemporaries still living was rather small. This is why Bali combined his study with the documentation of written sources, such as press articles and foreign embassy reports. In conclusion, scholars are still discovering facts about the anti-Jewish episode of 1934, and many aspects of it still wait to be examined.

One final topic of scholarly disagreement should be mentioned. It is striking that scholars from Western countries prefer to delineate the events in Thrace as a “pogrom,” whereas scholars and researchers from Turkey refer to it simply as the “Thracian incidents” or “events.” Indeed, it is obviously widespread academic practice in Turkey to refer to acts of collective violence with the term *olay*, as in the cases of “Ermeni Olayları” covering the genocide of Armenians in 1915, “Trakya Olayları,” and “6–7 Olayları” for the pogrom against Greeks and other minorities in Istanbul in 1955. One might presume that this diction has an apologetic function, at least a trivializing one. But this naming practice stems from differences in prevailing thought styles in different academic settings. One could conjecture that many scholars refrain from calling these events in Thrace in 1934 “pogroms” because of the “low level of violence” perpetrated against the victims and, above all, because no Jew was killed. But a style of thought and wording sometimes turns out to be a sort of censorship. When I submitted an article on the 1934 topic to the Turkish journal *Tarih ve Toplum* in 2006, the anonymous reviewer criticized my use of the term “pogrom,” since it would suggest a much higher level of violence than actually occurred, and he or she insisted on leaving the term out. The reviewer advised me to take a look in several dictionaries and lexica (Merriam Webster, Redhouse, Türk Dil Kurumu, Encyclopaedia Judaica), which all refer to pogroms as violent attacks on Jews in the Russian Empire in the late 19th and 20th centuries, usually aimed at massacre or mass murder. In

⁴¹ Pekesen, *Nationalismus*, pp. 214–216.

⁴² Bali, *Trakya Olayları*.

his book, Rifat Bali also based his criticism of the widespread use of the term “pogrom” on the definition given by the Redhouse dictionary.⁴³ One is inclined to cynically ask, how many dead Jews it takes to make a pogrom? And is sexual harassment of Jewish women, beating Jewish men, looting Jewish houses and expulsion of Jews not worth being called a pogrom? The critics do not offer an alternative term and thus both unintentionally and unsatisfyingly fall back on to the belittlement of “occurrences.”

The definition of “pogrom,” however, remains far from a settled issue. Since the term is used in this chapter, it should be explained if it is appropriate. Actually there is an ongoing debate among historians and other scholars on what constitutes a pogrom. By emphasizing the historicity of the usage of the term “pogrom” in the scholarly literature itself, the historian Werner Bergmann gives a striking insight into the scholarly debates on the topic. Bergmann shows that the term once implied violent actions against the Jews in Tsarist Russia, but that its meaning has been subject to constant change since the 20th century. Accordingly, Bergmann highlights different discussion trends between West and East regarding the “paradigm pogrom.” What becomes clear is that there is no universally accepted definition of “pogrom,” and that different societies interpret the word differently. In today’s usage, scholars do not necessarily see the Jewish populace as the sole target of a pogrom, nor can the phenomenon called “pogrom” be confined solely to Russia and Eastern Europe. The main questions regarding the pogrom paradigm have to do with the agents of violence, namely, whether pogroms occur as spontaneous mass violence or rather as actions deliberately planned by governments. Some scholars also stress the differences between pogroms and riots, i.e., ethnic riots, and the particular purpose of each of these acts of violence. The essential difference seems to be that the latter actions aim at wiping out all members of the targeted group, whereas “destruction and looting of property” are the “elements typical of a pogrom.”⁴⁴ Needless to say, other facets of pogroms also lead to hot academic debates. Suffice it to say that there is not yet a consensus among scholars about the terminology of pogroms. As for Thrace in 1934, expressions such as “incident” or “event” seem to obscure rather than explain the acts of collective violence. There is no convincing argument for avoiding the term “pogrom,” but there are many reasons in favor of it.

⁴³ Bali, *Trakya Olayları*, p. 16.

⁴⁴ Bergmann, Werner: Pogroms, in: Wilhelm Heitmeyer and John Hagan (eds.): *International Handbook of Violence Research*, Dordrecht 2003, pp. 351–367, here pp. 352–353.

Part VI: Re-connecting Edirne

Florian Riedler

Building Modern Infrastructures on Ancient Routes. Road and Rail Development in 19th-Century Edirne

Virtually no general account of the city's history fails to mention Edirne's position at the crossroads of important routes of trade and traffic. The most famous of these is the military road that existed since Antiquity and connected Edirne to Istanbul in the southeast and to Sofia and Belgrade in the northwest. In the 19th century, the route of the Orient Express followed it and it is used to this day as a motorway of the Pan-European Transport Corridor. However, we should not take the continuity of this traffic artery too much for granted. In 1869, Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829–1884), a geologist on an expedition in Ottoman Europe, gave a quite denigrating account of the travel and transport infrastructure connecting the Ottoman capital to Edirne:

Whoever wants to travel from Stambul to Edirné (Adrianople) usually takes the steamboat to Rodosto [Tekirdağ] on the coast of the Marmara Sea and from there, in 24 hours, reaches the old Ottoman capital by a Turkish talika or a Russian pritschka [two types of coaches]. In contrast, the post road via Siliwri and Tschorlu immediately behind the gates of Stambul is no more than a dirt track that passes parallel to the old paved Roman road. Together with the poles and wires of the telegraph on both sides, it makes an anachronistic impression. This road is only used by oxcarts and post tatars who make the thirty miles to Adrianople in 36 to 40 hours without interruption but for changing their horses.¹

The above quote vividly depicts the bad state 19th-century Ottoman roads were in, but also attests to the efforts to modernize transport infrastructures. The building of modern roads, harbors, canals and, last but not least, railways was the tangible result of this modernization, some of which I examine in detail in this chapter. Hochstetter's account is a good example of the historical discontinuities that can lead to the disconnection and redirection of routes that seemingly existed for ages. In the second half of the 19th century, the last stretch of the direct route from

1 Hochstetter, Ferdinand von: Reise durch Rumelien im Sommer 1869, in: *Mittheilungen der Kais. Königl. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 13 (NF 3) (1870), pp. 194–195, my translation.

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Istanbul to Edirne was reduced to a mere phantom. Travelers were well advised to use an alternative route and interchange between different means of transportation to reach their destination. As it happened, Hochstetter was following a group of engineers who were exploring a more suitable route for a new railway line that would make travelling easier and quicker plus reestablish the direct link between Edirne and the Ottoman capital.

This chapter examines the transport infrastructures that connected 19th-century Edirne with Istanbul in particular, but also with other parts of the larger region. Being more than just technological artefacts, infrastructures are understood here as a prism of social history that is intimately linked with different historical actors who conceive, build or rebuild, and use them. Examining how certain roads and railway lines were planned and constructed and comparing them, on the one hand, with already existing infrastructures and, on the other, with proposals and visions that were never realized, makes it possible to address a number of more general questions that allow us to redefine Edirne's position at the crossroads. One of the aims pursued here is a more nuanced understanding of 19th-century Ottoman modernization and the transformation of the empire into a modern state. While this has already been examined, for example, as a political and an institutional project, I suggest placing it in the conceptual framework of the increasing "infrastructural power" of the state or, in other words, the creation of the "infrastructure state," *tout court*.² These terms describe a state that is able to intervene in its territory and society to a significantly greater degree than before with mechanisms such as a functioning bureaucracy, a system of education, a system of weights and measures, and reliable transport and communication infrastructures.

Similar to that of a recent study by Jo Guldi on 18th-century Britain, my focus is on roads (and also railroads) as concrete examples of the contemporary understanding of modernization and the causes and effects of its implementation. Roads can shift the focus of our attention from the center to the places they lead to, i.e., to provinces such as Edirne; this offers the opportunity to gain a spatially more differentiated image of Ottoman efforts toward and aspirations for modernization. Moreover, a study of transport infrastructures can also modify the state-centeredness of narratives of modernization. While the central state undoubtedly played the key role in building infrastructures, it is important not to forget that also other parts of Ottoman society took part in this process by

² Guldi, Jo: *Roads to Power. Britain Invents the Infrastructure State*, Cambridge, MA 2012. For the similar concept of "infrastructural power", cf. Mann, Michael: The Autonomous Power of the State, in: *European Journal of Sociology/Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 25 (1984), pp. 185–213, here p. 192.

demanding infrastructures, working on them, resisting them, or using them in ways not always foreseen by planners. Understood as an important, but hitherto somewhat neglected interface, it can be shown how different groups, e.g. local elites that demanded and financed transport infrastructures, central officials, and certain European individuals, interacted with each other.³

More generally, this chapter examines how, in the Ottoman case, the development of infrastructures and space determined each other. By building new roads and railroads, the Ottoman state could gain access to its provinces, but would also produce new spatial hierarchies among different cities, regions, etc. and integrate new economic or political spaces by means of transport infrastructures. Such spatial production went beyond the agency of the state: Ottoman travelers took an active part by using new forms of mobility made possible by these infrastructures. These different ways of producing space are complicated by the dynamic manner in which Ottoman territory evolved: in the 19th century, provincial and state borders were frequently redrawn and resulted in the destruction of or deviation from many prior routes and networks of infrastructure. These spatial considerations are also important in the framework of urban history. On an urban micro-level, new infrastructures shift the hierarchies and functions of different city quarters. On a larger scale, focusing on infrastructures can help us understand how secondary cities in the Ottoman Empire became modern cities by being integrated into networks of infrastructures and communications. This question has already been examined with regard to Istanbul and the Mediterranean port cities, but has largely been overlooked regarding inland cities like Edirne.⁴

³ A good example of such an approach is Ozkan, Fulya: *Winding Road to Modernization. Trabzon–Erzurum–Bayezid Road in the Late Ottoman World*, in: *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34 (2014), pp. 191–205.

⁴ Mentzel, Peter: *Networks, Railroads, and Small Cities in the Ottoman Balkans*, in: Kenneth R. Hall (ed.): *The Growth of Non-Western Cities: Primary and Secondary Urban Networking, C. 900–1900*, Plymouth 2011, pp. 271–287. On some bigger cities, cf. Çelik, Zeynep: *The Remaking of Istanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley 1986; Frangakis-Syrett, Elena: *The Making of an Ottoman Port. The Quay of Izmir in the Nineteenth Century*, in: *The Journal of Transport History* 22 (2001), pp. 23–46; Hastaoglou-Martinidis, Vilma: *The Advent of Transport and Aspects of Urban Modernisation in the Levant during the Nineteenth Century*, in: Ralf Roth and Marie-Noëlle Polino (eds.): *The City and the Railway in Europe*, London 2003, pp. 61–78; Fuhrmann, Malte: *Staring at the Sea, Staring at the Land. Waterfront Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Cities as a Site of Cultural Change*, in: Carola Hein (ed.): *Port Cities. Dynamic Landscapes and Global Networks*, London 2011, pp. 138–154.

With such a broad trajectory in mind, in the first section of this chapter I trace Ottoman politicians' and bureaucrats' changing understanding of infrastructure and the role they assigned to it in the modernization of the country. The second section deals with the implementation of Ottoman infrastructure policy on the provincial level, in our case in the province of Edirne. Here, the focus is on road building; the last section examines the railway as the most innovative means of transportation in the 19th century. These two systems of transport infrastructure complemented each other and, as a consequence, they should be examined in a common framework. Because the railway had a lasting effect on Edirne's urban structure as well as on its social and cultural diversity, as exemplified by its railway quarter Karaağaç, this third and final section zooms into the city of Edirne itself and examines the effects of infrastructural modernization on an urban micro-level.

1 Reform as Modernization of Infrastructure

The early modern Ottoman Empire pursued a very sophisticated infrastructure policy and invested in routes to be able to move around troops, manipulate trade currents to its advantage, and keep communications open in its territory. Famous was the network of post stations (*menzil*) on which post riders (*ulak*) could convey messages to and from the political center. The main Ottoman roads radiated from Istanbul, sometimes following long-established routes that already existed in Roman and Byzantine times. The road that connected Istanbul with Belgrade and passed directly through Edirne established a corridor where state power was particularly effective called *orta kol* (middle branch or corridor). Correspondingly, the area along the main route that ran from Istanbul north along the Black Sea coast toward the Crimea was called the *sağ kol* (right corridor). The road establishing the *sol kol* (left corridor) ran approximately 100 km to the south of Edirne on its way from Tekirdağ (called Rodosçuk or Tekfurdağı in Ottoman times) westward via Salonica (Selanik in Ottoman and Thessaloniki in modern Greek) to the Morea. In its first part, it followed the Via Egnatia of Antiquity.⁵ Sometimes, however, as in the case of Ragusan Road that

⁵ Zachariadou, Elizabeth A. (ed.): *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule (1380–1699)*, Rethymno 1996. Also cf. Wimmel, Robin: Edirne as a Stopover Destination. The Ekmekçioğlu Caravanserai and the Ottoman Road Network, fig. 1, in this volume.

connected Dubrovnik on the Adriatic coast with inland regions, the Ottomans were also able to establish new routes.⁶

The Ottoman state invested in various ways in the infrastructure of these routes. The substructure and surface of roads was prepared and renewed when the army was on campaign and heavy equipment had to be transported.⁷ Of the same critical importance were bridges. While on the minor roads in the Balkans mainly packhorses were used for travel and transport, on the main roads such as the Istanbul–Belgrade road also carts were used and, from the 18th century onward, became more popular for travel and transport within and between cities.⁸ Another focus of Ottoman investment lay on the surrounding travel infrastructure that offered security and shelter, such as khans and caravanserais. Many of these were built and managed as pious foundations (*vakıf*). Bridges and even ferries could also be financed in this way.⁹

The city of Edirne and the surrounding region were studded with examples of this traditional Ottoman transport and travel infrastructure, many of which survive until today. In the 16th century, the city, an important trade hub and a station for post riders, had numerous big khans and up to twelve bridges, many of them wooden constructions. There are five stone bridges still intact from classical Ottoman times all crossing the river Tunca.¹⁰ In the wider region, many other bridges existed; most famously, the Long Bridge that gave the name to the town of Uzunköprü led and still leads across the valley of the river Ergene (Erginos in Greek), a tributary of the Meriç (Evros in Greek and Maritsa in Bulgarian), to connect Edirne with the Via Egnatia.

This traditional travel infrastructure was negatively affected by the decay of the central state's power in the 18th century. As a consequence, many routes,

⁶ Zlatar, Zdenko: *Dubrovnik's Merchants and Capital in the Ottoman Empire (1520–1620). A Quantitative Study*, Istanbul 2010, pp. 173–175.

⁷ Halaçoğlu, Yusuf: *Osmanlılarda Ulaşım ve Haberleşme (Menziller)*, Istanbul 2014, pp. 17–50; Ekin, Ümit: Klasik Dönemde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Karayolu Ulaşımını ve Nakliyatı Etkileyen Faktörler (1500–1800), in: *Belleten* 81.291 (2017), pp. 392–393.

⁸ Tekeli, İlhan and İlkin, Selim: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ondokuzuncu Yüzyılda Araba Teknolojisinde ve Karayolu Yapımındaki Gelişmeler, in: Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and Mustafa Kaçar (eds.): *Çağımı yakalayan Osmanlı! Osmanlı Devleti'nde Modern Haberleşme ve Ulaştırma Teknikleri*, Istanbul 1995, pp. 406–419.

⁹ Demetriades, Vassilis: Vakıfs along the Via Egnatia, in: Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (ed.): *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule (1380–1699)*, Rethymno 1996, pp. 86–95. In general cf. Wimmel, Robin: Edirne as a Stopover Destination. The Ekmekeçioğlu Caravanserai and the Ottoman Road Network, in this volume.

¹⁰ Eyice, Semavi: Edirne, Mimari, in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi (TDVİA)*, vol. 10, pp. 437–438; *ibid.*: Ekmekeçizade Ahmed Paşa Köprüsü, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 10, p. 547.

the Istanbul–Belgrade route included, became largely dysfunctional.¹¹ When the central state began to reassert its power at the beginning of the 19th century, infrastructure policy became an issue again. First, it was addressed indirectly. Ottoman bureaucrats seeking to reform the military to be able to compete with European armies sometimes included matters of provisioning and deployment of troops in their reform agendas – matters that touched on transportation, communication, and better roads for the army. The first Ottoman engineers were military officers.¹² Later, modernizing transport and travel infrastructure became a topic in its own right. In contrast to the 18th century, now it was treated as a prerequisite for economic development.

Mehmed Sadık Rifat Paşa (1807–1858), a high official in the civil bureaucracy, was one of the earliest advocates of such ideas. As an Ottoman ambassador to Vienna from 1837–1839, he was well acquainted with cameralist ideas that, in the neo-absolutist form they took in the Habsburg Empire of the time, immediately appealed to him.¹³ Among his principal convictions was that the welfare of the state was directly dependent on the welfare of its subjects. Therefore, the people should be not restricted in their economic activities; on the contrary, the state should actively support them by providing the necessary stability (external peace and rule of law) and offer education, but also the material and financial means of development. In his 1837 *Avrupa'nın Ahvaline Dair Risale* (Treatise About the Conditions of Europe), he not only developed his ideas about a new legal and political framework for the empire, but also sketched the country's future economic and infrastructural development. As for the latter, he advised paving inner city streets and building macadamized highways (*şose*), i.e., roads with a gravel surface, to be fitted with hotels and places to interchange horses.¹⁴

¹¹ Jireček, Konstantin: *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe. Eine historisch-geographische Studie*, Prague 1877, pp. 135–136.

¹² Aksan, Virginia: Ottoman Political Writing, 1768–1808, in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25 (1993), pp. 53–69, here pp. 57–59; Burçak, Berrak: Modernization, Science and Engineering in the Early Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 44 (2008), pp. 69–83.

¹³ Erdem, Çiğdem: Mehmet Sadık Rifat Paşa ve 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na Batılılaşma Bağlamında Kameralizmin Girişi, in: *Gazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi* 12:2 (2010), pp. 171–196.

¹⁴ Seyitdanlıoğlu, Mehmet: Sadık Rifat Paşa ve Avrupa'nın Ahvaline Dair Risalesi, in: *Liberal Düşünce* 3 (1996), pp. 115–124; for the Austrian context, cf. Knittler, Herbert: Das Verkehrswesen als Ausgangspunkt einer staatlichen Infrastrukturpolitik, in: Herbert Matis (ed.): *Von der Glückseligkeit des Staates. Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Österreich im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus*, Berlin 1981, pp. 137–160.

While Sadık Rifat had seen many positive examples of modern infrastructure in Europe, the negative experiences of sultans like Mahmud II (reg. 1807–1839) and Abdülmecid (1839–1861) probably also pushed infrastructure policy to the top of the agenda. During the last decade of his rule, Mahmud started to travel his country, visiting cities, small towns, and the countryside outside Istanbul with the aim of reconstructing loyalty to the central government by listening to the complaints and wishes of local elites and common people.¹⁵ These journeys were an innovative political instrument: before, Ottoman sultans had left the capital only to go on campaigns or for hunting. From 1830 on, the sultan undertook five such journeys. The first were shorter return trips to Tekirdağ, İzmit, or Çanakkale, using the most modern contemporary mode of travel and transportation, the steamboat. Also on the long tour to the Bulgarian part of Ottoman Europe that lasted over a month, boats were employed on the Black Sea and the Danube, because land transport was slow and unreliable. Infrastructure or its lack was therefore vital for the planning and successful execution of these journeys. More directly, as part of the political agenda of the journey, Mahmud II, time and again, ordered improvements on roads, bridges, etc. in the localities he passed. On his first visit to Edirne in 1831, coming to the city from the south, he ordered that the Long Bridge crossing the river Ergene be renovated. In Edirne, he had the destroyed wooden bridge across the river Meriç rebuilt in stone so that in the future travelers would not have to wait for rafts to ferry them over the stream.¹⁶ Mahmud's successor Abdülmecid continued this tradition. Visiting Edirne in 1846, he approved another big infrastructure project, the dredging of the river Meriç and the restoration of the port of Enez (called İnöz in Ottoman) at its mouth.¹⁷

¹⁵ Stephanov, Darin: *Ruler Visibility and Popular Belonging in the Ottoman Empire, 1808–1908*, Edinburgh 2018.

¹⁶ Mutlu, Şamil: *Yeniçeri Ocağının Kaldırılışı ve II. Mahmud'un Edirne Seyahati. Mehmed Dâniş Bey ve Eserleri*, Istanbul 1994, pp. 91–96; Özcan, Abdülkadir: *II. Mahmud'un Memleket Gezileri*, in: *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan*, Istanbul 1991, pp. 361–378.

¹⁷ Mercan, Mehmet: *Sultan Abdülmecid'in Rumeli Gezisi Hakkında Bazı Tespitler*, in: *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* 24 (2009), pp. 81–100, here p. 89. In this chapter I cannot go into greater detail about this very old trade and traffic route and the modernization of its infrastructure, which could constitute a comparative case to roads and railways as modes of transport.

2 The Evolution of the Tanzimat Administrative Framework

During Sultan Abdülmecid's reign, reform in general and with it infrastructure policy were systematized, institutionally anchored, and thus made less dependent on the personal initiative of the ruler. From this period on, the most important innovation in the structure of government was ministries and councils that were dealing with the implementation of the policies outlined in the reform charter of 1839. As it turned out, the most important issues became taxation and infrastructure. An extraordinary assembly of notables from all provinces of the empire that the Supreme Council (Meclis-i Vâlâ) convoked in 1845/1261 AH put these two issues at the top of their list of grievances. Together with lower taxes, they demanded the repair of existing and the construction of new roads and bridges, as well as the cleaning of rivers and harbors. In reaction, the central government sent out ten inspection teams named Improvement or Development Councils (Meclis-i İmariye) to Anatolia and Rumelia to take stock of the country's population, economy, trade, and infrastructure.¹⁸ Two institutions in particular planned and implemented the rebuilding of Ottoman transport infrastructure as the provincial representatives had requested. The first was a ministry that dealt with the areas of public works (*nafîa*), trade, and agriculture. An official memoir in 1846 formulated the tasks of the ministry's infrastructure policy as consisting in the repair, construction, and regulation of bridges and roads, the clearing of rivers and the construction of ports, the exploitation of mineral resources, and the training of engineers who would be able to plan and execute such work.¹⁹

Second was the Supreme Council itself, which, especially during the second half of the 1840s, frequently addressed questions of infrastructure and formed a temporary commission that detailed the planning of particular projects. A memorandum²⁰ written in the beginning of 1847/1263 AH by its president Sadık Rıfat Pasha justified the importance of the modernization of transport infrastructure and outlined what the system would look like. To perfect the prosperity (*ma'muriyet*) of

¹⁸ Seyitdanlıoğlu, Mehmet: Tanzimat Dönemi İmâr Meclisleri, in: *OTAM (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi)* 3 (1992), pp. 323–332.

¹⁹ Çakır, Coşkun: Tanzimat Döneminde Ticaret Alanında Yapılan Bir Kurumsal Düzenleme Örneği Olarak Ticaret Nezareti, in: *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 50 (2011), pp. 141–166, here p. 150.

²⁰ Başbakanlık Osmalı Arşivi (BOA), İrade Mesail-i Mühimme (İ.MSM) 7/135 (04/S/1263). The memorandum was signed Mehmed Rıfat. He can be identified by his seal as reproduced in Seyitdanlıoğlu, Mehmet: *Tanzimat Devrinde Meclis-i Vala (1838–1868)*, Ankara 1994, p. 195.

the country and ensure the well-being (*refah*) of the subjects, it was necessary to stimulate agriculture and craft production. To be able to move the products of the country to the market, issues of transportation (*nakl*) and adjusting routes (*yollarn tesviyesi*) were highlighted. Therefore, the memorandum first called for building macadamized roads (*şose*). It also touched on railroads as the most modern means of transportation, but did not treat them in detail. According to the author, Ottoman society had not yet acquired the necessary skills to build and finance them without help from Europe. With a loan of 200,000 *kise* (=100,000,000 *kuruş*), a network of simple roads could be built in two to four years. Alternatively, roads could be financed by a tax levied on all subjects or a requirement to work on road building. As a third option, the author proposed to assign road building to private companies that could collect a toll for the maintenance of the road. The memorandum considered those roads most important that connected commercial centers like Izmir, Samsun, or Edirne; the author predicted fewer difficulties and lower costs in the European parts of the empire than in Anatolia. To bring already existing roads up to a modern standard or build entirely new roads in a professional way, the author proposed to hire expert engineers from Europe, where road building had become a separate branch of science (*fen-i mahsus*). As fitting for a bureaucrat, at the end of the memorandum, the author announced the creation of a temporary commission composed of officials and experts to explore the matter further.

A few months later,²¹ this temporary commission issued a set of documents detailing the planning that Sadık Rıfat had sketched. A new memorandum specified the way macadamized roads were to be built, going into technical details like their width, the composition of their foundations and surface, and how to finance them. As the most important road connections in the European part of the empire, the commission's memorandum again called for the modernization of the old road from Istanbul to Niş (today Niš in Serbia) prioritizing the stretch between the capital and Edirne. However, in order to economize on the costs, this road was not to be built as a fully macadamized road, but in a lighter version (*nim şose*). The memorandum proposed to hire an Austrian engineer for the task. Moreover, in Anatolia the commission advised rebuilding the routes connecting Izmir with its hinterland.

The next section demonstrates in greater detail how these proposals made for the Istanbul–Edirne road axis were implemented. In this context, it is important to point to the high priority that this particular road connection had in this early stage of planning. Considering the importance of the Balkans for the

²¹ BOA, İ.MSM 84/2397.

Ottoman economy, this comes as no surprise; however, the secondary literature has put other projects in the foreground, such as the Bursa–Mudanya, the Bursa–Gemlik, and the Trabzon–Erzerum roads, whose construction all began within a few years of 1850 and which can be regarded as inland extensions of steamship lines.²² In the following decade, Ottoman infrastructure policy evolved further and remained an important cornerstone of the reform policy. The second of the great reform edicts issued in 1856, explicitly defined constructing roads and canals as state goals and also offered the financial means to do so. The Crimean War (1853–1856), which had been the occasion for the edict, also proved to be the incentive for many infrastructure projects. E.g. the first telegraph line in the empire was drawn to enable quick communication with the troops on the Crimea.

Beginning with the reign of Abdülhamid II (1876–1909), infrastructure policy profited from a broader professional base. Earlier, engineers had either been hired from abroad or had been military officers; now professional civil engineers became available. After several unsuccessful attempts, a school for civil engineering, the *Hendese-i Mülkiye*, was finally established in 1883. Moreover, the journal *Mecmua-ı Umur-ı Nafia* (Journal of Public Works) that the Ministry of Public Works started to issue in 1884 attests to a rising culture of engineering and a general interest in questions of infrastructure. The journal's articles presented examples of infrastructure projects from all over the world, such as the Suez canal, discussed road-building techniques, and provided basic data on the state of Ottoman infrastructure in the form of statistics. Throughout, the continuing discourse located the purpose of infrastructural improvements in economics as the heart of reforming state and society. As one article stated: "Building highways and roads is one of the bases to procure a division of labor. Everywhere we observe useful products and therefore it is necessary to build bridges, dams, and harbors in the imperial provinces."²³ After the Young Turk revolution, the 1908 Public Works Program (*Umur-ı Nâfia Programı*) continued in the same vein to promote infrastructures like dams and irrigation projects to boost the production of Ottoman agriculture and roads to transport these

²² Ozkan, Winding Road; Çetin, Emrah: Tanzimat'tan II. Meşrutiyet'e Hüdâvendigâr Vilayetinde Karayolu Yapım Çalışmaları, in: *Turkish Studies* 8.7 (2013), pp. 65–81; Tekeli and İlkin, Araba Teknolojisinde, pp. 430–440.

²³ *Mecmua-ı Umur-ı Nafia* 1.6 (1302), p. 177: "Şose yolları ve cevada götürülmek emrinde taksim-i ameliyat kaidesinin ittihazından biridir. Her taraflarda semere-i müfide müşahede olunmakta ve bu sayede vilayat-ı şahanede bir takım köprüler sedler ve rıhtımlar inşasına lüzum görülüp icabatı icra kılınmakta olduğundan ameliyat-ı sanaiyeden ma'dud olan işbu icraat nafia hakkında bazen tafsilât i'tası münasib-ı mütalâa olunmuştur."

products to the consumers in the empire and abroad. The program proposed to renovate or build anew 30,000 km of roads over the next eight years and earmarked 1,200,000 Ottoman pounds for this. To fund it, a universal road tax would be introduced to substitute the old labor duties.²⁴

Besides the administrative framework, how infrastructures were built and financed sheds some light on the state's evolving understanding of infrastructure policy in the 19th century. Although the Tanzimat decree of 1839 had abolished all labor duties, Ottoman roads were overwhelmingly built by forced labor until the end of the empire. The Road Charter of 1869 required from every male Ottoman subject four days of labor service building or repairing roads. Since 1889, subjects had the choice of paying a fee as a substitute for labor, which, however, caused many administrative problems. Many provincial governments were not able to collect the road tax regularly; the affected people frequently complained that they had to work in places far away or were forced to work although they wanted to pay the fee.²⁵ Foreign capital was less important for road building than for railroads, treated below. However, at least one road project, the Beirut–Damascus highway built and managed by a French businessman, was completed in 1863.²⁶

To sum up, in the 19th century, the Ottoman state began to build a modern transport infrastructure. While in the beginning the aim was to reconnect the different parts of the empire and allow the central government access to the provinces, it later shifted to accelerate the empire's economic development. In a parallel process, infrastructure policy also reflected the evolution in the relationship between the state and its subjects. Increasingly material infrastructures were built with the benefit of the individual subject in the mind of the planners. This becomes particularly apparent in the history of the term *imare* (development, improvement). While according to classical Ottoman statecraft the state was being improved or made flourish (*imare-i mülk*), at the beginning of the 20th century, reformers sought to improve the economic conditions of the state's

24 Tekeli, İlhan and İlkin, Selim: 1908 Tarihli “Umur-u Nafia Programı”nın Anlamı Üzerine, in: *ibid.*: *Cumhuriyetin Harcı. Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken*, Istanbul 2004, vol. 3, pp. 180–184.

25 Ozkan, Winding Road, pp. 196–199.

26 Fawaz, Leila: The Beirut–Damascus Road. Connecting the Syrian Coast to the Interior in the 19th Century, in: Thomas Philipp and Birgit Schaebler (eds.): *The Syrian Land. Processes of Integration and Fragmentation. Bilad al-Sham from the 18th to the 20th Century*, Stuttgart 1998, pp. 19–27.

subjects.²⁷ In principle this did not contradict the classical ideal of Ottoman statecraft that always had considered the welfare of the subjects as a source of legitimacy as much as it had seen their economic wellbeing the source of tax revenue without which the state could not function. Also 19th-century Ottoman statesmen, at least rhetorically, still were part of this tradition.²⁸ However, modern economic ideas and methods shifted the focus to the individual. To give incentives for economic activities, the state promised to offer material and financial infrastructures by building roads and bridges and setting up banks. The population itself was asked to provide information on where investments were needed most. While in the beginning traditional imperial routes were in the focus, we will see in the next section that, along with this shift in outlook, different routes became important, because they seemed economically more promising to the planners and the local population.

3 Building Roads to Edirne

The next two sections examine how the evolving infrastructure policy described above was implemented in Edirne and how local interests gave the new infrastructure its specific shape, against the background of the historical antecedents sketched above. I start with roads, before turning to the railway as the most striking form of transport infrastructure in the 19th century. The modern roads and railways planned and built in the 19th century to connect Edirne and its province to the rest of the country did not have to be conceived from scratch. Rather, they were versions of earlier infrastructures updated in accordance with new technological possibilities and demands. Thrace had a very long history as a corridor of transport and communication with a determining influence on Edirne's development. In a centralized state like the Ottoman Empire, where good communications between center and peripheries were essential, infrastructures had an important political and strategic function as the Istanbul–Belgrade route that formed the *orta kol* demonstrates. In the early empire, this route determined the direction of expansion in the Balkans, and in the 16th and 17th centuries it remained the main route on which the Ottoman

²⁷ Tekeli, İlhan and İlkin, Selim: Mustafa Celâleddin Bey'in Bir Eyaletin Islah ve İmarı Hakkında Mükâleme Adlı Risalesi ve 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İmar Kavramının Gelişimi Üzerine Düşünceler, in: *ibid.*: *Cumhuriyetin Harcı*, vol. 3, pp. 2–10.

²⁸ Darling, Linda: *A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East. The Circle of Justice from Mesopotamia to Globalization*. London 2012, pp. 157–163.

army moved toward its campaigns in Central Europe. Located at the beginning of this route, Edirne served as the army's convenient rallying point.

At the same time, transport infrastructures had an economic function that supported the strategic one but was more or less independent of it. In any case, to move provisions or merchandise required slightly different networks of infrastructure than those used by troops or travelling officials. Because of its connection to the Aegean by road as well as via the river Meriç, Edirne was a trade hub exporting the produce of the city and its hinterland and a relay station for goods from regions farther away. Especially for bulky goods like grain and rice, water transport was more economical than using the overland route. An important regional port was Enez on the mouth of the Meriç River, which was navigable as far as Filibe (in Bulgarian Plovdiv, Philippopolis in Greek). The port of the Thracian town of Tekirdağ on the Marmara Sea was connected to Edirne by road, and in the 16th century it played a major role in provisioning the Ottoman capital and in trade with Europe.²⁹ Gallipoli (Gelibolu in Turkish), the port town on the Dardanelles which was connected to Edirne by road, was also a significant port for international trade until the 18th century.³⁰

The region's infrastructure came back on the agenda when sultans such as Mahmud II and Abdülmecid visited Edirne and when, in the middle of the 1840s, the Improvement Councils undertook the first systematic attempt to gain an overview of resources and infrastructures in the Ottoman provinces. Unfortunately, the council's report on the district of Edirne proper has not survived, although a detailed summary of the council's mission to the Tekirdağ district is preserved.³¹ We therefore know that works on the bridge crossing the Meriç at the village of Ferecik and infrastructure at Tekirdağ harbor were the greatest expenses in this budget, while investment in road construction was comparatively low.

3.1 The “Lukini” Road Project of 1847

The information gathered in preparing this report is probably what led the Supreme Council and the temporary commission it appointed to formulate a plan to modernize the Istanbul–Edirne road and, among other measures,

²⁹ Sert Sandfuchs, Özlem: *Reconstructing a Town from Its Court Records. Rodosçuk (1546–1553)*, PhD thesis, Munich 2008, pp. 25–27.

³⁰ Sahillioğlu, Halil: XVIII. Yüzyılda Edirne'nin Ticari İmkanları, in: *Belgelerle Türk Tarih Dergisi* 13 (1968), pp. 60–68; Tuncel, Metin: Meriç, in: *TDVİA*, vol. 29, pp. 188–190.

