

OSMANLI ARAŐTIRMALARI

XXXII

NeŐir Heyeti - Editorial Board

Halil İNALCIK - İsmail E. ERÜNSAL

Heath W. LOWRY - Feridun EMECEN

Klaus KREISER - Bilgin AYDIN

THE JOURNAL OF OTTOMAN STUDIES

XXXII

İstanbul - 2008

THE EVRENOS DYNASTY OF YENICE VARDAR

Notes & Documents on Hacı Evrenos & the Evrenosoğulları: A Newly Discovered Late-17TH Century *Şecere* (Genealogical Tree), Seven Inscriptions on Stone & Family Photographs

Heath W. LOWRY* - İsmail E. ERÜNSAL**

The intent of this study is multifold: on the one hand it introduces and publishes a heretofore unknown annotated *şecere* (genealogical tree), covering the Evrenosoğulları (descendants of Hacı Evrenos) from the beginning of the 14th through the third quarter of the 17th century, while on the other it presents a collection of seven inscriptions on stone (*kitabeler*) relating to the early Ottoman March Lord (*Uc Beğ*) Hacı Evrenos, of which only one has been previously published.¹ These primary sources are then examined in

* Princeton University

** Marmara University

¹ These are respectively (and chronologically): 1) a largely obliterated dedicatory inscription (*kitabe*) over the entrance doorway to the Evrenos built (ca. 1370) *Zâviye-İmâret* (Dervish Lodge/Soup Kitchen) in the Thracian town of Gümülcine (Komotini); 2) a second partially obliterated dedicatory inscription (*kitabe*) stored in the depot of the Komotini Archeological Museum, which once was located above the second entrance doorway of the Evrenos *Zaviye-İmâret* in Gümülcine; 3) a fragment of an inscription on a *han* (caravansary) built by Evrenos in ca. 1390 at the site of the Roman city of Traianoupolis (Turkish: Kara Ilıca; Greek: Loutros] which lies between the town of Feres (Ferecik) and Alexandroupolis (Dedeağaç) close to the Evros (Meriç) River in western Thrace [a photo and partial translation of which appears in: Heath W. Lowry: *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550*. İstanbul (Bahçeşehir University Press), 2008. pp. pp. 33-35 [Hereafter: Lowry, 2008]; 4) the previously published tombstone of

light of a number of rare late 19th and early 20th century photographs depicting monuments in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa) and the interior of the mausoleum (*türbe*) of Hacı Evrenos. Finally, it evaluates the testimony of the *şecere* (family tree) and inscriptions in terms of their importance as historical sources. In so doing it is designed to open a new window into the history of one of the longest lasting family dynasties of the six-hundred year Ottoman polity.

To say that little is known about the origins and subsequent history of this important family is an understatement.² Even something as basic as the

Evrenos dated Wednesday, 7 *Shawwal*, h. 820 (1417), from his *türbe* (mausoleum) in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa) in central Macedonia [See: V. Demetriades: "The Tomb of Ghazi Evrenos Beğ at Yenitsa and its Inscription," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 39 (London, 1976), pp. 328-332 [Hereafter: Demetriades, 1976] & Heath W. Lowry: *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany, NY (SUNY Press), 2003. pp. 59-61 [Hereafter: Lowry, 2003]; 5) the photo of a no longer extant restoration inscription dated h. 1302 (October 21, 1884 – October 11, 1885) which once adorned the wall above the sarcophagus of Evrenos in the Yenice Vardar *türbe*; 6) a photo of a second no longer extant restoration inscription from the tomb of Evrenos, dated h. 1303 (October 10, 1885 – September 30, 1886), which names his descendant Mehmed Şefik Paşa as the *mütevelli* (administrator of his pious foundation) responsible for the *türbe*'s 1885-1886 restoration; and, 7) the still in situ restoration inscription (over the entrance doorway) of the Evrenos mausoleum (*türbe*) in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa), which is dated h. 1326-1328 [February 4, 1908 – January 3, 1911].

² For such a key figure in the formative period of Ottoman growth there is amazingly little in the way of serious scholarship devoted to the personage of Evrenos. In Turkish, the earliest works are a short article and monograph available only in Ottoman Turkish. They are: Osman Ferid: "Evrenos Beğ Hanedanına Aid Temlikname-i Hümayun," in *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, Vol. VI., No. 31 (İstanbul, 1915), pp. 410-418 and: [Hamit Vehbi] "Gazi Evrenos Beğ," in *Meşahir-i İslam*, No. 26. İstanbul, ND., pp. 801-976. These were followed by three short pieces which appeared in a Balıkesir *Halk Evleri* periodical in 1936: K. Kani: "Evrenos Beğ," in *Kaynak*, No. 36 (Balıkesir, 1936), pp. 923-925; K. Kani: "Evrenos Beğ," in *Kaynak*, No. 37 (Balıkesir, 1936), pp. 17-22; & K. Kani: "Evrenos Beğ," in *Kaynak*, No. 38 (Balıkesir, 1936), pp. 60-64. More recent articles, include: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Evrenos," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 4 (1964), pp. 413-418 [Hereafter: Uzunçarşılı, 1964]; Vahit Çabuk: "Sultan I. Murad'ın Gazi Evrenos Beğ'e Gonderdiği Yönetimle İlgili bir Emr-i Şerif ve Bunun Düşündürdükleri," in *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi*, Year: 6, Number 63 (March 1992), pp. 34-40; Fahamettin Başar: "Evrenosoğulları," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 11 (İstanbul, 1995), pp. 539-541 [Hereafter: Başar, 1995]; Semavi Eyice: "Gazi Evrenosoğlu Camii ve Türbesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 13 (İstanbul, 1996), pp.

names of Evrenos' children and grandchildren are less than clear, with standard reference works such as the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*,³ *İslam Ansiklopedisi*,⁴ and the *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*⁵ providing contradictory genealogies for family members in the first three generations. To confuse an already muddy picture, the oft-cited work of Yılmaz Öztuna on the Islamic states and their noble families, even provides conflicting information on individual members of the Evrenosoğulları in different editions of the same work.⁶

549-550; Mehmet İnbaşı: "Sultan I. Murad'ın Evrenos Beğ'e Mektubu," in *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, No. 17 (Erzurum, 2001), pp. 225-236; H. Çetin Arslan: *Türk Akıncı Beyleri ve Balkanların İmarına Katkıları (1300-1451)*. Ankara (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları), 2001; Levent Kayapınar: "Osmanlı Uç Beği Evrenos Beğ Ailesinin Menşei, Yunanistan Coğrafyasındaki Faaliyetleri ve Eserleri," in *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Vol. 2004-1, No. 8 (2004), pp. 133-142; and, Zeki Salih Zengin: "İlk Dönem Vakfiyelerinden Serez'de Evrenuz Gazi'ye Ait Zâviye Vakfiyesi," in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Vol. 28 (Ankara, 2004), pp. 101-120 [Hereafter: Zengin, 2004]. Among these works, the articles by Osman Ferid, İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, V. Çabuk, L. Kayapınar & Z. S. Zengin are of particular interest. Despite a title which suggests relevance to the present study the 2001 book by Arslan on the Balkan architectural contributions of the *Akıncı* families, is of limited value as he relies primarily on the works of Kiel and Uzunçarşılı.

In western languages, see: Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I.* (Münich, 1967), pp.228-236; Demetriades, 1976: pp. 328-332; V. Demetriades: "Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Beğ's Wakf," in *Balkan Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1981), pp. 43-57; and, Irene Mélikoff, "Ewrenos," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 2 (1965), pp. 720-721 [Hereafter: Mélikoff, 1965].

The most recent contribution to the scholarship on Evrenos is: 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. 16-64], examines the career of Evrenos in light of the remains of architectural monuments in Greece which were either endowed and built by him or which were constructed during his lifetime.

³ Mélikoff, 1965: p. 721. Listed in the body of this study as: [M].

⁴ Uzunçarşılı, 1964: p. 417. Listed in the body of this study as: [U].

⁵ Başar, 1995: 539. Listed in the body of this study as: [B].

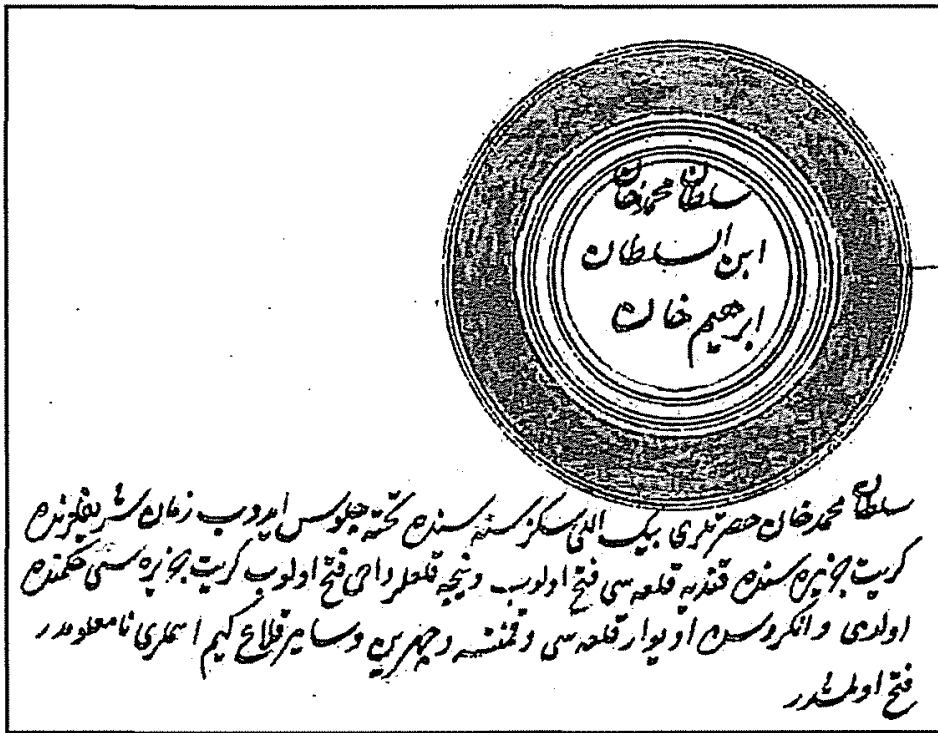
⁶ Yılmaz Öztuna: *Devletler ve Hânedanlar: Cilt 2: Türkiye (1074-1990)*. Ankara (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları), 1969 & the expanded (*genişletilmiş*) 1996 edition [Hereafter: Öztuna, 1996]. Listed in the body of this study as: [Ö]. As a case in point we may cite the information given by Öztuna relative to one of the last prominent members of the Evrenos line to live in Greece: Mustafa Rahmî Beğ. Here, in the 1969 edition [p. 646],

In the opening section of this study we weigh the previously published genealogies in these secondary sources against that preserved in a 'family tree' (*şecere*) compiled late in the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687), a copy of which was provided to Heath Lowry by G. Ersin Evrenos, a retired Captain in the Turkish Navy.⁷ The manuscript from which it is extracted belongs to Ersin Bey, who is a direct descendant of Hacı Evrenos' son, İki Yürekli Ali Beğ. Not only is the *şecere* an invaluable source for establishing the family's heretofore largely unknown genealogy in the years between ca. 1330 and 1678-1687, i.e., for the first half of the Ottoman era, its value is further enhanced by virtue of its containing a large number of original 'annotations' elaborating specific details concerning marriages, positions held, burial sites, etc. for various members of the family.

Öztuna has Rahmî Beğ as a member of the Central Committee (*Merkez-i Umûmî*) of the *İttihâd ve Terakkî* (Young Turks) and a member of Parliament representing Selânik (Thessaloniki) in 1908 and 1912. During the war he is listed as having served as Governor of İzmir and then as having been hung for his alleged involvement in the İzmir plot to assassinate Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] in 1926. Twenty-seven years later in the 'expanded' edition of 1996 [p. 656] he has resurrected Rahmî Beğ, for whom he now provides the information that he lived between (1873-1949), adopted the family name 'Arslan' [in 1935], and that rather than being executed in 1926 he had been sentenced to ten years imprisonment. If this kind of confusion is possible when dealing with 20th century members of the Evrenosoğulları one can only imagine the difficulty of trying to piece together their 14th and 15th genealogical tree.

⁷ The authors take this opportunity to express our thanks to Ersin Bey for generously sharing this heretofore unpublished genealogy and to Özer Gazievrenosoğlu for providing copies of the two late 19th century photographs of the interior of the *türbe* (tomb) of Hacı Evrenos in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa) and their now no longer extant inscriptions. The *kitabes* (restoration inscriptions) depicted in these photos will be discussed subsequently. We are also indebted to Özer Gazievrenosoğlu (an İstanbul attorney) for making a number of family photographs and other materials available to Heath Lowry. Özer Bey was the driving force behind the organization of the first 'family reunion' of the Evrenosoğulları, an event held in İstanbul on June 22, 2008. Heath Lowry was honored by an invitation to address the gathering, as well as by the chance to meet close to fifty family members from İstanbul, Bursa, Dikili and İzmir in Turkey and others from as far away as Arizona in the U.S.A.. Interestingly, all those in attendance were descendants of Evrenos' son İki Yürekli Ali Beğ. We have as yet been unable to locate any family members from what the *şecere* indicates is the other surviving branch of the family, the line of Hızırşah Beğ? ·

The Evrenosoğlu family tree is preserved in the form of a ninety-four page manuscript, which begins with the genealogies of the Biblical prophets, continues through the line of the Prophet Mohammed, those of the early Islamic dynasties and the House of Osman. By virtue of the fact that the last Ottoman ruler it names is the ruling Sultan Mehmed IV., we may deduce that it was drawn up during his reign, i.e., between the years 1648 and 1687. Below the name of this ruler is a marginalia containing additional clues which help us further pinpoint the date of the *şecere*:



Text:

Circle: *Sultan Mehmed Han ibnii's-Sultan İbrahim Han:*

Line #1: *Sultan Mehmed Han hazretleri bin elli sekiz senesinde tahtâ cülus idüb. zaman-i şeriflerinde*

Line #2: *Girit Ceziresinde Kandiye Kalesi feth olup ve nice kaleler dahi feth olup Girit Ceziresi hükmünde*

Line #3: *oldu. Ve Engerüs'de Uyvar Kalesi ve Kamenitsa ve Çehrin ve sâir kılâ' kim isimleri nâ-ma'lumdur,*

Line #4: *feth olmuşdur.* [p. 75]

Translation: Sultan Mehmed Han the son of Sultan İbrahim Han: His Excellency Sultan Mehmed Han ascended to the throne in the year h. 1058 [January 27, 1648 - January 14, 1649]. He conquered the Fortress of Kandiye on the island of Crete, together with many other fortresses [on the island] and it came under his dominion. And in Hungary he conquered the Fortress of Uyvar, [and] Kamanıçe and Çehrin and other fortresses whose names are unknown [to us].

The fact that this marginalia indicates that Mehmed IV was the ruling sultan when it was written, i.e., he is not listed as *merhum* (deceased), provides us with a *terminus a quo* for the *şecere*'s compilation of January 27, 1648, the date upon which he ascended the Ottoman throne. As he was deposed on November 8, 1687 we likewise are provided with a *terminus ad quem*. In addition, the fact that the note names several campaigns which were undertaken in the course of his reign allows us to narrow the possible dates of the *şecere*'s compilation even further. Specifically, knowing that the fortress of Çehrin was taken between February 23, 1678 and February 11, 1679, allows us to posit that the Evrenos family tree must have been drawn up in the nine year interval between 1678 and 1687.

Immediately following the entry for Sultan Mehmed IV. is a nineteen page section [*şecere*: pp. 76-94] devoted specifically to the lineage of Hacı Evrenos. As was the case with that provided for the House of Osman, this section likewise concludes with entries for late 17th century family members. At this point the original *şecere* ends, although there are an additional two pages containing numerous later entries in a variety of hands. While these additions are included in the transcription/translation of the documents provided in the present study, they are later addenda to the original document, and as such are not discussed in the analysis of the *şecere*.

This manuscript has subsequently been passed from generation to generation in the line of Evrenos' son İki Yüreklü Ali Beğ, and, as noted above,

is currently in the possession of G. Ersin Evrenos,⁸ who has most generously shared it with us and consented to its publication in the current study. Using the *şecere* as our baseline, it is possible to extract the following profile of the family's 14th and 15th century history:

First Generation Hacı ve Gazî Evrenos/Evrenos (اورنوس) Beğ:

Hacı Evrenos was first and foremost an early March Lord (*Uc Bey*) who played a key role in establishing the Ottoman presence in the Balkans. From the mid-1350s until his death in 1417 his name is linked to virtually every Ottoman conquest from the banks of the Evros (Meriç) River in Thrace in the East to the shores of the Adriatic Sea in the West. Such were the extent of his endeavors that the seventeenth century traveler Evliya Çelebi (with perhaps more than a bit of hyperbole!) credited him with having ‘conquered 760 cities, fortresses, and towns.’⁹ Be that as it may, one thing is certain: by his death in 1417 he had moved the Ottoman banner westward to the Adriatic Sea and south to the Morea peninsula. Much of the territory he conquered in central Macedonia was for the next five hundred years to remain closely linked to his descendants, the Evrenosoğulları (sons of Evrenos) who held sway from their ancestral capital the city of Vardar Yenicesi/ Yenice Vardar (today's: Giannitsa), some forty eight kilometers west of Selânik (Thessaloniki).¹⁰

⁸ We have been told of a similar *şecere* belonging to another branch of the descendants of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ in İzmir. From the description provided to us this second document appears to have been drawn up in the mid-19th century?

⁹ Evliya Çelebi bin Derviş Mehmed Zillî: *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. VIII. Kitap [Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizi-ni]*. Edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı Robert Dankoff. İstanbul (Yapı Kredi Yayınları), 2003. p. 79 [Hereafter: Evliyâ Çelebi, 2003].

¹⁰ For the Evrenosoğulları and their role in Yenice Vardar, see: 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*. Vol. 3 (Leiden, 1971), pp. 300-329 [Hereafter: Kiel, 1971]

The extent of the footprint left by Evrenos in central Macedonia may be gauged by simply looking at the monuments he is known to have endowed in Yenice Vardar.¹¹ They included: a) a massive *Kervansaray* (inn with a large courtyard), which Evliya describes as capable of housing up to 500-600 men and horses, and within which every guest was provided a tray of food, a loaf of bread, a candle, and a measure of grain for their animals;¹² b) a *Medrese* (theological seminary) covered by lead encased domes;¹³ c) a *Mescid* (small mosque) called the *Evrenos Gâzî Mescidi*; d) an *İmaret* (soup kitchen), known as the *Gâzî Evrenos Türbesi İmâreti* (the Soup Kitchen of Gazi Evrenos' Mausoleum), where all comers were provided generous servings of food;¹⁴ e) a *Câmii* (mosque where the Friday noon prayers were held), known as the *Gâzî-Hacı Evrenos Beğ Câmii*;¹⁵ f) a large (double) *Hammâm* (bath house), called the *Gâzî Evrenos Beğ Hammâmı* (the Gazi

¹¹ The claim (first advanced by Mélikoff) that when the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi visited the area two hundred fifty years after Evrenos' death he described the entire region as: "*Evrenos Beğ Yöresi*" (Evrenos Beğ's Territory) is based on a misreading of the manuscript incorporated in the first printed edition of the *Seyahatname*. See: [Altınay, Ahmet Refik]: *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi [Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672)]*. Cilt: IX. İstanbul (Devlet Matbaası), 1935. p. 47. In point of fact, contra the editors and thereafter: Mélikoff, 1965: p. 720, Uzunçarşılı, 1964: p. 416, Başar, 1995: pp. 541, etc., Evliya Çelebi made no such statement. Rather, in the passage in question the editor simply misread the word '*türbesi*' as '*yöresi*.' This is but one of many examples of the unreliability of the first published edition of this work and, consequently of all subsequent translations based upon it. To address this problem, the present study includes the facsimile text, transliteration and English translation of Evliya's description of Yenice Vardar based on the *Topkapı Saray* manuscript (Bağdat #308) & Evliya Çelebi, 2003: pp. 76-79. See: **APPENDIX I.**

¹² Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77.

¹³ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77.

¹⁴ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77.

¹⁵ Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi: *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri* [Ottoman Architectural Monuments in Europe]. Vol. IV., Book V: *Yunanistan* (Greece). İstanbul, 2000. [Hereafter: Ayverdi, 2000]. p. 320. In this work, Ayverdi cites a register of the Pious Foundations Directorate: *Ev. K.K. #757* as his source.

Evrenos Beğ Bathhouse);¹⁶ and, g) a *Su Yolu* (aqueduct), which, though initially constructed by Hacı Evrenos, was later extended and repaired by numerous of his descendants, including his grandson Hacı Ahmed Beğ;¹⁷ In short, in the twenty plus years Yenice Vardar served as Evrenos' headquarters he put in place the basic infrastructure of a late 14th century Ottoman city. Bearing in mind that prior to settling in Yenice Vardar, he had undertaken similar building projects in both the Thracian town of Gümülcine (Komotini) and the eastern Macedonian city of Siroz (Serres), the extent of his infrastructural development activities becomes even clearer.¹⁸

The career of Evrenos spanned the reigns of four early Ottoman Sultans (Orhan Gazi [1324-1361], Murat Hüdavendigâr [1361-1389], Yıldırım Bayezid [1389-1402], the interregnum [1402-1413] and Mehmed Çelebi [1413-1420]), and it is no exaggeration to state that he was the sole figure who represented continuity in the Ottoman presence in the Balkans throughout the entire second half of the 14th and opening decade of the 15th century.

Interestingly the 17th century *şecere* (genealogical tree) begins with Evrenos himself and makes no reference whatsoever to his lineage. This is in contrast to the standard genealogies which list him variously as the son of: İsa [U], Prangi 'Îsâ [M], İsa Beğ [Ö] or İsa Beğ [B]. Başar [B] even goes so far as to suggest that İsa Beğ himself may have been the son of a certain: "*Bozoklu Han (?)*."

¹⁶ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77. The *hammâm*, which is extant, may be the oldest surviving Ottoman bathhouse in the Balkans. As such it is well worth preserving. At the present time it does not even enjoy the status of a 'protected monument,' and therefore is rapidly deteriorating. This is a situation begging to be addressed by the Archeological Service!

¹⁷ Ayverdi, 2000: p. 322. Ayverdi's attribution of the Yenice Vardar aqueduct to Evrenos is based on a passage in the *vâkıfyıye* (pious foundation charter document), of Evrenos' grandson (Hacı Ahmed Beğ), who was providing funds for the upkeep and maintenance of the aqueduct built by his grandfather. See also: Evliya Çelebi, 2003: pp. 77-78 for a detailed description of the water system which was built to meet the town's needs.

¹⁸ Lowry, 2008: For Gümülcine, see: pp. 41-47 & for Siroz, see: pp. 140-207.

As will subsequently be shown in the discussion of the surviving dedicatory inscription from the ca. 1390 *han* (caravansaray) in Traianoupolis and that of the 1417 tombstone of Evrenos himself in Yenice Vardar, there is reason to state with certainty that Evrenos' father was indeed named 'İsa.' Both these inscriptions refer to the founder of the dynasty as: '*Hacı Evrenos bin İsa*' (The Pilgrim Evrenos the son of İsa). Given this fact, the failure of the *şecere* to mention his parentage is of interest and may well reflect that its 17th century compilers were primarily interested in establishing their ties to the founder of the dynasty, rather than in trying to create a Turkish genealogy for a family whose ethnic origins are clouded in obscurity.¹⁹

Listed in the *şecere* as: *Hacı ve Gazî Evrenos Beg*, the founder of the line is thereby accorded three titles: '*Hacı*' (Pilgrim to Mecca) and '*Gazî*' (Champion of Islam – Fighter for the Faith), and '*Beg*' (Chief, Head, or Ruler). The first of these titles: '*Hacı*' is how he was referred to in the extant contemporary inscriptions, and it is somewhat at odds with the manner he is listed in the genealogies provided in the secondary literature, where he is called variously: *Gâzî Hacı Evrenos* [U], *Ghâzî Evrenos* [M], *Gaazî Hacı Evrenuz* [Ö], and *Gazi Evrenos Beğ* [B].

The one point the *şecere* and secondary sources are in complete agreement on is that Evrenos fathered seven sons. On the family tree their names are given respectively as: *Hacı Barak Beğ* (his firstborn), *Hacı İsa Beğ*, *Süleyman Beğ*, *Beğce Beğ*, *Hızırşah Beğ*, *Ali Beğ* and *Yakub Beğ*. In addition, the *şecere* provides information on two of Evrenos' daughters, the first of which was named *Oğulbula Kadın* and the second *Selçuk Kadın*. In short, it preserves the names of nine of Evrenos' offspring. More importantly, there are notes accompanying eight of these entries which provide a

¹⁹ For a discussion of the possible ethnic origins of Evrenos, see: Lowry, 2003: pp. 57-61 & Lowry, 2008: pp. 16-17. By way of contrast the 19th century version of the family tree preserved by the descendants of *Hacı Evrenos* (now living in İzmir) reportedly contains a 'mythical' lineage of Evrenos going back several generations which shows him to be descended from well known Turkic historical figures? As for the purported Karesi in Anatolia antecedents of Evrenos no such claim is made in the early chronicles of *Aşıkpaşazade*, *Oruç Bey* or *Neşri*. Our examination suggests that this claim first appears in the work of the 17th century chronicler *Müneccimbaşı*. See: Lowry, 2003: pp. 57-60.

great deal of otherwise unknown detail on items ranging from the names of their mothers, to positions held by the sons and information on their burial sites. As these are of importance, we will discuss each offspring and the entries which appear as marginalia next to their names in turn:

Second generation male offspring of Hacı Evrenos

1) Hacı Barak Beğ

As the first son listed is referred to variously in the secondary literature as: Barak [U], Barak [M], Barak Beğ [Ö] and Barak [B], it is clear that no one has hitherto noted the fact that like his father before him, Barak Beğ was also one of the relatively few early Ottomans who undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca. In so doing he earned the title of ‘*Hacı*,’ and it was by this title that he was known in the records kept by his descendants.

Even more interesting is the note which appears in the *şecere* next to his name. It reads:

*Hacı Barak Beg Evrenos Beg'in ulu oğludur. Yenişehir'de karyeler vakf edip imâret binâ etmiştir. Mezâr-ı şerîf merhûmun yanında, uzun mermer direkler dikilmiştir. Evrenos Beg Vakfı'na ibtidâ bunlar mütevellî olmuştur.*²⁰

[Hacı Barak Beğ was Evrenos Beğ's firstborn son. He endowed villages in Yenişehir [Larissa in Central Greece] to his pious foundation and built a *İmâret* (Soup Kitchen).²¹ His noble mausoleum, next to that of the deceased [Evrenos], is built of large marble columns. He was the first administrator of Evrenos Beğ's pious foundation]

The 17th century family tree (*şecere*) lists four sons of Barak Beğ, as respectively: Hacı Beğ, İlyas Beğ, Böğrü Hızır Beğ and Süleyman Beğ.

²⁰ This fact is confirmed by the recently discovered *vâkfiyye* covering Evrenos' endowments in the Macedonian city of Siroz (Serres). See: Zengin, 2004: pp. 101-120. In this document Evrenos names Barak Beğ to succeed him as *mütevelli* (administrator) of his foundation upon his death.

²¹ This fact is confirmed by other sources as well. See: Lowry, 2008: pp. 72 & 78.

From the size of the circles surrounding each entry it is clear that the line of Barak Beğ is continued through Böğrü Hızır Beğ.

In the following generation, there are no descendants of Hacı Beğ or İlyas Beğ appearing in the genealogy. Süleyman Beğ is shown as having fathered two sons: an Ali Beğ and İsa Beğ; while three sons of Böğrü Hızır Beğ are listed: Veşteceli Deli Ali Beğ, Umur Beğ and Hamza Beğ. This branch of the family ended in the sixth generation.

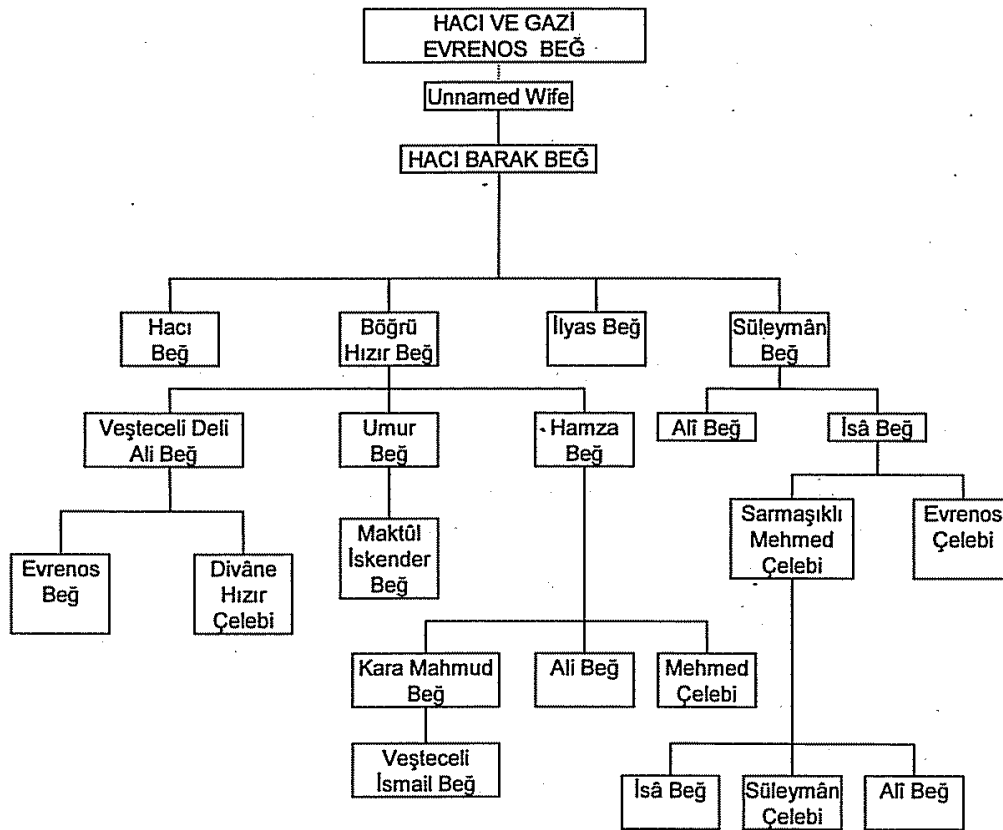


TABLE I: Showing Line of Hacı Barak Beğ ²²

²²

This study was researched and written while H. Lowry was a Visiting Professor at Bahçeşehir University in İstanbul (Spring 2008). It greatly benefited from the many kindnesses accorded Lowry by the university's founder, Mr. Enver Yücel & by Professor Canan Ergin, Dean of the Faculty of Arts & Sciences. The author's also express their thanks to Ms. Su Ece Ertürk of Bahçeşehir University for her tireless efforts in formatting the genealogical tables which appear on the following pages.

2) Süleyman Beğ

Next to the entry for Süleyman, the second son of Evrenos is the following entry:

Süleyman Beg merhûm türbede medfûn değildir. Vefâtı Yenice'de vâki' olmamıştır. Barak Beg merhûm ile ana bir karındaşıdır.

[The deceased Süleyman Beğ is not buried in the *türbe* (tomb). His death did not occur in Yenice. The deceased Barak Beğ and he shared the same mother]

The *şecere* lists three sons of Süleyman Beğ's as: Hızır Beğ, Nasuh Beğ and İbrahim Beğ respectively. In the following generation Nasuh Beğ and Hızır Beğ's lines ended, while Süleyman Beğ's line through his son İbrahim Beğ continued for some ten generations:

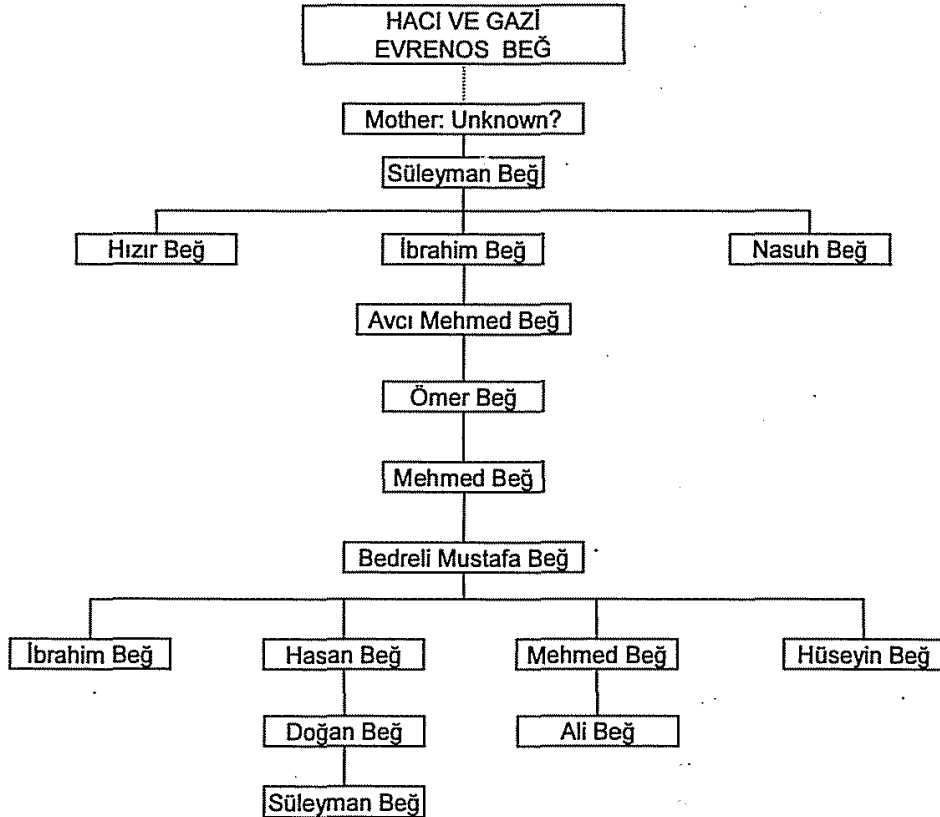


TABLE II: Showing Line of Süleyman Beğ

3) Beğce Beğ

The entry for Beğce Beğ is accompanied by a note reading:

Begce Beg merhûm türbede medfûn değildir. Vefâtı Yenice'de vâki' olmamıştır. Merhûm Ali Beg ile bir anadandır.

[The deceased Beğce Beğ is not buried in the *türbe* (tomb). His death did not occur in Yenice. He and the deceased Ali Beğ shared the same mother]

The family tree lists three sons of Beğce Beğ as: Musa Beğ, Yusuf Beğ and Emre Beğ. Next to the name of Emre Beğ is a second note reading:

Emre Beg, Yusuf Beg, Musa Beg, Begce Beg merhûmun oğullarıdır. Mezkûrların evlâdı münkariz olmuştur.

[Emre Beğ, Yusuf Beğ and Musa Beğ were the sons of the deceased Beğce Beğ. The line of the aforementioned ended [i.e., they did not have any offspring]

Accordingly, this branch of the family ended in the third generation.

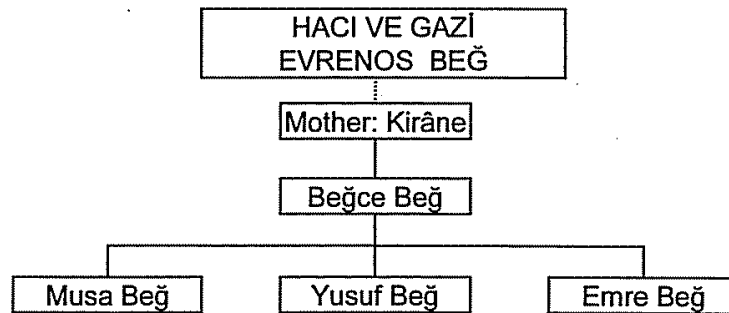


TABLE III: Showing Line of Beğce Beğ

4) Hızırşah Beğ

The entry for Hızırşah Beğ is accompanied by a note reading:

*Hızırşah Beg merhûm âlem-i ukbâya revân ve şahbaz-ı cânı behişt-i câvidanda âşiyân eyledikde Evrenos Beg'in türbesinde defn etmişler. Mezâr-ı şerîfî türbe kapısı üzerinde olan yüksek yapulu mezar-
dır.*

[When the deceased Hızırşâh took the direction of the next world the bird of his soul nested in Paradise. He was buried in the tomb of Evrenos Beğ. In the noble mausoleum his sarcophagus is the tall one on the doorway side of the mausoleum]

This entry is followed by those for the six sons of Hızırşah Beğ, who appear in the following order: Devatdar Yusuf Beğ, Çelebi Mehmed Beğ, Kara Yakub Beğ, Murad Beğ, Davud Beğ and İlyas Beğ. From the size of the circle surrounding each entry it is clear that the line of Hızırşah Beğ continued through Çelebi [Receb?] Mehmed Beğ.²³

²³ At this point it is appropriate to introduce a caveat in regard to the *şecere*. Specifically, to question the degree we should trust the information it provides? It was compiled in the fourth quarter of the 17th century, some 350 years after the birth of Evrenos, a fact which should make us query the detail it provides for members of the family in earlier generations. As will be established in the course of this study, some of the information it contains is confirmable by references in the work of Evliya Çelebi and other sources. Evliya however refers to one apparent family member's endowments in Yenice Vardar who is difficult to link to anyone named in the family tree? Evliya, 2003: p. 77, names a certain Receb Çelebi as the endower of an ancient mosque (*câmiî*), a school (*mekteb*), and a soup kitchen (*imâret*) in the town. Given the absence of any significant building activity in Yenice Vardar by individuals other than members of the Evrenosoğulları, logic dictates that Receb Çelebi was most likely a descendant of Hacı Evrenos. Yet the name 'Receb' does not appear in the *şecere*? The title 'Çelebi' ('Gentleman') is however used for several 15th century family members, the earliest of whom was a grandson of Evrenos (a son of Hızırşah Beğ) named: Çelebi Mehmed Beğ. As it was (and is still today) customary to give a newborn baby a name when the umbilical cord was cut, the so-called *göbek adı* (stomach name), it may well be that Çelebi Mehmed's *göbek adı* was Receb, a fact which would account for the apparent discrepancy. As the keeping of such *şeceres* was not a common Ottoman practice, it appears that the intent of its compilers may have been to keep a clear record of those male family members who were beneficiaries of the income of their ancestor's pious foundation. If correct, this assessment heightens the likelihood that it is an accurate record.

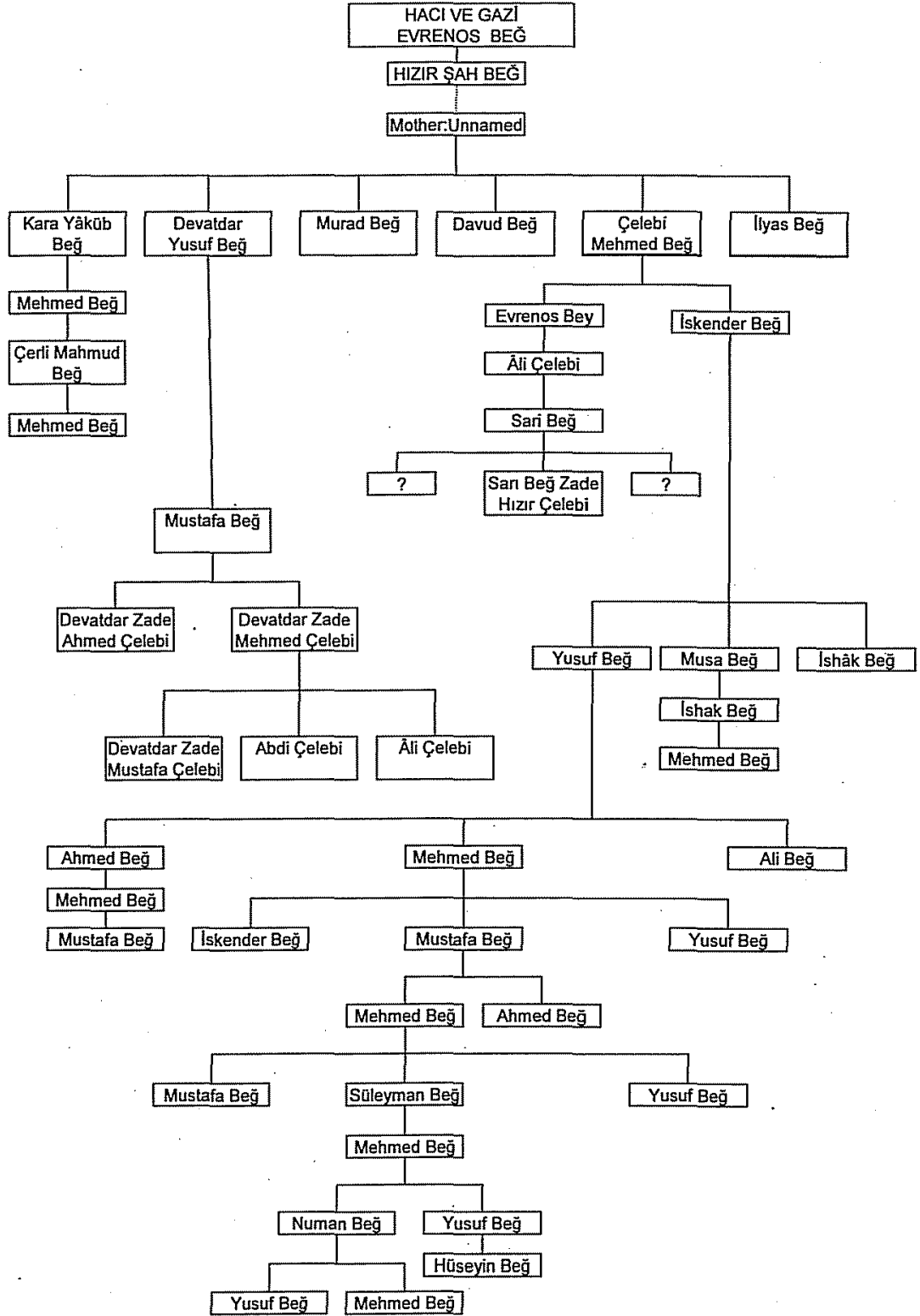


TABLE IV: Showing Line of Hızır Şah Beğ

In the following generation, no offspring of Murad Beğ, Davud Beğ or İlyas Beğ are listed. A single son of Kara Yakub Beğ is named as: Mehmed Beğ; likewise a single son of Devatdar Yusuf Beğ is named (Mustafa Beğ); while two sons of Çelebi Mehmed Beğ appear respectively, as: Evrenos Beğ and İskender Beğ;

All members of the Evrenosoğulları today are descendants either of Hızırşah Beğ or of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ, i.e., none of the lines established by their five brothers survived beyond the point in time at which the *şecere* was drawn up in the second half of the 17th century.

5) Ali Beğ

The entry contains the following note:

Merhûm Ali Beg gâyetle şeci' ve bahâdır olmağın iki yürekli Ali Beg demişler. Mezâr-ı şerîfi, merhûm Evrenos Beg'in baş ucunda olan yapılı mezardır.

[Because the deceased Ali Beğ was extremely brave and valiant he was called the 'Double Hearted Ali Beğ.' His constructed tomb is that which lies in the direction of the deceased Evrenos' head, in the sacred burial ground]

The four sons of Ali Beğ then are listed in the following order: Evrenos Beğ, Hüseyin Beğ, Hızır Beğ and [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ. From the size of the circles surrounding each entry it is clear that the line of Ali Beğ continued through Hacı Ahmed Beğ.²⁴

In the following generation the two sons of Evrenos Beğ appear as: Kara Ali Beğ and Hızır Beğ; Hızır Beğ is likewise shown as having fathered three sons: Ali Beğ, Hamza Beğ and Mehmed Beğ; while, Hüseyin Beğ is

²⁴ In a note attached to the name of Hacı Ahmet Beğ's grandson, a certain İskender Beğ, Hacı Ahmed Beğ is also referred to by the sobriquet: *Koca* (Great) Ahmed Beğ. While in his own *vâkfiyye* (pious endowment charter document), drawn up in h. 904 (August 19, 1498 – August 9, 1499), he is called: Şemseddin Ahmed. See: Ayverdi, 2000: pp. 319-320 & Başbakanlık Arşivi: *EV. VKF: Dosya No.19 – Gömlek No. 111.*

shown as having three sons: Mehmed Beğ, Mahmud Beğ and İskender Beğ, and Hızır Beğ had two sons named Hasan Beğ and Deli Ali Beğ. As for Ahmed Beğ, he is shown as having had three sons: Süleyman Beğ (who left no descendants), İsa Beğ (who likewise left no sons), and Musa Beğ (who had four sons: Hüseyin Beğ, Abdi Beğ, Mehmed Beğ and Gaybî Beğ). From the size of the circles around the names of İskender Beğ, Hüseyin Beğ and Abdi Beğ it appears that the line of Ali Beğ was continuing through the families of his sons Hızır Beğ and Ahmed Beğ;

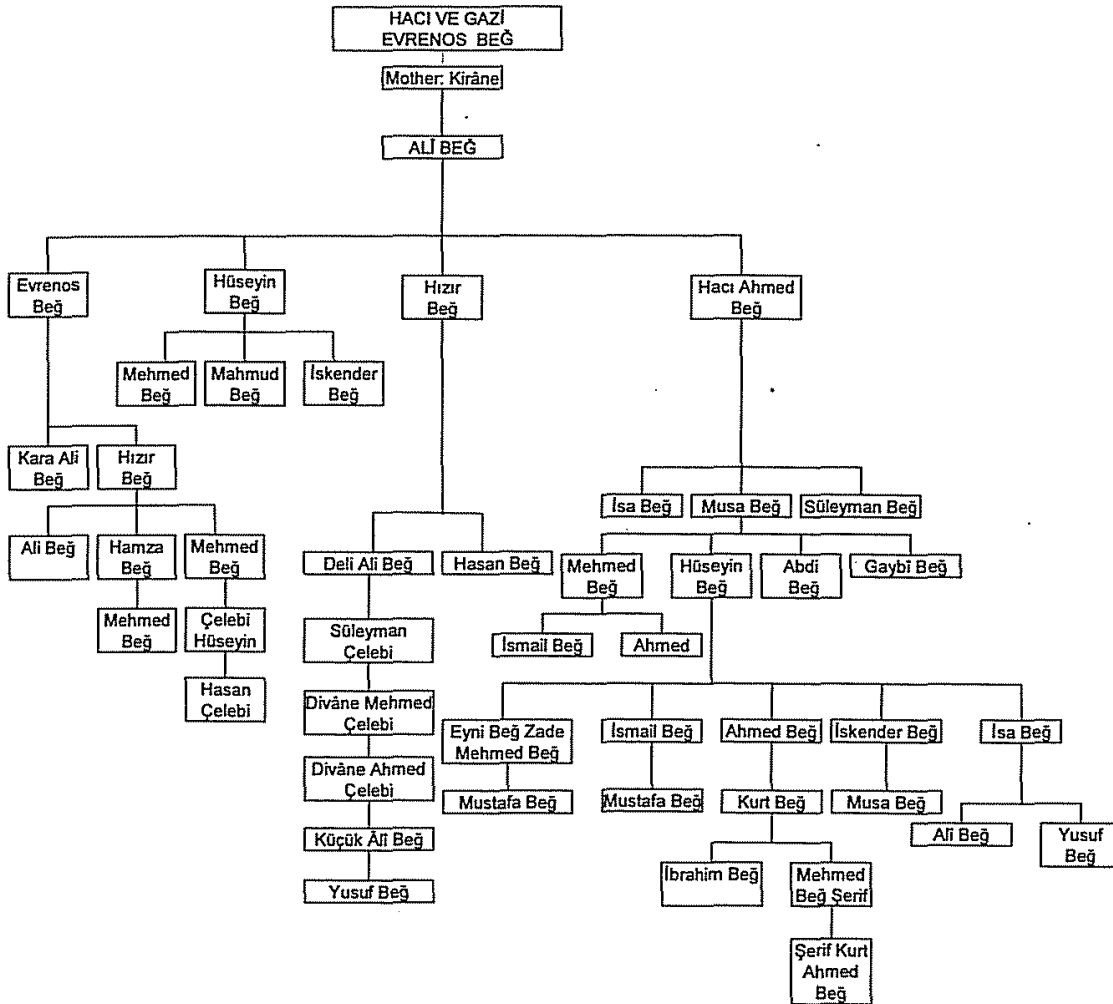


TABLE V: Showing Line of Ali Beğ

6) Yakub Beğ

The sixth son of Evrenos was Yakub Beğ next to whose name the following entry is given:

Merhûm Yakub Beg ve İsa Beg ana bir karındaşlardır. 845 senesinde azm-i gülzâr-ı cinân etmişlerdir. Mezâr-ı şerîfi iki yürekli Ali Beg'in ardında büyük daşlarla yapulu mezardır.

