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THE EVRENOS DYNASTY OF YENİCE-İ VARDAR:
A POSTSCRIPT

Heath W. LOWRY* & İsmail E. ERÜNSAL**

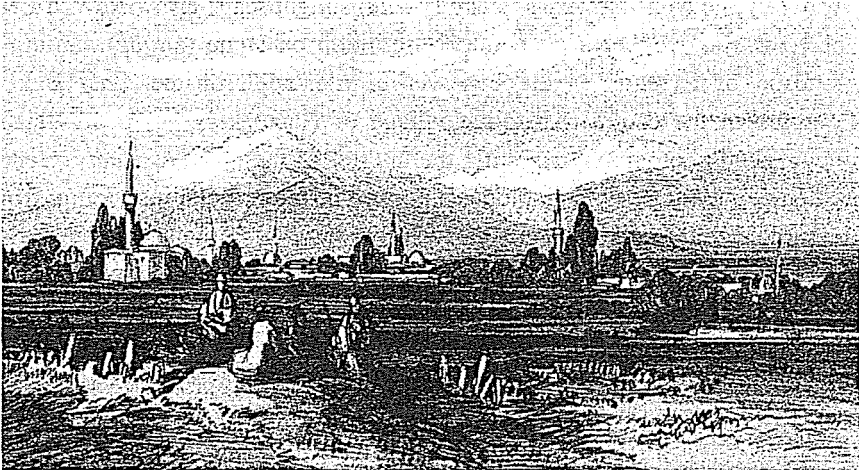


Plate I.: Edward Lear's: 'Yiannitsa' [September 13, 1848]¹

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¹ Edward Lear: *Edward Lear in Greece: Journals of a Landscape Painter in Greece and Albania*. London (William Kimber), 1965 [Hereafter: Lear, 1965]. Plate I [above] follows p. 33. The full text of Lear's account of his visit to Yenice-i Vardar ('Yiannitsa') on September 13-14, 1848 is given in APPENDIX I.

In Volume XXXII of *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, we presented a series of newly-discovered documents, inscriptions on stone and family photographs relating to the Evrenosoğulları Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa), in central Macedonia.² Our intent was to make available to the scholarly community a corpus of theretofore largely unknown materials, including a rare late 17th century family tree (*aile şeceresi*), and a series of photographs of no longer extant inscriptions from the *türbe* (mausoleum) of the dynasty's founder, *Hacı Evrenos*.

Since the appearance of this article, a number of items of additional interest have come to our attention: a) a water color painting of Yenice-i Vardar by the well-known 19th century English landscape artist Edward Lear [PLATE I above]; b) a dedicatory inscription on stone (*kitabe*) naming a grandson of Evrenos as the endower of a portion of the *Hacı Bektaş* Complex in the central Anatolian village of Hacıbektaş;³ c) a previously unpublished photograph, depicting the interior of the *türbe* of *Hacı Evrenos* in Yenice-i Vardar, which includes a portion of the original inscription from the sarcophagus itself;⁴ d) a rare early 20th century photograph of the exterior

² Heath W. Lowry & İsmail E. Erünsal: "The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar: Notes & Documents on *Hacı Evrenos* and the Evrenosoğulları: A Newly-Discovered Late 17th Century *Şecere* (Genealogical Tree), Seven Inscriptions on Stone & Family Photographs," in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları [The Journal of Ottoman Studies]*, Volume XXXII. İstanbul, 2008, pp. 9-192 [Hereafter: Lowry/Erünsal, 2008]. In this study, unlike in Lowry/Erünsal, 2008, we have written the towns name as: Yenice-i Vardar (rather than as Yenice Vardar), in keeping with the manner it appears in the 16th century documents.

³ For this inscription we are indebted to the valuable PhD Dissertation authored by: E. Zeynep Yürekli- Görkay entitled: *Legend and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire: The Shrines of Seyyid Gazi and Hacı Bektaş*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation (Harvard University), 2005 [Hereafter: Yürekli-Görkay, 2005].

⁴ This photograph was supplied to the authors by Özer Gazievrenosoğlu, a descendant of Evrenos' son İki Yürekli Ali Beg. It is from the collection of another descendant of Ali Beg, a Mr. Atilla Evrenosoğlu. We are grateful to both these gentlemen for permission to publish this photograph.

of the *Hacı Evrenos Türbesi* (mausoleum) in Yenice-i Vardar;⁵ e) a second *aille şeceresi* (genealogical tree) which, while appearing to have been drawn up in the late 19th century, provides a useful supplement to the 17th century family tree published in our 2008 article;⁶ f) a photograph dated 1916 which shows the *Mezâr-i Şerif* (Noble Burial Ground) of the Evrenosoğulları in Yenice-i Vardar;⁷ g) a photograph of ca. 1912 which seemingly depicts the interior of the *Hacı Evrenos Medrese* in Yenice-i Vardar;⁸ h) two ca. 1960 photographs showing the exterior of a no longer extant *medrese* (theological seminary) in Yenice-i Vardar; and, i) a photograph of a no longer extant *minare* (minaret) of an unidentified mosque.⁹

The present 'Postscript' is designed to present these newly discovered sources as a supplement to the items published in our earlier study. They are analyzed in light of information on the town of Yenice-i Vardar and the *vakıfs* (pious foundations) established by Evrenos Beg and his descendants found in five previously unpublished Ottoman tax registers (*tahrir defters*),

⁵ This photograph was reproduced in a recent city guide: *Giannitsa: City Guide*. Giannitsa, 2009. p. 33. This work was published by Eleni Pismisi, President of the Municipal Corporation for Multilateral Development of Giannitsa [DEBAG], with historical text by Panos Theodoridis [Hereafter: Giannitsa, 2009].

⁶ A copy of this family tree was supplied to Heath Lowry by Özer Gazievrenosoğlu, who relates its history as follows: The original is in the İstanbul *Başbakanlık Arşivi*, where it was discovered by a family member who at one time worked in the Prime Ministry as the *Başbakanlık Neşriyat ve Müdevvenat Umum Müdür Muavini*: Şerif Mustafa İskender Evrenosoğlu. He in turn gave a transcription/copy of it (in the modern Turkish alphabet) to family members from the Bursa branch of the Evrenosoğulları, among whom was the late Semiha Burç Hanım, who, in turn provided a copy to Özer Gazievrenosoğlu in 1995. The photocopy of the original Ottoman script version was recently given to Özer Bey by Atilla Evrenosoğlu, a descendant of Şerif Mustafa İskender Evrenosoğlu [Hereafter: *Başbakanlık Arşivi: Evrenos Family Tree*].

⁷ This photograph was reproduced in Giannitsa, 2009: p. 48. See also: Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 40-41.

⁸ This photograph was reproduced in Giannitsa, 2009: p. 38. See: Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 187-188.

⁹ This photograph was reproduced in Giannitsa, 2009: p. 32.

which were compiled in the first half of the 16th century.¹⁰ Should additional material come to our attention in the future, it too will be published in the interest of presenting as complete a corpus as possible of items relating to the Evrenos Dynasty and to the city they built and administered for over half a millennia.

¹⁰

The only previous attempt to use a part of this material is found in the unpublished M.A. Thesis of Ümit Kılıç: *Yenice-i Vardar Kazası (1520-1556)* [The District of Yenice-i Vardar (1520-1556)]. Atatürk Üniversitesi: Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı. Erzurum, 1998 [Hereafter: Kılıç, 1998]. For our purposes this work is of limited value as many of the figures and readings suggested by the author are incorrect and incomplete. However, on the issue of dating the three undated registers which he used, Kılıç (on the basis of identifying persons named in them) has correctly (in our opinion) pinpointed the dating of two of them. We have consulted a total of five of these registers, all of which are preserved in the Prime Ministry Archives (*Başbakanlık Arşivi*) in İstanbul. They include: a) *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70* (an *icmal* register), drawn up in h. 925 (1519) [Hereafter: *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70 (1519)*]. This register was not utilized by: Kılıç, 1998. While providing a complete list of the villages attached to the *vakf* of Evrenos Beg [APPENDIX III], this register does not give a breakdown for the town of Yenice-i Vardar itself and consequently is of limited value for our purposes; b) a dated (1530) *icmal* (summary) register published as: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü: *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530)*. Cilt I.: Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım. Ankara, 2003. p. 127 [Hereafter: *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 167 (1530)*]. This register was likewise not utilized by Kılıç, 1998 [See: TABLE I & APPENDIX II]; c) *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 424*, a *mufassal* (detailed) register [TABLE II], which while undated, clearly dates to the reign of Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566), and provides figures identical to those given in *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 167(1530)*, i.e., it appears to be the 'detailed' register from which the figures given in that 'summary' register were extracted [Hereafter: *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 424 (ca. 1530)*]. Compare the figures given in TABLE I & APPENDIX II from *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 167 (1530)*, with those from *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 424 (ca. 1530)* which are given in TABLE II. This register was incorrectly dated by Kılıç, 1998: pp. 2-3 to ca. 1520; d) *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 433*, an undated *mufassal* (detailed) register, which appears to date to the early 1540s [Hereafter: *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No 433 (ca. 1540)*]. This register was correctly dated by Kılıç, 1998: p. 3 [TABLE III]; and, e) *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 723*, likewise an undated *mufassal* (detailed) register, which from internal evidence appears to have been drawn up in the mid-1550s [Hereafter: *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 723 (ca. 1555)*]. This survey was correctly dated in Kılıç, 1998: p. 3 & incorrectly dated in *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 167(1530)*: p. 9 to h. 1022 (February 21, 1613-February 10, 1614) [TABLE IV].

Finally, we have included the complete texts, and, translations of three additional traveler accounts: a) that provided by the English landscape artist Edward Lear who visited Yenice-i Vardar on September 13, 1848 [See: **APPENDIX I**]; b) the Ottoman traveler Âşık Mehmed, who spent three days in the town in the summer of 1586 [See: **APPENDIX V**]; and, c) that of Tahsin Uzer, who served as the Acting *Kaymakam Vekili* (Sub-Provincial Governor) of Yenice-i Vardar, in the opening years of the 20th century [See: **APPENDIX VI**]. These three descriptions, together with that of the 17th century traveler Evliyâ Çelebi, which we published in our earlier study,¹¹ are among the most valuable of the surviving Ottoman era descriptions of the home base of the Evrenosoğlu dynasty.

The Evrenosoğullari & Yenice-i Vardar: An Unbreakable Chain

To separate the descendants of *Hacı* Evrenos from Yenice-i Vardar, the town they created, and its surrounding regions (from Kara Verya/Veria to the south and Avrat Hisar to the north, and from Vodina/Edessa to the west and Selânîk to the southwest), is an impossible task. No better proof of this assertion may be advanced than that gained from an examination of the physical structure of the town as it existed a century after the patriarch's death. In 1530, an Ottoman tax register (*tahrir defter*) establishes that the town of Yenice-i Vardar was comprised of nineteen (19) *mahalles* (quarters).¹² Of these, eighteen (18) were occupied by Muslims who collectively accounted for 497 households (*hanes*), or approximately 2,485 residents. The nineteenth quarter (*maḥalle*) was made up of 24 households (*hanes*) of Christians, who accounted for the remaining 120 inhabitants. Stated differently, the population numbered approximately 2,605 inhabitants,

¹¹ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 163-183 (Appendix I).

¹² Hereafter: *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 167 (1530)*: p. 127.

of whom 95.39% were Muslims, and the remaining 4.61% were Christians [See: TABLES I & II following pages & APPENDIX III].¹³

If this fact alone were not sufficient to establish the fact that Yenice-i Vardar was indeed a creation of *Hacı Evrenos*, two other lines of argument may be advanced which do so: First, is the fact that even today, the remains of a large number of architectural monuments constructed between the area's initial conquest in ca. 1384¹⁴ and 1530, the date the aforementioned tax register was compiled, are extant; and, second, is the testimony of the *tahrir defter* itself which establishes that a century-and-a-half after the region had been incorporated into the expanding Ottoman polity, it was clearly the preserve of the descendants of *Hacı Evrenos*, i.e., the *Evrenosoğulları* (sons of Evrenos).

The first line of argument was initially presented in Heath Lowry's 2008 study entitled *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*,¹⁵ and in the Lowry/Erünsal study on the *Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice Vardar*,¹⁶ which appeared later that year. Together these two works showed that no less than nine monuments constructed between 1384 and 1530 are partially or wholly preserved in Yenice-i Vardar today.

¹³ The population figures extracted in this passage are based upon the commonly utilized multiplier of five (5) residents per *hane* (household).

¹⁴ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı: "Evrenos," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 4. İstanbul, 1964. p. 415; Machiel Kiel: "Yenice-i Vardar (Vardar Yenicesi - Giannitsa): A Forgotten Turkish Cultural Centre in Macedonia of the 15th and 16th Century," in *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica*. Volume 3 (Leiden, 1971), pp. 300-329 [Hereafter: Kiel, 1971].

¹⁵ Heath W. Lowry: *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*. İstanbul (Bahçeşehir University Press), 2008 [Hereafter: Lowry, 2008].

¹⁶ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008.

TABLE I.: The Town of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) In H. 937 (August 25, 1530 –August 15, 1531) As Presented in *Tapu-Tahrir Defter* #167¹⁷

#	Quarter Name (<i>Mahalles</i>):	<i>Hane</i> [H.Holds]	<i>Mücerred</i> [Bachelor]	Exempt Households [<i>Hanes</i>]
	<i>Kazâ-i Yenice-i Vardar</i> [County of Yenice-i Vardar]			
	<i>Nefs-i Yenice-i Vardar</i> [Inhabitants of Yenice-i Vardar]			
	<i>Müslümânân</i> [Muslims]			
1	<i>Mahalle-i 'Isâ Beg*</i> ¹⁸	30 + 3 = 33	5	2 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption] 1 [<i>pîr-i fânî</i> = old man]
2	<i>Mahalle-i Ya'kûb Beg*</i>	38 + 3 = 41	6	3 [<i>akıncı</i> = raider; light cavalry]
3	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Mustafâ</i>	15 + 4 = 19	4	2 [<i>ehl-i berât ve hatîb</i> = holder of exemption & preacher] 2 [<i>akıncı</i> = raider; light cavalry]
4	<i>Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hâcî Lala</i>	41	11	
5	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Resûl</i>	18 + 2 = 20	5	1 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption] 1 [<i>akıncı</i> = raider; light cavalry]
6	<i>Mahalle-i Zâviye-i 'Isâ Beg*</i>	27 + 2 = 29	2	2 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption]
7	<i>Mahalle-i Câmî'-i Evrenos Beg*</i>	40 + 3 = 43	4	2 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption] 1 [<i>sipahizade</i> = son of a cavalryman]
8	<i>Mahalle-i Hızır Beg*</i>	33 + 2 = 35	5	1 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption] 1 [<i>akıncı</i> = raider; light cavalry]
9	<i>Mahalle-i Tabbâğân</i> [tabi-i Câmî'i]	11 + 1 = 12	8	1 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption]
10	<i>Mahalle-i 'Alî Beg*</i>	22 + 2 = 24	11	2 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption]

¹⁷ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter* No.167 (1530): p. 127.¹⁸ * = Quarters in the town bearing the names of members of the Evrenosoğulları.

11	<i>Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg*</i>	45 + 2 = 47 13		1 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption] 1 [<i>akıncı</i> = raider; light cavalry] 13 [<i>'utekâ</i> = emancipated slaves]
12	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Uğurlu</i>	11 + 2 = 13	5	2 [<i>akıncı</i> = raider; light cavalry]
13	<i>Mahalle-i Mehmed Beg veled-i Hızır Beg*</i>	20 + 1 = 21		1 [<i>müezzin</i> = muezzin in a mosque]
14	<i>Mahalle-i Hüseyin [Beg]*</i>	14		
15	<i>Mahalle-i Şehre-küsti</i>	20 + 1 = 21		1 [<i>ehl-i berât/müezzin</i>]
16	<i>Mahalle-i Dâvud Beg*</i>	30 + 1 = 31	2	1 [<i>pîr-i müflis</i> = penniless old man]
17	<i>Mahalle-i Hüseyin [Beg] nam-i diğêr Çınar*</i>	16	8	
18	<i>Mahalle-i 'Acem Kâdî</i>	20 + 5 = 25	2	3 [<i>ehl-i berât</i> = holder of exemption] 2 [<i>akıncı</i> = raider; light cavalry]
19	<i>Mahalle-i Gebran-i der Yenice</i>	24		
	<i>Yekân [Totals]:</i>			
	<i>Müslümanan Hane:</i>	451[498] ¹⁹		
	<i>Mücerred:</i>		88 [78]	
	<i>pîr-i fânî:</i>		2	
	<i>Sipahizâde:</i>		1	
	<i>ehl-i berat ve hatîb ve müezzin:</i>		20 [19]	
	<i>akıncı:</i>		12	
	<i>'utekâ:</i>		13	
	<i>Gebran:</i>			
	<i>Hane:</i>	24		
	<i>Hassa:</i>			20,000 [<i>akçes</i>]
	TOTAL HANES (HOUSEHOLDS):	498 Mus.	+ 24 Chr.	= 522 x 5 = 2,610 INHABITANTS

19

Scribe mistakenly gives the total figure of taxable Muslim households as: 414, rather than 451, the total of the actual number of *hanes* listed in the register + 47 other categories of exempt Muslim households (*'utekâ*, *akıncıs*, *ehl-i berât*, *müezzin*, *hatîb*, *sipahizade*, etc.) = 498 Muslim *hanes* + 24 Christian *hanes* = 522. He also miscounted the *mücerreds* as 88 when only 78 bachelors are listed in the register.

**TABLE II.: The Town Of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa)
in H. 936 (September 5, 1529 – August 24, 1530) As Preserved in
Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 424²⁰**

#	Quarter Name (<i>Mahalles</i>):	<i>Hane</i> [Households]	<i>Mücerredan-i mezkurun</i> [Bachelors]	<i>Veled-i 'Abdullahs</i> [convert <i>hanes</i>]
	<i>Kazâ-i Yenice-i Vardar</i> [Sub-District of Yenice-i Vardar]			
	<i>Nefs-i Yenice</i> [Inhabitants of Yenice]			
	<i>Müslümânân</i> [Muslims]			
1	<i>Mahalle-i 'İsâ Beg el-merhum</i> * ²¹	34	5	5 + 0 = 5
2	<i>Mahalle-i Ya'küb Beg</i> *	41	6	13 + 0 = 13
3	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Mustafâ</i>	19	4	4 + 0 = 4
4	<i>Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hâcî Lala</i>	41	11	16 + 6 = 22
5	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Resûl</i>	20	5	3 + 0 = 3
6	<i>Mahalle-i Zâviye-i 'İsâ Beg</i> *	31	0	9 + 0 = 9
7	<i>Mahalle-i Câmî'-i Evrenos Beg el-merhum</i> *	43	4	10 + 0 = 10
8	<i>Mahalle-i Hızır Beg</i> *	36	5	8 + 3 = 11
9	<i>Mahalle-i Tabbâğân tabi-i Mahalle-i Câmî'i</i>	15	8	1 + 0 = 1
10	<i>Mahalle-i 'Alî Beg</i> *	25	11	5 + 6 = 11
11	<i>Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg</i> *	47	0	15 + 0 = 15
	<i>'Utekâ-i merhum Ahmed Beg bin Evrenos Beg</i>	13	0	9 + 0 = 9
12	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Uğurlu</i>	13	5	6 + 3 = 9
13	<i>Mahalle-i Mehmed Beg veled-i Hızır Beg</i> *	21	0	4 + 0 = 4
14	<i>Mahalle-i Hüseyin [Beg]</i> *	14	0	5 + 0 = 5
15	<i>Mahalle-i Şehre-küsti</i>	10	5	2 + 1 = 3
16	<i>Mahalle-i Dâvud Beg</i> *	33	0	8 + 0 = 8
17	<i>Mahalle-i Hüseyin Beg nam-i diğer Çinar</i> *	16	8	2 + 2 = 4
18	<i>Mahalle-i 'Acem Kâdî</i>	25	7	2 + 0 = 2

²⁰ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter* No. 424 (ca. 1530): pp. 4-12.