³¹ Efe, Ayla: İmar Meclisi Raporlarının Kaynak Değeri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. Tekfurdağı Örneği, in: *Belleten* 75.273 (2011), pp. 471–502, here pp. 493–494.

propose to hire an Austrian engineer for the project. In autumn 1847/1263 AH, Giovanni Lucchini, who had come from Vienna and was staying in the Ottoman capital with his family, sketched in a memorandum his preliminary ideas on modernizing the Istanbul–Edirne road.³² The engineer presented some general thoughts about the importance of a functioning transport network, defined his own task, and gave a first assessment of other issues concerning the project. At the beginning, Lucchini established the state as having primary responsibility for road building. Consequently, throughout the memorandum, the Edirne–Istanbul road is labeled *şahrah* (king’s road), probably a direct translation of the term “route royale.” He also underlined the military importance of the road and – perhaps he was a military engineer himself – proposed to use soldiers in road building. Beyond these general remarks in his concrete assessment of the project, Lucchini approved of the traditional route from Istanbul to Edirne that ran along the shores of the Marmara Sea as far as Silivri, then crossed the hills to Çorlu, and followed the Ergene River valley on the right bank of the river before heading northwest toward Edirne. Based on his experience in the Habsburg Empire, he estimated the project’s costs at 19,800,000 *kuruş*, calculated maintenance costs, and advised the appointment of at least two engineers plus additional service personnel, like watchmen and builders, to keep the road in good condition.

A couple of months later, Lucchini presented the results of his exploring mission in a second memorandum that was coupled with a budget detailing the expected costs.³³ In the beginning, Lucchini again explained in detail why it was not reasonable to change the route of the Istanbul–Edirne road: already existing structures like bridges and the necessity to service all the towns and larger agglomerations along the way led him to stick to the old route. But he relativized his advocacy of the status quo by adding that there was nothing on this existing route worthy of being called a road because of the deficient paving. Only some of the bridges could be used while others were merely makeshift constructions. This and the road’s problematic elevation profile, which included many steep slopes, made it unsuitable for carts. Lucchini promised to show the needed major reconstruction work and occasional rerouting to avoid difficult terrain on a map (which, unfortunately, was not archived together with the other documents). The remainder of the memorandum enumerated the specificities of the proposed new road, which was to be 12 *zira* (approx. 9 m) wide and paved with a surface of gravel and sand, providing two walkways. Other technical details

³² BOA, İ.MSM 84/2403 offers the Ottoman translation of the original that probably was written in French. Additionally, there are documents concerning some details surrounding Lucchini’s stay.

³³ BOA, İ.MSM 84/2409, docs. 1 and 2.

were given concerning the road's foundations, the proposed building materials, the gradients of the slopes, etc. The memorandum also detailed how bridges were to be repaired or constructed anew to meet the standards. As for the route, Lucchini divided the approximately 191 km from Büyük Çekmece, nowadays on the outskirts of Istanbul, to Edirne into thirteen parts, sketching a route that largely followed the traditional one via Silivri, Çorlu, and Lüleburgaz. He calculated the costs for each of these parts and drew up a detailed budget that formed the centerpiece of his report. The added costs for the new road amounted to 22,200,000 *kuruş*, which was only slightly higher than Lucchini's earlier estimate. On balance, the Lucchini project integrated well with the Ottoman central government's overall attempt to promote the country's infrastructure, though at the same time it attests to the limits of the possible. The Supreme Council that reviewed the project found that "the total of the mentioned costs is considerable and, considering the balance of the treasury in the current situation, it seems unnecessary to opt for the mentioned costs."³⁴ The idea of updating the route to a modern standard was thus abandoned, but this was not the only infrastructure project in the province of Edirne.

At around the same time as Lucchini's mission, two Ottoman military officers and members of the school of engineering, Bekir Pasha und Osman Efendi, completed a similar exploring mission for the Tekirdağ–Edirne road.³⁵ We do not have the details of their findings, but it is easy to imagine that this project, which was very similar to the aforementioned roads to ports in Anatolia, was more manageable in the framework of Ottoman finances. This route might also have been preferred, because it not only served the strategic goals Lucchini had stressed with regard to the main route, but also promised economic benefits, so that its expenses were easier to rationalize in the ideology of the Tanzimat bureaucrats. However, it is not clear whether work on the modern road had already begun before 1865/1282 AH, when a new administrative framework for infrastructural development was created.

3.2 The Framework of Provincial Administration after 1864

Already at the beginning of the reform era, the efforts to modernize Ottoman infrastructure demonstrate how the central bureaucracy, local administration,

³⁴ BOA, İ.MSM 84/2409, doc. 3 (4 B 1264): "ve beyan olan masarının yekûnı haylıça şey olup usûl-ı haliye ve müvazene-i hazine-i celiley nazaran şimdiki halde masarîf-ı mezkûrenin ihtiyarına pekde lüzum görünmediğinden."

³⁵ BOA, İ.MSM 84/2406.

and provincial elites worked together. For example, in 1845, provincial delegates of the general assembly took the initiative and communicated their wishes to the central government. In the Improvement Councils, as well, members from the provinces played a vital role in supporting information gathering. In the 1860s, mechanisms of cooperation became more institutionalized by way of a reorganization of provincial administration. A new legal and administrative framework was set up to intensify central control of the provinces and keep a check on local administration, but also to enable better collaboration on issues such as infrastructure. The law of 1864 created bigger provinces (sing. *vilayet*) and strictly regulated the way they were governed. On all administrative levels, councils were introduced that came together once a year in the province capital to form a General Council (Meclis-i Umumi) to discuss matters of general interest. In the new administrative system, infrastructure became an ongoing concern of provincial administration. For each province, an official responsible for agriculture and public works would be directly nominated by the ministry and, together with his subordinate engineers, would oversee the province's roads and buildings.³⁶ On a local level, municipalities were created to develop local infrastructures by modernizing urban space, e.g. paving streets, installing street lighting, and providing other urban utilities, like garbage collection and sanitation.³⁷ During several modifications and updates of provincial administration, infrastructure and improvement of transport remained an important goal. Finally, when the first Ottoman constitution was promulgated in 1876, it mentioned in article 110 the right of the provinces' general councils to discuss matters of infrastructure and development in their provinces.

This new administrative framework was first tested in the so-called Danube Province (Tuna Vilayeti), which covered roughly the northern parts of today's Bulgaria and whose governor was Midhat Pasha (1822–1884), an experienced official from the civil bureaucracy. Large parts of his day-to-day work concerned the modernization of infrastructures, which also served as one of the main justifications for the new administrative regime. There is the (probably exaggerated) figure that Midhat initiated the building of over 3,000 km of modern roads and over 1,000 bridges during his time as governor. He also founded a coach service in his province and gave the concession for the railway connecting the provincial capital on the Danube Rusçuk (today Ruse in Bulgaria) to the

³⁶ Önen, Nizam and Reyhan, Cenk: *Mülkten Ülkeye. Türkiye'de Taşra İdaresinin Dönüşümü (1839–1929)*, Istanbul 2011, p. 163.

³⁷ Sahara, Tetsuya: The Ottoman City Council and the Beginning of the Modernisation of Urban Space in the Balkans, in: Ulrike Freitag et al. (eds.): *The City in the Ottoman Empire. Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*, London 2011, pp. 26–50.

Black Sea port of Varna in 1866.³⁸ In a long article published in October 1867 in the *Takvim-i Vekayi* (Calendar of Events), the official state gazette, the Ottoman government advertised the success of the new administrative system. By that time, seven new model provinces had been created and had implemented the new administrative and legal framework. As the most tangible result, the article referred to the rapid modernization of local infrastructures that served as the material basis for prosperity as the stated aim of the system. In the case of Edirne, which was the third of the new provinces, the article enumerated a list of achievements in which the building of transport infrastructures played an important role: the authorities had founded municipalities in its important cities, erected city halls and telegraph stations, and established savings banks. An orphanage had been founded in Filibe, the port of Gallipoli had been renewed, and a bridge near Burgas had been newly constructed.³⁹

In public memory, these and other achievements were attributed especially to the governor Hurşid Pasha (1865–1869), who is credited with having founded the savings banks of Edirne and with starting to build modern roads in his province.⁴⁰ In a letter Hurşid wrote in summer 1866 to the Council of State (Şura-ı Devlet), a successor to the Supreme Council, he sketched his program for the modernization of Edirne's infrastructure. Railway development was the most urgent and novel part, as will be shown in section four. The letter also bears witness to the ongoing modernization and upgrading of the road network. The routes from Edirne via Filibe and Pazarcık to the western border of the province, from Edirne to the port city of Tekirdağ on the Marmara Sea, and the route from İslimiye (Sliven in today's Bulgaria) to Burgas on the Black Sea coast were mentioned in particular.⁴¹

³⁸ Petrov, Milen: *Tanzimat for the Countryside. Midhat Paşa and the Vilayet of Danube, 1864–1868*, PhD thesis, Princeton 2006, pp. 35–42; Çelik, Mehmet: *Tanzimat in the Balkans. Midhat Pasha's Governorship in the Danube Province (Tuna Vilayeti), 1864–1868*, MA thesis, Ankara 2007, pp. 62–67.

³⁹ *Takvim-i Vekayi* 894, 5 Ca 1284 (4/10/1867).

⁴⁰ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Edirne* 14 (1305), p. 37. Two modern authors attribute these measures to Mehmed Arif Pasha, cf. Peremeci, Osman Nuri: *Edirne Tarihi*, Istanbul 2011 (1939), p. 340, and Kornrumpf, Hans-Jürgen: *Die Territorialverwaltung im östlichen Teil der europäischen Türkei vom Erlass der Vilayetsordnung (1864) bis zum Berliner Kongress (1878) nach amtlichen osmanischen Veröffentlichungen*, Freiburg 1976, pp. 194–195. This is not very likely, because he held office in Edirne for only one year from 1864. On Hurşid Mehmed, cf. Mehmed Süreyyâ: *Sicill-i Osmani*, Istanbul 1308, vol. 2, p. 314 (edition in Latin script by Ali Aktan et al. (ed.), Istanbul 1995–1998, vol. 2, p. 342).

⁴¹ BOA, Meclis-i Vâlâ (MVL) 1067/51.

Beyond the provincial level, also on the local level various actors were discussing and trying to influence the rebuilding of Edirne's infrastructure. We can observe this in the example of the annual provincial general meeting, where public works (*nafia*) were a central topic on the delegates' agenda. This field comprised many measures of economic development, including the modernization of the provinces' transport infrastructure, such as bridges and roads.⁴² The recently created municipalities emerged as important actors, as they had their own budget for smaller projects like the repair of bridges and roads. Sometimes, wealthy inhabitants covered part of the costs, for example street paving in the city of Burgas. When a new bridge was built across the river Tunca at its upper course between Zağra-i Cedid (Nova Zagora in today's Bulgaria) and İslimiye, the inhabitants of two villages profiting most from it were "persuaded" (*teşvikiyle*) to provide building material, such as timber and stone, for free. The municipality paid the wages of the builders as well as for the nails. Moreover, from the reports we can gauge that there were intensive discussion and lobbying going on regarding larger infrastructure projects. Most importantly, this concerned the railway that was under construction, but, for instance, local merchants also called on the central government to provide better postal service between Kavala on the Aegean and Tekirdağ.

These findings supplement the picture the historian Yonca Köksal paints of Thrace as an economically highly developed region with a differentiated elite that was successfully negotiating with the center about help in further developing Edirne province. At the same time, inhabitants were willing and had the means to contribute to this development. Notably the inhabitants of Edirne constructed public buildings, like a hospital and a school, on their own account. Sometimes even roads were financed by local donations, as in one case in Tekirdağ in 1872. In a similar manner, a wealthy merchant from Şarköy, a small port on the Marmara Sea between Gallipoli and Tekirdağ, was at the head of a private local initiative for the improvement of his hometown's transport connections. He proposed that the İzmir–Istanbul steam line introduce a regular stop at Şarköy and promised to recompense the steamship company for losses of up to 5,000 *kuruş* annually.⁴³

These small local infrastructure projects ran parallel to the ones initiated on the provincial and central level that successfully extended Edirne's transport network over the next decades. The advance in road building and the prioritization of

⁴² Cf. the reports of the meetings in 1868/1285 AH and 1871/1288 AH: BOA, İrade Şura-ı Devlet (İ.ŞD) 10/487 and İ.ŞD 21/913 (27 Ca 1288).

⁴³ Köksal, Yonca: Imperial Center and Local Groups. Tanzimat Reforms in the Provinces of Edirne and Ankara, in: *New Perspectives on Turkey* 27 (2002), pp. 118–122.

certain routes become visible in the official statistics that were published in the yearbooks (*salname*) of Edirne province. The yearbook for 1290 AH (1873–1874) describes the two most important routes of transport and traffic: The first was connecting Tekirdağ with Edirne, continuing to Filibe and from there to the border of the province. The second route branched off east of Filibe at Çırpan, running northeastward to the Black Sea port of Burgas and passing İslimiye. This route was important for exporting the grain and the industrial products of this region, which had been booming since the mid-19th century. In principle, these routes were to be upgraded to a standard suitable for carts. In reality, however, there were stretches – around 25% of the 600 kilometers of existing macadamized highways on both routes – that were not modernized yet or that needed to be repaired.⁴⁴ There were plans to build an additional 350 km of macadamized highways in the province. However, the financial conditions of the empire and the war of 1877–1878 prevented a speedy implementation. Between 1881 and 1884, 113 km of new roads were built in Edirne. Compared with other provinces, Edirne had a position close to the median.⁴⁵

The yearbook for 1301 AH (1883) gives information about the state of roads in Edirne province, which in 1878 had become much smaller after northern Thrace was detached and established as an autonomous province called Eastern Rumelia. According to a list of 18 routes in the province, there were only 32 km of “excellent highways” (*mükemmel şose*), but at least 225 km of the surface on these routes had already been leveled.⁴⁶

Two maps conserved in the Ottoman archive show the situation of the transport network in the province of Edirne in the 1890s (Fig. 1).⁴⁷ They can be approximately dated, because they do not display the railway line from Dedeağaç (Alexandroupoli) to Selanik that was opened in 1896. The road network was densest near the urban centers of Thrace, such as Edirne, Kırkkilise (today Kırklareli to the northeast of Edirne) and Gümülcine (called Komotini in Greek). However, there were still significant gaps on the overland routes, such as the easternmost section of the Via Egnatia, the north-south connection from

⁴⁴ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Edirne* 4 (1290), pp. 304–305.

⁴⁵ *Mecmua-ı Umur-ı Nafia* 1:1 (1302), p. 7.

⁴⁶ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Edirne*. 10 (1301), p. 281.

⁴⁷ BOA, Haritalar (HRT.h) 274 and 250. The first was drawn by a German showing “vollendete” and “unvollendete Chausseen.” It has the character of a sketch-map, the author is unknown and it displays some geographical errors. The second map has an official character as well as a proper scale (1:500,000, 2 Ottoman miles=1 kilometer). Its caption reads: “Map showing the military roads that were built or are in the course of being built in the Municipality [of Istanbul], the district of Çatalca and the Province of Edirne.” Both maps show the same state of road building, however, with slight variations.

Gallipoli to Edirne, and the Istanbul–Belgrade main route. These maps also show that in the time until the Balkan Wars the military function of roads was foregrounded again, because after 1878 and 1885 Edirne had become a border province.

Until the beginning of the Balkan Wars the state of transport infrastructure in the province of Edirne did not change significantly. The *Ottoman Pocket Atlas* of 1905 states that the best roads were the short connections between cities and railway stations. Of the five hundred kilometers of good longer overland connections that the atlas mentions in particular, many center on Edirne and, to a lesser degree, on Kırkkilise and Tekirdağ. A smaller amount of four hundred kilometers of highways had problems with their surface, while an additional amount of over nine hundred kilometers had already been explored.⁴⁸

In sum, despite all efforts, roughly fifty years after Lucchini's proposal, the Istanbul–Edirne route had not yet been completely upgraded to a modern standard. It seems that this route had lost much of its importance once the railway had taken over many of its functions by the late 19th century. Since the railroad came to play such a significant role in the field of transport infrastructures, I will treat it in some detail in the next section.

4 A Railway for the Province of Edirne

The history of Ottoman railways is usually written from the perspective of the European countries, companies, and prominent individuals that built them. As a consequence, these railways have been interpreted mainly as a means to exploit Ottoman resources, to export an expensive technology, or as tools of imperialist penetration. While we are well informed about the economic and political aims of the European side, we know considerably less about the Ottoman actors connected with the railway.⁴⁹ In the following, I seek to demonstrate that the railroad was an integral part of Ottoman infrastructural thinking and planning and that the example of the Oriental Railway can help us to understand a specific logic of regional development not only from the perspective of the central government, but also from that of regional actors. In particular,

⁴⁸ Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi: *Memâlik-i Osmaniye Ceb Atlası*, Istanbul 1323 (1905), p. 37.

⁴⁹ For an overview over the literature, cf. Bilmez, Bülent: European Investments in the Ottoman Railways, 1850–1914, in: Ralf Roth and Günter Dinhl (eds.): *Across the Borders. Financing the World's Railways in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Aldershot 2008, pp. 183–206.

those projects that were not realized bear witness to the competing visions and difficulties of this chapter of infrastructure planning.

From the beginning of the reform period, the Ottoman government was well aware of the opportunities, but also the difficulties that the new transport technology posed. In both his 1837 treatise and the memorandum of 1846, Sadık Rifat touched on the subject of railways. However, at the time of writing, he gave priority to modernizing roads, which was cheaper and involved simpler technology. In the 1850s, the Ottoman government began to promote the introduction of railways to the country more actively. Because of the lack of capital and know-how, foreign consortiums were enticed to invest in railways by promising them very attractive conditions. Contracts usually included, among other advantages, the yearly payment of kilometric guarantees for the time of the concession, which could run for up to 99 years before the line would eventually fall to the Ottoman state.

Two lines connecting Izmir with its hinterland were among the first to be constructed in the early 1860s. These lines combined the interests of the British consortiums that built them with that of international and local merchants who wanted easier access to the sources of the agricultural products they exported. Many merchants, but also the sultan and other members of the Ottoman elite, bought shares that financed the initial construction.⁵⁰ In the same period and in a very similar manner, a line from Rusçuk to Varna was built, connecting the Danube with Black Sea. In this case, as well, foreign investors and the Ottoman government hoped this transport connection would facilitate traffic and trade in agricultural products.⁵¹

Edirne was not among the cities and regions pioneering railway construction in the Ottoman Empire. Only in 1873 was it connected to Istanbul by the famous Oriental Railway, probably because there had not previously been a conjunction of interest between Ottoman and foreign actors. Before I present the effects of the railway on the region and city, I will analyze some failed projects that are less well known. These can demonstrate how the railway fitted into the overall picture of infrastructural planning and bring to light interests others than those finally realized.

Parallel to the commercially justified, rather short lines being realized, the Ottoman government also pursued broader schemes, especially in railway planning in Ottoman Europe. In 1856, the first proposal concerning Ottoman Europe

50 Bektas, Yakup: The Imperial Ottoman Izmir-to-Aydin Railway. The British Experimental Line in Asia Minor, in: Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.): *Science, Technology, and Industry in the Ottoman World*, Turnhout 2000, pp. 139–152.

51 Engin, Vahdettin: *Rumeli Demiryolları*, Istanbul 1993, pp. 40–41.

came from a British consortium represented by Henry Layard (1817–1894), the British archaeologist and politician. The consortium offered to connect the Danube with the Aegean at Enez, a route that would certainly have passed through Edirne. The proposal stressed the benefits such a rail connection meant for trade and industry, but also mentioned military reasons. Some months later, the Ottoman government granted the British consortium behind Layard a concession for a line from Rusçuk via Şumnu (Shumen in Bulgarian) and Edirne to Enez or another nearby port on the Adriatic. It also added to the projected north-south route a branch to Istanbul. In this scheme, Edirne would have become the railway junction for the whole of Ottoman Europe. However, this and two other concessions for similar projects that were granted in 1860 and 1868 remained solely on paper without leading to any real work on the ground.⁵² In this particular period of infrastructural development, railway concessions were the objects of financial speculation and personal gain for project developers, brokers, and officials. The Ottoman government created this situation to a certain extent, because for military and prestige considerations it wanted a railway for Ottoman Europe at any cost. Grand Vizier Âli Pasha (1815–1871) was an ardent supporter of the railway, as was Sultan Abdülaziz, who had extensively used the railway on a trip to Paris and London in 1867 and had become an enthusiast of this most modern mode of travelling.⁵³

4.1 The Narrow-Gauge Railway Project of 1866

In addition to the three unsuccessful initiatives by the central government, in particular a project on the regional level illustrates the diverging interests and priorities the different actors had. Edirne's governor Hurşid Pasha introduced one such project in his aforementioned letter to the Council of State of August 1866. After having asked for support for a narrow-gauge railway running from Filibe via Edirne to the port of Tekirdağ, he anticipated the following objection: "But it does not seem necessary to build another railway from Edirne, if the sultan realizes his intention and builds a connection from Istanbul on a northern route via Vize and Kırkkilise." To counteract it, he attached a detailed plan on the advantages of the line he was proposing, which

⁵² Ibid., pp. 43–48. A draft of the 1857 concession can be found in BOA, İrade Meclis-i Mahsus (İ.MMS) 9/353.

⁵³ Bilmez, *European Investments*, pp. 186–189; Engelhardt, Édouard: *La Turquie et le Tanzimat, ou Histoire des réformes dans l'Empire ottoman, depuis 1826 jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1882–1884, vol. 2, pp. 39–41.

had been worked out by a special commission headed by the sub-governor (*kaymakam*) of Filibe with the help of an expert from one of the Izmir rail companies.⁵⁴ According to the commission, the proposed line would foremost serve the economic needs of Edirne province, i.e., “promote trade” (*emir-i ticaretin ilerletilmesi*) and help to export its agricultural products. It would be constructed parallel to the already projected roads with building material that was left over from the previous railway projects in Izmir and Varna. But in contrast to these lines, it would be constructed in narrow gauge in accordance with a new American standard. The railway manager from Izmir calculated that the costs for the 240 miles of rail would amount to 82 million *kuruş*. The company asked for a 50-year concession and that the initial construction costs be shared: the company would pay 60 million for construction of the tracks as well as for bridges and stations, etc.; the remaining 22 million, mainly comprising wages for local laborers who would undertake the basic earthmoving works, would be contributed by the Ottoman side. According to the special commission, this investment was justified, because the line would prove highly profitable. The yearly freight was estimated at three million *kile* (109,500 tons) that, up to now, had to be transported from Edirne down the river Meriç to Enez. The projected railway would lower the transport costs by one *kuruş* per *kile* and make transportation more reliable and less damaging to the freight. Thus, after deducting other costs, the railway would be able to make a yearly profit of nearly six million *kuruş*, so that, after ten years, the railway company would have recouped its share of the initial construction costs. At this point, the commission appealed to the government not to let such profits fall exclusively into the hands of a private company. Instead, it proposed to build this railway in the name of the Sultan and the Ottoman state and to raise the construction costs by issuing shares that would be bought by government officials as well as other wealthy Ottomans from the province of Edirne. This solution for obtaining the necessary capital, here proposed on a purely provincial level, was later used on a larger scale when the Hejaz railway was built between 1900 and 1908.

We do not know how the government reacted to this project. That the narrow-gauge railway was never built may have to do with the fact that it meant unwanted competition with the lines planned in Istanbul. However, it seems that the proposal from the province was successful in putting a connection between Edirne and a port on the Aegean back on the agenda. Such a connection was missing from the concession that had been given to a British consortium in 1860 (but which had expired already one year later, because the company had

⁵⁴ BOA, MVL 1067/51, 3 R 1283 (15/08/1866).

not initiated the steps agreed upon); it was included again in a concession given to a Belgian consortium in 1869.⁵⁵

4.2 The Oriental Railway in Thrace

This Aegean connection, which represented the hopes for economic development as opposed to the military aims that the central government had recently introduced to infrastructural planning, also stayed on the agenda when the railway was finally constructed in Ottoman Europe by Maurice de Hirsch (1831–1896). The international banker and businessman with German-Jewish roots had taken over the concession from the Belgian consortium, which had run into financial difficulties. His *Compagnie des Chemins de fer Orientaux* or Oriental Railway had agreed to build within seven years under, as usual, very generous contractual conditions a main line connecting Istanbul with the Austrian network at the border of Bosnia, as well as several branch lines to Salonica, Enez, and Burgas. The network was never built in this form, e.g. the connection to the European railway was only achieved in 1888 and not via Bosnia but by closing the last remaining gap between Sofia and Niš. However, in contrast to his forerunners, Hirsch, who cooperated with the Austrian railway company, immediately began exploring and laying track, so that the main line from Istanbul to Sarimbey, a village 50 km west of Filibe in present-day Bulgaria, was opened in summer 1873. Two teams of engineers explored the railway's route from Istanbul to Edirne in summer 1869, one following the old road, the other mapping the northern, so-called mountain route via Vize and Kırkkilise. Ferdinand von Hochstetter, the geologist quoted at the beginning of this chapter, who accompanied the second team, favored the northern route, because building material was easily available and the route ran more to the center of the peninsula of Eastern Thrace.⁵⁶ As it was actually constructed, the railway followed neither of these routes exclusively. From Istanbul, it started on a zigzag course along the northern route as far as Çatalca, but then, by entering the Ergene River valley, it turned in a southeasterly direction to reach Çorlu. From there, however, it did not follow the conventional route of the old road, but stayed very close to the river Ergene and thus bypassed the small towns of Karıştıran, Lüleburgaz, and Babaeski. That is why these towns subsequently had to be connected to 'their' railway stations by new roads and why the railway

⁵⁵ Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, pp. 47–48.

⁵⁶ Hochstetter, *Reise durch Rumelien*, p. 197.

had little imprint on their urban development. Instead of turning northeast toward Edirne, the railway followed the river Ergene almost until its end at Uzunköprü, where it crossed the Meriç and, on its right bank, joined the branch line connecting Edirne to the Aegean.

This latter line, too, had undergone considerable modification from the original plan. In 1870, after explorations of the Meriç valley, the company proposed the village of Dedeağaç (today Alexandroupoli in Greece) west of the mouth of the river as a terminus instead of Enez, the harbor to the east of the river estuary. An official Ottoman commission sanctioned this change of plan, because it found that the sea was too shallow at Enez to accommodate a modern port.⁵⁷

As they were fixed in 1870 and subsequently built, these routes were highly controversial. The general complaint was that the railroad from Istanbul to Edirne was very long (320 km as compared with the approximately 190 km of the traditional route), which obliged the Ottoman government to high yearly guarantee payments. On a local level, too, there was a lot of criticism, as is visible in the 1871 general council of Edirne province. Representatives from Enez, together with the Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants of the town, sent a petition to Istanbul and demanded that their hometown become the rail terminus as was originally planned. The city of Tekirdağ, too, was afraid that, without a connection to the railway, it would be marginalized and turn into a “village port” (*kariye iskelesi*) when travelers on their way between Istanbul and Edirne would not transfer at the town any more.⁵⁸

4.3 Edirne's Railway Quarter Karaağaç

However, in contrast to these towns that were marginalized by shifting flows of trade and travelers, in some cases railway development gave new impulses to urban development. The obvious winner was Dedeağaç, which changed from a village into a harbor town of considerable size (1,500 houses in 1894). It became the capital of a district (*sancak*) that until 1883 was centered on Dimetoka (Didymoteicho in Greek), an inland fortress city that had rivaled Edirne in importance in the early Ottoman period.⁵⁹ Another interesting and prominent case was the provincial capital Edirne, where a modern railway quarter

⁵⁷ Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, p. 65.

⁵⁸ BOA, İ.ŞD 21-913, 21 Ca 1288 (8/8/1871).

⁵⁹ Gökbilgin, Tayyib: Dede Ağa, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, vol. 2, p. 200.

developed in Karaağaç. As in other places, in Edirne, too, the railway did not enter the city directly; the station was situated outside at considerable distance in a village called Karaağaç ca. five kilometers to the southwest of the city.



Fig. 2: Road from Karaağaç to Edirne around 1900.

Building Edirne's station at this location was primarily an economic choice, because a second crossing of the river Meriç was thus avoided. The tracks did not have to intrude into the built environment of the city, either. In Istanbul, homeowners and occupants had opposed such an intrusion when the railway line was extended from the edge to the heart of the city.⁶⁰

Yet, Karaağaç was not a *tabula rasa*. It was most probably chosen because it played a very special part in Edirne's cultural life even before the railway arrived. It had a cosmopolitan population consisting of Greek Ottomans and Europeans, among them the local consuls of Italy, Austria, and North Germany, who owned summer houses there. The Casino – the club the Austrian consul founded to promote intercourse between Europeans, notables of Edirne, and government officials – had a venue in Karaağaç. The house was fitted with a “Kegelbahn” (bowling alley) and a beer garden where imported Austrian lager was served.⁶¹ Such expressions of European culture and consumption became even stronger

⁶⁰ Engin, *Rumeli Demiryolları*, pp. 69–70.

⁶¹ Hochstetter, *Reise durch Rumelien*, pp. 354–355.

when modern amenities for travelers were subsequently set up around the train station. The train starting in the morning from Istanbul would arrive at Edirne in the evening and stop there for the night. Travelers would either sleep at one of the five to six inns at Karaağaç or travel to the city center to lodge in a proper khan. According to a British traveler in 1888, the latter option was the more comfortable one, despite the bumpy road connecting the station to Edirne.⁶² The Baedeker of 1905 advised its readers to alight at the Hotel de la Municipalité and have a beer at the Wirtschaft zur Sonne. In 1914, the choice offered was already greater: Hotel Variété, Hotel Djanik, Restaurant International, and the beer hall Sdrawié (*Zdrave* meaning “Cheers!” in Bulgarian). Beer, the drink of the modern age, was directly imported by the railway from Europe as well as from production sites within the Ottoman Empire and could be consumed here. After 1910, there were also two cinemas in Karaağaç, as well as other dance and music halls. European theater and vaudeville groups frequently performed at Karaağaç on their way to Istanbul.⁶³

With the railway, Karaağaç’s population was increasing and broadening its cosmopolitan character. Besides an already existing Greek Orthodox church, an Armenian, a French Catholic, and a Bulgarian church were built. Additionally there was a Greek school, one run by French missionaries, a French secular school, two Italian schools, and an Armenian primary school.⁶⁴ The residents most directly connected to the railway were its employees. In the 1890s, these engine drivers, mechanics, locksmiths, station wardens, and accountants were predominantly from Germany, because the railway was managed by a German consortium led by Deutsche Bank, since Hirsch had retired and sold his shares in 1889. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, there were over 30 German railway employees living in Karaağaç, many with wife and children, so that the German railway community living in the quarter amounted to approximately 130 individuals.⁶⁵ Since 1883, a German school with a kindergarten, the

⁶² Bent, Theodore: Baron Hirsch’s Railway, in: *Fortnightly Review* 44 (1888), pp. 229–239.

⁶³ Baedeker, Karl: *Konstantinopel und das westliche Kleinasien. Handbuch für Reisende*, Leipzig 1905, pp. 31–34; Fuhrmann, Malte: Beer, the Drink of a Changing World. Beer Consumption and Production on the Shores of the Aegean in the 19th Century, in: *Turcica* 45 (2014), pp. 79–123, here p. 99; Erdoğan, Rabia: Bir Aykırı Edirne Mahallesi. Karaağaç, in: Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz (eds.): *Edirne. Serhattaki Paytaht*, Istanbul 1998, pp. 193–203, here p. 200.

⁶⁴ Erdoğan, Karaağaç, p. 199–200.

⁶⁵ Cf. the lists (Matrikel) of German nationals for the years 1889, 1890, 1894, and 1900 in the archives of the German Foreign Office, Auswärtiges Amt, Politisches Archiv, Vice Consulat Adrianopel.

Deutsche Eisenbahnschule,⁶⁶ founded by the railway company and later also supported by the German state, catered not only for this community. In 1908, the school and kindergarten had 153 pupils, of whom ca. 70% were children of railway employees. The pupils were a true mirror of Karaağaç's cosmopolitan character and attest to the interaction of European workers with local society. There were pupils of ten nationalities; the three largest contingents, each with ca. 25%, were Germans, Austrians, and Ottomans. It seems that many Jewish as well as a few Armenian families from Edirne sent their children to the German school; however, there were no Muslims among the pupils. Approximately 50% of the pupils spoke German as their mother tongue; many of these also had a second mother tongue, which marks them as children of mixed couples.

4.4 Railway Mobilities and Spaces

As a fashionable stop on the Orient Express with its hotels and casinos, Adrianople/Karaağaç displays a very particular side of the modern forms of mobility that developed in the Ottoman Empire. Its facilities were created especially for European employees and travelers, as well as for members of the Ottoman elite. The social fabric and social patterns of the *beau monde* that was attracted by this culture still await scholarly exploration. Further research is also needed on how normal Ottomans, who rode third class and made up the majority of ticket sales, used the railways, for what purposes they traveled, etc.⁶⁷

We also have only a very sketchy understanding of how the railway worked in the context of Edirne province. This is a complicated issue, because the extension of the network changed along with changes in the borders of the province, and this affected the possible functions it could serve.⁶⁸ A little more than ten years after its creation by the reform of provincial administration, the borders of Edirne province were altered for the first time when northern Thrace was established as an autonomous administrative entity called Eastern Rumelia. To judge the degree to which railway mobility was affected by this political decision, we

⁶⁶ Cf. a booklet published by the school: *Deutsche Eisenbahnschule in Caragatsch-Adrianopel (Gegründet im Jahre 1883). Bericht über das Schuljahr 1907/08*, Selbstverlag der Deutschen Eisenbahnschule: Caragatsch-Adrianopel.

⁶⁷ On the Macedonian network, cf. Gounaris, Basil C.: *Steam over Macedonia, 1870–1912*, New York 1993, pp. 234–261.

⁶⁸ Wippel, Steffen: Edirne as a Secondary City. Global Reconfiguration of the Urban, fig. 5, in this volume.

have statistics available for the years 1881–1883 that show that the line between Istanbul and Edirne was used mostly by travelers, whose numbers rose from 875,000 to 1.7 million a year. In contrast, the main line from Edirne into Eastern Rumelia was used predominantly as a freight line, with less passenger traffic.⁶⁹ Were travelers kept away by the political insecurity, or did these numbers merely reflect a functional differentiation of various parts of the line that was already inherent in the different plans and projects discussed above? When Bulgaria annexed Eastern Rumelia in 1885, this surely had consequences. Until 1908, the existing network remained in the hands of one company, the Oriental Railway, but at the Ottoman-Bulgarian border just 30 km northwest of Edirne, trains had to stop and travelers were subject to customs and passport controls.⁷⁰ Once again, further research is needed to analyze exactly how this affected local mobility.