[The deceased Yakub Beğ and İsa Beğ were brothers with the same mother. In the year running from May 22, 1441 – May 11, 1442 they passed into the rose garden of Paradise. He is buried behind İki Yürekli Ali Beğ in a tomb made of large stones]

In the *şecere* Yakub Beğ is shown as having fathered three sons, who were named respectively: Umur Beğ, Hacı Hızır Beğ and Sarı Ali Beğ. In the next generation Umur Beğ and Sarı Ali Beğ each had two sons, while Hacı Hızır Beğ had one. In the fourth generation only Hızır Beğ's son Fişek Mehmed Çelebi had two sons, after which this branch of the family came to an end.

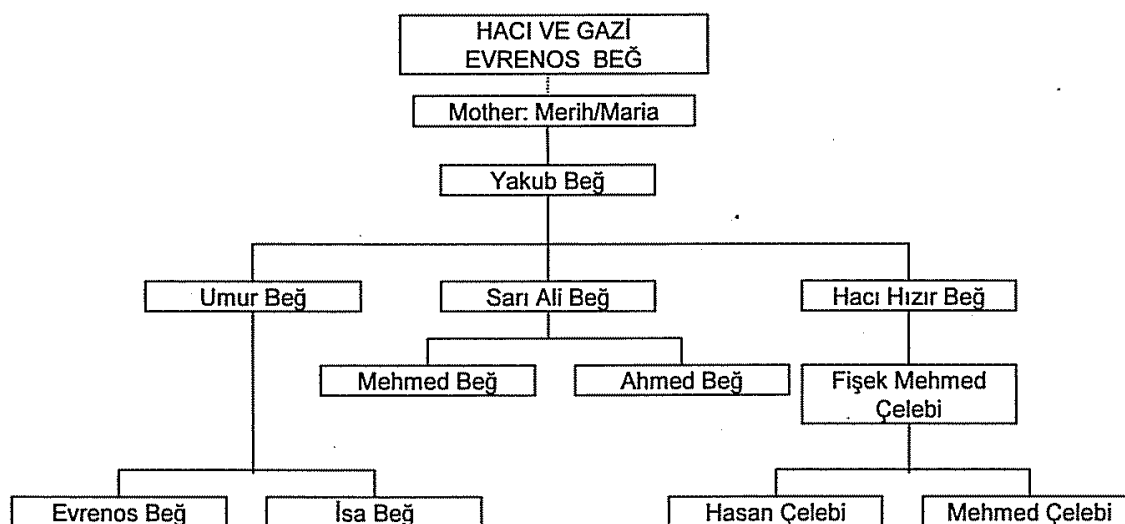


TABLE VI: Showing Line of Yakub Beğ

7) Hacı İsa Beğ

The seventh son of Evrenos was Hacı İsa Beğ. He is the only one of the second generation Evrenosoğulları for whom the *şecere* provides no additional information in the form of a note next to his name.

In addition he is (together with Barak Beğ) the second son of Evrenos, who, like his father before him, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and thereby earned the title of *Hacı*. In the third generation there appears a single son: Ahmed Beğ, who, in the fourth generation is shown as having two sons: Hasan Beğ and Hüseyin Beğ, after which this line of the family ended.

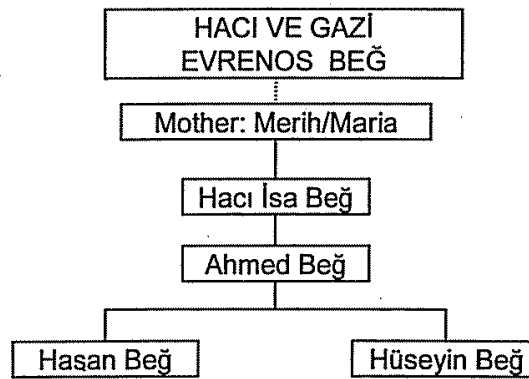


TABLE VII: Showing Line of Hacı İsa Beğ

It seems probable that when Evrenos made the pilgrimage to Mecca in ca. 1387-1388, he was accompanied by two of his offspring: a) Barak Beğ (his eldest son); and b) İsa Beğ. This would account for the fact that both Evrenos and these two sons are accorded the title '*Hacı*' (Pilgrim to Mecca). As Evrenos must have been close to sixty years old when he made his pilgrimage, it seems natural that he would have been accompanied by two of his sons, on what was in the late 14th century a lengthy, dangerous and arduous trip.

The only other descendants of Hacı Evrenos who are accorded the title ‘*Hacı*’ in the *şecere* are two of his grandsons, a son of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ, namely Hacı [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ, and, Yakub Beğ’s son, a certain Hacı Hızır Beğ.

Among the close to two hundred male members of the Evrenosoğulları who are named in the ‘family tree,’ these five are the only ones the *şecere* clearly identifies as having made the pilgrimage to Mecca.²⁵

Second generation distaff side of the Evrenos line

One of the more intriguing aspects of the information provided in the *şecere* for the second generation of the Evrenosoğulları is that relating to two of the founding scion’s daughters. Specifically, the fact that together with the information given relative to the seven sons, it also includes entries (together with explanatory notes) for two daughters named Oğulbula Kadın and Selçuk Kadın. These entries read as follows:

Oğulbula (اوغل بولي) Kadın

For this daughter a note is appended which reads as follows:

Oğulbula Kadın ve İsa Beg ve Yakub Beg, Merih adlu bir câriye-dendir. Oğulbula Kadın’ı Üsküb’de İshak Beg’e vermişlerdir.

[Lady Oğulbula and İsa Beğ and Yakub Beğ, are children from a [Christian] concubine named Merih/Maria. Lady Oğulbula was given [in marriage] to İshak Beğ of Üsküb]

From the fact that no offspring of this marriage between the families of two of the most important Balkan *Uç Beğ* families are listed we may infer that either this was a political/diplomatic union, i.e., not consummated (due to the age of İshak Beğ?), or that no children were born. What is of particular interest here is the fact that even in the 17th century this linkage between

²⁵ For additional detail on the pilgrimage made by Evrenos, see: Lowry, 2008: pp. 59-61.

İshak Beğ (the father of İsa Beğ of Üsküp), and the daughter of Evrenos was still considered important enough to record in the *şecere*.

Also of interest is the fact that the mother of Oğulbula, İsa Beğ and Yakub Beğ is named and that she was a Christian concubine (no Muslim name is given) named Merih = Maria [?]. Viewed differently, of the nine offspring of Evrenos named in the *şecere*, three were born to a Christian concubine named Merih/Maria.

Selçuk Kadın²⁶

The second daughter of Evrenos named in the *şecere* also appears due to the fact that she was given in marriage to another important early Ottoman family. The note next to her name reads:

Selçuk Kadın merhûme Ali Beg ve Beğce Beg, Kirâne adlu bir câriyedendir, Merhûme Selçuk Kadın'ı Halil Paşa'ya vermişlerdir.

[The deceased Lady Selçuk and Ali Beğ and Beğce Beğ are children from a [Christian] concubine named Kirâne. The deceased Lady Selçuk was given [in marriage] to [Çandarlı] Halil Paşa]

As in the case of Oğulbula, the information provided in this entry relative to the mother of Selçuk being a Christian concubine named Kirâne, plus the fact that she is also shown as being the mother of two of Evrenos' seven sons: Ali Beğ and Beğce Beğ, allows us to reconstruct the following portrait regarding the parentage of the nine offspring of Evrenos named in the *şecere* (there may have been additional daughters who do not appear due to their not having married into important families):

²⁶ Interestingly, while neither the name 'Oğulbula' or 'Selçuk' were common proper names for women in the Ottoman era (and even less so in today's Turkey), both continue to be widely used among the descendants of Hacı Evrenos. As a case in point we may cite a recent article entitled: "Ataları, Osmanlı'nın ilk akıncı Beğleri Evrenosoğlu Ailesi," [The Evrenosoğlu Family whose ancestors were the first Ottoman Akıncı Beğs] in *İzmir Life* (Ocak, 2007), pp. 102-107. In the photos of various family groups of the Evrenosoğulları who settled in the Aegean port city of İzmir, there are a number of women and girls bearing one or the other of these two names.

1) Evrenos appears to have had at least one wife (who is unnamed in the *şecere*) who was the mother of his sons Hacı Barak Beğ and Süleyman Beğ. Barak, who is listed as the first born son of Evrenos, succeeded his father in the role of *mütevelli* (administrator) of Evrenos' pious foundations;

2) The third and fourth sons of Evrenos, İsa Beğ and Yakub Beğ, together with their sister Oğulbula Kadın, were children born from his alliance with a [Christian] concubine named Merih/Maria;

3) His fifth and sixth sons, Ali Beğ and Beğce Beğ, together with their sister Selçuk Kadın, were children born from his alliance with a [Christian] concubine named Kirâne;

4) As for the identity of the mother of Evrenos' seventh son: Hızırşah Beğ, here the *şecere* provides us no clue.

Returning to the information given relative to Selçuk Kadın, her marriage served to establish a linkage with the powerful Çandarlı family from İznik in Asia Minor. Given what we know about the relations between Evrenos and [Kara] Halil Hayreddin Çandarlı, i.e., their roles as co-conquerors of Siroz (Serres) on September 19, 1383 and their subsequent campaigning in Macedonia (until Halil Paşa took ill in Yenice Vardar in 1387 and then a short time later died in Siroz [Serres]),²⁷ we may infer that the union between Selçuk Sultan and [Kara] Halil Paşa's grandson (the second Halil Paşa) most likely occurred in the opening decades of the 15th century, i.e., some time after the death of Kara Halil. What is clear from a subsequent entry in the *şecere* is that the last in the long line of Çandarlı Grand Viziers, İbrahim Paşa [d. 1499], was a product of this marriage.

There is a long line running from the entry for Selçuk Sultan to a circle (of equal size and prominence to that of Evrenos himself) containing the

²⁷ Lowry, 2008: pp. 143-145.

name: [Çandarlı] İbrahim Paşa, who was the last of his family to serve as Grand Vizier. Next to his name is a note reading:

İbrahim Paşa merhûm Sultân Bayezid Hân zamanında Rumili kadiaskeri iken 891 [1486] senesinde vezîr-i a'zâm olmuştur. İstanbul'da hamamı ve vakıfları vardır. [...blank...] senesinde vefât edip merhûm Evrenos Beğ'in türbesi haremindedir medfûndur. [p. 81]

[İbrahim Paşa, while serving as the Kadiasker of Rumeli (in the time of the deceased Sultan Bayezid Han), was appointed Grand Vizir in the year 1486 [sic. 1498]. He built a bathhouse and established pious foundations in İstanbul. In the year _____ [left blank] [sic. d. 1499] he died and was buried within the confines of Evrenos Beğ's mausoleum]

The *şecere* establishes both the long-standing nature of the alliance between these two powerful early families and the heretofore unknown fact that the Grand Vizier Çandarlı İbrahim Paşa is buried in the *türbe* of Evrenos in Yenice Vardar. In so doing, it allows us to infer that İbrahim must have died in the Evrenosoğlu's home-base of Yenice Vardar in Macedonia.

The family tree preserved in the 17th century *şecere* compared with earlier published versions

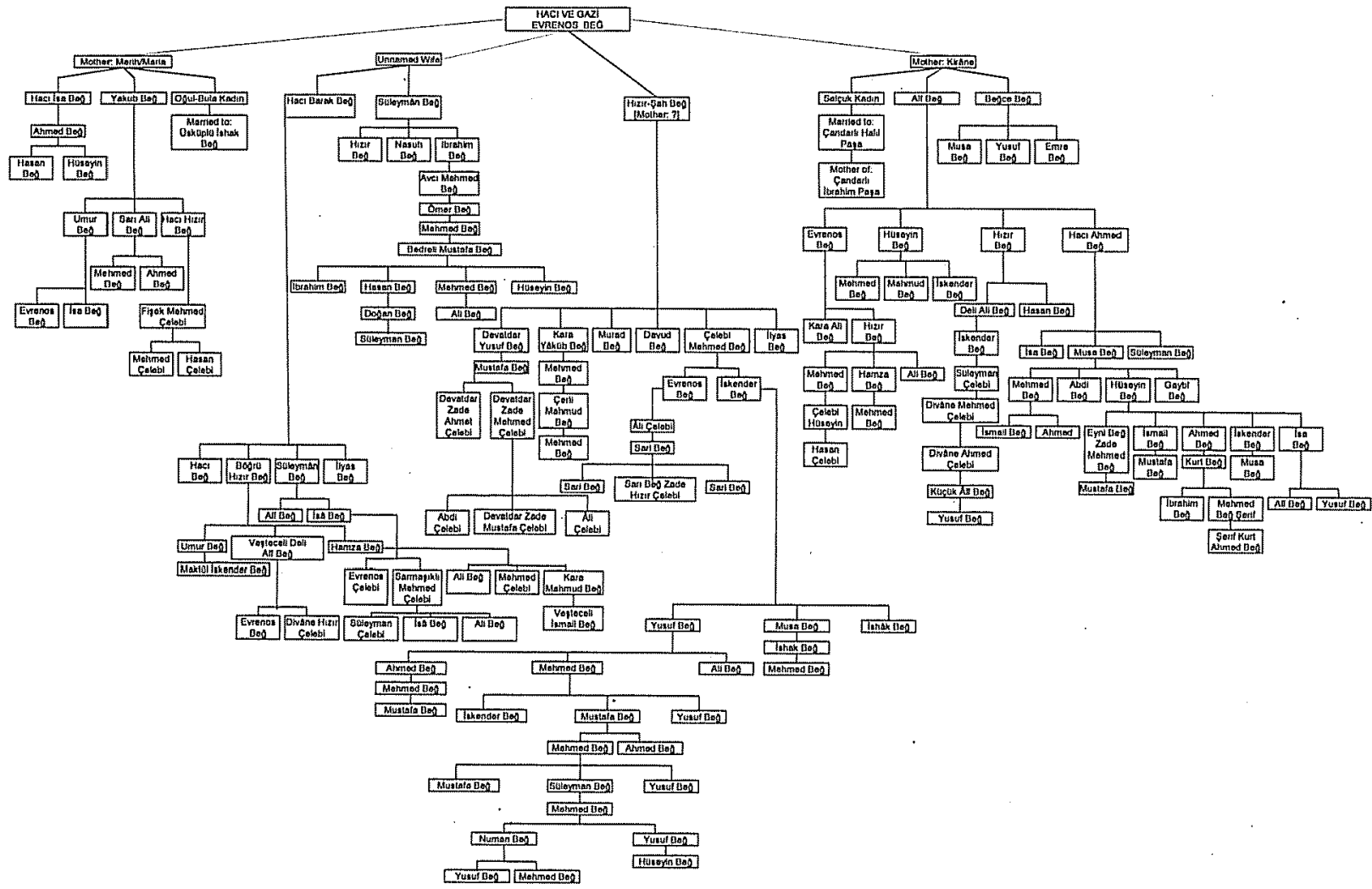
Based on the entries contained in the Evrenosoğulları *şecere* we may reconstruct the following genealogical table for the 14th – early 16th century family members: a) as noted above, the line of Beğce Beğ ended in the third generation; b) that of Hacı İsa Beğ in the fourth generation; c) Yakub Beğ's line did not extend beyond the fifth generation; d) while that of Hacı Barak Beğ ended in the sixth generation; and, e) and that of Süleyman Beğ in the tenth generation. Clearly, it is to the remaining two sons of Hacı Evrenos (İki Yürekli Ali Beğ, Hızırşah Beğ) that we must turn in order to follow the history of the Evrenosoğulları dynasty down to the present day.

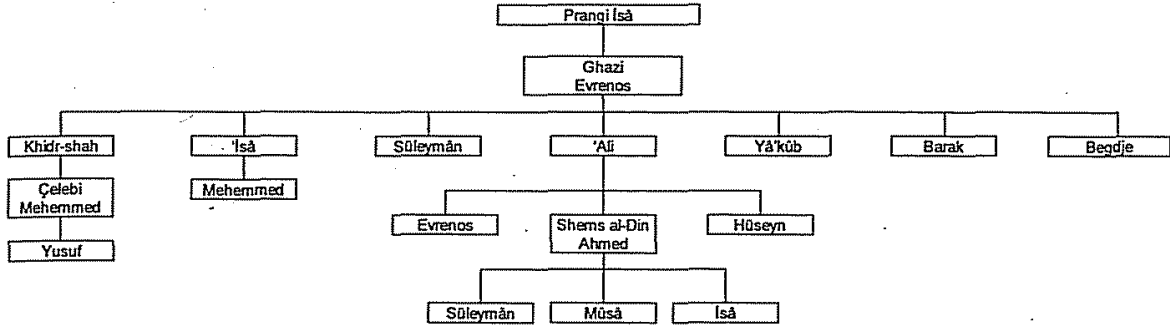
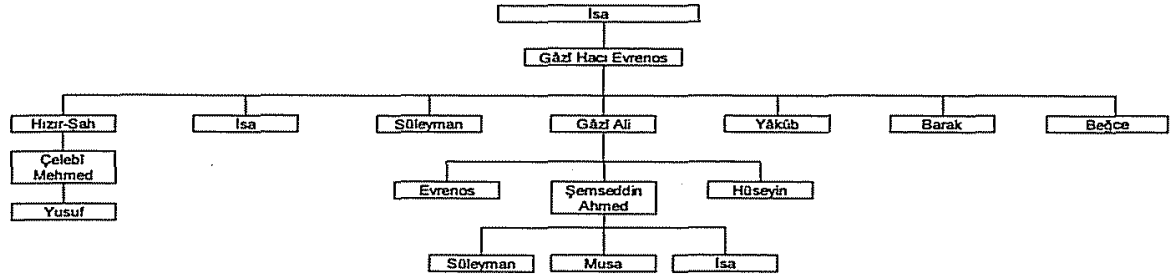
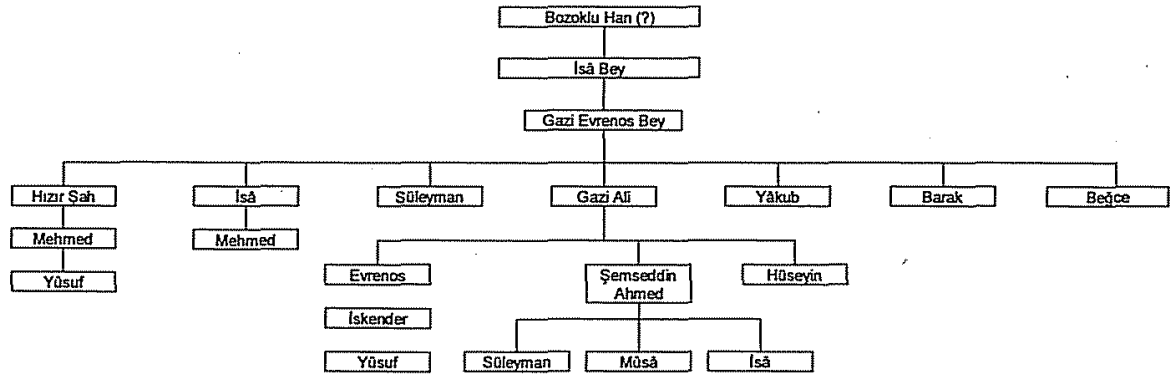
The four published versions of the first four generations of the Evrenos line, those compiled and published by Uzunçarşılı [U], Mélikoff [M], Öztuna [Ö] and Başar [B] are (with variations in spelling) in agreement when it comes to the fact that Evrenos fathered seven sons. In addition, the two earliest ([U] and [M]) are in agreement that the line continued primarily through Ali and his son Ahmed. Indeed, they are also in agreement when it comes to the second son for whom they list progeny, namely, Hızırşah, for whom they list one son Çelebi Mehmed and his son Yusuf. The only variation in the family trees they reconstructed concerns İsa for whom [U] lists no son, but for whom [M] names a son: Mehmed (who likewise appears in [Ö] and [B] as 'Mehmed.' From that point forward the information they provide is at variance with one another, and at odds with the detail provided in the 17th century family tree. None of the published versions of the Evrenosoğulları genealogy contain entries extending beyond the fifth generation.

As for Öztuna [Ö], while he lists more names than the other secondary sources, there is little relationship between his version and that extractable from the *şecere*.

What is absolutely unique is the detail provided in the 17th century *şecere* on the succeeding generations of the Evrenosoğulları, as well as that relating to the two daughters of Evrenos and the two Christian slaves each of whom was mother to two of his sons and one of his daughters [discussed previously].

The following page presents the *şecere*-based reconstructed family tree of the Evrenosoğulları. It has been constructed by carefully following the lines which link the various entries in the *şecere*. To facilitate this effort, G. Ersin Evrenos had the eighteen pages photographed, and then photocopied the results in the form of a scroll. In this manner it is possible to trace the lines running from generation to generation. Ersin Bey's willingness to share the resulting 'scroll' made our efforts at deciphering the document possible.

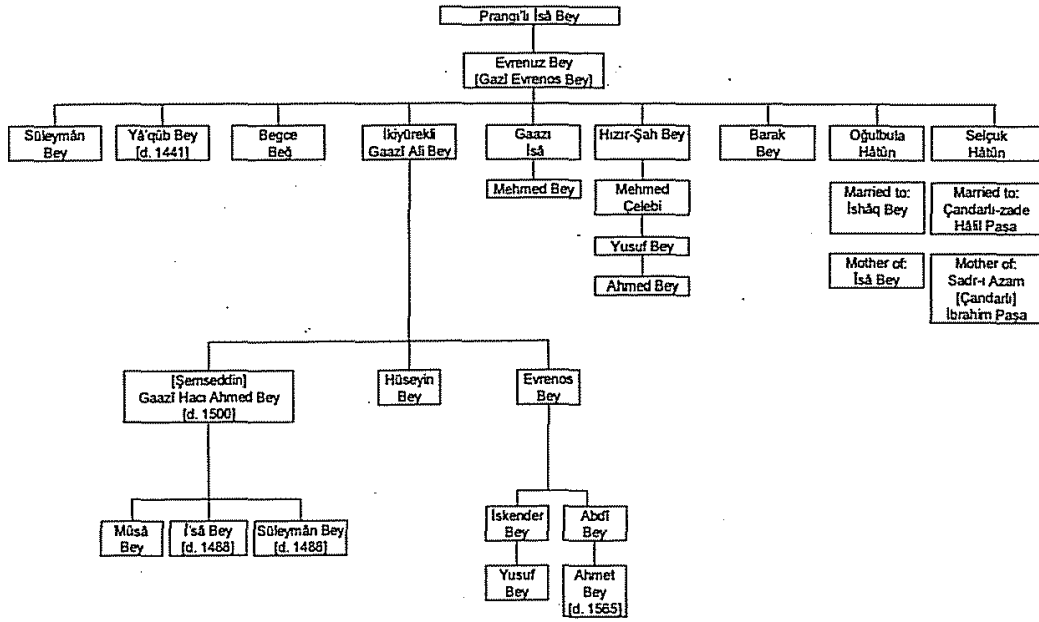


TABLE IX: [M] = Irene Mélikoff Version²⁸TABLE X: [U] = İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı Version²⁹TABLE XI: [B] = Fahamettin Başar Version³⁰

²⁸ Mélikoff, 1965: p. 721.

²⁹ Uzunçarşılı, 1964: p. 417.

³⁰ Başar, 1995: p. 539.

TABLE XII: [Ö] = Yılmaz Öztuna Version³¹

**Information contained in the *şecere* relative to burial sites of the
Evrenosoğulları & monuments endowed by family members
in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa)**

Also of interest is the detail provided in the *şecere* relative to which members of the family are buried alongside Evrenos in his Yenice Vardar *türbe* (mausoleum) and which are buried in other locations in the town which was to become the preserve of his offspring for the next half millennia. Specifically, it allows us to determine the burial locations of several other family members as well.

It is by examining each of these *şecere* entries and weighing the results against the testimony of a series of surviving late 19th and early 20th photos of the town that we are able to obtain a clearer picture of their meaning. For

³¹ Compiled by the authors on the basis of material found in: a) Öztuna, 1969: pp. 645-646 & Öztuna, 1996: pp. 655-656.

a basic problem with these descriptions stems from a certain lack of consistency in the terminology they employ. Specifically, the notes appended to the names appearing in the *şecere* include the following phrases to describe the locations of family burial sites in Yenice Vardar:

a) *türbe-i şerîfesine* = within the honored mausoleum, i.e., the individuals so named were actually buried within the tomb of Hacı Evrenos himself;

b) *türbesi kurbunda* = in the neighborhood of the mausoleum, i.e., individuals so named were buried close to the tomb of Hacı Evrenos;

c) *türbesi hareminde* = within the confines of the mausoleum complex or courtyard, i.e., close to the tomb of Hacı Evrenos. This is (as will be seen) a particularly troubling term, as it could likewise mean within the confines of the Evrenos mausoleum itself;

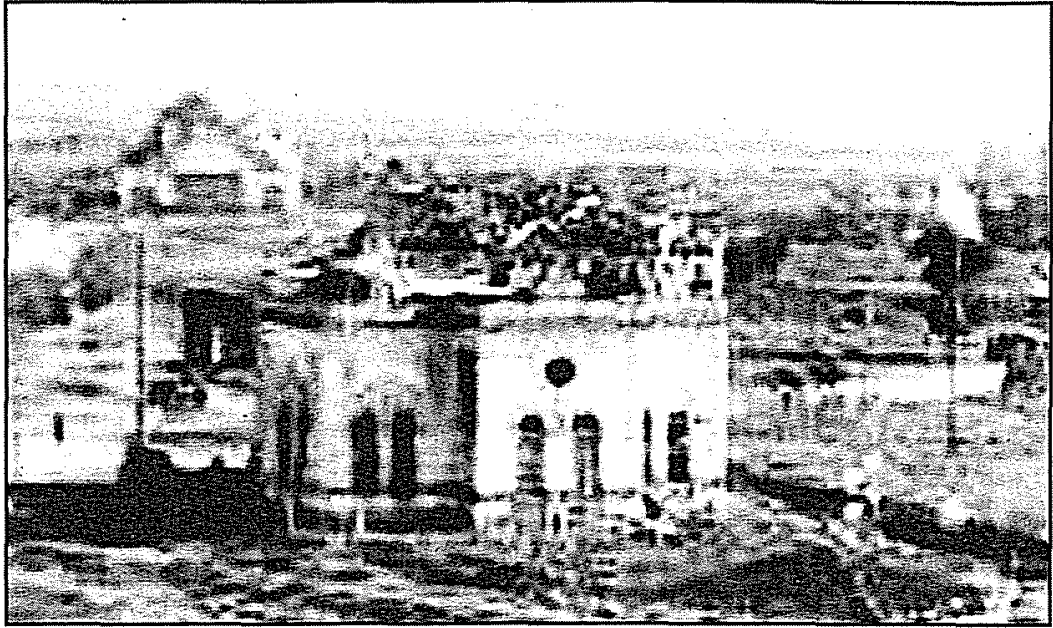
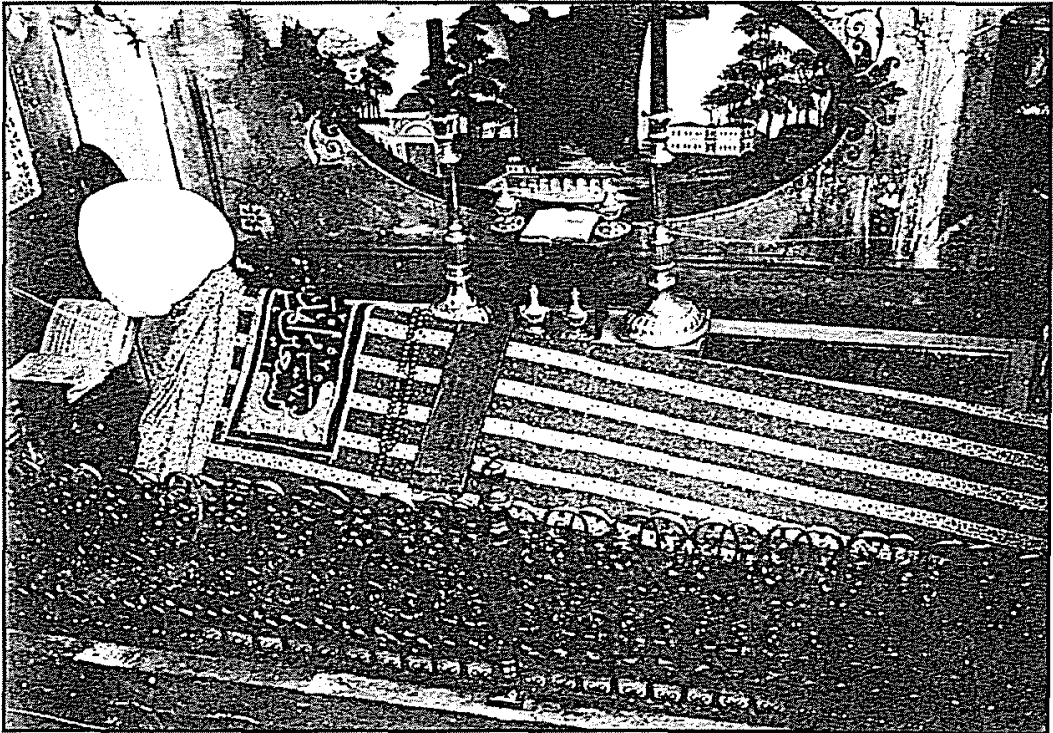
d) *mezâr-ı şerîfi* = within the honored cemetery, i.e., within the confines of the large funereal complex which grew up around the mausoleum of Hacı Evrenos;

e) *Evrenos Beğ'in türbesinde* = within Evrenos Beğ's mausoleum;

Bearing these definitions in mind we would propose the following breakdown of the locations of the graves of Hacı Evrenos' descendants in Yenice Vardar:

1) **Hacı Evrenos** himself was clearly buried in the *türbe-i şerîfi* (mausoleum) itself which was constructed for his remains by his son Barak Beğ who served as the first administrator of his pious foundation. This was the *türbe* (mausoleum) which stood on the site of the building (as it was reconstructed in the late 19th century) seen in **Photo 1**,³²

³² As will be discussed subsequently the form of the *türbe* (mausoleum) depicted in the ca. 1935 photograph is that which reflects either the 1885-1886 or 1908-1910 restorations, i.e., it is not that which was built by his sons in 1417.

Photo 1³³Photo 2³⁴

³³ ca. 1935 photograph of Yenice Vardar. A copy of this widely reprinted photo was provided to Heath Lowry by G. Ersin Evrenos.

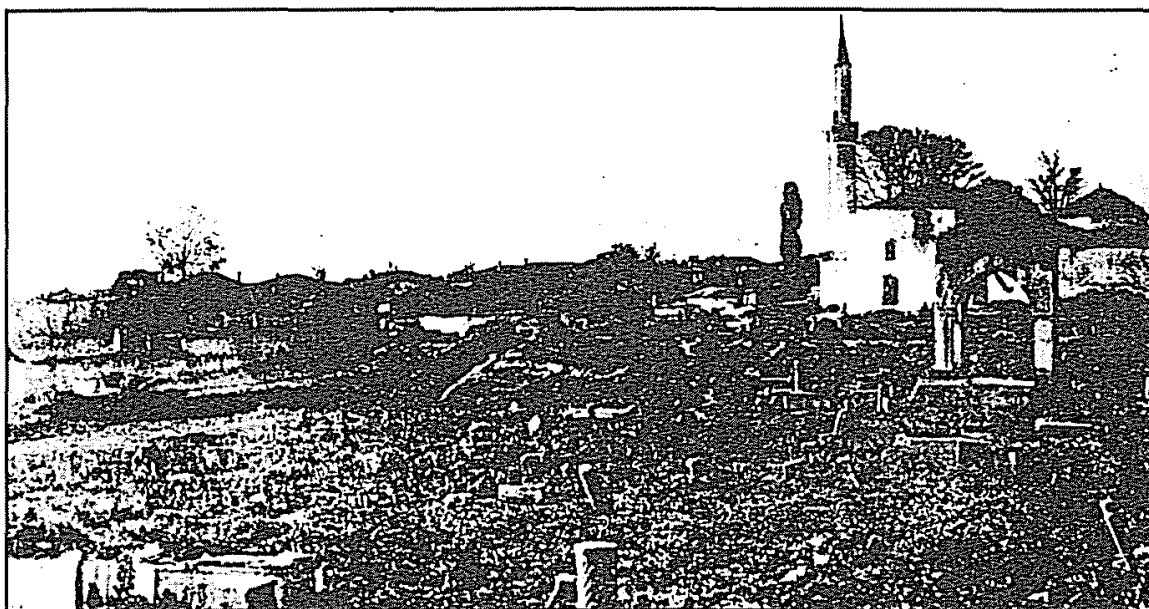
An early 20th century photograph of the interior of the mausoleum and the sarcophagus [Photo 2] of Evrenos illustrates the veneration which was accorded his burial site by family members even five centuries after his death:

2) **Hacı Barak Beğ**, Evrenos' eldest son, is listed as being buried in the *mezâr-ı şerîfi, merhûmun yanında, uzun mermer direkler dikilmiştir*, a passage which may be translated as: "buried in the honored burial ground (cemetery), near the deceased [Evrenos Beğ], under large marble columns". When we juxtapose this passage with a surviving ca. 1935 photograph of the city [See Photo 3 below], it becomes clear that the now no longer extant domed tomb (*türbe*) resting on four marble columns in the foreground, is a match with the wording of the note in the *şecere*. Stated differently, while at first glance the wording of the note could be read to mean that Barak Beğ might have been laid to rest next to his father, aided by the fortuitous survival of the ca. 1935 photo, we can state with a fair degree of certainty that in fact that was not the case. More importantly, this interpretation likewise allows us to infer that the term "*mezâr-ı şerîfi*" which appears here and in several other notes, is referring not to the mausoleum (*türbe*) of Evrenos itself, but rather to what at one time must have been a large funereal complex of which Barak Beğ's tomb and that of his father Evrenos (the building in the upper center right of the ca. 1935 photo) were only two components at the southern extreme;

³⁴ Early 20th century photo of the interior of Hacı Evrenos' mausoleum in Yenice Vardar supplied to Heath Lowry by Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from his family album. [Note: most likely taken in 1911-1912 immediately following the last restoration of the *türbe* and just prior to the ultimate departure of this branch of the family from Yenice Vardar].

Photo 3³⁵

Two photos of the city taken in the early 20th century [See: **Photos 4 & 5**], show two different views of what then were the remains of another section of the once honored burial site of the Evrenosoğulları, the *mezâr-ı şerîf*.

Photo 4³⁶

³⁵ ca. 1935 photograph of Yenice Vardar.

³⁶ Photo from: Mavrokefalidou (2005). See: Helen Mavrokefalidou: *Giannitsa: Historical*

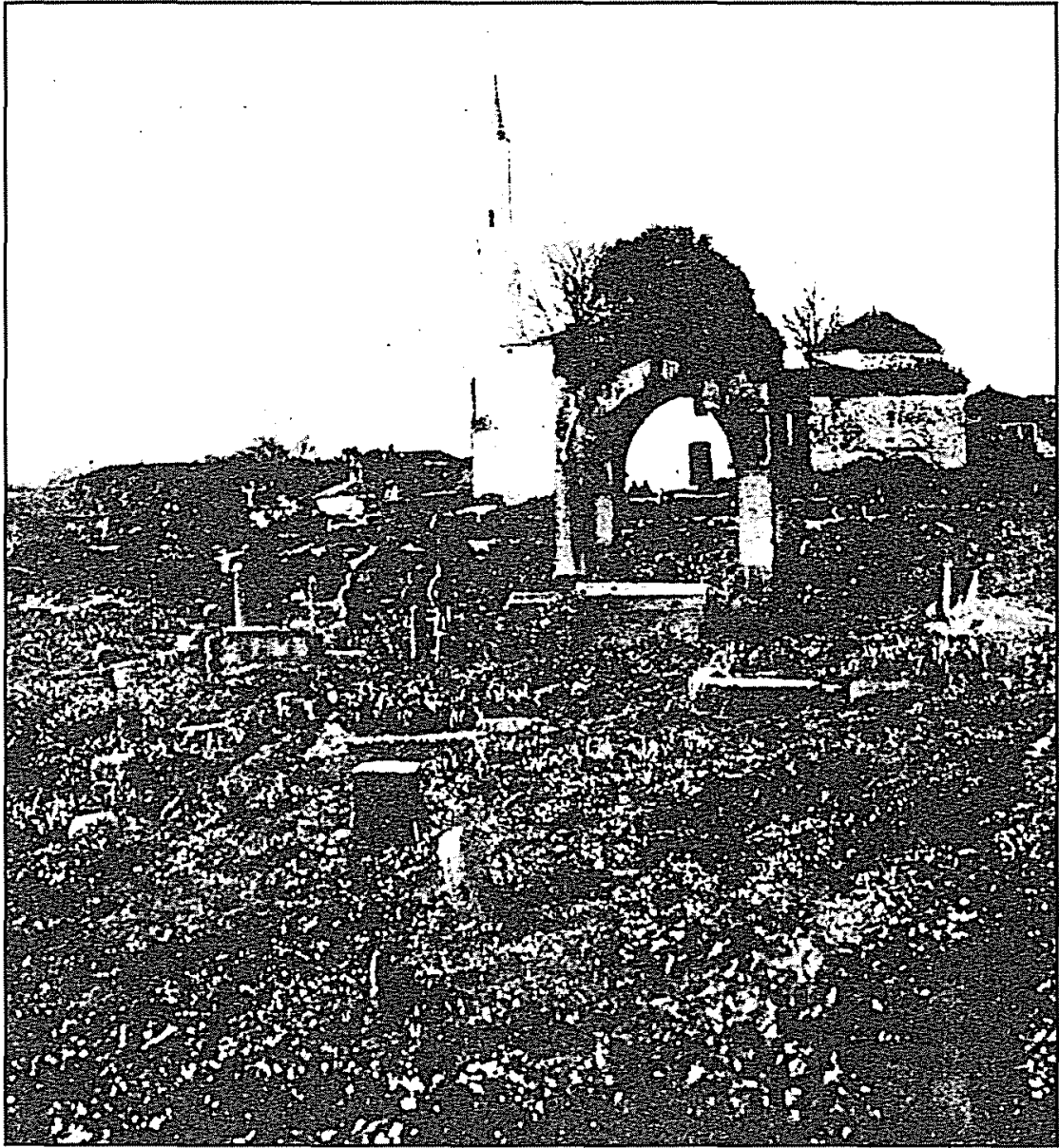


Photo 5³⁷

Photographic Album. Giannitsa, Greece. First Edition, 2005 & Second Edition, 2007 [Hereafter: Mavrokefalidou, 2007]. This work first appeared in September 2005 under the patronage of the then Mayor of Giannitsa, a Mr. Stylianos Vamvinis. It was republished in October 2007, under the patronage of the new Mayor, a Mr. Nikolaos Papanikolaou. As some photos in the 2005 edition were not reprinted in the 2007 edition, when they are used in this study they appear as: Mavrokefalidou (2005).

³⁷ Photo from: Mavrokefalidou (2005) [Note: There are no page numbers provided in this study].

3) **Hızırşah Beğ** is buried next to his father in the honored tomb, a fact established by the *şecere* note next to his name which clearly states “they buried him in Evrenos Beğ’s mausoleum” (*Evrenos Beğ’in türbesinde defn etmişler*);

4) **İki Yürekli Ali Beğ** was buried in a separate *türbe* in the family funereal complex, of which the *şecere* states: *mezâr-ı şerîfi merhûm Evrenos Beğ’in baş ucunda olan yapılu mezardır* (“his constructed mausoleum is that which lies in the direction of the deceased Evrenos’ head in the sacred burial place”). No such structure is seen in the ca. 1935 photo and therefore it must either have not survived, or it lay outside the area seen in the photo;

A more detailed description of his tomb is found in the work of Evliya Çelebi, who following his 1668 visit to Yenice Vardar, wrote that İki Yürekli Ali Beğ was buried in a *türbe* (mausoleum) near to that of his father, which was a simple building with a tiled (rather than domed) roof.³⁸ As none of the tiled buildings in the foreground of the ca. 1935 photograph appear to be *türbes* (tombs), we must look elsewhere for the last resting place of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ.

Keeping Evliya’s description in mind, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that İki Yürekli Ali Beğ’s *türbe* (mausoleum) was the tiled one seen in the upper right hand corner of **Photos 4 & 5**, although it could be that of some other family member. Evliya describes the tombs of these two brothers in the following passage: *Ziyâret-i İki Yürekli Alî Beg ve buna karîb Gâzî İsa Beg.... Bu Bürâdereyn-i gâziyeyn pederlerinin taşra cenbinde medfûnlardır ammâ üzerlerinde kubâbları yokdur. Kiremit ile örtülü külbe-i ahzânlar içinde âsûde-hâllerdir* (“the pilgrimage site of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ and that nearby of Gazi İsa Beğ: These two *Gazis* are buried outside the tomb of their father, but there are no domes covering them. Instead, they lie in peace in separate melancholy huts which are covered by tiles”). The man-

³⁸ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 79.

ner in which Evliya describes these two tombs makes it seem unlikely that they were the no longer extant *türbes* depicted in the upper right hand corner of **Photos 4 & 5**;

5) **Yakub Beğ** is described in the *şecere* as buried in the *mezâr-ı şerîfi iki yürekli Ali Beg'in ardında büyük daşlarla yapulu mezardır* (“His tomb is that built of large stones which lies in the honored burial ground behind that of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ”), a fact which supports the interpretation that İki Yürekli Ali Beğ’s tomb must indeed have been outside the area covered by the photo, while that of Yakub Beğ lay even further outside its scope.

There is a heretofore unnoticed mausoleum (*türbe*) which is still standing in Giannitsa today. Previously unpublished, this tomb is the best preserved Ottoman era site in the city, albeit in its present day guise as a Greek Orthodox Church. In the mid-20th century it was converted into the Church of Agia Paraskevi [**Photo 6**]. As first noted by Mavrokefalidou, “it was originally a small octagonal mosque (or possibly a *türbe*),” with a minaret on its left side, which was converted into a church in 1948.³⁹ Subsequently, in 1951, its owner the Archimandrite Nikandros Papaioannou donated it to the Metropolitanate.⁴⁰ Then in 1990-1992 a bell tower was added to its western wing. It stands in the southeast quadrant of the town, near Egnatia Street and the remains of the mosque known locally as the *İskender Beğ Câmii*, i.e., that which the present study will establish was built as the residence of Hacı Evrenos and later was turned into the *imaret-câmii* (soup kitchen-mosque) complex he endowed.

³⁹ Eleni Mavrokefalidou, the local historian was the first to note the existence of this monument. When Lowry visited Giannitsa the first time in early 2004, he was given a tour of all known Ottoman monuments in the city by the local representative of the Veria Ephorate (archeological service). This site was not on their list of known monuments.

⁴⁰ Mavrokefalidou, 2007. In the course of a quick one day trip from İstanbul to Giannitsa and back in July 2008, specifically for the purpose of visiting this site, Lowry was able to confirm that it originally was a *türbe*. In style and shape it appears to date from the 15th century, and in all likelihood was built as a mausoleum for one of the early Evrenosoğlus.

As can be seen in **Photos 6 & 7**, the likelihood is that this site was originally an octagonal mausoleum of the 15th century, i.e., in all probability that of one of the sons of Hacı Evrenos, possibly that of İki Yüreklü Ali Beğ or Yakub Beğ, which Evliya described as built of large stones. While there is no way to advance this beyond the realm of speculation, its octagonal design [see: **Photo 7**] is similar to that seen in other 15th century Ottoman mausoleums in northern Greece, and, given its location in Yenice Vardar, it most likely was originally built as the tomb of one of Hacı Evrenos' progeny.⁴¹ Elderly residents of the neighborhood recall that prior to its conversion this building had a minaret standing where today's bell tower is located. If their recollections are to be credited it is possible that at some point in time a small *mescid* stood next to the mausoleum.⁴²



Photo 6⁴³

⁴¹ See: Lowry, 2008: pp. 49-55 for a discussion of one such mausoleum, that of Kütüklü Baba in western Thrace.