²¹ * = Quarters in the town bearing the names of members of the Evrenosoğulları.

19	<i>Gebrans-i nefis 'i Yenice-i Vardar</i>			
	<i>Mahalle-i Eski</i>	24		127 + 21 = 148 = 25.55% +
	TOTALS:	497+24=521	84	
	<i>Yekûm</i> [Total Revenue]:			20,000 <i>akçes</i>
	TOTAL HANES (HOUSEHOLDS):	MUS. 497	+ 24 CHR.	= 521 x 5 = 2,605 Resid.

+ **NOTE:** The fact that 25.55% of the Muslims households (*mücerreds* are not counted here) of Yenice-i Vardar in ca. 1530 were converts to Islam is of interest. It calls into question earlier interpretations which have tended to view this town as a 'Turkish' island in the otherwise overwhelmingly Christian Vardar plain. Clearly, over a century after the towns founding, there were still local Christians opting for the religion of the rulers. The presence of these convert families in virtually every quarter of the town is likewise of interest, suggesting as it does that there was no stigma attached to apostasy. Had that been the case we might expect to have seen the 'new Muslims' grouped together in one section of the town.

These 14th and 15th century remains which are preserved in Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) today include the following sites:

- 1) Sections of the *Câmi '-i Evrenos Beg* (Evrenos Beg Mosque);²²
- 2) Parts of the *Evrenos Beg İmâreti* (Evrenos Beg Soup Kitchen);²³
- 3) *Evrenos Beg Hammâmı* (Evrenos Beg Bathhouse);²⁴
- 4) the *Evrenos Beg Türbesi* (Mausoleum of Evrenos Beg),²⁵ albeit as it was restored at the beginning of the 20th century;
- 5) *İki Yürekli 'Ali Beg Sibyan Mektebi* (Primary School of İki Yürekli 'Ali Beğ);²⁶
- 6) Unknown 15th century *türbe* (mausoleum), which now serves as the Agia Pareskavi Orthodox Church;²⁷
- 7) *Ahmed Beg Câmi* (Ahmet Beg Mosque);²⁸

²² Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 54-67.

²³ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 61-65.

²⁴ Lowry, 2008: pp. 64.

²⁵ Lowry, 2008: pp. 58-663 & Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 67-69, 133-148.

²⁶ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 46-48.

²⁷ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 43-45.

²⁸ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 48-50.

- 8) *Şeyh İlähî Türbesi* (mausoleum of Şeyh İlahi);²⁹
 9) *Ahmed Beg Hammâmı* aka = also known as *Şeyh İlähî Hammâmı*³⁰

Given the paucity of post-1530 Ottoman era remains in today's Giannitsa (Yenice-i Vardar), which consist primarily of an 18th century clock tower built by a descendant of *Hacı Evrenos* named Şerif Ahmed Beg [Evrenosoğlu] in 1754,³¹ plus a late 19th or early 20th century mansion which likewise was built by a member of the family (perhaps: Evrenosoğlu Emin Beg who occupied it in the opening decade of the 20th century) [PLATE II],³² a scattering of late Ottoman administrative buildings and schools, and a number of private homes [PLATE III],³³ it is clear that the built environment of the Ottoman town was primarily constructed by members of the Evrenos family in the first one-hundred-fifty years of the *Tourkokratia*.

²⁹ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 48-50.

³⁰ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 53-54. H. Lowry was recently told by a member of the staff of the Veria (Karaferya) Ephorate, that the remains of a third *hammâm* (bath) had been located in Giannitsa and that they were currently being excavated. As the authors have not had an opportunity to see them they are not included in this list. As Evliyâ Çelebi describes three baths in the town (two of which are standing today: *Evrenos Beg Hammâmı* and the *Ahmed Beg Hammâmı* aka *Şeyh İlähî Hammâmı*), the recently discovered remains must be those of the 15th century bathhouse Evliyâ Çelebi states was likewise built by Ahmed Beg [Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: p. 169].

³¹ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 73-77.

³² This photo is taken from the first edition (2005) of the work by Helen Mavrokefalidou: *Giannitsa: Historical Photographic Album*. Giannitsa, Greece. First Edition, 2005 & Second Edition, 2007 [with changes]. These works are hereafter cited respectively as: Mavrokefalidou, 2005 & Mavrokefalidou, 2007.

³³ Mavrokefalidou, 2005: There are no page numbers provided in this album.

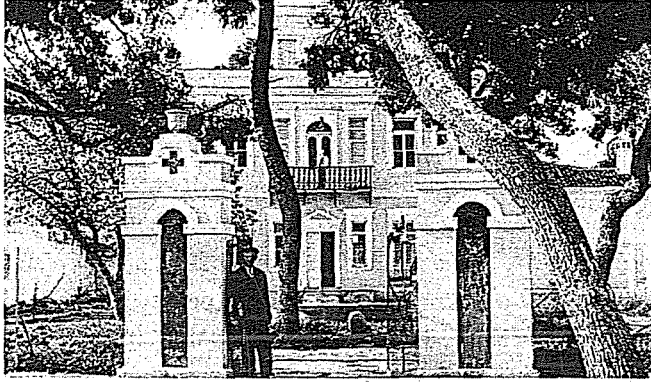


Plate II

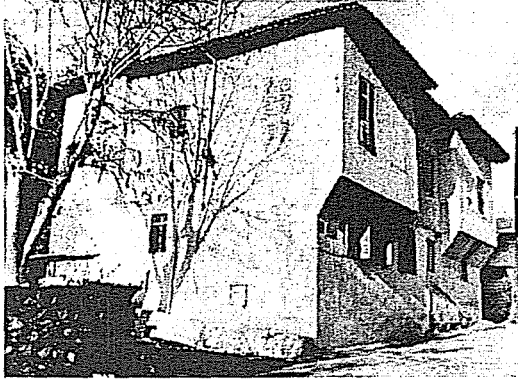


Plate III

Were any doubt to remain as to the role of Evrenos and his descendants in the creation of the town of Yenice-i Vardar and its built environment, they would be laid to rest by the testimony of the surviving corpus of 16th century Ottoman tax registers (*tahrir defters*). As the list of *mahalle* (quarter) names they preserve establish, no less than eleven (11) of the eighteen (18) Muslim districts of the 16th century town bore the names of one or another member of the Evrenos family [Note: each of those so identified are marked with an asterisk = *]:

- 1) *Mahalle-i 'Îsâ Beg* (Quarter of 'Îsâ Beg [a son of *Hacı Evrenos*]) *
- 2) *Mahalle-i Ya'kûb Beg* (Quarter of Ya'kûb Beg [a son of *Hacı Evrenos*]) *
- 3) *Mahalle-i Hâcî Mustafâ* (Quarter of *Hacı Mustafa*)
- 4) *Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hâcî Lala* (Quarter of the Small Mosque of the Pilgrim to Mecca Lala)
- 5) *Mahalle-i Hâcî Resûl* (Quarter of *Hacı Resûl*)
- 6) *Mahalle-i Zâviye-i 'Îsâ Beg* (Quarter of the Dervish Lodge of 'Îsâ Beg [a son of *Hacı Evrenos*]) *
- 7) *Mahalle-i Câmî'-i Evrenos Beg* (Quarter of the Mosque of Evrenos Beg)*
- 8) *Mahalle-i Hızır Beg* (Quarter of Hızır Beg [a son of *Hacı Evrenos*]) *
- 9) *Mahalle-i Tabbâğân [tabi-i Câmî'i]* (Quarter of the Tanneries [which is attached to that of the Mosque])
- 10) *Mahalle-i 'Alî Beg* (Quarter of 'Alî Beg [a son of *Hacı Evrenos*]) *
- 11) *Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg* (Quarter of Ahmed Beg [a grandson of *Hacı Evrenos*, i.e., son of 'Alî Beg]) *
- 12) *Mahalle-i Hâcî Uğurlu* (Quarter of *Hacı Uğurlu*)
- 13) *Mahalle-i Mehmed Beg veled-i Hızır Beg* (Quarter of Mehmed Beg the son of Hızır Beg [a grandson of *Hacı Evrenos*]) *
- 14) *Mahalle-i Hüseyin [Beg]* (Quarter of Hüseyin Beg [a great-grandson of *Hacı Evrenos*, i.e., a grandson of 'Îsâ Beg]) *
- 15) *Mahalle-i Şehre-küsti* (Quarter which turned its back on the city, i.e., in the suburbs)
- 16) *Mahalle-i Dâvud Beg* (Quarter of Dâvud Beg [a grandson of *Hacı Evrenos*, i.e., son of Hızır Beg]) *
- 17) *Mahalle-i Hüseyin [Bey] nam-i diğêr Çinar* (Quarter of Hüseyin Beg – which is also known as the Plane Tree Quarter [a great-grandson of *Hacı Evrenos*, i.e., a grandson of 'Îsâ Beg]) *
- 18) *Mahalle-i 'Acem Kâdî* (Quarter of the Persian Judge)³⁴

³⁴ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No.167 (1530): p. 127.*

In short, the combined testimony of the extant 14th and 15th century architectural remains in Giannitsa, together with the fact that no less than 11 of the 18 Muslim quarters in early 16th century Yenice-i Vardar, or 61% of the town's neighborhoods, were named after family members, conclusively illustrates the degree to which the town was not only a creation of *Hacı Evrenos* and his descendants, but also their preserve.³⁵

The testimony of the extant *tahrirs* (tax registers) in regard to the small Christian element in the town's populace is likewise enlightening. In the 1530 *icmal* (summary) register the twenty-four (24) Christian households (*hanes*) appear under the heading: *Mahalle-i Gebran-i der Yenice* (Quarter of the Unbelievers in Yenice) [TABLE I above],³⁶ which is a rather strange form of notation to see in this type of register. The more common practice would have been to either provide a name for the quarter (*mahalle*) or simply list the small community under the heading: *Cema'at-i Gebran der Yenice* (the Community of the Unbelievers in Yenice). Indeed, when we look at the *mufassal* (detailed) register from which these totals were extracted, we see the twenty-four Christian households listed as: *Gebran-i nef's'i Yenice-i Vardar* (Unbelievers in the Population of Yenice-i Vardar), followed by: *Mahalle-i Eski* (Old Quarter): 24 *hanes* (households) [TABLE III above].³⁷ Seemingly there was some uncertainty on the part of the scribe compiling the summary (*icmal*) register as to just how the 'unbelievers' should be listed. Stated differently, from the manner in which he recorded them it is difficult to discern whether they were in fact living in a specific quarter or whether they were dispersed among the previously listed Muslim *mahalles*?

³⁵ In addition to these 18 Muslim quarters, there was a single unnamed Christian community comprised of 24 households in 1530 [*Tapu-Tahrir Defter No.167 (1530)*: p. 127]. It appears in the register as the: *Mahalle-i Gebran-i der Yenice* (Quarter of the unbelievers in Yenice) [See: TABLE I & APPENDIX II].

³⁶ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No.167 (1530)*: p. 127.

³⁷ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 424 (ca. 1530)*: p. 12.

In the ca. 1540 register [TABLE III following], two separate Christians communities are registered. The are: a) a small community of 6 *hanes* (households) enrolled as the *Gebran-i Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg*, that is, the Unbelievers in the *Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg*, a Muslim quarter named after the grandson of *Hacı Evrenos*; and, b) a larger group of 30 families (*hanes*) who comprised the residents of the town's sole Christian quarter, the *Mahalle-i Atik* (Old or ancient quarter, i.e., that which had appeared in 1530 as the *Mahalle-i Eski* = Old Quarter).³⁸ That this gradual 'communal integration' of the town's Muslims quarters was just the beginning of a trend which continued in the following generation becomes clear when we examine the last of the extant 16th century *mufassal* (detailed) registers providing information on the town [TABLE IV], i.e., that of ca. 1555.³⁹ There, at the end of the list of the town's Muslim quarters and inhabitants, we see the heading: *Gebran* (Unbelievers) followed by five entries reading:

- 1) *'an Mahalle-i Şehre-küsti* ([living] in the Quarter of Şehre Küsti): This community is shown as comprised of 30 *hane* (households) and 8 *mücerred* (bachelors);
- 2) *'an Mahalle-i Hâcî Resûl* (in the Quarter of Hâcî Resûl): 4 *hane* (households) and 2 *mücerred* (bachelors);
- 3) *Mahalle-i 'Alî Beg* (Quarter of 'Alî Beg): 4 *hane* (households) and 4 *mücerred* (bachelors);
- 4) *Mahalle-i Lala* [sic. *Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hâcî Lala*] (Quarter of Lala): 4 *hane* (households) and 2 *mücerred* (bachelors);
- 5) *Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg* (Quarter of Ahmed Beg): 3 *hane* (households) and 2 *mücerred* (bachelors).

³⁸ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 433* (ca. 1540): pp. 931-932.

³⁹ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 723* (ca. 1555): p. 538.

TABLE III.: The Town Of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) in Ca. 1540
As Preserved in *Tapu-Tahrir Defter* No. 433⁴⁰

#	Quarter Name (<i>Mahalles</i>):	<i>Hane</i> [Households]	<i>Mücerredan-i</i> <i>mezkurun</i> [bachelors]	<i>Veled-i</i> <i>'Abdullahs</i> [convert <i>hanes</i>]
	'an Hassa-i Abdi Beg – Mir Liva-i Selânik			
	<i>Nefs-i Yenice-i Vardar</i>			
1	<i>Mahalle-i 'İsâ Beg el-</i> <i>merhum</i> * ⁴¹	53	10	1 + 0 = 1
2	<i>Mahalle-i Ya'kûb Beg*</i>	47	4	4 + 0 = 4
3	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Mustafâ</i>	25	1	1 + 0 = 1
4	<i>Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hâcî Lala</i>	46	7	10 + 0 = 10
5	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Resûl</i>	27	4	4 + 0 = 4
6	<i>Mahalle-i Zâviye-i 'İsâ Beg*</i>	45	2	6 + 0 = 6
7	<i>Mahalle-i Câmî'-i Evrenos</i> <i>Beg el-merhum *</i>	32	1	2 + 0 = 2
8	<i>Mahalle-i Hızır Beg*</i>	45	10	8 + 2 = 10
9	<i>Mahalle-i Tabbâğân</i>	31	4	3 + 0 = 3
10	<i>Mahalle-i 'Alî Beg*</i>	22	6	6 + 2 = 8
11	<i>Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg*</i> Christians: <i>Gebran-i Mahalle-i</i> <i>Ahmed Beg</i> Freed Slaves: <i>'utekâ-i merhum</i> <i>Ahmed Beg bin Evrenos Beg</i>	32 6 6	9 1 0	11 + 0 = 11 2 + 0 = 2
12	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Uğurlu</i>	18	0	1 + 0 = 1
13	<i>Mahalle-i Hüseyin Beg*</i>	12	0	1 + 0 = 1
14	<i>Mahalle-i Şehre-küsti</i>	13	0	3 + 0 = 3
15	<i>Mahalle-i Dâvud Beg*</i>	32	2	6 + 1 = 7
16	<i>Mahalle-i 'Acem Kâdî</i>	26	11	1 + 1 = 2
17	Christians: <i>Mahalle-i Atik</i>	30	0	
18	<i>Mahalle-i Çımarlı der kurb-i</i> <i>Zâviye-i 'İsâ Beg</i> <i>Hidemat-i vakf-ı 'Alî Beg ve</i> <i>Mehmed Beg – 'utekâ-i</i> <i>Mirahor İlyas</i> <i>Hidemat-i vakf-ı Mehmed Beg</i>	22 5 4	1 0 0	2 + 0 = 2 3 + 0 = 3 2 + 0 = 2

⁴⁰ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter* No. 433 (ca. 1540): pp. 925-932. On p. 932 of this register is an entry for a *zeamet* (large fief), which was held by: *Mehmed bin Evrenos – Miralay-i Liva-i Selânik* (Mehmed son of Evrenos, Commander of the *timariots* in Province of Selânik), which shows him with an annual income of 22,738 *akçes*.

⁴¹ * = Quarters in the town bearing the names of members of the Evrenosoğulları.

MUSLIM TOTALS:	543	72	77 + 78 = 150
CHRISTIAN TOTALS:	36	1	
TOTALS:	579	73	77 of 543 Muslim <i>hanes</i> = 14.18%
TOTAL <i>HANES</i> (HOUSEHOLDS):	MUS. 543	+ 36 CHR.	= 579 x 5 = 2,895 Res.

+ NOTE: The fact that 77 of the 579 Muslim households, or 14.18% (bachelors are not counted in this calculation) were converts in ca. 1555 Yenice-i Vardar is of interest. The presence of these convert families in every quarter of the town is likewise of interest. In at least one instance converts to Islam and Christians were in fact occupying the same quarter (*mahalle-i Ahmed Beg*).

TABLE IV.: The Town of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) in Ca. 1555 As Preserved in *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 723*⁴²

#	Quarter Name (<i>Mahalles</i>):	<i>Hane</i> [Households]	<i>Mücerredan-i</i> <i>mezkurun</i> [bachelors]	<i>Veled-i</i> <i>'Abdullahs</i> [convert <i>hanes</i>]
	<i>Nefs-i Yenice-i Vardar</i>			
1	<i>Mahalle-i 'İsâ Beg nam-i diğer Hazine</i> ⁴³	32	8	8 + 1 = 9
	<i>Hidemat-i Zâviyye-i 'İsâ Beg el-merhum</i>	28	0	0 + 0 = 0
2	<i>Mahalle-i Ya'küb Beg*</i>	47	25	15 + 1 = 16
3	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Mustafâ</i>	19	7	4 + 0 = 4
4	<i>Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hâcî Lala</i>	35	18	7 + 2 = 9
5	<i>Mahalle-i Yusuf Beg*</i>	15	0	5 + 0 = 5
6	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Resûl</i>	20	5	8 + 0 = 8
7	<i>Mahalle-i Zâviye-i 'İsâ Beg*</i>	47	8	12 + 1 = 13
8	<i>Mahalle-i Câmî'-i Evrenos Beg*</i>	37	7	6 + 0 = 6
9	<i>Mahalle-i Hızır Beg*</i>	57	31	20 + 1 = 21
10	<i>Mahalle-i</i> [Left Blank: <i>Tabbâğân</i> (?)]	26	10	8 + 4 = 12
11	<i>Mahalle-i 'Alî Beg*</i>	20	11	4 + 0 = 4
12	<i>Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg*</i>	48	31	20 + 1 = 21
13	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Uğurlu</i>	22	8	7 + 1 = 8
14	<i>Mahalle-i Hüseyin Beg*</i>	14	1	3 + 0 = 3
15	<i>Mahalle-i Şehre-küsdî</i>	1	0	1 + 0 = 1

⁴² *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 723* (ca. 1555): pp. 530-539. Two members of the Evrenosoğulları are shown as holding *zeamets* (large fiefs) in this register: a) on p. 24: *Ahmed bin Yusuf Evrenos*; b) on p. 88: *Yusuf bin Evrenos*.