Despite these developments, the network was also able to increase its connectivity in other segments. After 1888 when the gap between Sofia and Niš was closed, because in the peace treaty of 1878 Austria had forced Serbia and Bulgaria to complete the line at high cost, finally the Rumelian railway became connected to the European network as had been planned since the time of the first concession. Now Edirne turned into a regular stop on the way to Istanbul and was therefore included in international guidebooks. Between 1893 and 1896, a line between Dedeağaç and Salonica was built with a separate concession connecting the Thracian to the Macedonian network. From then on, the railway could really integrate the whole of Ottoman Europe as had been planned from the beginning. But there was an interesting shift in how the role of the railway was envisioned. The connecting line was originally planned primarily for military purposes and did not display the economic motivations that had driven infrastructure projects before.⁷¹

At the beginning of the 20th century, a series of wars and border changes continued to have a negative effect on railway infrastructure and the space created by it. With regard to Edirne, this is best illustrated with the example of the city's new railway station, which was commissioned around 1912 by the Oriental Railway Company to replace and extend the old and very modest station building. Filibe station had already been rebuilt in a neoclassical style between 1907 and 1909. In a similar manner, there were plans for a new station in Salonica, which, however, were never realized, because the city was incorporated into the

⁶⁹ *Mecmua-ı Umur-ı Nafia* 1.8 (1302), pp. 230–31; cf. also Edirne's yearbooks of 1300–1303 for a timetable, price lists, etc.

⁷⁰ Bent, *Baron Hirsch's Railway*, p. 234.

⁷¹ Gounaris, *Steam over Macedonia*, pp. 55–58.

Greek nation state after the First Balkan War in 1912. The designated architect of all three projects was Kemalettin Bey (1870–1927), one of the leading figures of late Ottoman and early Republican architecture and the creator of the “First National Style” that combined Ottoman design elements with modern building techniques. He probably got the commissions, because he was a student of August Jachmund, a German architect who had rebuilt Istanbul’s train station at Sirkeci in 1890.⁷²



Fig. 3: Station building at Karaağaç.

The construction of Edirne’s new railway station probably started after the Second Balkan War (1913), when the Ottoman Empire regained the city together with

72 Yavuz, Yıldırım: Rumeli Demiryolları ve Tren İstasyonları, in: İmran Baba et al. (eds.): *Balkanlar’da Kültürel Etkileşim ve Türk Mimarisi Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildirileri (17–19 Mayıs 2000, Şumnu-Bulgaristan)*, Ankara 2001, vol. 2, pp. 833–838. All the dates and circumstances surrounding the construction of these stations are uncertain, because no proper archival research on the topic has been undertaken yet.

Eastern Thrace as the last remnant of Ottoman Europe. It seems that with its neo-Ottoman style the station building wanted to highlight the continuing Ottoman presence in Edirne. In contrast to today's deplorable situation, the railway from Istanbul to Edirne continued to function, because although the Empire lost Western Thrace to Bulgaria, it retained a small corridor on the right bank of the Meriç. In this case, an existing infrastructure clearly determined the new border. However, the station was left half-finished, because after 1915, under German pressure, the Ottomans ceded this corridor including Karaağaç to Bulgaria to entice the country to join the Central Powers. From then on, an international border cut Edirne's railway connection to Istanbul. This situation continued after the First World War, when Western Thrace first fell under Allied control and then, in 1923, was given to Greece. However, there was one exception: Karaağaç. As a substitution for reparations Greece was to pay to Turkey because of the war in Anatolia, Greece agreed to cede Karaağaç with Edirne's main station to Turkey, while the railway line remained on Greek territory.

Even after 1923, there was still traffic on the line from Istanbul to Edirne, but it is unclear how the border crossing was managed. In fact, as a terminus for the Edirne line, the station at Karaağaç proved impractical, so that a new station was built closer to the city, near the bridgehead on the right bank of the Meriç. This situation fundamentally affected the development of Karaağaç. To quote the Turkish novelist Nahit Sırrı Örik, who made the trip to Edirne in 1939:

In the past, Karaağaç flourished. Because the place was elevated and had plenty of good air in the good time of Edirne that lasted until the Balkan Wars, particularly foreigners and non-Turks lived here. There are still big and orderly houses, but now the streets are quiet and empty. And although a guide writes, "Nice parks and cafés have been constructed, so that slowly it is coming back to its old flourishing state," it gave me the feeling of a very abandoned place. In the relatively big station building, an old memory led me to expect a café or at least a restaurant. I was hungry and very cold, so walking up to the oven to warm up and to rest would have been a joy. Alas, there was no such place. Because no train was arriving, the big doors of the station building were locked.⁷³

Because modern Turkey invested predominantly in its Anatolian network, not until 1971 was a new railway line avoiding Greek territory inaugurated and Edirne's main station again moved. To this day, it is situated four kilometers to the southeast of the city center on the left bank of the Meriç. Karaağaç remains a quiet quarter at the border to Greece; the old station building is used by the university administration.

⁷³ Örik, Nahit Sırrı: *Anadolu'da – Yol Notları – . Kayseri, Kırşehir, Kastamonu. Bir Edirne Seyahatnamesi*, Istanbul 2000, p. 21.

5 Conclusion

This chapter analyzes transport infrastructures like roads and railways to examine Ottoman modernization in the 19th century from a particular angle. Old imperial routes by which in the past military and administrative state power had radiated to the provinces, played only a restricted role in the 19th century. The effort to revive the connection between Istanbul and Edirne in the 1840s by making it suitable for coaches and other vehicles can be interpreted as a remnant of the traditional importance the central authorities gave to the route. However, the new state elite originating from the civil bureaucracy had also started to regard roads and railroads as tools for economic development that would increase state power in a more indirect fashion. Attention focused on other routes, and technological developments like the steamship made it possible to connect Istanbul with Edirne in different ways. Only with the advent of the motorcar would the traditional road be revived. When Nahit Sırrı Örik traveled to Edirne in 1939, he took the bus that, like the railway, departed from Sirkeci, but from there served all the towns that were strung like beads on the old route. Just after passing Lüleburgaz, Örik witnessed how the muddy and potholed highway was being prepared to be upgraded to an asphalt road, thus initiating a new cycle of infrastructural modernization for Edirne.

Economic benefits mattered most also to local actors who propagated the modernization of transport infrastructures in Edirne. After the creation of the new province of Edirne in 1867, these local actors acquired a forum where their voices were heard. This resulted in a number of projects and petitions that I examined above. Trade routes that connected the production centers in northern Thrace with the Aegean rather than the traditional route were on their agenda. A connected space of the province was thus defined by a combination of discussions and negotiations about infrastructures and of actually realized infrastructural projects. How this space was socially maintained by new forms of mobility on roads and railways still needs further research. That Edirne played a central role in this fabric has already been demonstrated.

Military and political developments that altered the borders of Edirne province also cut up the networks of infrastructure that had helped to constitute and integrate the province as a bounded space. The newly emerging national states like Greece, Bulgaria, and later also Turkey had very different geopolitical outlooks and rearranged their internal space accordingly.⁷⁴ Transport infrastructures

⁷⁴ Anastasiadou, Irene and Tympas, Aristotle: Constructing Balkan Europe. The Modern Greek Pursuit of an “Iron Egnatia”, in: Erik van der Vleuten and Arne Kaiser (eds.): *Networking*

such as railways showed some resilience to this development, because neither the Ottoman Empire nor the other states had the financial means to rearrange them at will. However, in the long run, they became dysfunctional and turned into phantom structures, as we have seen in the case of Edirne's railway station that never regained its cosmopolitan vibrancy, but is visited today mainly by regional tourists.

Europe. Transnational Infrastructures and the Shaping of Europe, 1850–2000, Sagamore Beach 2006, pp. 25–50.

Jean-François Pérouse

Region versus Metropolis. Thrace and Sprawling Istanbul

The focus on Istanbul in current Turkish urban studies and in general urban studies related to Turkey tends to reproduce a spatial order and hierarchy that must be questioned. In an earlier paper,¹ we already used the expression “Metropolis versus Region” to characterize in a general way the whole new system of relations between Istanbul and its subordinated territorial “peripheries.” Arguing that the dominant discourse on the “developed Marmara region” was specious, we tried to show that only the metropolitan part could be assessed, to a certain extent, as relatively wealthy. We thereby supported a criticism of the prevailing conception of development in Turkey that takes into consideration only macro-economic performance of a region as a monolithic unit, without looking closer at the internal distribution of assets. For this chapter, we want to focus especially on the case of Thrace and put this region in relation to the rapidly expanding metropolis Istanbul.

Turkish Thrace (known as Trakya) is not one of the twelve regions (*bölge*) in Turkey set up in 2002 in the frame of the EU accession process. Composed of three provinces (*il*), Thrace is only a sub-region (*alt-bölge*, labeled NUTS-2-TR21), part of the larger “West Marmara Region.” Effective since September 2002, in line with the EU accession process, there are 12 newly drawn regions (according to the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics called NUTS-1) and 26 sub-regions (NUTS-2) in Turkey. The lowest level – NUTS-3 – is that of the 81 existing provinces. In this reshaped framework, the sub-region Thrace is officially named TEKİRDAĞ-TR21.

In a long-term perspective, today’s Turkish Thrace is only a part of an old historical region that was divided after the Russian-Ottoman War of 1877/78 and again after the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars, till the termination of the Allied occupation of Western Turkey at the end of 1922. In other words, the western boundaries of Edirne province are quite new in the context of the long history of Thrace. The term “Thrace/Trakya” was not used during the Ottoman Empire, at least not by Ottomans. Since the beginning of the 15th century and the first Ottoman conquests, the word “Rumeli” was preferred, a term that has changed its meaning over the centuries. The term “Trakya” progressively emerged in Turkish only after the formation of the Greek nation-state,

¹ Pérouse, Jean-François: Is the ‘Marmara Region’ Really a Developed Region? Metropolis Versus Region, in: *Geographische Rundschau International Edition* 5 (2009), pp. 40–46.

to become more current after World War I and the birth of the “Western Thrace Issue,” which is less a territorial problem than one of managing the Turkish minority in Greece.

In contemporary Turkey, since regions still exist only as a purely statistical framework drawn on the national map, without any administrative or political consequences, and since the sub-regions are similarly a very abstract framework for the citizens, the main active administrative level remains the province. Since the end of 2012, the competencies of all the 30 metropolitan municipalities (sing. *büyükşehir belediyesi*) have been extended to all the territory of the concerned province. In this process, the provincial authorities have lost most of their competencies and the until then elected province assemblies (sing. *il meclisi*) have been cancelled. In this changing national and regional pattern, the metropolis Istanbul has displayed a striking continuity, being the eastern limit of Thrace, however Thrace is defined, since at least Roman times. Representing the eastern gate of Thrace for centuries, throughout that time Istanbul has been the main consumption market for Thrace, driving and shaping Thrace’s economy to a large extent.

Today the relationship between Istanbul and Thrace has reached a critical point. For instance, at the beginning of 2010, the Edirne local organization of a radical left Party for Freedom and Solidarity (*Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi*, ÖDP) launched a campaign against the regional master plan issued in August 2009 by a planning body located in Istanbul and directly related to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM, *İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi*). The slogan of the campaign was “Thrace is not your backyard!” (*Trakya Arka Bahçeniz Değil*). This plan was criticized for having been conceived outside of the region principally for the advantage of the metropolis and consequently of not considering the needs, the particularities, and the sustainability of Thrace.

In June 2010, an interesting book was published on the difficult relationship between Thrace and Istanbul. Its title sounds extreme: *Thrace in Resistance (against Istanbul’s Occupation)*. This collected volume edited by Osman İnci is an attempt by the civil society of Thrace to defend local resources (waters, forests, fauna, flora, soils, archaeological goods, immaterial values . . .) against the unlimitedly growing demands of Istanbul metropolis. The mobilization of civil society and especially of environmentalist movements against the domination of Istanbul indicates that the primary path of development in Thrace is widely perceived as excessively Istanbul-oriented.

Taking this reaction into account and resolving to look at Thrace from a point of view other than Istanbul’s, let us examine, first, the dimensions of the imbalance and, second, the forms of “metropolitan aggression” and finally the ways explored to counter it.

1 A Growing Disequilibrium

The sub-region of Thrace we are dealing with comprises three provinces that are quite different from each other and that contrast with Istanbul both demographically and economically namely Edirne, Tekirdağ and Kırklareli. Among the three provinces, there is a huge development gradient from east to west, Edirne province remaining a relatively underdeveloped province after having been a “boundary province” crippled by rivalries among young emerging nation-states of Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. The figures for Edirne show the lowest daily income for salaried employees, by far the lowest income from manufacture sales, and a rate of industrial consumption of electricity that is only a fifth of that of the western province Tekirdağ.

	Tekirdağ	Kırklareli	Edirne	İstanbul
Population 2018	1,029,927	360,860	411,528	15,067,724
Pop. forecast 2023	1,073,331	258,241	415,873	16,568,500
Migration net result (2012-2013)	+ 13,623	-2,729	-745	+ 66,321
Electricity consumption by industry	5,370 kWh	88 kWh	988 kWh	690 kWh
Income from manufacture sales	41,478 TL	34,280 TL	7,241 TL	14,409 TL
Number of motor vehicles per 1,000 persons	117	129	128	152
Daily income of salaried employees	56.85 TL	60.96 TL	47.63 TL	63.59 TL

Fig. 1: Comparative figures for Tekirdağ, Kırklareli, Edirne, and Istanbul.

1.1 High Versus Low Population Densities

In terms of population and population growth, the three provinces of Thrace do not weigh heavily in comparison with the metropolis. Worse, two of the three Thracian provinces have lost population for decades, until the end of 2010. Although the annual growth rate has been positive for both between 2017 and 2018 (respectively 1.35% and 1.15%), for the province of Kırklareli, and even for Edirne, the perspectives are very unfavorable: young people leave to work in Tekirdağ, Istanbul, or elsewhere, and the average age of the rural inhabitants is relatively high. For Tekirdağ, the province located closest to Istanbul, the positive forecast for 2023 actually means increased integration in Istanbul’s demographic dynamics. Actually, between 2017 and 2018 this province displayed one of the highest annual growth rate in the country, with 2.43 % (while Istanbul province stagnated with only 0.26%). But unlike Kırklareli,

whose whole population dropped again (the recent installation of Istanbulites tired of urban life may remain limited in its effects on the local demographic balance), the forecast for Edirne shows a meaningful increase that nevertheless cannot be compared with that expected for Tekirdağ and Istanbul in the same period.

1.2 Will the Thracian Agricultural Sector Survive?

At least since the beginning of Byzantine times, Thrace has traditionally been the “granary of Istanbul.”² To a certain extent, it still is. For wine, wheat, livestock, cheese,³ and milk, Thrace is still the main supplier of the metropolis.⁴ But these products are not exported. They supply the agro-industries located in the vicinity. Thrace is the top sub-region for the production of oleaginous seeds (sunflowers) in Turkey. Whereas 34% of Turkey’s territory is devoted to agriculture, in Thrace, this proportion is about 55%. The main crops of the Thracian region are wheat, sunflowers (more than 60% of the national production), and rice (the province of Edirne alone produces almost half of the rice grown in Turkey). Even Tekirdağ has to some extent continued its agricultural activities, despite its proximity to the core of the metropolis. Paradoxically, between 2005 and 2011, the province of Edirne lost 13% of its agricultural surface while the province of Tekirdağ has lost only 8%.

Recent investments, both national and international, have even confirmed Thrace’s agricultural orientation.⁵ For example, the ongoing state-led Hamzadere dam project in Edirne province will lead to the opening of around 350,000 new irrigated hectares. International investments include Jordan’s investments in livestock in 2010 and a Dubai-based company’s renting hundreds of hectares in Edirne to produce rice at the beginning of 2015.⁶

Meanwhile, the industrial development of Edirne has remained much more limited than that of Tekirdağ. While in the province of Edirne at the beginning of 2015 there is only one Organized Industrial Zone (OSB in Turkish, called Edirne

2 Jarde, A.: *Les céréales dans l’Antiquité grecque*, Paris 1925; Kaplan, M.: *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol*, Paris 1992.

3 The French firm Danone has one of its biggest European plants in Lüleburgaz (in Kırklareli province).

4 See Semerci, Arif: Trakya’da Tarımsal Yapı, Verimlilik ve Gelişmişlik Düzeni, in: *Tarım ve Mühendislik* 76–77 (2006), pp. 63–69 and İnan, İ.H.: *Trakya Bölgesinde Tarım ve Hayvancılığın Durumu*, Türkiye Ekonomik Kurumu 2012, <http://tek.org.tr/dosyalar/balkanlar9.pdf>, last accessed 17 Jan. 2019.

5 See Edirne Damızlık Üretim Merkezi Olacak, *Dünya*, 12 May 2015, p. 13.

6 See <http://beyazgazete.com/haber/2015/4/10/dubaili-is-adamindan-trakya-da-yatirim-2631560.html>, last access 19 May 2015.

Organize Sanayi Bölgesi, founded in 1994), there are thirteen of them in Tekirdağ and four in Kırklareli. It seems that the recent wave of OSB creations that has characterized Tekirdağ (more than seven OSB openings since 2012) and Kırklareli (two openings in 2014) hasn't reached Edirne. Even the existing one in Edirne province is having trouble being filled. Twenty three years after its opening, only 44% of the companies that were there were effectively active. According to the president of the Young Businessmen Association of Edirne province in June 2015,⁷ the main reason for this low industrial development is that Edirne province is not one of the provinces benefiting from the state policy of incentives (*teşvik sistemi*). In addition, it is worth noting that for a few years there has been a project of an agro-industrial zone (Gıda İhtisas Bölgesi) in the south of the province, within the framework of the recently announced Hamzadere project. Promoted by local chambers of commerce or industry and the Trakya Development Agency, this project, which concerns the three districts of Edirne (all of Enez and parts of Keşan and İpsala), is designed around a dam completed in 2018 (but the channels connected to the dam were still under construction in the end of 2019), whose aim is to irrigate and thereby open up land (320,000 *dönüm*=32,000 hectare). Paralleling the hydro-agricultural dimension, the project has an industrial and, along the shore of the Soros Gulf, a tourism dimension.

1.3 A Preserve for Tourism Close to the Huge Market of Istanbul?

Thrace has long been a weekend leisure and tourism preserve for Istanbul. In fact, many holiday villages (*tatil köyü*) for second homes have been constructed in Thrace since the 1950s – and especially in the 1980s and 1990s,⁸ along the Marmara Sea in direct continuity with the western Istanbul districts such as Silivri. This weekend and summer tourism also affected the Thracian Black Sea shores, but later – mostly in the 2000s – and in a more restricted way. If in the 1950s to 1970s Tekirdağ was the primary affected province, since the 1990s also the other provinces have been involved. In recent years, Enez in Edirne province has become a destination for holidays, and its road network has been improved.

⁷ See Edirne Ekonomisine Katkı Sağlayan Proje Yapıyoruz, *Dünya*, 26 June 2015, Edirne Supplement, p. 5; also cf. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/hurriyet-ekonomi-zirvesi/simdi-uretim-zamani-40518079>, last accessed 2 Oct. 2019.

⁸ Emekli, G.: İkinci Konut Kavramı Açısından Turizm Coğrafyasının Önemi ve Türkiye'de İkinci Konutların Gelişimi, in: *Ege Coğrafya Dergisi* 23 (2014), pp. 25–42.

The low population density of these rural areas has put them in demand by inhabitants of Istanbul, and weekend or summer farms (*çiftlik*) are increasingly numerous throughout Thrace. The owners of these “farms,” wealthy urban people, enjoy both Istanbul’s proximity and brief respites with a rural lifestyle. As a result, whereas young rural people are obliged to migrate to industrial places to find a job, the resulting empty houses are acquired and transformed into weekend or holiday houses. This process has both positive and negative effects for Thrace. In terms of development, this input from a highly qualified new population has positive outcomes for local innovation capacities, especially in the tourism and agriculture sectors.

Relatively close to Istanbul, the city of Edirne has long been a frequent destination for national tourists on a day’s outing. As an old Ottoman capital rich in monuments, Edirne attracts visitors interested in national history and architecture. The Selimiye mosque, included on UNESCO World Heritage List in 2011, together with its *küllüye*, counts among the main attractions. Edirne attracts foreign tourists, as well; they are mostly transitory tourists entering Turkey through border-crossing points in Edirne province. According to official figures,⁹ between 2006 and 2013, the annual number of foreigners entering by roads in Edirne has diminished from 3.04 million to 2.80 million. Few of them make a stop in Edirne. The Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism estimated the annual number of foreign tourists in the province of Edirne in 2006 at 103,000 for an average estimated stay of 1.3 days.¹⁰ In 2014, according to official figures, this number grew to about 500,000. Additionally, the number of bed nights in the province has increased from 400,000 in 2017 to 700,000 in 2018.¹¹ Despite the potential of the city¹² and the various districts of the province, especially those that are close to the Aegean Sea (the Soros Golf), tourism remains quite underdeveloped in the province. The lack of an airport continues to limit the development of tourism. In recent years, local chambers of commerce, Edirne city, and the Thracian development agency have launched diverse surveys and projects – particularly in medical, maritime, and agro-tourism – to boost this sector.

⁹ See Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu: *Seçilmiş Göstergelerle Edirne*, Ankara 2014, p. 155.

¹⁰ See Edirne İl Özel İdaresi, İBB, TRAKAB, İMP: *1/25 000 Edirne İl Çevre Düzeni Planı*, Istanbul 2011, p. 23.

¹¹ Provided by the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Edirne in June 2015; see *Dünya*, 26 June 2015, Edirne Supplement, p. 2; also cf. <https://www.trthaber.com/haber/yasam/edirne-2018-yilinda-35-milyondan-fazla-turist-agirladi-399514.html>, last accessed 2 Oct. 2019.

¹² The recent opening of the renovated synagogue of Edirne, the tallest synagogue in all the Balkans, may contribute to an increase in this number in the coming years.

2 The Striking Forms of the Metropolitan Aggression

Since July 2004, the limits of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) have been extended to the limits of Istanbul province (*il*). But the urban area of Istanbul exceeds Istanbul province into the border provinces, as well, with Tekirdağ becoming the western flank of the urban area. Despite the formation of a huge urban area, there is no matching administrative body.

2.1 Urban Sprawl and the Despoiling of Natural Resources

The most striking form of aggression, the physical one, can be easily identified by looking at the satellite images. In other terms, Istanbul metropolis long ago began to invade the neighboring provinces of Thrace, especially Tekirdağ (in particular the western districts of this province, Saray, Çerkezköy, and Çorlu). We can even speak of a phenomenon of Thrace's *settling into Istanbul's orbit*. Even Tekirdağ has become a sort of “satellite town” of Istanbul. On its official regional map, the Istanbul Metropolitan and Urban Design Center (İstanbul Metropolitan Planlama ve Kentsel Tasarım Merkezi, İMP), a private-public urban and regional planning body established in 2005 by the metropolitan municipality,¹³ a part of Thrace is included in the “Istanbul metropolitan region,” considered the purview of this body. This kind of intrusion has consequences for the control of land. The faster Istanbul's urban sprawl advances, the more will local communities lose control over land use and the more will land prices rise. In this context, there is a strong trend of land use shifting from agriculture to construction.

In the same process, the natural resources of Thrace are increasingly in demand by and placed at the disposal of the voracious metropolis. Due to the demographic and economic disequilibrium and to the lack of strongly empowered local authorities, Thrace seems unable to hinder this form of exploitation/predation. The case of the metropolitan water supply system suffices to illustrate what is going on. Since the middle of the 1990s, the Istanbul Water Administration has constructed a number of dams in the İstranca mountains that form the natural backbone of Thrace, from the North of Tekirdağ to the Bulgarian border, to feed the pipes that bring water to Istanbul. But if this long-distance and costly water supply provisionally helped answer the growing needs of the metropolis, it was

¹³ A body working directly together with the “traditional” public bodies like the General Directorate for Planning in the metropolitan municipality.

planned without taking into account long-term local needs and local natural balances. Moreover, no serious sustainability survey of the captured resources was undertaken. Since 1998, the date of its opening, the Pabuçdere dam in Kırklareli province, district of Vize near the Black Sea coast has gone dry twice (in 2008 and again in 2014) and the ecosystems of its surroundings have been negatively impacted.¹⁴

2.2 Industrial Subordination

Tekirdağ displays a particularly impressive rate of industrial electricity consumption, even about eight times higher than that of Istanbul. This is because since the second half of the 1990s Thrace has been affected by the process of deindustrialization of the core of the metropolis, as industrial plants previously located inside the metropolis increasingly resettle in Thrace. This process concerns all industrial branches, but especially leather manufacturing,¹⁵ textile garment factories, small chemical plants, the plastics industry, and metallurgical industries. The opening of industrial zones (OSB) in Çorlu and Çerkezköy are an obvious sign of this process. At the end of 2019, there were 13 OSBs in the province of Tekirdağ, but, as mentioned before, only one (founded in 1994) was in Edirne province.

In September 2012, the head of the province (*vali*) of Tekirdağ, remembering that the province has other economic assets like agriculture, forestry, and tourism to be protected, stressed that opening a new industrial zone was not currently on the local agenda. At least in the short term, nothing should be done in this direction before the previously opened industrial zones of the province have been completed.

We can speak about “subordination” insofar as the decision centers and the headquarters of the majority of these relocated industries are located outside the Thracian provinces. Edirne, too, shows this dependence. Almost all (as a matter of fact 11 out of 12) of the actually active firms established in the Edirne Industrial Zone have their main headquarters in Istanbul.¹⁶ The only exception, Hami Yemcilik, is not local, either, because it has its headquarters in Sakarya, far to the east of Istanbul.

¹⁴ See Bir Başka Doğa Talanı. Istanca Dağları, <http://www.dogatarihi.net/?s=Pabu%C3%A7dere>, last accessed 8 Sept. 2008.

¹⁵ Decided by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality at the end of the 1980s, the transfer of leather manufacturing to a special zone (Deri Organize Sanayi Bölgesi, DOSB) in Çorlu (Tekirdağ) was implemented in 1992. It can be considered the first externalization (and spreading) of Istanbul “pollutant” industries to Thrace. See *Radikal*, 10 May 2006.

¹⁶ Cf. <http://www.edirneosb.org.tr/content-1020-firmalar.html>, last accessed 16 Nov. 2015.

As a result, the growing pollution, especially of its rivers and soils, that Thrace is suffering from in the last years has become the most remarkable expression of Istanbul's domination.¹⁷ As underlined by many professional chambers and by some scholars, this uncontrolled industrial sprawl stemming from Istanbul endangers Thrace's natural resources.¹⁸ For environmentalist movements, the Ergene River valley – the largest river basin of Thrace – has become the symbol of these environmental aggressions. Even the authors of the introduction of the official “Revision plan for the sub-region Ergene basin” issued in 2009 by four bodies (the Ministry of the Environment and Urbanism, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the Union for the Development of Thrace (TRAKAB), and İMP), recognize the urgency of preventing the pollution that is mostly related to over-industrialization. In May 2019 again, because of illegal industrial discharges from the main industrial zone of Kırklareli, thousands of fishes were found dead in a secondary river that flows into the Ergene.¹⁹

2.3 An Emerging Logistics System in the Employ of Istanbul

The metaphor of the corridor (*koridor* in Turkish) is frequently used to characterize both the position and the function of Thrace in the national and international transport system.²⁰ But this supposed function is, again, one imposed from outside, not taking into account local specificities and dynamics. For instance, in the 2006 regional plan drawn up by İMP, logistics is clearly one of the predominant functions allotted to Thrace. In this perspective, Thrace appears mostly as a region that is traversed by highways, tubes, and railways and that is otherwise ignored. In 2019, a huge new gas pipe, named Turk Stream, coming from Russia through the Black Sea, has been added. It crosses from the Black Sea port Kiyiköy in the province of Kırklareli all Thrace towards Bulgaria. In this respect, the maps displayed in the official reports (especially those from the Trakya Development Agency) are fallacious, showing rudimentary roads as “main

¹⁷ See Trakya'da Çevre Katliamı Sürüyor, *Birgün*, 6 June 2006, p. 16 and Trakya'ya 'Göç' Haberi Endişe Yarattı, *Hürriyet*, 22 Feb. 2013.

¹⁸ Aksoy, A., Ünal, N. Erdem and Küçük, İ.: Trakya Bölgesi Kuruyor Mu?, in: *Türkiye Mühendis Haberleri* 420–422 (2003), pp. 52–53; İnci, Osman (ed.): *Trakya (İstanbul'un İşgaline) Direniyor*, İstanbul 2010.

¹⁹ Cf. <https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/seytan-deresindeki-balik-olumlerine-sorusturma>, last accessed 2 Oct. 2019.

²⁰ E.g. see Trakya Development Agency: *Logistics in Trakya Region*, Apr. 2011, p. 24, <http://www.trakya.org.tr/uploads/docs/11092012Qlj2fQ.pdf>, last accessed 16 Nov. 2015.

highways” and displaying transportation infrastructures that are still on the drafting table. It is seen as only an empty territory that has to be crossed, a bridge between the EU (accessed by the border-crossing points) and Istanbul, and even bridging “Continental Europe and Asia Continent.”²¹ The activities along the different transportation axes that have been fixed and developed, like the İstanbul Trakya Serbest Bölgesi or the Tekirdağ-Çorlu European Free-Zone (EFZ), are mainly externally oriented activities.



Fig. 2: İstanbul Trakya Serbest Bölgesi.

As the responsible Chamber of Trade of İpsala has underlined, the not negligible number of slightly below two million people entering Turkey by the İpsala/Edirne border-crossing point go through Thrace without a stop even in the high-potential tourism zones like the district of Enez in the south of Edirne province.²² Moreover, the border-crossing points between Turkey and Greece or Bulgaria are very slow. There are still serious bottlenecks, on both sides, despite various state investments and structural changes – like the privatization of management – carried out in the last few years by the Turkish side. On 19 May 2015, the traffic from Turkey to Bulgaria was completely frozen for four hours. The five Thracian border-crossing points (Dereköy, Hamzabeyli, Kapıkule, İpsala/Greece, and

²¹ English in *ibid.*, p. 9

²² See *Dünya*, 19 May 2015, p. 12.

Pazarkule/Greece) account for more than a third of all vehicle road entries to Turkey. As for exits, the Edirne province border-crossing points average 1,165 vehicles each day (less than the Turkey-Iraq border gates, with on average 1,700 exits each day).²³ The palpable lack of integration of the highway networks between the concerned countries keep this corridor a project on paper except for the pipelines. In addition, the new maritime port of Tekirdağ, Akport in operation since July 2015 – whose newly opened railway connects it with the Istanbul railway – belongs *de facto* to Istanbul's complex of ports.

This is also the case of the brand-new private container terminal coined Asyaport, launched at the end of 2015, which at the end of 2019 is about to become the main “hubport” of Turkey. Located in the little village of Barbaros, immediately west of Tekirdağ, Asyaport is controlled by the globalized Mediterranean Shipping Company (MSC), enforcing the transit function of Trakya for the benefit of the neighboring metropolis. Due to the suddenly intensified truck traffic this goes at the expense of the local quality of life.



Fig. 3: Asyaport, the huge cranes over the old harbor.

Following the other two Thracian provinces, Edirne is about to receive these new, EU-driven transportation investments, first the modernization of border-crossing points and second the high-speed train slated for completion in Edirne in the next years. The airport mentioned above is also about to be implemented.

²³ See *Dünya*, 20 May 2015, p. 3.

2.4 Falling into Political and Organizational Dependence

A glimpse at the recent transformations that have occurred in the framework of regional planning suffices to illustrate this point. Just after the September 2002 creation of twelve regions within the framework of the EU integration process, in December 2002, a special decision of the ministerial council established a Union for the Resolution of Thrace Environment Issues, which was transformed into the Union for the Development of Thrace (Trakya Kalkınma Birliği, TRAKAB) in March 2004. The initial official competences of TRAKAB, as defined by the ministerial council, were “drawing, developing, and implementing all the plans for Thrace” in coordination with the concerned local administration. But two years later, in December 2006, all the competences of the TRAKAB were transferred – top-down by the Ministry of the Interior – to the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul. The violence of this reshaping of the planning governance pattern reflected the balance of powers between Istanbul and its periphery.²⁴

Even though there has been a proper Thrace Development Agency encompassing the three provinces Tekirdağ, Kırklareli, and Edirne since 2009, and even though this agency is trying to issue its own regional plan, economic and spatial planning remains in the shadow of Istanbul. The İMP is drawing plans for all of Thrace, not taking into account the relatively new regional division pattern of 2002.²⁵ Consequently, the sub-region’s development trends are usually determined from the outside.

3 Resistance by Civil Society and Academicians

The “revolt of Thrace” against the hegemonic ambitions of Istanbul began in the middle of the 2000s when the IMM launched the project of a trash dump in the Thracian district of Silivri, the westernmost district of Istanbul province. The Association for the Environment of Silivri²⁶ created in 1986 initiated a campaign to prevent this project. The motto of this first uprising was: “Thrace (or we)

²⁴ As a reaction see, for example, Hilmi Dinçer: AKP’nin Trakya’ya Attığı En Büyük Kazık. TRAKAB, 21 Apr. 2014, <http://www.devrimgazetesi.com.tr/akpnin-trakyaya-attigi-en-buyuk-kazik-trakab/>, last accessed 16 Nov. 2015.

²⁵ Pérouse, *Marmara Region*, pp. 42–43.

²⁶ On Google: <https://plus.google.com/112191062271334989072/posts>, last accessed 16 Nov. 2015.

won't be the trash dump of Istanbul" (*İstanbul'un çöplüğü olmayacağız*).²⁷ According to those responsible in the association, the risk was real that "all dangerous wastes of Istanbul will be sent to Trakya."²⁸ Started in 2006, the debate continued in 2007, taking on a new dimension as it became political. The rejection of Istanbul's wastes in Thrace (including the district of Silivri) by the region's inhabitants, who are mostly affiliated with the opposition party CHP, was a form of rejection of Istanbul's AKP authorities. It is too early to judge the consequences for Thrace of the (local) political turn that occurred in June 2019 with the victory of the opposition candidate in Istanbul.

Afterward, in 2008, a similar polemic erupted in Kırklareli province (district of Lüleburgaz, village of Eskitaşlı) against the local municipality's similar plan for a site for the disposal of solid wastes. In this polemic, the professional chambers, together with environmental associations, played an important role in awakening local public opinion.