⁴² Ayverdi, based on Evliya Çelebi and records of the Directorate of Pious Foundations, named eighteen mosques which are known to have existed in Yenice Vardar at the beginning of the 20th century [Ayverdi, 2000: pp. 320-321]. Of these, no less than eleven are named after one or another of the Evrenosoğulları.

⁴³ Photo courtesy of Eleni Mavrokefalidou (Taken ca. 1995).

Photo 7⁴⁴

There is another surviving early Ottoman monument in the town [Photo 8], which is remarkably well preserved due to its having been used as a house by refugees from Asia Minor throughout much of the 20th century. As can be clearly seen in Photo 8 it is a square, two-storied building, covered by a dome. Since the publication of Kiel's 1971 article it has been known locally, and in the secondary literature, as the *türbe* (mausoleum) of Ahmed Beğ Evrenosoğlu.

⁴⁴ Photo by: H. Lowry (July 2008). This *türbe* bears a striking resemblance to that seen in Photos 4 & 5 [above]. If they are in fact one and the same monument it would suggest that the *mezâr-i şerif* (noble burial grounds) once occupied the southeast quadrant of the town, i.e., the area running from just north of the mausoleum of Evrenos to the southeast.

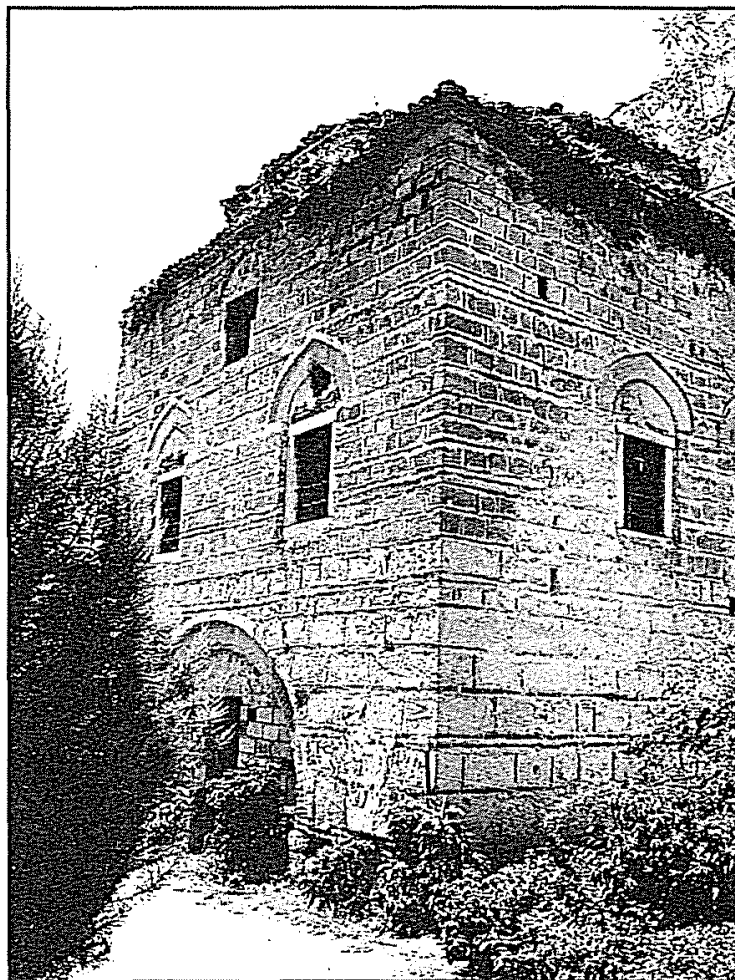


Photo 8⁴⁵

Machiel Kiel has, in point of fact misidentified this free-standing domed building as the “*Turbe (mausoleum) of Ahmad Beğ Evrenosoğlu, end 15th century*” [See: **Photo 8**].⁴⁶ Contra Kiel, this monument (whose inscription is not extant), while almost certainly built by one of the Evrenosoğulları, is certainly not the mausoleum of Hacı Evrenos’ grandson Ahmed Beğ.

⁴⁵ Photo by H. Lowry (2006).

⁴⁶ Kiel, 1971: p. 320 & Plate 1. As is often the case Kiel’s misidentification has gained credence with the passage of time. Here, as in other instances, his erroneous pronouncement regarding the province of this building has been widely (and unquestionably) repeated in later works. For examples of similar confusion resulting from his misidentification of sites in Serez (Siroz), see: Lowry, 2008: pp. 173-175.

Indeed, not only is it not the tomb of Ahmed Beğ, in all likelihood it is not in fact a *türbe* (mausoleum) [See: **Photo 8** above]. Rather, it appears to be a *sıbyân mekteb* (primary school), a fact first suggested by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, some twenty-six years ago, in reaction to the 1971 photograph published by Kiel. In expressing his reservations Ayverdi wrote:

Ahmed Bey's Mausoleum: A domed structure, built of cut stones, which are surrounded on all four sides by a single row of bricks. This building is referred to in the neighborhood as the '*türbe*' (mausoleum). But the wide entrance doorway and the upper and lower rows of windows seen in the photograph bring to mind a *mekteb* (primary school). No one is left to substantiate this [interpretation].⁴⁷

The present author's (based on Heath Lowry's having had the chance to examine the buildings interior – something neither Kiel nor Ayverdi had the opportunity to do), fully concur with Ayverdi's assessment, for to do otherwise would entail explaining how a two-storied, multi-windowed, square mausoleum (something of which no other known example exists) came to be built in Yenice Vardar. If one accepts Kiel's dating (on the basis of building materials used and proportions) of this structure to the second half of the 15th century,⁴⁸ in conjunction with Ayverdi identification of it as a *mekteb*, it becomes possible to identify it with one of the 15th century *sıbyân mektebs* (primary schools) named as existing in the city by Evliya Çelebi when he visited in 1668. Specifically, Evliya states that there were seven such primary schools in Yenice Vardar, the most famous of which was the [*İki*] *Yüreklü Ali Beğ Mektebi*,⁴⁹ that is, the primary school built by Evrenos' son, Ali Beğ. In addition, he names a second school built by another of Evrenos's sons İsa Beğ, and a third built by a later descendant, a certain Re-

⁴⁷ Ayverdi, 1982 & Ayverdi, 2000: p. 320.

⁴⁸ Kiel, 1971: p. 320. Kiel is seemingly aware that there is a problem with a square *türbe* and writes that "*a more normal shape would be octagonal,*" but then advances the unsustainable conjecture that its shape was a reflection of Ahmed Beğ's desire "*to have a simple and plain resting place.*" Needless to say, we know nothing of Ahmed Beğ's thinking in this or any other regard!

⁴⁹ Evliya, 2003: p. 77.

ceb Çelebi (he does not name the remaining four). It does not call for too much in the way of conjecture to suggest that the heretofore misnamed and misidentified mausoleum of Ahmed Beğ, is in fact the primary school which was built either by his father Ali Beğ (d. ca. 1465) or by his paternal uncle İsa Beğ (d. ca. 1470). If correct, this interpretation would make this the second best preserved 15th century monument in Yenice attributable to the Evrenosoğulları.

As for the actual mausoleum (*türbe*) of Ahmed Beğ, it is clear both from the note attached to his name in the *şecere* and in the account left by the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi at the time of his 1668 visit to Yenice Vardar, that he was buried, together with Şeyh İlahî, next to the small mosque he had endowed and built on a hill overlooking the town. The *şecere* passage reads:

Kendiler dahî dört beş pâre karyeler ve emlâk vakf edip üç yerde imâret ve Yenice'de medrese ve câmi-i şerîf binâ edip câmi hareminde merhûm Şeyh İlahî Efendi'ye türbe binâ edip sene 908 senesinde vefât edüp Hazret-i Şeyh'in yanında medfûndur.

[He himself [Ahmed Beğ] endowed four or five villages and other properties and constructed three *imârets* (soup kitchens) and in Yenice Vardar he built a *medrese* (theological seminary) and a *Câmi'-i Şerif* (Noble Mosque). Within the grounds of the mosque he constructed a *türbe* (tomb) for the deceased Şeyh [Abdullah al-İlahi]. He died in the year running between July 7, 1502 and June 25, 1503 and is buried next to the Exalted Şeyh].

This passage makes it absolutely clear that: a) Ahmed Beğ is not buried in his grandfather Evrenos' *türbe*; and, b) that he is buried next to the tomb of Şeyh Abdullah al-İlahi in the confines of a small mosque he himself had endowed [Photos 9 & 10]. This interpretation is confirmed by Evliya Çelebi who, in describing the town's pilgrimage sites, writes:

Andan şehir içinde bir mürtefi yerde Ahmed Beğ mescidinde, ziyâretgâh-ı... Hazret-i eş-Şeyh İlahî.... Bu şehir içre medrese-i tekye-i dâru'l-hadîs nazargâhında bir kârgîr kubbe kurşum ile mestûr bir

*kubbe-i pür-nûr içinde medfûn olup....ve yanında sâhibü'l-hayrât Ahmed Beğ dahi medfûndur.*⁵⁰

[In addition on an elevated spot in the city, within the grounds of the *mescid* (small mosque) of Ahmed Beğ is the pilgrimage site of the Exalted Şeyh İlâhî...he is buried there within the confines of his seminary, dervish lodge and center for the study of Islamic tradition, in a stone tomb covered with a lead dome.... And next to him is also buried the patron of pious deeds, Ahmed Beğ]

The mosque in question is partially extant, and in keeping with Evliya's description, it is located on top of a hill almost a kilometer away from the building in question, the standing domed building misidentified by Kiel as the mausoleum of Ahmed Beğ [Photos 9, 10 & 11 below].

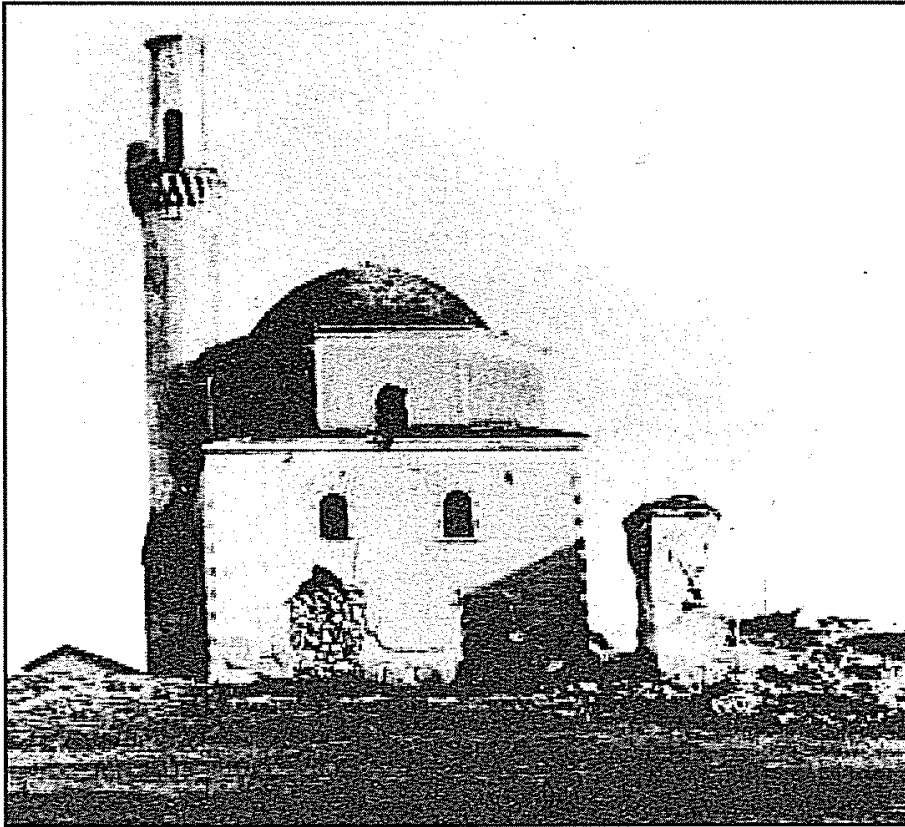
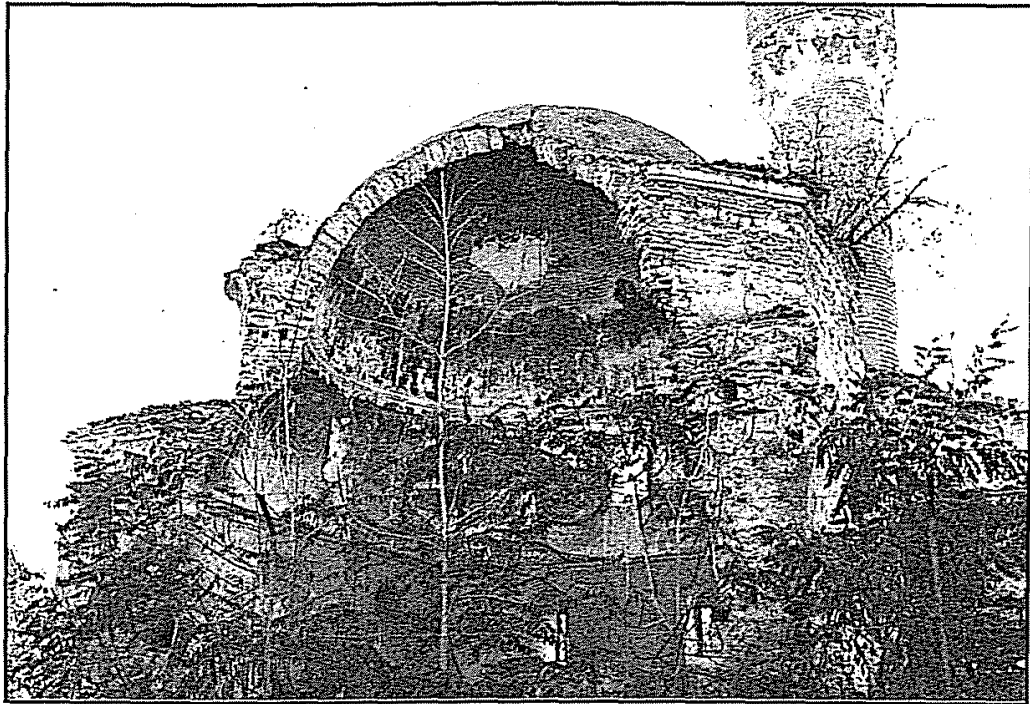


Photo 9⁵¹

⁵⁰ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 79.

Photo 10⁵²Photo 11⁵³

⁵¹ Mavrokefalidou, 2007. While at first glance this mosque seems to resemble that seen in the early 20th century Photos 4 & 5 [discussed earlier], a close examination establishes that their domes are different, i.e., they are not in fact the same monument.

⁵² Photo by: H. Lowry (2006).

The mosque built by Hacı [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ, was indeed that on the hill overlooking the city [Photos 9-11], not that which had been mis-identified by Machiel Kiel in his 1971 article, which stands some 200-300 meters south of the *türbe* of Evrenos [See: Photo 12].

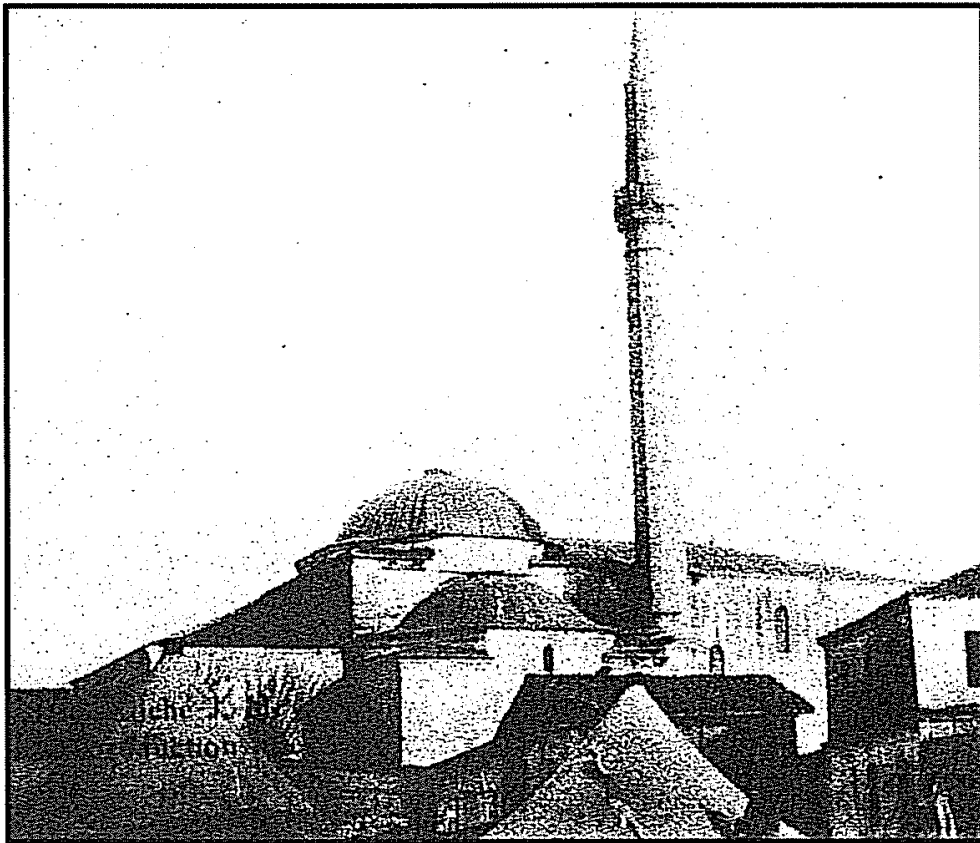


Photo 12⁵⁴

In a subsequent ‘Postscript’ appended to a 1990 reprint of his 1971 article Kiel reversed his earlier identification and correctly determined that in fact the mosque built by Ahmed Beğ is the hilltop structure which he had earlier stated was a 17th century mosque and described as “*a rather clumsy building, without any grace, and must have been one of the minor and unimportant mosques on the periphery of the city.*”⁵⁵ In his 1990 ‘Postscript’ he

⁵³ Photo by: H. Lowry (2004).

⁵⁴ Photo from: Mavrokefalidou, 2007.

⁵⁵ Kiel, 1971: p. 321 & Machiel Kiel: *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*. Hampshire, Great Britain (Variorum Reprints), 1990. p. 329b [Hereafter: Kiel, 1990].

abruptly changed course and decided that what earlier he had described as a “*clumsy building*” was in fact “*a late 15th century structure*” and indeed was the mosque (or *mescid*) of Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Beğ [See: **Photos 9-11**],⁵⁶ i.e., he determined that the mosque which appears in **Photo 12** was not that built by Evrenosoğlu Ahmed Beğ, but that rather he had endowed and built the “*small mescid*” (a portion of which still stands today) [See: **Photos 9-11**].⁵⁷

The author’s of the present study concur with part of Kiel’s 1990 reassessment for several reasons; First, the fact that the location of this site fully confirms to the description provided by Evliya Çelebi, i.e., it sits on a hill in the western sector of the city.

Second, the remains of the smaller mosque include the ruins of what appear to be the *türbe* (tomb) of Şeyh Abdullah al-İlâhî or that of his patron Ahmed Beğ [See: **Photo 13**], which likewise was described by Evliya (The extant remains of both the mosque and tomb are in a poor state of preservation, due to their having been destroyed by artillery fire ordered by an officer in the Greek Army in the post-1967 Junta period).⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Kiel, 1990: p. 329b.

⁵⁷ Rather inexplicably, having changed his identification of Ahmed Beğ’s mosque on the basis of reading Evliya Çelebi’s account, Kiel did not take the logical next step and modify his identification of the tomb in **Photo 8**, i.e., he stuck with his misidentification of it as the burial site of Ahmed Beğ?

⁵⁸ An eyewitness to this event described to Heath Lowry, how, while a student in the elementary school which abutted the military base on which the mosque stands, he remembers that one day the children were not allowed outside to play. Being curious they peeked out the windows and saw troops moving artillery. They later heard cannon fire and when they were allowed out after school they saw that the front half of the mosque was gone.

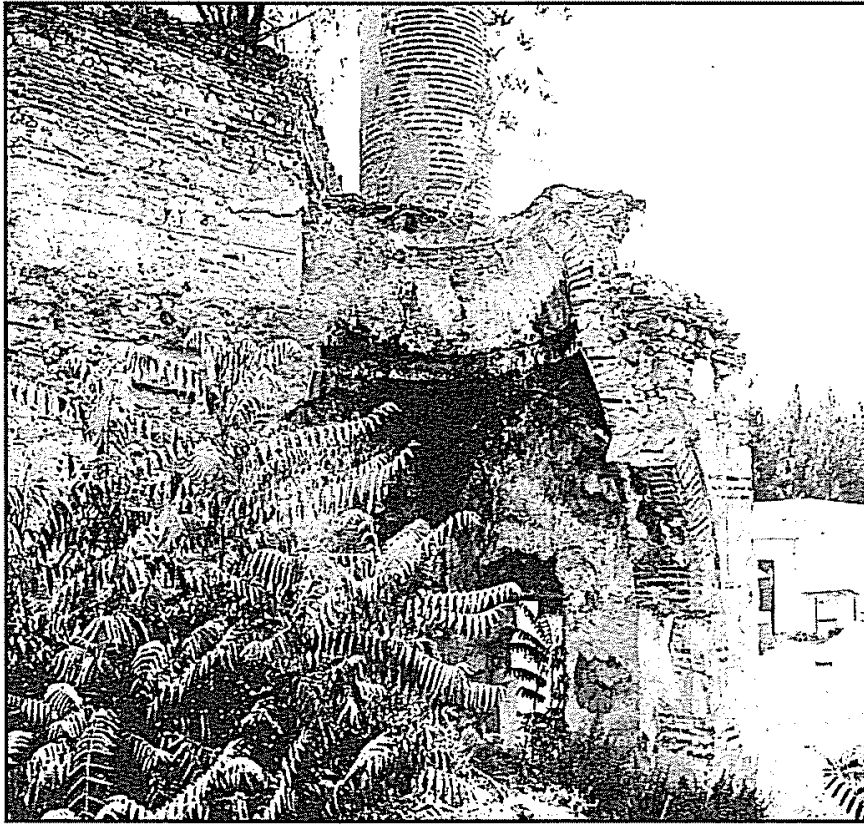


Photo 13⁵⁹

Third, both the mosque and a *hammâm* (bathhouse), likewise built by Ahmed Beğ (but called the *Şeyh İlahi Hammâmi*) [See: **Photo 14**], are close to one another and located on the grounds of what was once a Greek army military base. At the present time the base is no longer occupied and both monuments have now been placed under the protection of the Greek Ministry of Culture's Archeological Service.

⁵⁹ Photo by: H. Lowry (2004).

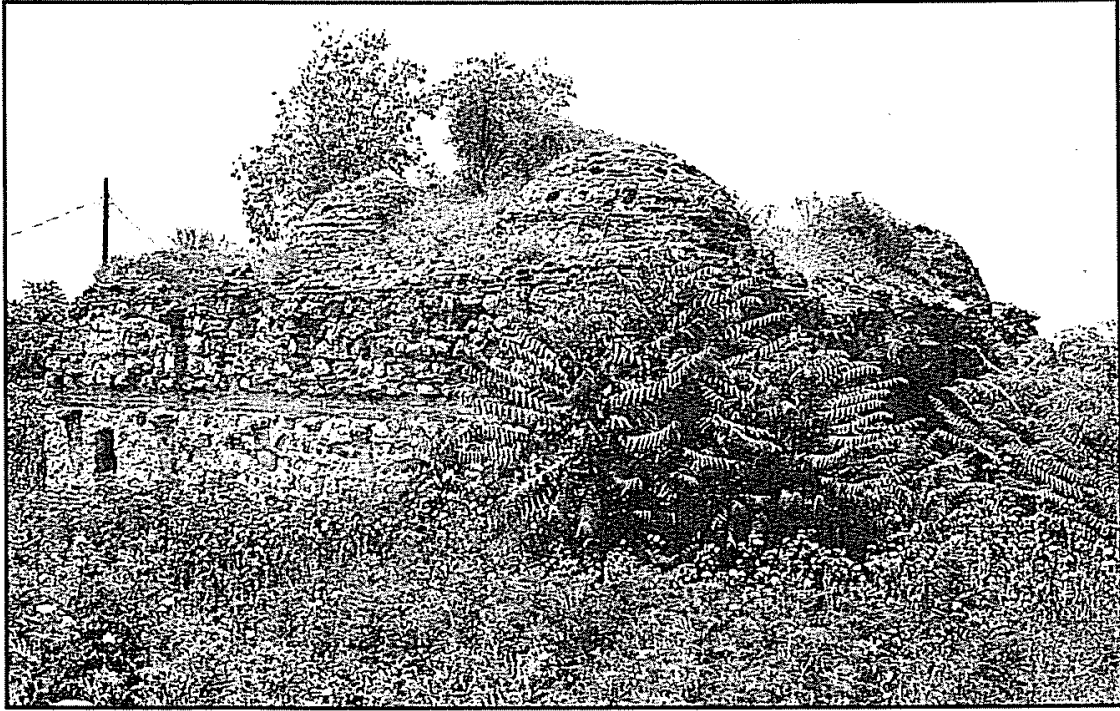


Photo 14⁶⁰

While accepting Kiel's acknowledgement that his initial identification was incorrect, we do not so readily concur with his attempt to establish that the remains of the large mosque lying to the south of Evrenos' mausoleum was built by İskender Beğ.

While the *şecere* clearly establishes that a nephew of Hacı [Şemseddin]⁶¹ Ahmed Beğ, a certain İskender Beğ, rebuilt his ancestor's mosque in Yenice Vardar (*Evrenos Beg mütevellisi olup câmi-i şerîfi bozup tekrâr yeniden bünyâd etmişdir*), prior to his death on February 26, 1519, it contains no hint as to its location. For this we must turn to the 2007 publication of the Giannitsa (Yenice Vardar) municipality, compiled by Helen Mavroke-

⁶⁰ Photo by: H. Lowry (2006).

⁶¹ While the name 'Şemseddin' does not appear in the *şecere*, where Ahmed is referred to only as: Hacı Ahmed Beğ, from the fortuitous survival of a *vâkıfyıye* (religious endowment charter document) he drew up we know that his full name was indeed 'Şemseddin Ahmed.' This document is housed in the İstanbul Başbakanlık Arşivi, where it is catalogued as: *EV. VKF: Dosya No.19 – Gömlek No. /11. Adı: Evrenoszade Ahmed Bey; Yazıldığı Yer: Yenice; Tarihi: 904/1498; Eski No. 162/11 – asıl.*

falidou. This valuable work (in Greek and English), entitled: '**Giannitsa: Historical Photographic Album**,' contains a number of useful late 19th and early 20th century photographs of the town's Ottoman monuments,⁶² whose captions reflect the names by which they were known locally at the end of the *Tourkokratia*. Two of these early photos shed light on the identity of the second Evrenosoğlu related mosque which is extant today.

This is the mosque known as the *câmi'-i şerîf* which lies some 200-300 hundred meters below the *türbe* of Evrenos. It is that seen in **Photo 15**, and also in **Photos 16, 17 & 18**.



Photo 15

⁶² See: Mavrokefalidou, 2007. The author's wish to extend their thanks to Ms. Mavrokefalidou for permission to republish a selection of the photos in this book. In addition, Heath Lowry is grateful for the hospitality accorded him in a 2008 visit to Giannitsa by Eleni Mavrokefalidou and Stefanos Ioannidis.

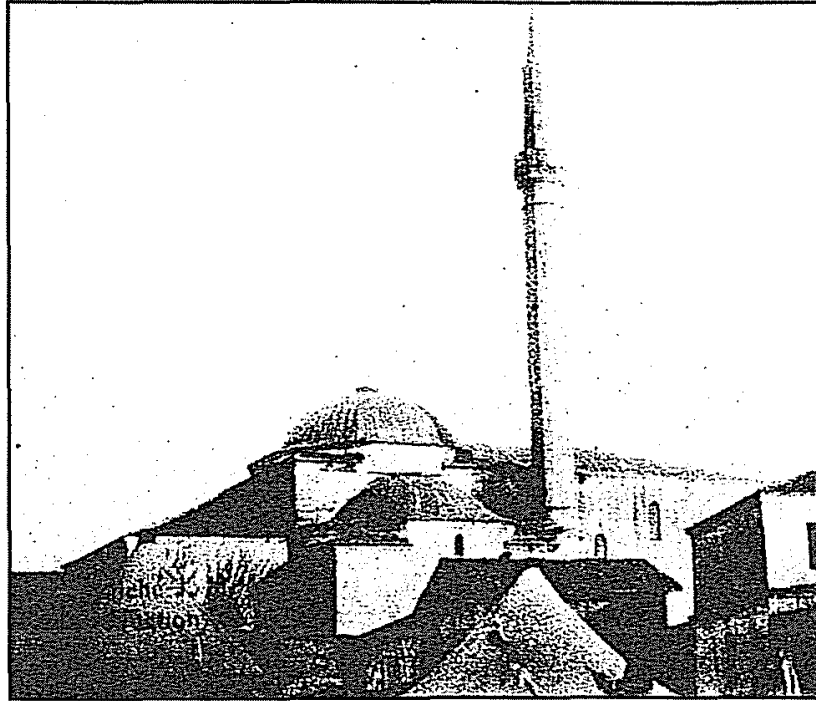


Photo 16⁶³

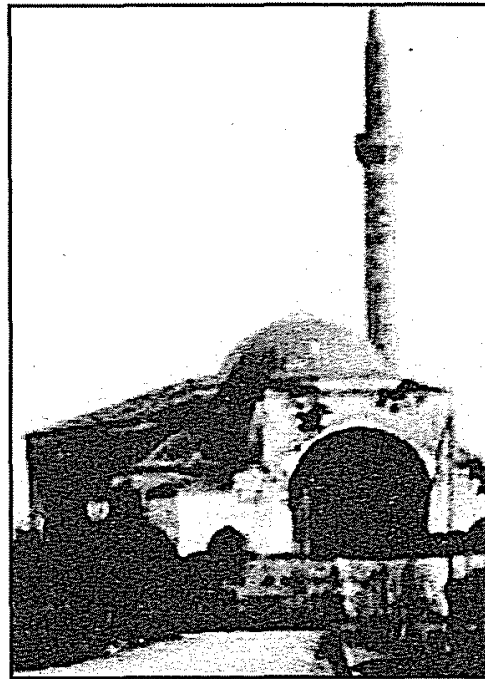


Photo 17⁶⁴

⁶³ Photos 15 & 16 are rare early 20th century photos which are taken from Mavrokefalidou (2005).



Photo 18⁶⁵

In the Mavrokefalidou work, this site is labeled: ‘The Great Mosque of Iskender Beğ.’⁶⁶ While its present-day appearance bears little resemblance to its past grandeur [See: **Photos 15, 16 & 17** in contrast with **Photos 19 & 20**], the linkage of its name to İskender Beğ is supported by the aforementioned note next to his name in the *şecere*. There, İskender Beğ (a grandson of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ) who died on February 26, 1519, is listed as the administrator of Evrenos Beğ’s foundation, who, in his capacity as *mütevelli*,



Photo 19

⁶⁴ **Photo 17** is an enlargement of a photo from: Mavrokefalidou, 2005.

⁶⁵ **Photo 18** is a blown up segment from the ca.1935 photo provided by Ersin Evrenos.

⁶⁶ Mavrokefalidou, 2007.



Photo 20⁶⁷

dismantled or tore down his ancestor's *Câmi-i Şerîf* and then completely rebuilt it (*Evrenos Beg mütevellîsi olup câmi-i şerîfi bozup tekrâr yeniden bünyâd etmişdir*).

Indeed, if it was demolished and rebuilt by İskender Beğ (d. 1519), as the *şecere* clearly states, in the opening years of the 16th century, it clearly must have been originally constructed at some point in the preceding century. Given the fact that it is today known locally as the *İskender Beğ Câmi'i* it seems clear that it was the rebuilder's rather than the original endower's name which became attached to this site in popular usage.

The term *Câmi-i Şerîfi* (Noble Mosque or Honored Mosque), which appears several times in the *şecere*, is, at first glance, confusing. Only when we place all such references side by side does it become apparent that there were in fact two separate mosques in Yenice Vardar which are called this in the Evrenosoğlu family tree. The first is that currently under discussion, i.e.,

⁶⁷ Photo 19 by: H. Lowry (2008) & Photo 20 by: H. Lowry (2004).

that rebuilt by İskender Beğ, while the second is that built by Hacı [Şerefedin] Ahmed Beğ (aka. that known popularly as the *İlâhî Câmî'i* after the Nakşibendi Şeyh whose *medrese* and *hammâm* stood nearby). This site, where both the endower Ahmed Beğ and Şeyh İlâhî were buried, is likewise referred to as the *Câmî'i Şerîf* in the family tree.

Following the death of Şeyh Abdullah al-İlâhî (the saint who introduced the Nakşibendi order of dervishes into the Balkans), a large *tekke* (dervish lodge) is known to have been constructed adjacent to the mosque and *türbe*. The complex also contained a *medrese* (theological seminary) and an *imâret* (soup kitchen).⁶⁸ This complex remained one of the most important Muslim pilgrimage spots in the Balkans throughout the *Tourkokratia*. This is confirmed in the seminal work of Adolf Struck who visited the region at the beginning of the 20th century and reports that the tombs of Ahmed Beğ and Şeyh Abdullah al-İlâhî, located within the confines of the *Büyük Tekke* (Large Dervish Lodge), were still venerated by the region's Muslim inhabitants.⁶⁹

In regard to what the name of the first *Câmî'i Şerîf* was prior to the time it was demolished and replaced by İskender Beğ at the beginning of the 16th century, here too there is some uncertainty. However, given the known facts, it is possible to set forth the following scenario: The original *Câmî'i Şerîf* was in all likelihood the soup kitchen-mosque complex which the city's founder, Hacı Evrenos, is known to have built in the city he established (at some point between 1380 and his death in 1417).⁷⁰ This possibility is strengthened by several facts: a) first, Evrenos' *hammâm* (bathhouse) which practice/custom dictated be built near the mosque, is extant and lies not far

⁶⁸ Kiel, 1990: p. 329b states that the *medrese* was demolished during World War II and where it once stood there is now an Orthodox Church.

⁶⁹ Adolf Struck: "Die Makedonische Niederlande," in *Zur Kunde des Balkan-Halbinsels*. Volume 7. Sarajevo, 1908. See: pp. 67-68.

⁷⁰ For the mosque of Evrenos in Yenice Vardar, see: Ayverdi, 2000: p. 320. See also: Başar, 1995: p. 540.

from the remains of the *İskender Beğ Câmî'i*; b) if the original structure were built by Evrenos in the late 14th or opening decade of the 15th century it would have been of an age to be torn down and rebuilt by İskender Beğ (the administrator of its pious foundation) at the beginning of the 16th century; c) when in 1667-1668 the dome of the *Câmî-i Şerîf* collapsed, it was replaced by a [tiled] roof built by a certain Süleyman Beğ [Evrenosoğlu] in 1670-1671, who, in that era, was likewise the administrator (*mütevelli*) of the Hacı Evrenos foundation. This fact provides yet another linkage of the site with Hacı Evrenos, i.e., if as late as the second half of the 17th century it was once again the *mütevelli* (administrator) of his *vakıf* who undertook it's rebuilding, he must have done so in his capacity of administrator of his ancestor's pious foundation; and, d) the same argument can be applied to the reasoning behind İskender Beğ's having torn down and then rebuilt the sanctuary one hundred sixty five years earlier, i.e., at the time he did so, he too was the *mütevelli* of Hacı Evrenos' religious foundation. Stated differently, it was in their capacity as the administrators of their ancestor's endowment that first İskender Beğ in 1510-1511 tore down and then rebuilt the *Câmî-i Şerîf*, and that a century and a half later in 1670-1671, Süleyman Beğ replaced its dome which had collapsed a few years earlier with a [tiled] roof.

Finally, in the only known photo of the site which clearly shows the original entrance (ca. 1930) [See: **Photo 21** below] there is a striking similarity between the buildings façade and that of the *zâviye-imâret* built by Hacı Evrenos in the western Thracian town of Gümülcine in the 1360s [See: **Photos 22-24** below]. As earlier demonstrated by Lowry⁷¹ there is a strong possibility that the Gümülcine building was initially the residence of Hacı Evrenos and that following his relocation in the 1380s to Siroz (Serres), he turned it into a dervish lodge-soup kitchen. Both buildings have a domed *avlu* (courtyard) flanked on both sides by rooms. This raises the intriguing

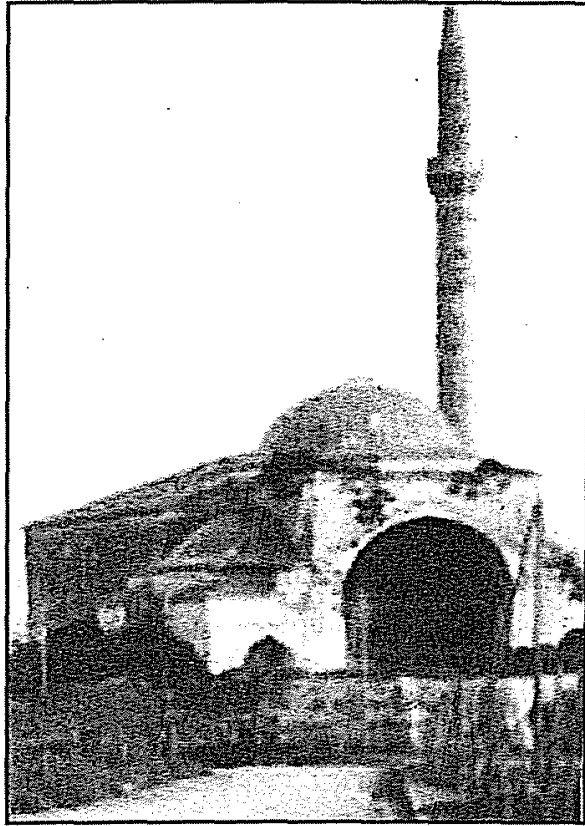
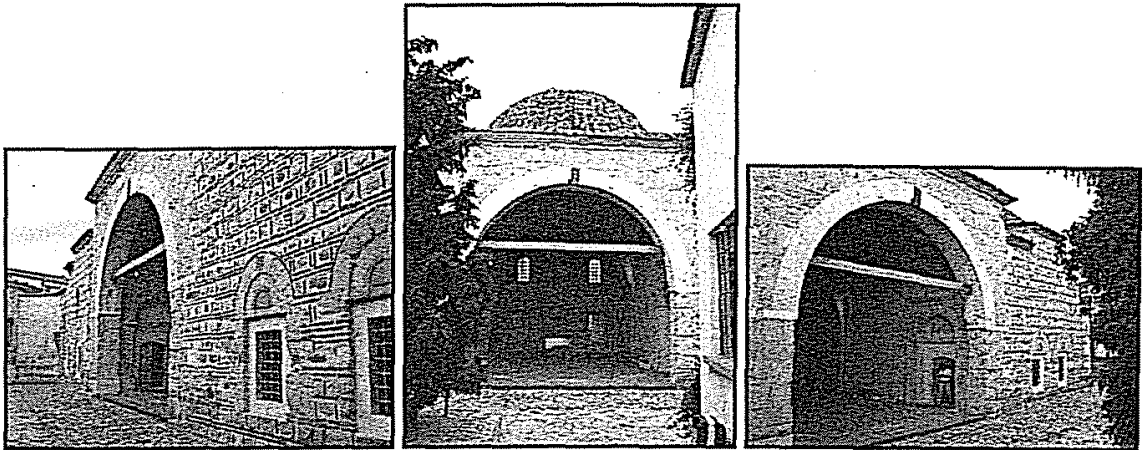
⁷¹ For a detailed description of this site, see: Lowry, 2008: pp. 41-47.

possibility that what has come to be known as the *İskender Beğ Câmi'i* in Yenice Vardar had likewise originally been built by Evrenos as a residence.

This interpretation finds support in a passage in a 16th century chronicle, the **Künhü'l-Ahbâr** of Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali. There, in a description of the pious endowments of Evrenos, he wrote:

[And then there was the Famous Commander, that is, Evrenos Bey, who was the patron of pious deeds, the doer of good works, the courageous man who engaged in holy war, the tall and handsome man, he of excellent character, he who was a prince of the powerful. Most of the villages and towns comprising the interior of Rumeli were his conquests. That renowned Commander, he and his son have endowed pleasant soup kitchens (*imârets*) in seven different locations. It is related that when this famous Commander was residing in Gümülcine he was disturbed by some incident and moved to Siroz. At that point in time he turned his houses [in Gümülcine] into a soup kitchen (*imâret*). Afterwards he was unhappy and left there [Siroz] as well. When he came to Yenice Vardar he settled down there. Then he endowed his houses in Siroz to his *imâret* (soup kitchen). When the time had come that he journeyed to the other world [i.e., when he died] his Palace (*sarây*) in Vardar was also turned into a soup kitchen (*imâret*). It is well known that the aforesaid pious Foundation is permitted to be the recipient of the incomes of several prosperous villages....] [emphasis is ours]⁷²

⁷² Ahmet Uğur et.al. (Eds.): Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Âlî Efendi: (Kayseri Raşid Efendi Kütüphanesi'ndeki 901 ve 920 No. lu Nüshalara Göre) *Kitâbü't-Târîh-i Künhü'l-Ahbâr* (I. Cilt – I. Kısım). Kayseri (Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 106), 1997. p. 126 (Folio 27b-28a) [Hereafter: Uğur, 1997]. The Turkish text reads: “*Fe-ammâ eşher-i ümerâsı Evrenos Beğ'dir ki, sahib-i hayrât, râgıb-i meberrât, şîr-merd-i pîşe-i cihâd, şeh-levend-i kerâmet-nihâd bir emîr-i büzürgvâr idi. Rûm-îlî'nîn İç-il'i hükmündeki kurâ ve kasabâtı ekseriyyâ ol feth itmişdir. Ol emîr-i nâm-dâr kendiniñ ve evlâdınıñ yedi yerde 'amâyir-i latîfesi vardır. Menküldür ki, ol emîr-i nâm-dâr evvelâ Gümülcine'de temekkün itmiş, bir husûsa incinüb Siroz'da temekkün ider. Andağı evlerini 'ayniyle 'imâret ta'yîn itmiş. Ba'dehû Siroz'da dahî hazz itmeyüb göçmüş. Vardâr Yeñicesi'ne varub ikâmet itmiş. Bu kerre Siroz'daki evleri de 'amâyir yirine müllhak itmiş. Vaktâ ki, sefer-i Âhîret'e gitmiş Vardâr'daki sarây dahî 'imâret olmuş. Meşhûrdur ki, mezbûr evkâfda müsa'ade kasdına birkaç karye-i ma'mûre recâ itmiş...*”

Photo 21⁷³Photos 22, 23 & 24:⁷⁴ Evrenos Zâviye-İmâret in Gümülcine

⁷³ Mavrokefalidou, 2005.

⁷⁴ Photos 21, 22 & 23 were taken by H. Lowry (2004).

The obvious similarities between these two buildings, coupled with the description provided by Mustafa Ali, raise the intriguing possibility that both sites may have initially been constructed as residences and then subsequently reinvented as *zâviye-imâret-câmi*'is (dervish lodges - soup kitchens-mosques).⁷⁵

For these reasons it is plausible to construe that it was Hacı Evrenos who constructed the town's first mosque directly behind his residence (next to which, in keeping with Ottoman practice, he also built a bathhouse – *hammâm*), and that this was the mosque, called in the family *şecere* the *Câmi'i Şerîf* (Honored/Noble Mosque), in the same manner that his tomb is called the *Türbe-i Şerîf* (Honored/Noble Tomb) and the funerary complex which grew up around it the *Mezar-i Şerîf* (Honored/Noble Cemetery), which a century later was dismantled and a new structure (a portion of which survives today) was erected by his great-grandson İskender Beğ. This explanation both accounts for the Hacı Evrenos mosque, and for the fact that as late as the beginning of the 21st century the mosque in question is still known locally as the *İskender Beğ Câmi'i*. For when Evliya visited the mosque in 1668, he too called it the *İskender Beğ Câmi'i* after the individual named as its 'rebuilder' in the no longer extant restoration inscription (*kitabe*) which at

⁷⁵ In an important study, the Turkish architectural historian, Semavi Eyice: "İlk Osmanlı Devrenin Dini-İçtimai Bir Müessesesi Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler. *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*. Vol. 23, Nos. 1 & 2 (İstanbul, 1962), pp. 3-80, advanced the concept that numerous early Ottoman mosques had initially served multi-purposes including that of *imârets* (soup kitchens). What is suggested here is that in some instances structures which were initially erected as lodgings subsequently were modified to serve as combination soup kitchen-mosque complexes.

In this regard, the description provided by Evliya Çelebi of the manner in which the services of the Yenice Vardar *imârets* were open to not only Muslims but even to fire-worshippers and Jews is enlightening [See APPENDIX I]. It may well be that by combining such largesse to non-Muslims in the milieu of a mosque, the endowers were seeking to provide a setting conducive to religious conversion. For a detailed description of the manner in which Ottoman charity was provided regardless of religion, see: Heath W. Lowry: "Random Musings on the Origins of Ottoman Charity: From Mekece to Bursa, İznik and Beyond," in H. W. Lowry: *Defterology Revisited: Studies on 15th & 16th Century Ottoman Society*. İstanbul (The Isis Press), 2008., pp. 51-62.

the time of his visit was still *in situ* above its door opposite the direction of Mecca (*kıble kapusu üzre*). This Arabic inscription (as read by Evliya Çelebi) stated:

*Ammere'l-İskender min nesli Gâzî Evrenos,
Dâre hayrı ceddihî'l-a'lâ fe'amme nef'uhâ,*

*Ecruhâ fî dâri'l-uhrâ cennetü'l-me'vâ lima
Câe fî târîhihâ dârun karârun ecruhâ.⁷⁶*

Translation:

İskender, from the line of Gazi Evrenos,
rebuilt the house of charity [sic. *imaret* = soup kitchen] of his ancestor
and disseminated its advantages.

In return for which may his place in the next world be Paradise.

So the phrase: *dârun karârun ecruhâ* provides its date.