⁴³ * = Quarters in the town bearing the names of members of the Evrenosoğulları.

16	<i>Mahalle-i Dâvud Beg*</i>	30	21	12 + 2 = 14
17	<i>Mahalle-i 'Acem Kâdî</i>	44	10	17 + 0 = 17
18	<i>Mahalle-i Çınarlı der kurb-i ' Îsâ Beg</i>	26	4	11 + 1 = 12
	MUSLIM TOTALS:	568	205	168 + 15 = 183
	<i>Gebran [Unbelievers]:</i>			
15a	<i>'an Mahalle-i Şehre-küsti</i>	30	8	
6a	<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Resûl</i>	4	2	
11a	<i>Mahalle-i 'Ali Beg*</i>	4	4	
4a	<i>Mahalle-i [Mescid-i Hâcî] Lala</i>	4	2	
12a	<i>Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg*</i>	3	2	
	CHRISTIAN TOTALS:	45	18	
	TOTALS:	613	223	168 of 568 Muslim <i>hanes</i> = 29.57%
	TOTAL HANES (HOUSEHOLDS):	MUS. 568	+ 45 CHR.	= 613 x 5 = 3,065 Res.

+ NOTE: The fact that 168 of the 568 Muslim households, or 29.57% (bachelors are not counted in this calculation) were converts in ca. 1555 Yenice-i Vardar is of interest. Clearly, over 175 years after the town was founded, there were still numerous Christians opting for the religion of the rulers. The presence of these convert families in every quarter of the town is likewise of interest, suggesting as it does that there was no stigma attached to apostasy. Had that been the case we might expect to have seen the 'new Muslims' grouped together in one section of the town. To the contrary, in ca. 1555 Yenice-i Vardar Muslims, new converts to Islam and Christians were in fact occupying several of the same neighborhoods.

In short, by ca. 1555, not only had the Christian population almost doubled in size from 24 to 45 *hanes* (households), with an additional 18 adult unmarried males (*mücerreds*), more significantly it appears that it had begun to be integrated with the majority Muslim population. Stated differently, while the normal Ottoman practice in towns and cities with mixed Muslim-Christian (and/or Jewish) inhabitants, generally meant that each communal group lived in their own separate quarters (*mahalles*), in Yenice-i Vardar this does not appear to have been the case.⁴⁴ Rather, we see

⁴⁴ For the more normal practice in other Macedonian towns and cities, see: a) Siros/Serres: Lowry, 2008: pp. 179-188; b) Zihne/Zichni: Lowry, 2008: pp. 212-220; and, c) Selânik/Thessaloniki: Heath W. Lowry: "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478," in *Diptycha*, Volume II (Athens, 1980-1981), pp. 154-293.

that the Christians were scattered among five of the town's Muslim quarters, in only one of which (*Mahalle-i Şehre-küsti*), they were the majority.⁴⁵

Of particular interest in the list of 1530 quarters (*mahalles*) in the town is the appearance of the district known as the: *Mahalle-i Câmi'-i Evrenos Beg* (Quarter of the Mosque of Evrenos Beg). Not only does it confirm the analysis presented in our earlier article as to the actual name of the town's sole mosque,⁴⁶ it likewise establishes the existence of yet another late 14th century monument (albeit in a ruinous state) in Giannitsa today.

Who Were The Convert Muslims of Yenice-i Vardar?

The three detailed (*mufassal*) registers of 1529-1530, ca. 1540 and ca. 1555, provide the names of the adult male residents of the town, and in so doing give us the means of determining which of them were converts to Islam.⁴⁷ As may be seen in TABLE V, the process of apostasy from Christianity to Islam was a fact of life in the first half of 16th century Yenice-i Vardar. The phenomenon of religious conversion has yet to receive the serious study it so clearly warrants.

⁴⁵ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 723 (ca. 1555)*: p. 538.

⁴⁶ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 54-67, where we argued that the remains of the mosque known variously as the: a) *Ahmed Beg Câmii*; b) *İskender Beg Câmii*; and, c) the *Câmi-i Şerif*, are in fact those of the mosque built by the town's founder (Evrenos), and should more properly be called the *Evrenos Beğ Câmii*. Our assessment in this regard is confirmed by the fact that in 1530 the town is shown as possessing a single mosque (*câmi*), which was indeed that built by *Hacı Evrenos* at the end of the 14th century.

⁴⁷ This is determinable by virtue of the fact that converts along with taking a new Muslim proper name, appear in the registers as: *veled-i 'Abdullah* (son of the Slave of God), i.e., with the name 'Abdullah as a patronymic. See: Heath W. Lowry: *Trabzon Şehrinin İslamlaşma ve Türkleşmesi, 1461-1583*. 3rd Edition. İstanbul (Boğaziçi University Press), 2005 [Hereafter: Lowry, 2005], for a detailed discussion of this practice as it is traceable in the 16th century tax registers (*tahrir defter*s) covering the city of Trabzon on the Black Sea coast. For religious conversion in Trabzon, see: Chapter VI., pp. 146-172. An English edition of this work has recently appeared as: *The Islamization and Turkification of the City of Trabzon (Trebizond), 1461-1583*. İstanbul (Isis Press), 2009. pp. xxvii + 237.

TABLE V.: Convert Households (*Hanes*) And Bachelors (*Mücerreds*) Identifiable By The Patronym '*Veled-i 'Abdullah*' (Son Of The Slave Of God) In Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) Between 1529-Ca. 1555

Quarter Name (Mahalles):	1529- 1530 Convert Hanes⁴⁸ H.Holds	1529-30 Convert mücerred Bachelors	ca. 1540 Convert Hanes⁴⁹ H.Holds	ca. 1540 Convert mücerred Bachelors	ca. 1555 Convert Hanes⁵⁰ H.Holds	ca. 1555 Convert mücerred Bachelors
<i>Mahalle-i 'İsâ Beg</i>	5	0	1	0	8	1
<i>Mahalle-i Ya'kûb Beg</i>	13	0	4	0	15	1
<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Mustafâ</i>	4	0	1	0	4	0
<i>Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hâcî Lala</i>	16	6	10	0	7	2
<i>Mahalle-i Yusuf Beg</i>	---	---	---	---	5	0
<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Restîl</i>	3	0	4	0	8	0
<i>Mahalle-i Zâviye-i 'İsâ Beg</i>	9	0	6	0	12	1
<i>Mahalle-i Câmî'-i Evrenos Beg</i>	10	0	2	0	6	0
<i>Mahalle-i Hızır Beg</i>	8	3	8	2	20	1
<i>Mahalle-i Tabbâgân [Tabî-i Câmî'i]</i>	1	0	3	0	8	4
<i>Mahalle-i 'Alî Beg</i>	5	6	6	2	4	0
<i>Mahalle-i Ahmed Beg</i>	15	0	11	0	20	1
<i>'Utekâ-i merhum Ahmed Beg bin Evrenos Beg</i>	9	0	2	0	---	---
<i>Mahalle-i Hâcî Uğurlu</i>	6	3	1	0	7	1
<i>Mahalle-i Mehmed Beg veled-i Hızır Beg</i>	4	0	---	---	---	---
<i>Mahalle-i Hüseyin [Beg]</i>	5	0	1	0	3	0
<i>Mahalle-i Şehre-küsdî</i>	2	1	3	0	1	0
<i>Mahalle-i Dâvud Beg</i>	8	0	6	1	12	2
<i>Mahalle-i Hüseyin [Beg] nam-i diğêr Çınar</i>	2	2	2	0	11	1
<i>Mahalle-i 'Acem Kâdî</i>	2	0	1	1	17	0

⁴⁸ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 424* (ca. 1530): pp. 4-12.

⁴⁹ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 433* (ca. 1540): pp. 925-932.

⁵⁰ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 723* (ca. 1555): pp. 530-539.

<i>Hidemat-i vakf-i 'Ali Beg ve Mehmed Beg – 'utekâ-i Mirahor İlyas</i>	---	---	3	0	---	---
<i>Hidemat-i vakf-i Mehmed Beg</i>	---	---	2	0	---	---
TOTALS IN EACH REGISTER:	127	21	77	6	168	15
% of total Muslim Households:	25.55%		14.18%		29.57%	
% of total Muslim adult unmarried males:		25.00%		8.22%		6.72%

Too date, the most detailed analysis of apostasy in a 16th century Ottoman city is that provided in Heath Lowry's study of the Black Sea port emporia of Trabzon (Trebizond).⁵¹ In that work he demonstrated that no less than 28.60% of Trabzon's 1553 residents were converts, while, a generation later in 1583, the total was 22.57%. The similarity between the figures given in **TABLE V** for conversion in the first half of the 16th century in Yenice-i Vardar, with those seen in Trabzon during the second half of the same century is striking. In both cases the name 'Abdullah appears only once or twice in the registers as a proper name and is used repeatedly as a patronymic. Clearly it was being used as a 'marker' to identify new converts to Islam.

Given the relatively small size of the local Christian community in Yenice-i Vardar, in conjunction with the fact that rather than shrinking in the period under study (as one would expect had its members been converting), it continued to show a normal rate of increase (from 24 households in 1529-1530, to 36 in ca. 1540 and 45 in ca. 1555),⁵² we may be certain that the *veled-i 'Abdullah* converts were not the indigenous Christian residents of the town. Most likely, many of these converts were slaves taken in warfare by successive generations of the Evrenosoğulları, who, throughout the period under study, continued to serve as commanders of the *akıncıs* (light cavalry

⁵¹ Lowry, 2005: pp. 146-172.

⁵² See: **TABLES I-IV** for a detailed breakdown of these figures.

troops), who were responsible not only for raiding (with the requisite reward of human booty in the form of slaves), but also for the actual conquest of much of the Balkans from the mid-14th through the 16th century. As the hereditary leaders of these troops, the descendants of *Hacı Evrenos* were primary beneficiaries of the spoils of war.

That such spoils included a human component is affirmed by the *tahrir defters* under review. Thus, in the survey of 1529-1530, we see a group of thirteen manumitted slaves (*'utekâ*) who were formerly the property of the deceased grandson of Evrenos, [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beg, a son of İkiyürekli 'Ali Beg [see: TABLE I]. While all of these were converts, no less than nine of them appear in the register with Muslim proper names and the patronymic *veled-i 'Abdullah*.⁵³ From the manner they appear in the *tahrir* we may infer that they were emancipated (as was customary) when Ahmed Beg died prior to 1529 when this register was drawn up. By the time the next survey was made (ca. 1555), the community of Ahmed Beg's manumitted slaves had shrunk from 13 to 6, two of whom still bore the *veled-i 'Abdullah* patronymic [See: TABLE III].

A second group who appear in the *icmal* register of the same year, are the twelve *akıncıs* (cavalrymen), many of whom were likewise drawn from the Christian populations of the Balkans [See: TABLE II].⁵⁴ These troops, who year after year, fought with the Evrenosoğulları to expand the Ottoman hold in the Balkans, were obvious candidates for conversion due to the ongoing relationships they enjoyed with their Muslim war lords. It was the *de facto* role of the descendants of *Hacı Evrenos* as an *Uc Bey* (March Lord)

⁵³ This fact illustrates that while virtually all sons of 'Abdullah's were converts, not all converts adopted this patronymic, i.e., undoubtedly the percentage of converts among the inhabitants of Yenice-i Vardar was even higher than we have suggested herein. At the very least the five *'utekâ* (emancipated slaves) of Ahmed Beg who do not bear this patronymic should be added to our list.

⁵⁴ For a discussion of this process, see: Heath W. Lowry: *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany (SUNY Press), 2003. pp. 45-54.

dynasty, which must have been a major factor in the levels of apostasy we see among the residents of their capital Yenice-i Vardar.

When we factor in that the Evrenosoğulları controlled not only the town of Yenice-i Vardar, but the vast majority of the territories surrounding it, the full extent of their role becomes even clearer. A 1519 *tahrir defter* (tax register) lists no less than fifty-nine (59) of the surrounding villages (stretching from Selânik in the southeast to Vodina (Edessa) in the west, and from Avrat Hisar in the north to Kara Verya in the south) as belonging to the *evkaf-ı Evrenos Beg el-merhum* (the pious endowment of the deceased Evrenos Beg), i.e., to the foundation established by the family's patriarch, *Hacı ve Gazi Evrenos* [See: **APPENDIX III**].⁵⁵ These villages provided his endowment the sum of 460,983 *akçes* (small silver coins) in annual revenue.⁵⁶ To comprehend the value of only his Yenice-i Vardar pious foundation (he had established similar endowments in Gümülcine and Siroz/Serres before moving his base of operations west to Yenice-i Vardar), we need only to recall that in 1530 a Florentine gold florin (which weighed 3.75 gr. of gold) was worth approximately 55 *akçes*.⁵⁷ Stated differently, the annual income which accrued to Evrenos' Yenice-i Vardar pious foundation was worth 83,815 Florentine gold florins.

These properties of his pious foundation were supplemented by large tracks of land throughout northern Greece which were passed from generation to generation as *mülk* (privately held land). The full extent of these privately held lands is established in a recently published *mülknâme*, drawn up in 1603 and verified by the *tuğra* (imperial monogram) of Sultân Ahmed I.⁵⁸ This document reconfirmed the family's ownership of *mülk*

⁵⁵ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70 (1519)*: pp. 168-169.

⁵⁶ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70 (1519)*: p. 170.

⁵⁷ N. Beldiceanu: *Les Actes des Premiers Sultans Conservés dans les Manuscrits Turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale a Paris*. Volume I. Paris (Mouton & Co.), 1960. pp. 173-176.

⁵⁸ Ayşegül Çalı: "Akıncı Beyi Evrenos Bey'e Ait Mülknâme," in *OTAM Dergisi*, No. 20 (Ankara, 2006), pp. 59-79 [Hereafter: Çalı, 2006].

holdings stretching from Gümölcine in the east, to Köstendil and beyond in the west. These were properties which had been granted to *Hacı Evrenos* in the 14th century by the *sultâns* (*Yıldırım Bâyezid* & *Murad Hüdavendigâr* and their successors. With the accession of each new ruler the ownership of such holdings had to be reconfirmed by the issuance of a new *mülknâme*. The *Evrenosoğulları*'s rights in this regard continued to be acknowledged by each new *sultân* until the beginning of the 20th century.⁵⁹

Nor was this the sole income derived from religious foundations established and controlled by members of the *Evrenosoğulları*. The same register lists two other *vakıfs* in *Yenice-i Vardar* which had been established by descendants of *Hacı Evrenos*. These were respectively: a) the *Evkaf-ı 'İsâ Beg bin Evrenos Beg* (Pious Foundation of 'İsâ Beg son of *Evrenos Beg*), shown as possessing eight villages and extensive pasturages in *Selânik* and *Yenice-i Vardar*, which provided an annual income of 86,488 [*akçes*]; and, b) the *Evkaf-ı Ahmed Beg bin Evrenos Beg* (Pious Foundation of *Ahmed Beg* son [sic. grandson] of *Evrenos Beg*), with six villages (5 in *Yenice-i Vardar* and 1 in *Karaferya*), which provided annual revenues of 113,531 [*akçes*].⁶⁰

Clearly, the *Evrenosoğulları* ran the region. While, as we have previously shown, it was a misreading of a passage in the work of the 17th century traveler *Evliyâ Çelebi*, which has led several generations of Ottomanists to mistakenly claim that the entire region surrounding *Yenice-i Vardar* was known as "*Evrenos Gazi yöresi*" (the territory of *Evrenos*

⁵⁹ Çalı, 2006: p. 66.

⁶⁰ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70 (1519)*: p. 170. For a general survey of religious foundations (*vakıfs*) in the region, see: Vassilis Demetriades, "Vakıfs along the Via Egnatia," in: E. Zachariadou [Ed.], *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule, 1380-1699*. Rethymnon, Crete (Crete University Press), 1996. pp. 85-95 [Hereafter: Demetriades, 1996] & by the same author: "Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of *Gazi Evrenos Bey*'s Wakf," in *Balkan Studies*, Volume 22 (Thessaloniki, 1981), pp. 43-57 [Hereafter: Demetriades, 1981] & "The Streets and Quarters of *Giannitsa* Towards the End of the 19th Century [in Greek], in *Makedonika*, Volume 15 (1975), pp. 160-170.

Gazi),⁶¹ in point of fact it was largely their preserve. Nor, as is amply illustrated in **APPENDIX III**, was the region they administered one widely settled by *Türkmen* tribesmen from Asia Minor. In point of fact the 59 villages endowed by *Hacı Evrenos* to meet the expenses of his many charitable foundations, as well as the 13 additional settlements endowed by his sons, appear in the *tahrir* of 1519 to have been overwhelmingly populated by Christians. It was only the town of Yenice-i Vardar which stood as a Muslim island in the region, albeit one whose Muslim character was due in no small part to a steady stream of religious apostasy.

It is when we weigh this 16th century profile of the city against what little is known about its history in the preceding one hundred forty years, i.e., in the period between its founding in the 1380s by *Hacı Evrenos* and the earliest extant *tahrir defter*, that of 1519,⁶² that we realize the extent to which its development had been marked by two cataclysmic events. The first of these occurred in 1432-1433, in the immediate aftermath of the second Ottoman conquest of the nearby city of Thessaloniki (Selânik), when the Ottoman ruler Murad II forcibly relocated what must have been the overwhelming majority of Yenice-i Vardar's inhabitants to that city. The Byzantine chronicler, Anagnostes, who was an eyewitness to the events, describes his action in the following passage:

He [Murad II] decreed that all the remaining houses and nearly all the churches should be given to those from other lands who had preferred, perhaps, the city [Thessaloniki] instead of that one which they had inhabited, and to the Turks coming from Yenitze [Yenice-i Vardar]. All of that region is a plain, one day's journey distant to the west of the city. By virtue of its suitability or because of the haste of him who originally chose it for habitation [Hacı Evrenos], it had many Turkish

⁶¹ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: p. 16, Footnote 11, where we pointed out that it was the editor's [Ahmet Refik Altınay] of the 1935 printed edition of Volume IX of the *Seyahatname*'s misreading of a reference to Evrenos Gazi's *türbesi* (mausoleum), as *yöresi* (territory), which first led to confusion of the part of first Mélikoff and then a number of other scholars.