Similarly, in 2012-2013, a few associations like the Çorlu Ergene Initiative, some trade unions, and some professional chambers (including the local Chamber of Agricultural Engineers) protested against the Çorlu municipality project of a solid waste dump in Karatepe, a town right next to Çorlu, designed by the private company named Ekolojik Enerji A.Ş. that managed the giant domestic waste dump of Kemerburgaz in north Istanbul. According to these associations, the project in Çorlu was directly related to the aim to close the Istanbul dump because of its growing negative impact. At the end of 2012, a special civil group called "Platform against the dangerous waste plant" was constituted from all the bodies opposed to the project. At the same time, but independently, a radical leftist group organized a march from Tekirdağ to Ankara under the slogan "The Ergene basin belongs to Thrace. It will not be the dump of Imperialism!" (*Ergene Trakya'dır. Emperyalizmin Çöplüğü Olmayacaktır*).

Later, various academicians working in the different universities of the sub-region relayed the discourse on the threats Istanbul posed to Thrace. In November 2010, during a meeting organized in Havsa, a little district of Edirne, by the Marmara Platform for the Environment (MARÇEP, established in 2002) in reaction to the newly issued Ergene Environmental Master Plan, some academicians such as Osman İnci, former President of Trakya Üniversitesi in Edirne,

²⁷ The governor (*vali*) of Kırklareli declared the same thing in the same terms at the same time. See *Sabah*, 19 Dec. 2006, <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2006/12/19/eko121.html>, last accessed 16 Nov. 2015.

²⁸ See Silivri'de Tehlikeli Atık Depolama Tesisi; <http://www.agacler.net/forum/doga-cevre-ekoloji-gida-hukuk-ve-politikalari/2906.htm>, last accessed 16 Nov. 2015.

Emre Aysu from Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, Okan Gaytancıoğlu²⁹ from Namık Kemal Üniversitesi in Tekirdağ, and Tanay Sıtkı Uyar,³⁰ expressed their concerns very clearly. During this meeting, İnci declared: “Sharing pollutant functions or those that have lost their economic value with the sub-region of Thrace and the introduction of industry to Thrace are highly problematic. The vital resources (water, agricultural lands, forests, and other natural goods) will suffer damage; moreover, the social fabric will be corroded by migration.”

The main reaction from academia was the book *Thrace in Resistance (against Istanbul's Occupation) (Trakya (İstanbul'un İşgaline) Direniyor)*, published in June 2010 by the publishing house linked to the old Kemalist *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. Edited by the aforementioned former President of Edirne Trakya Üniversitesi, this thick book tells the history of a process of dispossession. It relates the shift of regional planning competencies from regional bodies to the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul.

Its contributors, apart from İnci, are academicians directly involved in the preparation of the Environmental Master Plan of the Ergene Basin (Ergene Havzası Çevre Düzeni Planı), which was launched in the late 1990s. Elaborated by various members of the local universities and professional chambers, the plan was completed and delivered to the public authorities, e.g., the Ministry of Forests and Environment in December 2002. Modified and finally ratified in 2004, the plan hasn't been transformed into large-scale (1/25,000) sub-plans, though the law calls for its implementation. Finally it was cancelled, without any notification or explanation to its authors at Trakya Üniversitesi. As a result, despite the strong need for regional planning due to heavy industrialization and the rapid transformation of ecological balances, there was a vacuum until 2009, when a new master plan for the Ergene basin was promulgated.

4 Conclusion

In the context of Turkey as a whole, Edirne remains a relatively sparsely populated border territory (*serhat*) that has not yet developed its own assets independently of Istanbul. The power balance between Edirne (and all of Thrace) and Istanbul is worsening every day. It is not easy for Thrace to keep its identity and integrity in the proximity of a voraciously devouring “world city.” Also on a cultural level the domination

²⁹ Later, in 2015, Gaytancıoğlu was the CHP candidate for Prime Minister. He entered the National Assembly in June 2015.

³⁰ At the that time, he was President of TÜRÇEP, the Platform for the Environment of Turkey, which had been founded in 2005 and to which MARÇEP is related.

by Istanbul and its contradictions becomes apparent. One example is the usually silenced Roma heritage in Thrace, despite top-down and external efforts to promote it as a positive asset for tourism that insist on the supposed “native” musical creativity of Roma people. Although we have no precise figures on this heteroclite population – the spoken languages as well as the origins and the socio-histories of these so-called Roma populations are various –, we know that they constitute an important and largely marginalized segment of Thrace’s inhabitants. As Alpman shows, this is a population “at the border” both literally and figuratively.³¹

Perhaps in the future the emerging cross-border dynamics will allow Thrace to find its own way and to resist the metropolis’ pressures. So far, except for daily commercial tourism from Greece and Bulgaria and scarce EU-funded experimental environmental projects, the proximity of the border cannot be seen as a resource for Edirne. If the path to the construction of historical Thrace as a Euro-region is opened, it will take a long time to carry out this aim. But the serious degradation of the political climate in Turkey shifting towards an arbitrary authoritarian regime since the failed coup in July 2016 tends to aggravate all the bad trends. Both the local and the ecological movements cannot act efficiently against the dominant pattern of the metropolis-centered ultra-liberal development.³²

³¹ Alpman, Nazım: *Sınırdaki Yaşayanlar*, İstanbul 2004.

³² About these bad trends impacting Thrace, see Talu, B.: Trakya Zehire Karşı Direniyor, in: *Gazeteduvar*, 27 Mar. 2017, <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/gundem/2017/03/27/trakya-zehire-karsi-direniyor/>, last accessed 17 Jan. 2019.

Steffen Wippel

Edirne as a Secondary City. Global Reconfiguration of the Urban

Well-maintained motorways and new high-speed trains link Edirne to nearby metropolises. An international airport serves the wider region and helps to relieve the already overloaded third airport of metropolitan Istanbul. Edirne is part of the flourishing Thrace cross-border region; which counts among the most promising ones on the Balkan Peninsula. The city has become the center for agro-industries processing the products of the fertile Thracian plains and a center for tertiary activities and new technologies profiting from its immediate access to the global city of Istanbul as well as cities across the border. Its university, with an ingenious combination of technological fields and humanities, has attained renown for excellence among Balkan universities and attracts a substantial number of international students and faculty. More and more Istanbul residents leave the metropolis to settle in Edirne's well-appreciated, quieter, green environment that, at the same time, offers many job opportunities; other employees commute from nearby Bulgarian and Greek cities. Due to its well-promoted heritage sites and the development of cultural events, international tourist flock into the city.

This is how one could condense the utopian visions of particularly ambitious urban planners for Edirne's development in the decades to come. Yet, the city still struggles to become, once again, a transnationally and transregionally embedded city, an important passageway, and the center of a region that was divided by national borders and antagonistic political hemispheres about a century ago.

Unlike nearby Istanbul, smaller Turkish cities like Edirne do not appear in the various global city rankings – even in the most extensive databases. In the context of current conceptual approaches to urban development, two questions arise: to what extent is Edirne a global(izing) city, albeit of secondary order, within the national and global networks and flows of commodities and human beings? How is it developing under the specific conditions of a border city, given the changing and ambivalent characteristics of the nearby territorial demarcation lines? The answers can only be provisional, especially because this author is no specialist on Edirne, Turkey, and the Balkans, but has a background in economics and a long-standing research focus in urban studies and regionalization of the Middle East and North Africa.

This conceptual essay presents reflections on globalizing secondary and border cities. A few concrete examples will illustrate the following theoretical suggestions, before this chapter then turns to powerful Istanbul and contrasts it with Edirne, in order to explore the extent to which these concepts might be applicable and to get an idea of the kind of further research that would be needed. The empirical considerations rely in part on previous chapters gathered in this edited volume, which are generally written from a different (mostly historical) perspective,

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but can also provide some valuable insight for the research agenda pursued. Furthermore, discussions with experts, information from publicly available internet resources, plus a number of academic publications also from other fields have been integrated.¹

1 Conceptual Considerations on Contemporary Urban Developments

This section deals with a number of extensive, yet fragmentary conceptual considerations. They highlight different aspects of contemporary cities, which themselves do not constitute uniform, cohesive entities. However, cities also experience recurrent reconfigurations: such developments go beyond purposefully planned transformations and positively connoted transitions, including also open, unintended, and multidimensional changes in historical, political, economic, and cultural constellations on different levels. Such occurrences require that conceptual considerations be applied from historical perspectives. The following review of theoretical literature on urban developments in the age of globalization can be helpful in understanding why Edirne has been so neglected, not only regarding its actual development, but also in terms of a conceptualization of its status in the wider territorial context and the world in general. As the following sections will show, only after research had taken into consideration global cities of the South, very prominently Istanbul, pertinent developments in smaller secondary cities have also been accounted for and properly placed in a theoretical context of globalizing cities. Moreover, recent developments in the theoretical field of border studies will be reviewed to see the degree to which their findings are applicable to Edirne.

1.1 From National Primate Cities to Global and World Cities

Starting in the late 1980s, seminal works stimulated new interest in urban research across the disciplines. They focused on the emergence of “postmodern cities” as well as on the role and function of “global cities.” However, urban studies continued to focus on the huge, first-order urban centers – national capitals, economic metropolises, megalopolises, and, more recently, world and global cities. Such

¹ This chapter was finished in early 2016, shortly after the so-called “refugee crisis” and before the July 2016 coup attempt. Hence, subsequent political and economic developments and local repercussions could not be included.

cities dominate the national and today also the wider regional or even the global urban texture and often represent the regional and global anchoring, the progress, and the modernity of the countries in which they are located.

For a long time, “primate cities” in national urban systems attracted paramount academic interest, particularly in developing countries. The term is said to have been coined in 1939 by Mark Jefferson, who directed attention to the fact that many countries exhibit important upward deviations from a standard rank-size distribution of city size, i.e., have one urban center that is disproportionally large in comparison with other places in the national urban hierarchy.² Scholars like Brian Berry considered more than one national primate city that dominates a stratum of small and medium-sized towns.³ Jefferson’s “Law of the Capitals” stipulated that the largest city in a nation generally will be super-eminent not only in size, but also in nationwide economic, political, cultural, and emotional influence. Notably, authors demonstrated that urban primacy is characteristic of developing countries associated with colonial legacies, outward-oriented economies, pronounced nationalism, over-urbanization, and rapid population growth, as well as with highly centralized states, but also fits former “empire capitals” in successor states emerging from dissolved empires.⁴

Jefferson realized that primate cities also radiate beyond national borders.⁵ Others acknowledged these cities’ international dimensions as links between national finance, production, and distribution systems and the world economy⁶ and as elements embedded in world-system dynamics and dependencies.⁷ Finally, John Friedmann effected the definite transition from the nationally bound to the transnational perspective. Friedmann described a hierarchical network of “world cities”: they are centers through which capital, labor, information, and commodities flow and mediate the integration of their immediate surroundings into the global economy.⁸

² Jefferson, Mark: Why Geography? The Law of the Primate City, in: *Geographical Review* 79.2 (1989), pp. 226–232 [reprint from *Geographical Review* 29 (1939), pp. 226–232].

³ Berry, Brian: City Size Distributions and Economic Development, in: *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 9.4 (1961), pp. 573–588.

⁴ Ibid.; Carroll, Glenn R.: National City-Size Distributions. What Do We Know after 67 Years of Research? in: *Progress in Human Geography* 6.1 (1982), pp. 1–43; Lyman, Brad: Urban Primacy and World-System Position, in: *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 28.1 (1992), pp. 22–37.

⁵ Jefferson, Why Geography, p. 230.

⁶ Lyman, Urban Primacy.

⁷ Carroll, National City-Size.

⁸ Friedmann, John: The World City Hypothesis, in: *Development and Change* 17.1 (1986), pp. 69–83 and id.: Where We Stand. A Decade of World City Research, in: P.L. Knox and Peter J. Taylor (eds.): *World Cities in a World-System*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 21–47.

Together with the unfolding debate on “globalization,” Friedmann’s seminal work gave impetus to the thorough examination of “world cities” and “global cities.”⁹ This was then essentially pushed forward by Saskia Sassen’s publications¹⁰ and the studies of Peter Taylor¹¹ and his colleagues in the “Globalization and World City” (GaWC) research network.¹² As a common denominator, they see the emergence of a global transnational network of cities that constitute a new “meta-geography” as the spatial articulation of globalization. Global cities are understood as nodes and hubs of the global economy that constitute “basing points”¹³ for global capital, where leading industries, mainly in highly specialized services with worldwide importance, are concentrated. They have a strategic and privileged position in the global “space of flows”¹⁴ and possess central control, command, and decision-making capacities for the organization of economic activities all over the globe.

A broad array of criteria has been applied to attribute “global city” status and position in the global urban hierarchy. Such a categorization, however, is often reduced to economic variables, with quantitative studies predominating. Over the last two decades, analyses have often focused on the presence of the finance, insurance, and real estate (FIRE) sectors, but have also included locational strategies of other leading global sector firms. Studies with a broader perspective add political, social, and cultural dimensions, such as the presence of international institutions, the holding of globally acknowledged events, the

9 The use of the terms is inconsistent: whereas “global cities” show a tendency to be predominantly understood in economic terms under the current wave of globalization, “world cities” are generally conceived much more broadly and as a timeless concept with many historical connotations. Cf. e.g. Sassen, Saskia: *The Global City. New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton and London 2001 [first ed. 1991], p. 349.

10 Sassen, *Global City* and ead.: *The Global City. Introducing a Concept*, in: *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 11.2 (2005), pp. 2–42.

11 Taylor, Peter J.: *World Cities and Territorial States Under Conditions of Contemporary Globalization*, in: *Political Geography* 19 (2000), pp. 5–32 and id.: *World City Network. A Global Urban Analysis*, London and New York 2004.

12 Beaverstock, Jonathan V., Richard G. Smith and Peter J. Taylor: *World City Network. A New Metageography?*, in: Nicholas R. Fyfe and Judith T. Kenny (eds.): *The Urban Geography Reader*, London and New York 2005, pp. 63–73. For the GaWC group, see <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc>. The following explanations are also considerably based on overviews of the “global” and “post-modern” city debate by Gerhard, Ulrike: *Global Cities. Anmerkungen zu einem Forschungsfeld*, in: *Geographische Rundschau* 56.4 (2004), pp. 4–10; Heineberg, Heinz: *Stadtgeographie*, Paderborn 2006, p. 337 ff., and Fassmann, Heinz: *Stadtgeographie I. Allgemeine Stadtgeographie*, Braunschweig 2009, pp. 210–214.

13 Friedmann, *World City Hypothesis*, p. 71.

14 Castells, Manuel: *The Rise of the Network Society*, Cambridge, MA 1996.

cities' role as main transport hubs and major destinations for tourism and migration, and their global scope of influence in fields such as research and media.

Initially, the global city debate showed a widespread focus on the commonly recognized top group of world cities. Particularly Sassen concentrated her research on the London–New York–Tokyo triad.¹⁵ Yet, based on such a small sample, it is difficult to draw general conclusions.¹⁶ Moreover, even if it is increasingly accepted that a number of global cities also exist in “emerging countries,” there is still much ignorance about cities in the “global South.” Therefore, other scholars like Peter Taylor and his colleagues extended their conceptual considerations to a larger range of cities of global standing.

The widespread practice of establishing a global ranking of cities is intrinsically normative and risks a competitive run for “global city” status.¹⁷ In contrast, scholars linked to the GaWC group ask for a relational analysis that examines “inter-city relations,” “network connectivities,” and cities’ specific “hinter-worlds” to understand their integration in the global city, firm, and infrastructure networks. At the same time, analysis should not overlook the emergence of larger “global city regions” that transcend administrative limits and serve as important platforms and gateways in the global flow economy.¹⁸ In addition, some scholars direct attention to the fact that globally connected cities are not only a contemporary phenomenon, but already existed earlier, e.g. along the historical Silk Road, among the Hanseatic League, and in the transcontinental archipelago of cities from East Asia to Western Europe in the 13th and 14th centuries.¹⁹ However, even the considerably enlarged GaWC samples are still tightly focused on Euro-North American and East-Southeast Asian clusters of cities.

¹⁵ Sassen, *Global City*.

¹⁶ Cf. also Hall, Peter: *Global City-Regions in the Twenty-first Century*, in: Allen J. Scott (ed.): *Global City-Regions. Trends, Theory, Policy*, Oxford and New York 2001, pp. 59–77.

¹⁷ Taylor, *World City Network*. For such rankings, see also http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=4509&print=1 (last accessed 22 Nov. 2008) for the “Global City Index” (84 cities), and Institute for Urban Strategies, Mori Memorial Foundation: *Global Power City Index 2009*, Tokyo 2009, www.mori-m-foundation.or.jp/english/research/project/6/pdf/GPCI2009_English.pdf, last accessed 26 May 2010 (40 cities).

¹⁸ Scott, Allen J., John Agnew, Edward W. Soja, and Michael Storper: *Global City-Regions*, in: Allen J. Scott (ed.): *Global City-Regions. Trends, Theory, Policy*, Oxford and New York 2001, pp. 11–30; Hall, *Global City-Regions*; O'Connor, Kevin: *Global City Regions and the Location of Logistics Activity*, in: *Journal of Transport Geography* 18.3 (2010), pp. 354–362.

¹⁹ Taylor, *World City Network*, pp. 8–13.

1.2 Multi-Scalar Fragmenting Effects of Globalization and Post-Modernization

A number of authors have contested the global city approach. Criticism has been raised because the focus on a rather limited range of cities excludes substantial areas of the globe from vision as economically and structurally “irrelevant” and literally “off the map.”²⁰ Consequently, Taylor’s critique points to the need for re-theorization of the problematic idea of a coherent “core” that contrasts with a broad and continuous peripheral zone in the global system.²¹ If world cities are seen as core areas, then the core already constitutes a widely dispersed archipelago of disjointed places of relative prosperity. Vice versa, Friedmann drew attention to the apparent mixture of core and periphery processes that exist in Third World megacities in particular.²²

Fred Scholz²³ develops the idea further: instead of binary polarization, mosaic-like fragmentation of the urban structure reflects “fragmented development” under conditions of globalization on different spatial scales of the world system. “Acting global cities” are clusters of high-tech production and know-how as well as command centers that contribute actively to global processes. In contrast, “affected/exposed global cities” or “globalized cities” are closely linked with the aforementioned cities, but hierarchically subordinated to them. They concentrate on high-tech services, offshore banking, and outsourced industries, especially in free export production zones. Further sectors include mining and agro-industry, as well as leisure and tourism industries. Complementarily, a disconnected and excluded “new periphery” of destitution and misery constitutes the “New South”²⁴ that can nowadays be found in the “North” as well. It has no chance for “catch-up development” and suffers from ills like ethno-regionalisms, fundamentalism, and neo-tribalism.

Excessive competition and the continuous crowding-out of industries have led to repeated reconfiguration of spatial clusters and networks. Jennifer Robinson criticized that the global city approach often ascribes characteristics

20 Robinson, Jennifer: Global and World Cities. A View from off the Map, in: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26.3 (2002), pp. 531–554.

21 Taylor, *World City Network*, p. 198.

22 Friedmann, World City Hypothesis.

23 Scholz, Fred: *Geographische Entwicklungsforschung. Methoden und Theorien*, Berlin and Stuttgart 2004; id.: The Theory of Fragmenting Development, in: *Geographische Rundschau International Edition* 1.2 (2005), pp. 4–11.

24 Scholz, *Geographische Entwicklungsforschung*, p. 228; id., Fragmenting Development, p. 7.

of only parts of the city to the whole of it.²⁵ However, cities are hardly ever “global” or “globalizing” in their entirety: typically, “globally integrated urban fragments” are well-connected to other world centers by production, information, and infrastructure links much more than with their immediate surroundings.²⁶ As consequences of this high global integration, on the one hand, we can observe far-reaching changes in the physical landscape, such as the establishment of new quarters and buildings, the proliferation of housing and office complexes, and the spread of places of leisure and consumption.²⁷ On the other hand, as some authors have emphasized, the reverse side of these restructuring processes leads to increasing social and spatial disparities, entailing high social costs and propelling the informality of economic activities. Such operational centers and their surrounding paradisiacal and citadel-like residential and representative quarters contrast with adjacent low-standard habitats and extended industrial zones.²⁸ Parallel to this, the “new periphery,” left socially and economically behind, can be found simultaneously on local, regional, and national levels. Emblematic of this within cities is the contrast between deprived “no-go” areas and top-level “no-entrance” zones.

There are links between two debates that developed in parallel on globalization, particularly on fragmentation effects, on the one hand, and on the “post-modern city,” on the other hand. In the 1990s, notably Edward Soja put post-modern urban development, best exemplified by Los Angeles, on the agenda.²⁹ According to him, contemporary cities have experienced major “restructurings” over recent decades, which led to the emergence of the “post-metropolis.” Among the main transformations, Soja has pointed to the expansion of the post-Fordism production mode, together with the establishment of “technopoles” (centers of high-tech manufacturing and information-based industries) and new industrial estates outside the inner city and the rise of the finance, insurance, and real estate sectors; to the development of the globally networked cities, with worldwide hinterlands; further, to the restructuring of urban forms, through decentralization,

25 Robinson, *Global and World Cities*.

26 Scholz, *Geographische Entwicklungsforschung*, p. 225.

27 Varsanyi, Monica W.: Global Cities from the Round Up. A Response to Peter Taylor, in: *Political Geography* 19 (2000), pp. 33–38.

28 Scholz, *Geographische Entwicklungsforschung*, p. 226.

29 Soja, Edward W.: *Postmetropolis. Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*, Oxford 2000; id.: *Postmoderne Urbanisierung. Die sechs Restrukturierungen von Los Angeles*, in: Gotthard Fuchs, Bernhard Moltmann, Walter Prigge (eds.): *Mythos Metropole*, Frankfurt am Main 1995, pp. 143–164. For an overview of the debate and a similar approach, cf. also Dear, Michael and Steven Flusty: Postmodern Urbanism, in: *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88.1 (1998), pp. 50–72.

recentralization, and poly-centralization, particularly in the form of “exopolises” (growth of the outer city and “edge cities”); and finally, to the privatization of space and its fortification by security services, walled properties, and gated communities and the dissemination of indoor shopping and entertainment centers.³⁰ These places, in addition to secluded, fenced free zones and export-processing, special economic zones, can be regarded as areas of “territorial exclusion”³¹ or “extraterritorial enclaves.”³² All this is reflected in the extreme social and cultural heterogeneity of populations accompanied by enormous economic and ethnic differentiation, the accentuation of socio-spatial segregation, increasing inequality, and the (re-)polarization of the “fractal city.” To this, Soja adds the emergence of virtual “SimCities,” the creation of “fantasy worlds,” and the production of “hyper-realities.”³³ The city itself becomes transformed into a theme park, and the need is felt for extensive branding and marketing that allows it to achieve global visibility. A fragmented urban landscape in the sense of physical separation and social opposition among large parts of the city with disparate degrees of global integration seems to be on the rise in times of neoliberal politics and post-modern urbanism. Yet, Soja’s insights have not been diligently applied to more cities in other parts of the world, in particular in the less-developed “global South.”

1.3 From First-Order National and Global Cities to Globalizing Secondary Cities

The conceptually based research on global cities has widely disregarded cities of secondary rank in national, regional, and global contexts, particularly in the southern hemisphere.³⁴ However, such “secondary cities” – a notion made

30 Stren, Richard: Local Governance and Social Diversity in the Developing World. New Challenges for Globalizing City-Regions, in: Allen J. Scott (ed.): *Global City-Regions. Trends, Theory, Policy*, Oxford and New York 2001, pp. 193–213; Scott, Allen J., John Agnew, Edward W. Soja, and Michael Storper: *Global City-Regions*.

31 Stren: *Local Governance*, p. 202.

32 Weizman, Eyal: On Extraterritoriality, in: Giorgio Agamben, Tariq Ali and Zygmunt Bauman (eds.): *Arxipèlag d’ excepcions. Sobiranes de l’ extraterritorialitat*, Barcelona 2007, pp. 13–20.

33 For Middle Eastern cities cf. Steiner, Christian: From Heritage to Hyper-Reality? Tourism Destination Development in the Middle East between Petra and the Palm, in: *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 8.4 (2010), pp. 240–253.

34 This does not exclude intense research on small and medium-sized cities that has always been conducted in national, e.g. German or French, research contexts. Likewise, in contrast to urban geography and sociology, anthropologists had often focused on villages and the rural

popular by Dennis Rondinelli – are also important places of residence, work, and belonging for many people; they struggle to find their own paths of urban and economic advancement and to place themselves on the world map, sometimes against their country's preeminent attention to the respective capitals.³⁵

The definition of secondary cities depends, among other things, on the underlying spatial tier (national, regional, global) and should go beyond pure demographic size to include their role in certain sectors and networks.³⁶ Albeit, medium-size urban centers are an important component of the often rapid urbanization process, frequently with demographic and economic growth rates above the national average and sometimes gathering the majority of a country's urban population, they constitute strategic elements in – mostly national – policies of

world before reorienting themselves toward megalopolises. Cf. De Boeck, Filip, Ann Cassiman and Steven Van Wolputte: *Recentring the City. An Anthropology of Secondary Cities in Africa*, in: Karel A. Bakker (ed.): *African Perspectives 2009. The African Inner City. [Re]sourced*, Pretoria 2010, pp. 33–42, <http://web.up.ac.za/sitefiles/file/44/1068/3229/9086/African%20Perspectives/PDF/Papers/DE%20BOECK%20ET%20AL.pdf>, last accessed 27 Dec. 2013. Currently, African medium-sized cities, in particular, are being considered. Cf. also Mainet, Hélène and Sylvain Racaud: *Secondary Towns in Globalization. Lessons from East Africa*, in: *Articulo. Journal of Urban Research* [online] 12 (2015), <http://articulo.revues.org/2880> (last accessed 21 Mar. 2016); Mainet, Hélène and Ephantus Kihonge: *Les villes secondaires dans les relations villes-campagnes en Afrique de l'Est. Territoire en mouvement*, in: *Revue de géographie et aménagement* [online] 27-28 (2015), <http://tem.revues.org/2938>, last accessed 10 Dec. 2015.

³⁵ In the following, for publications referring explicitly to the notion of “secondary cities,” see, e.g., Rondinelli, Dennis A.: *Secondary Cities in Developing Countries. Policies for Diffusing Urbanization*, Beverly Hills, London and New Delhi 1983; Aniah, E.J.: *The Role of Secondary Cities in Regional Economic Development in Nigeria*, in: *Journal of Environmental Sciences* 4.2 (2001), pp. 112–119; De Boeck, Cassiman and Van Wolputte, *Recentring the City*; John, Lynelle: *Secondary Cities in South Africa. The Start of a Conversation*, South African Cities Network 2012, http://sacitiesnetwork.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/secondary_cities_in_south_africa_with_more_detail.pdf, last accessed 2 Feb. 2017; ESPON and European Institute of Urban Affairs: *SGPTD. Second Tier Cities in Territorial Development in Europe. Performance, Policies and Prospects*, Liverpool 2012, https://www.espon.eu/export/sites/default/Documents/Projects/AppliedResearch/SGPTD/SGPTD_Final_Report_-_Final_Version_27.09.12.pdf, last accessed 2 Feb. 2017; Yacoub, May and Margo Kelly: *Secondary Cities in West Africa. The Challenge for Environmental Health and Prevention*, Washington DC 1999.

³⁶ Widespread are definitions of secondary cities as, for example, less than one million and/or more than 100,000 inhabitants or in the range of from 10 to 50% of the population of the nation's biggest city. See e.g. Roberts, Brian H.: *Managing Systems of Secondary Cities. Policy Responses in International Development*, Brussels 2014, [https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/citiesalliance.org/files/1d%20\(i\)%20-%20Managing%20Systems%20of%20Secondary%20Cities%20Book_low_res.pdf](https://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/citiesalliance.org/files/1d%20(i)%20-%20Managing%20Systems%20of%20Secondary%20Cities%20Book_low_res.pdf), last accessed 12 Aug. 2015.

demographic, economic, and administrative decentralization and devolution.³⁷ They thereby contribute, among other things, to easing economic, social, and infrastructural pressures on the largest cities, to reducing regional disparities, and to stimulating local and rural economies.³⁸ They serve as intermediaries and catalysts between national centers and the central state, on the one hand, and regional levels and the countryside, on the other. Today, under conditions of liberalization and globalization, they also constitute immediate interfaces between rural and global realms.³⁹ Secondary cities often attract an increasingly important number of rural – and nowadays, international – migrants,⁴⁰ but also foreign investors. They offer both a more comfortable quality of life⁴¹ and contribute considerably to national economic development.⁴² For their advantageous effects, more and more national and international institutions prepare studies and adopt specific policies devoted to intermediate and second-rank cities.⁴³ The governance of secondary cities is regarded as a crucial element of their success.⁴⁴ Secondary cities often face challenges for integrated, sustainable, and inclusive development and are not performing as well as they could, especially in emerging economies.⁴⁵

These secondary centers and hubs create networks through which people, commodities, and practices pass, which largely exceed the limits of the city and its immediate (rural) hinterland to include much wider national and transnational connections. Their often peripheral situation within existing territorial states frequently confers on them a nodal function for a range of material and human flows between local, sub-national, metropolitan, national, regional, and global levels.⁴⁶ They play an increasingly important role in the deployment of globalization processes and are considered laboratories where new practices and lifestyles,

37 John, *Secondary Cities in South Africa*; Aniah, *Role of Secondary Cities*; ESPON, *Second Tier Cities*; Roberts, Brian H. and Rene Peter Hohmann: *The Systems of Secondary Cities. The Neglected Drivers of Urbanising Economies*, Brussels 2014, p. 2, http://www.citiesalliance.org/sites/citiesalliance.org/files/CIVIS%20SECONDARY%20CITIES_Final.pdf, last accessed 12 Aug. 2015, on the “primacy of secondary cities worldwide.”

38 Rondinelli, *Secondary Cities*; Aniah, *Role of Secondary Cities*, p. 115 ff.

39 Mainet and Kihonge, *Les villes secondaires*.

40 Yacoob and Kelly, *Secondary Cities in West Africa*.

41 John, *Secondary Cities in South Africa*, p. 3.

42 ESPON, *Second Tier Cities*, p. 1.

43 John, *Secondary Cities in South Africa*, p. 6.

44 ESPON, *Second Tier Cities*; Yacoob and Kelly, *Secondary Cities in West Africa*.

45 Roberts, *Managing Systems*.

46 De Boeck, Cassiman and Van Wolputte, *Recentring the City*; Roberts and Hohmann, *The Systems of Secondary Cities*, p. 2.

imaginations and identities unfold.⁴⁷ In line with this, scholars in global city research, too, have stated that cities below the global top levels often display selective key functions in particular sectors, with quite different spatial reaches and located on very distinct global or wider (trans-)regional circuits;⁴⁸ hence, they may have an important complementary role in the working of the global urban system.

This coincides with the general progressive loss of defining power experienced by political and social borders in favor of more variable and flexible delimitations, affiliations, and connections.⁴⁹ In recent years, researchers have become conscious that human activities show complex regionalizations and that permanent spatial reconfigurations operate on different interpenetrating and moving spatial scales.⁵⁰ This confirms that secondary cities should be analyzed not only with reference to the national and subnational urban texture, but also in their regional and global translocal and transnational interconnections.⁵¹ Since we understand globalization not as the creation of a “flat” and homogenous world, but as a result of multiple, overlapping, and intersecting regionalization processes, we realize that links, networks, and flows frequently extend transregionally beyond established macro-regional “meta-geographies”⁵² and form alternative, often ignored spatial contexts.

With all of this, there are finally no “non-global cities” any more,⁵³ but the global(ized) economy has considerable implications for the development of numerous “ordinary cities”⁵⁴ all over the world. For Bruce Stanley, today all cities

47 De Boeck, Cassiman and Van Wolputte, *Recentering the City*; Nearshore Americas: A Deep Dive into Brazil's Secondary Cities. Scoping Out the Next Choice Destinations, 2 Dec. 2010, <http://nearshoreamericas.com/brazil-cities-outsourcing/>, last accessed 9 July 2012, demonstrates the increasing importance of secondary cities for new information technologies in Brazil. Also cf. Secondary Cities Shape AirAsia's Strategy, *eturbonews*, 1 April 2009, <http://www.eturbonews.com/8567/secondary-cities-shape-airasia-s-strategy>, last accessed 15 Oct. 2015, for network strategies of Southeast Asian low-cost air carriers.

48 Taylor, *World City Network*, p. 42; Sassen, *The Global City*, p. 347 ff.

49 De Boeck, Cassiman and Van Wolputte, *Recentering the City*, p. IV.

50 Brenner, Neil: Beyond State-Centrism? Space, Territoriality, and Geographical Scale in Globalization Studies, in: *Theory and Society* 28.1 (1999), pp. 39–78; Sassen, Saskia: Globalization or denationalization? in: *Review of International Political Economy* 10.1 (2003), pp. 1–22.

51 Consequently, ESPON, *Second Tier Cities*, p. 1, states that many secondary cities are centers of prosperity, creativity, and innovation for European and global development and that their governance is, in fact, multiscalar.

52 Lewis, Martin W. and Kären F. Wigen. *The Myth of Continents. A Critique of Metageography*, Berkeley 1997.

53 Taylor, *World City Network*, p. 42.

54 Robinson, *Global and World Cities*.

have some degree of “worldness” and are “going global” or “wannabe world cities.”⁵⁵ Likewise, Peter Marcuse and Ronald van Kempen consider them “globalizing cities” affected by and contributing to current processes regarded as globalization, also in “developing countries.”⁵⁶ Similarly to Scholz’s aforementioned considerations, more active participants in globalization processes can be distinguished from those, mainly at the periphery of the world system, that can instead be considered “spectators” and constitute “entrepôts” or passive localities, through which goods transit with little associated local economic activity.⁵⁷ Thus, specific degrees, intensities, and constellations of global or wider regional integration may differ considerably. Increasing competition among globalizing cities adds to functional specializations in different segments and networks – in domains like culture and religion (e.g. Bethlehem and Timbuktu, Mali), government (Abuja, Nigeria), advanced manufacturing (Toulouse), education (Oxford), media and entertainment (Nashville), and tourism and leisure (Luxor).⁵⁸

However, until recently, research has not built much on this observation, and only a few publications have reflected on the globalization of medium-sized and smaller cities.⁵⁹ Among them are case studies on Göteborg⁶⁰ and, for Turkey, Adana⁶¹: based on an already relatively high welfare level, Göteborg experienced steady globalization and benefited from its expanding port business and from modernizing and technologizing industries; it thus has successfully started urban restructuring, including its waterfront close to the city. In contrast, Adana, the geographically easternmost of the ten most-developed Turkish

55 Stanley, Bruce: “Going Global” and Wannabe World Cities. (Re)conceptualizing Regionalism in the Middle East, in: W.A. Dunaway (ed.): *Emerging Issues in the 21st Century World-System. Vol. I. Crisis and Resistance in the 21st Century World-System*, Westport, CN 2003, pp. 151–170.