From the fact that the last three words of this inscription: *dârun karârun ecruhâ* form a chronogram giving the date h. 916 (April 10, 1510 – March 30, 1511), we can date with certainty at least a part of the remains which are extant today.⁷⁷

Several things about this no longer extant inscription are deserving of comment: First, contra the assertion of Kiel, who implies that it was a dedicatory *kitabesi* naming a certain İskender as the mosque's builder,⁷⁸ the wording of the inscription (as given by Evliya Çelebi) names İskender (a

⁷⁶ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77.

⁷⁷ What is less certain is what the mosque rebuilt by İskender Beğ in 1510-1511 may actually have looked like. The extant remains make this question difficult to answer. Machiel Kiel, who spent no less than six pages in his 1971 article (Kiel, 1971: pp. 323-329) attempting to do so, even went so far as to provide two different 'alternative reconstruction' plans (Kiel, 1971: pp. 318-319) for the building, neither of which bear more than a passing resemblance to the mosque depicted in the early 20th century photos utilized in the present study (See: **Photos: 14-16**)?

⁷⁸ Kiel, 1990: 'Postscript' to his 1971 article appended to the reprint: p. 329b.

great grandson of Evrenos) as the rebuilders of a soup kitchen-mosque complex which had been endowed by his ancestor Hacı Evrenos. As we have previously seen this interpretation is supported by the wording of the note attached to his name in the 17th century family tree. This document names him as the administrator (*mütevelli*) of his great-grandfather's pious foundation, in which capacity he is described as having torn down and rebuilt the *Câmi'i Şerif* (Noble/Honored Mosque), prior to his death on February 26, 1519 in İskenderiye (Albania) where he was serving as *Sancak Beğ* (Governor of the province). Some indication of his own importance may be garnered from the fact that the note next to his name in the *şecere* states that his body was returned by his retainers from İskenderiye to Yenice Vardar and interred in the tomb of his ancestor.

Finally, Contra Kiel's contention that the main sanctuary was domed until "*shortly after the Second World War*,"⁷⁹ the testimony of the extant late 19th early 20th century photos suggests otherwise [See, in particular: **Photos 16-18**].⁸⁰ This is confirmed by a passage in the *şecere* which credits Süleyman Beğ in 1670-1671 with having replaced its collapsed dome with a roof: "in the year h.1078 (June 23, 1667 – June 11, 1668) the dome of the *Câmi'i Şerif* collapsed; it was replaced with a [tiled] roof in the year h. [10]81 (May 21, 1670 – May 11, 1671)" (*Bin yetmiş sekiz senesinde câmi'-i şerîfin kubbesi yıkılıp seksen birinci senesinde tavan yapusuyla yapılmıştır*). This would appear to be the roof which is still observable (behind the domed entranceway) in the early 20th century photographs. [See: **Photos 16-18**] As neither of the present authors makes any claim to be architectural historians, we will leave this issue to those better versed in such matters.

Despite the attachment of İskender Beğ's name to the mosque he rebuilt, as late as the beginning of the 20th century there is reason to believe

⁷⁹ Kiel, 1970: p. 324.

⁸⁰ Kiel's assumption about both the form and history of this building [see: Kiel, 1971: pp. 324- & Kiel, 1990: p. 329a] must be completely revised in light of the early photographs published in this study.

that its official name (as preserved in the records of the Directorate of Pious Foundations), was the *Gazi Evrenos Beğ Câmî'i*. This supposition is supported by a document preserved in the İstanbul *Başbakanlık Arşivi* (Prime Minister's Archive), which is dated: 25 *Muharrem* 1322 (Tuesday, April 12, 1904). It lists appointments of *İmams* (Prayer Leaders) at a number of important mosques throughout the Empire, among which are those of the *Harem-i Şerif* in Mecca, *Niyazi Mısırî Câmîi* on the Aegean island of Limni (Limnos), and the *Gazi Evrenos Câmîi* in Yenice Vardar.⁸¹ The fortuitous survival of this document strengthens the hypothesis advanced herein for two reasons: a) it establishes that as late as the first decade of the 20th century there still was a *Gazi Evrenos Câmîi* in Yenice Vardar; and, b) as the records of the Directorate of Pious Foundations are known to have been based on *vâkfiyyes* (endowment charters), this reference almost certainly must preserve the name by which the site is known in the now missing charter document of its original founder, i.e., Hacı ve Gazi Evrenos Beğ.⁸²

As a final link in this chain of circumstantial evidence we may cite an entry in the late Ottoman biographical dictionary, **Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri**, for an 18th century member of the *ulemâ* (Muslim scholar) named Ak Ali Efendi 'İzmidî,' which states that at one stage in his career he served as the *imâm* (prayer leader) of the Yenice Vardar mosque known as the '*Câmî-i Şerîf*' which had been built and endowed by Gâzi Evrenos (*Gazi Evrenos Beğ tarafından evkâfî ihyâ olunan câmî-i şerîfde imâmet vazîfesiyle muvaz-zaf idi*).⁸³ This reference clearly names the *câmî-i şerîf* as part of Evrenos' endowment and thereby confirms the analysis provided herein.

Viewed together, all of the above factors serve to make a strong circumstantial case that the mosque referred to in the family tree as the *Câmî'i*

⁸¹ See: *Başbakanlık Arşivi: Yıldız Tasnifi – Perakende Evrak: Dosya No. 4, Gömlek No. 18.*

⁸² Too date no copy of Evrenos' Yenice Vardar *vâkfiyye* (endowment charter) is known to have survived?

⁸³ Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi: *Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri*. Vol. I. İstanbul, h.1333. See: p. 215.

Şerif, was indeed that built by Hacı Evrenos in the late 14th century, i.e., that which is referred to today as the *İskender Beğ Câmii* in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa). As such, it is one of the oldest Friday mosques to survive in the Balkans. Needless to say, it warrants preservation. At the present time it does not even enjoy the status of a 'protected monument,' i.e. it is held as private property and is in danger of disappearing altogether.

Returning to our discussion of the information preserved in the family tree (*şecere*) relative to the burial sites of Hacı Evrenos and his descendants:

6) **Süleyman Beğ** is not buried in Yenice Vardar. This fact is clearly stated in the *şecere* which notes that he died elsewhere;

7) **Beğce Beğ** likewise is listed as not being buried in Yenice Vardar due to his having died in some other location;

8) **Hacı İsa Beğ**. The burial site of Hacı Evrenos' seventh son is indeterminable on the basis of the information contained in the *şecere* as his entry is the only one of the seven sons of Evrenos which is not accompanied by a note. Indeed, was it not for a passage in the work of the 17th century traveler Evliya Çelebi we would not even know whether he was buried in Yenice Vardar? However, Evliya reports that Hacı İsa Beğ was buried in a tile covered *türbe*, i.e., one without a dome, which was near to that of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ.⁸⁴

In short, the family tree establishes that alongside Hacı Evrenos only one of his seven sons (Hızır Şah Beğ) was laid to rest in his mausoleum, while four more of his offspring were buried in nearby (but separate) tombs of their own (Hacı Barak Beğ, İki Yürekli Ali Beğ, Yakub Beğ & Hacı İsa Beğ). The two remaining sons (Süleyman Beğ & Beğce Beğ) died elsewhere and were buried in unnamed towns.

⁸⁴ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 79.

This said, the *şecere* also provides us an indication that a sprinkling of descendants in later generations were also laid to rest in (or adjacent to) the *türbe-i şerîf* (honored mausoleum) of Hacı Evrenos. They include:

9) [**Çandarlı**] **İbrahim Paşa**, the son-in-law of Hacı Evrenos (husband of Selçuk Kadın), is listed as buried within the courtyard or complex of Evrenos Beğ's mausoleum (*Evrenos Beğ'in türbesi hareminde medfündür*);

10) **İskender Beğ** (a grandson of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ) who died on February 26, 1519, is buried within the honored mausoleum (*türbe-i şerîfesine defn olunmuşdur*);

11) **Fişek Mehmed Çelebi**, who is buried next to his grandfather Yakub Beğ in the vicinity of Evrenos Beğ's mausoleum (*Evrenos Beğ'in türbesi kurbunda dedeleri Yakub Beğ yanında medfündür*);

12) **Abdi Beğ**, a grandson of Hacı [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ, who is shown as having been buried within the courtyard or complex of Evrenos Beğ's mausoleum (*Evrenos Beğ'in türbesi hareminde defn etmişler*).

To the extent it has succeeded this analysis establishes that within the actual *türbe* (mausoleum) of Evrenos were buried three family members: 1) Hacı Evrenos Beğ himself; b) Hızır Şah Beğ and. c) İskender Beğ; while in the extended complex or outer courtyard there were two more family members: 4) [**Çandarlı**] **İbrahim Paşa**; and, 5) **Abdi Beğ**. Stated differently, in the second half of the 17th century, there were a total of five family members buried in or within the immediate vicinity of the mausoleum.

That said, in a rare surviving photograph depicting the interior of Evrenos' mausoleum, a picture in the possession of Özer Gazievrenosoğlu, which must have been taken at the end of the 19th century, there are a number of tombstones (seven or eight in total) which are discernible on the upper right hand side of the photo, as well as what appears to be one or more on the left hand side of the photo) [**Photo 25** below]. This raises the likelihood that in the intervening years additional members of succeeding generations of the

family had also been laid to rest within the confines of the patriarch's funeral complex.

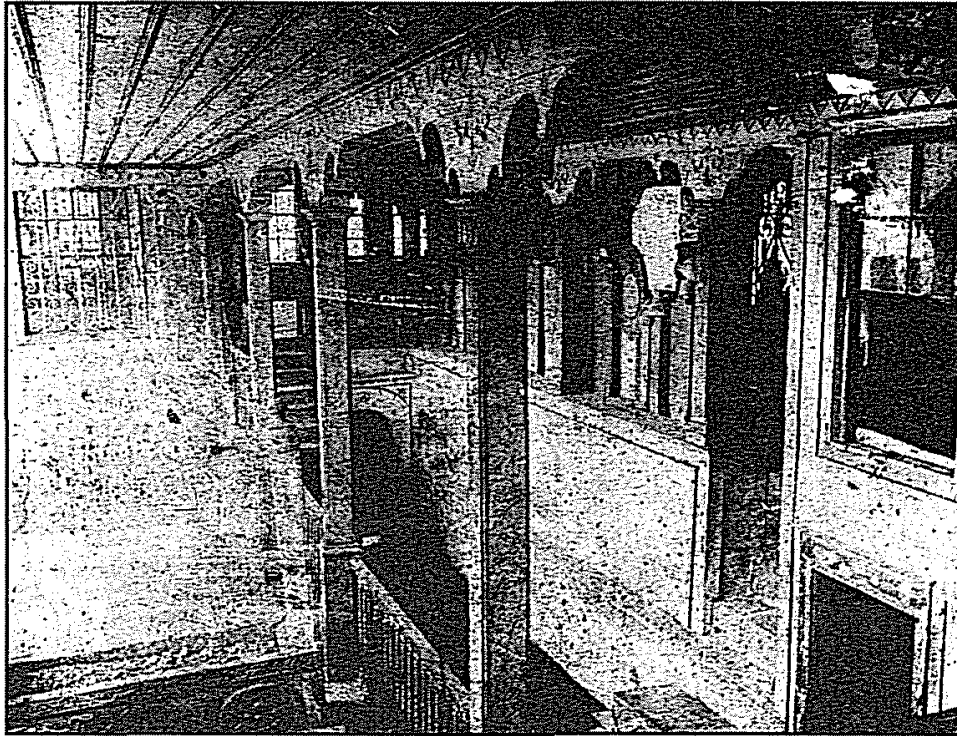


Photo 25⁸⁵

An alternative explanation to account for this seeming anomaly might be that when the original (*türbe*) mausoleum, having fallen into ruin, was rebuilt in 1885-1886 by the then *mütevelli* of Evrenos' foundation, a descendant named Mehmed Şefik Paşa,⁸⁶ i.e., when it was given the form which survives today, all of the family tombstones which had been located in its courtyard were gathered up and placed within the rebuilt structure. As can be seen in **Photo 25** [above], they appear to be arrayed in rows on the second floor balcony, an unlikely burial site to say the least.

⁸⁵ Late 19th – early 20th century photo of the interior of Hacı Evrenos' mausoleum in Yenice Vardar supplied to Heath Lowry by Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from his family album.

⁸⁶ See the section at the end of the present study entitled: '**Retracing the History of the Mausoleum of Hacı Evrenos in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa)**' for a detailed discussion of the various stages of restoration which the mausoleum has undergone.

The *mütevelli*'s (administrators) of the pious foundations established by Evrenos as identified in the 17th century *şecere* (family tree)

Among the more interesting heretofore unknown data preserved in the *şecere* are notes identifying various members of the family as the administrators of the pious foundation established by the dynasty's patriarch. From the fortuitous survival of the *vâkfiyye* (charter document) of the foundations established by Evrenos in the city of Siroz (Serres) in 1416, we know that he himself served as the first administrator and that he named his eldest son Barak Beğ to succeed him upon his death.⁸⁷

This information is confirmed in the *şecere* where a note next to Hacı Barak Beğ's name states: "*Evrenos Beg Vakfi'na ibtidâ bunlar mütevellî olmuşdur*" (he was the first administrator of Evrenos Beğ's pious foundation). Given the fact that Evrenos died on Wednesday, November 17, 1417,⁸⁸ we may infer that this was the point in time at which Barak Beğ succeeded his father as administrator of the family foundation.

He in turn was succeeded by his nephew Hacı [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ (son of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ). However, while Ahmed Beğ was serving as Sancak Beğ (Governor) of Vidin (a city and region north of Sofya in Bulgaria), the role of administrator passed back to the line of Barak Beğ and was assumed by his son Böğrü Hızır Beğ, who held the post for an unspecified time, until his death, after which it once again reverted to Hacı Ahmed Beğ.

Hacı Ahmed Beğ not only administered his father's foundation, he likewise created a large one of his own. A copy of the *vâkfiyye* (charter document) of his foundation is preserved in the İstanbul Prime Minister's Archives (*Başbakanlık Arşivi*), in the form of a scroll approximately 4.5 meters long. Written in Arabic it describes in detail the endowments created by Ahmed Beğ in Yenice Vardar and surrounding towns.⁸⁹ The information it

⁸⁷ Zengin, 2004.

⁸⁸ Lowry, 2003: pp. 60-61.

⁸⁹ See: *Başbakanlık Arşivi: EV. VKF 19/11*.

contains is confirmed by a passage in the *şecere* which states that Hacı Ahmed Beğ had “*endowed four or five villages and other properties and constructed imârets (soup kitchens) in three different places; and in Yenice Vardar he built a medrese (theological seminary) and a Câmî’i Şerif (Noble Mosque).*” He died in the *hijra* year 908 (July 7, 1502 – June 27, 1503).

Given the virtual absence of any information on the retainers (free and slave) who served the Evrenosoğulları, the list of witnesses who signed the charter document created by Hacı Ahmed Beğ is particularly enlightening. It preserves the names of the following eleven individuals, each of whom must have been living in Yenice Vardar at the time it was drawn up in h. 904 (August 19, 1498 – August 9, 1499)⁹⁰ and six of whom were slaves who had converted to Islam [Numbers 6-11]. The list of *şehide bi-mā fihi* (witnesses to this matter) include: 1) Mevlana Husam bin Mehmed Hvâce; 2) al-Hac Ahmed bin Ayas; 3) al-Hac Mehmed bin Hamza; 4) Mehmed Beğ bin Hüseyin Beğ; 5) Umur Bali bin Süle; 6) al-Hac Rustem bin ‘Abdullah; 7) Veysi Bali bin ‘Abdullah; 8) al-Hac Mustafa bin ‘Abdullah; 9) İskender bin ‘Abdullah; 10) Şirmerd bin ‘Abdullah; and, 11) Şirmerd bin ‘Abdullah Dizdar-i Kal’a-i Rasova (Şirmerd son of the Slave of God who is the Warden of the Fortress of Rasova). Given the fact that five of the signatories are ‘*Hacıs,*’ i.e., pilgrims to Mecca, it takes no great stretch of the imagination to suggest that they may well have accompanied their war lord when he made his pilgrimage.

Hacı [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ (who is also called ‘Koca’ = ‘Great’ in the *şecere*) in turn was succeeded by a nephew (son of his brother Hüseyin Beğ) named İskender Beğ. As noted previously, the note attached to this individual’s name informs us that he: a) succeeded his uncle as the administrator of Evrenos’ foundation; b) was a Sancak Beğ (Governor), who while serving as such in İskenderiye (Albania) died on February 26, 1519; and, c)

⁹⁰ Ayverdi, 2000: pp. 319-320.

while serving as administrator of the family foundation he had completely rebuilt the *Câmi-i Şerif* (Noble Mosque) [in Yenice Vardar].

The 'family tree' does not clearly state who succeeded İskender Beğ in 1519, but in all likelihood it was a certain Abdi Beğ, the eldest son of Hacı [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ's son Musa Beğ, i.e., a grandson of Hacı Ahmed Beğ. The note attached to his name informs us that he held the position for fifteen or sixteen years during which time he was the Sancak Beğ (Governor of the province of Selânik (Thessaloniki)). It also contains the information that both through his contributions of money and property he was responsible for many charitable works. He died during the campaign against Timasvâr in the year 1551-1552.

For the remainder of the 16th century the *şecere* provides no clue as to which members of the family administered the foundation. Indeed, the next point in time for which the 'family tree' names an administrator is at the beginning of the 17th century. As by this time the lines of five of Evrenos' seven sons had ended (Hacı Barak Beğ, Beğce Beğ, Süleyman Beğ, Hacı İsa Beğ & Yakub Beğ), we may infer that thereafter the position of *Mütevelli* was held by descendants of either: İki Yüreklü Ali Beğ or Hızırşah Beğ. The evidence provided by the *şecere* supports this interpretation, as thenceforth the position tended to rotate between members of these two branches of the Evrenosoğulları.

At the beginning of the 17th century, a descendant of Hızırşah, a certain Mehmed Paşa (also called 'Beğ') held the position of *mütevelli* for almost forty years, during which time he also held the post of Governor of Selânik (Sancak Beğ). Upon his death in early 1646 he was buried in the courtyard of the *Câmi'i Şerif* (Noble/Honored Mosque) in Yenice Vardar.

The next individual named as administrator in the *şecere* was also a descendant of Hızırşah Beğ, a certain Süleyman Beğ who assumed the post in 1655. He seems to have served as administrator until his death in an ambush on the plain of Hotin in 1673. In the year 1669-1670, the Ottoman ruler

Sultan Mehmed IV. (while staying in Selânik) visited Yenice [Vardar] on a hunting trip where he was a guest in the home of Süleyman Beğ. His hospitality was rewarded with an appointment as Governor of Selânik. In the year 1667-1668 the dome of the *Câmi-i Şerif* (Noble Mosque) collapsed and in his role as administrator of the family foundation, Süleyman Beğ replaced it with a [tiled] roof in 1670-1671.

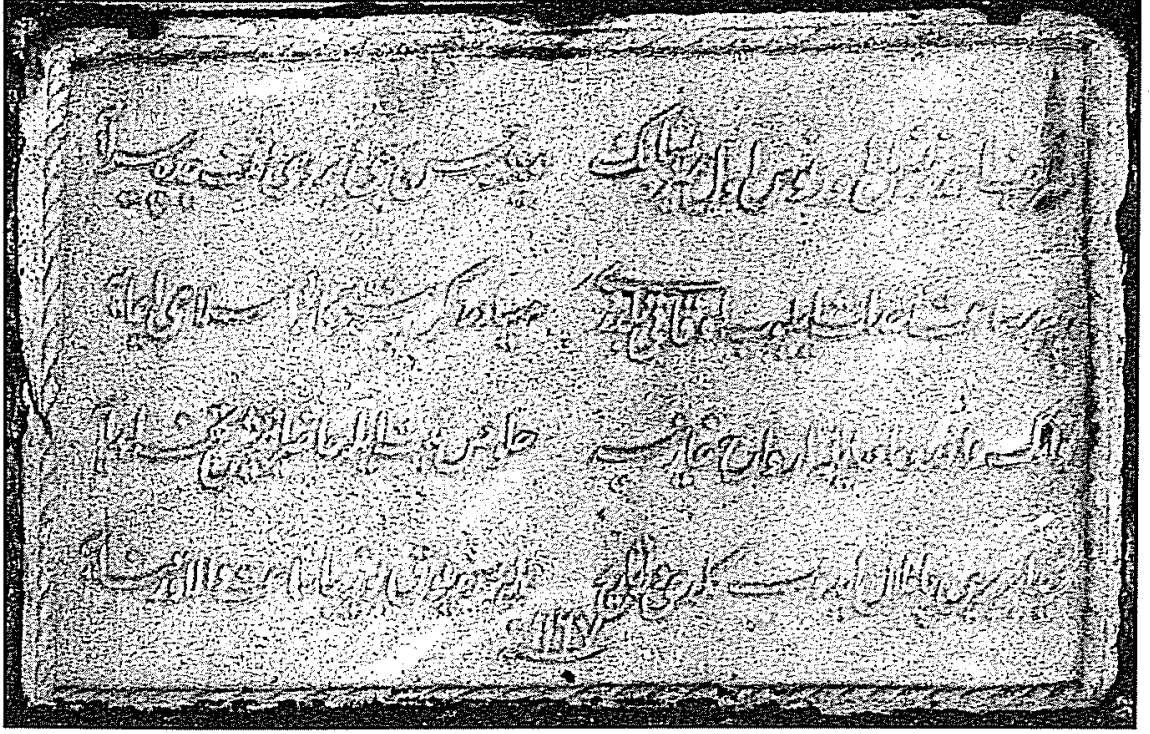
As it was shortly after this that the 'family tree' was drawn up, it is also the terminus point for our knowledge as to which family members served as administrators of the pious foundations established by their ancestor Hacı Evrenos ends.

There are a number of later additions to the *şecere* (made in a variety of hands), one of which is of particular interest as it concerns an 18th century descendant of Evrenos, who, during his term as *mütevelli* of the family foundation, endowed a monument which still stands today: namely, the city's clock tower. This was a certain Şerif Ahmed Beğ, whom the *şecere* also credits with having completely rebuilt the water system/aqueduct (*su yolu*) which provided the city's water supply.⁹¹ From the fact that the dedicatory inscription on the clock tower is still extant and includes the date: h. 1167 (October 29, 1753 – October 19, 1754) [Photo 26], we may logically assume that Şerif Ahmed Beğ was then serving as the Evrenos foundation's administrator.⁹²

⁹¹ As discussed earlier, this aqueduct (*su yolu*) was originally constructed by Hacı Evrenos at the end of the 14th century, and then later expanded by his grandson Hacı [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ (ca. 1500). Now in the mid 18th century it was once again rebuilt by yet another *mütevelli* (administrator) of its original endower's pious foundation.

⁹² As this inscription was previously read (by Nihat Çetin), translated (by F. Th. Dijkema) and published (by Machiel Kiel), it was not our original intent to include it among the Evrenos related inscriptions published in the present study. However, in the interest of providing as complete a corpus of all known Evrenos related inscriptions (*kitabes*) in one venue it was decided to include it here. For, the earlier published version, see: Kiel, 1971: p. 322. On p. 322 of this study, Kiel mistakenly asserts that the dedicatory inscription on the clock tower is the only surviving Ottoman inscription in Yenice Vardar. He overlooked the inscription above the door of the Evrenos *türbe* (in point of fact he missed the *türbe* entirely in his 1971 description of the city's monuments?),

In 1970 the türbe of Şerif

Photo 26⁹³

The text of the inscription reads:

Line #1: *Şerif Ahmed zi nesl-i Evrenos ol mîr-i zi-şânin*

Line #2: *Hemişe hüsn-i sa'yi verdi vakf-i cedde-pîrâyê*

Line #3: *Yine bir sâ'at ihdâs eyleyüb evkâti bildirdi*

Line #4: *Mühèyyâdir meger pencgâne-i İslâmî îmâyê*

Line #5: *Sevâbın vâlid u mâder ile ervâh-ı gâzîye*

Line #6: *Hulûs-i niyyet ile hâzir etmiş tuhfe ihdâyê*

Line #7: *Feridâ bir birin pârnâl edüb geldi dile târîh*

Line #8: *'Hele söz yok bu zîbâ sâ'at-i vâlâ u ra'naya'*

which is published for the first time in the present article.

⁹³ Photo by: H. Lowry (2004).

Line #9: *Sene 1167***Translation:**

- Line #1:** Şerif Ahmed of the line of the great commander Evrenos,
Line #2: Has always exerted his time on the foundation that honors his ancestor
Line #3: So that time may be known he has made a clock
Line #4: He constructed it in a manner that it represents the five-fold Islam
Line #5: This act he has done with the pure intentions of making a gift to
Line #6: his mother and father and to the souls of the gazis.
Line #7: By subtracting only one, this chronogram comes to the tongue:
Line #8: 'See, there is no word to describe this magnificent and beautiful clock'
Line #9: Year: 1167 [October 29, 1753 – October 19, 1754]

Here, is yet another example of the continuing adornment of the town which succeeding generations of the Evrenosoğullari were responsible for. As Şerif Ahmed, a descendant of Evrenos in the line of İki Yüreklü Ali Beğ, was also the *mütevelli* (administrator) of his ancestor's pious foundation, he built the massive clock tower (which still exists today) [Photos 27] in the tradition established by the dynasty's founder. Given his role as *mütevelli* he may well have done so with funds provided from the pious foundation endowed by Hacı Evrenos.

The remains of the clock tower, still scarred by German artillery shells fired in the Second World War, are reportedly scheduled for restoration in the near future [Photo 28].

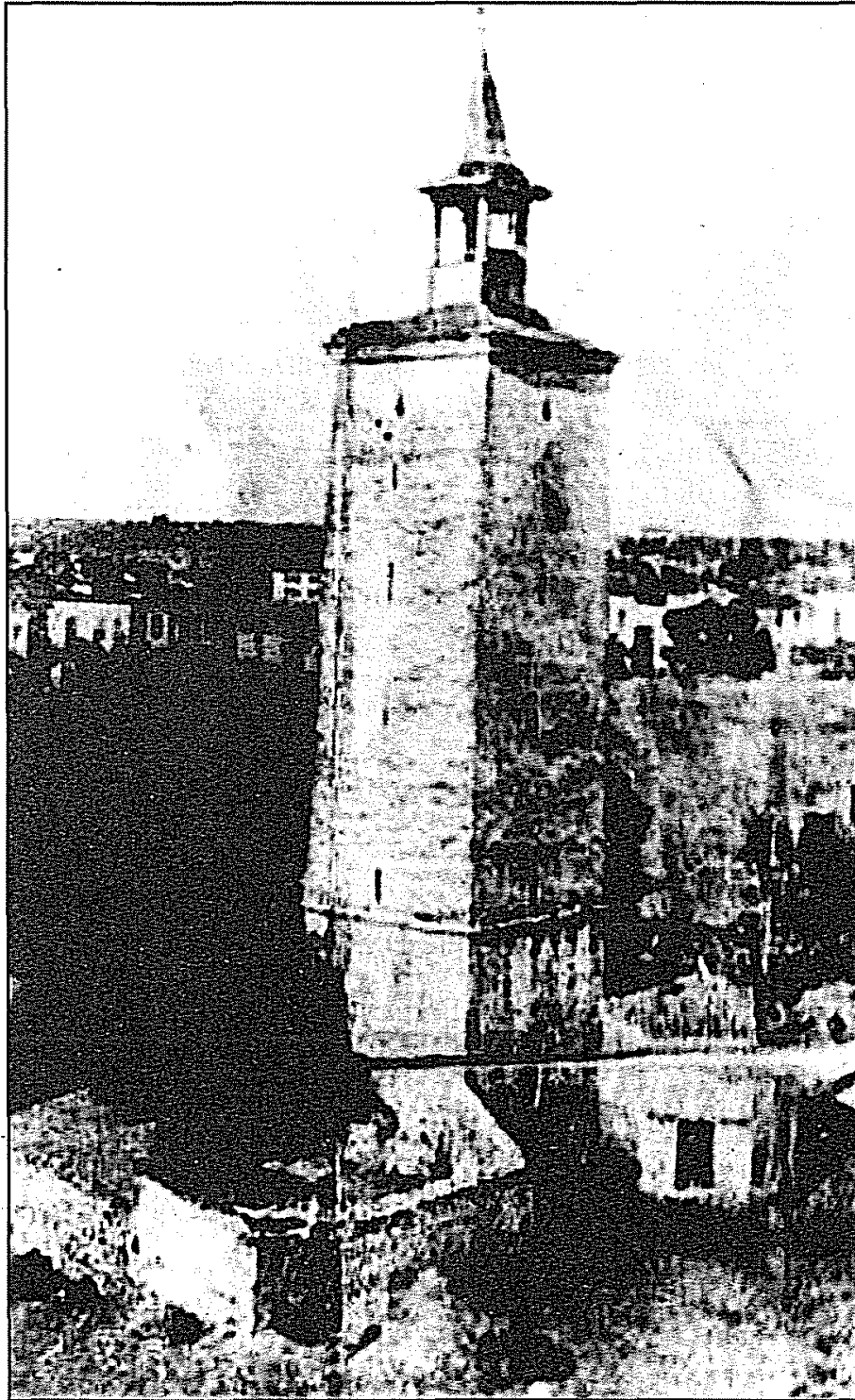


Photo 27⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Mavrokefalidou, 2005.

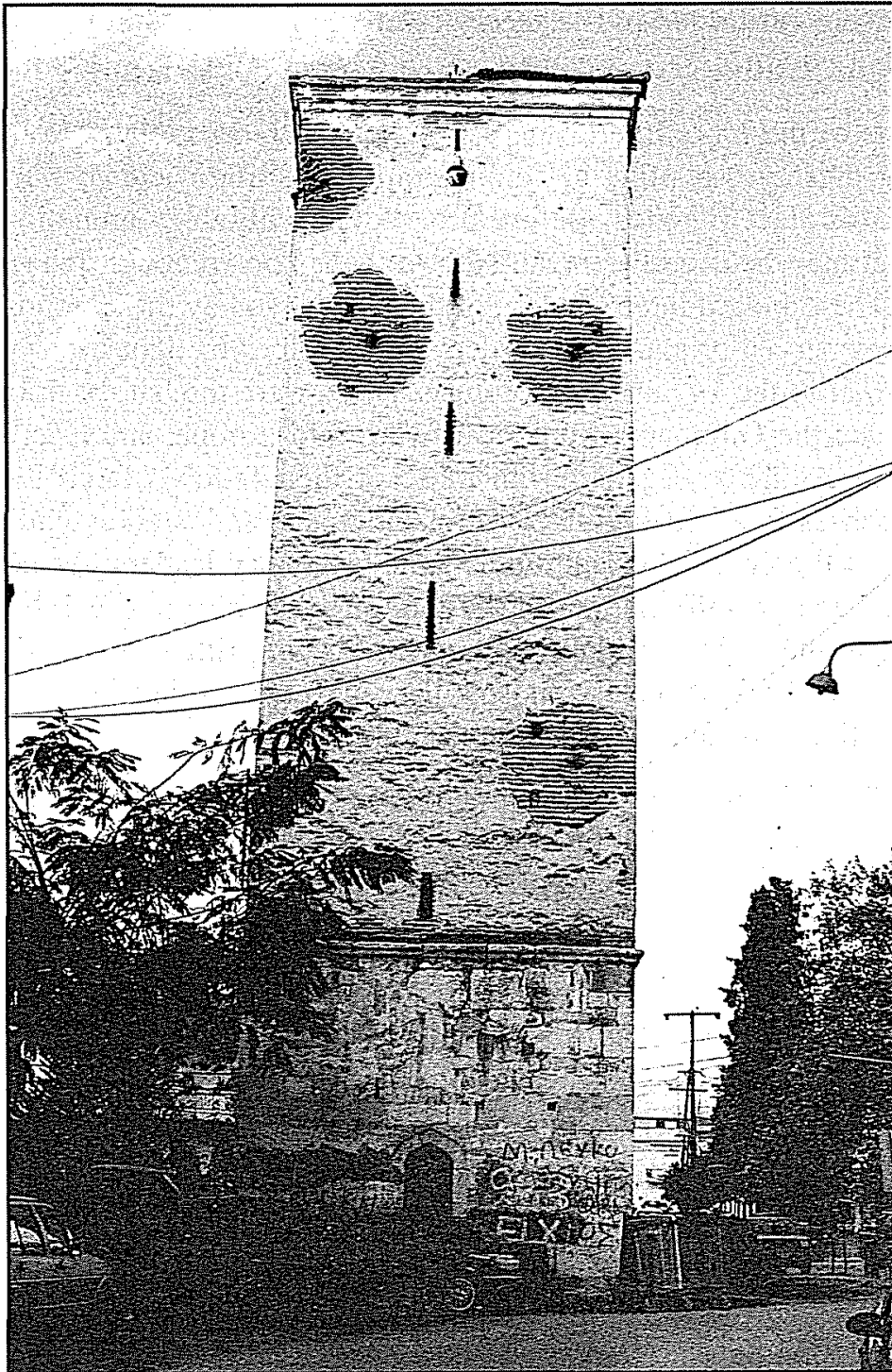


Photo 28⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Photo by: Lowry (2004).

Information contained in the *şecere* relative to positions in the Ottoman administrative system held by members of the Evrenosoğulları

One of the more interesting aspects of the *şecere* relates to the information it preserves relative to administrative positions held by various descendants of Hacı Evrenos. Before proceeding with an examination of this material it may be useful to recall what little is known about this subject in general. The standard interpretation of the role played by the Evrenosoğulları is that they served primarily as leaders of the forces of light cavalry known as the *akıncı* in the 14th and 15th century. These were the 'shock troops' who spearheaded the Ottoman advance westward into Europe, and Hacı Evrenos and his descendants (together with those of their fellow March Lords [*Uc Beys*], such as the Mihaloğulları, Turahanoğulları and Malkoçoğulları), are recorded in the chronicle tradition as their hereditary leaders. As heretofore there has been no information on the fate of the family in the 16th and 17th century and thereafter, virtually nothing has been written in regard to what positions members of the Evrenosoğulları may have filled in the Ottoman administrative apparatus during these centuries.

In point of fact the portrait inferable from the 17th century *şecere* is somewhat at odds with that preserved in the chronicle tradition. Specifically, the notes attached to the names of various family members in the *şecere* preserve the following in regard to their roles over time in the 15th – 17th century Ottoman administrative hierarchy:

a) [**Böğrü**] **Hızır Beğ**, who was the eldest son of Barak Beğ (Evrenos' firstborn) is listed as having been a *Sancak Beğ* (Provincial Governor), although the location he served in is not named;

b) **Hacı Ahmed Beğ**, who was the eldest son of Evrenos' son İki Yüreklü Ali Beğ, is shown as having served as *Sancak Beğ* (Provincial Governor) in two Provinces which are unnamed in the *şecere*. However a note next to the name Böğrü Hızır Beğ tells us that one of the provinces Ahmed Beğ was governor of was Vidin in Bulgaria and the 15th century chronicles relate that he also served as Governor of Tırhala;⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Başar, 1995: 540.

c) **İskender Beğ**, the son of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ, likewise appears as having been a *Sancak Beğ*. When he died on February 26, 1519 he was serving as governor of the province of İskenderiye in Albania;

d) **Abdi Beğ**, the firstborn son of Musa Beğ (a son of Hacı Ahmed Beğ), served for fifteen years simultaneously as the administrator of Evrenos' pious foundation, and as *Sancak Beğ* of Selânik (Thessaloniki);

e) **Fişek Mehmed Çelebi** was a son of Hacı Hızır Beğ, i.e., a grandson of Evrenos' son Yakub Beğ, who at one stage in his career served as *Kadı* (Religious Judge) on the Aegean island of Rodos (Rhodes);

f) **Yusuf Beğ**, a grandson of Çelebi Mehmed Beğ, is named as having participated in the conquest of Egypt, services for which he was rewarded with the appointment of *Beglerbegi* (Governor General) of Egypt. He was subsequently killed in an Arab uprising;

g) **Yusuf Beğ**, who died in 1593-1594, had served as *Sancak Beğ* (Provincial Governor) both in Selânik (Thessaloniki) and Üsküp (Skopje);

h) **Mehmed Paşa (Beğ)**, served for forty years simultaneously as the administrator of Evrenos' pious foundation and *Sancak Beğ* (Provincial Governor) of Selânik (Thessaloniki). He died between December 19, 1645 and January 18, 1646;

i) **Süleyman Beğ**, who likewise served as the administrator of his ancestor's pious foundation, was appointed *Sancak Beğ* (Provincial Governor) of Selânik (Thessaloniki), by Sultan Mehmed IV in the year between June 1, 1669 and May 22, 1670. He died in office while campaigning in 1673-1674;

j) **Yusuf Beğ** served as the *Defterdar* of Rumeli and together with Süleyman Beğ he was martyred on the Plain of Hotin in the year 1673-1674.

As this brief sketch indicates, clearly the highest administrative post to which the Evrenosoğulları were appointed was that of *Sancak Beğ* of Selânik, the territory which comprised their home town of Yenice Vardar. Even the sketchy material at our disposal seems to indicate that this position almost appears to have been a hereditary appanage set aside for members of the family.

TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLATION & FACSIMILE OF
THE 17TH CENTURY EVRENOSOĞULLARI ŞECERESİ
(GENEALOGICAL TREE)

[p. 76]

HACI VE GAZÎ EVRENOS BEG:

*Alâ ervâhîhim tuhefü't-tahîyyât
Mine'llâhi'llezî haleka'l-berîyyât
Oldu bunlar muktedâ-i ehl-i dîn
Rahmetu'llâhi aleyhim ecma'in*

Hacı Barak Beg:

Hacı Barak Beg Evrenos Beg'in ulu oğludur. Yenişehir'de karyeler vakf edip imâret binâ etmiştir. Mezâr-ı şerîfi merhûmun yanında uzun mermer direkler dikilmiştir. Evrenos Beg Vakfî'na ibtidâ bunlar mütevellî olmuştur.

[Hacı Barak Beğ was Evrenos Beğ's firstborn son. He endowed villages in Yenişehir (Larissa) and constructed an imaret (soup kitchen). In the Noble Cemetery [his tomb] is next to that of the deceased and is made of large marble columns. He was the first administrator of Evrenos Beğ's Pious Foundation.]

Hacı İsa Beg

Selçuk Kadın:

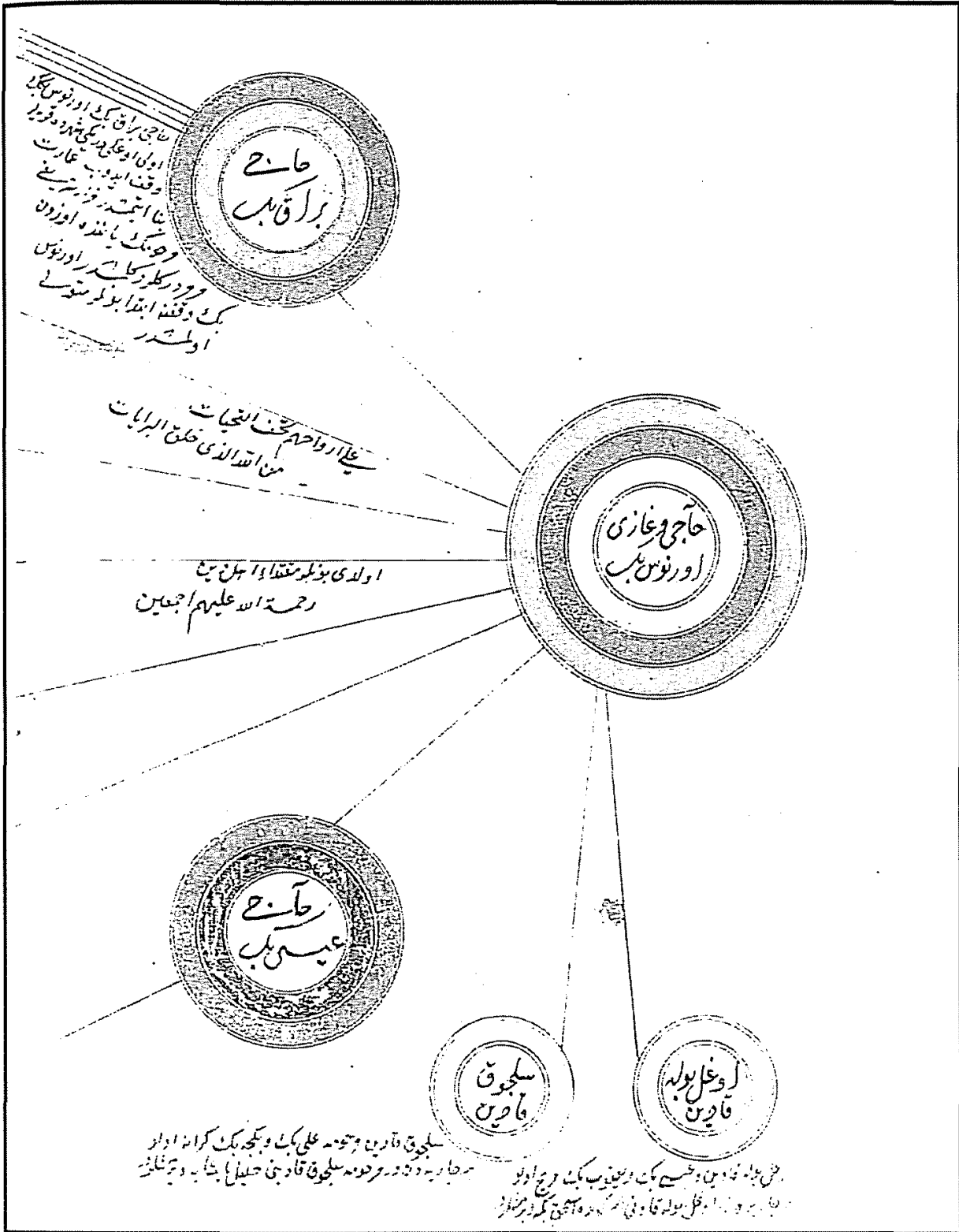
Selçuk Kadın merhûme Ali Beg ve Begce Beg Kirâne adlı bir câriyedendir, merhûme Selçuk Kadın'ı Halil Paşa'ya vermişlerdir.

[The deceased Selçuk Kadın, together with Ali Beğ and Beğce Beğ were the children of a [Christian] slave named Kirâne. The deceased Selçuk Kadın was given [in marriage] to Halil [Çandarlı] Paşa.]

Oğulbula Kadın:

Oğulbula Kadın ve İsa Beg ve Yakub Beg, Merih adlı bir câriyedendir. Oğulbula Kadın'ı Üsküb'de İshak Beg'e vermişlerdir.

[Oğulbula Kadın and İsa Beğ and Yakub Beğ were the children of a [Christian] slave named Merih/Maria. Oğulbula Kadın was given [in marriage] to İshak Beğ in Üsküp.]



[p. 77]

Süleyman Beg:

Süleyman Beg merhûm türbede medfûn değildir. Vefâtları Yenice'de vâki' olmamıştır. Barak Beg merhûm ile ana bir karındaşlardır.

[The deceased Süleyman Beğ is not buried in the tomb [of Evrenos]. He did not die in Yenice [Vardar]. He and the deceased Barak Beğ were brothers from the same mother.]

Begce Beg:

Begce Beg merhûm türbede medfûn değildir. Vefâtları Yenice'de vâki' olmamıştır. Merhûm Ali Beg ile bir anadandır.

[The deceased Beğce Beğ is not buried in the tomb [of Evrenos]. He did not die in Yenice [Vardar]. He and the deceased Ali Beğ had the same mother.]

Hızırşah Beg:

Hızırşah Beg merhûm âlem-i ukbâya revân ve şahbaz-ı cânı behişt-i câvidanda âşiyân eyledikde Evrenos Beg'in türbesinde defn etmişler. Mezâr-ı şerîfi türbe kapısı üzerinde olan yüksek yapılı mezardır.

[When the deceased Hızır-Şâh took the direction of the next world and the bird of his soul nested in Paradise, he was buried in the tomb of Evrenos Beğ. In the noble mausoleum his sarcophagus is the tall one on the doorway side of the mausoleum.]

Ali Beg:

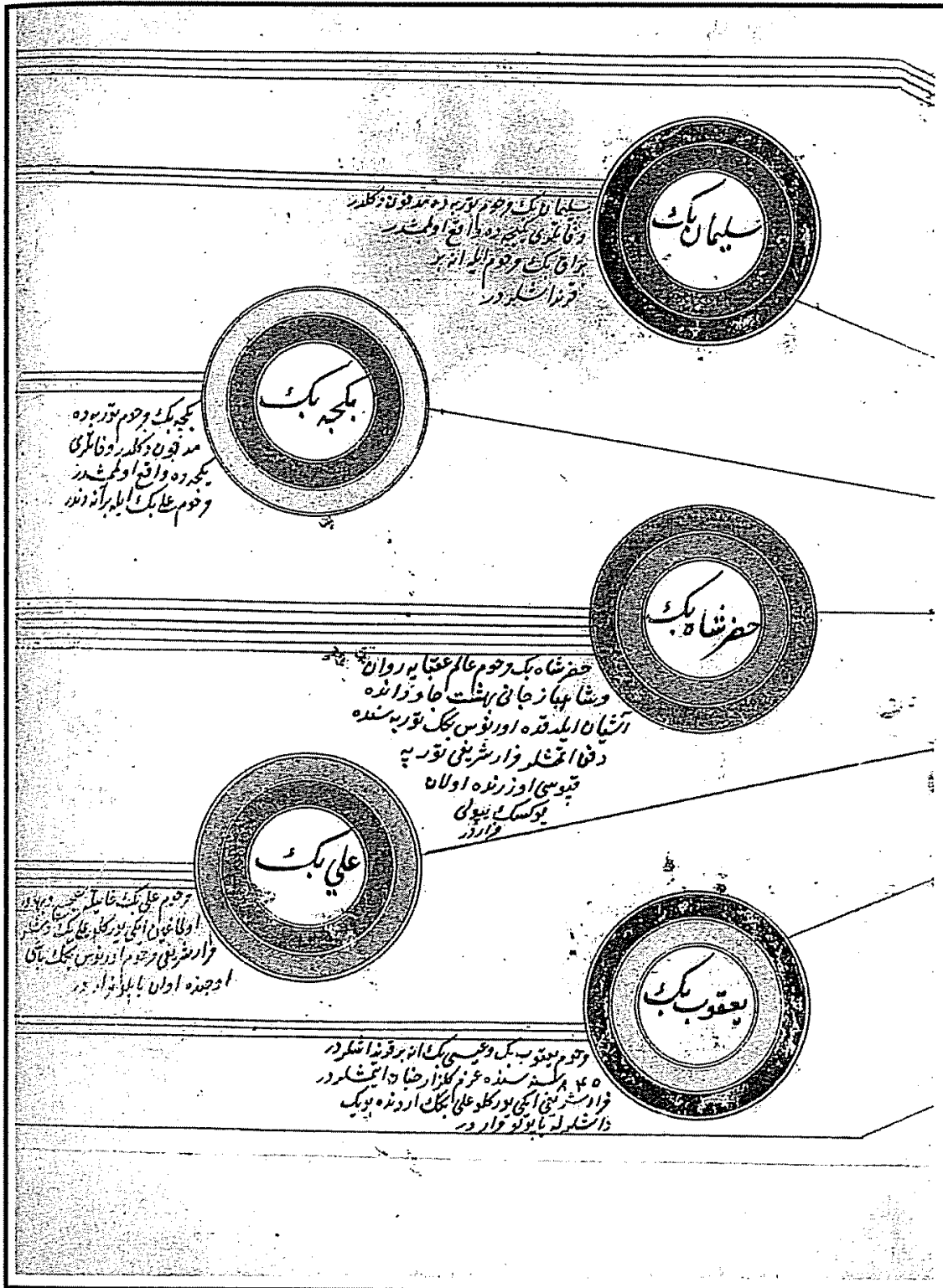
Merhûm Ali Beg gâyetle şeci' ve bahâdır olmağın iki yürekli Ali Beg demişler mezâr-ı şerîfi merhûm Evrenos Beg'in baş ucunda olan yapılı mezardır.