⁶² *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70 (1519)*: p. 145.

inhabitants. Murad, during the time that he was staying in the city [of Thessaloniki], visited this area. I do not know how, for sightseeing and hunting, and being there he rendered this area almost completely uninhabited, taking the inhabitants away and ordering them quickly to resettle in Thessaloniki. Those who were ordered to carry out this decree [prostagma] did so quickly, in no way delaying after his departure [from Yenice-i Vardar]. Arriving there [Yenice-i Vardar] and taking off all the Turks there through force rather than through obedience to Thessaloniki, they provided them with houses in place of those which they formerly had, according to the decree. Murad had decided on both of these measures and he decreed that they should be thus so that the city might have a more effective defense. Also, as it was a city on the sea's littoral it therefore needed a large number of inhabitants. Further he wanted it to have a full market so that all goods would flow into it, and it would attract many people to the city which would then furnish those who needed them commerce and exchange as a result of which the city would easily become wealthy.⁶³

Anagnostes' account leaves little doubt but that the action of Murad II was traumatic for the residents of Yenice-i Vardar. When he uses phrases such as: "*he rendered this area almost completely uninhabited*" and reports that his agents: "*took all the Turks there through force rather than through obedience to Thessaloniki,*" he is implicitly highlighting the fact that the town's population was decimated by Sultanic decree, rather than by a desire on the part of the inhabitants to resettle in the newly conquered Selânik. Two points are of particular interest here: a) Anagnostes use of the word 'Turks' in no way should be read as an ethnic label, i.e., he is using it, as was customary among Christian writers, with the meaning of 'Muslims.' Given what we have already demonstrated was the high level of conversion that occurred a century later (between 1530-1556), this raises the intriguing possibility that many of the 'Turks' forcibly resettled from Yenice-i Vardar

⁶³ Speros Vryonis, Jr.: "The Ottoman Conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430," in Anthony Bryer & Heath Lowry (Eds.): *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society*. Washington, D.C. & Birmingham, England (1886), pp. 281-321 [Hereafter: Bryer & Lowry, 1986]. See: p. 298.

to Selânik may themselves (or their forbears) have been converts to Islam. While there is no means to advance this conjecture beyond the realm of speculation, it remains an intriguing possibility; and, b) is it possible that Murad II's decimation of the population of Yenice-i Vardar was intended not only to add a Muslim component to the newly-conquered Selânik's inhabitants, but that it was also an attempt to cripple the near autonomous power of the Evrenosoğulları? This question likewise is unanswerable on the basis of the sources at hand, but it does not seem beyond the realm of possibility, given the efforts in the following generation on the part of his son, Mehmed II., to weaken the March Lord dynasties via an unsuccessful effort to confiscate the large tracts of land they had alienated from the public fisc by turning them into family-run charitable foundations (*vakıfs*).

One thing is certain: the efforts of first *Hacı* Evrenos himself (from the 1380s until his death in 1417), and then those of his sons (from 1417-1432) to create their own capital, received a temporary setback as a result of Murad II's *sürgün* (forced relocation) of all, or a significant portion of, the residents of Yenice-i Vardar.

When we turn to the earliest surviving *tahrir defter* (tax register) which contains information on Yenice-i Vardar, that of 1519,⁶⁴ we see that in the years between 1432-1433 and its compilation, i.e., in the ensuing three generations, the town appears not only to have regained its *status quo ante*, but actually undergone considerable growth. The use of the word 'appears' in the preceding sentence is necessitated by virtue of the fact that *Tapu-Tahrir Defter #70*, the 1519 survey, is not only an *icmal* (summary) register, but one which provides even less information than is normal in such *defter*s. Specifically, rather than following the usual procedure is this type of register and giving us the total number of households (*hanes*) listed under each of Yenice-i Vardar's quarters (*mahalles*), as was the case with the

⁶⁴ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70 (1519)*: p. 145.

previously discussed *Tapu-Tahrir Defter #167* of 1530 [See: **TABLE I** above], it simply provides the following totals for the town [**TABLE VI**]:

Table VI.: The Town of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) In H. 925 (January 3, 1519 – December 23, 1519) As Preserved In *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70*⁶⁵

General Information:	Household [hane]	Bachelors [mücerred]
<i>Vilayet-i Yenice-i Vardar</i> (Province of Yenice-i Vardar):		
<i>Ziamet-i Mevlana Ahmed Çelebi</i> (Large Fief of <i>Mevlani</i> (=Judge Ahmed Çelebi))		
<i>Nefs-i Yenice-i Vardar</i> (Inhabitant of Yenice-i Vardar):		
<i>Müslümanan</i> (Muslims):	793	284
<i>Gebzan</i> (Unbelievers, i.e., Christians):	25	
<i>Yahudiyân</i> (Jews):	24	
<i>Hasil</i> (Revenue): 49,822 [<i>akçes</i>]		
TOTALS:	842	284

If these figures are correct, they suggest that there must have been a second cataclysmic event affecting the inhabitants of Yenice-i Vardar in the decade from 1519-1530. For, when we compare the 793 Muslim + 25 Christian + 24 Jewish households, i.e., a total of: 842 *hanes* listed in 1519 [**TABLE VI**], with the 498 Muslim + 24 Christian households, i.e., a total of: 522 *hanes* seen in 1530 [See: **TABLE I**], it appears that during the intervening decade the town's population declined by 38%. Using the common coefficient of 5 individuals per household (*hane*), this means that a population, which in 1519 stood at: 4,210 had, within eleven years shrunk to: 2,610. Either we are face to face with the result of a natural disaster, such as a plague outbreak, or the inhabitants of Yenice-i Vardar were once again subjected to a *sürgün* (forced relocation)? Two factors, point to the likelihood of the latter explanation: a) first the total disappearance in the interim between the two registers of a Jewish community in the town; and,

⁶⁵ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 70* (1519): p. 145.

b) the relative stability of the Christian community. Stated differently, were this sudden drop in population to have resulted from a plague outbreak we might expect to see each confessional group impacted proportionally. As this did not happen we may infer that the town's Jews, together with a significant percentage of its Muslims, had been forcibly transferred to some other location between the years 1519-1530. While this too can not be advanced beyond the realm of conjecture, it is suggested by the evidence at hand.

The only other possible explanation which could account for the sudden drop in population in the interim between these two registers is that the 1519 *tahrir* incorporates a scribal error of major proportion. While in summarizing the raw data in the *mufassal* (detailed) registers which served as the source for the summary (*icmal*) defters, scribes frequently made minor errors in addition [See: TABLE I for one such error], neither of the authors of this study have ever encountered a mistake of this magnitude.

If the figure in the 1519 register are credible it is not beyond the realm of possibility that Sultan Süleyman I (1520-1566), had, as had his ancestor before him (Murad II), chosen to weaken the descendants of the Evrenosoğulları's hold on their ancestral seat by once again forcibly removing a significant portion of Yenice-i Vardar's population.

Interestingly, the highpoint in Yenice-i Vardar's growth in this period would appear to have been the generation before the 1519 register was compiled. As such, it coincides with the lifetime of Evrenos's grandson [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beg (a son of *İki Yürekli* [Double Hearted] Ali Beg), the individual who, together with the dynasty's founder, was primarily responsible for the architectural embellishment of Yenice-i Vardar. It was Ahmed Beg who gave the town much of its Islamic character, via his extensive endowments. These included a *medrese* (theological seminary), a *câmi'i* (mosque), an *imâret* (soup kitchen), a *bezzâzistân* (covered marketplace), a *zâviye* (dervish lodge), a *kervansaray*, and a *hâmmâm* (bathhouse). Of equal significance were his efforts at making the town a cultural center.

In this regard, he was the individual who invited the *Naksibendi Şeyh*, Abdullah el-İlâhî from Anatolia to the Balkans, and therefore was responsible for the introduction of this important mystic and the *tarikât* he adhered to, the *Naksibendi*, to the Balkans.⁶⁶ In turn, it was the presence of *Şeyh İlâhî* in Yenice-i Vardar which helped turn the town into a significant Balkan cultural center.⁶⁷

The very presence of a Jewish community among the 1519 inhabitants of Yenice-i Vardar is of interest and may conceivably have been linked to the activity of [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beg. Given the fact that in the previous generation, under his leadership (in addition to creating his own extensive *vakıf* he was also the *mütevelli* = administrator of his grandfather's foundation),⁶⁸ the town had experienced considerable growth, together with the fact that his extensive endowments had included a *bezzâzistân* (covered market hall) and a *kervansaray*, it seems possible that he may have purposely sought to attract a small group of the newly arriving Sephardic Jews from Selânik to Yenice-i Vardar as part of his effort to foster the economic development of the town. While there is no way to advance this suggestion beyond the realm of speculation, it is nonetheless an intriguing possibility, and one which, given the known activity of this powerful figure, does not seem unlikely.

Pirankı 'İsâ Beg The Father of *Hacı Evrenos*

Of particular interest is the detail provided on yet another of the *vakıfs* established by the dynasty's founder *Hacı Evrenos* in memory of his father [APPENDIX IV]. In the 1530 *tahrir defter* there is an entry which records that he had endowed the income of a village called Hayırcık, which was also known as Pirankı (*Karye-i Hayırcık nam-i diğêr Pirankı*), to meet the

⁶⁶ Kiel, 1971: pp. 305-306 & Lowry/Erünsal: 2008: p. 84.

⁶⁷ Kiel, 1971: pp. 306-.

⁶⁸ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: p. 84.

expenses incurred by a *zâviyye* (dervish lodge) and the *türbe* (mausoleum) he had constructed there in honor of his deceased father, a certain *Pırankı 'İsâ Beg* [See: APPENDIX IV].⁶⁹ The full entry reads as follows:

The pious foundation of the the saidü'l-hayat ve şehid'ül-memat, the deceased Gazi Evrenos Beg: The aforementioned's father, Pırankı 'İsâ Beg was martyred in the aforementioned location, and his mausoleum (türbe)⁷⁰ is located in that village. He [Evrenos] therefore deeded it to the pious foundation he established in memory of his father's soul, and its revenue goes to provide the food for those who come and go [travelers], and it is administered and guarded, looked after and protected, by those who administer his foundations in Yenice-i Vardar and other places:

Village of Hayırcık which is also known as Pırankı

Households: 40

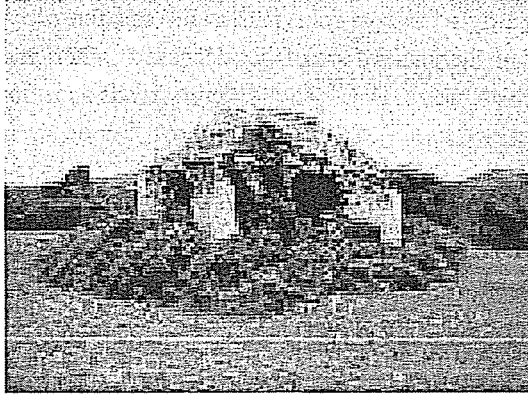
Bachelors: 11

Revenue: 3,389 [akçes = small silver coins]

The remains of the *türbe* (mausoleum) of Pırankı 'İsâ Beg are located in today's Republic of Macedonia. They lie to the southwest of the city of Radovis (Radovište) on the Kriva Lakavica (Lakoviçe Deresi) River. There is no longer a village at the site, but the ruins lie between the settlements of Dedino and Konce (Koniçe) at an altitude of 435 meters [PLATE IV].

⁶⁹ *Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 167 (1530):* p. 198. See also: Ömer Lütfi Barkan: "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler: I. İstilâ devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişler ve Zâviyeler," in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Volume II (1942), pp. 279-386. For Hayırcık, which he read as: Sırcık aka Pırankı, see: p. 342 [Hereafter: Barkan, 1942].

⁷⁰ In Barkan, 1942: p. 342 the word *türbesi* (mausoleum) is misread (or misprinted?) as *rütbesi* (rank), thereby making the meaning of the passage unclear. This error has misled scholars for the past 70 years.

Plate IV⁷¹

Interestingly, in Barkan's previously cited 1942 study he published an entry from a register he identifies as a *Paşa İli Defteri* No. 282, from the reign of Kanunî Süleyman (1520-1566),⁷² which, in addition to repeating the passage given above (with minor differences), contains an additional note which establishes that in fact a *zâviye* (dervish lodge), surrounded the mausoleum of Evrenos' father Pırankı 'İsâ Beg:

⁷¹ We are indebted to Özer Gazievrenosoğlu for this photograph of the remains of Pırankı 'İsâ Beg's mausoleum (*türbe*) which neither of the authors have had the opportunity to visit. A detailed discussion of this site must await the appearance of the forthcoming study by the Dutch architectural historian Machiel Kiel. On 19th century maps this site appears under various names: a) on the Ottoman Staff Map (*Rumeli-i şahane haritası* [The Map of Imperial Rumelia]. *Sâye-i füyuzât-i sermâye-- cenâb-i zillülahide erkân-i harbiye istiksaf postaları taraflarından tashih ve erkan-i harbiye-i umumiye daire-i beşinci fen şubesi marifetiyle tersim olunarak bu kere daire-i mezkure matbaasında tab' ve temsil olunmuştur. Sene: 1317 (1899)*, it is simply labeled: '*türbe*' (توربي) and lies on the *Lakoviçe Deresi* (River) to the southwest of the town of Radovište; and, b) on the 'Third Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary' [1:200,000], i.e., the *Austrian Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa* of 1910 [Sheet: Kriva], it appears as the: '*Gazi-Evrenos türbesi*' (mausoleum of Gazi Evrenos), on the *Kriva Lakovica* (River), to the southwest of the town of Radovišta.

⁷² We have been unable to locate and examine this register, which appears to have been recatalogued with a new number [?], and have therefore given this entry as it appears in Barkan, 1942: p. 342.

In the old register (*defter-i âtik*) it is recorded that Sultan Bayezid Han has given a patent of exemption to the dervishes who reside in this lodge and provide service to those who come and go [travelers], which states that all the gardens, vineyards, pastures and fields which are recorded as belonging to the dervish lodge are exempt from both arbitrarily imposed tolls and charges (*rûsûm-ı örfiye*), as well as from legal canonical obligations (*hukuk-ı şer'îye*). Furthermore, that neither *timariots* (possessors of small military fiefs) nor anyone else should attempt to take as much as a kernel of grain from them. Further that no revenue from their gardens, orchards, pastures, fields or sheep should be recorded.⁷³

The persona of Evrenos' father is even more shrouded in mystery than his own. Were it not for these entries in the 16th century *tahrirs* we would not be able to establish the fact that he was known as Pırankı 'İsâ Beg, for in the only two surviving *kitabes* (dedicatory inscriptions on stone), those from the *han* built by Evrenos in Traianopoulos (ca. 1390) and that on his tomb in Yenice-i Vardar (1417), on which his father's name appears, it is recorded solely as: İsâ Beg.⁷⁴ The 'Pırankı' nickname (*lâkap*) is problematic. As Heath Lowry has earlier suggested it may well be a corruption of the word 'Frenk,' Turkish: 'Firengi,' i.e., European, as the initial 'p' and 'f' letters are easily reversible.⁷⁵ If so, it could point to the possibility that he was one of the Catalan mercenaries who played an important role in the region in the service of various claimants to the Byzantine throne (on occasion joining

⁷³ Barkan, 1942: p. 342. The Turkish text as given by Barkan, reads: "Mezkûr zâviyenin zikrolan bağçelerinden ve bağlarından ve çayırlarından ve tarlalarından rûsûm-ı örfiyeden ve hukuk-ı şer'iyeden erbâb-ı timardan ve gayrıdan kimesne taleb eylemeye ve bir habbelerin almayalar deyü Sultan Bayezid Hân 'zâviye-i mezburede sâkin olub âyende ve revendeye hizmet iden dervişler elinde mu'âfiyetnâmelerin olub' (defteri âtik) de zâviye-i mezbürenin bağından ve bağçesinden ve çayırlarından ve tarlalarından ve koyun hakkından kimesneye hâsıl kaydolunmamışlardır."

⁷⁴ Lowry, 2008: pp. 31-35 & Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 121-127 & pp. 134-138.

⁷⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this issue, see: Heath W. Lowry: *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany (SUNY Press), 2003. pp. 58-59 [Hereafter: Lowry, 2003]. When Heath Lowry was working in the Black Sea city of Trabzon in the early 1970s he was often followed around the streets by young boys who referred to him as: "Firengi."

with Muslims to fight against their former allies) at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. The **Chronicle of Muntaner**, in which the activities of these Catalans are recorded, states that they used the term 'Franks' as their battle cry when fighting both Byzantine and Genoese Christians and Muslims.⁷⁶ Were this the case, it might well have been that an individual initially known as 'Jesus the Frenk,' had, following his conversion to Islam, been known as 'Pırankı' = Firengi 'İsâ'? While there is no way to advance this beyond the realm of conjecture, it remains an intriguing possibility.

What is clear from these two entries in the 16th century *tahrir defters*, is that Evrenos Beg had endowed the village of Hayırcık to meet the expenses of the dervish lodge which grew up around the site of his father's mausoleum. Further, that he had done so in the years 1389-1402, as his action in this regard had been confirmed by Yıldırım Bayezid, the Ottoman ruler in that era. It likewise appears that he had not established a separate *vakıf* (pious endowment) for this complex, rather that he had simply attached it to his existing foundation in Yenice-i Vardar.

The Role of The Evrenosoğulları in Endowing The Shrine of *Hacı* Bektaş in Central Anatolia:

It is due to the important doctoral dissertation of E. Zeynep Yürekli-Görkay, that for the first time we are able to make a direct link between the Evrenosoğulları and the *Bektaşî* order of dervishes. In her study of the architectural history of the shrine of *Hacı* Bektaş in central Anatolia, Yürekli-Görkay published an inscription which still stands in the middle or second courtyard of the complex, showing that it was endowed under the patronage of a grandson of *Hacı* Evrenos [PLATE V]:

⁷⁶ Lady Goodenough: *The Chronicle of Muntaner*. London, 1921. pp. 502-506 & 526.

Plate V⁷⁷

This inscription which is dated h. 901 [September 21, 1495 – September 10, 1496], reads as follows:

Ey günahkâr Evrenuz (اورنوز) yüzi kara

Ne yüz-bile Hazrete karşı vara.

Oh, black-faced sinner Evrenuz

How should he dare to face the Saint?⁷⁸

901 [1495-1496]⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Photo is reproduced with permission of the author from: Yürekli-Görkay, 2005: Figure 42.

⁷⁸ Yürekli-Görkay, 2005: p. 175 has read the name of the endower (which is given as: Evrenuz) as 'Evrenoz,' & misread what is written in the archaic form as: 'yüz-bile' as 'yüzile.'

⁷⁹ While at first glance it appears that this number may be read as '951' it should in fact, as suggested by Yürekli-Görkay, be read as: '901.' Not only does this fit the chronology of the endower, but in fact there are numerous examples of the numeral 'zero' being written with a small circle rather than with a dot. This is particularly true on coins struck prior to the 16th century. For a review of the literature on this matter, see: Yürekli-Görkay, 2005: p. 174, Footnote 340.

There are several items of interest in this inscription. First, is the spelling of the endower's name which is written as Evrenuz (اورنز) rather than what later was to become the more common form: Evrenos (اورنوس). This spelling is however in keeping with the manner in which the name appears on one of the two earliest inscriptions naming the founder of the dynasty. Specifically, on the 1417 inscription from the sarcophagus of Evrenos in Yenice-i Vardar, the name is also written as: Evrenuz (اورنز).⁸⁰ The second of the early inscriptions, that on the ca. 1390 *kitabe* (inscription) on the *han* built by Evrenos at Traianoupolis [Tr. Kara Ilıca], preserves what was to become the more common spelling: Evrenos (اورنوس).⁸¹

Second, when it comes to identifying the Evrenuz named in the Hacı Bektaş inscription, Yürekli Görkay has correctly inferred that “the patron mentioned in this inscription is in all likelihood the raider commander Evrenos b. ‘Ali, a descendant of Evrenos Gazi who is mentioned in the Velayetname of Seyyid ‘Ali Sultan.⁸² On the basis of the 17th century *şecere* we may remove her “in all likelihood” and state with certainty that the patron named in the inscription was in fact the grandson of Evrenos, i.e., the son of İki Yürekli Ali Beg, who appears in the *şecere* as Evrenos (اورنوس) Beg [TABLE VI].⁸³

As is seen in TABLE VI the four sons of [İki Yürekli] Ali Beg are listed in the following order: Evrenos Beg, Hüseyin Beg, Hızır Beg and [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beg. In the following generation the two sons of Evrenos Beg appear as: Kara Ali Beg and Hızır Beg. Hızır Beg is likewise

⁸⁰ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 134-138.