56 Marcuse, Peter and Ronald van Kempen (eds.): *Globalizing Cities. A New Spatial Order?* London and Cambridge 2000; also cf. Stren, Local Governance.

57 Jacobs, Jane: *Cities and the Wealth of Nations. Principles of Economic Life*. New York 1985.

58 Roberts, *Managing Systems*, pp. 34–35.

59 For studies of Salalah, Oman and Tangier, Morocco, cf. Wippel, Steffen: Développement et fragmentation d’une ville moyenne en cours de mondialisation. Le cas de Salalah (Oman), in: *Arabian Humanities. Revue internationale d’archéologie et de sciences sociales sur la péninsule Arabique* [online] 2 (2013), <http://cy.revues.org/2599> and id.: La réémergence d’un carrefour interrégional. Tanger et ses infrastructures dans les réseaux transnationaux de commerce et de transport, in: Dieter Haller, Steffen Wippel and Helmut Reifeld (eds.): *Focus sur Tanger. Là où l’Afrique et l’Europe se rencontrent*, Rabat 2016, pp. 123–137.

60 Jörnmark, Jan: *The Globalisation of Göteborg*, Göteborg 2006.

61 Unsal, Fatma: Globalization and the Mid-Rank City. The Case of Adana, Turkey, in: *Cities* 21.5 (2004), pp. 439–449.

cities, functions as a “center of gravity” at the interface with the poorer parts of the country and, hence, suffers from manifold urban and social problems generated by rapid urbanization and macro-economic imbalances. With the start of cotton planting and the construction of the Baghdad railway and the harbor in nearby Mersin in the late 19th century, Adana was already well integrated in world markets. With the neoliberal Turkish policies in the 1980s, state subsidies and investment shrunk and were replaced by inflowing international capital. Severe gaps in urban quality and social segregation developed. However, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Anatolian city became an outlet to the Mediterranean for the latter’s successor states; it is also turning into a hub for oil and gas transportation.

1.4 Challenges of Frontier and Border Cities

Globalizing cities’ links transcend multiple spatial delimitations, i.e., various sorts of borders and boundaries. Many of these cities are in fact located close to territorial borders, where they experience specific challenges. Traditional academic approaches showed a rather static and binary understanding of such land and sea borders – mainly between territorial states, but also between subnational administrative entities and regional political and economic blocs. They conceived borders as clearly delineated and hierarchically nested physical dividing lines that defined the outermost forefront of the respective territories.⁶² In this understanding, borders not only divided political jurisdictions, but also separated cultures, societies, and identities, as well as economic systems and levels of development.

In line with this understanding, the closing effects of borders have been at the center of interest, intimately linked with practices of separation, differentiation, and polarization. Borders have been conceived primarily as barriers and obstacles to human and material cross-border connections and flows, but also as lines of political, economic, and social protection, controlled by means of territorially bound military forces, customs, and regulations. From the perspective of

⁶² Sohn, Christophe and Julien Licheron: From Barrier to Resource? Modelling the Border Effects on Metropolitan Functions in Europe, Luxembourg Institute of Socio-Economic Research (LISER) Working papers 2015-08, Luxembourg 2015; Herzog, Lawrence A. and Christophe Sohn: The Co-mingling of Bordering Dynamics in the San Diego-Tijuana Crossborder Metropolis, Luxembourg Institute of Socio-Economic Research (LISER) Working papers 2016-01, Luxembourg 2016; Viken, Arvid, Brynhild Granås and Toril Nyseth: Kirkenes. An Industrial Site Reinvented as a Border Town, *Acta Borealia* 25.1 (2008), pp. 22–44.

nation states, border zones and cities on both sides of the dividing line were regarded as marginalized and placed in economically underdeveloped and politically neglected peripheries, deprived of their “natural” hinterlands and spheres of influence.⁶³

Since approximately the 1980s, a new, transdisciplinary interest reemerged in borders and their borderlands on both sides. In consequence, “border cities” and “border towns” also started to attract increased attention. This interest was stimulated by seminal works, such as Oscar Martínez on life and society along the US-Mexican border.⁶⁴ Important developments “on the ground” have been a massive influx and transit of people in these areas, but also local endeavors for increased cooperation; in parallel, since the 1970s, cross-border cooperation has started in Europe.⁶⁵ This current research on borderlands and border cities has been accompanied by a more complex understanding of borders. Borders are not conceived as static, “naturally” determined demarcation lines, but as dynamic and fluid social constructs, with changing qualities, multiple meanings, and ambivalent effects.⁶⁶ Research has focused not only on the political significance of borders, but also on their historical, social, economic, cultural, psychological, and symbolic dimensions. In functional terms, Lawrence Herzog and Christophe Sohn plead to conceive borders beyond the logic of purely open or closed, but as exhibiting differentiated filtering practices and selective permeability.⁶⁷ Boundaries exist to separate, but also invite to be crossed. At the same time, they connect neighbors, constitute bridges and interfaces between spaces and systems, offer opportunities for contact, mobility, and exchange, and are (re)sources for economic, social, cultural, and political development.⁶⁸ Zones along and across borders may show high levels of complementarity and integration, especially under conditions of a

63 Becker, Franziska: Die Grenzstadt als Laboratorium der Europäisierung, in: Helmuth Berking and Martina Löw (eds.): *Die Wirklichkeit der Städte*, Baden Baden 2005, pp. 87–105.

64 Martínez, Oscar: *Border People. Life and Society in the U.S.–Mexico Borderlands*, Tucson 1994.

65 Bibliographic research for catchwords in other languages resulted in much more historically oriented publications, with German works pointing especially to eastern parts of Europe (the Habsburg Empire, Russia), including cities at the recently opened (e.g. German-Polish) borders, while publications in French emphasize cities in the Southern European realm.

66 For the ambivalent meanings of territories and their borders, cf. also Wippel, Steffen: *Wirtschaft, Politik und Raum. Territoriale und regionale Prozesse in der westlichen Sahara*, Berlin and Tübingen 2012.

67 Herzog and Sohn, Co-mingling of Bordering Dynamics.

68 Sohn and Licheron, From Barrier to Resource; Flynn, Donna K.: “We are the Border.” Identity, Exchange, and the State along the Benin-Nigeria Border, in: *American Ethnologist* 24.2 (1997), pp. 311–330.

globalizing world.⁶⁹ From a dynamic perspective, borders are outcomes of historical processes of border-making and continuous, often simultaneous, intimately intertwined practices of rebordering and debordering; they harden, soften, and shift in space in accordance with historical configurations.

Contemporary border studies also include perspectives from below and conceive borders as part of everyday socio-cultural practices and discourses.⁷⁰ People living in border areas succeed in creatively exploiting differentials and inconsistencies on cross-border and national levels, develop strong transnational identities and networks, and give their marginality a central place in their economic strategies.⁷¹ Borderlands are often lucrative zones for illicit and clandestine exchange and trade, providing important means of livelihood.⁷² Other people make their living from the many projects supporting national peripheries or cross-border cooperation, initialized and funded “from above.”⁷³ However, studies have shown that people perceive and live in connection with borders quite differently. Sometimes only a limited group of people seize the opportunities offered by opening borders and are becoming an elite of cross-border agency, while others remain trapped in disadvantages; or people near borders are involved only unilaterally in border-crossing activities, due to a strict immigration regime in force on the other side. Some researchers warn that hegemonic narratives about border towns as centers of cross-border cooperation and about reinvented cross-border regions might suffer from a wide gap between top-down rhetoric and local reality.⁷⁴ Interlaced rebordering and debordering processes can occur, because actors on different (local or national) levels might have diverging concerns on issues like security and migration vs. economic integration and common infrastructure.⁷⁵

69 Bufon, Milan: Borders and Border Landscapes. A Theoretical Assessment, in: Marek Koter and Krystian Heffner (eds.): *Borderlands or Transborder Regions. Geographical, Social and Political Problems*, Opole and Łódź 1998, pp. 7–14.

70 Paasi, Anssi: *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness. The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*, Chichester and New York 1996; Viken, Granås and Nyseth, Kirkenes; Becker, Grenzstadt als Laboratorium.

71 Flynn, We are the Border; similarly Nugent, Paul: Border Towns and Cities in Comparative Perspective, in: Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (eds.): *A Companion to Border Studies*, Chichester 2012, pp. 557–572, here p. 566.

72 Flynn, We are the Border. In extension to twin cities, border cities in general emerged historically along existing dividing lines or became border cities in the course of mostly politically motivated border redrawing.

73 Viken, Granås and Nyseth, Kirkenes.

74 For examples from the German-Polish borders, cf. Becker, Grenzstadt als Laboratorium; also Bufon, Borders and Border Landscapes.

75 Herzog and Sohn, Co-mingling of Bordering Dynamics.

The existence and proximity of the border exert an important influence on the organization, working, and perception of cities. With increasing cross-border connections, they may evolve from “cities at the border” into genuine “border cities”⁷⁶ and sometimes into “twin cities”⁷⁷ or even cross-border urban agglomerations.⁷⁸ While according to traditional interpretations there is an antinomy in the relations between the border (signifying separation) and the city (implying centrality), in fact diverse interferences between the two exist. Consequently, borders can impair as well as foster economic progress and urban expansion. Border cities can have a highly cosmopolitan population. They also may try to liberate themselves from their peripheral border situation and capitalize on it. Territorial interfaces and contact zones offer important opportunities for the prosperity of urban centers and their recentralization in transborder networks. Cities may also attempt to mark their particularities in international as well as national and regional contexts.⁷⁹

Many studies have by now analyzed the effects of borders on adjacent cities.⁸⁰ Notable among them are Christophe Sohn and colleagues with their case studies of European cross-border agglomerations.⁸¹ From the perspective of economic and urban performance, these authors have endeavored to more systematically distinguish several interrelated patterns of interaction and processes in connection with the border. To their four categories, supplementary insights from further authors can be added:

- With the separation effects of the (closed or closing) border, additional distance costs occur. Yet, in some cases, the border also offers a city the opportunity to achieve a role as a gateway for border-crossing connections. Sometimes the central government intervenes massively to compensate for

76 Buursink, Jan: The Binational Reality of Border-Crossing Cities, in: *GeoJournal* 54 (2001), pp. 7–19, here pp. 7–8; Nugent, Border Towns, p. 558.

77 For different types cf. Buursink, Binational Reality; for Africa cf. Flynn, We are the Border, p. 315.

78 E.g. Sohn and Licheron, From Barrier to Resource.

79 Viken, Granås and Nyseth, Kirkenes.

80 For a study of African secondary and border cities, cf. Mainet and Racaud, Secondary Towns.

81 Sohn and Licheron, From Barrier to Resource; Herzog, Lawrence A. and Christophe Sohn: The Cross-Border Metropolis in a Global Age. A Conceptual Model and Empirical Evidence from the U.S.–Mexico and European Border Regions, in: *Global Society* 28.4 (2014), pp. 441–461; Herzog and Sohn, Co-mingling of Bordering Dynamics.

adverse border effects and to make border places “showcase windows.” At the same time, the border can spur a range of informal activities.⁸²

- In contrast, an (open or opening) border exposes a city to contacts with the other side. This allows the increase of market areas and the development of a transborder economy. Specific professions and services develop border-oriented specializations. However, effects can be negative if infrastructure is insufficient and if there is a bilateral lack of trust. Cities also depend on the imponderabilities of national policies and inter-state relations.⁸³
- Borders are also markers of cultural and social, institutional, regulatory, and cognitive differences. The differentiation effect corresponds to additional transaction costs. In contrast, the exploitation of factor cost differentials based on labor, land, currencies, taxes, and rules (but also on factors like language, GDP per capita, and unemployment rates) and of structural complementarities allows the cross-border division of labor and the attraction of industries.⁸⁴
- Finally, affirmative effects of borders involve their symbolic dimensions. While rebordering may reinforce national legitimacy, feelings of being lost at the periphery, and conflicting identities across the border, debordering processes can foster local and regional place-making strategies and the branding of cities to the wider world. The reputation as an edgy border town can attract visitors, residents, and investors.⁸⁵

To conclude this part of the conceptual introduction, a specific variation of the border city – linked to semantic differentiation in the English language and to American historical experience – is the “frontier city.” Jay Gitlin, Barbara Berglund, and Adam Arenson define such cities as “urban settlements that emerge from an initial frontier encounter,”⁸⁶ situated at a great distance from national urban centers and markets. As spearheads of the frontier, they are planted well in

82 Reitel, Bernard and Patricia Zander: *Ville frontalière*, in: B. Elissalde (ed.): *Hypergé*o (encyclopédie électronique), 2004, <http://www.hypergeo.eu/spip.php?article206>, last accessed 12 Jan. 2016; cf. also Flynn, *We are the Border*.

83 Also cf. Reitel and Zander, *Ville frontalière*; Nugent, *Border Towns*, p. 564.

84 Cf. also the broader debate on trans-state regionalism in Bach, Daniel C. (ed.): *Régionalisation, mondialisation et fragmentation en Afrique subsaharienne*, Paris 1998. For the fact that “borders create opportunities” cf. Bantle, Stefan and Henrik Egbert: *Borders Create Opportunities. An Economic Analysis of Cross-Border Small-Scale Trading*. Berlin 1996.

85 E.g. Becker, *Grenzstadt als Laboratorium*; Viken, Granås and Nyseth, Kirkenes; also cf. Arreola, Daniel D.: *Border-City Idée Fixe*, in: *Geographical Review* 86.3 (1996), pp. 356–369.

86 Gitlin, Jay, Barbara Berglund and Adam Arenson: *Local Crossroads, Global Networks, and Frontier Cities*, in: *ibid.* (eds.): *Frontier Cities. Encounters at the Crossroads of Empire*, Philadelphia 2013, pp. 1–8, here p. 2.

advance of the existing line of settlement. However, as frontiers are pushed forward, such cities rapidly lose their status; yet, many places have kept an advance position linked to the frontier even if it has bypassed them and moved farther away, as the example of Edirne shows. Frontier cities emerged in the context of modern empire- and nation-building, notably in North America, but also in expanding European colonial empires; more recently, cities like Brasília and Manaus can also be considered cities on the interior frontier of a large country.

Frontier cities are characterized by an intertwined history of conquest and encounter. Frontiers and frontier areas are at the same time edges as well as potential meeting grounds, zones of confrontation and interpenetration, and places of contact and convergence between peoples and between “civilization” and “nature.” Residents keep multifarious cross-border connections and links to the wider world. However, frontier towns also exhibit many gaps and juxtapositions, so they experience many forms of exclusion and inclusion. Imperial/national and local/indigenous perspectives on living at the frontier can differ widely, too.

2 Istanbul as Turkey’s Primate City and a Top Global City

As in urban studies in general, research on Turkey also greatly concentrates on first-tier cities. Historically, Constantinople/Istanbul in the period between the forth and the 17th centuries CE was at various times regarded as the largest city in the world. It was an outstanding political, economic, cultural, and religious center in both the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empire. In the 13th and 14th centuries, it was an important node in the Eurasian system of cities.⁸⁷ Studies conceptualizing primate cities mostly also included Constantinople/Istanbul, which was awarded this position in the late Ottoman Empire as well as in the nascent Turkish Republic. Jefferson already recognized urban primacy in Turkey, centered on Istanbul.⁸⁸ Turkey has been considered a typical example of a post-imperial state, but other influences mentioned above have also contributed to accentuating this urban structure. During the last 30 years, Istanbul’s primacy grew continuously, whatever kind of calculation is used (fig. 1).

⁸⁷ Taylor, *World City Network*, pp. 8–10.

⁸⁸ The size relation between the first, second, and third city of the country increased from Constantinople 100–Smyrna 38–Damascus 25 in the year 1914 to Istanbul 100–Izmir 23–Ankara 16 in 1935 (Jefferson, *Why Geography*, p. 228). In the early 1950s, the population of Istanbul was larger than the combined population of the four next largest cities (Berry, *City Size Distributions*, p. 581).

Proportion of population size	1985	2000	2014
Istanbul–Ankara	245%	275%	306%
Istanbul–next four cities combined (Ankara, Izmir, Bursa, Adana)	107%	113%	129%
Istanbul–Ankara–Izmir	100–41–27	100–36–25	100–33–20
Edirne–Istanbul	1.6%	1.4%	1.1%

Fig. 1: Demographic primacy of Istanbul inside Turkey.

Figures from 2014 list a population of 14.4 million in Istanbul (metropolitan province). This shows that it is by far the most populous city in Turkey (ca. 19% of the Turkish population).⁸⁹ Whereas it ranks 24th worldwide as an urban agglomeration,⁹⁰ the city proper (within its administrative boundaries) is fifth.⁹¹ The latter figure makes it simultaneously the largest European and the largest Middle Eastern city, topped only by Karachi in a wider radius; in contrast, by urban area, it falls behind major South Asian cities as well as Moscow and Tehran (and perhaps London as an agglomeration).

In contrast to the modern political capital of Ankara, Istanbul, as the demographic, economic, and cultural metropolis of Turkey, has achieved today a distinguished position as a “global city.”⁹² Whereas the first works related to this concept did not mention Istanbul at all (they considered only a few cities outside the global core and the Latin American and Southeast Asian semi-periphery), the city continually advanced in the GaWC ranking: from a position in the inferior tier of “minor world cities” (γ– level) in 1998, it advanced to a mostly “full-service world city” (α–) since 2008, and was ranked 29th worldwide in the GaWC 2012 survey.⁹³

In the wider Middle East, Istanbul was at the top until 2008; since then, it has been outmatched only by Dubai (rank 10 in 2012), while the main following “competitors,” in decreasing order, are Cairo, Tel Aviv, and Beirut (Fig. 2). In contrast, in the wider European context, there are many agglomerations with a

⁸⁹ The author’s calculation based on <http://www.citypopulation.de/Turkey-C20.html>, last accessed 31 Aug. 2015.

⁹⁰ Cf. <http://citypopulation.de/world/Agglomerations.html>, last accessed 2 Sept. 2015.

⁹¹ See the compilation by https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_cities_proper_by_population, last accessed 2 Sept. 2015.

⁹² Cf. <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc>, last accessed 12 Mar. 2015.

⁹³ While the explanatory power of the indicators used in such seemingly exact positional rankings is doubtful and limited, this gives an approximate idea where Istanbul stands.

Levels	1998	Levels	2012
Alpha world cities (full service world cities)		Alpha level cities	
12		α^+	Dubai
10		α^-	Istanbul
Beta world cities (major world cities)		Beta level cities	
9		β^+	Cairo, Tel Aviv, Beirut
Gamma world cities (minor world cities)		Gamma level cities	
5		γ	Ankara
4	Istanbul	γ^-	
Evidence of world city formation		Cities with sufficiency of services	
3	Tel Aviv	High sufficiency	
2	Cairo, Dubai	Sufficiency	Izmir

Fig. 2: World city ranking of Turkish cities in Middle Eastern comparison. Change of designations used in 1998 and from 2000 on.

denser network of intercity links (i.e., on α to α^{++} levels). In the national framework, the political capital of Ankara was integrated into the GaWC tableau in 2008 and since then has progressed slowly to a low “minor world city” status (γ). In 2010, Izmir also appeared in the ranking, but shows “sufficient” conditions to move forward to a world city status only sometime in the future.

From the first GaWC surveys, authors like Tüzin Baycan-Levent attributed to the city of Istanbul a global potential not realized in its actual performance.⁹⁴ Taylor concluded that Middle East and North African (MENA) cities were largely absent in all sectors investigated for global city importance; but Istanbul’s focus on advertising and banking confirmed its importance in the MENA region.⁹⁵ In contrast to Middle Eastern cities mostly “commanded” from outside the region, Istanbul was considered a low-ranking “gateway city”: it held an outstanding

⁹⁴ Baycan-Levent, Tüzin: Globalization and Development Strategies for Istanbul. Regional Policies and Great Urban Transformation Projects, Conference paper, 39th ISoCaRP Congress 2003, http://isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/359.pdf, last accessed 31 Aug. 2015.

⁹⁵ Taylor, Peter J.: West Asian/North African Cities in the World City Network. A Global Analysis of Dependence, Integration and Autonomy, in: *The Arab World Geographer* 4.3 (2001), pp. 146–159; also cf. Karaman, Aykut and Tüzin Baycan Levent: Globalisation and Development Strategies for Istanbul, in: *GaWC Research Bulletin* 53 (2001), <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb53.html>, last accessed 14 July 2016.

position as the most connected city from the MENA region, but could not act as a leading city due to its comparatively eccentric regional location. Stanley regarded Middle Eastern cities as “wannabe world cities”; although tightly integrated globally, they showed low intra-regional linkages.⁹⁶ Among the four cities he considered as having some service characteristics required to list them as world cities, Istanbul in particular worked hard to position itself within key networks of the world economy and to present a culturally globalized face to investors.

Other authors who endeavor to establish similar global rankings of cities based on varying sets of determinant factors see Istanbul in a similar eminent and advancing role. Hence, according to the latest ranking of the also much-noticed “Global Cities Index” established in 2008, Istanbul performs 28th second to Dubai (ranked 27) as the only other Middle Eastern city among 84 cities worldwide.⁹⁷ Overall, Istanbul experienced the largest annual jump (+11) worldwide in this score. The included “Emerging Cities Outlook” considers Istanbul, followed by Tunis, to have the highest potential in the MENA region to close ranks with well-established world cities (rank 15 among 34 “emerging cities” in low- and middle-income countries).

Many other statistics underpin Istanbul’s preeminent position. This metropolitan agglomeration produces about a quarter of Turkey’s gross domestic product (GDP). It is responsible for more than half of national exports and imports.⁹⁸ Already in the 1990s, Istanbul had experienced a shift from industrial production to knowledge-based development. Especially the expanding service sectors attracted a large presence of foreign capital and investment. In the mid-1990s, Istanbul had shares of more than 40% in national business and personal services and among financial institutions and 53% for imputed bank services; its industries serve not only national, but also international markets to a large extent.⁹⁹ At the crossroads of the Middle East, the Balkans, Asia, and Europe, the city intends to strategically develop its geographical position and become a

96 Stanley, *Going Global*.

97 A.T. Kearney Inc.: 2014 Global Cities Index and Emerging Cities Outlook. Global Cities, Present and Future, <https://www.atkearney.com/documents/10192/4461492/Global+Cities+Present+and+Future-GCI+2014.pdf/3628fd7d-70be-41bf-99d6-4c8eaf984cd5>, last accessed 30 Nov. 2015.

98 Calculations based on statistics from Turkstat (Turkish Statistical Institute, TUIK), <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr>, last accessed 28 Dec. 2015. For more comparative figures, cf. the Edirne section of this chapter.

99 Karaman and Baycan Levent, *Globalisation and Development Strategies*.

Euro-Asian center for finance, culture, transport, and tourism.¹⁰⁰ These developments are largely based on the economic liberalization policies of the 1980s, the disintegration of the Eastern bloc, and incipient cooperation across the Black Sea basin and with Central Asia in the 1990s.¹⁰¹ Additionally, two figures in particular confirm Istanbul's central position as a transit hub in global material and human flows:

First, its main container port of Ambarlı, opened southwest of the city center in 1992, has more than tripled its throughput to 3.4 MTEU (2013) in one decade.¹⁰² The country's largest port handles 38% of all national foreign trade and 63% of imports to and exports from the Marmara region.¹⁰³ From 2004 to 2013, Ambarlı advanced from rank 73 to 39 among container ports worldwide, making it now the fourth port in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, the fifth in the MENA region, and the eighth in Europe. This clearly sets it apart from the next-largest Turkish container ports, Mersin in southern Turkey (1.4 MTEU; global rank 95) and Izmir, which by now has lost the second national rank it still had in the last decade. Taken together, the terminals in the Istanbul area account for more than 60% of Turkey's total container traffic.¹⁰⁴

Second, whereas in the early 1990s Istanbul was not yet integrated in the network of global top airports,¹⁰⁵ its main Atatürk Airport has pushed forward to rank 11 worldwide in 2015. Its nearly 62 million passengers compare with 25 million passengers (rank 42) in 2008. In Europe and the Middle East, it is now outperformed only by Dubai, London (Heathrow), and Paris (Charles de Gaulle). All airports of Istanbul, including Sabiha Gökçen Airport, even perform tenth worldwide by passenger traffic (86 million), just behind the airport systems of London

100 Baycan-Levent, *Globalization and Development Strategies*; Bakçay Çolak, Ezgi: Istanbul, a Rebellious City Under Construction, in: Charlotte Mathivet (ed.): *Housing in Europe. Time to Evict the Crisis*, Paris 2012, pp. 34–40, http://aitec.reseau-ipam.org/IMG/pdf/Passerelle_7_ENG-light.pdf, last accessed 18 July 2016.

101 Karaman and Baycan Levent, *Globalisation and Development Strategies*.

102 MTEU: Million twenty-foot equivalent units (standard containers). For a compilation of data, cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_world%27s_busiest_container_ports, last accessed 31 Aug. 2015, based on Containerisation International, Lloyd's List: *One Hundred Ports. The World's Busiest Container Terminals*, London 2014 and earlier issues.

103 Ambarlı Limanı birinciliğe oynuyor, in: *Tercüman* 12 Aug. 2007, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ambarlı%C4%B1_Liman%C4%B1, last accessed 29 Aug. 2015.

104 Containerisation International: *Top 100 Container Ports 2012*, London 2012. Haydarpaşa, Gemlik, and Gebze are part of the agglomeration complex. For Asyaport close to Tekirdağ, cf. below.

105 Cf. map in Heineberg, *Stadtgeographie*, p. 350.

and Paris.¹⁰⁶ Within Turkey, Istanbul far surpasses the second airport in Antalya (28 million passengers).¹⁰⁷ The new, third Istanbul airport under construction is projected with an annual capacity of 150 million passengers. Both, container port and airport, have experienced impressive, sometimes two-digit annual growth rates in recent years. Istanbul has a similar role as a hub between several terrestrial transport axes between Europe and Asia. Much of its role in the global urban, economic, and transport networks might be attributed to its acting as an interface between different sea systems and world regions.

Within the city, Istanbul today is experiencing a substantial post-modern development. A series of mega-projects in transport infrastructure and real estate has mushroomed in the metropolitan region, starting with the 1995 Greater Istanbul master plan and further pursued since 2002, when the AKP came to power, notably under a mix of economic neoliberalism, moral conservatism, and political authoritarianism. This development also includes important waterfront regeneration.¹⁰⁸ Yet, these reconfigurations endanger the historical cityscape, and some fear that Istanbul is being “modernized to death.”¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the harsh competition among real estate projects “paves the way into a hyper-reality in the making of Istanbul, where one can find herself/himself in a suburban Tuscan Valley, a skyscraper Venezia or a cloned Bosphorus” and allow an “authentic Dubai experience in Istanbul,”¹¹⁰ not to forget the spread of Neo-

106 Cf. data compilation at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_busiest_airports_by_passenger_traffic, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World%27s_busiest_city_airport_systems_by_passenger_traffic, both last accessed 18 July 2016.

107 Cf. data compilation at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_the_busiest_airports_in_Turkey, last accessed 18 July 2016. The Istanbul airports account for half of all passengers in the Turkish air traffic system.

108 Baycan-Levent, Globalization and Development Strategies; Bakçay Çolak, Istanbul; Erdi Lelandais, Gülçin: Les politiques urbaines en Turquie. Entre conservatisme néolibéral et autoritarisme, in: *Métropolitiques* 20 June 2016, <http://www.metropolitiques.eu/Les-politiques-urbaines-en-Turquie.html>, last accessed 24 June 2016; Wildner, Kathrin: “Istanbul Modern.” Urban Images, Planning Processes and the Production of Space in Istanbul’s Port Area. in: Waltraud Kokot (ed.): *Port Cities as Areas of Transition. Ethnographic Perspectives*, Bielefeld 2008, pp. 189–211.

109 Thumann, Michael: Istanbul, Kein Mokka mehr, kein Raki. Wird Istanbul zu Tode modernisiert? in: *Die Zeit* 42/2013, 10 Oct. 2013.

110 Adanali, Yaşar Adnan: The Authentic Dubai Experience in Istanbul, in: Blog *Reclaim Istanbul, Urban Transformations, Spaces of Hope*, posted on 21 July 2012, <http://reclaimistanbul.com/2012/07/21/the-authentic-dubai-experience-in-istanbul/>, last accessed 17 Sept. 2012; also cf. Bakçay Çolak, Istanbul.

Ottomanism in architecture.¹¹¹ Among other things, the increasing number of gated communities is a sign of the increased social segregation, spatial fragmentation, and physical fortification of the rapidly globalizing city.¹¹² As a consequence, a mobilization “from below” against the competitive neoliberal logics has increasingly emerged in the last decade,¹¹³ culminating in the 2013 Gezi Park protests. Although these protests sent symbolic messages to Turkish authorities, the mega-scale projects and futuristic urban and transregional infrastructural aspirations proceed at a rapid pace.

3 Developmental Trends in Edirne

Edirne's many names reflect its past cosmopolitanism, its radiating importance, and its strategic position at a crossroads in shifting historical circumstances. Most of the time, from its early beginnings around the fifth century BCE, Edirne has been a sort of a regional political and administrative center. For about two millennia, Edirne's fate has been closely linked to Constantinople/Istanbul. As strategic “twin cities,”¹¹⁴ they controlled the passages between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and from Southeast Europe to Asia Minor. Although Edirne was destroyed and rebuilt several times, it functioned as a major economic hub in the Balkans. It lies in the center of the historical landscape of Thrace, a region with shifting boundaries that was embedded in vast empires for long stretches of its history. The large water-rich eastern Thracian plain has made Edirne the center of an area of agricultural production. Although nowadays Thrace is divided among the three modern nation states of Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey, various endeavors are made to reconstitute cross-border links between its parts and beyond.

111 Cf. for example, Erdogans Stadtpläne. Neo-osmanische Kitschträume, in: *taz* 17 June 2013, <http://www.taz.de/!5065326/>; Neo-Ottomanism at Center of Istanbul Clashes, in: *The Huffington Post* 7 Aug. 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/caitlin-oconnell/taksim-square-protests_b_3561023.html, both last accessed 5 Aug. 2016.

112 Palencsar, Friedrich and Maria Strmenik: “Gated Communities” in İstanbul, in: *Geographische Rundschau* 62.1 (2010), pp. 20–26; İslam, Tolga: Outside the Core. Gentrification in Istanbul, in: Rowland Atkinson and Gary Bridge (eds.): *Gentrification in a Global Perspective. The New Urban Colonialism*, London 2005, pp. 123–138; Seger, Martin: Stadtentwicklung und Segregation im Großraum İstanbul, in: *Geographische Rundschau* 62.1 (2010), pp. 12–18.

113 Bakçay Çolak, İstanbul.

114 Keegan, John: *A History of Warfare*, London 2004, p. 70.

3.1 From Primate City to Secondary Position

Despite interim peaks as a political center, the last time as the Ottoman capital in the late 14th and early 15th centuries, Edirne has to be regarded as having been a secondary city for most of its history. As several contributions to this volume demonstrate, Edirne, together with other cities around the Marmara Sea, was closely entwined with Istanbul and part of the “core area”¹¹⁵ of the Ottoman Empire. It remained an important center for regional and transregional trade, a renowned scholarly hub, and, as a consequence, the site of imperial patronage that produced outstanding architecture in the city. Edirne was only second to the capital Istanbul, but with decisively more than just auxiliary functions, so that the city retained a large part of its prior glory for a long period. However, from the mid-eighteenth century on at the latest, Edirne lost much of its economic, political, and cultural importance.

Today, Edirne is the administrative center of the province of the same name. It and the provinces of Kırklareli and Tekirdağ comprise the major part of eastern Thrace, which also includes the European parts of Istanbul province and two districts of Çanakkale province. According to EU classifications, the three provinces form the Tekirdağ Subregion within the West Marmara Region, which also encompasses areas south of the Dardanelles.

After substantial losses during and after the successive wars in the first half of the 20th century, Edirne's city population increased again between 1945 and 2014 from 29,000 to 153,000 inhabitants.¹¹⁶ Until the early 1990s, Edirne was the second-most populous city in the European part of Turkey, after Istanbul, but has meanwhile been surpassed by Çorlu and Tekirdağ. As a percentage of Istanbul's population, Edirne has declined from 1.6% in 1985 to 1.1% in 2014 (Fig. 1).

In the latest national survey on socio-economic development from 2011, Edirne province was well ranked in 12th place among the 81 provinces of Turkey (Istanbul: first place).¹¹⁷ In terms of economic competitiveness, Edirne province

115 Kreiser, Klaus: Über den „Kernraum“ des Osmanischen Reichs, in: *Die Türkei in Europa. Beiträge des Südosteuropa-Arbeitskreises der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zum Internationalen Südosteuropa-Kongress der Association internationale d' études du Sud Est Europeen*, Göttingen 1979, pp. 53–63.

116 For a compilation of population data, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edirne>, <https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edirne>, both last accessed 28 Aug. 2015; for 1945, cf. Gökbilgin, M. Tayyib: Edirne, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second edition*, Brill Online 2015, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/edirne-COM_0200, last accessed 3 Dec. 2015.

117 UNDP Turkey: Provinces' Development Ranks Updated After Eight Years, 1 June 2012, <http://www.tr.undp.org/content/turkey/en/home/presscenter/news-from-new-horizons/2012/06/provinces-development-ranks-updated-after-eight-years.html>, last accessed 26 Oct. 2015.