[Because the deceased Ali Beğ was extremely brave and valiant he was called the 'Double Hearted Ali Beğ.' His constructed tomb is that which lies in the direction of the deceased Evrenos' head in the honored burial ground.]

Yakub Beg:

Merhûm Yakub Beg ve İsa Beg ana bir karındaşlardır. 845 senesinde azm-i gülzâr-ı cinân etmişlerdir. Mezâr-ı şerîfi iki yürekli Ali Beg'in ardında büyük daşlarla yapılı mezardır.

[The deceased Yakub Beğ and İsa Beğ were brothers with the same mother. In the year 1441 they passed into the rose garden of Paradise. He is buried behind İki Yürekli Ali Beğ in a tomb made of large stones.]



[p. 78]

*Hacı Beg:**Hacı Beg'in ve İlyas Beg'in evlamları münkariz olmuştur.*

[Hacı Beğ and İlyas Beğ's family line died out.]

*İlyas Beg**Hızır Beg Böğrü:**Hızır Beg merhûm Barak Beg'in ulu oğludur. Sancak Begidir. Ahmed Beg Vidin Begi iken muhâsebesin görüp Evrenos Beg'in tevliyetin alup birkaç zaman mütevellî olup vefât etdikde gene Ahmed Beg mütevellî olmuştur.*

[Hızır Beğ was the deceased Barak Beğ's firstborn son. He was a Sancak Beğ [Provincial Governor]. When Ahmed Beğ was the Governor of Vidin he looked after his accounts and became the administrator of Evrenos Beğ's pious foundation for some period of time. When he died Ahmed Beğ became the administrator once again.]

*Musa Beg**Yusuf Beg**Emre Beg:**Emre Beg Yusuf Beg Musa Beg, Begce Beg merhûmun oğullarıdır. Mezkûrların evlâdı münkariz olmuştur.*

[Emre Beğ, Yusuf Beğ and Musa Beğ were the sons of the deceased Beğce Beğ. Their family line died out.]

*David Beg**İlyas Beg**Murad Beg**Ahmed Beg:**Hacı Ahmed Beg merhûm Ali Beg'in ulu oğludur. İki sancak çekmiştir ve Evrenos Beg Vakfi'na mütevellî olmuştur. Kendiler dahî dört beş pâre kar-yeler ve emlâk vakf edip üç yerde imâret ve Yenice'de medrese ve câmi-i şerîf binâ edip câmi haremünde merhûm Şeyh İlâhî Efendi'ye türbe binâ edip sene 908 senesinde vefât edüp Hazret-i Şeyh'in yanında medfûndur.*[The deceased Ahmed Beğ was the firstborn son of Ali Beğ. He served as Governor in two different provinces and he was the administrator of Evrenos Beğ's pious foundation. He himself [Ahmed Beğ] endowed four or five villages and other properties and constructed *imarets* (soup kitchens) in three different places: and in Yenice Vardar he built a *medrese* (theological seminary) and a *Câmi i* (Noble Mosque). Next to the mosque he constructed a *türbe* (tomb) for the deceased Şeyh [Abdullah al-İlâhî]. He died in the year 1502-1503 and is buried next to the Exalted Şeyh.]



Page 78 [secere facsimile]

[p. 79]

Süleyman Beg:

Barak Beg merhûmun bir ođlu Süleyman Beg'dir. Sarmaşıklı Mehmed Çelebi'nin dedesidir.

[Süleyman Beđ was one of the sons of the deceased Barak Beđ. He was the grandfather of Sarmaşıklı Mehmed Çelebi.]

Hızır Beg

Nasuh Beg

İbrahim Beg

Devatdar Yusuf Beg

Çelebi Mehmed Beg

Kara Yakub Beg

Evrenos Beg

Hüseyin Beg

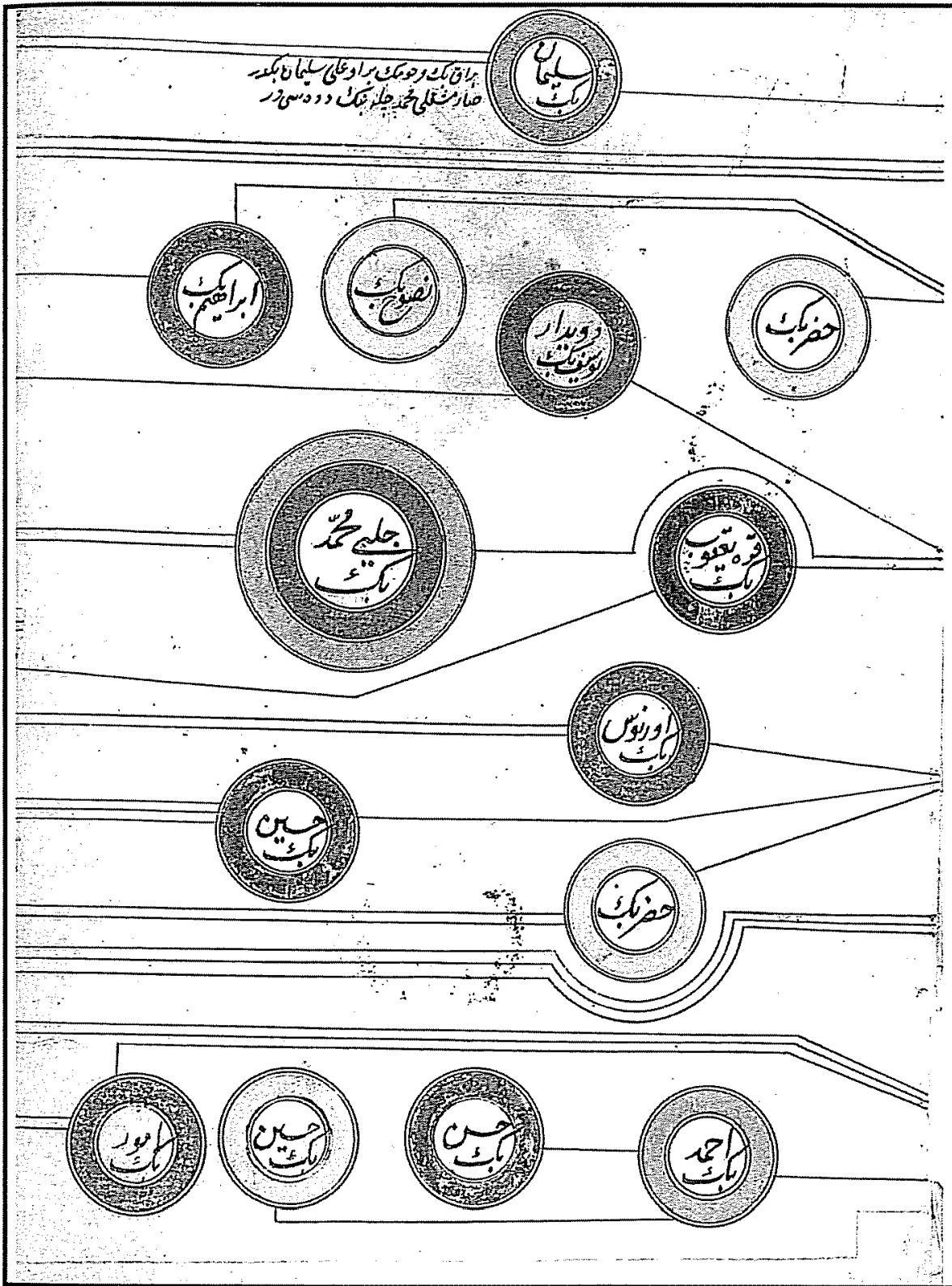
Hızır Beg

Ahmed Beg

Hasan Beg

Hüseyin Beg

Umur Beg



[p. 80]

Veşteceli Deli Ali Beg:

Böğrü Hızır Beg'in ulu oğlu Ali Beg'dir. Veştece'de mütemekkin olmağın Veşteceli Deli Ali Beg demek ile meşhûrdur.

[Ali Beğ was the firstborn son of Böğrü Hızır Beğ. Because he settled in [the town of] Veştece [in Albania] he became well known as Crazy Ali Beğ of Veştece.]

Evrenos Beg

Divâne Hızır Çelebi

Umur Beg:

Umur Beg merhûm Karaboğdan'da Süleyman Paşa sînğimında şehîd olmuştur.⁹⁷

[The deceased Umur Beğ became a martyr [fell in battle] in Karaboğdan at the rout defeat of Süleyman Paşa.]

Kara Ali Beg

Hızır Beg

Hasan Beg

Deli Ali Beg

Süleyman Çelebi

Dîvâne Mehmed Çelebi

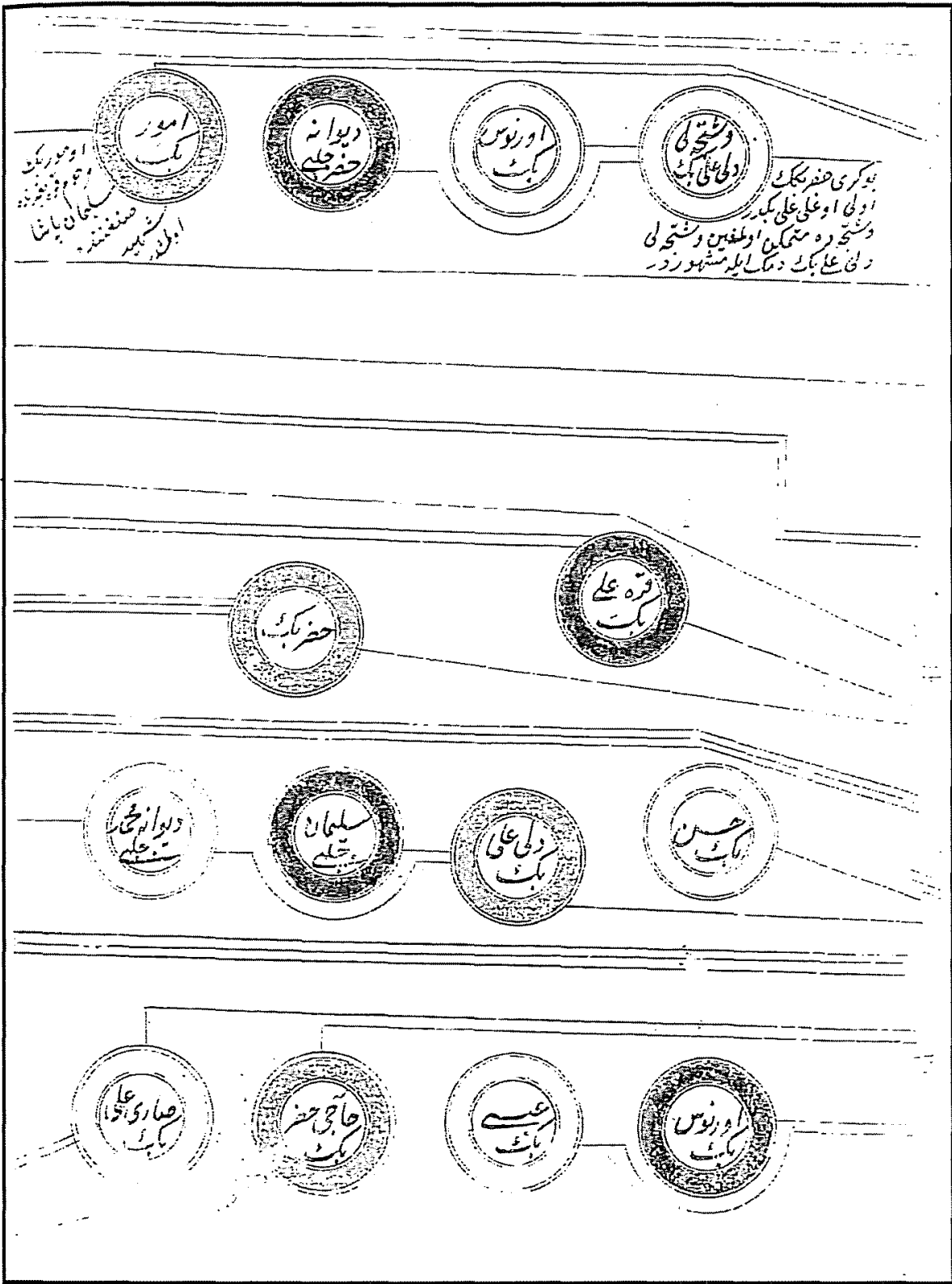
Evrenos Beg

İsa Beg

Hacı Hızır Beg

Sarı Ali Beg

⁹⁷ The Umur Ömer Beğ listed here [on p. 5] of the *şecere* as having died at Karaboğdan is listed as a son of Böğrü Hızır Beğ. However, on p. 9 there is a second Umur Ömer Beğ listed as also having died at Karaboğdan. He is listed as a son of Avcı Mehmed Beğ. Either this is a mistake made by the compiler of the family tree, or there were indeed two different Evrenosoğlu named Umur Ömer who died at Karaboğdan? It may be that there were indeed two separate Umur Ömer Beğs, as he who is listed on p. 5 is shown as a descendant of Evrenos' son Hacı Barak Beğ, while he who appears on p. 9 is shown as a descendant of Evrenos' son Süleyman Beğ?



[p. 81]

Hamza Beg:

*Hamza Beg merhûm Karaboğdan'da Süleyman Paşa sınığında
Umur Beg ile ma'an şehîd olup Hak rahmetine vâsıl olmuşlar.*

[The deceased Hamza Beğ, in the company of Umur Beğ was martyred [fell in battle] in Karaboğdan at the rout/defeat of Süleyman Paşa. He achieved the grace of God.]

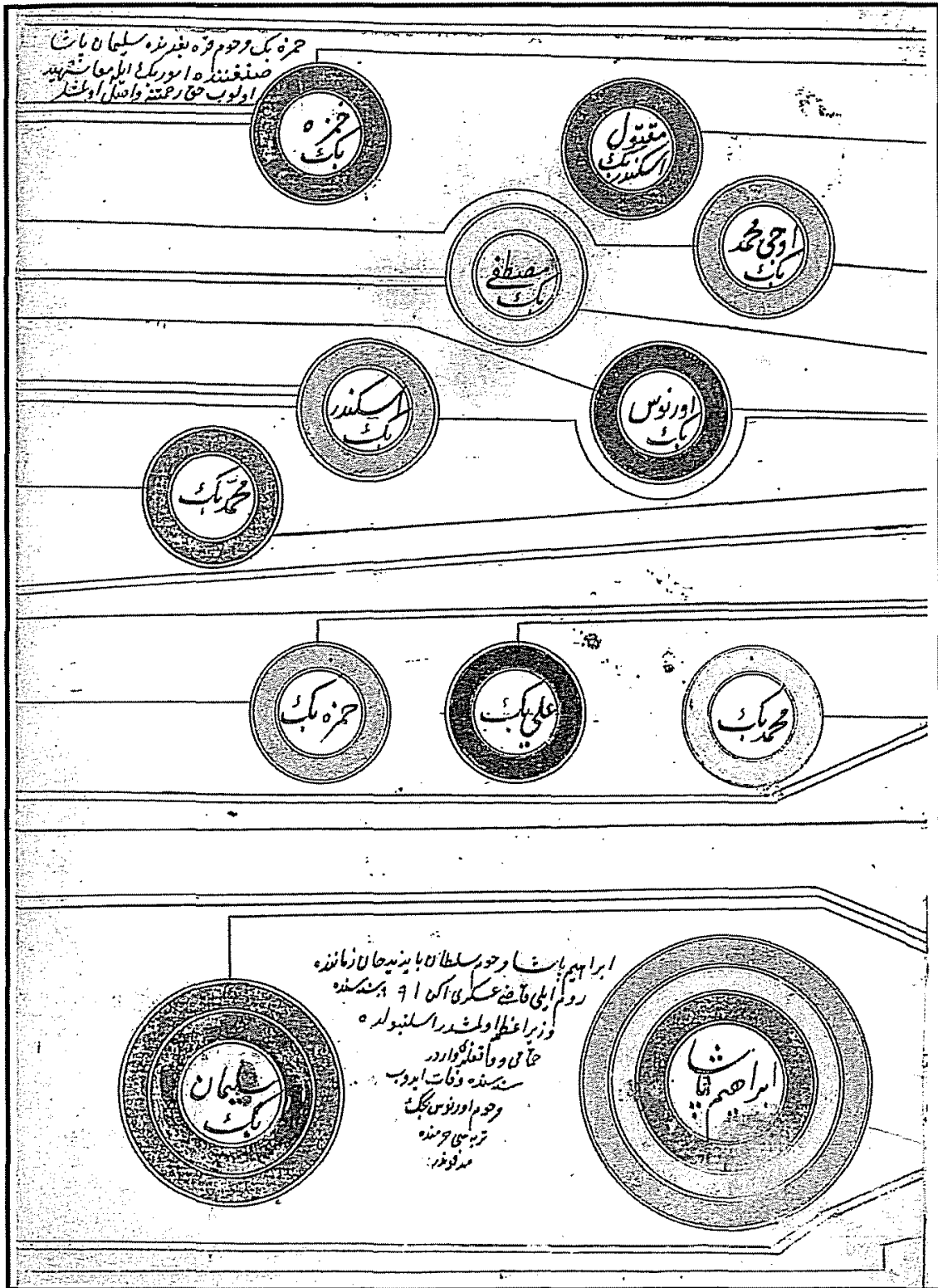
*Maktul İskender Beg**Avcı Mehmed Beg**Mustafa Beg**Evrenos Beg**İskender Beg**Mehmed Beg**Mehmed Beg**Ali Beg**Hamza Beg**İbrahim Paşa:*

*İbrahim Paşa merhûm Sultân Bayezid Hân zamanında Rumeli
kadıaskeri iken 891 senesinde vezîr-i a'zâm olmuştur. İstanbul'da
hamamı ve vakıfları vardır. (...) senesinde vefât edip merhûm
Evrenos Beg'in türbesi haremindedir.*

[İbrahim Paşa, while serving as the Kadıasker of Rumeli (in the time of the deceased Sultan Bayezid Han), was appointed Grand Vezir in the year 1486 [sic. 1498]. He built a Bathhouse and established pious foundations in İstanbul. In the year _____ [left blank] [sic. d. 1499]⁹⁸ he died and was buried within the confines of the sacred space of Evrenos Beğ's mausoleum.]

Süleyman Beg

⁹⁸ The date given in the *şecere* for the Grand Vezirate of İbrahim Paşa is incorrect? He actually was elevated to the position in 1498 not in 1486.



Page 81 [secere facsimile]

[p. 82]

Ali Beg

Mehmed Çelebi

Ali Beg

İsa Beg

Mehmed Beg

Evrenos Beg

Mehmed Beg

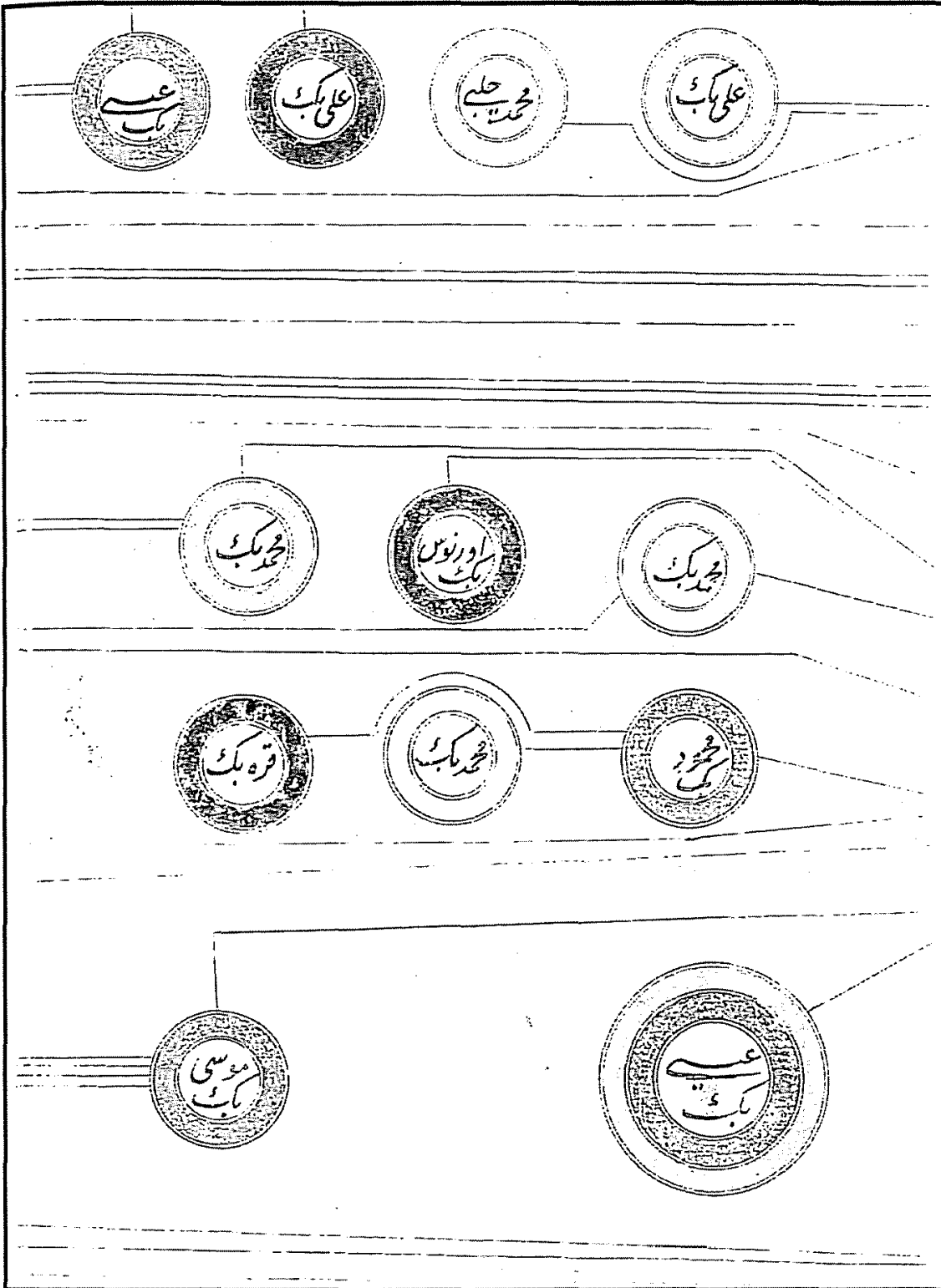
Mahmud Beg

Mehmed Beg

Kara Beg

İsa Beg

Musa Beg



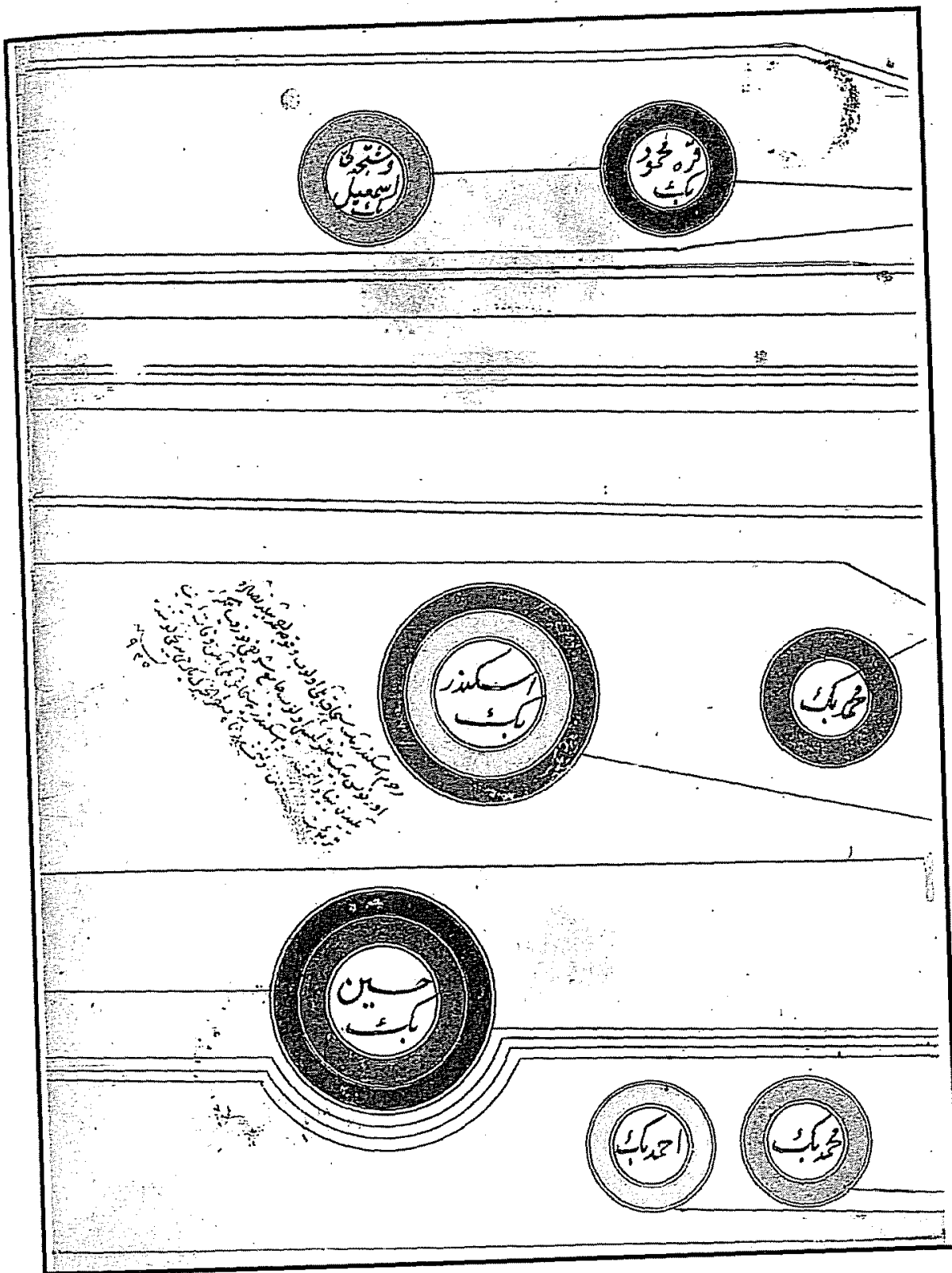
[p. 83]

*Kara Mahmud Beg**Veşteceli İsmail Beg**Mehmed Beg**İskender Beg:*

Merhûm İskender Beg sancak Begi olup ve Koca Ahmed Beg'den sonra Evrenos Beg mütevellisi olup câmi-i şerîfi bozup tekrâr yeniden bünyâd etmiştir ve İskenderiye Sancağı Begi iken vefât edip türbe-i şerîfesine defn olunmuştur. Mâh-ı saferü'l-hayrın yirmi yedinci gününde sene 935.

[The deceased İskender Beğ was a Provincial Governor, who, having replaced Koca Ahmed Beğ as the administrator of Evrenos Beğ's pious foundation, tore down and rebuilt the *Câmi'i* (Noble Mosque) and he died while serving as the Governor of İskenderiye [in Albania] and was buried in the Honored Tomb. He died on the 27th day of Safer in the year h. 935 [February 26, 1519).]

*Hüseyin Beg**Mehmed Beg**Ahmed Beg*



[p. 84]

Umur Beg:

Umur Beg merhûm Karaboğdan'da Süleyman Paşa sınığında şehîd olmuştur.

[The deceased Umur Beğ became a martyr [fell in battle] in Karaboğdan at the defeat of Süleyman Paşa.] *Mehmed Beg*

*Ali Çelebi**Cerli Mahmud Beg**Hüseyin Çelebi**Abdi Beg:*

Abdi Beg merhûm Musa Beg'in ulu oğludur. On beş on altı yıl Evrenos tevliyeti ile Selânik Sancağın tasarruf edip nukûd ve emlâk vakf eyleyüp hayr u hasenât etmiştir. Dimaşvar (Timaşvar) Seferi'nde kazâ-i ilâhî ile âlem-i ukbâya sefer ve bu cihân-ı fânîden güzër etdikde tevâbi'i meytin getirüp Evrenos Beg'in türbesi haremindedefn etmişler.

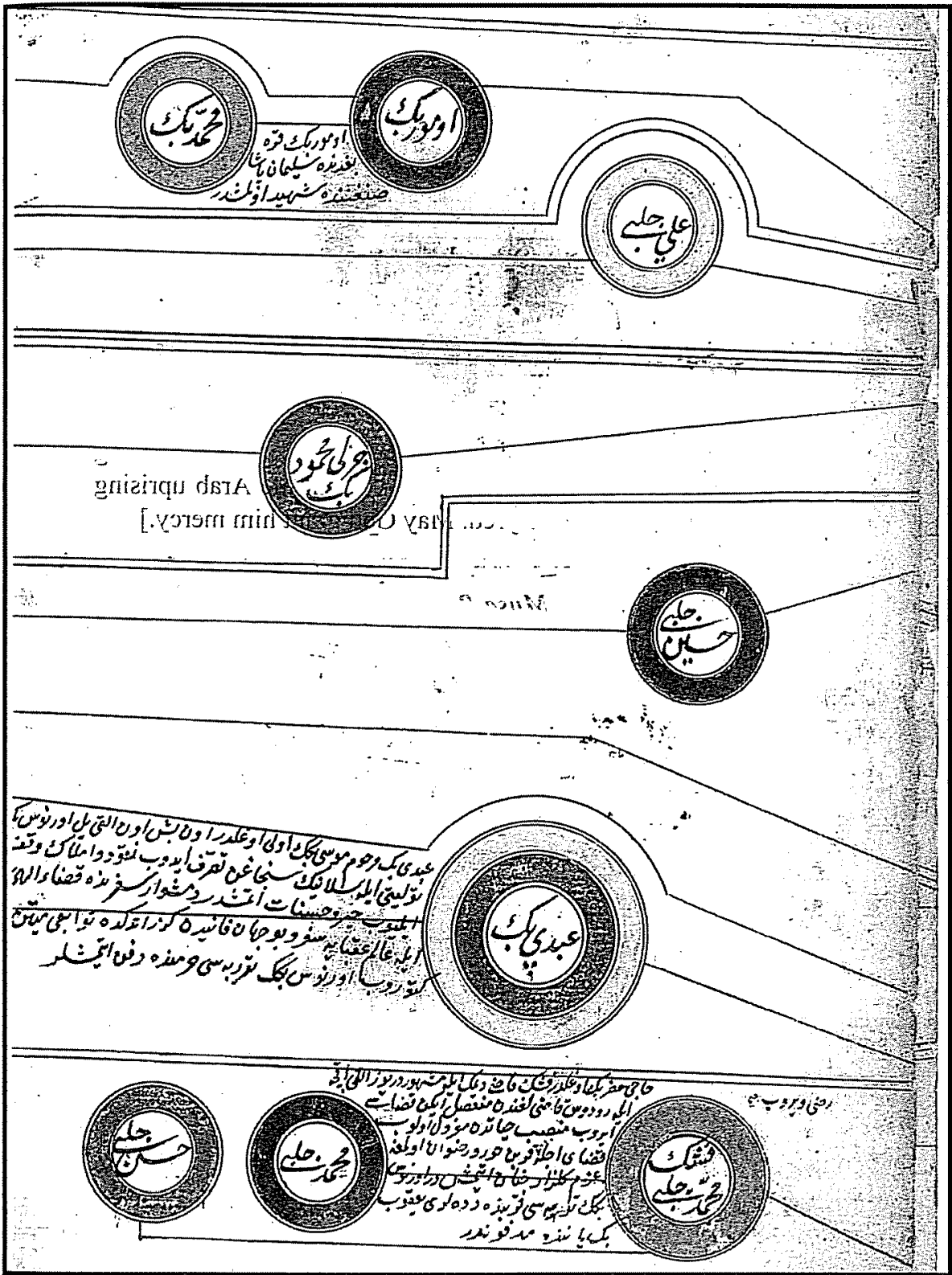
[Abdi Beğ was the firstborn son of the deceased Musa Beğ. For fifteen or sixteen years he served as the administrator of Evrenos' pious foundation. While serving as the Governor of Selânik he gave money and property to his foundation and was responsible for many acts of charity and generosity. During the Timaşvar campaign, by God's decree and providential appointment he made the journey to the next world and passed from this transitory world. His remains were returned by his men and buried within the courtyard of Evrenos Beğ's mausoleum.]

Fişek Mehmed Çelebi:

Hacı Hızır Beg oğludur. Fişek Kadı demek ile meşhûrdur. Yüz elli akçe ile Rodos Kadılığı'ndan munfasıl iken kazâsı irüp mansıb-ı hayâtdan ma'zûl olup kazâ-yı ecele rıza verip (sah) karîn-i hûr u ridvân olmağa azm-i gülzâr-ı cinân etmiştir. Evrenos Beg'in türbesi kurbunda dedeleri Yakub Beg yanında medfûndur.

[He was the son of Hacı Hızır Beğ. He was famous as the Fişek Kadı (Judge of Fişek). While temporarily out of office (as the Judge of the island of Rhodes) with a pension of 150 akçes [silver coins] his appointed time arrived and he was dismissed from the post of life and accepted God's decision. He passed from this world to the garden of paradise. He was buried in the vicinity of Evrenos Beğ's mausoleum next to his grandfather Yakub Beğ.]

*Mehmed Çelebi**Hasan Çelebi*



Page 84 [secere facsimile]

[p. 85]

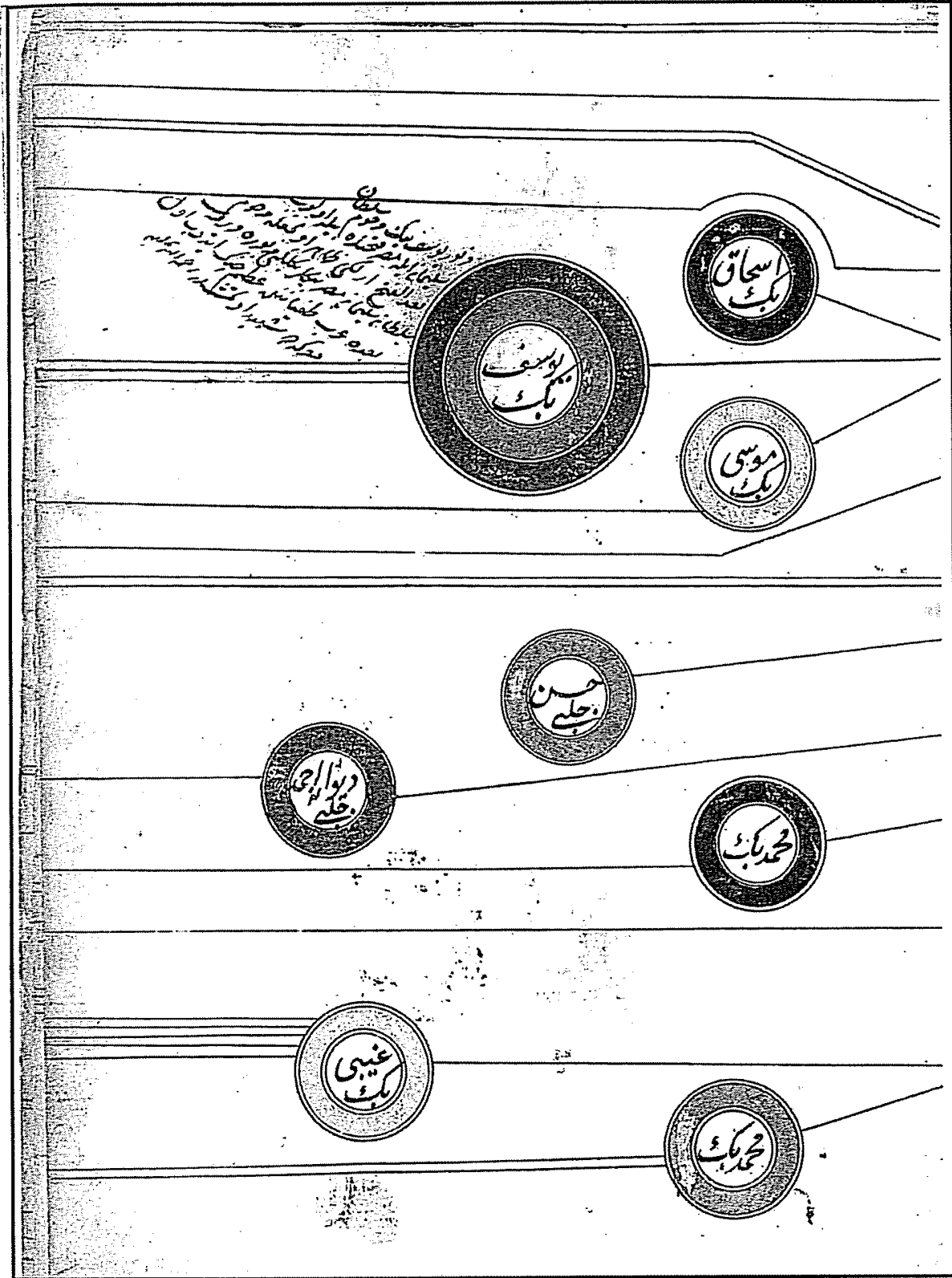
*İshak Beg**Yusuf Beg:*

Mezbûr Yusuf Beg merhûm Sultân Süleyman ile Mısır Fethi'nde bile olup ba'de'l-feth erliği zâhir olmağla merhûm Sultân Süleyman Mısır Begler Begliğini mezbûra verüp ba'dehû Arab tuğyânında azîm cenk edip ol ma'rekede şehîd olmuştur. Rahmetu'llâhi aleyh.

[The aforementioned deceased Yusuf participated in the conquest of Egypt with the deceased Sultan Süleyman [sic. Selim]⁹⁹ and he was rewarded by the deceased Sultan Süleyman [sic. Selim] by being named Beğlerbeğ (Governor General) of Egypt. In the Arab uprising he fought valiantly and was martyred. May God grant him mercy.]

*Musa Beg**Hasan Çelebi**Dîvâne Ahmed Çelebi**Mehmed Beg**Gaybî Beg**Mehmed Beg*

⁹⁹ The conquest of Egypt was carried out in 1516-1517 by Sultan Selim I., not by his son Sultan Süleyman (1520-1566), as the *şecere* mistakenly states.



[p. 86]

Devatdar-zâde Ahmed Çelebi

Bedreli Mustafa Beg

Ahmed Beg:

Ahmed Beg merhûm Solak Beg'in ulu karındaşıdır. Sofrasına bahâdır ve kış ve yaz ziyâfete kâdir kimesne idi. Malta Seferi'nde âlemi ukbâya sefer etmişdir ve mahbûs olmak rivâyeti dahî vardır.

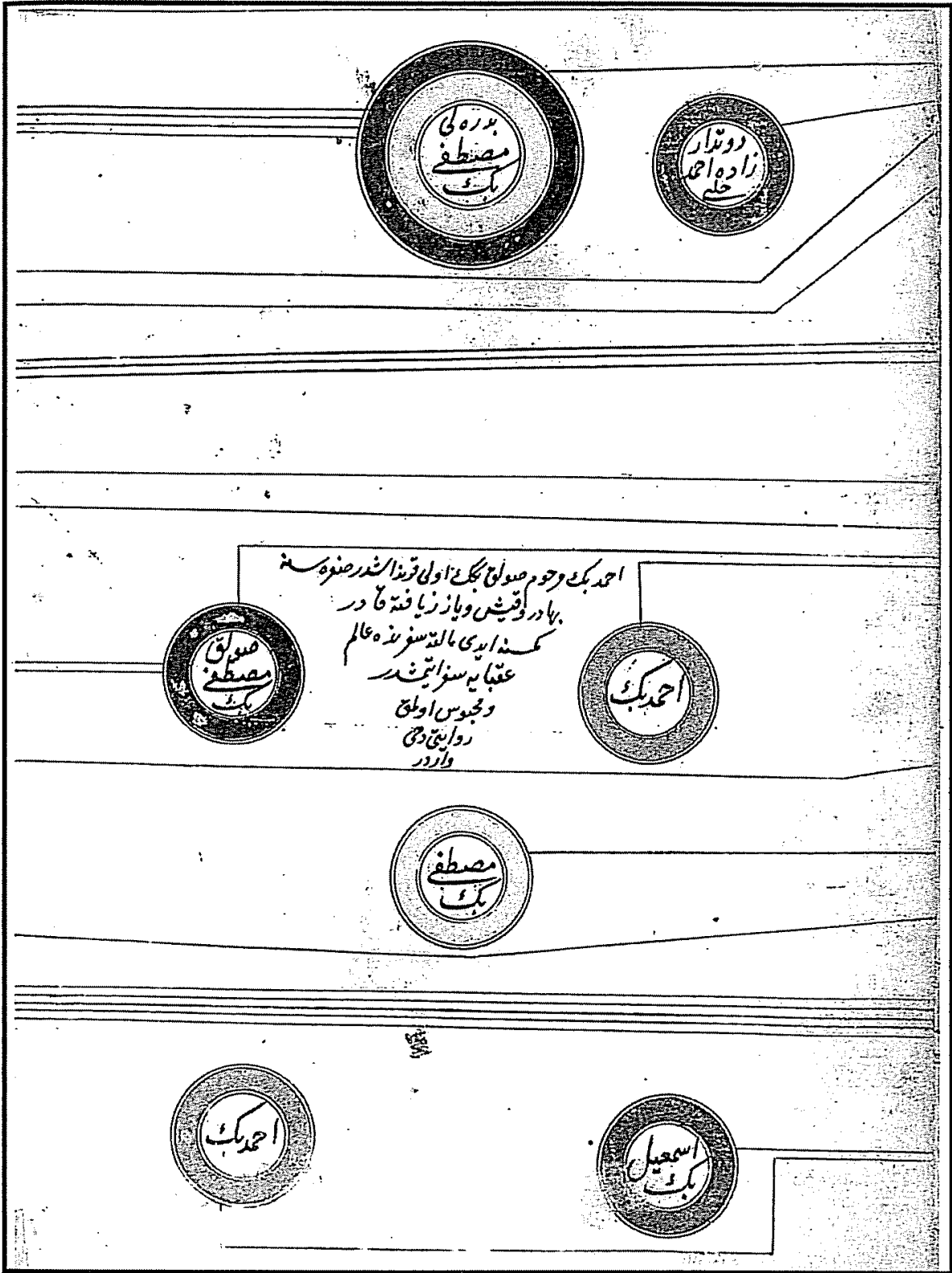
[Ahmed Beğ was the elder brother of the deceased Solak Beğ. His table was generous and filled with visitors in both winter and summer. In the course of the Malta campaign he made the journey to the next world and there is even a story that he was captured there.]