⁸¹ See: Lowry, 2008: pp. 33-35 & Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 121-125. The ‘Evrenos’ spelling that is preserved in the Traianopoulos *han*’s inscription, raises the possibility that this *kitabe* could in fact be a later addition, i.e., have been placed by Evrenos’ descendants on their ancestor’s *han* some time after his death, i.e., at a time when this spelling had become the accepted version?

⁸² Yürekli-Görkay, 2005: p. 175.

⁸³ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 25-26 & pp. 82-83.

shown as having fathered three sons: Ali Beg, Hamza Beg and Mehmed Beg.

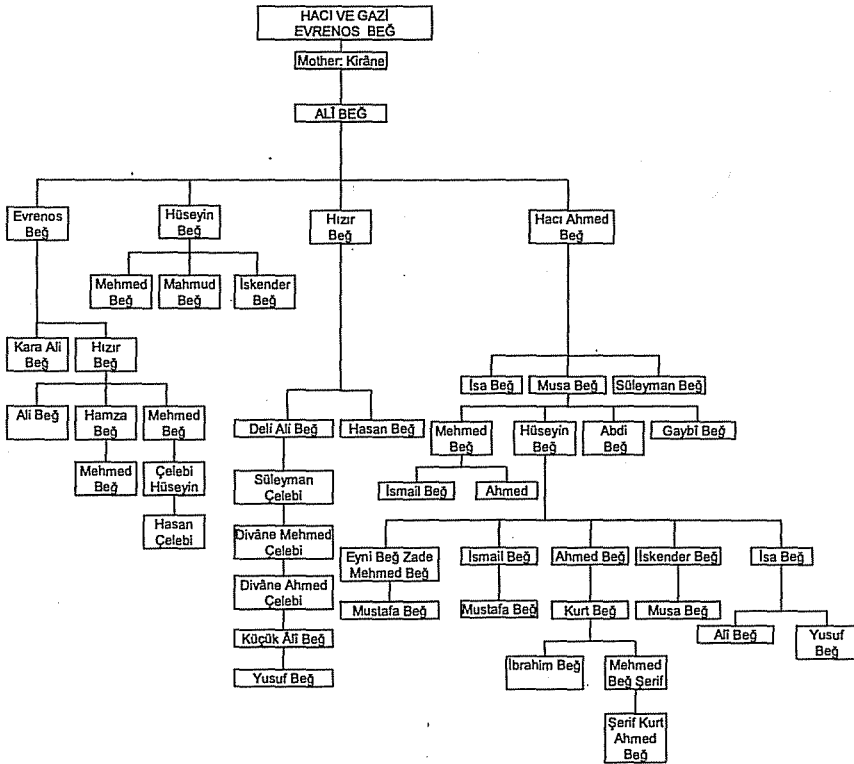


TABLE VI: Showing Line of Ali Beg

A third point of interest in the *Hacı Bektaş* inscription concerns the *lâkap* (nickname) of *yüzi kara* (black-faced) it provides for the endower. While, at first glance this indeed appears to be a figure of speech (Yürekli-Görkay sees it as: “an allegorical expression of his humility when

approaching *Hacı Bektaş*”⁸⁴), the extant family trees (*aile şecereleri*) of the Evrenosoğulları raise the possibility of an alternative explanation.

Specifically, in the 17th century version, one of this Evrenos’ sons (Ali Beg) likewise bears the *lâkap* of *kara* (the black), whereas in the 19th century version preserved in the *Başbakanlık* Archives, the two sons of this Evrenos are named respectively as: *Kara Ali Beg* and *Kara Hızır Beg* [PLATE VI].⁸⁵ This raises the intriguing possibility that the *lâkap* of ‘*kara*’ might in fact be a reflection of the fact that both Evrenos and his sons *Kara Ali Beg* and *Kara Hızır Beg* were indeed dark complexioned, i.e., black?

The real significance of the *Hacı Bektaş* inscription is in what it tells us about the religious affiliations of the Evrenosoğulları Dynasty, specifically their allegiance, as late as the end of the 15th century, to the heterodox order of the *Bektaşis*. If, as Yürekli-Görkay convincingly argues, a significant part of the renovation/expansion of the *Hacı Bektaş* complex in central Anatolia was undertaken by a grandson of *Hacı Evrenos*, what does this allow us to infer in regard to the religious sentiments of this family of March Lords (*Uc Begler*)?

⁸⁴ Yürekli-Görkay, 2005: pp. 282-283.

⁸⁵ While in general the listings provided in these two family trees are identical, this is a rare instance in which they diverge. Specifically, the 17th century version lists the two offspring of Evrenos as *Kara Ali Beğ* and *Hızır Beğ*, whereas the 19th century version lists them as: *Kara Ali Beğ* and *Kara Hızır Beğ*, that is *Hızır* is not given the nickname of ‘*Kara*’ in the earlier version?

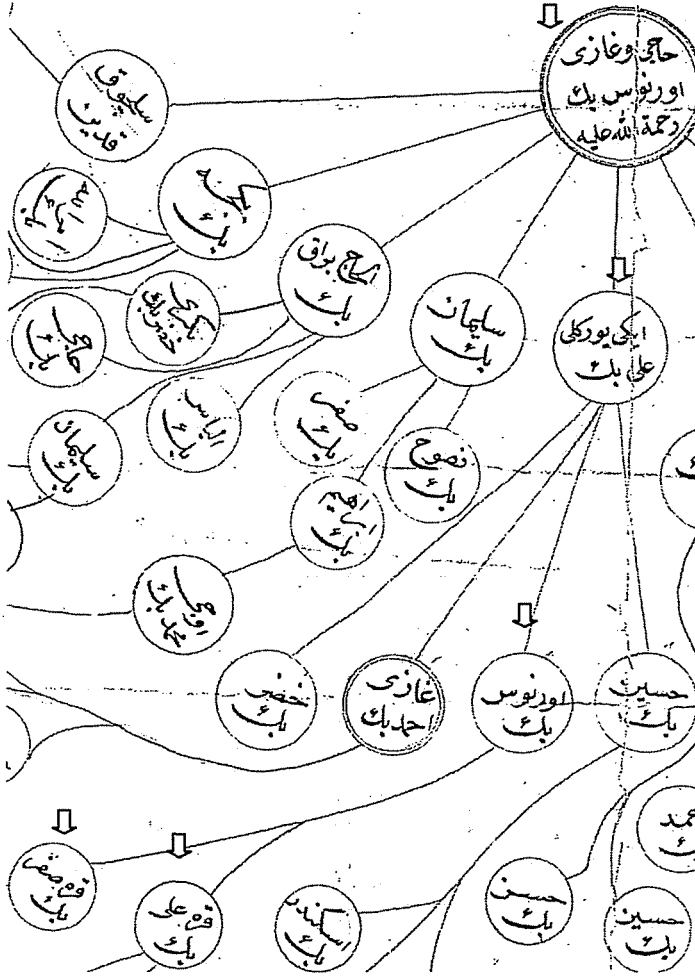


Plate VI⁸⁶

86

Başbakanlık Arşivi: [Evrenos Family Tree]. Plate VI represents a small segment of the Evrenos aile şeceresi (family tree) preserved in the İstanbul Başbakanlık Archives. From top to bottom the arrows mark respectively: Hacı ve Gazi Evrenos Beg his son İki Yürekli Ali Beg his son Evrenos Beg and his sons: Kara Ali Beg and Kara Hızır Beg.

As Heath Lowry has previously shown, the recently subsumed remains of *Hacı Evrenos* himself, contain a clue pointing to the fact that the founder of the dynasty may well have visited the holy Shii city of Kerbala in Iraq in the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca. For intertwined in the bones of his hands were found *tesbit taneleri* (individual prayer beads), made of terracotta (*pişmiş toprak*). Such prayer beads are known to be made in only one site and that is the city of Kerbala, a reflection of the fact that the Shii believe the earth there to be blessed as a result of the blood of the martyr Hüseyin (grandson of the Prophet Muhammad) having been spilled in it.⁸⁷

Now, two generations later, a grandson of *Hacı Evrenos* is seen to have expended considerable wealth on expanding the complex dedicated to the heterodox dervish leader *Hacı Bektaş*. Interestingly, the work begun by *Evrenos* in the second courtyard of the complex was later completed by yet another March Lord, *Malkoçoğlu Bali Beg*.⁸⁸ What we see here are the efforts of two of the great conquering families of the Balkans, neither of whom had known ties to Anatolia, both engaging in wide-scale patronage on behalf of a heterodox religious sanctuary lying hundreds of kilometers east of their own home bases in the Balkans.

This patronage may only be interpreted as indicative of the close ties which must have existed between the conquering March Lords of the Balkans and the heterodox dervish leaders who inspired and mobilized their troops. Similar ties have recently been shown to have existed between another important *Uc Beg* dynasty, that of the *Mihaloğulları*, and other tomb

⁸⁷ For a detailed discussion of this issue, see: Lowry, 2008. Chapter I of this work: 'In the Footsteps of *Hacı Evrenos*: A Reinterpretation of the 14th Century Ottoman Conquest of Western Thrace' [pp. 15-64], concludes with a discussion of the excavation of *Evrenos' türbe* (mausoleum) in Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa) [pp. 58-62].

⁸⁸ Yürekli Görkay, 2005: p. 177.

complexes of early heterodox dervish leaders in both Anatolia and the Balkans.⁸⁹

**A Newly-Discovered Photograph Depicting The Interior of the
Türbe (Mausoleum) of *Hacı Evrenos* in *Yenice-i Vardar***

Among the more interesting memorabilia preserved by the present generation of Evrenosoğulları, are a series of photographs depicting the interior of Evrenos' Yenice-i Vardar mausoleum (*türbe*). In our 2008 article we published four such photos, together with detailed analysis of three no longer extant inscriptions (*kitabeler*) which they preserve.⁹⁰

Following the appearance of this article, a fifth photograph was provided the authors by the İstanbul attorney and family historian, Özer Gazievrenosoğlu. Özer Bey himself was given a copy of this photo by Atilla Evrenosoğlu, a member of the İzmir branch of the family.⁹¹ This photo is of particular interest as it provides a different perspective, from that we published earlier [as **Photo 46** in our 2008 article – reprinted as **PLATE VII** below], that which we identified as the last known photo of the mausoleum's interior.⁹²

⁸⁹ See the perceptive study by the young Bulgarian Ottomanist Mariya Kiprovska: "The Mihaloğlu Family: *Gazi* Warriors and Patrons of Dervish Hospices," in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları [Journal of Ottoman Studies]*, Volume XXXII. İstanbul, 2008. pp. 193-222 [Hereafter: Kiprovska, 2008] & Yürekli Görkay, 2005: pp. 127-.

⁹⁰ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 139-146 & pp. 154-159.

⁹¹ Following the withdrawal of the Evrenosoğulları from Greece in the opening decades of the 20th century, family groups were settled in various regions of Anatolia. Among the locations were: İstanbul, Bursa, İzmir and Dikilli (on the Aegean coast north of İzmir). It is for this reason that they refer to themselves as forming different branches (*kols*), i.e., the Dikilli *kol*, the Bursa *kol*, etc. Atilla Evrenosoğlu's family came to Turkey in 1924 as a result of the forced population exchange (*mübadele*) between Greece and Turkey and were settled in İzmir.

⁹² Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 141-142.

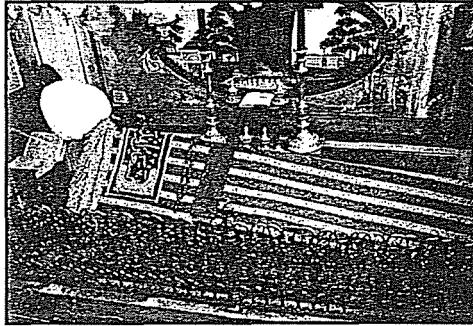


Plate VII

While both photos appear to have been taken following the 1908-1910 final restoration of the tomb (as can be seen by comparing the scenes depicted in the wall painting), **PLATE VIII** includes a view of the wall at the head of the sarcophagus and thereby provides us yet another inscription.

Plate VIII⁹³

⁹³ This photograph was supplied to the authors by Özer Gazievrenosoğlu, a descendant of Evrenos' son İki Yürekli Ali Beg. It is from the collection of another descendant of

PLATE IX, which gives an enlargement of the inscription, allows us to determine that it is in fact the upper portion of the original *kitabe* which Evliyâ Çelebi states stood at the head and the foot of the sarcophagus at the time of his 1667-1668 visit to Yenice-i Vardar. As such it is also the top three lines of the inscription first published in 1978 by the Greek Ottomanist Vassilis Demetriades and again (with variant readings) by Lowry & Erünsal in 2008.⁹⁴



Plate IX

Ali Beg, a Mr. Atilla Evrenosoğlu. We are grateful to both these gentlemen for providing us a copy of this photograph.

⁹⁴ V. Demetriades: "The Tomb of Ghazi Evrenos at Yenitza and its Inscriptions," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Volume 39 (London, 1976), pp. 328-332 & Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 134-136.

PLATE X, which provides an enlargement of the three-lines of the text seen in this photo, allows us to compare it with that we published in 2008 [**PLATE XI**]. When we do so, it indeed becomes apparent that we are indeed face to face with the top portion of the original *kitabe* (inscription), which was placed on the tomb of the dynasty's founder when he died in 1417.

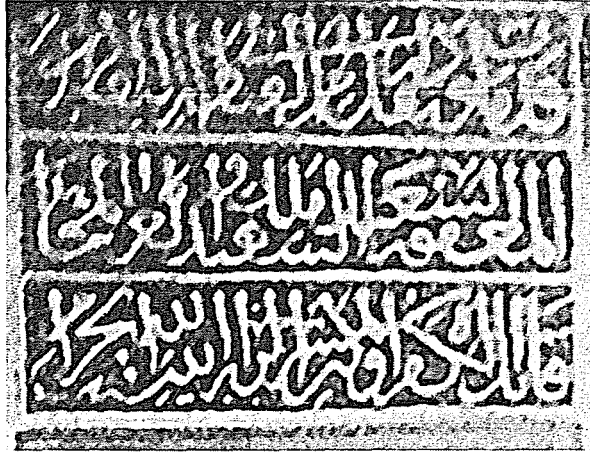


Plate X

Line #1: *Kad mate ve nukile min dari'l-fena ila dari l-beka el-merhum*
Line #2: *el-magfur es-sa'id eş-şehid melikü'l-guzat ve-l-mücahidin*
Line #3: *katilü'l-kefere ve'l-müşrikin ez-za'ir Beytu'llahi'l-haram*

Line #1: He died and has been transferred from the abode of Transience to the Abode of Permanence.
Line #2: The recipient of mercy and forgiveness, the martyr, King of the Gazis and fighters of the Jihad,
Line #3: slayer of the infidels and the polytheists, he who has visited the sacred house of God [Mecca],



Plate XI

There is one more aspect of this photograph deserving of comment. Specifically, the wall painting which it preserves [PLATE XII]. On the far right hand side of this picture we see a painting of a *türbe* (mausoleum), which may well be a depiction of the original tomb of Evrenos.



Plate XII

When we recall Evliyâ's description of Evrenos' mausoleum at the time of his 1667-1668 visit: "he is buried inside this city within a beautiful stone mausoleum which is covered with a skillfully crafted lead encased dome. As for the well lit mausoleum it is built of two stories...because the dome is so high it is decorated on all sides with windows. It is a beautiful dome like that of the gardens of Paradise,"⁹⁵ it appears that he is describing something resembling the tomb depicted in this painting [PLATE XIII], rather than the clearly late 19th-early 20th century building which exists today [PLATES XIV & XV].

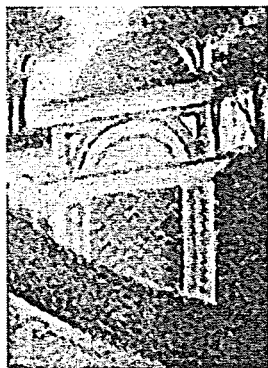


Plate XIII

**A Rare Early 20th Century Photograph Depicting The Exterior of The
Hacı Evrenos Türbesi (Mausoleum) in Yenice Vardar**

An interesting photograph has recently come to light depicting the front entrance of the *Hacı Evrenos Türbesi* in Yenice-i Vardar as it looked in the opening decade of the 20th century [PLATES XIV & XV]. When we

⁹⁵

Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 149-150 & pp. 176-177. Evliyâ's text reads: "*Bu şehir içre bir kurşum örtülü kârgir bir kubbe-i ra'nâ içinde medfündür. Ammâ bu kubbe-i müşebbekin [?] [sic. musaykal] içi iki kat meşhed-i gâziyândır... Ve kubbe-i âlî olmağile etrâfi revzenler ile müzeyyen olmuş kasr-ı irem-misâl bir kubbe-i pür-nûrdur....*"

compare the façade of the mausoleum preserved in this photo with that which exists today (following the 2006-2007 restoration)

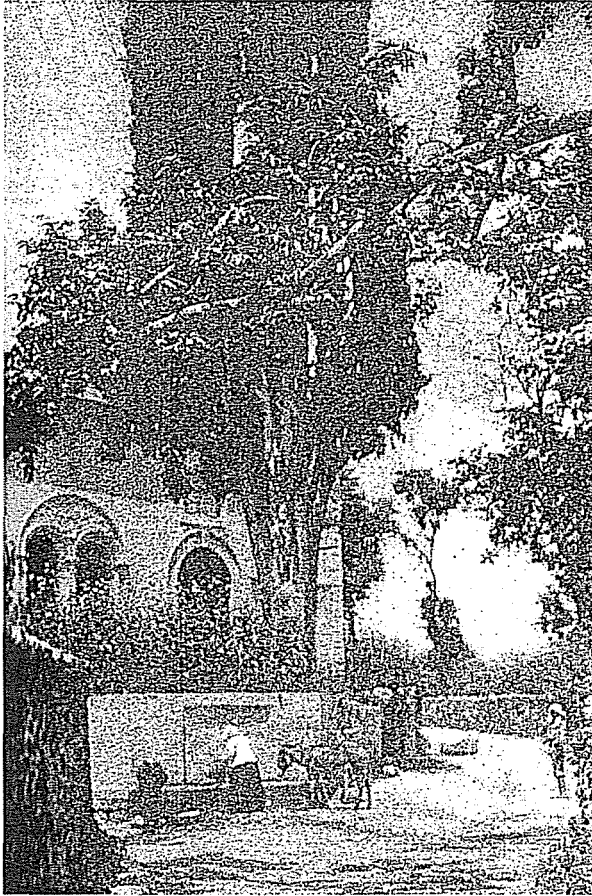


Plate XIV ⁹⁶

⁹⁶

Giannitsa, 2009: p. 33.