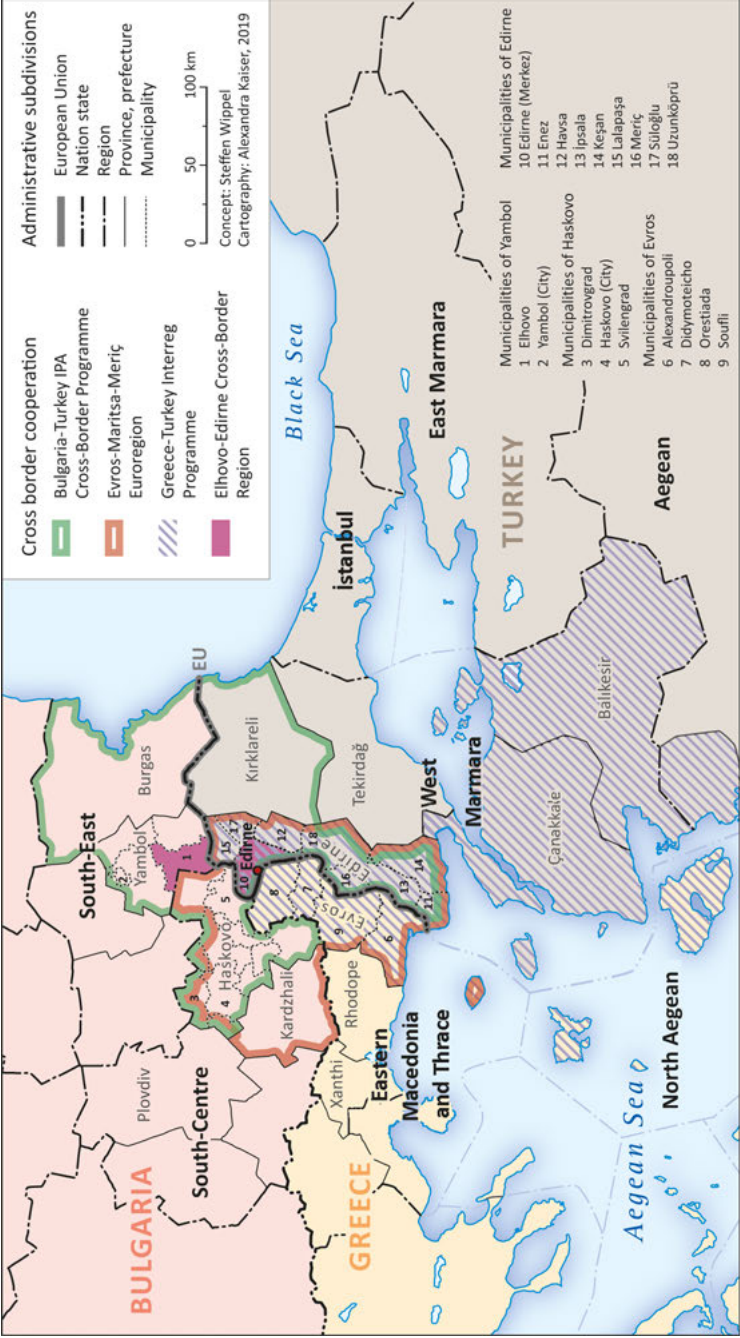


Fig. 3: Administrative subdivisions and cross border cooperation. Borders are not authoritative.

ranges in a middle tier behind the country's main metropolises (among which Istanbul by far outperforms the others) (Fig. 4). Accessibility with public and private transportation is especially well developed, even though Edirne clearly lags behind the neighboring province of Tekirdağ; in contrast, brand creation and innovation is very weak.

Maximum = 100	Istanbul	Ankara	Tekirdağ	Edirne
General Index	86	50	30	22
Accessibility Sub-Index	95	69	76	43
Human Capital and Life Quality Sub-Index	62	68	21	31
Trade Capacity and Production Potential Sub-Index	88	40	21	15
Brand Creation and Innovation Sub-Index	100	23	1	1

Fig. 4: Intercity competitiveness index. Rounded to full figures.

Between 1987 and 2001, Edirne's provincial GDP nearly doubled, but its share in national GDP stagnated.¹¹⁸ The three main Thracian provinces together produced around 2.7% of the national GDP in 2001, compared to 21.5% for Istanbul alone. In the ranking of provinces, Edirne progressed slightly to a relatively advanced level. This is even more pronounced if we compare GDP per capita. Here, Edirne reached 17th place in the inner-Turkish ranking, well above the national average.

Between 2004 and 2010, the Thrace region again nearly doubled its regional gross value added per capita. However, it was still outperformed by the Istanbul area. It mostly ranked fifth among the 26 Turkish regions and was part of the economically most-developed area of Turkey around the Marmara Sea. Since industry started to expand from Istanbul successively toward Turkey's western border in the 1970s, the region experienced a gradual transformation from agriculture to mainly labor-intensive and low-value manufacturing.¹¹⁹ In the province of Edirne, food and mineral manufacturing industries are particularly strong.¹²⁰ However, given their relatively favorable position in industrial development, all Thracian

118 In the following, the author's calculations are based on statistics from Turkstat 2015.

119 Turlay, Iryna: *Economic Partnership as a Stabilizing Factor for Shaping Political and Social Cooperation. The Case of Evros-Maritza-Meric Euroregion*, Master thesis, Lund University 2011, <http://lup.lub.lu.se/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordId=1981650&fileId=1981652>, last accessed 26 Oct. 2015.

120 Trakya Kalkınma Ajansı/Trakya Development Agency: *Logistics in Trakya Region April 2011*, Tekirdağ 2011, p. 10, <http://www.trakya.org.tr/uploads/docs/11092012Qlj2fQ.pdf>, last accessed 3 Sept. 2015.

provinces receive only limited investment incentives by the central authorities.¹²¹ Hence, among the 44 Technology Development Zones and 211 Organized Industrial Zones instituted across Turkey in 2015 to attract (international) investment, only one of each and none of the 19 export-focused Free Zones were established in Edirne province.¹²² The three provinces are responsible for a maximum of 1.0% of Turkey's exports and about half a percent of its entire imports (1996–2015), with Tekirdağ, again, clearly surpassing Edirne.¹²³ However, because provincial data is provided in accordance with the province where the head office of a firm is located, this low share reflects the low number of head offices of internationally oriented firms located in these provinces, rather than a general weakness of integration in international production chains.

3.2 A City on Shifting and Changing Borders

Until Edirne became a border city in the 20th century, it was a “frontier city” as defined above for most of the Ottoman period. For centuries, it remained the penultimate defense for Istanbul from the northwest and, vice versa, a main staging base for military campaigns into Southeast Europe. Moreover, it was central for the control of the empire's western marches. In a longer historical perspective, Edirne's geographical location made the area around the city “the most frequently contested spot on the globe,”¹²⁴ with 25 major battles or sieges from the Roman campaign in 74 BCE to the second Balkan War in 1913. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, when the Ottoman Empire's territory in the Balkans was rapidly shrinking, foreign troops conquered Edirne several times. Between 1878 and 1923, it lost a good portion of its hinterland; and international borders, first with Bulgaria, then with Greece, were established close to the city.

¹²¹ Cf. <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/Maps/Pages/InteractiveMap.aspx>, last accessed 3 Sept. 2015.

¹²² Cf. <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/Maps/Pages/InteractiveMap.aspx> and <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorguide/Pages/SpecialInvestmentZones.aspx>, both last accessed 3 Sept. 2015.

¹²³ Turkstat, Foreign Trade Statistics.

¹²⁴ Keegan, *History of Warfare*, p. 70. Also cf. Karaïskos, Anton: *The Frequently Most Contested Spot on the Globe. Adrianopol I-XXV. Die Logik eines Raumes als kontinuierlicher Schauplatz militärischer Auseinandersetzungen*, Master thesis, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz 2012, <http://unipub.uni-graz.at/obvugrhis/download/pdf/216868?originalFilename=true>, last accessed 14 Sept. 2015); Hall, Richard C.: *The Balkan Wars 1912–1913. Prelude to the First World War*, London and New York 2000; Wasti, Sayed Tanvir: *The 1912–13 Balkan Wars and the Siege of Edirne*, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 40.4 (2004), pp. 59–78.

The quality of Edirne's borders changed considerably again after World War II, when the city was situated right between the Eastern and Western blocs. A continuous fence demarcated the Iron Curtain and the border was temporarily totally closed.¹²⁵ When the Cyprus conflict came to a head in 1974, Greece, too, fortified its land border with Turkey with antipersonnel and anti-tank mines.¹²⁶ Greece's accession to the European Community in 1981 turned the common border into a border between two economic blocs, as well. After the demise of the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence, Bulgaria joined the NATO (2004) and the EU (2007), while Turkey's economic and institutional rapprochement with the EU (1996 customs union; 2005 start of negotiations on accession) has proven difficult and rocky to this day.

Meanwhile, Turkey's western neighbors have bypassed it on its way in the EU, but official cross-border cooperation (CBC) has become an issue since the 2000s (Fig. 3). According to Iryna Turlay, "Edirne has grown in economic significance by turning into a major hub of cross-border cooperation between the EU and Turkey."¹²⁷ CBC mostly involves NGOs and civil society, often with the support of sub-national administrations, but also takes place in the context of the EU's successive Euro-Mediterranean and pre-accession programs.¹²⁸ The general

125 Appelius, Stefan: Tod im Urlaubsparadies. Bulgarien, die DDR und die Fluchtversuche über die bulgarische Grenze, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Auslandsbüro Bulgarien, Sofia 2013, http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_34779-1522-1-30.pdf?130620103807, last accessed 4 Jan. 2016; Stoyanov, Petar: Bulgarian Regions at EU External Border. The Case Study of Bulgaria–Turkey Border Area, in: *Geographica Timisiensis* 19.2 (2010), pp. 197–205; Petrov, Petar: Transborder Projects and Daily Life on the Bulgarian Borderland Northeast of Edirne, Paper at the international workshop "Captivating Edirne. Resources, Connectivities and Imaginative Attraction of a Turkish Border-City in Europe," Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies and Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, 12 Apr. 2014.

126 Landmine and Cluster Munition Monitor: 2006 report on Greece, http://archives.the-monitor.org/index.php/publications/display?act=submit&pqs_year=2006&pqs_type=lm&pqs_report=greece&pqs_section=, last accessed 1 Dec. 2015; Baldwin-Edwards, Martin: Migration between Greece and Turkey. From the "Exchange of Populations" to Non-recognition of Borders, in: *South East Europe Review for Labour and Social Affairs* 2006.3, pp. 115–122, http://aei.pitt.edu/7043/1/Migration_between_Greece_and_TurkeyV3a.pdf, last accessed 9 Nov. 2015.

127 Turlay, Economic Partnership, p. 28.

128 Ahat, Filiz: Cross-Border Cooperation Between Turkey and its EU Neighbours. Institutional and Cultural-Historical Factors, Master thesis, Istanbul Bahçeşehir University 2009, <http://libris.bahcesehir.edu.tr/dosyalar/Tez/084610C1.pdf>, last accessed 26 Oct. 2015; Özerdem, Füsün: Turkey's EU Cross Border Cooperation Experiences. From Western Borders to Eastern Borders, in: *European Perspectives. Journal on European Perspectives of the Western Balkans* 3.2 (2011), pp. 75–103; Evin, Hakan and Berkan Demiral: The Role of Cross-Border Cooperatives in the Development of Border Regions. Project Sample for the Stabilized Development of Cross-Border Regions Together, in: Coşkun Can Aktan, Fethi Altunyuva and Ali Kemal Çetin (eds.): *1. Uluslararası*

intention is to minimize specific administrative, legal, and physical effects linked to state borders in order to foster economic and social development.

Cross-border cooperation between Bulgaria and Turkey started around 2004 and involves three Bulgarian districts and the two Turkish provinces of Edirne and Kırklareli.¹²⁹ Both Turkish and Bulgarian border regions suffer from the emigration of young and educated people. Economically, the predominance of small and medium-sized enterprises comes with limited export-oriented production. However, economic development between the two sides is rather uneven: the Bulgarian districts neighboring Edirne exhibit a GDP per capita well below the (low) national average, while Thrace is among the wealthier regions in (more developed) Turkey and, hence, well above its Bulgarian partners.¹³⁰ There is already a strong institutional base for cooperation in the protection of the natural, cultural, and historical heritage. Other projects target fields like infrastructure, sustainable development, and tourism and promote the mobility of Turkish pupils and the enhancement of business relations.¹³¹

In contrast to CBC with Bulgaria, the initial Greece-Turkey program (2000–2006) covered a much larger area along the entire land and sea borders between the two countries.¹³² Yet, its implementation experienced serious problems. Little information is available on current tripartite activities, e.g. in the Evros–Maritsa–

Bölgesel Kalkınma Konferansı'nda Sunulan Bildiriler, 22–23 Eylül 2011/The Proceedings of 1st International Conference on Regional Development, Malatya 2011, p. 81–100, http://www.bolgeselkalkinmakonferansi.org/1.bolgesel_kalkinma_bildiri_kitabi.pdf#page=91, last accessed 31 Aug. 2015. See also <http://ec.europa.eu>, last accessed 28 Aug. 2015; <http://www.ab.gov.tr>, last accessed 30 Dec. 2015; <http://www.keep.eu> and <http://www.interact-eu.net/download/file/fid/4082>, both accessed 30 Aug. 2016.

129 For CBC with Bulgaria, cf. also <http://www.ipacbc-bgtr.eu>, last accessed 28 Aug. 2015.

130 For the basic data used for the calculation, see <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/de/data/data> base, last accessed 21 Dec. 2015.

131 Ahat, Cross-Border Cooperation, pp. 114–115; Zlatkova, Meglena: Towns Close to the Border. Spaces of Migration and Heritage. The Cases of Edirne, Turkey and Tsarevo, Bulgaria, in: Valentina Ganeva-Raycheva and Meglena Zlatkova (eds.): *Migration, Memory, Heritage. Socio-Cultural Approaches to the Bulgarian-Turkish Border*, Sofia 2012, pp. 65–98, here p. 74, <http://2sidesborder.org/migration%20EN/files/assets/downloads/publication.pdf>, last accessed 31 Aug. 2015; Ganeva-Raycheva, Valentina: Migration, Territories, Heritage. Discourses and Practices in Constructing the Bulgarian-Turkish Border, in: Valentina Ganeva-Raycheva and Meglena Zlatkova (eds.): *Migration, Memory, Heritage. Socio-Cultural Approaches to the Bulgarian-Turkish Border*, Sofia 2012, pp. 29–64, here pp. 58–59, <http://2sidesborder.org/migration%20EN/files/assets/downloads/publication.pdf>, last accessed 31 Aug. 2015. Cf. also <http://www.eufunds.bg/uploads/elhovo/en/index.html>, last accessed 28 Aug. 2015, for the Elhovo-Edirne cross-border region.

132 The new 2014–2020 program has not been institutionalized yet.

Meriç Euroregion.¹³³ Besides, Edirne participates in the Black Sea Basin Cross-Border Cooperation Programme, co-funded by the EU, which includes projects in the fields of tourism, education, and land use.¹³⁴

All in all, on the political and economic level, CBC around Edirne seems to be advancing only slowly. Hence, Petar Petrov warned against having too high expectations.¹³⁵ In fact, cross-border transport infrastructure has not yet been sufficiently expanded and the exchange between the local populations is still impaired by strict visa regimes for Turkish citizens. This is only partly compensated by the strategic location of the cross-border areas in international and regional networks. Politically, all three countries have rather centralized states with a long-lasting history of mistrust between politicians and citizens from the different countries. Some of Edirne's official partnerships have been put on hold after Bulgarian municipalities in the border region recognized the Turkish genocide against the Armenians.¹³⁶ Economically, the reduction of trade barriers along Turkey's western borders has resulted in a considerable increase in the exchange of goods since about 2000, but a severe setback was experienced with the economic and financial crises.¹³⁷ On a lower level, Turkish companies – not necessarily from eastern Thrace – started to invest in Greece and neighboring Bulgarian regions.¹³⁸ Synergies and potential for cooperation seem to exist notably in the agro-industrial sector, tourism, telecommunications,

133 Turlay, Economic Partnership. Cf. also <http://www.maritza.info/EN/evroregioni.htm>, accessed 28 Aug. 2015.

134 For general information, see <http://blacksea-cbc.net/>, last accessed 30 Dec. 2015. For selected projects, cf. also http://www.trakyaka.org.tr/haberdetay-742-trakya_development_agency_as_ipa_lead_partner_has_started_to_implement_the_project_%E2%80%9C9Ctourism_paths_of_the_black_sea_region_bsb_tour%E2%80%9D_within_the_framework_of_the_black_sea_basin_programme.html (accessed 28 Aug. 2015); <http://www.ab.gov.tr/?p=44973&l=2>, last accessed 30 Dec. 2015.

135 Petrov, Transborder Projects.

136 Ahat, Cross-Border Cooperation, p. 58; Ganeva-Raycheva, Migration, Territories, Heritage, p. 58; Zlatkova, Towns Close to the Border, p. 71; Penkova, Stoyka: Contradictions of Inheritance on Both Sides of the Bulgarian-Turkish Border. Socio-analysis and Discursive Practices, in: Valentina Ganeva-Raycheva and Meglena Zlatkova (eds.): *Migration, Memory, Heritage. Socio-Cultural Approaches to the Bulgarian-Turkish Border*, Sofia 2012, p. 99–132, here p. 116, <http://2sidesborder.org/migration%20EN/files/assets/downloads/publication.pdf>, last accessed 31 Aug. 2015.

137 For figures for the last two decades, cf. Turkstat, Foreign Trade Statistics.

138 Cf. Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Relations between Turkey and Bulgaria, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-bulgaria.en.mfa>, last accessed 29 Dec. 2015. Cf. also Ganeva-Raycheva, Migration, Territories, Heritage, pp. 56–57.

and logistics. Beyond that, cultural initiatives in particular have yielded visible results.¹³⁹

3.3 Edirne and Transnational and Transregional Transport Infrastructure

Edirne lies at the European end of the intercontinental land bridge to Asia on the way between the Balkans and the straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Thrace has a long history as a transit region through which many peoples passed and in which they sometimes settled. Transport infrastructure has always been essential for Edirne's political and economic role. Its situation at the crossroads of main Southeast European east-west and north-south corridors gave it a privileged position for travel and exchange, but also for the control of (military) access to further places. Within the former empires, Edirne often acted as a center and interstation for transcontinental and transregional trade and transportation. At the same time, frequent border changes had far-reaching destructive and deviating effects on existing travel and trade routes.

In Roman times, major well-maintained military and transit overland routes linked Constantinople via Edirne and Thrace to Central Europe, the Adriatic coast, and the Danube.¹⁴⁰ The Meriç River, which was seasonally navigable at that time, provided access to the Aegean Sea. Ports on the Marmara Sea important for international trade were connected by road to Edirne.

Under the Ottomans, one of the most frequented overland routes through the Balkans, the Orta Kol, also passed through Edirne. It served the conquest of new territories in Europe, but when Ottoman power declined in the 18th century, the state of the infrastructure declined, too. The Ottoman state's new efforts through the 19th century to upgrade its transport infrastructure successfully expanded the road network connecting Edirne to various destinations again.

Railways then became strategically and commercially crucial. Despite early plans to make Edirne a railway junction in the Ottoman Empire, the line from Istanbul did not reach Edirne until 1873, which was thereby linked to Sofia, Thessaloniki, and smaller destinations in the following two decades. The famous Orient Express used the nonstop Constantinople–Vienna main line. These lines also played an important role in transporting goods and soldiers to the frontier. However, in 1885, customs and passport controls had to be introduced at the new

¹³⁹ Ganeva-Raycheva, *Migration, Territories, Heritage*, p. 59.

¹⁴⁰ Karaiskos, *The Frequently Most Contested Spot*, pp. 116–121.

border north of Edirne (cf. Fig. 5). The railway stimulated urban development in the Karaağaç suburb, where the station was located, including the settlement of numerous Europeans and the opening of cultural and recreational facilities.¹⁴¹

Despite long phases of relative dysfunctionality, Edirne is nowadays in a good position, well situated on main transport axes that are in the process of being upgraded.¹⁴² Within Turkey, these routes integrate the city, first, into the wider ambit of Istanbul. They are also of major importance as cross-border links between Turkey and Europe and for (trans)continental connections and make Edirne a border gate serving transnational and transregional commodity and passenger flows (Fig. 6).

The mostly three-lane motorway (Avrupa Otoyolu) is Edirne's main connection to Istanbul. Another motorway crossing to the south of the Marmara Sea is part of the 2023 national motorway plan. The Trans Turkey Highway is another current project to improve existing roads connecting the Bulgarian to the Iranian, Syrian, and Iraqi borders.¹⁴³ Five road and two train border crossings with Bulgaria and Greece (about 30% of all open land border crossings in Turkey) are located around Edirne (Fig. 7). About two million cars, 840,000 trucks, and nine million passengers (including rail) crossed Thrace's external borders in 2014.¹⁴⁴ Passenger and freight vehicles together made up 37% of all vehicles crossing Turkey's land borders; the share in travelers by road and train was nearly 46%. The Kapıkule border crossing with Bulgaria north of Edirne is considered Turkey's gateway to Europe and the EU. According to Turkish sources, this is Europe's busiest land border crossing and the second busiest worldwide.¹⁴⁵ In general, Thrace's geo-economic position has been considered crucial in view of the volume of Turko-European trade.

141 Pérouse, Jean-François: Region versus Metropolis. Thrace and Sprawling Istanbul, in this volume.

142 For an overview cf. Trakya Kalkınma Ajansı, Logistics.

143 For the projects, cf. for instance <http://www.kgm.gov.tr>, last access 14 Dec. 2015.

144 Trakya Gümrük ve Ticaret Bölge Müdürlüğü: 2014 Yılı İstatistikleri (Yıllık İstatistik Raporları), http://trakya.gtb.gov.tr/data/5242c233487c8e6becd74f4b/2014_istatistik.pdf, last accessed 14 Dec. 2015; Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yatırım ve İşletmeler Genel Müdürlüğü/Ministry of Culture and Tourism General Directorate of Investment and Enterprises: Sınır İstatistikleri/Border Statistics 2014, Ankara, Haziran 2015/June 2015, <http://www.kultur.gov.tr/EN,153018/number-of-arriving-departing-visitors-foreigners-and-ci.html>, last accessed 1 Dec. 2015.

145 See, e.g., the governor of Edirne as quoted in the article "Edirne's Historic Spaces Rearranged Into Cultural Centers," in: *Hürriyet Daily News*, 1 Jan. 2014, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/edirnes-historic-spaces-rearranged-into-cultural-centers.aspx?pageID=238&nID=60375&NewsCatID=375>, last accessed 30 Dec. 2015. Nearly 1 million cars, 470,000 TIR, 3,000 trains (all 2014), and 3.4 million passengers (2012) crossed the Kapıkule–Kapitan Andreevo border point (road and rail) alone annually.



Fig. 5: Shifting borders around Edirne. Borders are not authoritative.

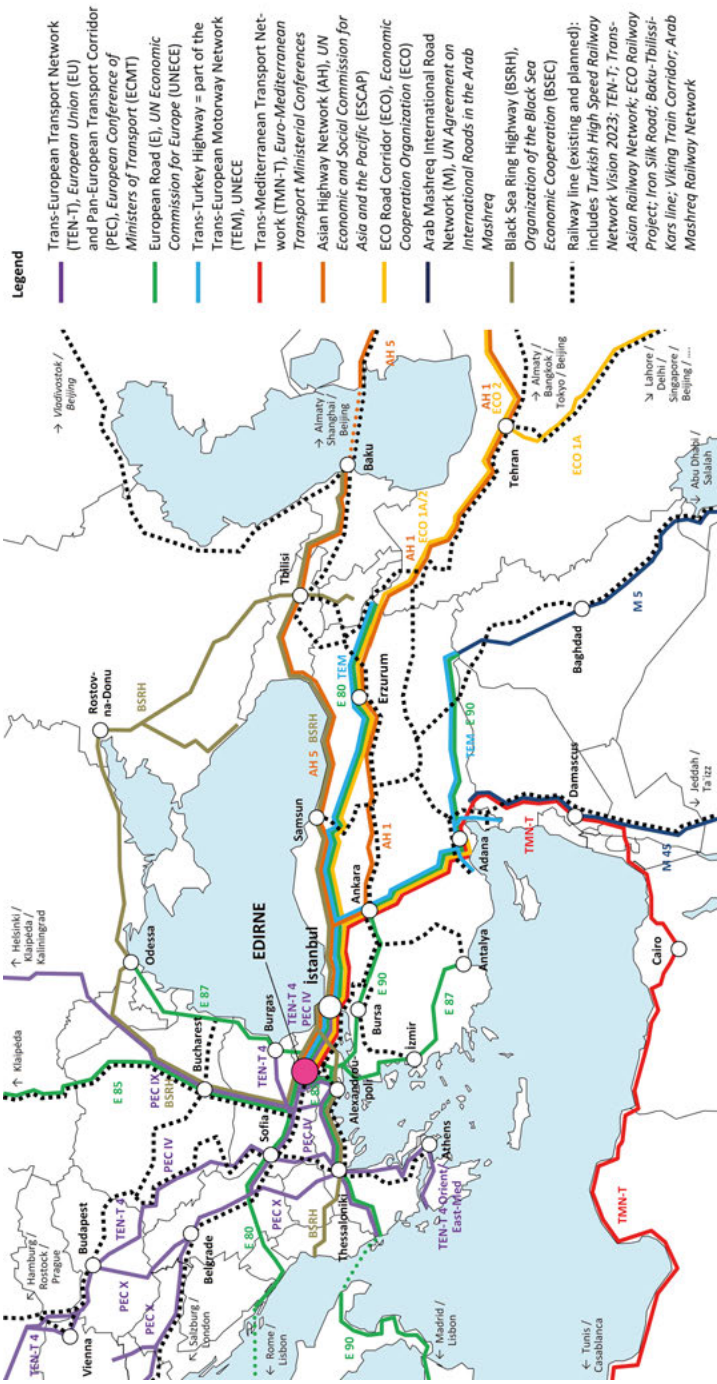


Fig. 6: Edirne in national and regional networks of transport infrastructure.

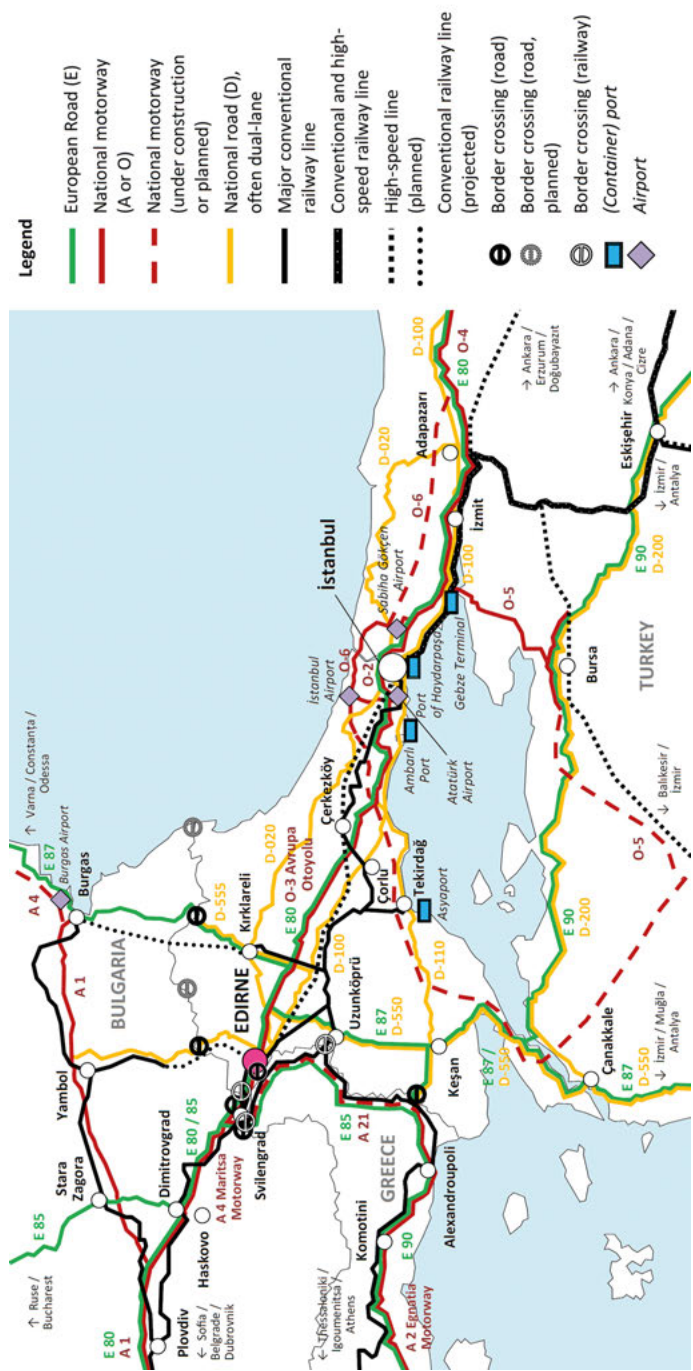


Fig. 7: Transport infrastructure in the greater Edirne region.

In parallel, the Turkish national road system is integrated in larger regional and transregional networks.¹⁴⁶ In recent years, motorways on the Bulgarian and Greek sides have been completed. In the European context, Edirne lies at one of the ends of several major corridors of the EU's Trans-European transport network (TEN-T).¹⁴⁷ Two Pan-European transport corridors (supported by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to connect Eastern and Central European countries) also head via Edirne toward Istanbul. Similarly, Edirne is at the heart of a network of Trans-European Motorways (TEM) among Central, Eastern, and Southeastern European countries developed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE).¹⁴⁸ These links are at the same time part of the system of European roads, developed by UNECE, too. Finally, one of the road corridors of the Trans-Mediterranean transport network (TMN-T), proposed under the aegis of the Union for the Mediterranean, passes from Edirne to the eastern Mediterranean coast.¹⁴⁹

In the Turkish sections, these roads overlap with the Asian Highway system fostered by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), which runs from the Bulgarian border via South/Southeast Asia and Central Asia to the Far East. Edirne is also integrated in the project of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) to build a Black Sea Ring Highway.¹⁵⁰ In addition, a network of routes developed by the regional Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) has Edirne as its Western passage point.

Turkish international railway connections via the Edirne region have been decaying over several decades, but there are plans for future railway expansion and improvement. During World Wars I and II, the Orient Express services were interrupted. In 1923, the sections north and south of Edirne fell within Greek territory.¹⁵¹ In the late 1960s, Turkey built a shortcut to the Bulgarian border and electrified the line to Istanbul in the 1990s (Fig. 8). It is currently renewing the last section of

146 Trakya Kalkınma Ajansı, Logistics.

147 Cf. <http://ec.europa.eu> (several pages), especially http://ec.europa.eu/transport/themes/infrastructure/ten-t-guidelines/corridors/orient-eastmed_en.htm, all last accessed 2 Sept. 2015.

148 Cf. <http://www.unece.org>, several pages, all last accessed 7 Sept. 2015.

149 Cf. http://www.euromedtransport.eu/En/trans-mediterranean-transport-network-tmn-t_12_12_11; http://ec.europa.eu/transport/themes/infrastructure/events/2014-tmn-t_en.htm, both last accessed 2 Sept. 2015.

150 Cf. <http://www.bsec-organization.org/aoc/Transport/Pages/Information.aspx>, with sub-pages, and map at http://www.blacksearing.org/fileadmin/images/MAPS/BSRH_GIS_6th_StC-Rostov_27_Sept.11.jpg, all last accessed 28 Oct. 2015.

151 For the Turkish-Greek railway border situation, cf. the map at http://www.trainsofturkey.com/w/uploads/History/edirne_v3.gif, last accessed 27 Oct. 2015.

this rail line. In the 1960s, the growing number of labor migrants to Western Europe prompted an increase in direct trains via Edirne. However, since then, the railway has lost most of its customers to air and highway transportation. Public transport between Istanbul and Edirne is carried out mainly by buses. In contrast, the current national railway vision 2023 prioritizes a new high-speed connection from Istanbul to the Bulgarian border.¹⁵² In that plan, the Marmaray tunnel under the Bosphorus, between Europe and Asia, will then connect the Thracian and Anatolian high-speed lines.

Thus, Turkey is striving to become an international hub for railway transport between the continents and large economic areas.¹⁵³ Its central connection passes through the European part of Turkey via Edirne, integrating the town into several Trans- and Pan-European transport corridors.¹⁵⁴ On the bilateral level, there is cooperation with Bulgaria and Romania to upgrade cross-border railway connections.¹⁵⁵ On the Asian side, the European branch of the Turkish high-speed network integrates far-reaching corridors to the Middle and Far East.¹⁵⁶ The Southern Corridor of the UNESCAP Trans-Asian Railway project connects Edirne as far as Southeast and East Asia. Another transcontinental route starting at Edirne is part of the Iron Silk Road project to revive the millennia-old continental land bridge via Central Asia to Beijing.¹⁵⁷ At the same time,

152 Çevik, İbrahim H.: TCDD's Current Situation, Developments and Future Projects, TCDD (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Demiryolları), Foreign Relations Department, Power point presentation 28 Mar. 2012, http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/trans/main/temterm/2012_2nd_Expert_Group_Meeting_Ankara/TEM_March_2012_Tcdd_Presentation-ter.pdf, last accessed 2 Sept. 2015.

153 Işık, İzzet: Integration of Turkey into the Trans-European Transport Network. A Gateway between the Continents, Ministry of Transport, Maritime and Communications of Turkey, Power point presentation, 2nd TRACECA Investment Forum, Brussels, 28 February 2012, http://www.traceca-org.org/fileadmin/fm-dam/Investment_Forum/2_TransportNetwork.I.Isik_TR_.pdf, last accessed 28. Aug. 2015.

154 Cf. <http://www.rne.eu/rail-freight-corridors-rfcs.html>, <http://www.rfc7.eu/>; http://ec.europa.eu/transport/themes/infrastructure/ten-t-guidelines/corridors/orient-eastmed_en.htm; <http://www.unece.org>, several pages, all last accessed 2 Sept. 2015.

155 Cf. TCDD Bulgaristan ve Romanya Demiryolu Üçlü Toplantısı, 25 May 2015, <http://www.tcdd.gov.tr/tcdd-bulgaristan-ve-romanya-demiryolu-uclu-toplantisi+h1002>, last accessed 28 Aug. 2015.

156 Çevik, TCDD's Current Situation.

157 Karluk, Sadik Ridvan and Suleyman Cem Karaman: Bridging Civilizations From Asia to Europe. The Silk Road, in: *Chinese Business Review* 13.12 (2014), pp. 730–739. Cf. also, for instance, Turkish Logistics Network: Historical Silk Road Rises from Its Ashes, 10 Jan. 2013, <http://www.turkishlogisticsnetwork.com/news/2013/01/historical-silk-road-rises-from-its-ashes>, last accessed 23 Sept. 2015; "Iron Silk Road." Dream or Reality? in: *Turkish Weekly* 27 May 2015, <http://www.turkishweekly.net/2015/05/27/op-ed/iron-silk-road-dream-or-reality/>, last accessed 23 Sept. 2015.