Solak Mustafa Beg

Mustafa Beg

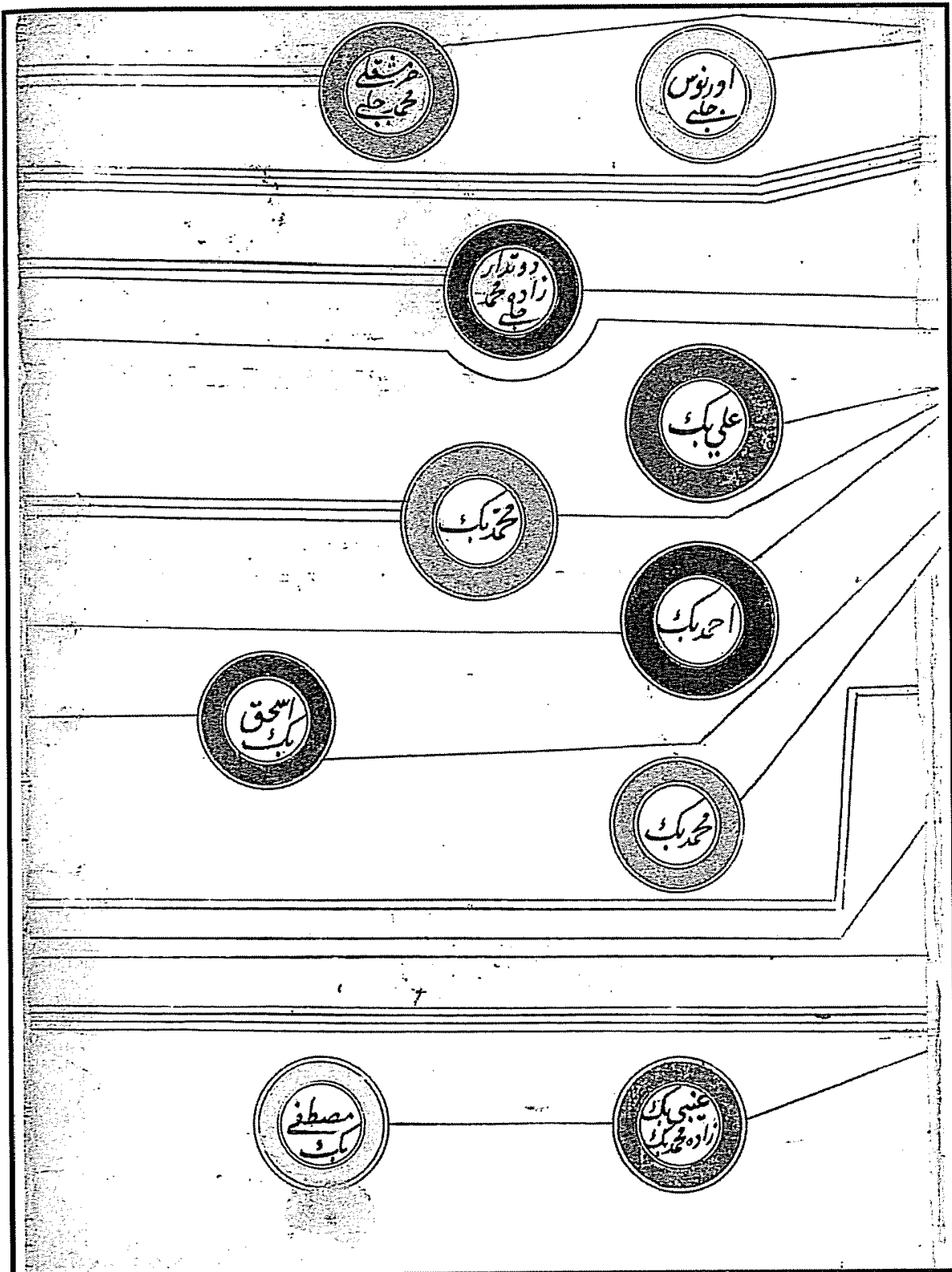
İsmail Beg

Ahmed Beg



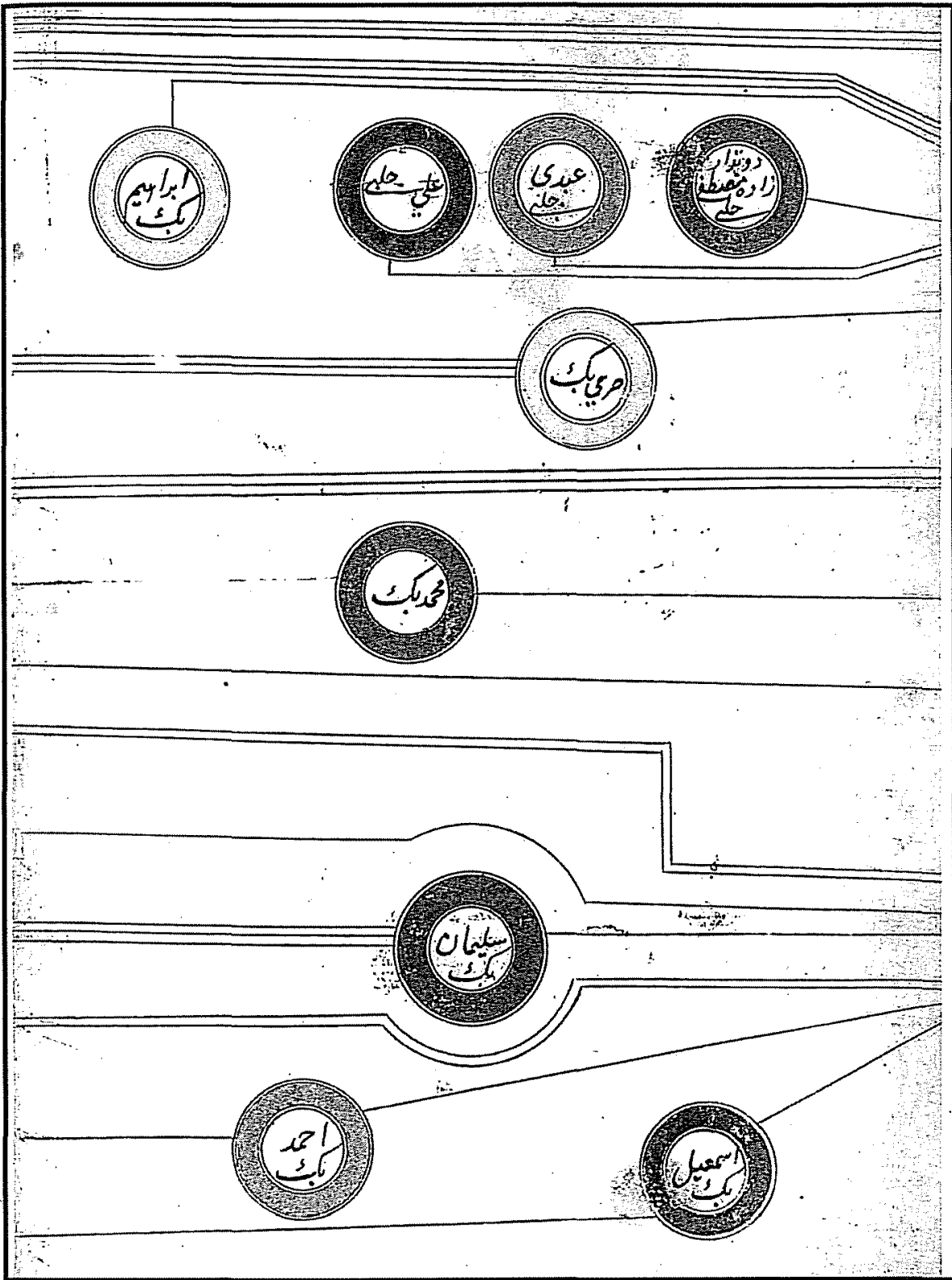
[p. 87]

*Evrenos Çelebi**Sarmaşıklı Mehmed Çelebi**Devatdar-zâde Mehmed Çelebi**Ali Beg**Mehmed Beg**Ahmed Beg**İshak Beg**Mehmed Beg**Gaybî Begzâde Mehmed Beg**Mustafa Beğ*



[p. 88]

*Devatdar-zâde Mustafa Çelebi**Abdi Çelebi**Ali Çelebi**İbrahim Beg**Hürremî Beg**Mehmed Beg**Süleyman Beg**Ahmed Beg**İsmail Beg*



[p. 89]

Mehmed Beg

Hasan Beg

Hüseyin Beg

İskender Beg

Yusuf Beg:

Selanik ve Üsküb [Sancak?] Begi olup İstanbul'da merhûm olmuştur. Edirnekapusu'nda defn olmuştur. Bin iki senesinde merhûm olmuştur.

[He was the Governor [of the provinces] of Selânîk and Üsküb, and he died in İstanbul. He was buried in Edirnekapı. He died in the year h. 1002 (September 27, 1593 – September 16, 1594).]

Mustafa Beg

Mehmed Beg

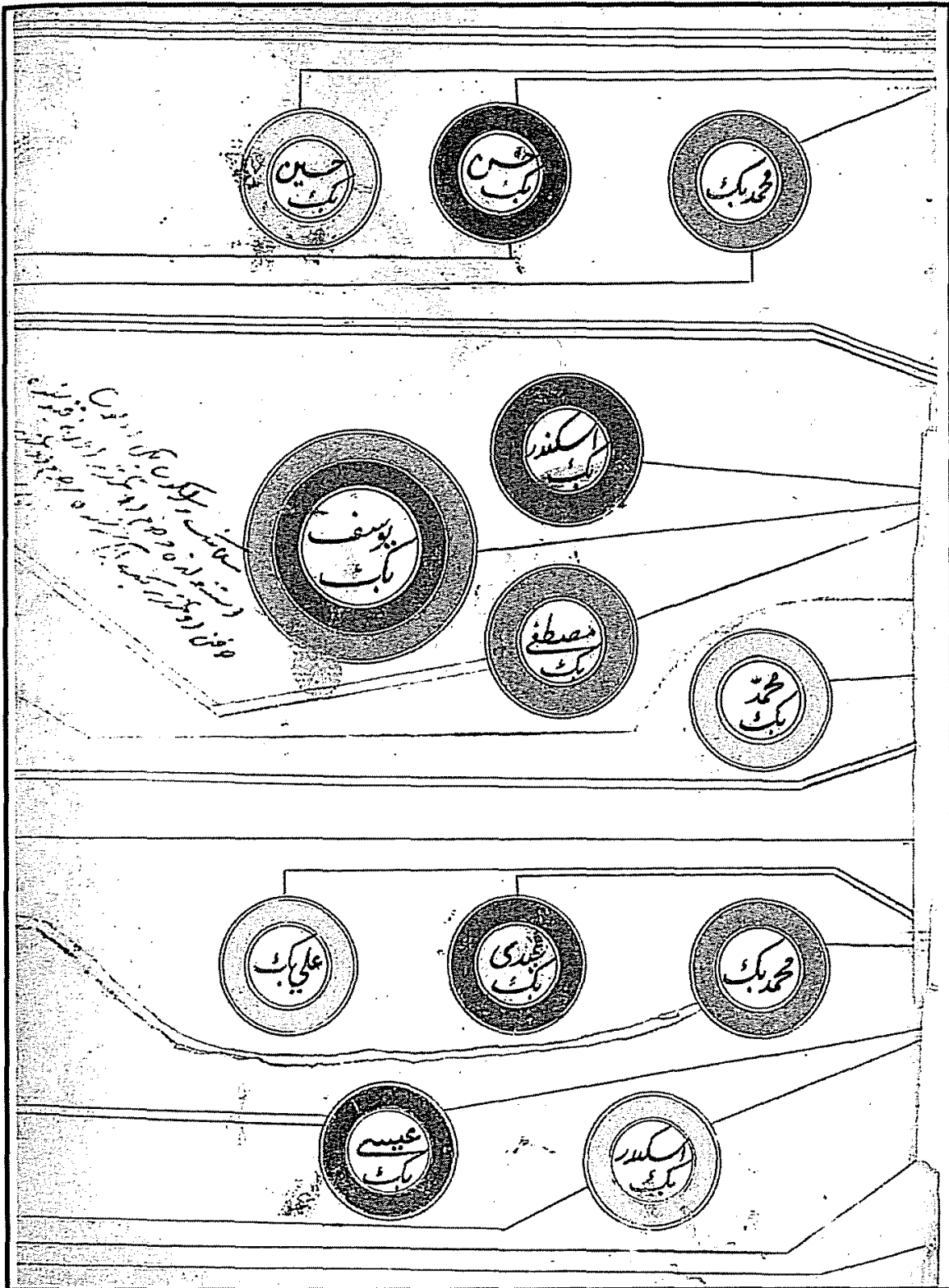
Mehmed Beg

Abdi Beg

Ali Beg

İsa Beg

İskender Beg



[p. 90]

*Süleyman Çelebi**İsa Beg**Ali Beg**Sarı Begzâde Hızır Çelebi**Mehmed Beg:*

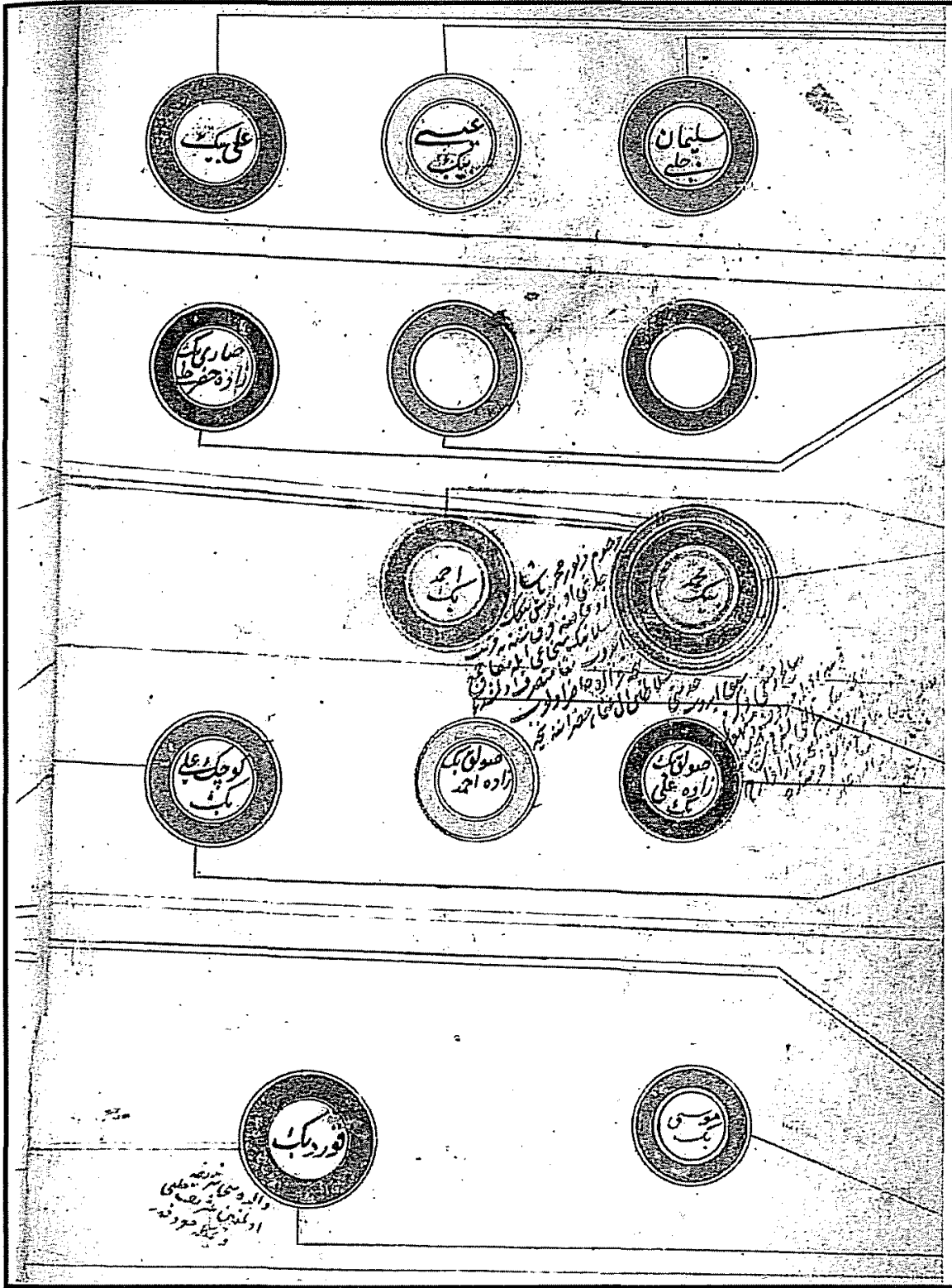
Merhûm-ı mezbûr Mehmed Paşa, cediti Evrenos Beg'in evkâfına kırk seneye karîb Selânik sancağı ile ma'an cem' edip ma'an mutasarrıf olmuştur. Nice gazâda hâzır olup selâtin-i âl-i Osmân hazerâtına nice hidmeti sebk idüp sâlih ve muttakî ve kerem ve sehâ ile ma'rûf ve meşhûr idi. Bin elli beş Zilhiccesi'nde vefat edip Yenice-i Vardar'da câmi'-i şerîfi hareminde defn edilmiştir. Rahmetu'llâh-i aleyh.

[The aforementioned deceased Mehmed Paşa was the administrator of Evrenos Beg's pious foundation for approximately forty years, during which time he was the Governor of Selânik. He participated in many Holy Wars and carried out many services to the House of Osman. He was famous for his generosity and for the diligence he paid to his religious observances. He died in the month of Zilkade in the year h.1055 (December 19, 1645 – January 18, 1646) and was buried in the courtyard of the noble mosque. May God grant him mercy.]

*Solak Begzâde Ali Beg**Solak Begzâde Ahmed**Küçük Ali Beg**Musa Beg**Kurd Beg:*

Vâlidesi şerîfe olmağın Şerif Çelebi demekle ma'rûfdur.

[Because his mother was a descendant of the Prophet (şerîfe), he was therefore known as Şerif (descendant of the Prophet) Çelebi.]



[p. 91]

*Turhan Beg**Ali Beg**Süleyman Beg**Mustafa Beg**Süleyman Beg:*

Merhûm Süleyman Beg ceddî merhûm Gazî Evrenos Beg Evkâfi'na bin altmış altı senesinde mütevellî olmuştur ve bin seksen senesinde Sultan Mehmed Han Hazretleri Selânik'de kışlayıp o tarikle Yenice'ye gelüp mezkûr Süleyman Beg hânesine misâfir olup hatt-ı şerîf ile Selânik sancağın vermişdir. Bin yetmiş sekiz senesinde câmi'-i şerîfin kubbesi yıkılıp seksen birinci senesinde tavan yapusuyla yaptırmışdır. Ve bin seksen ikinci senesinde Sultan Mehmed Han Hazretleriyle Kamanîşe Kal'ası'na varup feth eyleyüp gelmişdir. Ve seksen dördüncü senesinde yine gazâyâ gidüp Hotin Sahrâsı'nda şeb-hûn olunup karındaşı Yusuf Beg ile şehîd olmuşlardır. Meyyitleri nâ-ma'lûmdur. Rahmetu'llâhi aleyhimâ rahmeten vâsi'aten.

[The deceased Süleyman Beğ became the administrator of Gazi Evrenos Beğ's pious foundation in h. 1066 (October 31, 1655- October 20, 1666), and in the year h. 1080 (June 1, 1669 – May 22, 1670), while His Excellency Sultan Mehmed Han was wintering in Selânik he came to Yenice and was a guest in the home of Süleyman Beğ upon whom he bestowed an Imperial Edict naming him Governor of Selânik. In the year h. 1078 (June 23, 1667 – June 11, 1668) the dome of the *Câmi-i Şerif* (Noble Mosque) collapsed and in the year h. [10]81 (May 21, 1670 – May 11, 1671) he replaced it with a [tiled] roof. And in the year h. 1082 (May 12, 1671 – April 29, 1672) he participated in the conquest of the Fortress of Kamanîşe with His Excellency Sultan Mehmed Han. And in the year h. [10]84 (April 18, 1673 – April 8, 1674), he again went on campaign and was martyred, together with his brother Yusuf Beğ in an ambush on the plain of Hotin. Their burial site is unknown. May God grant them eternal peace.]

Yusuf Beg:

Merhûm Yusuf Beg Rumeli Defterdârı olup Hotin Sahrâsı'nda Süleyman Beg ile şehîd olmuşlardır. Allâhu te'âlâ garîk-i rahmet eyleye.

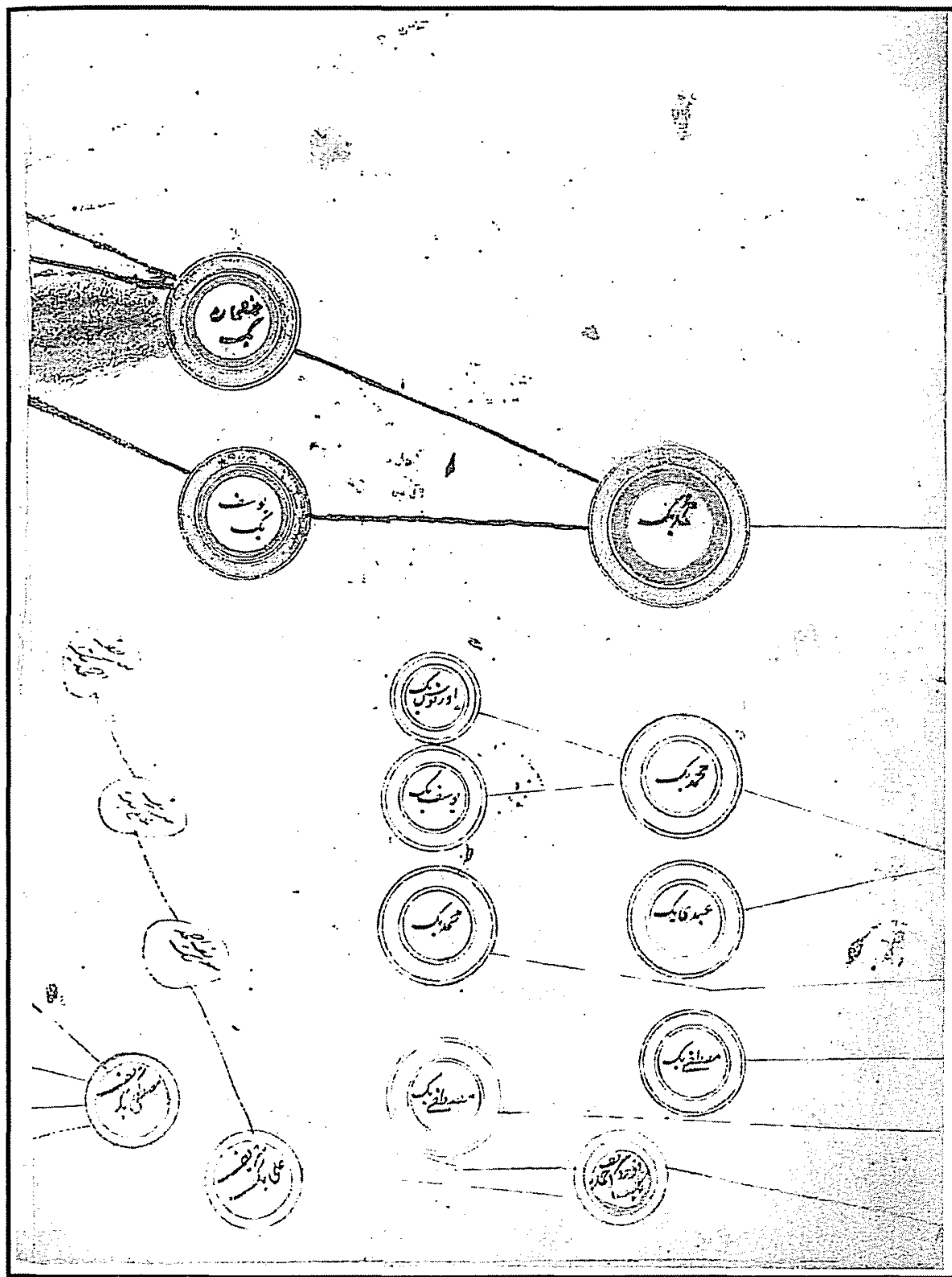
[The deceased Yusuf Beğ was the Defterdar (Financial Officer) of Rumeli and together with Süleyman Beğ he was martyred on the Plain of Hotin. May God grant them mercy.]

[p. 91 - Cont'd.]

*Mustafa Çelebi**Mehmed Beg**Ahmed Beg**Süleyman Beg**Ali Beg**Yusuf Beg**İbrahim Çelebi**Şerif Mehmed Beg**Mustafa Beg**Mehmed Beg*

[p. 92]

*Mehmed Beg**Numan Beg**Yusuf Beg**Mehmed Beg**Evrenos Beg**Yusuf Beg**Abdi Beg**Mehmed Beğ**Mustafa Beg**Mustafa Beg**Kurd Şerif Ahmed Beg**Şerif Ali Beg**Şerif Ahmed Beg**Şerif Ahmed Beg**Şerif Mustafa Beg**Şerif Ali Beg**Şerif Mustafa Beğ*



Page 92 [secere facsimile]

[p. 93]

*Abdurrahman Beğ**Mehmed Beğ**Abdülkerim Beğ**Yusuf Beğ**Numan Beğ**Hüseyin Beğ**Yusuf Beğ**Mehmed Beğ**Yusuf Beğ**Mehmed Beğ**Yusuf Beğ**Süleyman Beğ**Osman Beğ**Hüseyin Beğ**Yusuf Beğ**Abdülkerim Beğ**Süleyman Beğ**Mustafa Beğ**Mehmed Emin Beğ**Süleyman Beğ**Hüseyin Beğ**Abdülkadir Beğ*

[p. 93 Cont'd]

Yahya Beğ

Mustafa Beğ

Mehmed Beğ

Yahya Beğ

Mehmed Beğ

Yusuf Beğ

Süleyman Beğ

Ahmed Beğ

Hasan Beğ

Ragib Beğ

Mehmed Emin Beğ

Mehmed Yusuf ile [_____] vefat etmiştir.

[He died together with Mehmed Yusuf]

Yakub Beğ

Şerif Mustafa Beğ

Şerif Hasan Tevfik Beğ

Şerif Mehmed Sadık Beğ

Şerif Ali Beğ

Şerif Yakub Beğ

[p. 93 Cont'd.]

Yakub Beğ

Şerif Mustafa Beğ***Karamütesellim demekle ma'rûf***

[He was known as the Karamütesellim]

Şerif Mehmed Beğ

Şerif Mehmed Beğ bin seksen iki senesinde Hotin sahrasında şerbet-i şehâdeti-nûş ve lezzet-i dünyayı ferâmûş idüüb dâr-ı ukbâya intikâl ve vücûd-ı şerîfi nâ-ma'lûm.

[Şerif Mehmed Beğ drank the sherbet of martyrdom on the Plain of Hotin in the year h. 1082 (May 10, 1671 – April 29, 1672) and forgetting the pleasures of the world passed into Paradise. [The location of] his blessed body is unknown.]

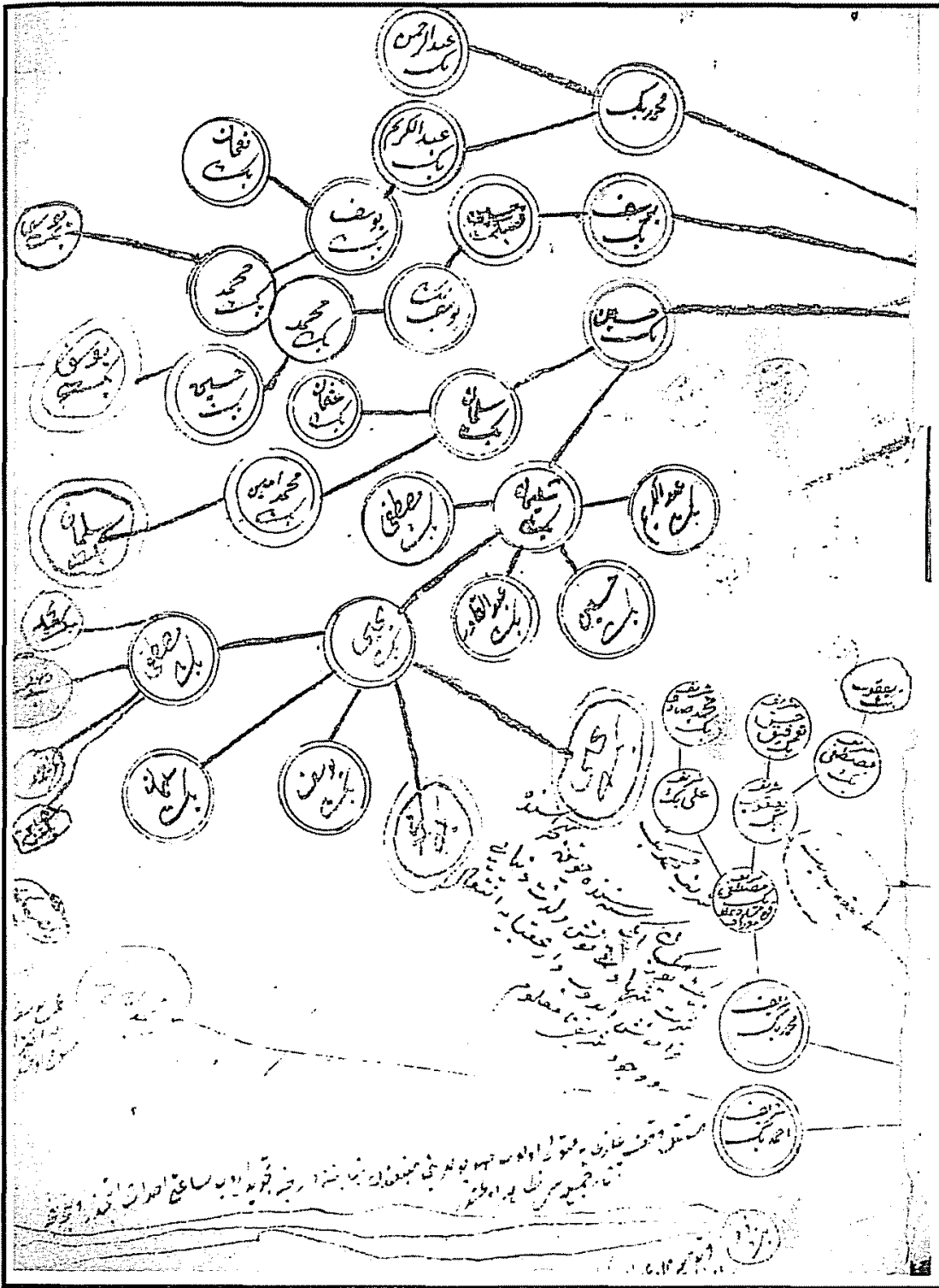
Şerif Ahmed Beğ

Müstakil vakfı-ı Gaziye müteveli olup su yollarını menba'ından niyayetine varınca tecdîd idüüb, sâatı ihdas etmişdir ve nice nice güzel âsâr-ı cemîlesin zâhir olmuşdur.

[The forenamed, while administrator of the Gazi's pious foundation, rebuilt the water system/aqueducts from their source till the end; he built the clock[tower] and was responsible for numerous other endowments.]

Yusuf Beğ***Karındaşı***

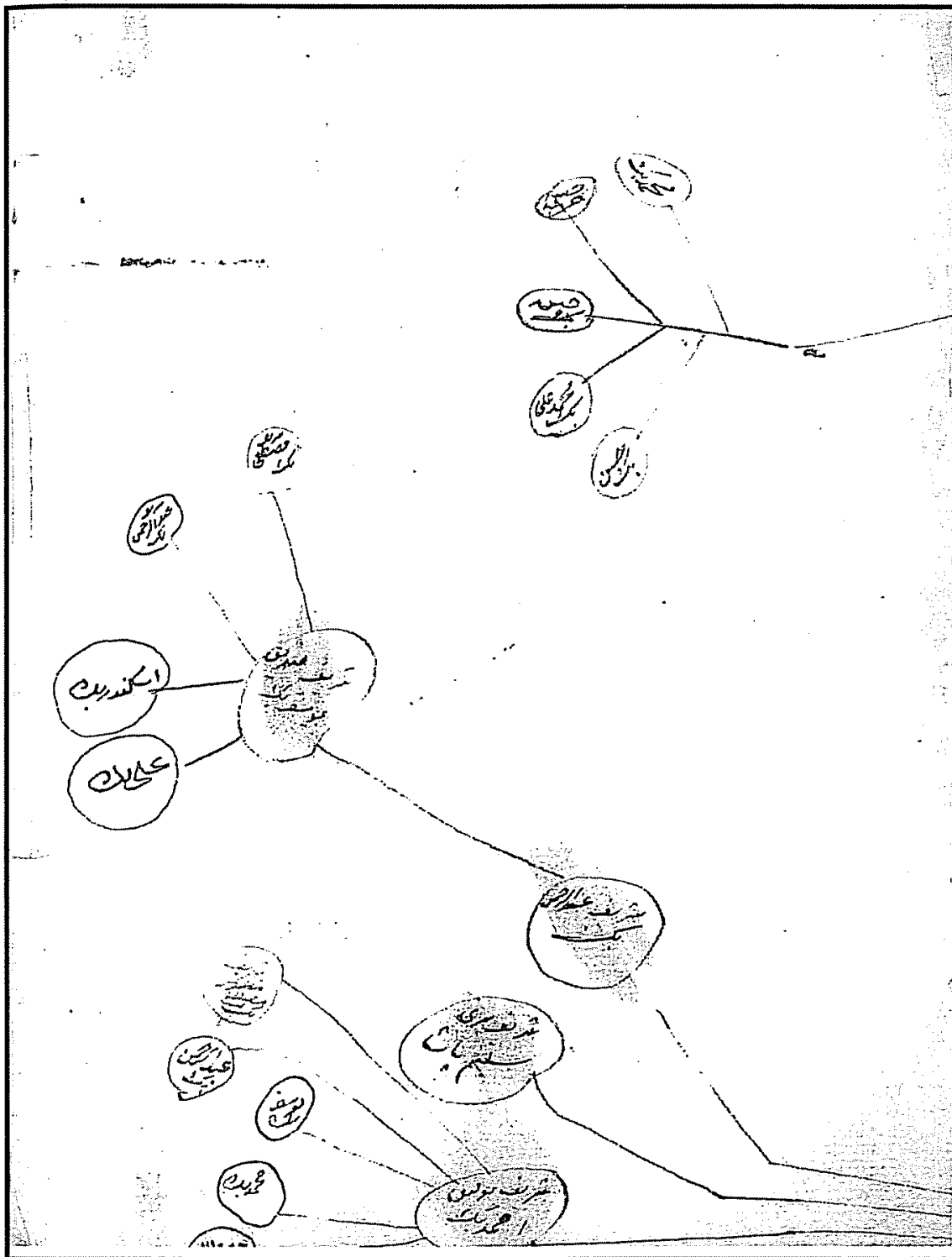
[Brother ?]



Page 93 [secere facsimile]

[p. 94]

*Mehmed Beğ**Hüseyin**Hasan**Mehmed Ali Beğ**Hasan Beğ**Şerif Arif Yusuf Beğ**Şerif Mustafa Beğ**Şerif Abdurrahman Beğ**İskender Beğ**Ali Beğ**Şerif Abdurrahman Beğ**Şerif Sırrı Selim Paşa**Şerif Tevfik Ahmed Beğ**Şerif Mazhar Mustafa Beğ**Abdurrahman Beğ**Yusuf Beğ**Mehmed Beğ*



Page 94 [secere facsimile]

Given the fact that the Evrenosoğulları *şecere* is preserved as a manuscript it is virtually impossible to trace the lines linking the various lineages. With this in mind, G. Ersin Evrenos (owner of the manuscript) had the individual pages photographed and pasted together in the form of a scroll. As can be seen in Photo 29 this has made it possible to trace each branch of the family throughout the centuries it covers.

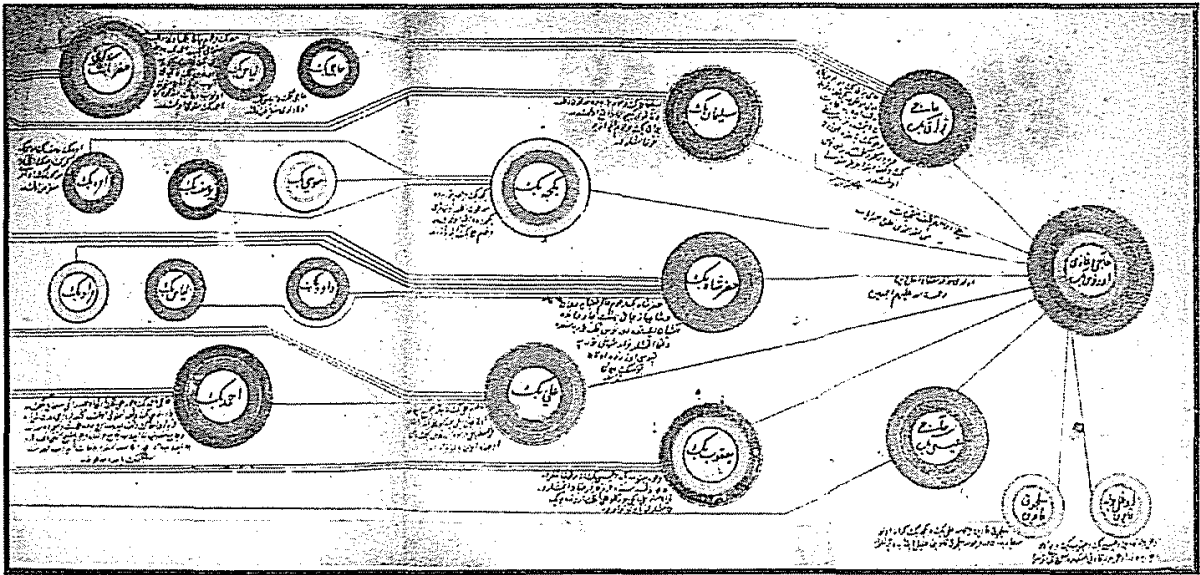


Photo 29

The resultant document (some 15 feet in length), allows the user to carefully trace the descendants of Evrenos' seven sons and two daughters from the early 15th through the late 17th century. Photo 30 [below] shows H. Lowry working on a copy of the scroll provided him by Ersin Evrenos.

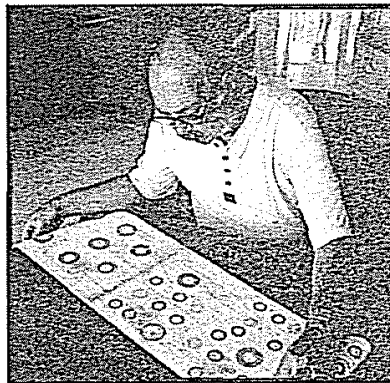


Photo 30

HACI EVRENOS RELATED INSCRIPTIONS (*KITABELER*) FROM BUILDINGS HE CONSTRUCTED & FROM HIS MAUSOLEUM (*TÜRBE*) IN YENICE VARDAR (GIANNITSA):

INSCRIPTION I: Recently discovered fragments of the dedicatory inscription from the Hacı Evrenos *han* in Traianoupolis (Tr.: *Kara Ilca* or *Nefes Sultan Ilcası*; Gr.: *Loutros*):¹⁰⁰



Photo 31¹⁰¹

- Line #1: [Emere bi-bināi hāzā] 'l-ḥān el-emīri'l-a'zam el-Ḥāc Evrenos bin 'Īsā
- Line: #2: (.....) [ilā] rūḥihi'l-'azīz li-yeskūne fīhi'l-vāridūn
- Line #3: [The third line which would normally include the date is missing]

Translation

- Line #1: The Great Emir, Hacı Evrenos, the son of İsa [ordered the construction of this] *Han* (Caravansary)
- Line #2: for those who come and go to stay in
- Line #3:

¹⁰⁰ Lowry, 2008: pp. 32-35.

¹⁰¹ Photo by: H. Lowry (June 2006).

Analysis

One of the earliest Ottoman architectural works surviving in the Balkans today is a *han* or *kervansaray* (inn for the protection of travelers and merchants and their goods), built by Hacı Evrenos, which lies amidst the ruins of Roman Traianoupolis [Gr. Loutra/Loutros; Tr.: Ilıca/Kara Ilıca] in Western Thrace [Photo 32]:



Photo 32¹⁰²

As early as 1943 a local Greek historian, A. Samothrakes, published an article in which (while misidentifying the site as a ‘Roman Way Station),’ he pointed out that “a Turkish inscription of the 14th century was chiseled by order of Evrenos Pasha” on the *han*¹⁰³ and stated that he would publish a photo of it in the next issue of the journal *Trakika*. Unfortunately Samothrakes never published the photograph of the inscription (which he

¹⁰² Photo by: H. Lowry (2004).

¹⁰³ A. Samothrakes: “Traianopolis,” *Thrakika*, Vol. 18 (1943), p.177. See also: Kiel, 1983: pp. 134-5 & 137.

had taken in the early 1930s), and it disappeared in 1937 when the façade containing it collapsed. Only recently has a photo taken ca. 1930 surfaced [Photo 33], and while it does not provide enough detail to allow a reading of the text, it does show the façade of the *Han* with the inscription in situ.¹⁰⁴



Photo 33¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Machiel Kiel: "The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans: The Imaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gümülcine (Komotini) and the Evrenos Bey Khan in the Village of Ilica/Loutra in Greek Thrace (1370-1390)," in *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, Volume 12 (Istanbul, 1983) pp. 136-137 [Hereafter: Kiel, 1983]. Thanks to the good offices of Nikos Zikos, Ephor of the Kavala region's Byzantine and post-Byzantine Archeological Service, Heath Lowry was given a photocopy of what may be the only existing photograph of this monument prior to the collapse of its front façade. It was published by Arg. Drakopoulos in the *Leukoma Thrace-Macedonia: 1932* (on p. 158 in an unsigned article on the Loutras [Hot Springs of Thrace] titled: "Trajanoupolos") and may in fact well be the photo Samothrakes planned to publish.

¹⁰⁵ Photo courtesy of Nikos Zikos.

Following the collapse of the façade at some point in the mid-20th century the inscription disappeared. It remained missing until the summer of 2005 when, Heath Lowry, while rummaging through piles of marble fragments from the Roman city of Traianoupolis which are stored within the fenced enclosure which surrounds the protected site of the *han*, stumbled across two large pieces of it. While incomplete, they preserve enough detail to allow us to state with certainty that the *han* was built by Evrenos between the years 1389 and 1417. Specifically, the reconstructed fragment of the first two lines of the *kitabe* (dedicatory inscription) reads: “*The Great Emir, Hacı Evrenos, the son of İsa* [ordered the construction of this] *Han for those who come and go to stay in ...*”

Today the preserved portion of the inscription (which was originally three lines) consists only of most of the first line and portions of the top part of the words in the second line. The third line which contained the date had not yet been recovered and therefore we must date the construction by the titles accorded Evrenos in the first line. From the fact that he is referred to as the ‘Pilgrim’ (*Hacı*), we may deduce that he built the *han* after having completed the pilgrimage to Mecca, a rite which, while incumbent on all Muslims, was seldom undertaken by Ottoman commanders in the 14th century. Indeed, it was so unusual that the chronicles make a point of relating how and when Evrenos did so:

The story goes: Sultan Murad Gazi had a Su-başı named Evrenoz. He was a brave and gallant gazi. He conquered many vilayets (provinces). He was extremely loyal to Sultan Murad. He went on the pilgrimage. When he arrived in the Hicaz he circumnavigated the Kaba; then he returned and rejoined the Hunkâr. As was fitting the Hunkâr treated him with great respect and bestowed large fiefs (timars) upon him.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Mehmed Neşri: *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ* (Ed. by F.R. Unat & Mehmed Köymen). 2 Volumes. Ankara, 1949. See: Volume 1, pp. 256-257. The Turkish text reads: “*Rivâyet iderler ki, Sultan Murad Gazi'nün Evrenoz adlı bir su-başısı varidi. Gayet bahâdır ve serfirâz Gazi kişiydi. Nive vilâyetler feth itmişdi. Sultan Murad'ın gayet toğrusı idi. Hicaz'a gitmişdi. Varub, Ka'be-i müşerrefeyi şerrefeha'llâhü te'alâ tavâf idüb, ol esnâda*

As Evrenos had applied for and received permission from Sultan Murad I to make the pilgrimage to Mecca in the late 1380s and returned in time to participate in the Battle of Kosovo on June 15, 1389,¹⁰⁷ we may state with certainty that he did not possess the title '*Hacı*' ('Pilgrim) prior to 1389, i.e., the Traianoupolis *han* was built post-1389. Given that Evrenos' tombstone is extant and clearly states that he died on November 17, 1417¹⁰⁸ it is clear that the *han* must have been built in the interim between 1389 and 1417.¹⁰⁹

The inscription on white marble is in Arabic (as are virtually all the 14th and 15th century Ottoman dedicatory *kitabes*) and written in the *celî sülüs* script, which is in keeping with that utilized in other extant late 14th Ottoman inscriptions.¹¹⁰ When placed side by side the two extant fragments measure approximately 143cm x 37cm, a fact which suggests that originally it must have been approximately 170cm x 80cm. There is nothing in terms of style to suggest that this is not in fact the original dedicatory inscription (*kitabe*) placed on the *Han* by its endower Hacı Evrenos at the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century.

The significance of this inscription and of the *Han* it once adorned can not be overstated. It stands as a silent testament to the actual nature of the early Ottoman entry into the Balkans.¹¹¹ For, if the March Lords (*Uc Beyler*) such as Hacı Evrenos were engaged in the kind of infrastructural development represented by the *Han*, the longstanding view of them as primarily the

yine gelüb, Hunkâr'a yitişdi. Hunkâr dahi buña gereği gibi 'izzet idüb, bir 'âlî timar emr itdi.'

¹⁰⁷ Başar, 1995: p. 540

¹⁰⁸ Demetriades, 1976: pp. 328-332 & Lowry, 2003: pp. 57-61.

¹⁰⁹ Kiel, 1983: p. 137. In this study (without benefit of the then missing inscription) Kiel posited a date between 1375-1385 for the *Han*.

¹¹⁰ See: Abdülhamit Tüfekçioğlu: *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Yazı* [Writing in the Architecture of the Early Ottoman Period]. Ankara (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001. As a case in point we may cite the inscription on the Çankırıkapı Bridge in Ankara [see: pp. 37-39 & pp. 548-549 – Plates XII & XIII].

¹¹¹ For a detailed assessment of the nature of the Ottoman conquest of this region, see: Lowry, 2008. For the significance of the *Han* at Traianoupolis, see: Lowry, 2008: pp. 29-35.

leaders of mobile light cavalry forces, spearheading the Ottoman attacks in hopes of slaves and booty, must be reassessed.

In the case of Evrenos, his march westward to the Adriatic can be traced by following a series of similar *kervansaray*s/*hans*/*imârets* he is known to have built in Gümülcine (Komotini),¹¹² Siroz (Serres),¹¹³ Selânik (Thessaloniki),¹¹⁴ Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa)¹¹⁵ and Vodina (Edessa).¹¹⁶ Stated differently, the conquests of Evrenos and his immediate offspring were marked by a concern for the protection of merchants and their goods which is difficult to equate with an image of marauding warriors. When we factor into this equation the fact that the merchants utilizing these facilities were primarily from the Italian city states, i.e., Florentine, Genoese and Venetian, the significance of their building activity is further highlighted.

The message is clear: The early March Lords were not thinking short-term. They saw themselves as establishing a long term presence and they step by step put into place an infrastructure which spelled permanence. In the case of Hacı Evrenos, we may evaluate the success of this strategy via the present case study of Yenice Vardar. From his settling there in the early 1380s until 1923, that is, for over half a millennia, the town and its surrounding region indeed remained the domain of his descendants, the Evrenosoğulları (sons of Evrenos).

In the same manner that members of the House of Osman were establishing their presence in western Anatolia in the second half of the 14th century, a presence marked by the construction of a variety of soup kitchens, bath houses, inns for travelers and merchants, etc., so too were their frontier

¹¹² Müneccimbaşı [Ahmed bin Lütfullah]: *Camiü'd-Düvel* (Edited, translated and annotated by Ahmed Ağırakça). İstanbul (İnsan Yayınları), 1995. p. 126. See also: Müneccimbaşı [Ahmed Dede]: *Sahaif-ül-Ahbar fi Vekayi-ül-a'sâr* (Translated and edited by İsmail Erünsal). İstanbul (Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser: #37), ND. p. 130.