[PLATE XV], it appears that the early 20th century photo depicts the site in the immediate aftermath of its last Ottoman era restoration, that which was undertaken between 1908-1910.⁹⁷ Above the window at the left of the photo (hidden behind the giant Cypress tree which guarded its entrance) is the outline of what appears to be a dome (or domes) which once covered the structure.

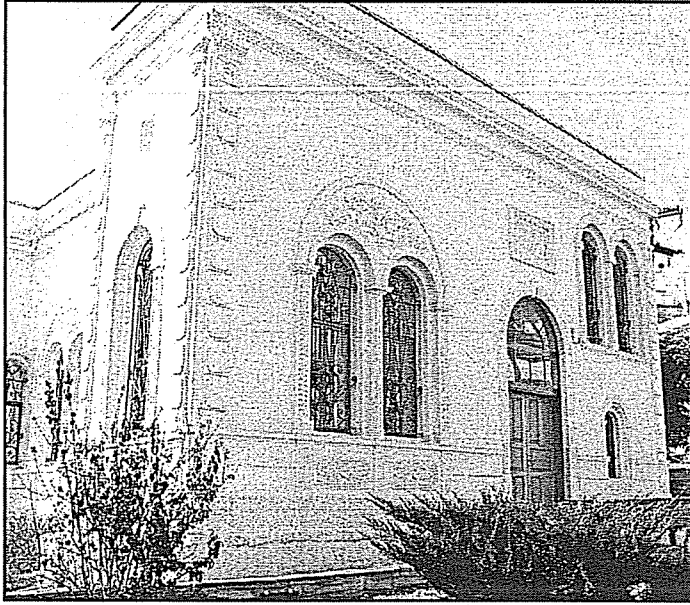


Plate XV

⁹⁷ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 147-148. The final restoration of the mausoleum in the Ottoman era may have been undertaken on the initiative of a non-family member. This was a certain Tahsin Uzer, who, served in Yenice-i Vardar in 1900 for a brief period, as the acting *Kaymakam* (vice provincial governor). In his memoirs, he relates the shock he experienced upon seeing the run down state of Evrenos' *türbe*, and writes that he immediately contacted the *mütevelli* (administrator) of the *vakıf* (pious foundation) to express his displeasure. He further notes that he then began the restoration of the mausoleum. See: Tahsin Uzer: *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetimi*. Ankara (Türk Tarih Kurumu), 1979. p. 66. For the full text of his description of the town, see: APPENDIX VI.

The fountain (long since disappeared) which stood in front of the mausoleum, together with the towering Cypress tree, provides yet another indication of the timelessness of this shrine, which, when the photo was taken, had stood for half a millennium.

**The Second [Late 19th Century] Evrenosoğullari *Aile Şeceresi*
(Genealogical Tree) Preserved In The İstanbul Prime Ministry
Archives (*Başbakanlık Arşivi*)**

While compiled some two centuries after the family tree which we published in 2008, this later version, of which a copy is preserved in the İstanbul Prime Ministry Archives (*Başbakanlık Arşivi*), is not without some interest. Unlike its 17th century predecessor, it contains no marginalia, i.e., provides nothing but the names of family members with no additional information relating to positions they held, wars they fought in, where they were buried, etc. While this limits its usefulness for our purposes, it does contain a purported list of Evrenos' forebears, and, as such, reflects what must have been the felt need to construct a Turkish lineage for the family in the period it was compiled.⁹⁸

Whereas the 17th century *şecere* begins directly with an entry reading: *Hacı ve Gazi Evrenos Beg*, the 19th century version begins with the creation of what can only be termed a mythological genealogy for the family. It begins with a certain: Bozoklu Han [PLATE XVI], who is shown as having

⁹⁸ Note: Since this 'Postscript' was written Heath Lowry has been provided, by Özer Gazievrenosoğlu, a transcription in modern Turkish script of a third version of the Evrenos *aile şeceresi* (genealogical tree). It is preserved by a branch of the family living in İzmir and is reportedly dated: 1815. A comparison of its contents, with the 17th century version we published earlier [Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 80-120], shows that it contains many of the same marginalia seen in the older version with some minor variations. However, for family members who lived in the 18th and early 19th century it does contain additional notes providing information on positions they held, as well as naming later *mütevelli*'s (administrators) of *Hacı Evrenos' vakıf*, etc. Should we in future be able obtain an actual copy of the original document, we would hope to publish it as well.

seven sons: 1) Yüregir Han; 2) Kusun Han; 3) Varsak Han; 4) Pırankı İsa Beg [who is shown as the father of: *Hacı ve Gazi Evrenos Beg*]; 5) Kuştemür Han; 6) Özer Han; and, 7) Gündüz Alp Han [who is shown as having three sons: Fazıl Beg, Firuz Beg and Turhan Beg]:

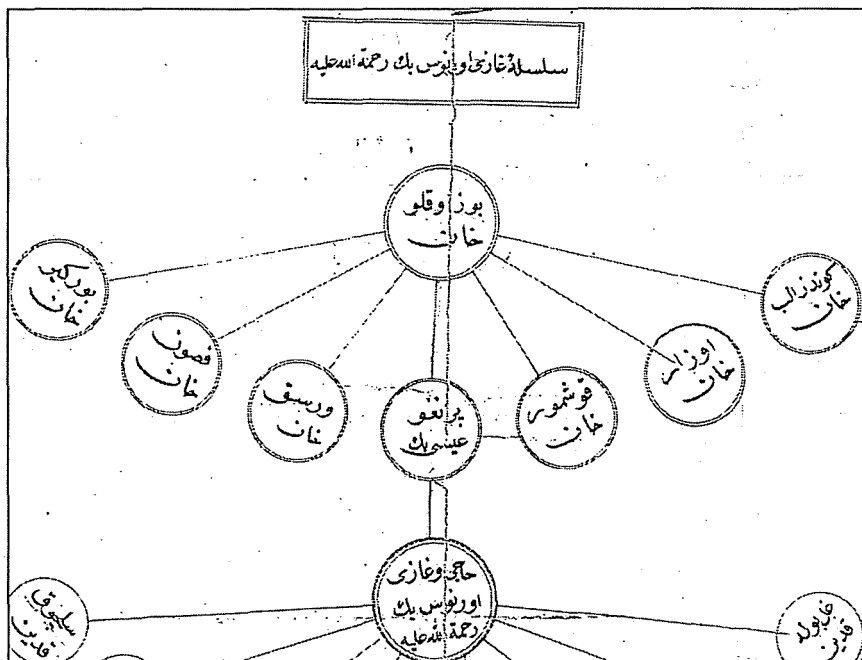


Plate XVI⁹⁹

Seemingly, with the passage of time, the Evrenosoğulları (not unlike their overlords, the Osmanoğulları) had begun to feel the need to establish their Central Asian Turkish origins. The result was a new version of the *şecere* (family tree) with an invented series of ancestors for the patriarch.

⁹⁹

Başbakanlık Arşivi: Evrenos Family Tree.

Interestingly, in recent generations 'Bozok' has been used as a proper name among the Evrenosoğulları.¹⁰⁰

**A Photograph Dated 1916 Which Shows The *Mezâr-i Şerîf*
(Noble Burial Ground) of The Evrenosoğulları in Yenice Vardar**

This rare (and important) dated photograph, provides us a glimpse of the primary funerary complex (*mezâr-i şerîf*) of the Evrenos Dynasty, as it looked in 1916, i.e., during the closing decade of the *Tourkokratia* in Yenice-i Vardar [PLATE XVII]. It depicts an unidentified mosque, an ornamental domed and open-sided *türbe* (mausoleum), and a second rectangular mausoleum (*türbe*) capped with an octagonal dome.

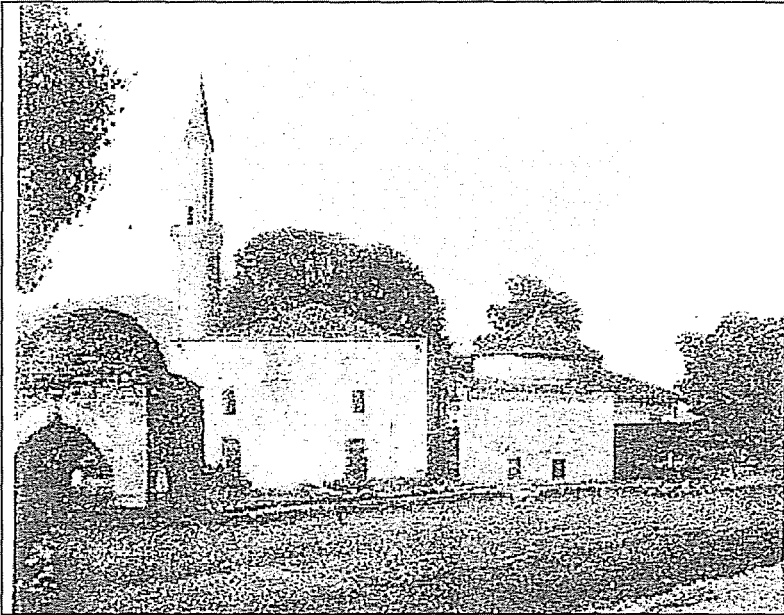


Plate XVII¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰

In the 20th century there have been at least two family members with this proper name: 1) Bozok Bey (1927-1994); and, 2) Bozok Bey (d. 1960).

While much of the actual graveyard is hidden behind the wall in the foreground, we are fortunate in having a second picture (likely taken in the 1930s) which shows the same site after the wall had been removed. This photo [PLATE XVIII], which we had published in our earlier study,¹⁰² must have been taken after the withdrawal of the town's Muslims in the 1920s. It too, depicts the same unidentified mosque, the ornamental domed and open-sided *türbe* (mausoleum),¹⁰³ the second rectangular mausoleum (*türbe*) with its octagonal dome, plus numerous tombstones (not visible in the earlier photo due to the wall), scattered throughout the foreground.

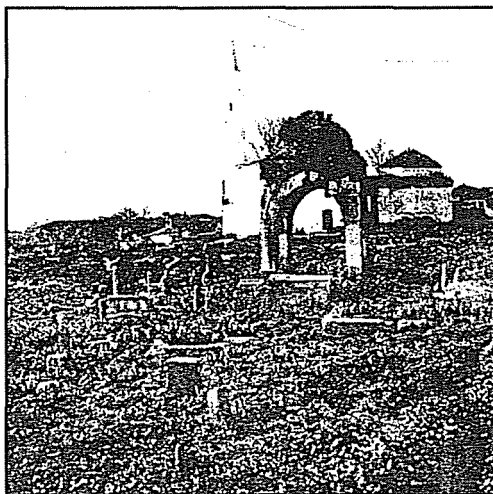


Plate XVIII¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Giannitsa, 2009: p. 48.

¹⁰² Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 40-41.

¹⁰³ Lear, 1965: pp. 30-31 describes a similar tomb he encountered on the road between Yenice-i Vardar and Vodena (Edessa) in the following passage: "*The dervish's or saint's tomb is such as you remark frequently on the outskirts of Mohammedan towns in the midst of wide cemeteries of humble sepulchers—a quadrangular structure three or four feet high, with pillars as the corners supporting a dome of varying height; beneath its centre is usually the carved emblem of the saint's rank, his turban, or high-crowned hat.*"

¹⁰⁴ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 40-41.

Today, the mosque (*câmi*), and the open-sided domed mausoleum (*türbe*) are no longer extant. However, there is a strong likelihood that the octagonal domed mausoleum (seen on the right hand side of both **PLATES XVII & XVIII**) has survived the ravages of the 20th century and still exists today, albeit in the guise of the Orthodox Church of Agia Paraskevi.¹⁰⁵ Three arguments may be advanced in support of this hypothesis: a) the remarkable similarity of the *türbe* (mausoleum) seen in **PLATES XVII & XVIII** to the present-day Church of Agia Paraskevi [**PLATE XIX**, a likeness made clearer in **PLATES XX & XXI**; b) the fact that the primary Orthodox funerary complex in Giannitsa (Yenice-i Vardar) today, seems to occupy the site of the Evrenoğulları's *mezâr-i şerif* (noble burial ground), i.e., it lies immediately adjacent to today's Agia Paraskevi Church [**PLATE XXII**]; and, c) the interior of the church itself leaves no doubt but that it was originally a *türbe* (mausoleum) [**PLATE XXIII**].¹⁰⁶

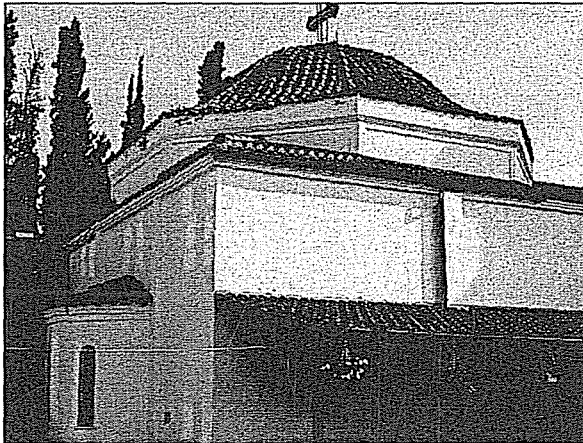


Plate XIX

¹⁰⁵ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 43-45.

¹⁰⁶ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 43-45 & See: Heath W. Lowry: *Travels in Thrace & Macedonia in Search of Muslim Sacred Space & Monuments*. İstanbul (Bahçeşehir University Press), Forthcoming: Summer, 2009.pp. 75-77 [Hereafter: Lowry, 2009 forthcoming].

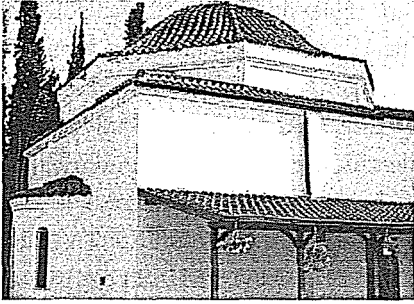


Plate XX

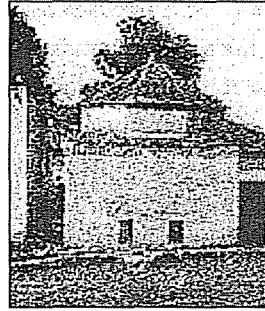


Plate XXI

If our analysis in this regard is correct, we are face to face with an interesting example of the manner in which not only the Muslim sacred space of the mausoleum, but the surrounding Muslim funerary complex as well, were subsumed into Orthodox sacred space following the withdrawal of the last of Yenice-i Vardar's Muslim inhabitants in the early 1920s.

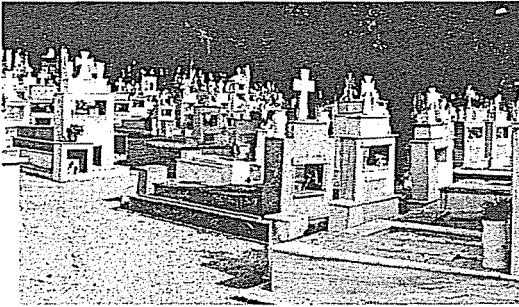


Plate XXII

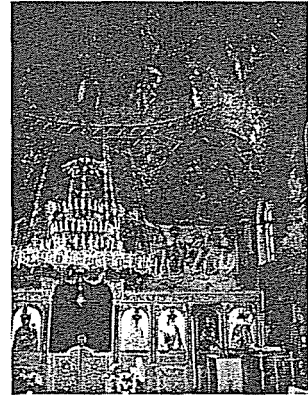


Plate XXIII

**A Photograph of Ca. 1912 Which Seemingly Depicts The Interior of The
Hacı Evrenos Medrese in Yenice Vardar**

From the fact that two soldiers in World War I era uniforms are posing for a keepsake photo we may infer that this picture may well have been taken during the Balkan Wars, i.e., at the time of the Greek army's occupation of Yenice-i Vardar in 1912 [PLATE XXIV]. More importantly, it appears to depict an otherwise undocumented monument in Yenice-i Vardar, namely the no longer extant *medrese* (theological seminary) known to have been built by the city's founder, *Hacı Evrenos*, at the end of the 14th century.

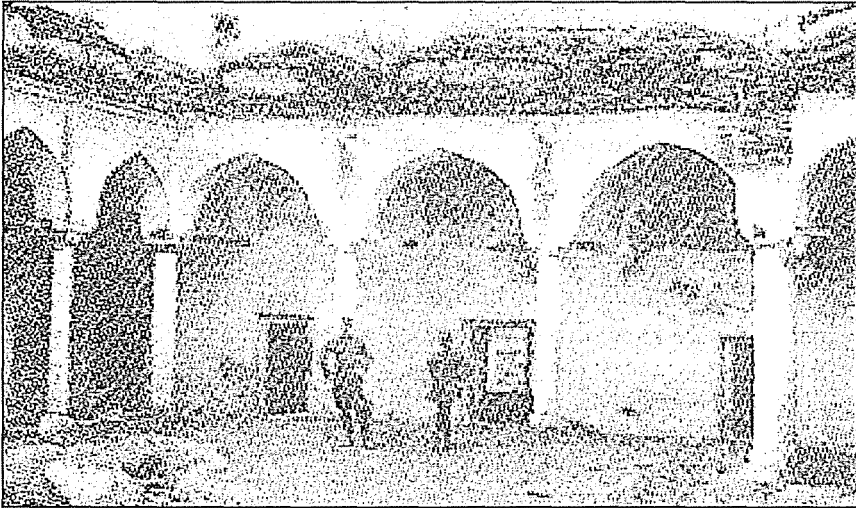


Plate XXIV¹⁰⁷

Our only reference in the literature to this site is that found in the work of the traveler Evliyâ Çelebi, who, at the time of his 1667-1668 visit to

¹⁰⁷

Giannitsa, 2009: p. 38.

Yenice-i Vardar, reported that the city possessed: “a total of *one*¹⁰⁸ theological seminary. That too is built by Gâzi Evrenos Bey and is decorated with lead covered domes. It is a true house of learning.”¹⁰⁹

While conceivably this structure could be the *avlu* (courtyard) of a mosque, the series of five doors which are discernible in the photograph point to the likelihood that it was in fact a *medrese* (theological seminary).¹¹⁰ If so, we are faced with what may be the only surviving photograph of the oldest Ottoman theological seminary in the Balkans. As such, it was an educational institution which existed from the end of the 14th through the beginning of the 20th century.

Detail in two other photographs, published by Mavrokefalidou, depict an Ottoman *medrese* in Yenice-i Vardar [PLATES XXV & XXVI].¹¹¹ They provide exterior views of what appear to be the same building seen in PLATE XXIV.

While Evliyâ explicitly states that there was only one *medrese* in Yenice-i Vardar, that built by Evrenos, in point of fact he names a second theological seminary (*medrese-i tekye-i dâru'l-hadis*) built by [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beg in honor of Şeyh İlähî, which was adjacent to the *tekke* (dervish lodge) and *câmi'i* (mosque) he likewise constructed on behalf of this dervish leader.¹¹² As we know the exact location of this complex (the mosque and *türbe* are still extant)¹¹³ we may eliminate it as the site depicted in PLATES

¹⁰⁸ Emphasis on the ‘one’ is ours.

¹⁰⁹ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: p. 167. Evliyâ’s text reads: “*Ve cümle bir aded medrese-i âlimândır. Ol dahi Gâzi Evrenos Beğ’in kurşum örtülü kubâblar ile tezyin olmuş bir dâru't-tedris-i tahsîl-i ulûmudur.*”

¹¹⁰ Thomas Leisten, professor of Islamic Art & Archeology at Princeton University, concurs with our identification of this site as an early Ottoman *medrese*.