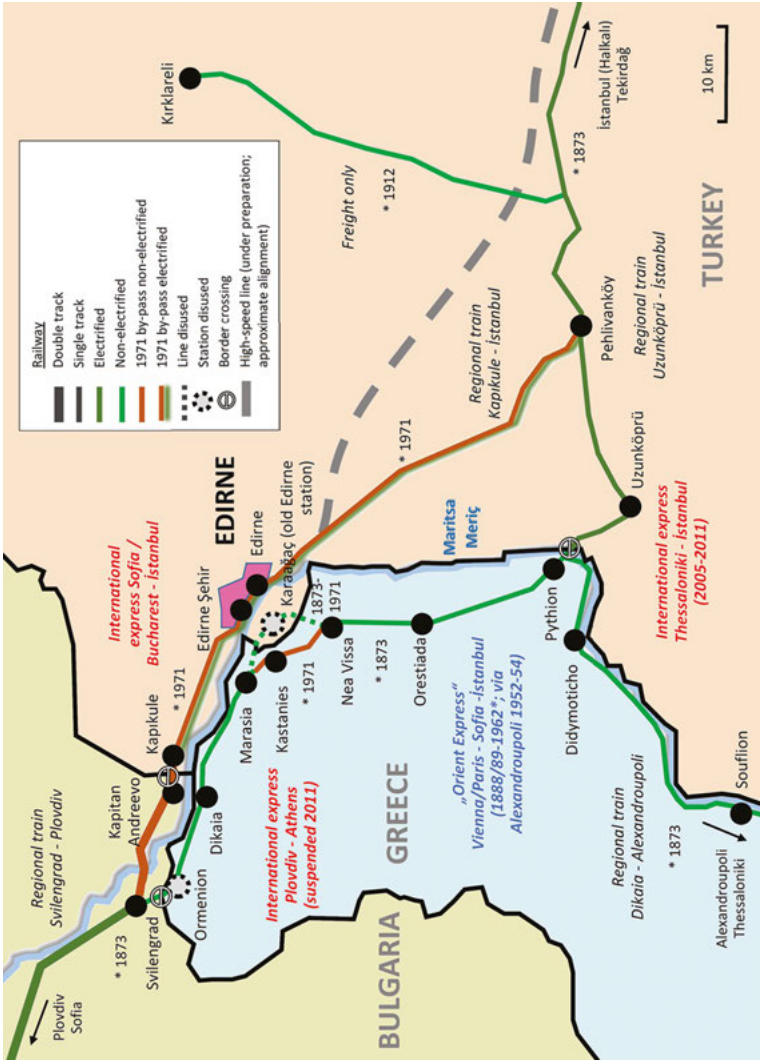


Fig. 8: Railways and borders around Edirne.

these lines are part of the ECO railway project to connect Europe with Asia.¹⁵⁸ Finally, the international “Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia” (TRACECA) program intends to revive East-West communication routes, including connections between Bulgaria and Turkey via Edirne and Istanbul.¹⁵⁹

Furthermore, Turkey aims at becoming an important regional hub for energy transport, especially in the growing gas business.¹⁶⁰ A number of pipelines have been planned – partly to circumvent Russia, partly to connect with it – which are all designed to cross Thrace. Notably, construction of the Trans-Anatolian Gas Pipeline (TANAP) has started. It will be part of the Southern Gas Corridor that connects Azerbaijan to Italy. The TANAP will link up to Greece south of Edirne, and a connection has been envisaged northeast of the city toward Bulgaria.¹⁶¹ Among the less successful projects, the Nabucco Pipeline had been designed to connect Turkey to Austria and was part of the Trans-European Energy Network (TEN-E).¹⁶² The project was abandoned in 2013. Instead, the Russia-driven Turkish Stream pipeline will cross Thrace on its way to the Greek border.¹⁶³

Edirne’s waterway access to the sea via the River Meriç is no longer used commercially today. However, Thrace is served by a number of seaports, which have been recently expanded or established. In particular, the new Asyaport south of Tekirdağ, with a capacity of 2.5 MTEU, is expected to become one of the largest transshipment hubs in Turkey.¹⁶⁴ In contrast, the only Thracian airport, at Çorlu, shows very limited traffic.¹⁶⁵ Air traffic normally goes through Istanbul’s

158 Sadat, Esmail Tekyeh: Financing Transport Infrastructure, Power point presentation at the Joint Workshop on Financing Transport Infrastructure, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Geneva, 10 September 2013, http://www.unece.org/fileadmin/DAM/trans/doc/2013/wp5/ECO_100913_WP5_workshop.pdf, last accessed 2 Sept. 2015.

159 Cf. <http://www.traceca-org.org>, last accessed 28 Oct. 2015.

160 For a map of the Trans-Turkish and Trans-Thracian pipeline network, see <http://www.windkraft-journal.de/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/gas-pipelines.jpg>, last accessed 21 July 2016.

161 Cf. <http://www.tanap.com>; also Ministry of EU Affairs: Chapter 21. Trans-European Networks, <http://www.ab.gov.tr/index.php?p=86&l=2>, both last accessed 17 Dec. 2015.

162 Further connections from Central Asia and feeder lines from Iraq (and perhaps Egypt) have been envisaged.

163 The Turkish Stream project was announced in late 2014, but put on hold after the Turks shot down a Russian military aircraft a year later. Bilateral reconciliation after the coup attempt in Turkey led to the revival of the pipeline project again.

164 See, e.g., Mediterranean Shipping Company: First Ship Docks at the Asyaport in July, 19 June 2015, <https://www.msc.com/tur/news/2015-june/first-ship-docks-at-the-asyaport-in-july>, last accessed 6 Sept. 2015.

165 Cf. statistics from Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı/Ministry of Culture and Tourism: Sınır İstatistikleri/Border Statistics 2014.

international airports. However, in 2015, the State Airports Authority announced plans to build five new airports, including one at Edirne.¹⁶⁶

3.4 A Hub of Transnational and Transregional Human Flows

Early Ottoman Edirne attracted new settlers even from far away and developed into a renowned cosmopolitan city. Up to the beginning of the 20th century, Edirne and its region were still impressively multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, and multi-religious and could boast religious, educational, and other cultural institutions of the diverse communities.¹⁶⁷ Different groups lived mostly in separate neighborhoods. Yet, already in the last decades of the Ottoman period, Edirne lost much of its human and cultural diversity. It then experienced a huge population turnover and has been well integrated in national and international migration flows. Between the 1870s and the 1920s, the wars in the Balkans produced a large number of Muslim, Bulgarian, and Greek refugees. Several protocols and conventions provided for population exchange in the border regions. While Edirne lost almost all of its important non-Turkish population, Muslim immigrants found refuge in the city. By 1927, more than half of its 1905 population had left. Ethnic-religious homogenization, for Meglena Zlatkova, turned Edirne into a “typical Muslim town.”¹⁶⁸

In recent decades, major population changes took place, too: local inhabitants left Edirne for economic centers in Turkey and abroad, while newcomers arrived from Anatolia and, in several waves, from the Balkans – a development that is insufficiently reflected in official statistics that purport high population homogeneity. With the establishment of the communist regime, daily cross-border contacts with Bulgaria were severely cut. Yet, private, cultural, and economic contacts redeveloped notably since the 1970s.¹⁶⁹ Voluminous emigration of ethnic Turks from

166 To reduce the distance to the next airport to a 100-kilometer maximum all over the country, the other four airports are being planned at Rize-Artvin, Karaman, Yozgat, and close to Antalya. See, Five New Airports to be Built in Anatolia, in: *Daily Sabah* 28 May 2015, <http://www.dailysabah.com/money/2015/05/28/five-new-airports-to-be-built-in-anatolia>, last accessed 3 Sept. 2015.

167 Ganeva-Raycheva, *Migration, Territories, Heritage*, pp. 30 and 46; Türk, Fahri: Multilingualism of Edirne during the 19th Century in the Ottoman Era, in: *Jezikoslovje* 13.2 (2012), pp. 439–445, <http://hrcak.srce.hr/file/135146>, last accessed 1 Dec. 2015.

168 Zlatkova, *Towns Close to the Border*, p. 69; also cf. Yıldırım, Onur: *Diplomacy and Displacement. Reconsidering the Turco-Greek Exchange of Populations, 1922–1934*, New York and London 2007.

169 Ahat, *Cross-Border Cooperation*, p. 54; Ganeva-Raycheva, *Migration, Territories, Heritage*, p. 56.

Bulgaria continued until the 1990s, caused by the far-reaching assimilation demands imposed by the Bulgarian government on the Turkish community, as well as by economic difficulties after the fall of the communist regime. The Turkish state built apartment blocks in a new residential area of Edirne for the immigrants from Bulgaria, so they still mostly live together in segregated neighborhoods. The younger generation often maintains dual citizenship, which allows them to commute freely to Bulgaria. The Bulgarian school in Edirne, launched in 2011, also attracts children of the local middle class. Learning Bulgarian has become an investment for studying and developing business relations in the neighboring country.

With the exodus, Edirne had become a place of conflicting national claims and mental maps.¹⁷⁰ Yet, with the possibility to cross the border, Edirne has slowly evolved more into a site of transnational belonging. Associations of former Bulgarian inhabitants have mostly given up their nationalist discourses and pleaded for a European “Thrace without borders.”¹⁷¹ Reciprocally, an association of Balkan Turks in Edirne also asserts the idea of a “common Thrace.”¹⁷² A number of emblematic sites of Bulgarian culture have been restored, and Days of Bulgarian Culture and Orthodox religious festivities are being celebrated in Edirne. Bulgarian visitors regularly arrive for shopping, entertainment, sightseeing, and business.¹⁷³ Relations with the local population are said to be mostly hospitable, sharing cultural events and a history of traumatic experiences. Locals also benefit economically from the gradual opening of the border since 1989. Likewise, Greeks are commuting to Edirne to purchase their daily needs, but the Greek economic crisis has hit shop owners in the region. Trafficking alcohol, fuel, and foodstuffs is another activity practiced by the border population. For Valentina Ganeva-Raycheva, this signifies a revitalization of an undivided transborder Thrace on the level of everyday life.¹⁷⁴ In a regionally wider perspective, Edirne’s governor proclaimed the “goal to make Edirne the central city of the Balkans.”¹⁷⁵

While the country’s western borders increasingly opened for trade in commodities, new obstacles to human exchange have been erected. Greece started to implement the Schengen Treaty in 2000. Between 2004 and 2009, under the

170 Penkova, *Contradictions of Inheritance*, p. 107.

171 Ganeva-Raycheva, *Migration, Territories, Heritage*.

172 Penkova, *Contradictions of Inheritance*, p. 115.

173 Cf. also Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Relations between Turkey and Bulgaria, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-bulgaria.en.mfa>, last accessed 29 Dec. 2015.

174 Ganeva-Raycheva, *Migration, Territories, Heritage*, p. 57.

175 Edirne’s Historic Spaces Rearranged Into Cultural Centers, in: *Hürriyet Daily News* 1 Jan. 2014.

international Mine Ban Treaty, it cleared nearly all antipersonnel mines along the Meriç River.¹⁷⁶ The nearly impermeable Turkish-Bulgarian border zone was opened after 1989; the fence fell into disrepair and border crossing became easier. But as a new EU member, Bulgaria is also obliged to gradually apply the Schengen rules. While since 2011 Bulgarians are exempted from visa restrictions for travel to Turkey, a visa regime has been reestablished for most Turkish citizens.¹⁷⁷ A dialogue on the liberalization of visa requirements for entering the Schengen countries started after signing a readmission agreement with the EU in 2013.¹⁷⁸

Today, Edirne is also an important hub close to the EU borders on the eastern Mediterranean and Balkan migration routes.¹⁷⁹ It has become a kind of a pulsating border city at the western tip of the land route from western Asian countries to Europe and one of the first stops after arrival at the Istanbul airports from Africa. Most people arriving at Edirne head for the border with Greece. The Turkish-Greek land border largely follows the Meriç River.¹⁸⁰ The major exception is the urban agglomeration of Edirne itself, which extends to the western bank of the river. This border stretch has become one of the most important terrestrial land passages into the Schengen area. More major irregular refugee flows across the Meriç were recorded since 2006.¹⁸¹ With a general shift of migration routes from the western to the eastern Mediterranean, the number of attempts to cross the Turkish-Greek land border bounded in 2010. Migrants at that time arrived

176 Landmine and Cluster Munition Monitor, Greece: Mine Action, updated 29 September 2011, http://archives.the-monitor.org/index.php/cp/display/region_profiles/theme/1004, last accessed 30 Dec. 2015; Baldwin-Edwards, Migration, p. 4.

177 Turlay, Economic Partnership, p. 30; Zlatkova, Towns Close to the Border, pp. 73–74; cf. also Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Relations between Turkey and Bulgaria, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-bulgaria.en.mfa>, last accessed 29 Dec. 2015.

178 FIDH (International Federation for Human Rights), Migreurop and EMHRN (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network): *Frontex Between Greece and Turkey. At the Border of Denial*, 2014, pp. 19–21, <http://www.frontexit.org/fr/docs/49-frontexbetween-greece-and-turkey-the-border-of-denial/file>, last accessed 1 Dec. 2015.

179 Tsapopoulou, Katerina, Marianna Tzeferakou and Salinia Stroux: *Walls of Shame. Accounts from the Inside. The detention Centres of Evros*, Frankfurt/Main and Athens 2012, http://www.proasyl.de/fileadmin/fm-dam/q_PUBLIKATIONEN/2012/Evros-Bericht_12_04_10_BHP.pdf, last accessed 31 Dec. 2015; Amnesty International: *Fear and Fences. Europe's Approach to Keeping Refugees at Bay*, London 2015, <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/EUR0325442015ENGLISH.PDF>, last accessed 31 Dec. 2015.

180 Cf. Greece–Turkey land border, map 2015, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/fb/Greece%E2%80%93Turkey_land_border.svg/2000px-Greece%E2%80%93Turkey_land_border.svg.png, last accessed 29-Aug. 2016.

181 Baldwin-Edwards, Migration, pp. 3–4.

mainly from North Africa and South Asia. Locally, people smugglers and taxi drivers profited from transporting migrants to the border.

Since 2007, Greece has received considerable EU assistance to enhance its border controls. Frontex, the European external borders agency, started in 2010 to help the Greek border police. The intervention team was replaced in 2011 by a more permanent operation.¹⁸² Greek and EU authorities had pressed Turkey for years to control the border more strictly. In 2011/12, Greece started to dig a 50-kilometer trench close to Edirne, built a razor-wire fence in front of the city, and increased security measures along the river Meriç. As a consequence, travel diverted to the much riskier sea routes again. Migrants' flows to the Edirne area also partly reoriented toward Bulgaria. Hence, in 2011, the Frontex operation was extended to the Bulgarian-Turkish border. The same year, the Bulgarian government announced its intention to restore the derelict fence from the socialist era. In 2013/14, after the number of border crossings increased sharply, Bulgaria started to reinforce border surveillance and to build a new barbed-wire fence. Both Greece and Bulgaria pushed irregular migrants back forcefully across the border.

In 2015, the Turkish land border once again was in the forefront of migration flows from Syria to Europe. By then, more than two million Syrian refugees were already on Turkish territory. The crisis culminated when a few EU countries, among them Germany, declared they would accept war refugees in great numbers. By early September 2015, more than 50,000 migrants had arrived in Edirne. On 10 September, the number of arrivals exploded. Turkish authorities suspended bus services from Istanbul and banned migrants from the border zone. Security forces blocked the motorway when thousands of refugees started to march along it toward Edirne. Migrants were told to return to their places of first registration, but many of them resisted and could not be brought back from Edirne to other cities until late September. Finally, the EU and Turkey agreed on a considerable reduction of irregular migration flows to the EU and European support for the amelioration of living conditions for Syrians in Turkey.¹⁸³ In return, the EU promised to revive the accession process and the visa liberalization dialogue.

182 FIDH, Migreurop and EMHRN: Frontex; Höhler, Gerd: Frontex-Einsatz in Griechenland. Wächter an Europas Grenze, in: *Frankfurter Rundschau Online* 15 Nov. 2010, <http://www.fr-online.de/politik/frontex-einsatz-in-griechenland-waechter-an-europas-grenze,1472596,4834854.html>, last accessed 28 Oct. 2015; also cf. <http://frontex.europa.eu>, last accessed 30 Oct. 2015.

183 Amnesty International, *Fear and Fences*, pp. 53–54; Bertelsmann Stiftung: *Fakten zur Europäischen Dimension von Flucht und Asyl. Türkei*. Stand: Dezember 2015, https://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/fileadmin/files/user_upload/EZ_Faktencheck_Tuerkei.pdf, last accessed 15 Dec. 2015.

3.5 Contributions of Tourism, Urbanism, and Marketing

Edirne today still houses consulates from seven countries; it is also internationally twinned with five sister cities.¹⁸⁴ While currently enjoying a limited academic reputation, the local Trakya University endeavors to become a center of education and research for and on the Balkans.¹⁸⁵ Tourism to Edirne consists mostly of one-day trips, either integrated in visits to Istanbul or, since the 1990s, in regional border crossing from Greece and Bulgaria for various purposes. In 2011, only 13% of the two million tourists who visited Edirne stayed overnight.¹⁸⁶ The famous annual oil wrestling championship, in particular, attracts participants and spectators from all around the world, but mostly people from the neighboring countries who stay for a couple of days. Apart from that, “Edirne slipped off the travel map of all except those with a particular interest in Ottoman architecture.”¹⁸⁷

The promotion of Edirne as a tourism destination is still very limited. Its marketing is nearly exclusively oriented toward its glorious past as a former capital of the Ottoman Empire, with precious architectural gems, as touted with the slogan “City of Sultans.” The Turkish national tourism office in Ankara introduces Edirne on its website as a “border city,” a “gateway to the West,” and a “cultural mosaic.” It recalls the city’s perception as a “Gateway to Happiness” and “City of Festivities” in Ottoman times.¹⁸⁸ This still small-scale marketing contrasts with the objectives set in 2008 to brand Edirne within a selected group of 15 Turkish cities with the status of a “cultural tourism city.” The same year, Edirne was designated a “European Destination of Excellence” (EDEN).¹⁸⁹ Its inclusion on UNESCO cultural heritage lists (oil wrestling; the Selimiye complex; the complex

184 For an incomplete list, cf. <http://conworld.wikia.com/wiki/Edirne>, last accessed 14 Sept. 2015. Sister cities, most of them close to borders, too, are Alexandroupolis (Greece), Haskovo and Yambol (Bulgaria), Lörrach (Germany), and Prizren (Kosovo).

185 Cf. <http://bae-en.trakya.edu.tr>, with subpages, last accessed 28 Aug. 2015; Trakya University and the Balkans, presentation by Prof. Dr. Hilmi Ibar, Edirne 2011, <http://www.loerach.de/ceasy/modules/core/resources/main.php?id=3541-0&download=1>, last accessed 28 Aug. 2015. Ganeva-Raycheva, Migration, Territories, Heritage also mentions the university’s engagement with Bulgaria(ns).

186 Cf. Edirne, the “Diamond That Has Not Been Shaped”, in: *Gulf News*, 4 Aug. 2012, <http://gulfnews.com/business/sectors/tourism/edirne-the-diamond-that-has-not-been-shaped-1.1057512>, last accessed 3 Sept. 2015.

187 Glorious Gateway to Thrace. Edirne, in: *Today’s Zaman*, 24 Aug. 2008, http://www.todayszaman.com/newsDetail_openPrintPage.action?newsId=151046, last accessed 30 Dec. 2015.

188 Cf. <https://goturkey.com>, several pages, all last accessed 8 Jan. 2016.

189 Cf. http://ec.europa.eu/growth/tools-databases/eden/destinations/turkey/index_en.htm#edirne, last accessed 8 Jan. 2016.

of Bayezid II in 2016; plus Uzunköprü bridge in the tentative list¹⁹⁰) is also a strategy to draw attention to the city. Notwithstanding, according to the foreign ministry's representative, "Edirne is a diamond that has not been shaped yet."¹⁹¹ This may well have to do with remaining gaps in branding and in the development of tourism infrastructure.

It is a general problem in internationally marketing Edirne – as well as other cities in Turkey – that important websites and sites on the ground offer information primarily in Turkish, including all sorts of economic activities. The only important regional organization that has (relatively) abundant information on the region in English is the Trakya Development Agency, which aims at "making the Thrace region a centre of attraction that competes with the world."¹⁹² Eastern Thrace is presented as a border region crossed by routes between Turkey and Europe, with "a rich ethnic and cultural structure."¹⁹³ Its 2023 development vision targets the "[e]stablishment of the region as the logistics hub of Southeastern Europe."¹⁹⁴

While recent projects validate its cultural and historical heritage, decisively new buildings are planned to give Edirne a widely recognized appearance and to increase the attractiveness of the city.¹⁹⁵ In 2007, a dubious UK-based company announced plans to build a 520-meter high skyscraper with a comprehensive Chinese City, including residences, a hospital, schools, a hotel, and shopping centers, at investment costs of USD 2 billion.¹⁹⁶ But neither this nor another project idea for a new icon for Edirne, propelled by the then-mayor, Hamdi Sedefçi, resulted in further action: the Sedef Kule (Mother of Pearl Tower), with entertainment and shopping facilities and surrounded by a large artificial lake, was to be erected for the centenary of the Balkan Wars, close to the border triangle, as a symbol of Turkey's gateway to Europe and friendship among former opponents (Fig. 9).¹⁹⁷ At 155

190 Cf. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/krkpnar-oil-wrestling-festival-00386>, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1366>, and <http://www.allaboutturkey.com/heritage.htm>, all last accessed 8 Jan. 2016.

191 Edirne, the "Diamond That Has Not Been Shaped", in: *Gulf News*, 4 Aug. 2012.

192 Cf. http://eng.trakyaka.org.tr/content-98-mission_vision.html, last accessed 8 Jan. 2016.

193 Cf. http://eng.trakyaka.org.tr/content-182-social_structure_in_trakya_region.html, last accessed 8 Jan. 2016.

194 Cf. http://eng.trakyaka.org.tr/content-579-regional_plan_in_a_nutshell.html, last accessed 8 Jan. 2016.

195 Cf., for instance, <http://en.ozaygun.com/projects/edirne-tower>, last accessed 2 Dec. 2015; <http://www.margiotel.com>; <http://margioutlet.com>, both last accessed 08 Jan. 2016.

196 Cf. Edirne, 520m Skyscraper, Vision, <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=465801> and subsequent pages, last accessed 9 Jan. 2016.

197 E.g. BalkanTravellers.com: Turkey. Edirne to Build Tower Visible from Bulgaria and Greece, 21 July 2010, <http://www.balkantravellers.com/en/read/article/2137>, last accessed 9



Fig. 9: The Edirne Sedef Kule tower project.

meters, the structure was planned to be high enough to overlook vast areas of Thracian territory, and at night, it would be illuminated. In return for financing the construction, estimated to cost around EUR 10 million, a sponsor, such as an Arab sheikh, was to operate the tower under a 20- to 25-year concession. This points to the fact that Edirne could potentially attract foreign investors in real estate. While the 2012 Reciprocity Law recently blocked citizens from Bulgaria and Greece from investing here, the border province of Edirne could partake in the recent Arab investment boom in Turkey. The Reciprocity Law has in principle liberalized foreign real estate property in Turkey and has triggered a boom in land sales. The countries that have been granted unconditional permission to purchase include the GGC members.¹⁹⁸ The episode reveals that Edirne's local politicians are well

Jan. 2016; Zlatkova, *Towns Close to the Border*, p. 70; Edirne, the “Diamond That Has Not Been Shaped,” in: *Gulf News*, 4 Aug. 2012.

198 In contrast, conditions have become stricter for investors from neighboring countries, like Bulgaria and Greece. After Germans, Greeks are already the second most numerous community owning real estate in Turkey. Cf. Real Estate Sales Boom as Turkey Opens to Foreign Buyers, in: *Al-Monitor*, 24 June 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/06/cetingulec-foreigners-settlingturkey-coast-arab-antalya.html>. For the increasing interest of Gulf buyers and

acquainted with the imaginary power of Dubai-style urban development, which however does not seem to work under local conditions.

4 Edirne as a Globalizing Secondary and Border City

Edirne's progress is very much part of and dependent on broader developments and (notably debatable national) policies. This includes Turkey's positioning in globalization processes, its regional strategies (and foreign reactions to these), and ambitions to become "a bridge between continents."¹⁹⁹ From an urban research perspective, the conceptually based insights into the economic and urban development of the city presented in this chapter are only very preliminary and indicate needs for further research in several directions.

From a historical perspective, Edirne was for some time a primate city, notably during its phase as imperial capital, but most of the time it was a secondary city of varying demographic, economic, and political importance in transcontinental imperial as well as in modern national contexts. The case of Edirne demonstrates that it is not only necessary to situate world cities, but also worthwhile to reflect on cities of minor rank from a geographically wider historical and contemporary perspective in order to understand their recurrent reconfigurations and changing importance. Although only a secondary city, Edirne has been strongly affected by globalization: it does not have a far-reaching commanding position, but is embedded in specific circuits, where it has a prominent gateway position. To be more precise, rather than "global," these flows and networks are regional and, more often, transregional and transcontinental, if we consider them in conventional spatial terms, mainly linking Europe and Asia and their respective subregions (Fig. 10). From another perspective, these circuits (re)constitute Edirne's own regional centrality in its particular transborder and transnational contexts. The city has again become a place of transit essentially in two fields: first, it was already an ancient transport hub, was raised to a central position, then, in the course of time, increasingly declined, but has now started to (re)integrate emerging and expanding – (trans)national and (trans)regional – road, rail, and energy infrastructure.

investment companies, cf. also, Turkey's [sic] Is Building Larger Homes to Accommodate Arab Customers, in: *Daily Sabah*, 9 May 2013, <http://www.dailysabah.com/money/2013/05/09/turkeys-is-building-larger-homes-to-accommodate-arab-customers>, both last accessed 3 Sept. 2015.

199 Cf. <http://www.kgm.gov.tr/Sayfalar/KGM/SiteEng/Root/Gdh/GdhInternationalProjects.aspx>, last accessed 2 Sept. 2015.

Second, it has recurrently been a center of human flows, already within the former Ottoman Balkan region and, nowadays, in a more globalized context.

From a centrally placed city in the early Ottoman Empire, Edirne shifted to an eccentric situation in the upcoming nation-state of modern Turkey. In the last 100 years, as a border city, it has intensely experienced the ambivalent effects of territorial dividing lines with changing qualities. While the existing border long cut off human and material exchange and separated Edirne from its historical hinterlands, it could be regarded also as an example of ethnic homogenization and the neglect of the periphery in a centralizing territorial state. Nevertheless, important cross-border movements took place repeatedly, though to varying degrees, and changed the socio-cultural nature of the city. Decisive changes since the 1990s increased border-crossing flows and fostered the (still deficient) cross-border cooperation. While in some respects the border has transformed into a transregional interface, it remains a (rather one-sided) barrier for human beings, partially reinforced in the 2010s. For the expanding Ottoman Empire, while becoming part of the imperial core land, Edirne, in a certain sense, was also a frontier city. It has become a kind of frontier place again in view of Turkey's (in fact ambivalent) rapprochement with the EU, but also for migration flows to Europe.

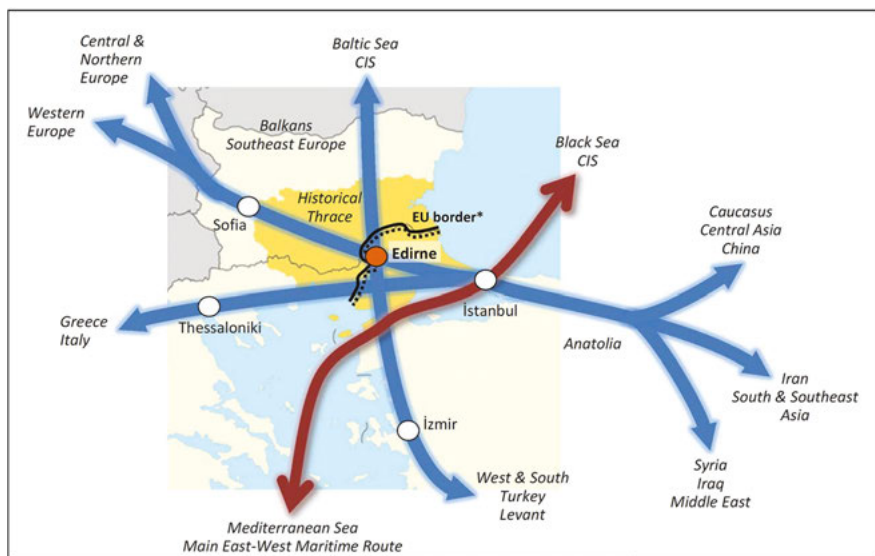


Fig. 10: Edirne at transcontinental and transregional crossroads.

CIS=Commonwealth of Independent States formed by successor states of the Soviet Union.

*=Semipermeable EU border: mutually freely permeable for goods, but only unilaterally for people.

Although many flows pass through Edirne, they have only a limited effect on local development. Attempts from above and below to benefit from the border situation have not yet been able to unfold their full potential. Likewise, local endeavors for visibility have been made hesitantly, and regional development plans are still in their early stages. Besides enjoying a continued symbolic significance as a city of historical splendor, very limited efforts have been made for a really widespread international marketing and branding. Apart from that, development toward a postmodern city seems still very much in its infancy, especially when compared with nearby spectacular, far-radiating Istanbul. While eastern Thrace seems also to have become a destination for Istanbul residents' second homes, it is difficult to comment on current fragmentation effects.²⁰⁰ Hence, the local potential still needs to be exploited to bring the improvised vision developed at the beginning of this chapter closer to concrete progress on the ground. With the further development of a central cross-border position in a meanwhile neglected and divided region, Edirne could reestablish and enhance its own regional centrality and at least partially emancipate itself within the still-growing Istanbul orbit.

200 Except for the segregation of migrant communities and the poor situation of Roma people. Cf. Gültekin, Nevin Turgut and Özlem Güzey: Divided Cities. Social and Residential Segregation. A Gypsy Neighborhood in Menzilahir, Edirne, Turkey, paper presented at 47th Congress of the European Regional Science Association, Paris 2007, http://www.ekf.vsb.cz/export/sites/ekf/projekty/cs/weby/esf-0116/database-prispevku/clanky_ERSA_2007/887.pdf, last accessed 31 Aug. 2015.

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Outlook

Evidently, large crowds and investments have bypassed Edirne for about three centuries. Apart from war periods, the city had considerably fallen into oblivion, even among scholars, as has been shown. If travelers – apart from the many migratory birds – made it to this hinterland in the last 100 years, they were most likely (weekend) visitors from the region of Thrace, occasional relaxation- and retreat-seeking townsfolk from Istanbul, or individual, mainly day-trip Western tourists or European motorcyclists passing through. The most famous exceptions to this rather small-scale trickle of visitors were, in the past, travelers on the Orient Express, and, more recently, to the oil wrestling festival of *Kırkpınar* in summer, an event that has thrived and regularly draws an impressive local, regional, and meanwhile also international crowd.

The landscape of connectivities has dramatically changed in the last decades: on the international level, the end of the Cold War in 1991 and the massive enlargement of the European Union including Bulgaria in 2007 have brought about fundamental changes in the political and economic order, particularly in Southeast Europe. One of the manifold consequences is an increased potential for cross-border cooperation with the EU neighbors, i.e., Bulgaria and Greece, as well as the quest for European and international formats. Another, but not desired result, is the rise in the already heavy influx of migrants from all over Asia and Africa. On the national level, the Turkish state, too, has profoundly been transformed since the 1980s in terms of its economic-territorial structure, its political self-image, and its cultural outlook.

As of yet, the effects these dynamics have on Edirne are just beginning to become apparent. They concern in many ways the city's relationship to Istanbul, which mediates these changes on a national level and offers a model to many smaller cities. In this final chapter, we want to catch a glimpse of the future by shedding light on some of the most recent developments in Edirne. Wrapping up this edited volume, we pick a number of specific urban development projects, most notably the announced plans to redesign the wrestling stadium in *Sarayıcı*, for illustrative purposes in order to analyze a certain and, we assume, symptomatic vision. Whether all of the plans and projects we will discuss in the following will really materialize in the near future as scheduled is less important than the telling characteristics of their designs. Altogether, they are further indicators of a theme running through this volume, i.e., the fundamental revalorization of history in the form of heritage building, and are driven by profound social and economic changes that affect Edirne.

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1 The Changing Economic and Cultural Framework

In the early 1980s, Turkey opened its markets and adopted an export-oriented model for its economy. Istanbul was more profoundly affected by this policy than any other part of the country and became a symbol of the cultural changes that went along with it. Outside Turkey and among many Turks themselves, the urban cultural life of the country became, and increasingly so during the 1990s, associated with Istanbul as Turkey's quintessential Western outpost. By reinvigorating its traditional role in commerce and, additionally, attracting an international service industry, Istanbul aspired to acquire the position of a world or global city.¹

Even more stunning than the ensuing economic and infrastructural reshaping were the cultural changes that went along with Istanbul's bid to become a global city. Not without conflicts and contradictions, the city has persistently marketed its historical cosmopolitanism and its image as a bridge between cultures and continents. Some projects, such as the gigantic modern but retro-style mosque on the hill of Çamlıca that is in the process of being completed, resonate with the Neo-Ottoman and Islamic ideologies of the AKP that, with its leader President Tayyip Erdoğan, a former mayor of the city, has proven to be the staunchest supporter of global Istanbul.² The double process of neoliberal opening and cultural reappropriation of the Ottoman past in Turkey that goes back to the 1980s is well described for the case of Istanbul, but its consequences for Edirne have hitherto attracted little attention.³

As many contributors to this volume have shown, in Edirne, too, this trend of revalorizing history for various purposes has found its supporters. In the general framework of the political and cultural changes that have been dubbed Neo-Ottomanism⁴ and with Istanbul as a closely watched model, Edirne has promoted its past role as one of the Empire's urban centers and its "second

1 Keyder, Çalar and Ayşe Öncü: *Istanbul and the Concept of World Cities*, Istanbul 1993.

2 Robins, Kevin and Asu Aksoy: Istanbul Rising. Returning the Repressed to Urban Culture, in: *European Urban and Regional Studies* 2 (1995), pp. 223–235; Keyder, Çağlar (ed.): *Istanbul. Between the Global and the Local*, Lanham 1999.

3 Preparatory moves were made especially by tourism, cf. Eldem, Edhem: Ottoman and Turkish Orientalism, in: *Architectural Design* 80 (2010), pp. 26–31, here pp. 29 and 31.