¹¹³ Ayverdi, 2000: p. 293.

¹¹⁴ Ayverdi, 2000: p. 284.

¹¹⁵ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77.

¹¹⁶ Ayverdi, 2000: p. 306.

March Lords engaged simultaneously in both conquest and infrastructural development. Indeed, when one examines the nature of the surviving 14th and 15th century architectural remains in Anatolia and the Balkans one is hard pressed to distinguish between those monuments constructed by members of the dynasty and those which were endowed by their men on the ever expanding western frontier.

In no case is this clearer than via an examination of the extensive building efforts undertaken by Evrenos, who, as he moved steadily westward left an ever growing number of such infrastructural buildings in his wake. The *han* at Traianoupolis (Kara Kaplıca) and the *imâret-zâviye* in Komotini are not only two of the earliest examples of his efforts to establish a lasting presence in his conquered territories. The fact that both have survived for well over half a millennia, is a silent testament to his success.

One has only to compare the quality and style of the workmanship and calligraphy on the surviving fragments of the dedicatory inscription (*kitabe*) from his Traianoupolis inn for merchants and travelers, with that from similar surviving inscriptions from monuments erected by his Ottoman overlords (Orhan Gazi, Murad Hüdavendigâr and Yıldırım Bayezid), to realize the extent to which the state building activities in the formative years of the state were a joint undertaking, with the efforts of successive members of the House of Osman at the center being matched step by step by those of their frontier commanders in the west.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ For a more detailed assessment of this phenomenon, see: Lowry, 2003 & Lowry, 2008. In both these works the role and importance of the early March Lords is stressed.

INSCRIPTION II: Partially obliterated inscription from above the left doorway of the Hacı Evrenos endowed *zâviye-imâret* in Gümülcine (Kotini) & the Bulgarian inscription which obscures it:



Photo 34¹¹⁸

Line #1: *Hram*

Line #2: *Sv. [Sveti] Tsar Boris*

Translation

Line #1: Temple [sic. Chapel]

Line #2: of Saint King Boris

¹¹⁸ Photo by: H. Lowry (2004).

Analysis

The Bulgarian inscription was scratched into the original Ottoman one during the Second Balkan War (1912), when their occupying forces temporarily turned the Evrenos dervish lodge - soup kitchen into a chapel dedicated to the Bulgarian monarch [Photo 34]. Despite this fact some of the original inscription is still visible. There are a few words which are legible. As a case in point, we may cite the word “*Allah*” which appears in the upper right corner of the inscription.

It seems quite possible that ongoing advances in photographic technology will ultimately provide the means to recover much of what appears to be the original dedicatory inscription placed on the building, either when it was constructed in the 1360s or when it was subsequently made a *zâviye-imâret* in ca. 1383 when Evrenos turned what had initially been his residence into a charitable institution.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ For a detailed discussion of the early history of this site, see: Lowry, 2008: pp. 41-47.

INSCRIPTION III: Partially obliterated inscription from above the right doorway of the Hacı Evrenos endowed *zâviye-imâret* in Gümülcine (Komotini) which is currently stored in a depot of the Archeological Museum of Komotini:



Photo 35¹²⁰

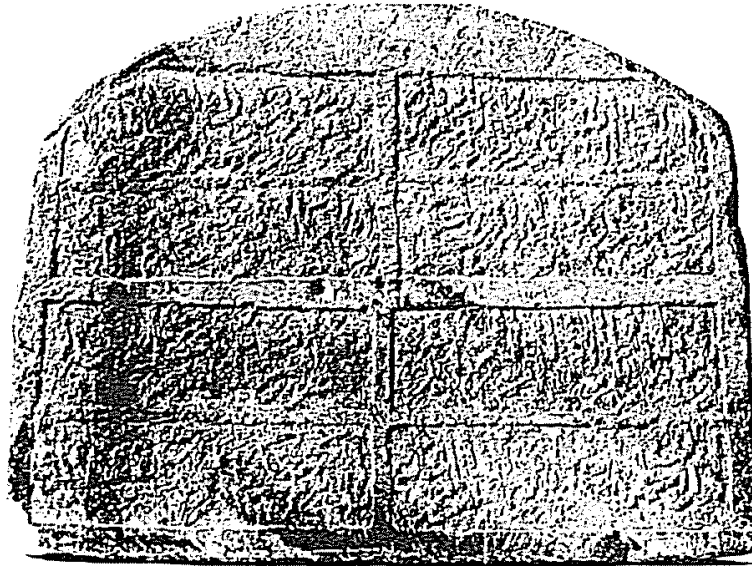


Photo 36¹²¹

¹²⁰ Photo by: H. Lowry (2004).

Analysis

The inscription pictured in **Photo 36** is reportedly stored in a basement depot of the Komotini Archeological Museum. It has not been seen by the authors. Heath Lowry was provided a photocopy (made from a photograph) of the inscription by Charalambos Bakirtzis, the recently retired Ephor of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments in Thessaloniki. It is this photocopy which is reproduced here.

Verbally, Lowry was told by Bakirtzis that the Director of the Komotini Archeological Museum informed him that the inscription had come from above a doorway of the Evrenos *zâviye-imâret* [**Photo 35**] and had been stored in the museum's storehouse for the past fifty years. On the one occasion Lowry attempted to view the *kitabe* the Director was away and in his absence none of the staff were authorized to give him access to the inscription.

Even from the poor photocopy published here it appears that at some point in time efforts were made to obliterate the text (perhaps during the Bulgarian occupation, i.e., at the time the opposite room was turned into a chapel dedicated to King Boris), but that enough remains that it may well be decipherable.

It is included here primarily to make its existence known to the scholarly community and with the hope that it will one day be properly examined and published.

As one faces the *avlu* (domed courtyard) of Hacı Evrenos' Gümülcine (Komotini) dervish lodge – soup kitchen [**Photo 37**], you can not help but note the obvious similarity it bears to the only known surviving photo of the domed entranceway to what we have described as the *Hacı Evrenos İmâreti-Câmi'i* in Yenice Vardar [**Photo 38**].¹²²

¹²¹ Photocopy of inscription supplied courtesy of Charalambos Bakirtzis, Ephor of Thessaloniki.

¹²² Note: As can be seen in **Photo 38**, the mosque (as distinct from the residence turned soup kitchen), is the rectangular building which lies behind the domed segment which was the original residence.



Photo 37¹²³

The silent testimony of both these photographs highlights the likelihood raised earlier that both structures may have originally been residences of Hacı Evrenos, which later he (or in the case of Yenice Vardar: his descendants) turned into soup kitchen-mosques as part of the endowment of his pious foundation. If correct, this interpretation means that in both instances we are face to face with what may well be two unique examples of 14th century Ottoman vernacular architecture.

¹²³ Photo by: Özer Gazievrenosoğlu (2008).

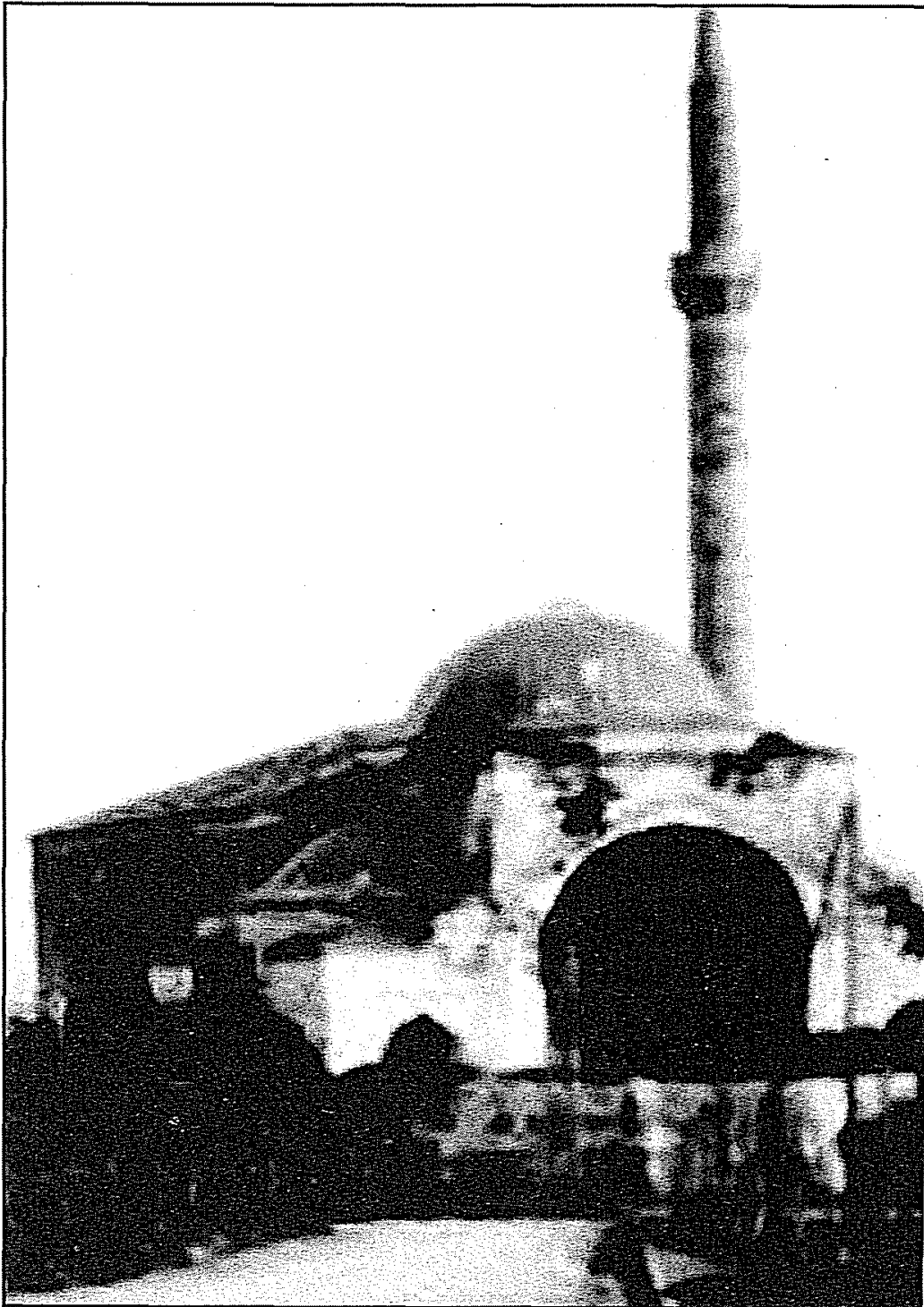


Photo 38¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Mavrokefalidou, 2005.

INSCRIPTION IV: The original two-piece inscription (dated: November 17, 1417) from the sarcophagus of Hacı Evrenos' *türbe* (mausoleum) in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa). Now stored in the depot of the Ephorate of Thessaloniki at the 'Rotunda:'

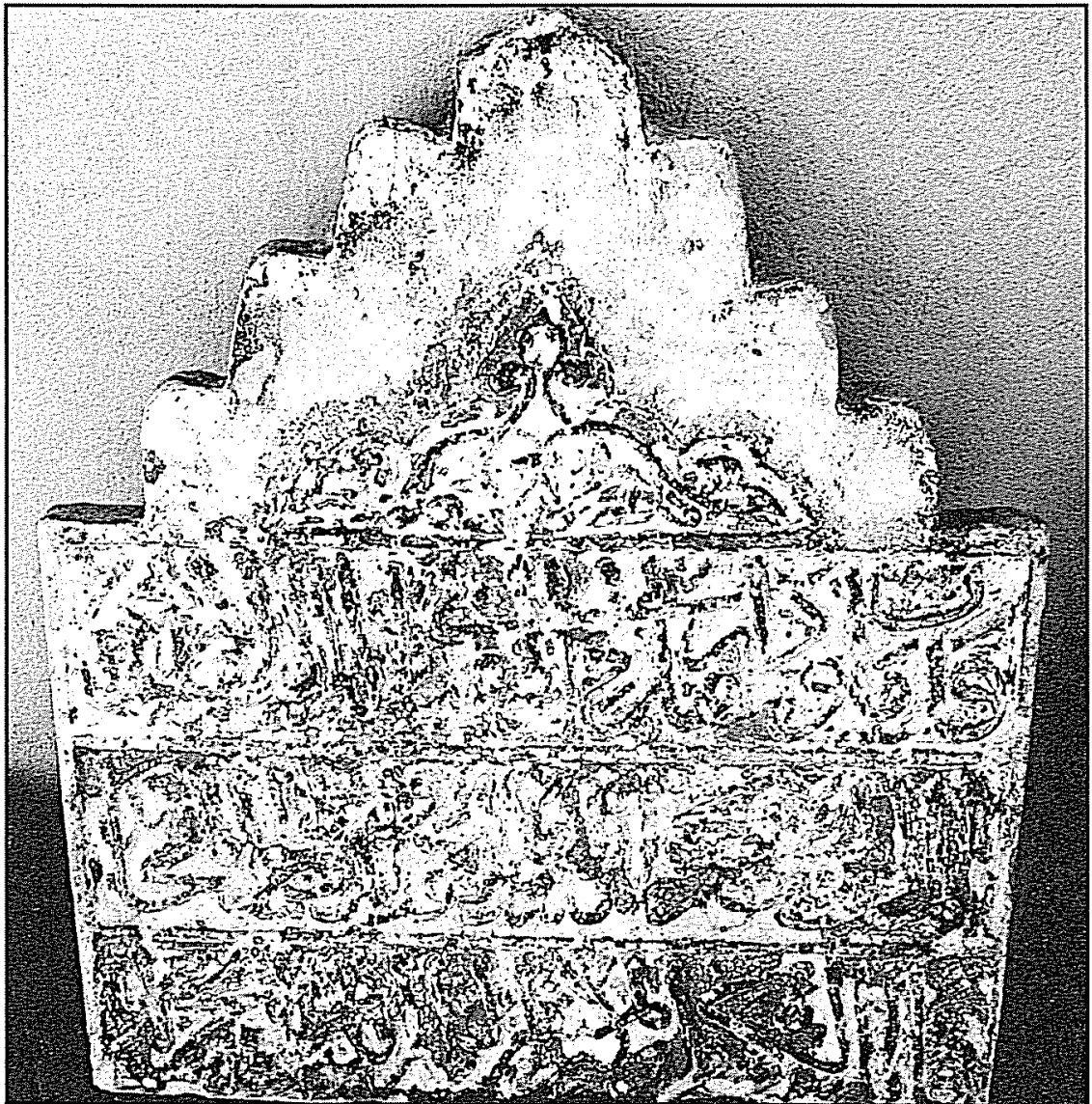
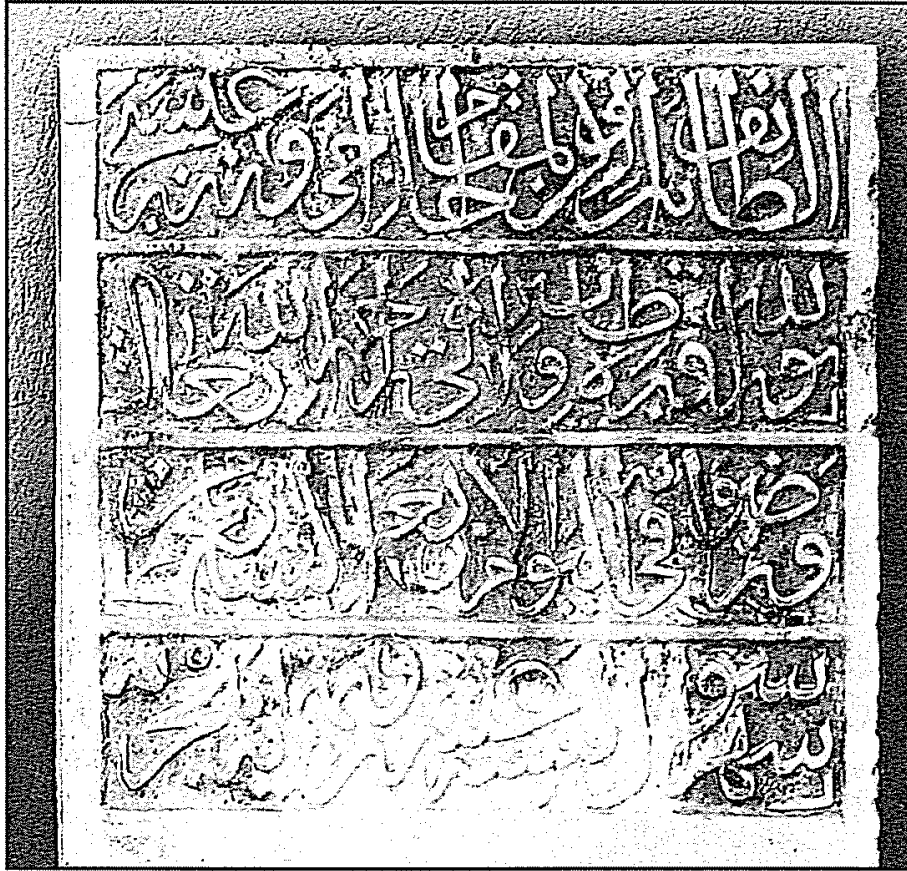


Photo 39¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Photo by: H. Lowry (2007).

Photo 40¹²⁶

- Line #1: *Ḳad māte ve nuḳile min dāri'l-fenā ilā dāri'l-beḳā el-merhūm*
- Line #2: *el-maḡfūr es-sa'īd eṣ-ṣehīd melikū'l-ḡuzāt ve'l-mücāhidīn*
- Line #3: *ḳātilū'l-kefere ve'l-müşrikīn ez-zā'ir Beytu'llāhi'l-ḥarām*
- Line #4: *eṭ-tā'if beyne'r-rükni ve'l-maḳām Ḥācī Evrenuz bin 'İsā*
- Line #5: *Nevvera'llāhu ḳabrahu ve ṭābe ṣerāhu, ilā raḥmeti'llāhi te'ālā*
- Line #6: *Ve rıdḡānihi fi'l-vevmi'l-erba'a es-sābi' min*
- Line #7: *ṣehri Şevvāli li-seneti 'ıṣrīne ve semāni-mi'ete hicriyye*

¹²⁶ Photo by: H. Lowry (2005)

Translation

- 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],
- Line #4:** [he] who has performed the circumambulation between the corner (*Hacer-ieswed*) and the station (*Makam-i İbrahim*) [at Mecca], (of the Ka'ba), Haji Evrenoz, son of 'İsa,
- Line #5:** may God illumine his grave and may his dust be fragrant [*ilā rahmeti'llāhi te'ālā*] to the mercy of Almighty God
- Line #6:** and his approbation, on Wednesday, the seventh of
- Line #7:** the month of Shawwal in the year 820 of the Hijra [Wednesday, November 17, 1417].

Analysis

When first viewed and published by the Greek Ottomanist Vasilis Demetriades in 1974, both of these *kitabes* (inscriptions) were still in situ in the then ruined mausoleum of Hacı Evrenos in Giannitsa (Yenice Vardar).¹²⁷ Subsequently, when Heath Lowry first visited Giannitsa in 2004, he discovered that they had been removed from what then was a badly neglected monument [Photo 41].

¹²⁷ Demetriades, 1976: pp. 328-332.



Photo 41¹²⁸

Lowry then contacted Vasilis Demetriades in Thessaloniki who was able to determine that they had been relocated for safekeeping some time previously and were being housed in a depot of the Archeological Service in Thessaloniki. Demetriades and Lowry spent two days of fruitless searching, but were unable to locate the tombstone.

The following summer Lowry was informed by Charalambos Bakirtzis, the Ephor of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments in Thessaloniki, that they were housed in the Archeological Service's depot in the courtyard of the Rotunda (the one time Ottoman mosque of *Hortacı Süleyman Efendi Câmi*), and that he might see and photograph them [Photos 39 & 40 above].

¹²⁸ Photo by: H. Lowry (2004).

Now that the restoration of Hacı Evrenos' Yenice Vardar mausoleum has been completed [Photo 42] one might hope that the inscriptions will be returned to Giannitsa. The restoration architects of the Veria Ephorate who supervised the work of restoration seem to share this sentiment as they left an appropriate niche in the wall (above the site where they discovered the remains of Evrenos) [Photo 41] in hopes that this would occur.

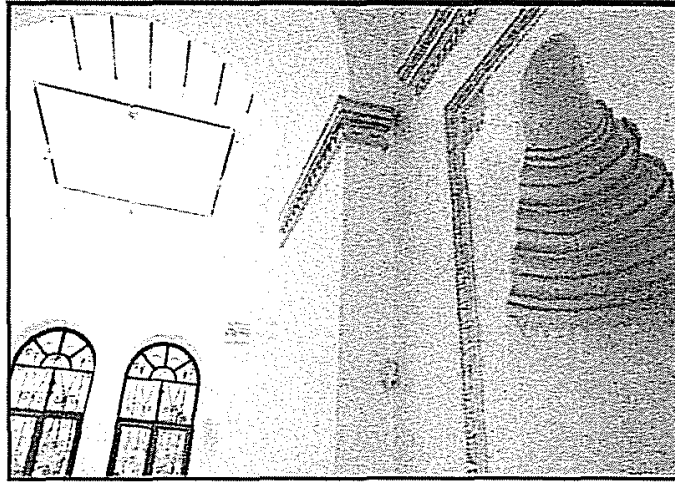


Photo 42¹²⁹

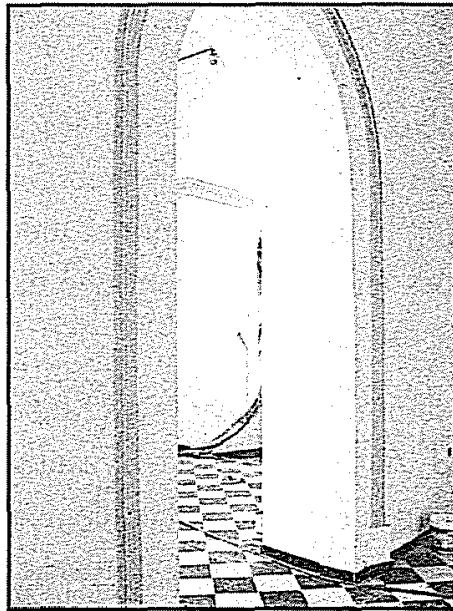


Photo 43¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Photo by: Özer Gazievrenosoğlu (2008).

INSCRIPTION V: The no longer extant sarcophagus of Hacı Evrenos in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa) & the likewise no longer extant inscription (*kitabe*) which was placed above it at the time of the 1884-1885 restoration of the mausoleum:

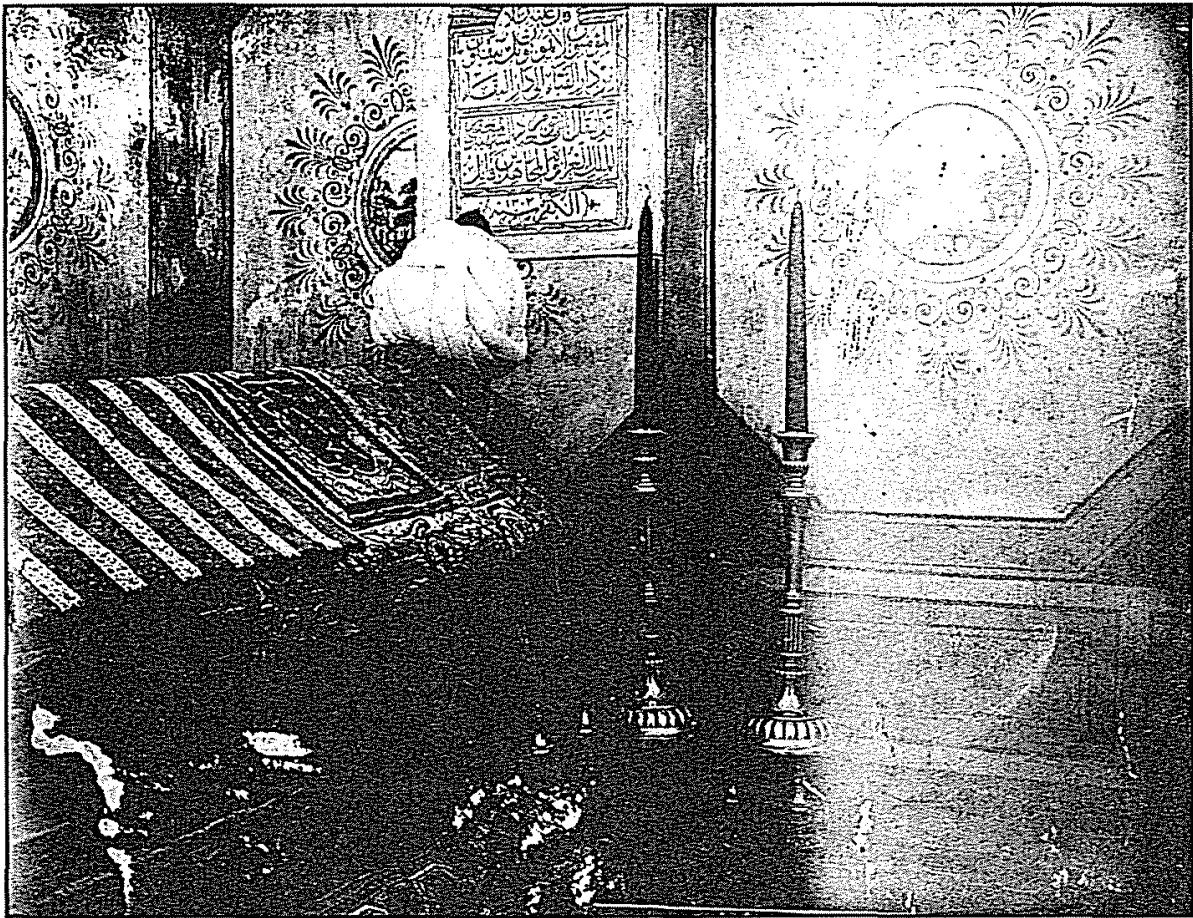


Photo 44¹³¹

¹³⁰ Photo by: H. Lowry (2007).

¹³¹ Photo courtesy of Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from a family photograph album.

Photo 45¹³²

- Line #1: *Ḳāle 'aleyhi's-selām*
 Line #2: *el-mü'minüne lā-yemūtüne bel yenteḳilüne*
 Line #3: *min dāri'l-fenā ilā dāri'l-beḳā*
 Line #4: *Ḳad inteḳale'l-merhūm es-sa'īd eṣ-ṣehīd el-maḡfūr*
 Line #5: *El-melikü'l-ḡuzūt ve'l-mücāhidīn ḳātilü'*
 Line #6: *l-kefere. Sene 1302*

¹³² Enlargement of the inscription discernible in Photo 44 above (courtesy of Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from a family photograph album).

Translation

- Line #1: The Prophet, may peace be upon him,
Line #2: said: 'The believers do not die, rather
Line #3: they pass from the abode of transience to the abode of
permanence.'
Line #4: [*Ḳad intekale'*] The deceased [Evrenos], the auspicious,
the martyr whose sins are forgiven,
Line #5: Lord of the *Gazis* and of the fighters of *Jihad*, slayer
Line #6: of the unbelievers. Year: h. 1302 [October 21, 1884 –
October 11, 1885]

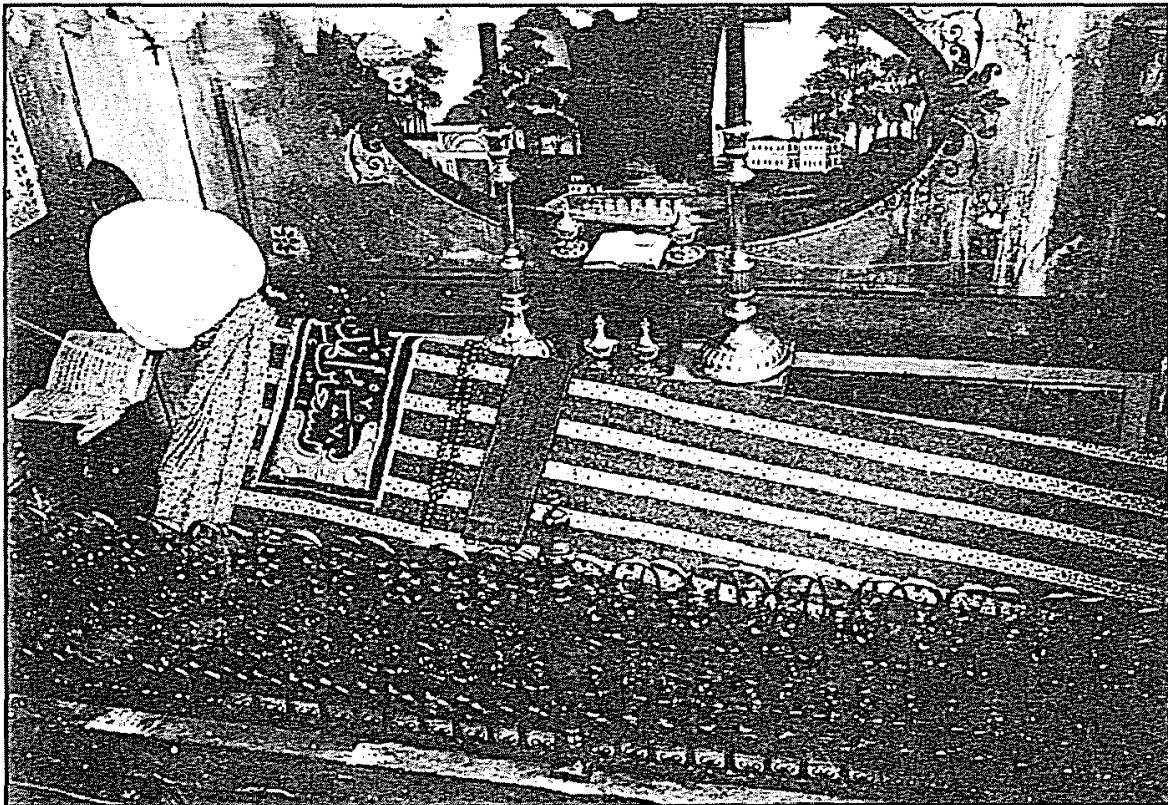


Photo 46

Analysis

This is a rather perplexing photograph for a variety of reasons: a) from the date of the inscription it contains (1884-1885) it clearly dates from the time of the 1885-1886 restoration undertaken by Mehmed Şefik Paşa and associates [See: **INSCRIPTION VI** below]; 2) However, when we compare the iconography on the walls beneath the inscription with that seen in the last known photo of the tomb's interior [**Photo 46**], it is clear that we are dealing with two different periods of decoration, i.e., that seen in **Photo 44**, appears to be a typical 18th century design, while that seen in **Photo 46** looks new and clearly done in a late 19th century style; 3) this interpretation is supported by virtue of the fact that the inscription visible in **Photo 44** appears to have crudely implanted on top of the earlier wall paintings; and 4) as for the inscription itself, it seems redundant, i.e., it simply repeats some of the wording from the original 1417 inscription [See: **INSCRIPTION IV** above], which must have been in situ in 1884-1885 when it was placed on the wall above the sarcophagus. Frankly, we are at a loss to account for the reasoning behind the restorer's decision to deface the existing iconography with such a redundant message.

INSCRIPTION VI: The no longer extant 1886 restoration inscription (*kitabe*) which once was located above the inner doorway of the Hacı Evrenos mausoleum (*türbe*) in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa):¹³³

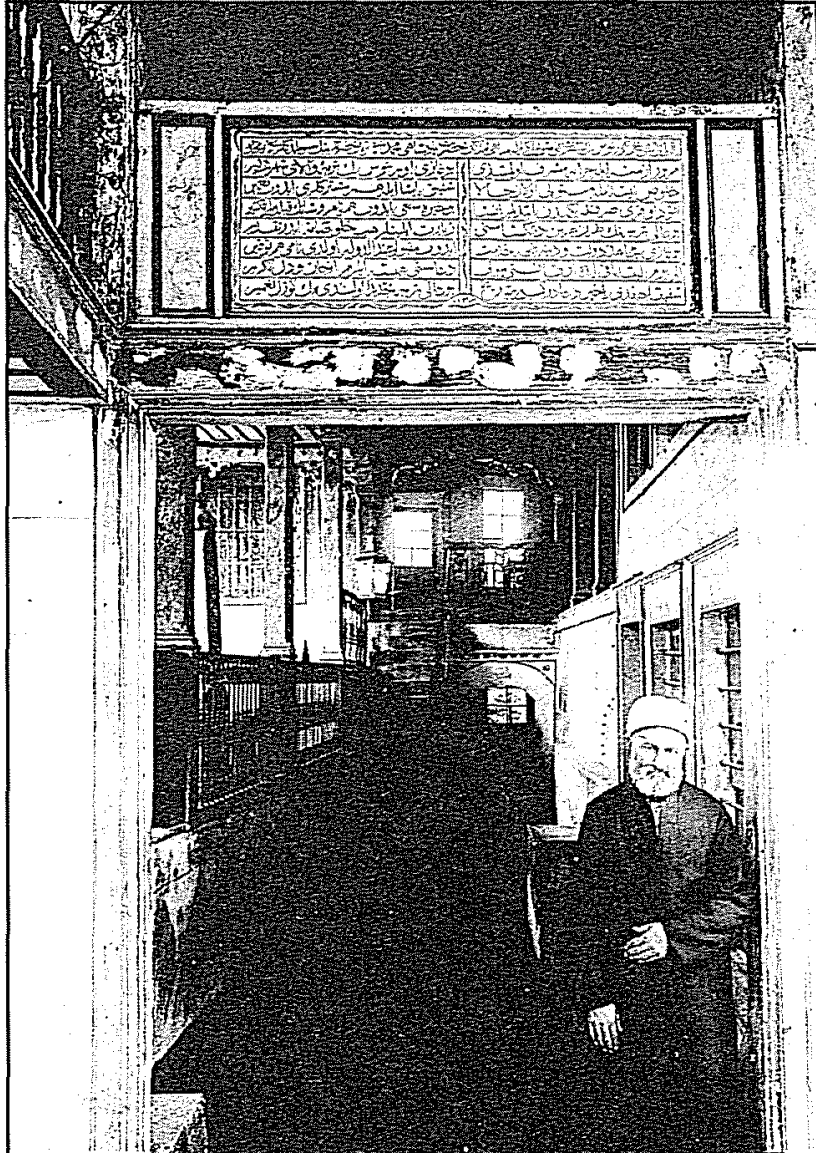


Photo 47¹³⁴

¹³³ This photograph was provided to the authors by Mr. Özer Gazievrenosoğlu. While there is no way of determining the date at which it was taken, we can infer a *terminus a quo* of 1884 (the date on the *kitabe*) & a *terminus ad quem* of no later than 1912, the date that Özer Bey's family left Yenice Vardar.

¹³⁴ Photo courtesy of Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from a family photograph album.

Photo 48¹³⁵

- Line #1: *Bā lutf-ı İlähî Gâzi Evrenos Beg vakf-ı şerîfi mütevelliligi ile mübâhî bendegân-ı Hazret-i Pâdişâhî Mehmed Şefîk Paşa hazretlerinin söyledükleri târîhdür*
- Line #2: *Mürûr-ı ezmine ile harâba müşrif olmuşdı Bu Gâzi Evrenos Beg türbe-i vâlâ-yı şöhret-gir*
- Line #3: *Hulûs-ı niyyet-i tâmla mütevellî olan hâlâ Şefîk Paşa ile hem müşterikleri idüb ta'mir*
- Line #4: *Nüķüd-ı evferi şarfla yeñiden itdiler inşâ Bu hayra sa'y idüb hem nâm u şānuñ kıldılar teķsir*
- Line #5: *Bu âlî türbenüñ tarz-ı behîn-i dil-küşāsını Ziyâret eyleyenler hep hulûsâne ider taķdîr*
- Line #6: *Bu gâzi-yi mücâhid devlet ü dîne nice hîdmet İdüb maķbûl 'inde'd-devle oldu nâmı hem tevķir*
- Line #7: *İlä yevmi'l-beķâ bâķi ide evķâfını Mevlâ Du'âsını hemîşe eylerem ez-cân u dil tekrîr*
- Line #8: *Şefîkâ çıktı bâ-ķayr-ı du'âdur gibi bir târîh Bu 'âlî türbe tecdîden olundu pek güzel ta'mir*
- Line #9: *Sene 1303*

¹³⁵ Enlargement of the inscription discernible in Photo 47 above (courtesy of Özer Gazievrenosođlu from a family photograph album).

Translation

- Line #1: By the grace of God these lines are written by he who is the humble slave of His Excellency the Sultan, Mehmed Şefik Paşa, who is proud to be the administrator of the pious foundation of Gazi Evrenos Beğ.
- Line #2: With the passage of time the mausoleum of this great and valiant warrior, Gazi Evrenos Beğ had begun to fall into ruin.
- Line #3: With the purest of intentions Şefik Paşa, who is the administrator of his pious foundation, and his partners, undertook its restoration.
- Line #4: With the expenditure of a great deal of money they rebuilt it once again, thus this beneficial act which they undertook led to even greater fame and renown for their names.
- Line #5: This great mausoleum's superior style lead all who visit it to sing its praises with sincerity.
- Line #6: This great fighter for the faith who provided great service to both religion and state and whose name was esteemed by the State,
- Line #7: may God preserve his pious foundation until the day of judgment. I repeat this prayer with deep feeling over and over again
- Line #8: hey, Şefik: with "*bâ hayr*" provides its date like a prayer. This great mausoleum has once again been beautifully restored.
- Line #9: Year: h. 1303 [October 10, 1885 – September 30, 1886]

Analysis

One of the most interesting photographs depicting the mausoleum of Hacı Evrenos is this one showing an unnamed *türbedâr* (keeper of the tomb) posed in front of the actual 1885-1886 restoration *kitabe* (inscription), erected by Mehmed Şefik Paşa (and his unnamed partners) to commemorate the extensive renovations which transpired at that time.

The restoration inscription itself, which is enlarged in **Photo 48**, provides several important clues as to the history of the site. First and foremost is Mehmed Şefik Paşa's clear statement that the renovation stemmed from the fact that with the passage of time the mausoleum had begun to fall into ruin. This allows us to infer that the *türbe* must have undergone a complete rebuilding in the 1885-1886 restoration. Indeed, as will be discussed subsequently, it was likely rebuilt in the form which surveys today in the course of that restoration.

One thing is clear: a *mütevelli* (administrator) of the pious foundation endowed by Hacı Evrenos almost half a millennia earlier, aided by unnamed partners (who were likewise almost certainly members of the Evrenosoğulları), expended "*a great deal of money*" to rebuild the mausoleum of the dynasty's founder. The result as he described it was that: "*this great mausoleum has once again been beautifully restored*," a phrase which suggests that this was simply the latest in a long line of similar restorations carried out in the intervening centuries by earlier *mütevelli*'s of Hacı Evrenos' foundation. Nor, as will be seen in our discussion of **INSCRIPTION VII** was the Mehmed Şefik Paşa restoration to be the last.

INSCRIPTION VII: The extant 1908-1910 restoration *kitabe* (inscription) located above the front entranceway of the *Hacı Evrenos türbe* (mausoleum) in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa):

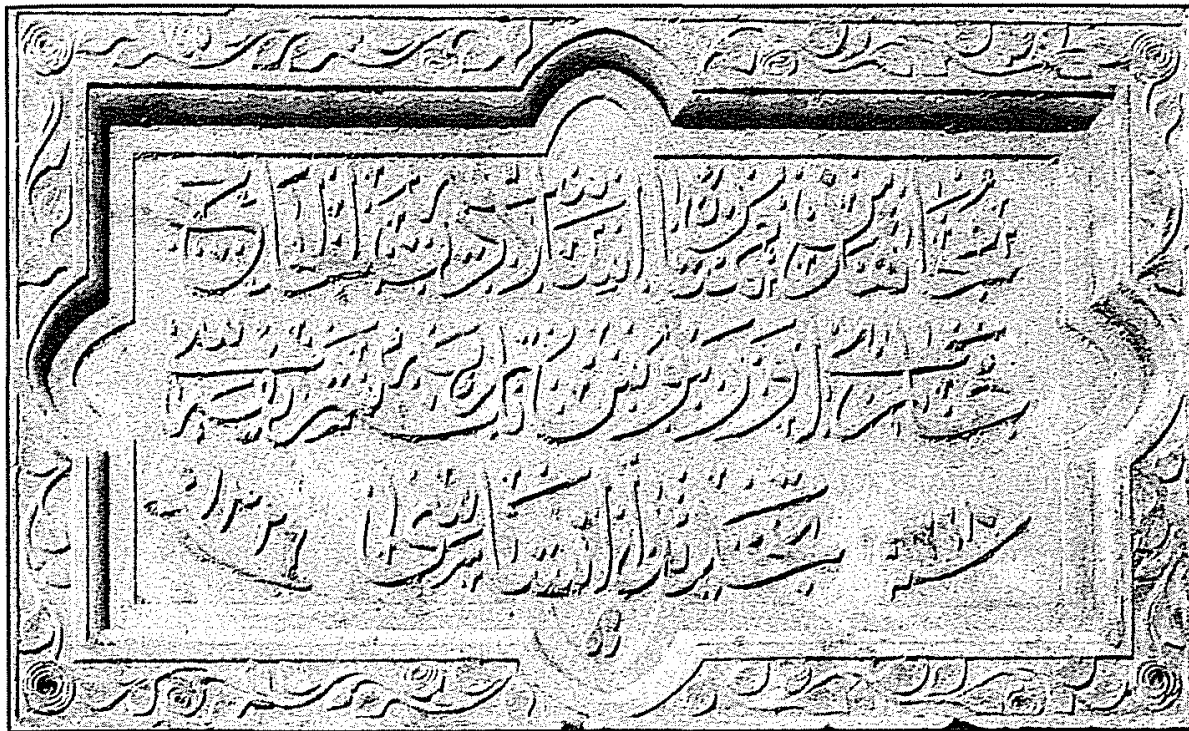


Photo 49¹³⁶

Line #1: *Mücâhidîn-i mümtâze-i İslâmiyyeden el-Ḥâc*

Line #2: *Ġâzî Evrenos Beg türbe-i şerîfesi*

Line #3: *1326 tecdîd-i inşâsı 1328*

Translation

Line #1: This is the mausoleum of Hacı

Line #2: Gazi Evrenos Beğ, the famous fighter for İslam.

Line #3: Renovation

Dates: h. 1326 [February 4, 1908] – h. 1328 [January 3, 1911]

¹³⁶ Photo by: H. Lowry (2005).

Analysis

The final renovation *kitabe* (inscription) from the Evrenos mausoleum, that which still is in situ above the entranceway, is of particular interest, as it commemorates yet another restoration of the monument: one which occurred in 1908-1910 just two years before the half millennia history of the Evrenosoğulları in Yenice Vardar began to draw to a close.

It combines the dual aspects of serving as a sign describing the monument they are about to enter to would be visitors, i.e., its clear statement that: “*This is the mausoleum of Hacı Gazi Evrenos Beğ,*” which is given together with the phrase: *tecđid-i inşâsı* (renovation) and the date: February 4, 1908 – January 3, 1911, provides us the information that it too is commemorating yet another restoration of the *türbe*.

Interestingly, it is one of only three known inscriptions which include the name of the Evrenosoğulları dynasty’s founding father, the other two being that which once adorned his ca. 1390 *han* in Traianoupolis [**INSCRIPTION I: Photo 31** above], and the lower section of the original two part 1417 tombstone [**INSCRIPTION IV: Photo 40**] which once adorned his sarcophagus in his Yenice Vardar mausoleum.

When we recall that only a year after this restoration was completed, the exodus of the Evrenosoğulları from their ancestral home was to begin, and that with the removal of the remaining family members in the forced population exchange of 1923-1924, the last presence of this dynasty which had ruled the region for centuries ended, the vagaries of time become all too apparent.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ The Ottoman architectural historian, Professor Baha Tanman of İstanbul Üniversitesi, with whom we have shared these pictures, concurs with the view that the structure which stands today is typical of a late 19th century provincial monument. In point of fact, he even suggests that rather than the 1895-1896 restoration it may reflect the final 1908-1910 renovation.

Retracing the history of the mausoleum of Hacı Evrenos in Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa)

Aided by the description provided by the 17th century Ottoman traveler, Evliya Çelebi, in conjunction with the late 19th and early 20th photographs of both the interior and exterior of the mausoleum (and the inscriptions they preserve which were discussed above), and the preliminary results of the 2006-2007 restoration/excavation (carried out by the archeologists of the Veria Ephorate), it is possible to reconstruct the following history of this important early 15th century pilgrimage site.

Evliya provides the following account of the mausoleum as he saw it at the time of his 1668 visit:

Gazi Evrenos: He is buried inside this city [Yenice Vardar] 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. One descends from the entry level via three stone steps to the first floor. There within a long marble sarcophagus Gazi Evrenos is buried. This is a dark place. However, on the upper level there is a second marble sarcophagus. The inscriptions at its head and at its foot give the date: h. 820 [1417]. Despite this fact, Evrenos Gazi is not buried here but is in fact buried inside the other marble sarcophagus on the lower level. I have never seen this style of burial in any other province.¹³⁸

Unfortunately, Evliya does not provide a detailed description of the exterior of the mausoleum, but the one comment he makes: “because the dome [of the mausoleum] is so high it is decorated on all sides with windows. It is a beautiful dome like that of the gardens of Paradise” (*Ve kubbe-i âlî olmağile etrâfi revzenler ile müzeyyen olmuş kasr-ı irem-misâl bir kubbe-i pür-nûrdur*),¹³⁹ makes it absolutely clear that he is not describing the building which exists today. Rather, he saw an earlier form of the mausoleum, one which was replaced at some point of time in the two hundred fifty year inter-

¹³⁸ For the Turkish text, see: **Appendix I & Evliya Çelebi, 2003: pp. 78-79.**

¹³⁹ Evliya, 2003: p. 79.

val between his visit in 1668 and the earliest photo we have of the exterior of the building, i.e., that taken in ca. 1935. His account suggests that the original structure may well have been a more classical two storied *türbe* (such as the recently discovered and still unidentified 15th century *türbe* which was transformed into the Church of Agia Paraskevi [see: **Photos 6 & 7** - above]). This interpretation is seemingly buttressed by the form of the structure which exists today and the fact that it has all the markings of a late 19th century Ottoman building (complete with neo-classical touches) [**Photo 50**], albeit it one which may have been built around the existing mausoleum (the section protruding out on the right hand side of the lower photo)[**Photo 51**].