¹¹¹ Mavrokefalidou, 2007.

¹¹² Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 178-179.

¹¹³ Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: pp. 48-50.

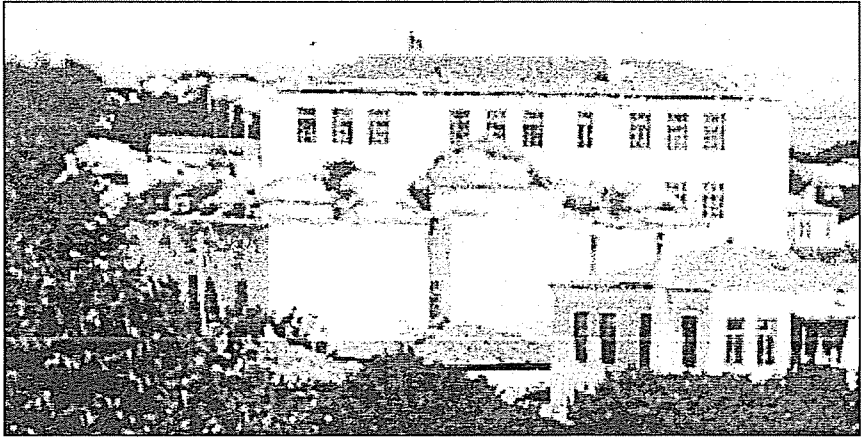
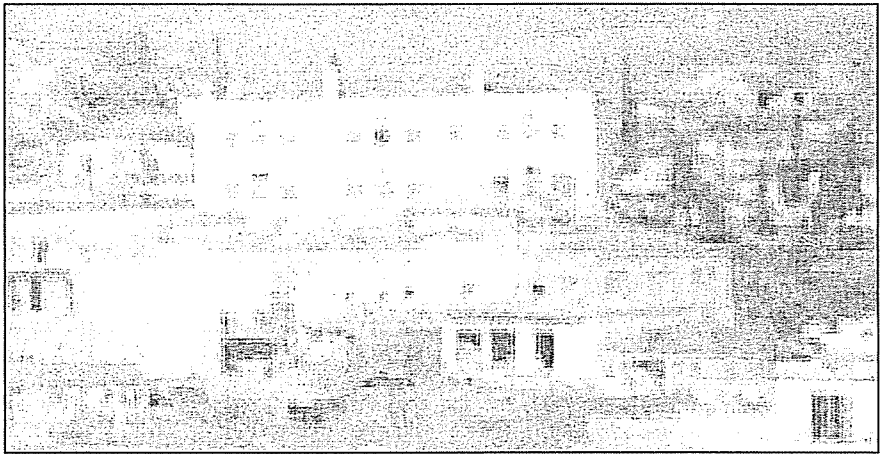
XXIV & XXV.¹¹⁴ It thus appears that the *medrese* depicted in **PLATES XXIV & XXV** is indeed that built by Evrenos at the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century.¹¹⁵

Indeed, the existence of more than one-medrese (theological seminary) in Yenice-i Vardar appears to be confirmed by the description preserved in the work of the 16th century Ottoman traveler, Âşık Mehmed, who spent three days in the town in 1585-1586. Without specifically naming them, he uses the plural when he writes: “And in Yenice-i Vardar there are also theological seminaries (medâris-i tayyibe) for studying and discussing the [Islamic] sciences.”¹¹⁶ A full text of Âşık Mehmed’s description of Yenice-i Vardar is given in **APPENDIX V** at the end of this paper.

¹¹⁴ For Ahmed Beg’s *medrese*, see the copy of his *vakfiyye* (endowment charter): İstanbul: *Başbakanlık Arşivi* (Prime Ministry Archives): *EV. VKF: Dosya #19, Gömlek #11*. This document specifically mentions the *medrese* among his endowments in Yenice-i Vardar.

¹¹⁵ The standard reference work on early Ottoman *medreses* is that of Câhid Baltacı: *XV-XVI Asırlar Osmanlı Medreseleri* [15th and 16th Century Ottoman *Medreses*]. İstanbul, 1976. While he describes the *Evranoş Gâzî Medresesi* in Yenice Vardar [pp. 200-201], he does not mention that of [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beg.

¹¹⁶ Âşık Mehmed: *Menâzirü’l-Avâlim*. Edited by: Mahmud Ak. 3 Volumes (Ankara, 2007). Volume I: *Tahlil ve Dizin* [Analysis & Index] pp. I-CDLXXI; Volume II.: *Metin* [Text], pp. 1-950; and, Volume III.: *Metin* [Text], pp. 951-1886. Âşık’s description of his visit to Yenice-i Vardar is found in Volume III., pp. 994-995.

Plate XXV¹¹⁷Plate XXVI¹¹⁸

While ultimately it will be the task of our colleagues in the field of Ottoman Architectural History to determine if this interpretation/

¹¹⁷ Detail from a photo published in: Mavrokefalidou, 2007.

¹¹⁸ Detail from a photo published in: Mavrokefalidou, 2007.

identification is correct, these photos serve once again to remind us of the need for utilizing all the sources at our disposal in trying to piece together what is now the largely destroyed architectural legacy of the Evrenosoğulları Dynasty in Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa).

**A Photograph Of An Unidentified And No Longer Extant Minaret in
Yenice Vardar**

This photograph of the *minare* (minaret) of an unidentified mosque in Yenice-i Vardar [PLATE XXVII], together with what may be the remains of the mosque it once stood beside (in the foreground), is included solely for the purpose of providing as complete a record of the one-time Ottoman architectural legacy in the capital of the Evrenosoğulları Dynasty as possible.

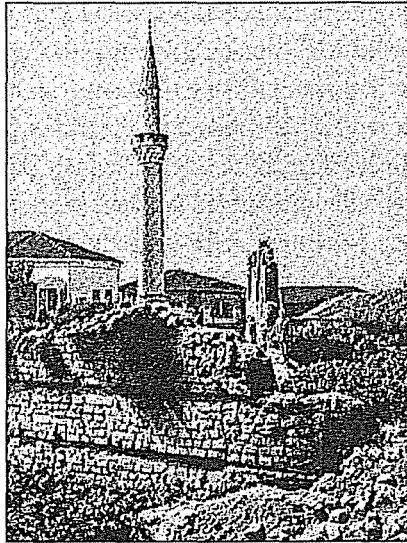


Plate XXVII¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Mavrokefalidou, 2005 & Giannitsa, 2009: p. 32.

APPENDIX I

NOTE: Given the paucity of traveler accounts for Ottoman Yenice-i Vardar, the text of Edward Lear's description of his September 13, 1848 visit is given in its entirety below:

At the eighth hour [sic. 3:00 pm] we had approached so near the mountains that their forms came out clearly through the hazy atmosphere and one needle-like white column, the minaret of the chief mosque of Yiannitsa was visible, the town itself being nearly reached at the ninth hour [sic. 4:00 pm], an event which, with a stumbling horse and fatigued limbs, I gladly hailed.

It would not do to let a day pass without making a large drawing, so I waited outside the town or village, to work until sunset. Yiannitsa, is near the site of ancient Pella, the birthplace of Alexander the Great; in our days it is a beautiful specimen of Macedonian town scenery, situated in groves of rich foliage, overtopped by shining white minarets, with here and there one or two mosque domes and a few tall dark cypresses; these are the most prominent features; all the dirty little houses, which a nearer acquaintance makes you too familiar with, are hidden by the trees, so that the difference between that which seems and that which is vastly wide. Yet as (my drawing done) I entered the place nothing can be more striking and characteristic than the interior of the village, though the poetry and grandeur vanish. Lanes, rich in vegetation, and broken ground, animated by every variety of costume, surround the entrance and conduct you to streets, narrow and flanked with wooden, two-storied houses, galleried and raftered, with broad-tiled eaves overshadowing groups of Turks or Greeks, recumbent and smoking in the upper floor, while loiterers stand at the shop door below: in the kennel are geese in crowds, and the remainder of the street is as fully occupied by goats and buffaloes as by Turks or Christians. Beyond all this are mountains of grandest form, appearing over the high, dark trees, so that altogether no artist need complain of this as a subject.

Curious to know how one would be off for lodgings in Macedonia, I found Giorgio [Note: his interpreter] at the postmaster's house, where, in one of the above-noticed wooden galleries (six or eight silent Turks sat puffing around), I was glad of a basin of tea. But it is most difficult to adopt the Oriental mode of sitting; cross-leggism from first to last was insupportable to me and, as chairs exist not, everything must needs be done at full length. Yet it is a great charm of Turkish character that they never stare or wonder at anything; you are not bored by any questions, and I am satisfied that if you chose to take your tea while suspended by your feet from the ceiling not a word would be said or a sign of amazement betrayed; in consequence you soon lose the sense of the absurd so nearly akin to shame, on which you are forced to dwell if constantly reminded of your awkwardness by observation or interrogation.

Whatever may be said of the wretchedly 'bare' state of a Turkish house, or khan, that, in my estimation, is its chief virtue. The closet (literally a closet, being about six feet six inches by four and perfectly guiltless of furniture) in which my mattress was placed was floored with new deal and whitewashed all over, so that a few minutes sweeping made it a clean, respectable habitation, such as you would find but seldom in Italian Locande of greater pretension. One may not, however, always be so lucky; but if all the route has accommodations like this, there will be no great hardship to encounter.

[September 14] To make sure of as long a day as possible, the elaborate northern meal of breakfast may be well omitted; a good basin of coffee and some toast is always enough and is soon over, and until starting-time there are always stray minutes for sketching. The inhabitants of Yiannitsa seem to know little of the *malattia* [illness] (though but nine hours distant) at Salonica and ask few questions about it; but Turks are such imperturbable people that it is not easy to discover their thoughts. The outskirts of this quiet town are most peaceful and rural and the picturesque

odds and ends within might occupy the man of the pencil pleasantly and profitably.

While taking a parting cup of coffee with the postmaster I unluckily set my foot on a handsome pipe-bowl (pipe-bowls are always snares to near-sighted people moving over Turkish floors, as they are scattered in places quite remote from the smokers, who live at the farther end of prodigiously long pipe-sticks) --- crash; but nobody moved; only on apologizing through Giorgio, the polite Mohammedan said: ‘the breaking such a pipe-bowl would indeed, under ordinary circumstances, be disagreeable; but in a friend every action has its charm!’ – a speech which recalled the injunction of the Italian to his son on leaving home, ‘Whenever anybody treads upon your foot in company, and says, “*Scusatemi*,” only reply: “*Anzi –mi ha fatto un piacere!*” [I beg pardon. On the contrary, you have done me a pleasure].’¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Lear, 1965: pp. 25-27. Note: Among the handful of other travelers who left accounts of their visits to Yenice-i Vardar during and shortly after the *Tourkokratia* (in addition to Evliyâ Çelebi & Edward Lear) are: a) Âşık Mehmed [Visited: h. 994 (12/23/1585-12/11/1586)]; *Menâzürü'l-Avâlim*, III. Cilt (Ankara, 2007), pp. 994-995; b) William Martin Leake: *Travels in Northern Greece*. Vol. III (London, 1835); c) M. Delacoulonche [Visited: 1858], “Memoire sur le berceau de la puissance Macedonienne des bords de l’Haliacmon et ceux de l’Axius,” in *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires. Choix de Rapports et Instructions*, Volume VIII (Paris, 1859); d) Henry Fanshawe Tozer: *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, Volume I (London, 1869); e) Tahsin Uzer: *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetim*. Ankara, 1979 [Visited in 1900]; f) Adolf Struck: “Die Makedonische Niederlande,” in *Zur Kunde des Balkan-Halbinsels*, Volume 7 (Sarjevo, 1908); g) Il. P. Voutieridis, “The New Greek Towns – Yenitsa” [in Greek], in *Panahenaia*, No. 25 (1912-1913); and, h) F. Perilla: *A Travers la Macedoine* (Athens, 1932).

APPENDIX II

Handwritten musical notation in Ottoman script, consisting of multiple staves with notes and lyrics. The notation is arranged in several rows, with some staves containing multiple lines of music. The lyrics are written in Ottoman Turkish script below the notes. The notation includes various note values and rests, typical of Ottoman musical notation.

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APPENDIX III

ارثا زودوس بر ابروم

ابروی زودوس ابروی زود باس لک سن ۳۰ ۳۰ ۶۷۷۱	ابروی زودوس ابروی زود باس لک سن ۳۰ ۳۰ ۱۷۳۳۹
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<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۱۷۰۲۴</p>	<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۲۷۵۳</p>
<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۲۸۴۸</p>	<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۱۷۸۸</p>
<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۸۹۴۸</p>	<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۳۵۳۰</p>
<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۱۸۹۱</p>	<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۲۸۴۸</p>
<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۱۹۹۲</p>	<p>قوتی کرمی نام و دیگر معارف نام قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی قوتی کرمی ۵۶۶۴</p>

۴ ۶ ۰ ۹ ۱ ۳

ادوات برنج از دوشنبه

برنج با سبزی ۱۱ ۳۳۱۱	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۷۶	برنج با سبزی ۱۳ ۳۱۰۳۳
برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۱۳۱۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۵۵۳۴
برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۵۹۲	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۸۱۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵ ۶ ۷

ادوات برنج از دوشنبه

برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳
برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳
برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳	برنج با سبزی ۳ ۳۳۳۳

۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵ ۶ ۷

Transcription Of **Appendix III.**: Villages Belonging To The Pious Foundation
(*Vakif*) Of Evrenos Beg In 1519 As Given In Tapu-Tahrir No. 70

Number & Page	Name of Settlement & Administrative Region it was attached to:	<i>Hanes</i> [Households]	<i>Mücerreds</i> [Bachelors]	<i>Bives</i> [Widows]	<i>Hasıl</i> [Income in akçes]
[p.168]	<i>Evkaf-ı Evrenos Beg el-merhum</i> (Pious Foundation of the Deceased Evrenos Beg)				
1	<i>Karye-i Anderi-i Bîrûn – tabi-i Kara Verya*</i>	47	9	2	17,456
2	<i>Karye-i Anderi-i Enderun – tabi-i Kara Verya*</i>	39	5	4	6,771
3	<i>Karye-i Leziko/Larnakid – tabi-i Kara Verya*</i>	20	1	3	7,946
4	<i>Karye-i Ayane – tabi-i Kara Verya*</i>	20	4	2	6,983
5	<i>Karye-i Furun – tabi-i Kara Verya</i>	52	10	4	9,784
6	<i>Karye-i Pırgos/Burgas – tabi-i Yenice-i Vardar*</i>	65	21	12	20,526
7	<i>Karye-i Çekre – tabi-i Yenice-i Vardar*</i>	<i>Müslim: 1</i> <i>Gebran: 18</i>	9	1	2,865
8	<i>Karye-i Avrasto/Vrasta – tabi-i Yenice-i Vardar*</i>	45	16	9	9,877
9	<i>Karye-i Eflah/Eftelye – tabi-i Yenice-i Vardar*</i>	14	8	2	6,071
10	<i>Karye-i Hızır Bâli – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	37	10		4,200
11	<i>Karye-i Mentşeli – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	28	6		3,290
12	<i>Karye-i Davudça – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	29	5		3,695
13	<i>Karye-i Pelenk Bahşı – tabi-i Selânik</i>	25	6		3,480
14	<i>Karye-i Yalçe – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	75		6	11,798
15	<i>Karye-i Grobesiç – tabi-i Selânik</i>	21	4	3	3,426

16	<i>Karye-i Zemin – tabi-i Selânik</i> [?]	79	7	8	7,721
17	<i>Karye-i Kolura–tabi-i Kara Verya*</i>	41	15	10	15,854
18	<i>Karye-i Plati – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	64	12	17	18,673
19	<i>Karye-i Mustafaça– tabi-i Selânik*</i>	42	14		6,240
20	<i>Karye-i Kara Kumlu nam-i diğ er Orlini ve nam-i diğ er Mülamer – tabi-i Selânik</i> [?]	28	8		3,363
21	<i>Karye-i _____ – tabi-i Selânik</i> [?]	22	9		3,100
22	<i>Karye-i Küleki – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	188	21	30	35,616
23	<i>Karye-i Karaca Hızırlu – tabi-i Avrat Hisarı*</i>	51	28		7,473
24	<i>Karye-i Kolonati – tabi-i Selânik</i>	58	12		7,216
25	<i>Karye-i Dermilova – tabi-i Selânik</i>	<i>Müslim: 2 Gebran: 44</i>	1 11	1	9,546
26	<i>Karye-i Nareş – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	52	12	17	11,249
27	<i>Karye-i Tamara – tabi-i Selânik</i>	31	6	1	5,653
28	<i>Karye-i İmlerosik nam-i diğ er Toboloç – tabi-i Selânik</i>	140	17	5	25,211
29	<i>Karye-i Akçe Kilise – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	78	7	5	7,942
[p.169]					
30	<i>Karye-i Gönine – tabi-i Selânik</i>	186	20	10	28,822
31	<i>Karye-i Kara Pınarlı nam-i diğ er Hisarlı – tabi-i Avrat Hisarı*</i>	65	50		9,373
32	<i>Karye-i Çirekçi/ Çeyrekçi – tabi-i Yenice-i Vardar</i>	<u> </u> Ayaz Bey [?]			863
33	<i>Karye-i Hüseyinlu nam-i diğ er Sendel – tabi-i Yenice-i Vardar*</i>	<i>Müslim: 1 Gebran: 11</i>			881

34	<i>Karye-i Plati/Pelisto--- tabi-i Kara Verya *</i>	8			630
35	<i>Karye-i Sasalu – tabi-i Selânik</i>	39	12		3,525
36	<i>Karye-i Canbazlu – tabi-i Selânik</i>	17	10		2,908
37	<i>Karye-i Sunkurlar – tabi-i Selânik</i>	31	4	1	3,406
38	<i>Karye-i Kapaklu ve Hacı Hamza – tabi-i Selânik</i>	11	1		1,860
39	<i>Karye-i Yaylaci – tabi-i Selânik</i>	11	3		2,477
40	<i>Karye-i Lolodiç – tabi-i Selânik</i>	31	4	1	3,406
41	<i>Karye-i İdrislu – tabi-i Selânik</i>	11	1		1,860
42	<i>Karye-i Kurşapalu – tabi-i Selânik</i>	32	11		3,852
43	<i>Karye-i Kırçılar/ Kiraclar - tabi-i Selânik</i>	24	9		4,672
44	<i>Karye-i Selmanlu – tabi-i Avrat Hisarı*</i>	13	4		4,260
45	<i>Karye-i Saruçı – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	21	3		2,754
46	<i>Karye-i Atanlı – tabi-i Selânik</i>	11	5		3,751
47	<i>Karye-i Kurka – tabi-i Selânik</i>	34	5	5	17,029
48	<i>Karye-i Kılıçeri – tabi-i Selânik</i>	13			1,788
49	<i>Karye-i Yayıncılar– tabi-i Avrat Hisarı*</i>	41	19		7,575
50	<i>Karye-i Kavaklu – tabi- i Avrat Hisarı*</i>	25	5		2,898
51	<i>Karye-i Göl Obası – tabi-i Avrat Hisarı*</i>	21	16		3,553
52	<i>Karye-i Kapuvcılar ve Deve Kuran – tabi-i Selânik</i>	28	5		4,098
53	<i>Karye-i Todorosi nam-i diğer Anbar Köyü – tabi-i Selânik</i>	8	5	8	8,998