4 Fisher Onar, Nora: Echoes of a Universalism Lost. Rival Representations of the Ottomans in Today's Turkey, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 45 (2009), pp. 229–241; Çolak, Yilmaz: Ottomanism vs. Kemalism. Collective Memory and Cultural Pluralism in 1990s Turkey, in: *Middle Eastern Studies* 42 (2006), pp. 587–602; Yavuz, M. Hakan: Social and Intellectual Origins of Neo-Ottomanism. Searching for a Post-National Vision, in: *Die Welt des Islams* 56 (2016), pp. 438–465.

capital,” before and parallel to Istanbul. With its international recognition as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Selimiye clearly stands in the center of these efforts, which, however, also comprise many other parts of the city’s built heritage. Additionally, in Edirne there are signs that this reappraisal of the Ottoman past has also a specific regional component. Turkey’s economic and political reappearance has been accompanied by a cultural revival of and even a certain nostalgia for Rumelia (the historical name for the Ottoman Balkans). Examples are TV series like *Elveda Rumeli* (Farewell Rumelia, 2007–2009) and *Son Yaz. Balkanlar 1912* (The Last Summer. The Balkans 1912, 2012). Certainly, Neo-Ottomanism has played on the geographic imagination of the Turkish public and convinced it to regard the Balkans as an area of Ottoman heritage and, consequently, as a legitimate place of Turkish political and economic activity and cultural interest. In contrast, since the times of the Early Republic, the lost European parts of the Ottoman Empire used to carry mostly negative connotations in public memory. For the refugees who fled to Anatolia after the Balkan Wars and World War I, Rumelia was associated with defeat and loss; for many Turks of Anatolia, it was the origin of an uninvited elite (headed by the Salonican Mustafa Kemal) that took over their country. Many agreed with the slogan “Let’s forget Rumelia!” (*Rumeli unutalım*) that the Turkish journalist and intellectual Falih Rıfkı Atay promulgated as a coping strategy for the national psyche.⁵

Today’s political and economic activities and the nostalgic reminiscences that sometimes go along with them are well attested for the Western Balkans (Bosnia, Kosovo, and Macedonia).⁶ Likewise, Edirne advertises its former role as a center of the Ottoman Balkans in multiple ways on an interregional and international scale. One of the most successful ventures with such a regional appeal is the Kırkpınar oil wrestling festival.

In both its general and its regional form, which are often hardly distinguishable, Edirne’s elites frequently operate with a Neo-Ottomanist vision of the city’s culture; however, it is split among multiple facets and conflicting versions of history that are evoked for different purposes and audiences, as we will see more clearly below. It becomes evident that there are many possible scenarios for the city’s future development, inasmuch as there are multiple options to creatively connect the cultural heritage with the future.

5 Bora, Tanıl and Bayram Şen: Saklı Bir Ayrışma Ekseni. Rumeliler–Anadolular, in: *Dönemler ve Zihniyetler. Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*, vol. 9, Istanbul 2009, pp. 1149–1162.

6 Somun, Hajrudin: Turkish Foreign Policy in the Balkans and “Neo-Ottomanism.” A Personal Account, in: *Insight Turkey* 13 (2011), pp. 33–41.

The changes in the cultural outlook described above continue to take root against the background of an ongoing capital-driven modernization of the country. Turkey has vowed to become one of the ten most important economies in the world, an important hub for various products and services, and massively invests in infrastructure to fulfill its role as a decisive transit country. This development, still centered on Istanbul, is spearheaded by heavily advertised mega-projects, such as the meanwhile completed third bridge across the Bosphorus; Istanbul's third airport, which was opened in autumn 2018; and the only announced canal projected to bypass the Bosphorus and thus to provide the metropolis with a new axis of urban expansion. Edirne and its region are not only heavily affected by Istanbul's tentacle-like growth, as shown above; the interdependence of infrastructure projects for the sake of global connectivity and a certain vision of history that, in the case of Istanbul, has been most emblematically cast in the image of the "bridge" can also be detected in Edirne. Here, the railway is nonetheless the infrastructure that is connected to a discourse that projects a bright future by adopting a new vision of history.

2 Railway Connectivity and Urban Growth

The material infrastructure of its prior inclusion in the European rail system as far as Istanbul is still visible in Edirne, foremost in the impressive station building in Karaağaç. However, railway connections were utterly neglected for many decades until the then new foreign minister Ahmet Davutoğlu announced in 2014 that Edirne would be included in the "high-speed train" (*hızlı tren*) system from 2019 on.⁷ The minister's vision of connectivity included the possible extension of the line into Bulgaria and Greece, so that in the future Edirne could again play the role of a relay station on the Istanbul-Salonica axis.

As an immediate consequence of this plan, however, train service from Istanbul was completely suspended for a considerable time due to the necessary modernization of the tracks. This is why, even after the reopening of the line for regional trains in summer 2016, Edirne's railway station, which had been built closer to the city center in the 1970s to replace the old station at Karaağaç, still looks rather deserted today. During a working day in July at noon, no people could be spotted on the square in front of the station, apart from an undisturbed group of wedding musicians and their customers. The central hall was completely deserted, as was the waiting room. Two sides of the

7 Cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zYlWRfiXbQ0>, last accessed 24 Aug. 2017.

hall contain large nostalgic windows (*Nostalji Köşesi*) with leftovers mainly from the early 20th century as the high time of train travel in this region. Although train traffic is only marginal, there are still a number of empty tracks, while the first one is blocked by an antique locomotive. In principle, this train station off the central axis into town, Talat Paşa Street (the D100), is closer to the city center than the bus terminal, but the remnants of shacks on one side of the short İstasyon Caddesi still confirm the impression of massive decay and a slow rhythm of life. Possibly the completion of the high-speed line will re-inject life into this station and related areas.⁸



(a)



(b)



(c)

Fig. 1a–c: Edirne station.

⁸ If it is not replaced by a modern one, as in Ankara, where a futuristic new station cum shopping center was erected in 2016 opposite the in 1937 Art Deco building of the old Ankara Railway Station.

Local politicians in particular pin high hopes on the new high-speed line. They not only expect travel times to Istanbul to fall below one hour, with travelers able to avoid the risk of being stuck in Istanbul's endless traffic jams, which especially buses face. Moreover, in an interview⁹ in early 2016, mayor Recep Gürkan voiced hopes that the number of tourists who would come by train to Edirne would significantly increase in the future; he even predicted that a few hundred commuters could be living in Edirne while working in Istanbul. Tourism also gave the mayor the cue for some thoughts on Edirne's historical identity. To attract more visitors from abroad, he proposed adopting a broader vision of the region's past: in parallel to Bulgaria, Edirne should stress its role as a center of Thracian civilization and – possibly with an eye to attracting European tourists – as one of the most important cities in the Eastern Roman Empire. To increase collaboration in the region, stressing these historical periods certainly makes sense.

With a slightly different spin, also Günay Özdemir, governor of Edirne province since 2016, recently connected the railway infrastructure project that will redefine Edirne's place in the world to the city's past.¹⁰ Announcing the completion of the high-speed line for 2020, Özdemir underlined its importance for Edirne's connectivity in a global world by linking it to several other infrastructure projects, such as the bridge across the Dardanelles (1915 Çanakkale Bridge) and the Iron Silk Road connecting China to Europe by rail. To rationalize these projects, he also put them in a historical continuity with Edirne's past multiculturalism and connectedness. As the place where Ottoman civilization was born and that enabled different religions and cultures to live together peacefully, Edirne was best suited to act as an example in this new globalized and interconnected world.

Seemingly naturally, these internationalist visions of the city's past and future are connected to tourism and infrastructure projects. However, they are used side by side with visions addressing a purely national public, as the next section will show.

Meanwhile, especially on the main axis of Talat Paşa Street/D100 itself, the forebears of the new age are most evident: a number of apartment blocks, expensive hotels, and an outlet center combined with a hotel have been set up in the last few years. Many inhabitants of Istanbul cannot afford a spacious

⁹ Cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N0mGqi8g9xU>, last accessed 24 Aug. 2017.

¹⁰ Cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=md3FBezATQ0>; <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/edirne-istanbul-arasi-hizli-trenle-gundem-2411099/>; <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/vali-ozdemir-ulasim-projeleriyle-edirnenin-daha-hizli-buyuyecegini-soyledi-40518091>, all last accessed 20 Aug. 2017.



Fig. 2: Libra Terrace.

apartment in the metropolis itself and are unable to regularly keep a weekend and/or holiday retreat in its vicinity, let alone a house of their own. Given the enormous scope of metropolitan sprawl, urbanites from Istanbul increasingly recall or newly appreciate the relaxed living, amenities, and many riverside locations in Edirne. Hence, not only the adjacent province of Tekirdağ and the whole European coastline of the Aegean Sea are impacted by the needs of Istanbul with its nearly 15 million inhabitants in 2017.¹¹ Throughout the last few years, the number of commuters between Istanbul and Edirne has risen, the latter becoming a place to install and raise one's family while working in the metropolis. In contrast to Istanbul, Edirne is perceived as a serene, safe, human-sized, and healthy place that is not yet engulfed by the burdensome, hectic life of Istanbul.¹²

A whole new quarter has already been built on the right-hand side of Talat Paşa Street, which leads to the center of Edirne. Apartment blocks with what its builders must perceive as broad appeal have been constructed. The new quarter and apartment clusters elsewhere are attractive not only for people from outside, but also for families from the city center of Edirne or from other older quarters of the town who long for state-of-the-art technical standards in modern apartments, so that the familiar social fabric of old neighborhoods has become considerably disrupted.

¹¹ Cf. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/istanbul-population/>, last accessed 6 Aug. 2017.

¹² Similar phenomena can be witnessed on the Aegean side.

Edirne is famous for its local eateries and delicious restaurants. Nevertheless, such blessings of modern life as Domino Pizza have found their way to customers.¹³ Among the visual harbingers of change that have spread on both sides of the central axis into Edirne are the huge Erasta Mall,¹⁴ which opened in summer 2017 and includes Edirne's first Starbucks, and next to it the first McDonald's. They are located opposite the Mimar Sinan Spor Salonu in which interested oil wrestlers register for the Kırkpınar tournament. It is indicative of Edirne's city marketing that the equestrian statue of Mehmed II, the Conqueror (Fatih Sultan Mehmed), that used to stand at this junction was moved to unfold an even greater effect in another spot in town.

3 Complementary Visions of History

The statue of Mehmed II now stands with a more commanding profile beneath the Selimiye,¹⁵ but close to the central road through town. The conqueror of Constantinople, who victoriously raises his arm and takes the lead riding on a horse, cannot be missed and has gained much in prominence due to its new location between the municipality, the Mimar Sinan statue, and the Old Mosque. Two gigantic cannons are arranged to appear as two sides of an equilateral triangle with the famous sultan at its top and the Selimiye rising above him into the sky. The combination of the cannons and the mounted military commander demonstrates the Ottomans' successful employment of artillery in addition to their traditional warfare of storming cavalry.¹⁶

13 Compare Vignal, Leila: *The Emergence of a Consumer Society in the Middle East. Evidence from Cairo, Damascus and Beirut*, in: Drieskens, Barbara, Franck Mermier, and Heiko Wimmen (eds.): *Cities of the South. Citizenship and Exclusion in the Twenty-first Century*, London 2007, pp. 68–81.

14 Cf. <http://www.spdo.com.tr/en/>; <http://erastaedirne.com/bize-ulasin/>, both last accessed 6 Aug. 2017. The name has an ironic twist to it, because it reminds one of the expression *arasta*, which denotes a traditional roofed market, but the architectural structure and selection of retailers in this mall clearly breaks away from this historical model.

15 In between them, a closed off excavation area related to the Selimiye spreads, a project that was started a few years ago as the "Urban Design und Landscape Project for the Selimiye Mosque Area" (Selimiye Camii Çevresi Kentsel Tasarım ve Peyzaj Projesi). On a new panel standing in Sarayıçi, the mayor informs readers in 2017: "The Selimiye will gain a new appearance and Edirne's identity will take a new direction." (Selimiye Camii yeni bir görünme kavuşacak, Edirne kimlilikli bir destinasyona daha kavuşacak).

16 For an assessment of the role of these two components, see DeVries, Kelly: *Gunpowder Weapons at the Siege of Constantinople, 1453*, in: Lev, Yaacov (ed.): *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th to 15th Centuries*, Leiden 1997, pp. 343–362.



Fig. 3: Statue of Mehmed II beneath the Selimiye.



Fig. 4: Brand Edirne, Selimiye.

This martial sight now mediates the heritage site of the Selimiye Mosque, because most visitors approach the historical building from below. Furthermore, a huge standing row of multicolored letters informs the spectator day and night that he is in Edirne; the first letter bears the pictogram of the city administration, and right behind it, the view of the famous Selimiye Mosque is beautified by a decorative bush. What comes across as an allegedly individual move is, in fact, the application of a global best-practice format to suggestively offer postcard sights ready-made within the built environment. One could question the efficacy of such a density of signs and visual uplifts, but this very ensemble is

eagerly accepted as a photo spot into which many visitors are happy to insert themselves. That is to say, Edirne undertakes considerable efforts to become even more “instagrammable” and increasingly shows off (Neo-)Ottoman icons.¹⁷ Sultan Mehmed Fatih is certainly a key figure and central indicator in that regard.

Alev Çınar wrote about the celebration of the conquest of Istanbul of May 29, 1453 that, since the middle of the 1990s, has been elevated to an important event with many theatrical performances. It marks the victory over the Byzantine Empire and its stronghold, the capital Constantinople. Thereby, “a new founding moment was located,” although it “is not an official holiday.”¹⁸ Çınar stresses that the “projection of this alternative national history serves to incorporate Ottoman times into the national memory, unsettling the secularist constructions of national history centered on the Kemalist/republican era of the twentieth century.”¹⁹ This message is developed by permanent constructions such as statues, muscles, naming practices, bits of historical information, and temporary performances.

Similarly, the allegedly 656th anniversary of the conquest of Edirne is celebrated, for example in early May 2017 in front of the Selimiye, where a *mehter* band, the Edirne Valiliği Mehteran Takımı, gave a concert of janissary music in traditional costumes.²⁰ This is not to say that the central Atatürk monument is excluded from such ceremonies; in fact, even a high-ranking military representative participated in the wreath-laying ceremony there, but the most important emphasis was put on the creation of an embellished Ottomanized setting. This was additionally mediated through a photographic exhibition displayed in the pedestrianized commercial axis, Saraçlar Street. The core event consisted of a *mehter* group, for which the Selimiye in the background was taken as the perfect setting.²¹ A pious soundscape was created by intoning a prayer for the Prophet’s birthday (*Mevlid-i Şerif ve Hatim Duası*) in the Old Mosque (Eski

17 This phenomenon can likewise be traced in the realm of, for instance, culinary advertisement and display in Edirne in recent years.

18 Çınar, Alev: *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey. Bodies, Places, and Time*, Minneapolis and London 2005, pp. 141–142. There is an earlier version, Alev Çınar: National History as a Contested Site. The Conquest of Istanbul and Islamist Negotiations of the Nation, in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43 (2001), pp. 364–391.

19 Çınar: *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism*, p.140.

20 Cf. <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/edirne-nin-fethinin-656-nci-yil-donumu-edirne-yerelhaber-2020573/>, last accessed 4 Aug. 2017.

21 For the significance of May 5–6, see Krawietz, Birgit: Designing Edirne’s Heritage Trail and Turkish Oil Wrestling, in this volume.

Camii), below the Selimiye. According to the Mufti of the province of Edirne, this event is staged “in the fashion of the conquest festivities in Istanbul” (*İstanbul’un fetih törenleri gibi*). It is a frequent feature that new celebratory formats in the metropolis Istanbul are appropriated on a smaller scale in various parts of the country. Although the sculpture ensemble of Mehmed the Conqueror and the Mehter band strike a very martial note on the stage of the Statue of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror and the Imperial Cannons Square (*Fatih Sultan Mehmet Heykeli ve Şahi Topları Alanı*), this is in no way meant to put tourists off, but as an expression of imperial splendor and local as well as national pride.

A similar vision of Edirne’s history is further elaborated in the new Edirne City Memory Museum (*Edirne Kent Belleği Müzesi*)²² that was opened in spring 2017 in a carefully restored wooden mansion close to the Selimiye. As mayor Gürkan underlined in the opening ceremony, the museum’s task was to represent Edirne’s long-standing importance during its 8,300-year history.²³ On the same occasion, he announced plans for other historical museums on more specialized subjects, such as historical migration and palace cuisine. Not surprisingly, the city’s history in the Ottoman and Republican eras that are symbolized by Edirne’s conqueror Sultan Murad I and Atatürk, who visited the city for four days in 1930, get the most attention in the exhibition. Topics that illustrate these epochs are chosen from a well-established canon that many Turkish visitors are most likely familiar with, and the exhibition presents its objects exclusively in Turkish. In the center of the exhibition’s Ottoman part are the great sultans important for the city, such as Murad I, Murad II, and Mehmed II, who are represented by life-sized wax figures. The classical Ottoman built heritage, such as the Selimiye and the Imperial Palace, are present as architectural models, with a digital walk-through animation in the case of the Selimiye. Likewise, among the well-known topics are the achievements of Ottoman medicine at the Darüşşifa, the medical center at Beyazid II Mosque, and the hunting practices of the Ottoman sultans. Moving to the nineteenth century and further on to the Republican era, the exhibition stresses Edirne’s role as a haven for Muslim refugees from the Balkans, as well as the political struggle to remain part of Turkey during the War of Independence.

The exhibition consequently displays Edirne as a Turkish and a Muslim city. Its multiculturalism that is so much highlighted in other contexts is not

²² Cf. <http://www.edirnekentmuzesi.com/tr/>, last accessed 22 Aug. 2017.

²³ Cf. the press release of Edirne Municipality: <http://www.edirne.bel.tr/edirne-kent-muzesi-nekavustu/10816/> as well as the newsclip: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGWXeSwoWSE>, both last accessed 22 Aug. 2017.

taken up in the museum; on the contrary, foreigners appear only in their role as invaders – from the Crusaders, who captured the city in the course of the Fourth Crusade, to the modern Greek state, which occupied the city from 1920 to 1922. The Roma are acknowledged for their musical tradition as the only ethnically non-Turkish group.

The topos of the Ottoman Empire as a welcoming host for various religious and ethnic communities in Edirne is also celebrated in places other than the City Museum. One of them is the former Grand Synagogue of Edirne (*Edirne Büyük Sinagogu*), which was put under the auspices of the Regional Directorate of Foundations of Edirne (Edirne Vakıflar Bölge Müdürlüğü)²⁴ in 2007 and was thoroughly renovated from 2010 to 2014. In May 2014, a noteworthy Jewish wedding ceremony was hosted in the synagogue in the presence of “1,000 guests, the majority members of the Jewish community in Istanbul and guests from other cities and abroad.”²⁵ The synagogue had been built in 1905 and stopped functioning in 1983, when nearly all Jews had left Edirne.²⁶ Afterward, the building was completely neglected and its substance deteriorated behind shut fences. Remarkable is not only the scope of the wedding event, but also the fact that Recep Gürkan, since 2014 the mayor of Edirne, “officiated” at it, while the governor of Edirne province and the “local director of the state-run Foundations Directorate that oversaw the restoration of the synagogue, acted as witnesses.” The newspaper *Daily Sabah* continues its report: “Two chazzans recited anoten, a traditional prayer dating back to Sephardic Jews’ arrival in Istanbul after fleeing Spain in the 15th century.” Explaining this choice, it declares that the “prayer, an expression of gratitude to Ottoman sultans offering the community shelter, was recited in the name of Turkey’s current leader, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan,” and it concludes the promotional article with the remark: “Turkey’s Jewish population stands at 20,000, according to unconfirmed figures. The Jewish community *found a haven of tolerance in the Ottoman Empire* for centuries after the conquest of Byzantine cities by the Ottomans.”²⁷ Obviously, it is of special concern to highlight the welcoming

²⁴ For the role of this institution in heritage preservation, cf. Riedler, Florian: The Resurrection of Edirne’s New Imperial Palace as National Heritage, in this volume.

²⁵ Cf. <https://www.dailysabah.com/minorities/2016/05/29/jewish-wedding-in-restored-edirne-synagogue-a-sign-of-changing-times>, last accessed 17 Aug. 2017. It was the first ceremony of that kind since the reopening of the renovated synagogue in 2015, <https://www.dailysabah.com/minorities/2016/05/14/a-wedding-41-years-in-the-making-to-be-held-at-edirne-synagogue>, last accessed 17 Aug. 2017.

²⁶ Pekesen, Berna: Escaping Edirne. Causes, Context, and Historiography of the Anti-Jewish Pogrom in 1934, in this volume.

²⁷ Emphasis added.

attitude of Turkey and the historical depth of its diversity policy. Apart from this high-level event, exhibitions of sorts are displayed in the synagogue, which has become an established and well-protected tourist spot.



(a)



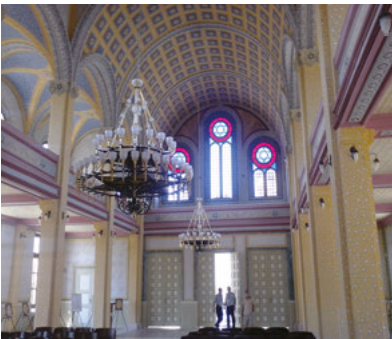
(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Fig. 5a–e: Synagogue.

Both venues, the City Museum and the Synagogue, attest to the importance that history has gained in recent years for the city's self-understanding and

self-marketing. The different versions of history they stand for are presented at different sites to different audiences. As historical buildings, Edirne's defunct synagogue and the restored Ottoman mansion constructed in the late nineteenth century provide their historical aura to authenticate the different messages that the institutions these buildings now house try to convey. How strong the appeal of historical authenticity in the contemporary context has become is demonstrated by our last example, which brings us back to Sarayı, where an as yet unrealized project allows us a glimpse into the near future.

4 The Ottoman Façade of Urban Modernization

Visitors to the 2017 Kırkpınar wrestling tournament were offered a promotional flyer in Turkish that corresponded to posters hung up around the stadium announcing that the Kırkpınar festival arena would be renewed right after the games. Built in the middle of the 1980s in a brutalist and functional style, in the meantime, many components of the facility have turned out to be insufficient for the constantly rising number of participating oil wrestlers, staff, media people, and spectators. After three decades of use and due to increasing demands, the whole construction urgently needs renovation as well as enhanced technical possibilities, e.g. for a state-of-the-art mediatization of the event and sanitary installations. Two sets of information were revealed about the plans: (i) the modernization of the infrastructure of the stadium and (ii) its embellishment in a postmodern fashion. The Minister for Youth and Sport, Akif Çağatay Kılıç, who was prominently present in the 2016 and 2017 competition (but was dismissed soon afterwards) personally announced these plans in a short welcoming address. It stated that his ministry would spend “a huge budget of 45 million” Turkish Lira (more than 10 million euros at that time) from for a rightly “superior venue” (*üstün bir tesis*) that “will be at the *service of the whole of our nation*.” The new stadium “we will acquire for our sport and our youth in our Edirne in addition to [its service to] city tourism.”²⁸

The sociologist Gabriele Klein depicts the city as the “microscope of the modern society,” furthermore as the “space for the production, staging, and re-

²⁸ Emphasis added. If not otherwise indicated these and the following translations are taken from the mentioned flyer. The minister was present in person and was presented with a colored portrait photo in the flyer as well as on a large greeting poster hung up inside the arena.

presentation of power,” hence as the ultimate “stage of power.”²⁹ The oil wrestling stadium in Edirne has definitely turned into such an important stage not merely for local and regional politics, but also for strategic national decisions and their orchestration in public space. Obviously, such a national purpose legitimizes the projected costs.

Two small maps in the flyer indicate that the open-sky lawn will remain enclosed by four walls and that the structure will keep its trapezoid ground plan. However, a caveat is due when looking at the few visuals and text presentations in the flyer: only a certain part of the new complex has been revealed to the public, but most parts and the exact texture of the diverse functional elements and the wider landscape context are withheld.³⁰ Hence, our assumptions can only be very tentative and preliminary. Although the announcements strongly emphasize functional improvements, what is centrally shown in the form of digital projections is not, for instance, modernized showers, the tower for referees and press people, the refurbished VIP lounge, or construction details of the new two-story structure, but primarily the front design of the façade.

All five digital visualizations of the future building – more precisely, its front wall as presented in the flyer and on the wide-spanning posters at the 2017 Kırkpınar Festival – focus completely on this signboard façade that seems to be of heightened importance. The new pride develops from two main vistas: the direct view of the complete main front and – looked at from varying angles – the VIP entrance where the protocol cars line up. Obviously, the architectural shaping of this particular wall is regarded as the most suitable showcase component to demonstrate how “the Field of Men is renewed in accordance with its historical identity” (*Er Meydanı tarihi kimliğine uygun olarak yenileniyor*). The flyer explains the restoring of this identity by announcing that “*the architectural style of Edirne Palace will be continued* on the level of design as it is visible in the Inner Garden (*Has Bahçe*) of the Palace where the *Er Meydanı* is

²⁹ Klein, Gabriele: Urbane Bewegungskulturen. Zum Verhältnis von Sport, Stadt und Kultur, in: Jürgen Funke-Wieneke and Gabriele Klein (eds.): *Bewegungsraum und Stadtkultur. Sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven*, Bielefeld 2008, pp. 13–30, here p. 15.

³⁰ There is no proper visualization of how “the system to cover the roof will be made with a modern method fitting the traditional architecture.” It seems that they opt for tribunes and other structures roofed by white tent-structures to protect visitors from the glaring sun, as are widely known from the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. However, tents definitely belong to the Ottoman heritage and its Asian predecessors, see Ashley Dimmig: *Fabricating a New Image. Imperial Tents in the Late Ottoman Period*, in: Christiane Gruber (ed.): *Islamic Architecture on the Move. Motion and Modernity*, Bristol and Chicago 2016, pp. 101–133.

located.”³¹ It seems that the oil wrestling stadium is supposed to take over decisive representative functions from the (former, mostly vanished) palace, whose remnants are located mainly outside the island – if not to function in the future as the main rallying point of identitarian concern. However, this may not be what the archaeologist Mustafa Özer, who headed the excavation process, had in mind when he announced, “The Edirne Palace will ultimately return to the days of its magnificent past.”³²



Fig. 6: Announcement banner.

Exactly what kind of historical *identity* and manner of renewal that might be deserves some analysis. The main difference seems to be that the older, modernist stadium wards off glances from the outside and directs most attention to the inside. In contrast, the new wall and building seems to be in many ways *visually open-worked* and *related to the outskirts* by means of:

- a series of windows or glass doors that even touch the ground,
- the showcase wall whose extended roof provides shade so that people can promenade along its arcade walkway,
- a number of thin columns that bear ornamental arches in two modes of optical wingspread,

³¹ Emphasis added.

³² Özer, Mustafa: *The Ottoman Imperial Palace in Edirne* (Saray-i Cedid-i Amire). *A Brief Introduction*, Istanbul 2014, p. 87.

- the newly designed central entrance (although it is unclear which exact components of the building it leads to, but the flyer promises “many new uses like museum spaces,” thus providing “a contribution to our Edirne’s tourism also outside the week of activity has been planned to be interesting for visitors for the whole year”),³³ and
- to the right, a smaller, but still prominently accentuated main portal for protocol VIPs.

Architecturally, the whole façade is perplexing in many ways: first, the created ambience would hardly invite an exhausted oil wrestler to sit down there, pressing his back onto the wall, as often happens especially at the rear of the arena. Rather, one would expect members of the leisure classes to walk through, but not any of the over 2,000 half-naked oil wrestlers. The most frequent spontaneous reaction of Turks who were asked to comment on the flyer was: A hotel! Although that will definitely not be the case in this building, the arena expresses an air of conspicuous consumption, a perception confirmed by media reports about developing Sarayıçi and the wider area. This potential capitalistic turn as expressed in a forceful aesthetic design initiative would, furthermore, make it possible to transform Sarayıçi from a place of dramatic fatal events and painful war memory to a site of hedonistic splendor and leisure. The mixed history allows for both narratives.

The new architectural entity will be a highly hybrid construct. It will consist of certain components that can be deciphered as belonging to different historical and cultural registers: the arches and columns have an Oriental/Islamic appeal; the main entrance even bears the outward shape of a prayer niche (*mihrab*). More likely, it eclectically cites Andalusian or generic Islamic architecture. However, the generic Oriental style does not represent the sacral type, and therefore there are none of the domes that are the ubiquitous architectural marker of Neo-Ottoman mosque buildings. Rather, in accordance with its location in Sarayıçi, it assembles components of leisure gardens and Ottoman palace architecture. The colonnades seem to have been adopted from Istanbul waterside palaces of the 18th and 19th centuries that display different influences ranging from Isfahan to Versailles.³⁴ The vanished nearby example of the

³³ The Kirkpınar House cannot count as a small museum, cf. p. 258 in this volume.

³⁴ On the scholarly discussion around these stylistic influences, cf. Hamadeh, Shirine: Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the “Inevitable” Question of Westernization, in: *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 (2004): pp. 32–51; Peker, Ali Uzay: Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul, in: *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26 (2002), pp. 139–163; Saner, Turgut: Foreign Styles as Friendly Forms in Late Ottoman Art: in: Eckhard Leuschner and Thomas Wunsch (eds.): *Das Bild des*

Belvedere (*Cihannümâ Kasrı*, literally World Presentation Castle), the palace's central tower with the iconic umbrella-shaped roof that was built by Mehmed II, seems to have been taken up in the elevated tower-like part of the stadium that rises above its central entrance. However, unlike *Cihannümâ Kasrı*, it is crowned with a great rectangular building block with a flat roof that reminds one a waterside villa (*yalı*) with its row of panoramic windows. Although its function is not indicated, it could serve like the *Cihannümâ Kasrı* as a visitors' platform to offer a view of the surroundings and the nearby city, possibly providing space for a restaurant. The fusion of an imperial shape with a bourgeois format conveys a sort of democratization of courtly pleasures, if not for everybody, then for those who can afford it.

A tourist flyer prepared by the ETSO (Edirne Chamber of Commerce and Industry) labels Edirne "The City of Sultans, the Sultan of Cities" (*Sultanların Şehri, Şehirlerin Sultanı Edirne*). The slogan is frequent also in other publications and, e.g., restaurant offers. On the field of gastronomy tourist managers have attempted to revive the Ottoman past also by recreating Ottoman palace cuisine.³⁵ People rightly sense that the beautification efforts in Sarayıçi as the former Palace Garden may have something to do with capitalism. The emblem of the Ministry for Youth and Sports that is twice inserted in the arena flyer bears the formula "For a strong Turkey" (*Güçlü Türkiye için*), which can be understood in a double sense. Those in charge of the planning have undertaken efforts not to produce merely an exchangeable global *non-lieu* that could be built just anywhere; rather, the history that is spruced up in Kırkpınar is carefully chosen.³⁶

We are now getting closer to grasping the kind of Neo-Ottomanism at play in Edirne: it is presented as a peaceful lifestyle version that does not follow up on the massive buildings of classical imperial architecture. Instead it offers a modern version of palace architecture that is local and at the same time fits

Feindes. Konstruktion von Antagonismen und Kulturtransfer im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege; Ostmitteleuropa, Italien und Osmanisches Reich, Berlin 2013, pp. 295–302.

³⁵ "Lost Ottoman dishes see the light of day at Edirne restaurant," Daily Sabah, 1. Jan. 2019, <https://www.dailysabah.com/food/2019/01/02/lost-ottoman-dishes-see-the-light-of-day-at-edirne-restaurant>, last accessed 20 Mar. 2019.

³⁶ For instance, any reference to the many old Greek stone arenas, once widespread even in Anatolia, seems to be out of discussion for their identitarian trajectory. As an example of those facilities, see <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/ancient-stadium-in-denizli-under-restoration.aspx?pageID=238&nID=116945&NewsCatID=375>, last accessed 21 Aug. 2017. At any rate, President Erdoğan has expressed his aversion to the term *arena* and advocates the use of *stadyum*, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogandan-son-dakika-arena-aciklamasi-40470970>, last accessed 27 Aug. 2017.

into the international framework created by tourism that is always connected to the evocation of the Ottoman past.

5 Conclusion

Edirne strives hard to overcome the days of slow-paced provincialism. Locals are embarrassed that the city seems to make international headlines only when trucks gets severely stuck at the border, migrants drown in borderland rivers or the president of the World Bank Paul Wolfowitz reveals two large holes in his socks when he had to take off his shoes in the Selimiye Mosque in 2007. Especially in the last decade, time has come in Edirne for the rich remnants of the Ottoman period to be revalued and successfully used as building blocks – and as stage props – for all sorts of projects to rewire Edirne on national and global scales. The dual motors of tourism (prospects) and Neo-Ottoman nationalism have led to a revalorization of the city's abundant Ottoman heritage. However, Neo-Ottomanism is too broad as a concept of analysis and in the future should be differentiated into various categories, a task that cannot be taken up here. As our crystal ball gaze into Edirne's future shows, the historical cultural reservoir is not merely used retrospectively, but also highlights certain signals that indicate religious, cultural, and ethnic inclusion beyond hypernationalism. Obviously, Edirne is expected to become more *en vogue* on a decisively larger and more lucrative scale. The multiple ways it is being dolled up may not appeal to everyone, but the planners and aesthetic workers have surely made their calculations.

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Image Credits

Acknowledgements

- Fig. 1** Ottoman and modern Edirne with the principal monuments mentioned in the book. Map adapted and redrawn by Florian Riedler from the Plan d'Adrianople 1854 par Osmont, Armee Française d'Orient as reproduced in Yerolympos, Alexandra: A Contribution to the Topography of 19th Century Adrianople, in: *Balkan Studies* 34.1 (1993), p. 67 — **XIII**

The Formation of Early Ottoman Urban Space. Edirne as Paradigm

- Fig. 1** 1854 map showing the relation between Edirne and its rivers, the medieval fortification as the historical core of the city, as well as the principal monuments of early Ottoman Edirne: 1) the first palace, 2) Old Bedesten, 3) Imaret of Bayezit, 4) Old Mosque (Eski Cami), and 5) New Bedesten. Map adapted and redrawn by Florian Riedler from the Plan d'Adrianople 1854 par Osmont, Armee Française d'Orient as reproduced in Yerolympos, Alexandra: A Contribution to the Topography of 19th Century Adrianople, in: *Balkan Studies* 34.1 (1993), p. 67 — **57**
- Fig. 2** The walled section of Edirne and the surviving paths of the original Roman grid. Streets number 3 and 5 are what is visible from the Roman cardo-decumanus system. Image from Yerolympos, Adrianople, p. 69 — **58**
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Challenging the Hagia Sophia. The Selimiye Mosque in Edirne as Ottoman Empire Branding

- Fig. 1** Plan of the Selimiye Complex: 1. Mosque, 2. Madrasa (hadith college), 3. Madrasa (Koran recitation school), 4. Elementary School, 5. Arasta. Drawing: Arben N. Arapi. Copyright/Source: Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 239, fig. 209 — **103**

- Fig. 2** Selimiye Mosque, northern portal and court. Photo: Reha Günay. Copyright/Source: Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 245, fig. 216 — **104**
- Fig. 3** Selimiye Mosque, west façade. Photo: Reha Günay. Copyright/Source: Necipoğlu, Gülru: *The Age of Sinan. Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2005/2011 (2nd ed.), p. 243, fig. 214 — **104**
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