54	<i>Karye-i Podova[?] – tabi-i Selânik</i>	25	1	5	2,876
55	<i>Karye-i Kerdonoz – tabi-i Selânik</i>	47	15	7	11,896
56	<i>Karye-i Lolovad- tabi-i Selânik</i>	96	8	6	16,091
57	<i>Karye-i Meslancik – tabi-i Avrat Hisari*</i>	46	22		5,666
58	<i>Karye-i Hasançı tabi-i Avrat Hisari*</i>	57	31		7,455
59	<i>Karye-i İncür – tabi-i Kilis</i>	22	5		1,992
p. 170	<i>Yekûn (Total): 460,983 [akçes]</i>				
	TOTALS:				
Evkaf-ı 'İsâ Beg bin Evrenos Beg (Pious Foundation of 'İsâ Beg son of Evrenos Beg)					
60	<i>Karye-i Ala Kilise – tabi-i Selânik*</i>	137	14	16	31,047
61	<i>Karye-i Göçeri - tabi-i Selânik</i>	14	3		4,675
62	<i>Karye-i Kirmeci -tabi-i Selânik</i>	11			2,311
63	<i>Karye-i Korkanlu nam-i diğêr Segidimi – tabi-i Selânik</i>	17	3		5,548
64	<i>Karye-i Burak Obası nam-i diğêr Turhanlu – tabi-i Selânik</i>	7			1,819
65	<i>Karye-i Çengerova– tabi-i Selânik*</i>	45	7	3	6,737
66	<i>Karye-i Romanova– tabi-i Selânik*</i>	42	10	2	4,943
67	<i>Karye-i Karyovça – tabi-i Yenice-i Vardar*</i>	Müslim: 1 Gebran: 109	12	13	34,816
68	<i>Ez hariç ki der karye-i mezbûr</i>				4,592
	<i>Yekûn (Total): 86,488 [akçes]</i>				
	TOTALS:				

<i>Evkaf-ı Ahmed Beg bin Evrenos Beg</i> (Pious Foundation of Ahmed Beg son [sic. grandson] of Evrenos Beg)					
69	<i>Karye-i Ağostos</i> [Naoussa] – <i>tabi-i Kara</i> <i>Verya*</i>	<i>Müslim:</i> 11 <i>Gebran:</i> 372	1 22	67	69,332
70	<i>Karye-i Pirgo Palat –</i> <i>nam-i diğer</i> <i>Eflah - tabi-i Yenice-i</i> <i>Vardar*</i>	160		30	33,826
71	<i>Karye-i Hısar Beg –</i> <i>tabi-i Yenice-i Vardar</i>	<i>Müslim:</i> 59	8		9,849
72	<i>Karye-i Adroç nam-i</i> <i>diğer Değirmen ve</i> <i>Pınar Başı – tabi-i</i> <i>Yenice-i Vardar</i>	<i>Müslim:</i> 1 <i>Gebran:</i> 16	1 5	3	3,490
73	<i>Karye-i Bulgar – tabi-i</i> <i>Yenice-i Vardar*</i>	51	4	5	9,133
	<i>Yekûn (Total):</i> 113,531 [akçes]				

* Those villages which have been identified on various 19th century maps of the region are marked with an asterisk.

APPENDIX IV¹²¹

دفتخیر الحیات و شهید الحیات مرحوم غازی ادرنوس بزرگوارک اتاسی ای اوقیای
 می زندگانه شهید اولوبه توربه سنی قریب به موبه هـ - د - قریب؛ نکوربه اتاسی روقیای
 دنق ایروب مصلحت ایینه به ورونه به ماکون تهرن اولوز توبق دخیل و غزل و غنیم
 کلید وار و اسای برین مندی او اناناه مشر و طهر
 مصلحتی نام و بار برالن
 ۱۱
 ۸۹

Vakf-ı sa'îdü'l-hayât ve şehîdü'l-memât merhum Gâzi Evrenos Beg. Mezkûrun atası Pırankı İsâ Beg mahall-i mezkûrda şehîd olup türbesine karye-i mezburdadır. Karye-i mezkûru atası ruhi-içün vakf edüp mahsûlü âyendeye ve ravendeye, me'kûlâtına sarf olunur. Tevliyeti ve zaptı ve azlı ve nasbı Yenice-i Vardar ve sâir amâyirine mütevellî olanları meşruttur.

Karye-i Hayırcık nam-i diğەر Pırankı

Hane: 40

Mücerred: 11

Hasil: 3,389 [akçes]

TRANSLATION: *The pious foundation of the the sa'îdü'l-hayât ve şehîdü'l-memât, the deceased Gazi Evrenos Beg: The aforementioned's father, Pırankı 'İsâ Beg was martyred in the aforementioned location, and his mausoleum (türbe) is located in that village. He [Evrenos] therefore dedeed it to the pious foundation he established in memory of his father's soul, and its revenue goes to provide the food for those who come and go [travelers], and it is administered and guarded, looked after and protected, by those who administer his foundations in Yenice-i Vardar and other places.*

Village of Hayırcık which is also known as Pırankı

Households: 40

Bachelors: 11

Income: 3,389 [akçes = small silver coins]

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Tapu-Tahrir Defter No. 167 (1530): p. 198.

APPENDIX V

NOTE: Given the paucity of traveler accounts for Ottoman Yenice-i Vardar, the full text of the important 16th century Ottoman traveler Aşık Mehmed, who visited the town for three days in h. 994 (December 23, 1585 – December 13, 1586). The transliterated Turkish text and English translation are given in their entirety below.¹²²

Yenice-i Vardar: Feth-i yâ-i müsennât-ı tahtıyye ve kesr-i kâf-ı 'Acemiyye ve sükûn-ı yâ-i müsennât-ı sâniye ve feth-i cîm ve âhiri hâ iledür. Vardar lafzının zabtı terceme-i Selânik'de mürür itdi ve Yenice 'Arab lugatında musaggar-ı cedîd olan cüdeyde ma 'nasımadur. Yirmi sekizinci iklim-i 'örfi olan Cânib-i Şimâlî'dedür.

Ve bu iklimde Yenice ismi ile müsemmâ birkaç mevzi' dahi vardur. Lâkin muzâfîn-ileyhleri mugâyirdür ve bu mugâberetle [sic. mugâyeretle] birbirinden mütemeyyizdür ki in-şâallâhu te'âlâ her biri mevki'ında îrâd olunur. Yenice-i Vardar Selânik'ün cânib-i şimâlî-i garbîsindedür. Beynehümâ nısf merhaledür ve Yenice-i Vardar medîne-i bilâ-sûrdur. Râkımü'l-hurûf sene erba'a ve tis'in ve tis'a-mi'e'de Selânik'e varduğum eyyâmdan sonra bu târîhde üslûb-ı seyâhat üzre Yenice-i Vardar'a uğrayup üç gün ârâm itdüm. Eyyâm-ı sayf olup halk-ı Yenice-i Vardar [II,19a] yaylakda olmağın Yenice-i Vardar'da halk kalîl olup meks ü ârâm itmeğe meyl-i hâtır olmayup ba'zı ahdâs-ı halkı < râkımü'l-hurûfı | yaylak-ı Yenice-i Vardar seyrine sevk itmişler iken mukadder olmamağla 'mân-ı 'azîmet cânib-i âhara mün'atf oldı ve medîne-i Yenice-i Vardar belde-i hasenedür. Cevâmi' ve hammâmât ve esvâk-ı müte'addidesi ve bezzâzistânı vardur ve sâlifü'z-zıkr Hacı ve gâzî Evranos Bey -rahîmehü'llâh-Yenice-i Vardar'da medfûndur ve meşâyih-i eslâf-ı kirâmdan Şeyh İlâhî dahi Yenice-i Vardar'da zâviyesi kurbında medfûndur. Râkımü'l-hurûf bu iki veliyyü'llâhun meşhedlerin ziyâret ve rûh-ı pür-fütûhların du'â-i hayr ve sûre-i Fâtiha ile ri'âyet itdüm ve Evranos Bey Yenice-i

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We are fortunate in finally having a useable edition of this important work: Aşık Mehmed: *Menâzirü'l-Avâlim*. Edited by: Mahmud Ak. 3 Volumes (Ankara, 2007). Volume I.: *Tahlil ve Dizin* [Analysis & Index] pp. I-CDLXXI; Volume II.: *Metin* [Text], pp. 1-950; and, Volume III.: *Metin* [Text], pp. 951-1886. Aşık's description of his visit to Yenice-i Vardar is found in Volume III., pp. 994-995.

Vardar'da bir matbah-ı ta'âm ve bir dârü'z-zıyâfe-i ebnâ-i sebîl binâ itmişdür ve nâhiye-i Vardar kurâsında Evranos Bey'ün evkâf-ı kesîresi vardur ve Evranos Bey evlâdından 'İsâ Bey nâm sâhibü'l-hayr ve'l-en'âm dahi Yenice-i Vardar'da it'âm-ı fukarâ-i müstehakkîn için bir matbah-ı ta'âm binâ itmişdür-tekabbele'llâhü in'âmehümâ- ve Yenice-i Vardar'da müdârese ve müzâkere-i 'ulûm için binâ olunmuş medâris-i tayyibe vardur ve Yenice-i Vardar halkınun kavâbil ve ezkiyâsı ve erbâb-ı ma'ârif ve 'ulemâsı zuhûr itmişdür ve 'ale'd-devâm zuhûr itmek üzredür.

APPENDIX V [TRANSLATION]

Yenice-i Vardar: That 'y' (with an upper *hareke*) which has two dots under it, followed by the Persian 'kef' with an 'i' *hareke*, then a second 'y' without any *hareke*, and then the letter 'c' with an 'e' *hareke*; at the end there is the letter 'h.'

We explained the word Vardar when we wrote about Selânik. Yenice in the Arab language is a diminutive of 'cedid,' which is 'cudedâ.'

And in the southern sector of this 28th climatic zone there are several other locations which bear the name Yenice. Although the second part of their names are different and this fact distinguishes them one from the other. God willing, I will describe the other Yenices when writing about their proper locations.

Yenice-i Vardar lies to the northwest of Selânik at the distance of half a days travel. And Yenice Vardar has no walls.¹²³ And in the year h. 994

¹²³

While this account includes a number of otherwise unknown facts concerning Yenice-i Vardar, none is more important than Âşık Mehmed's clear statement that "*Yenice Vardar has no walls.*" This is in clear contrast with Evliyâ Çelebi who describes it as possessing "two fortresses," one of which he names as the "*Tekûr Pınar Fortress which stands at one end of the city,*" and the second is the "*Verebiye [Fortress] which is located within the present day city*" [Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: p.164]. Alternatively, Evliyâ's 'fortresses' may have been so small as to be deemed insignificant by the earlier traveler?

[December 23, 1585 – December 13, 1586], after I had arrived in Selânik, and spent some days there, I traveled to Yenice-i Vardar where I spent three days. As it was during the days of summer most of the inhabitants of Yenice-i Vardar (for a variety of different reasons) had gone to the mountains (*yaylak*) and there were few people in residence there. Because there were so few people in Yenice Vardar those who were there recommended that I too should go to the *yaylak*. But this was not to be my destiny and I modified my route accordingly.

The town of Yenice-i Vardar is a pleasant place. It possesses mosques (*Cevâmi*), bathhouses (*hammâmât*), several market places (*esvâk-ı müte'addidesi*), and a covered market hall (*bezzâzistânı*), and the aforementioned *Hacı* and *Gâzi Evranos Bey* -may God bless his soul- is buried in Yenice-i Vardar. In addition, the honorable ancestor of the *Şeyhs*, *Şeyh İlähî*, is likewise buried in Yenice-i Vardar in the vicinity of his dervish lodge (*zâviye*). And I visited the mausoleums of these two saints and recited prayers on their behalf. And Evranos Bey constructed a kitchen (*matbah-ı ta'âm*) and facilities for feeding (*dârü'z-zıyâfe*) travelers (*ebnâ-i sebîl*). And throughout the villages of the sub-province of Vardar are many pious foundations of Evranos Bey. And among the sons of Evranos Bey, the one named 'İsâ Bey -the endower of charitable foundations- also constructed a soup kitchen (*matbah-ı ta'âm*) in Yenice-i Vardar to feed the poor and destitute (may it be acceptable in God's sight). And in Yenice-i Vardar there are also theological seminaries (*medâris-i tayyibe*) for studying and discussing the [Islamic] sciences. And the inhabitants of Yenice-i Vardar are practicable and clever and the teachers (*erbâb-ı ma'ârif*) and the doctors of Muslim theology (*'ulemâ*) are numerous and they continue to seek knowledge.

APPENDIX VI ¹²⁴**Yenice Vardar'ın Genel Durumu**

[p.66] *Yenice Vardar, vaktiyle Manastır demiryolunun inşasından evvel, önemli bir uğraktı. Yenice Vardar, Selânik ve Manastır şehirleri arasında yolcu ve ticari eşyanın nakli için ilk duraktı. Bu bakımdan hanları, çarşısı, kahvehaneleri, hamamları, esnafları ve tüccarı pek hareketli ve parlaktı. Çocukluğumda bildiğim Yenice bu durumdaydı. Halbuki kaymakamlık vekâletimde sönük, sessiz, hareketsiz ve sıkıntılı bir şehir buldum. Derhal 'Evronos Gazi'nin Türbesi'ni ziyaret ettim. Türbesi pek harap idi. Eskiden ise çok bakımlı ve ziyaretçiler dolup boşanırdı. Mütevelliler, yani Gazi Evronoszadeler buna ait vakıfların gelirinizve ve sefahatlarına harcamışlar ve bu tarihten büyük insanın türbesi bakımsız ve harap bırakmışlardı.*

Mütevellileri buldum ve kendilerini ağır bir şekilde suçladım. Türbe'nin onarımına başladım. Yenice Vardar belediyesi zengin ve [p. 67] geniş hamlelere girişme olanaklara sahip olduğu halde uyuştu.

[p. 82] *Makedonya'nın etnografik vaziyeti pek karışıktır. Her halde eski Makedonyalılar bozulmuş; Türk, Sırp, Bulgar, Rum, Ulah ve Arnavut karışarak, bambaşka bir nesil vücuda gelmiştir... Makedonya fatihleri: Yıldırım Bayezid, Sultan Murad-ı Hüdavendigâr ile Evronos Bey'dir.*

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Tahsin Uzer: *Makedonya Eşkiyalık Tarihi ve Son Osmanlı Yönetim*. Ankara, 1979. This passage is taken from a section of Uzer's memoirs, entitled: '*Yenice Kaymakamlığı Vekâletim*' [My Service as Sub-Provincial Governor in Yenice]. It appears on pp. 66-67 & p. 82 of his work. It is given here (in full) as an example of the manner in which both the town of Yenice-i Vardar and the fortunes of the Evrenosoğulları had declined by the opening years of the 20th century. Uzer, who had been a member of the Young Turk's wartime government, wrote his memoirs while a prisoner of the British on Malta. One of his fellow prisoners, [Evrenosoğlu] Rahmi Bey (an important Young Turk leader who had served as wartime Governor of İzmir, where he is credited with thwarting the deportation of the city's Armenian inhabitants), was likewise on Malta. Implicitly Tahsin Bey provides a negative appraisal of Rahmi Bey when he writes that the only worthwhile member of the Evrenosoğulları was Yusuf Paşa.

Evrenos'un aslen Türk veya devşirme Rum evlâdından olup olmadığı hakkında tarihçiler arasında anlaşmazlık vardır. Türbesi Yenice Vardar'dadır. Evlât ve ahfâdına terkettiği vakıflar pek zengin idiyse de, maalesef, evlât ve ahfâdından Yusuf Paşa'dan başka önemli bir tek şahsiyet yetişmemiştir. Yüz seneden ziyade ömrü olan 'Gazi Evrenos,' padişahlarda bulunmayan servet ve sâmana makikti; hatta Yıldırım Beyazıt'ın nikâhında verdiği hediyenin kıymet ve mahiyeti, ölümünün sebebi olmuştur. "Kırk cariye, kırk köle, başlarında mücevher dolu altın tepsiler ufak bir düğün hediyesi."

Translation

The General State of Yenice Vardar

[p. 66] Prior to the building of the Manastır railway Yenice had served as an important crossroads. Yenice Vardar had been the first stopping point for all travelers and commercial goods moving between Selânik and Manastır. In this regard its hans (large commercial buildings), a çarşı (marketplace), kahvehanes (coffee shops), hammams (public bathhouses), and esnaf (craftsmen) and tüccars (merchants) were active and prosperous. That is how I knew Yenice to have been during my childhood. However, when I arrived to serve as the sub-provincial Governor, I found a city which was undistinguished, lusterless, quiet, depressing and lifeless.

I immediately paid a visit to the mausoleum of Gazi Evrenos [sic. Evrenos]. I found it to be in ruins. In the past it had been well maintained and with a steady stream of visitors. Its foundation's administrators, that is, the descendants of Gazi Evrenos, had squandered the pious foundation's income on pleasures and dissipation, and the mausoleum of this great man was untended and in ruin.

I found the administrators and condemned their oversight with strong language. I immediately undertook the restoration of the mausoleum.

Despite the fact that the Municipality of Yenice Vardar is wealthy and possesses [p. 67] great capacity for development it too was lifeless. I challenged them to begin working.

[p. 82] The ethnographic position of Macedonia is very mixed: The ancient Macedonian bloodline was diluted: By mixing Turks, Serbs,

Bulgarians, Greeks, Wallachians and Albanians an entirely new group of beings came into existence... The conquerors of Macedonia were Yıldırım Beyazıt, Sultan Murad Hüdvendigâr and Evrenos Bey.

There is disagreement among historians as to whether Evrenos was actually Turkish or a Greek youth from the devşirme (levy of young Christian boys). His mausoleum is in Yenice Vardar. Although his vakfs (pious foundations) were very well endowed; unfortunately, with the exception of Yusuf Paşa, his descendants have not produced a single noteworthy person. Gazi Evrenos, who lived more than a century, possessed riches and wealth on a scale beyond even that of the Sultans. Indeed the scope and grandeur of the wedding gifts he gave to Yıldırım Beyazıt were the cause of his death [Note: Uzer is mistaken on this point. Evrenos lived for another twenty years after Yıldırım's wedding?]: "Forty female concubines and forty male slaves, each carrying golden trays laden with precious jewels" is a small wedding present.

CORRIGENDUM

Note: In Lowry/Erünsal, 2008: p. 110 which gives our reading for p. 91 of the 17th century Evrenosogulları *şeceresi*, in the marginalia next to the entry for Süleyman Beğ, the phrase we read as:

"Sultan Mehmed Han Hazretleri Selânik'de kışlayıp o tarikle Yenice'ye gelüp..." [While his Excellency Sultan Mehmed Han was wintering in Selânik he came to Yenice...]

Should be read as:

Sultan Mehmed Han Hazretleri Selânik'de kışlayıp av tarikiyle Yenice'ye gelüp..." [While his Excellency Sultan Mehmed Han was wintering in Selânik he came for hunting to Yenice...]

We are, after all, dealing with the Ottoman ruler Sultan Mehmed IV., known as *Avcı* Mehmed (Mehmed the Hunter).