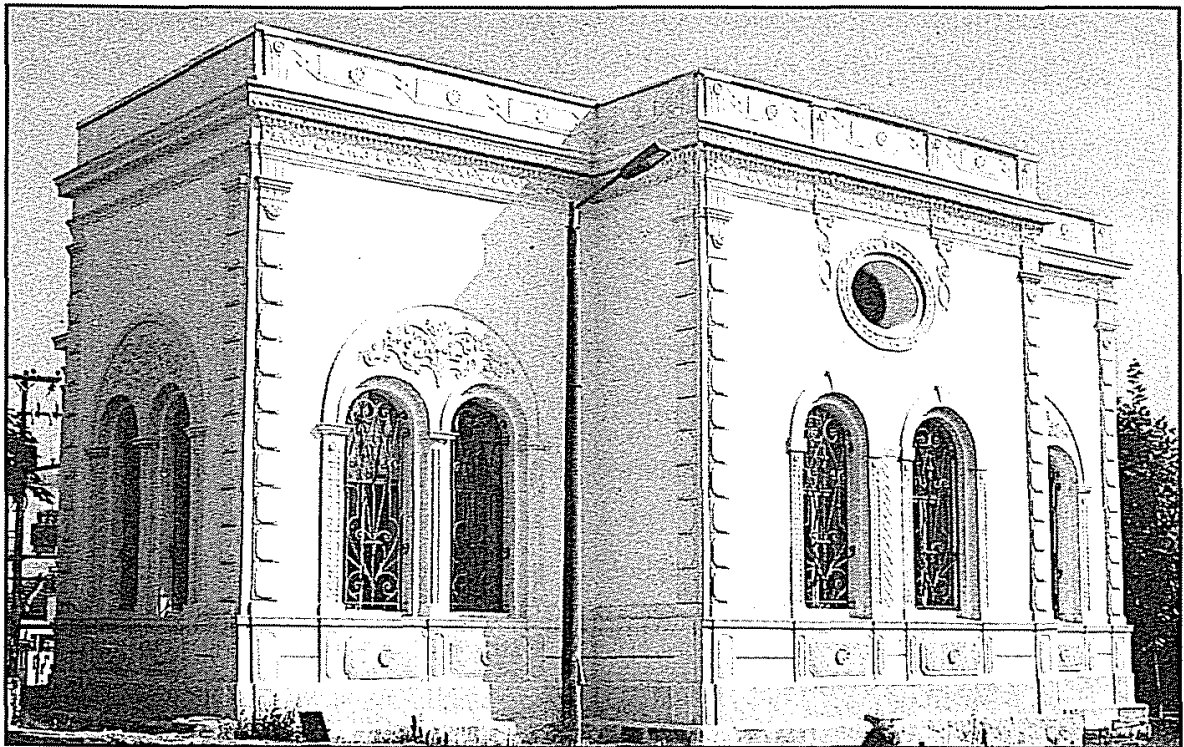


Photo 50¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Photo by H. Lowry (2008).



Photo 51¹⁴¹

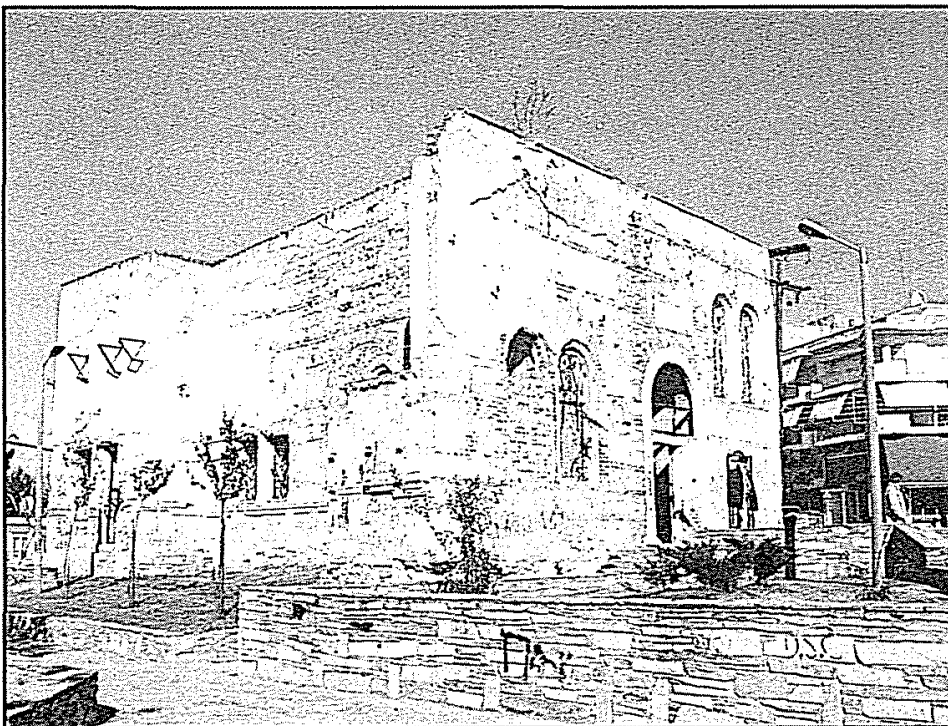


Photo 52¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Photo by H. Lowry (2008).

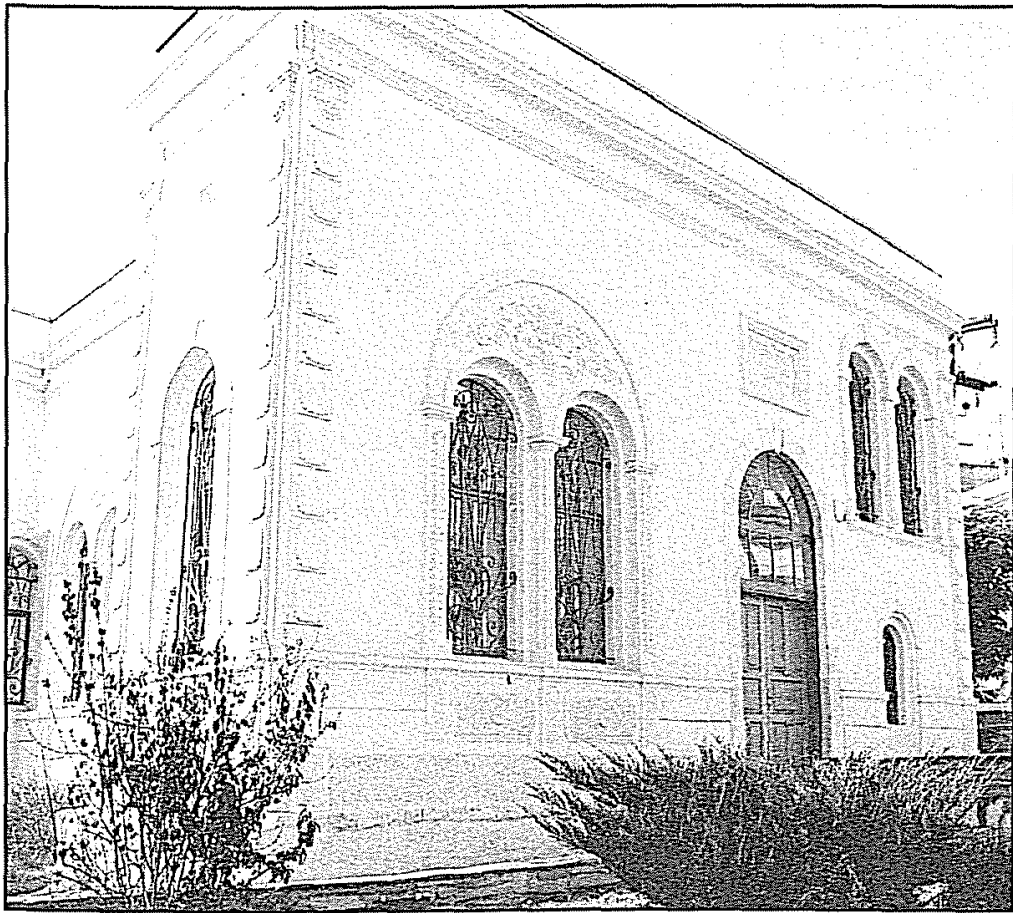


Photo 53¹⁴³

To the untrained eye there is little to see in the way of original décor discernible on the outside of the unrestored mausoleum as it looked in 2004 [Photo 52]. However, the restoration architects assured visiting members of the Evrenos family that all of the motifs used in the exterior restoration were based on molds made from surviving bits of the original décor.¹⁴⁴ If so, the neo-classical motifs on the restored façade are in keeping with the original design [Photo 53].

¹⁴² Photo by H. Lowry (2004).

¹⁴³ Photo by H. Lowry (2008).

¹⁴⁴ Related to H. Lowry by Özer Gazievrenosoğlu, who, together with his wife and son, visited Yenice Vardar in the Winter of 2008. They were escorted through the mausoleum by the restoration architects who provided them with this interpretation.

The only other aspect of the exterior restoration warranting comment is the failure of the architects to pay significant attention to the existing early 20th photos of the site. In particular, that labeled herein as the photo of ca. 1935 [See: **Photos 1 & 3**], which clearly depicts a dome on the wing of the mausoleum under which Hacı Evrenos was buried and what appear to be a series of smaller domes opposite it (under which other family members were presumably interred). Rather inexplicably, the architects chose to ignore this essential part of the buildings design, and in place of the dome over Evrenos left a circular window [See: **Photo 42**].

While their failure to in any meaningful way to restore the interior of the mausoleum (in keeping with what the Evrenos family photos show it to have been), is attributable primarily to the fact that the restoration architects were unaware of their existence until their work was well underway. They first were apprised of them when, in the course of a 2007 visit, G. Ersin Evrenos provided them copies of photos depicting the interior of the tomb.

Leaving these negatives to one side, one fact is undeniable: namely, a monument which was in total ruin has been rebuilt/restored as a modern facility, albeit one who's interior bears at best only a marginal resemblance to what it once was. Only time will tell if the remains it was built to house will be returned to the earth they occupied from 1417-2006, i.e., for the last 589 years. If this transpires the restoration will truly be completed.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ Clearly the Byzantine & Post-Byzantine section of the Veria Ephorate of the Greek Ministry of Culture's Archeological Services could use the services of an archeologist/architect with some training in Ottoman art and architecture. While the same can be said for the vast majority of the restorations of Ottoman monuments undertaken in Turkey, the fact remains that in complete contra-distinction to the high quality of the restorations of Ottoman monuments undertaken in Western Thrace and Eastern Macedonia by the Kavala and Thessaloniki Ephorates (which are minimalist in tone and undertaken with the greatest attention to detail), that of the Evrenos mausoleum is notable primarily for its heavy handedness, typified by the removal of the skeletal remains of Evrenos from the tomb, the addition of modern toilet facilities and central heating radiators and lack of attention to detail. In this sense it is atypical of the generally high level of the Greek Archeological Service's restoration of Ottoman monuments.

As for the interior of the mausoleum depicted in the series of extant late 19th or early 20th century photos, these all were clearly taken in the building which still stands today, i.e., in the period following the 1885-1886 restoration undertaken by Mehmed Şefik Paşa and associates.

As discussed previously, **Photos 54 & 55** depict two different views of the mausoleum's interior, with the actual sarcophagus of Hacı Evrenos being in the room at their lower right hand corners.

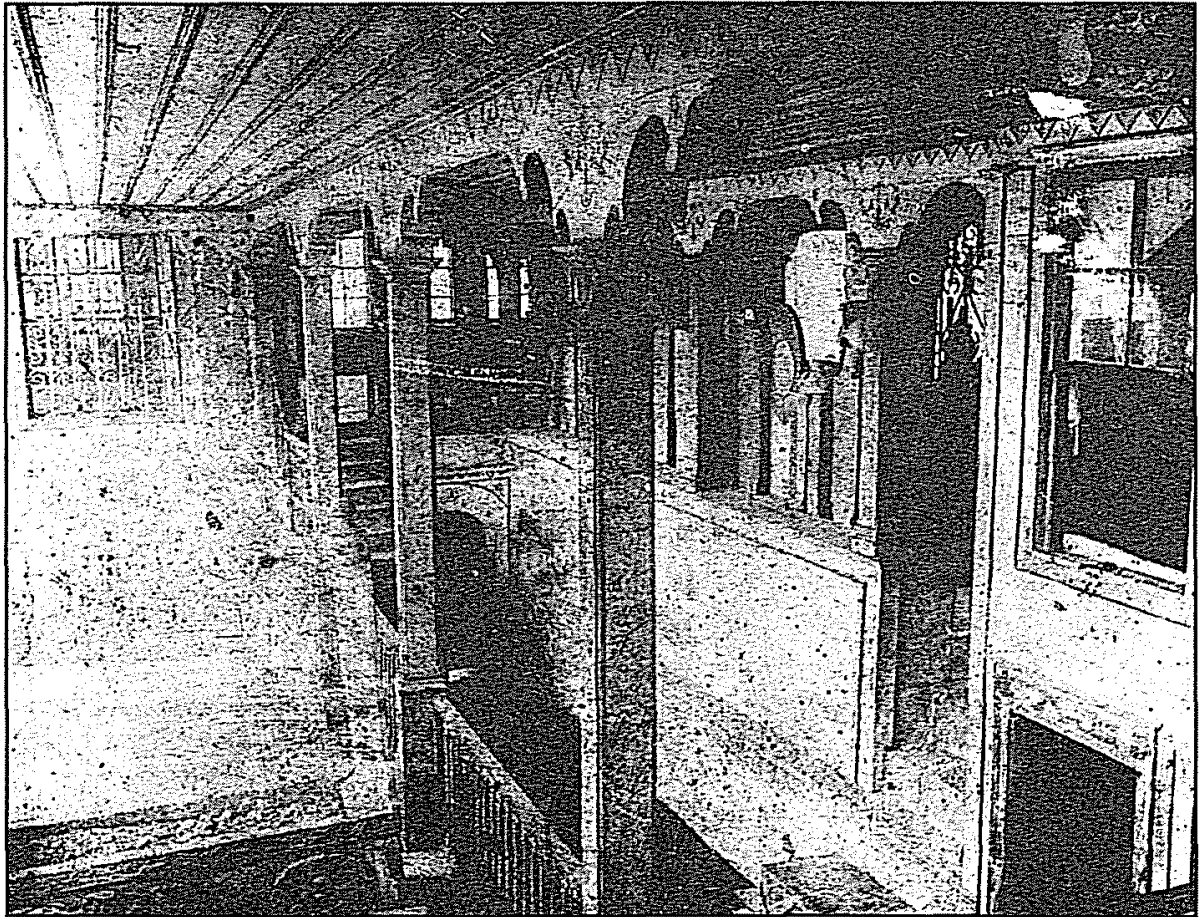
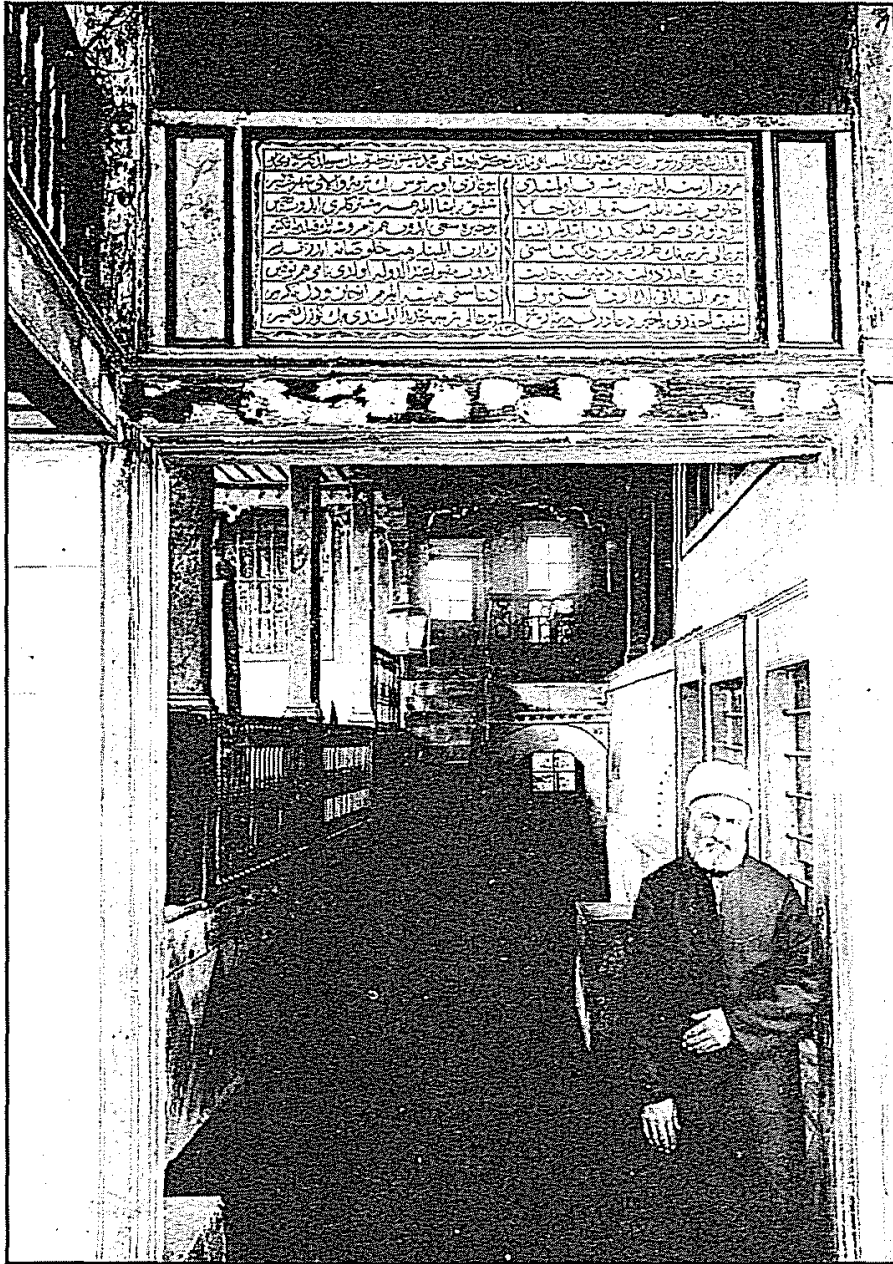


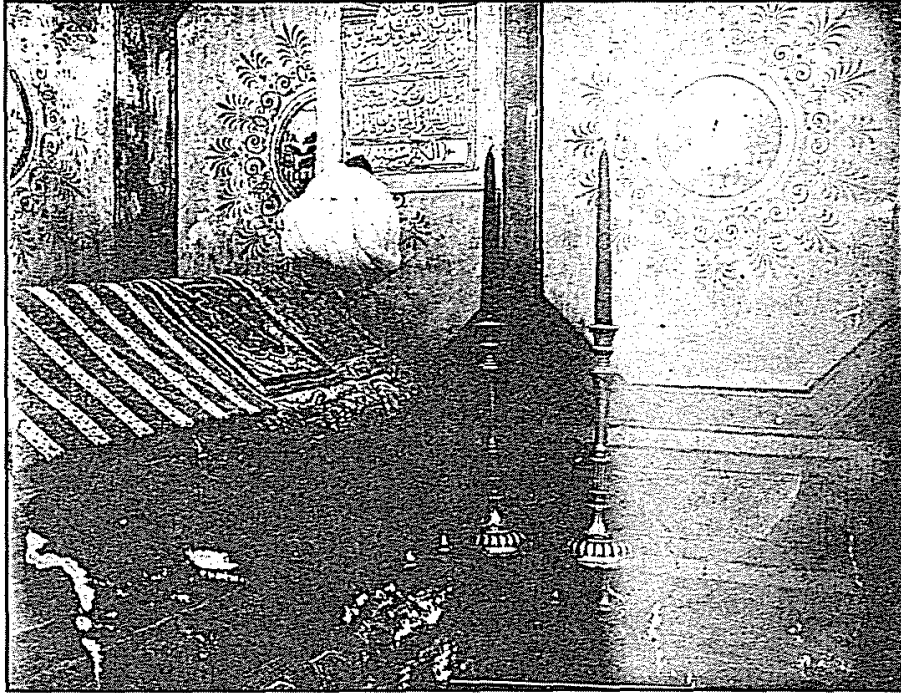
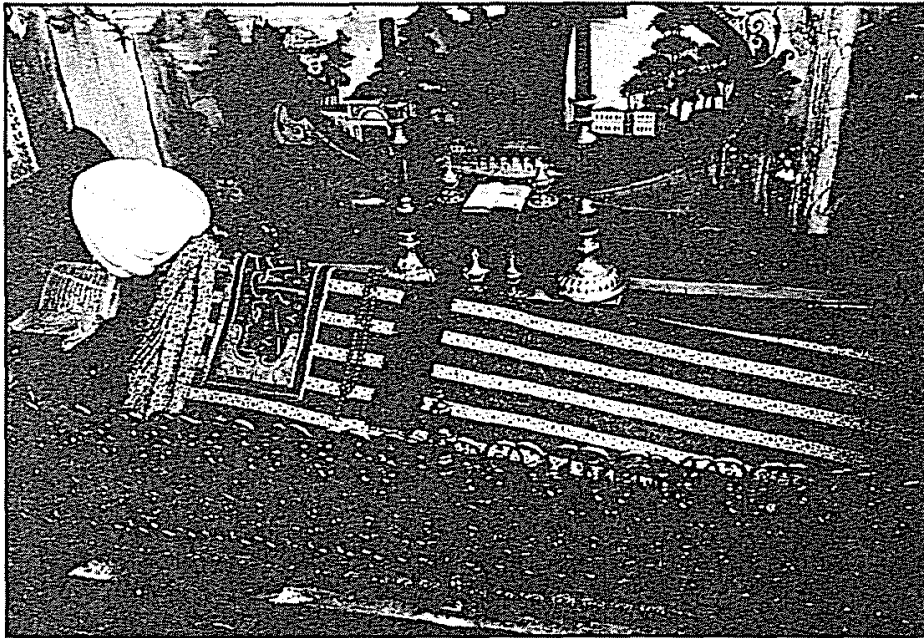
Photo 54¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ Photo courtesy of Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from a family photograph album.

Photo 55¹⁴⁷

The third [Photo 56] shows the sarcophagus of Hacı Evrenos in the aftermath of the 1885-1886 restoration, which was undertaken by Mehmed Şefik Paşa, and the fourth [Photo 57] appears to depict it after the final restoration in 1908-1910.

¹⁴⁷ Photo courtesy of Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from a family photograph album.

Photo 56¹⁴⁸Photo 57¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Photo courtesy of Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from a family photograph album.

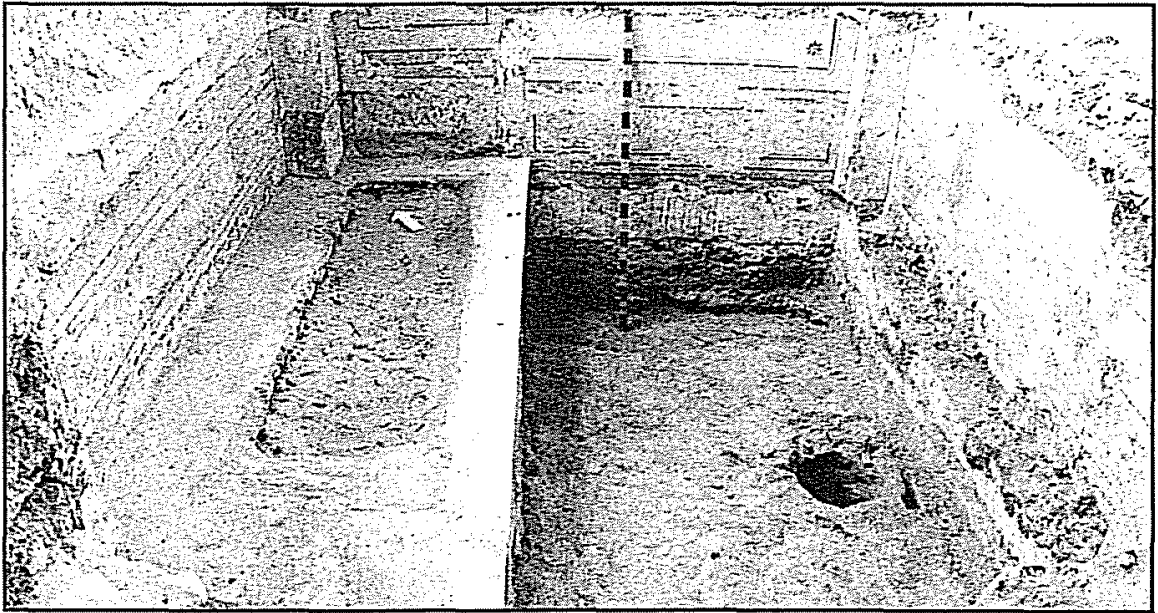
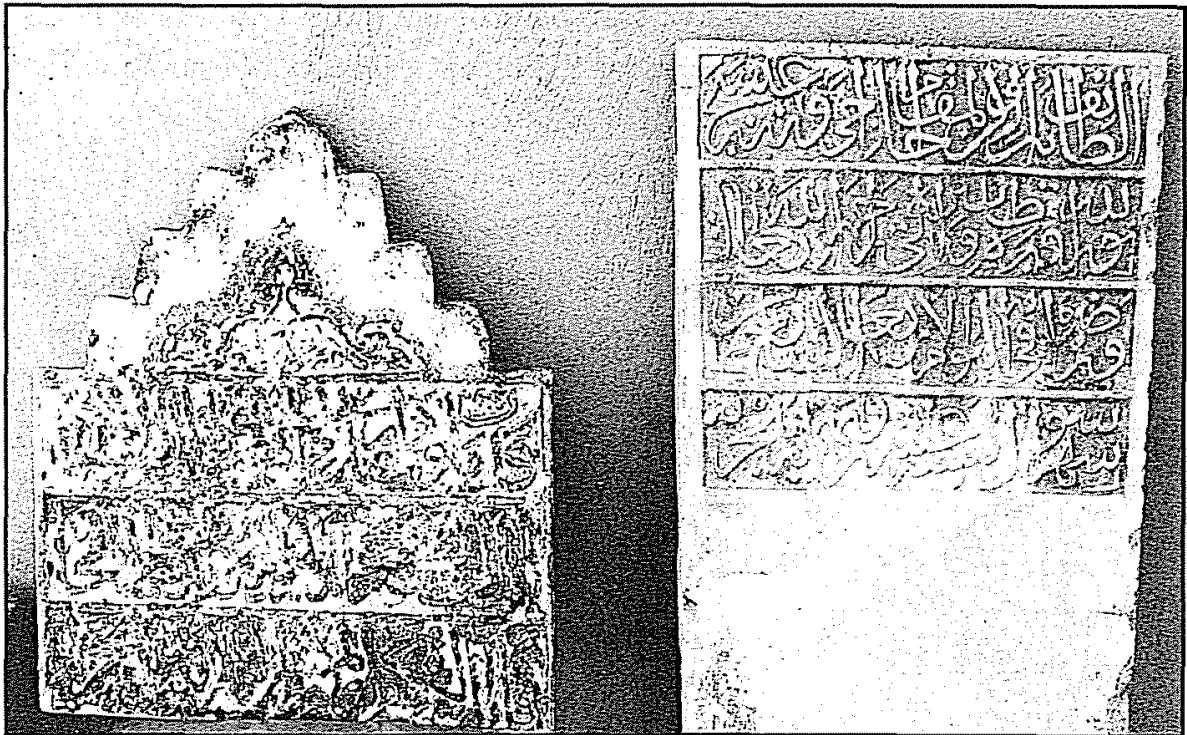
¹⁴⁹ Photo courtesy of Özer Gazievrenosoğlu from a family photograph album.

If this interpretation is correct, the 1908-1910 renovations must have included an entirely new series of wall paintings, for those it depicts [**Photo 57**] bear no relationship to those which were still in situ following the 1885-1886 restoration [**Photo 56**].

When we factor into this equation the wording of the no longer extant 1886 restoration *kitabe* (inscription), which clearly state that the mausoleum had fallen into ruin and was completely rebuilt by Mehmed Şefik Paşa, it seems more than possible that the structure which exists today is in fact a late 19th or even possibly an early 20th century building which was erected on the site of Hacı Evrenos' original tomb. If this were the case, it may well be that all of the tombstones and their remains which were on the site were likewise collected during the rebuilding and reinterred within the new structure [**Photo 54** above].

When we compare Evliya's account of the tomb's interior with both the family photos and the results of the recent excavation/restoration there can be no doubt as to the validity of the description he provides. His account of both the long marble sarcophagus on the tomb's lower level (inside which Evrenos was buried) [**Photo 58**] and of the two inscriptions on stone which at the time of his visit had stood at the head and foot of the second sarcophagus in the upper chamber [**Photo 59**] fit well the status quo as it exists today. The newly excavated marble sarcophagus is clearly that within which the remains of Evrenos were recently discovered:

As for the two inscriptions which once adorned the head and foot of the sarcophagus, they too exist and match perfectly (including the date) the description provided by Evliya in 1668 [**Photo 59**]. As late as the 1990s these two marble inscriptions had been implanted in the wall above where the crypt containing the bones of Hacı Evrenos was excavated in November 2006.

Photo 58¹⁵⁰Photo 59¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ Lowry, 2008: p. 60 [Photo courtesy of: F. Karagianni].

Given the high degree of respect with which the memory of Hacı Evrenos was (and is) venerated among his descendants it seems likely that as late as the beginning of the 20th century (1908-1910) they undertook what was to be the final rebuilding of his mausoleum in Yenice Vardar. It was to commemorate that renovation that the inscription which still survives today was implanted above the entrance doorway [See above: **INSCRIPTION VII**].

Conclusion

No better example of the continuing importance of Hacı Evrenos, the founding father of the Evrenosoğulları dynasty, may be cited than the existence of this restoration inscription which is still in situ above the entrance-way to his mausoleum in Giannitsa (Yenice Vardar). If, half a millennia after his death, his descendants were still maintaining and indeed renovating/restoring his final resting place, clearly his importance had not waned in their eyes.

The significance of their action in this regard becomes even clearer when we consider that just a year after this final restoration/renovation the family's centuries long presence in the town would begin to draw to a close. For, in 1912 (after the Greek army entered the city during the Second Balkan War), over 135 family members and retainers packed up their movable goods and set out on the road for Selânik (Thessaloniki). Once there, the administrator of their forebear's pious foundation purchased a ship and a large segment of the Yenice Vardar branch of the family (descendants of the line of İki Yüreklü Ali Beğ) embarked for İstanbul. They left behind numerous architectural monuments, the remains of some fourteen generations of the Evrenosoğulları, and an indeterminable number of relatives. The family's remaining members would stay in the city until 1923-1924, when, under the terms of the population agreement signed by the Kingdom of Greece and the

¹⁵¹ Photo by: H. Lowry (2007).

newly formed Republic of Turkey, they would be summarily shipped off to Asia Minor.¹⁵² In their place Greek Orthodox refugees from Anatolia (primarily from the Pontus and Cappadocia), and eastern Thrace (present day southern Bulgaria) would be resettled in the now wholly Greek town of Giannitsa. The new arrivals were impoverished and understandably unhappy at having been uprooted from their homes and livelihoods. Their only interest was survival and they had no concern for, or interest in, preserving the heritage of the departed Evrenosoğulları.

The newly restored Mausoleum (together with all the other monuments discussed herein) remained behind, and, in the course of the last century was put to a variety of usages. By 2003 (when first visited by Lowry), it was being used as a party house by some of the younger Giannitsians, a fact attested to by the empty bottles which littered its floor, as well as by the graffiti which covered the walls [See: **Photo 41** above].

Then in 2006 it was rescued by the archeologists working out of the Veria Ephorate. It since has undergone a complete restoration (in the course of which the actual underground burial site and the remains of Hacı Evrenos himself were discovered),¹⁵³ and today the exterior of the mausoleum looks

¹⁵² Whether some family members may have stayed in Greece by converting to Orthodoxy is indeterminable, but may possibly be inferable from the fact that the current Athens telephone directory contains a number of entries listing families named: Evrenosoğlu.

¹⁵³ Lowry, 2008: pp. 58-63. Indeed, the only aspect of the restoration warranting further comment is the failure of the architects to pay significant attention to the existing early 20th photos of the site. In particular, that labeled herein as the photo of ca. 1935 [See: **Photos 1 & 3**], which clearly depicts a dome on the wing of the mausoleum under which Hacı Evrenos was buried and what appear to be a series of smaller domes opposite it (under which other family members were presumably interred). Rather inexplicably, the architects chose to ignore this essential part of the buildings design, and in place of the dome over Evrenos left a circular window [See: **Photo 42** above]. Against this relatively minor point must be weighed the fact that a building which was in total ruin has been turned into a beautifully restored monument. Only time will tell if the remains it was built to house will be returned to the earth they occupied from 1417-2006, i.e., for the last 589 years? If this transpires the restoration will truly be completed.

much like it must of when the last family members left almost one hundred years ago.

In the course of recent visits to the city, family members (including Ersin Evrenos and Özer Gazievrenosoğlu) have been hosted and feted by city officials, who, in the wake of the recent renovation of the mausoleum have begun to take a long overdue interest in Giannitsa's history during the *Tourkokratia*. In particular, the Mayor Nikolaos Papanikolaou and the local historian Helen Mavrokefalidou, have spearheaded this new found interest, and the Mayor has even gone so far as to pledge that the municipality will undertake the restoration of all remaining Ottoman monuments in Giannitsa.

Given that all such monuments are directly traceable to the activities of Hacı Evrenos and his descendants, this means that the role of this family in first creating Yenice Vardar and then embellishing it with a wide variety of buildings including: *Hans* (workshops for craftsmen),¹⁵⁴ *Kervansarays* (lodging for caravans and merchants),¹⁵⁵ *Câmiis* (mosques where Friday prayers are held),¹⁵⁶ *Mescids* (small neighborhood mosques),¹⁵⁷ *Türbes* (mausoleums),¹⁵⁸ *İmârets* (soup kitchens for the poor),¹⁵⁹ *Hammâms* (bathhouses),

¹⁵⁴ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p.77 states that Yenice Vardar was home to 7 *hans*.

¹⁵⁵ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77 names one *kervansaray*, that built by Hacı Evrenos.

¹⁵⁶ Ayverdi, 2000: pp. 319-321 (based on existent records of the Pious Foundations Directorate) names 17 mosques known to have been extant in the late 19th and early 20th century, of which at least 11 were built by Evrenos and his descendants; while Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77 states that the town had 17 mosques & *mescids* at the time of his 1668 visit. He names 5 mosques, all of which were endowed by members of the Evrenos family.

¹⁵⁷ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77 names two *mescids*, both of which were built by descendants of Hacı Evrenos; while Ayverdi, 2000: pp. 320-321 names 3 *mescids*, 2 of which were built by Evrenosoğulları.

¹⁵⁸ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: pp. 77-79 names 3 *türbes* built by and/or for the Evrenosoğulları. Ayverdi, 2000: pp. 320 & 322 names 3 *türbes* built by or for members of the Evrenos family.

¹⁵⁹ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77 names 3 *imârets* in the town, each of which was built by a member of the family; Ayverdi, 2000: p. 321 names three *imarets* built by Hacı Evrenos & his descendants.

¹⁶⁰ *Medreses* (theological seminaries),¹⁶¹ *Mekteps* (primary schools),¹⁶² *Çeşmes* (public fountains)¹⁶³ and *Sebils* (fountains and water dispersal stations),¹⁶⁴ a *Su Yolu* (aqueduct)¹⁶⁵ and an imposing *Saat Kulesi* (multi-storied clock tower),¹⁶⁶ will, at long last, be appropriately acknowledged.

¹⁶⁰ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77 names 3 *hammâms* built by Hacı Evrenos and his descendants.

¹⁶¹ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77 names 1 *medrese* in the town, that built by Hacı Evrenos; Ayverdi, 2000: p. 321 names 3 *medreses*, all of which were built by Hacı Evrenos and his descendants.

¹⁶² Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77 names 7 *mekteps* or which the three he names were all built by members of the Evrenos family.

¹⁶³ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 77 states that there were 22 *çeşmes* in the town, although he does not name any of their endowers. He does describe one which stood in the marketplace in front of the *Han*, which he describes as having four fountain heads and on top of which a generous soul had endowed a pavilion, which served as a gathering place for visitors to the town.

¹⁶⁴ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 78 describes 41 *sebils* for the distribution of drinking water.

¹⁶⁵ Evliya Çelebi, 2003: p. 78 describes how at the time of his 1668 visit the town suffered from a shortage of water due to the fact that with the passage of time the aqueduct which brought water from the region of *Gâzî Yaylası* (Warrior's summer pasturage) had fallen into disrepair; Ayverdi, 2000: p. 322 describes the *su yolu* or *sukemerleri* (aqueduct) built by Hacı Evrenos and expanded by his grandson Hacı Ahmed Beğ on the basis of its description in the *vâkfiyye* (pious endowment charter document) drawn by Hacı Ahmed in 1504.

¹⁶⁶ Kiel, 1971: pp. 321-323 published the inscription on the *saat kulesi*, built in 1753-1754 by Şerif Ahmed, a descendant of Hacı Evrenos; See also: Ayverdi, 2000: p. 320.

APPENDIX I: Transcription, Translation & Facsimile of Evliya Çelebi's Seyahatname [Manuscript: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat #308] - His account of a 1668 visit to the city of Yenice Vardar (Giannitsa)¹⁶⁷

The recent appearance of the first critical edition of Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname* (**Book of Travels**), means that for the first time a useable version of this important work is available. As earlier work on Yenice Vardar has all been based on Greek, German or modern Turkish translations of the heavily censored late 19th early 20th century published edition of the work, we have deemed it useful to provide the complete text of this traveler's account of his 1668 stay in Yenice Vardar. When our readings vary from those provided in this edition we have inserted them in the following form: [sic. _____]:

¹⁶⁷ This account is taken from: Evliya Çelebi bin Derviş Mehmed Zillî: *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. VIII. Kitap [Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini]*. Edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Robert Dankoff. İstanbul (Yapı Kredi Yayınları), 2003. pp. 76-79. Cited throughout the present study as: Evliya Çelebi, 2003.

TRANSCRIPTION & TRANSLATION

[p. 76 & Folio 230a:]¹⁶⁸ Evsâf-ı Verebiye Ovası, va'nî kal'a-i Vardar Yenicesi:

Features of the Plain of Verebiye, that is of the Fortress of Vardar Yenice:

İki aded kal'adır. Biri Tekûr bınarı kal'asıdır kim şehrin bir ucu anda imiş. Bir kal'ası hâlâ amâr [sic. 'imâr] olan şehir olduğu yerdedir kim ana Verebiye kal'ası derler. Anıniçün defter-i hâkânîde kal'a-ı Vardar Yenicesi sahrâ-yı Verebiye derler. Bânisi Rûm kralarından yine Feylekos evlâdlarından iki bürâder iki kal'a binâ edüp biri Tekrûr kral ve biri Verebiye kral binâsıdır. Niçe müllûkdan müllûka değüp âhır-ı kâr sene 764 târîhinde Gâzî Hudâvendigâr ümerâlarından Gâzî Evrenos feth edüp pâ-yı taht-ı ümerâ etdi. Ve kal'asın câ-be-câ münhedim etdi kim bir dahi küffâr-ı Rûm tama' edüp muhâsara etmeyeler.

There are two fortresses. One is the Tekûr Pınar Fortress which stands at one end of the city. The other is located within the present day city and they call it Verebiye. It is for this reason that in the Imperial Tax Registers the fortress of Vardar Yenice in the Plain of Verebiye. There were two brothers, who were descendants of King Feylekos, who built these two fortresses. It is said that they were named King Tekrûr and King Verebiye. After passing through the hands of many rulers it was conquered by Gazi Evrenos, who was one of Sultan Murad I's commanders, in the year h. 764 [October 20, 1362 – October 9, 1363]. And in order to prevent it ever falling again into the hands of the unbelievers he tore down some of its fortifications.

Hâlâ Rûmeli eyâletinde Selânik sancağı hâkinde üç yüz akçe şerîf kazâdır. Ve nâhiyesi (.....) kurâdır. Ve hükûmeti (.....) (.....) dir. Ve kazâsı cümle üç yüz aded hâne tahrîr olup hâne-i avâriz ordu ve nüzüllât tekâlîfleri verirler. Sipâh kethudâyeri ve yeniçeri serdârı ve (.....) ve muhtesibi ve bâcdârı ve şehir kethudâsı vardır.

¹⁶⁸ Page numbers are those in Evliya Çelebi, 2003 & the Folio numbers are those of the manuscript used by the editors of Evliya Çelebi, 2003.

Today it is still a three hundred *akçe* (small silver coins) administrative region in the sub-province of Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the Province of Rumeli. And in its country there are _____ [left blank] villages. And its governmental officials include _____ [left blank]. And in the sub-province there are three hundred households and they pay as taxes the *avariz* (extraordinary tax) the *ordu* (military) and the *nüzûlât*. There is a *Sipâhi Kethudâ* (Chief Stewart of the Cavalry), a *Yeniçeri Serdâr* (Janissary Commander), and a _____ [left blank], and a *Muhtesib* (Police Chief), a *Bâcdâr* (tax collector) and a *Şehir Kethudâ* (Chief Stewart of the City).

Eşkâl-i zemîn-i şehri Yenice: Mezkûr olan iki kal'anın mâbeyninde bir vâsi' dereli ve depeli ve bayırlı yerde cümle 17 aded mahallât-ı ma'mûreli şehirdir. Evvelâ (.....) mahallesi,[1 empty line]..... Meşhûr mahallât bunlardır.

Infrastructural Features of the city of Yenice: Nestled between the aforementioned two fortresses in a steep watered gulley is the city comprised of seventeen prosperous residential quarters. First, is the Quarter of _____ [left blank] _____ [one blank line]. These are the well known quarters.

Ve cümle bin beş yüz aded kiremit örtülü bâğ u bâğçeli ve tahtânî ve fevkânî vâsi' ve birbirlerinden [p.77] [seyrek]¹⁶⁹ vâki' olmuş kârgâr binâ hânedânlardır [hânelerdür]¹⁷⁰ kim her birinde âb-ı hayât sular ve bâğçeler mukarrerdir.

And there are a total of one thousand five hundred tile roofed houses, each with its own garden and orchard, some of one and others of two stories, large pleasant houses which are separated from one another. And each of these lath and plaster houses has more than the next a generous supply of the water of life and there are gardens.

Ve cümle 17 aded câmi'-i mîr-i mîrân ve gayri kibâr-ı a'yân câmi'leridir, ammâ cümleden mükellef ü mükemmel ve ma'mûr ve müzeyyen cemâ'at-i kesîreye mâlik çârsû içinde İskender Beğ câ-

¹⁶⁹ Beşir Ağa.

¹⁷⁰ Beşir Ağa.

mi'i, kurşum kubbeli ma'bedgâh-ı kadîmdir. Kible kapusu üzre tah-rîr olunan târîhi budur:

*Ammere'l-İskender min nesli Gâzî Evrenos,
Dâre hayrı ceddihî'l-a'lâ fe'amme nef'uhâ,
Ecruhâ fî dârî'l-uhrâ cennetü'l-me'vâ limâ,
Câe fî târîhihâ dârun karârun ecruhâ.
Sene (.....)*

And there are a total of seventeen mosques, each of which is built by rulers and nobles and other people. But the most impressive of all, with its large congregation, is the *İskender Beğ Câmii* which lies within the market place. It is an ancient sanctuary whose dome is covered with lead. Over its door which lies across from the direction of Mecca is the following inscription which gives its date:

İskender, from the line of Gazi Evrenos,
rebuilt a house of charity [sic. *imaret* = soup kitchen] of his ancestor
and disseminated its advantages.

In return for which may his place in the next world be Paradise.

So the phrase: *dârun karârun ecruhâ* becomes the date

Year: _____ [left blank]

Andan Badralı câmi'i, müfferih ve musanna' ma'bedgâhdır.

Then there is the Badralı [sic. Bedreli Beğ] Câmii, which is an imposing and awe inspiring work of art.

Ve İsa Beğ câmi'i, hakkâ ki bânî-i mi'mâr-ı selef ilm-i hendese üzre mahbûb câmi' binâ etmiş kim görenler pesend ederler.

And the İsa Beğ Câmii, which was built by one of the ancient architects, whose architectural design is carried out with such mathematical precision, that it in all sincerity astonishes all who see it.

Ve Receb Çelebi câmi'i, bu dahi kâr-ı kadîm câmi'-i pür-nûrdur.

And the Receb Çelebi Câmii, this also is an ancient and uplifting mosque.

Ve Şeyh İlahî türbesinde Ahmed Beğ câmi'i.

And the Ahmed Beğ Câmii which houses the mausoleum of Şeyh İlahî.

Bu terkîm olunan beş aded cevâmi'lerden mâ'adâsı cümle 12 aded mahalle mesâcidleridir. Cümleden Evrenos Gâzî mescidi ve Şeyh İlahî mescidi,(1 empty line)..... [f. 230b]

And in addition to these enumerated five mosques, there are a total of twelve neighborhood small prayer houses (*mescids*), among which are the Evrenos Gâzi Mescid and the Şeyh İlahî Mescid
[one line left blank].

Ve cümle bir aded medrese-i âlimândır. Ol dahi Gâzî Evrenos Beğ'in kurşum örtülü kubâblar ile tezyîn olmuş bir dâru't-tedris-i tahsîl-i ulûmîdir [sic. ulûmudur]

And there is a total of one theological seminary. That too is built by Gâzi Evrenos Beğ and is decorated with lead covered domes. It is a true house of learning.

Bir âdem her ne kadar ahmak hebennak-ı [sic. ahmak-ı Habennak] sa'lebi'l-humakâ olsa bu dershânedede bir kerre bismillâhi dese elbette bir yılda tefsîr-i şerîf istihrâc etmeğe liyâkat hâsıl eder, zîrâ Şeyh İlahî hazretlerinin nazargâhıdır. Cemî'i talebeleri ve ders-i âmları mevcûd olup her tâlibâna cânib-i vakıfdan lahmiyye ve şem'iyye bahâları vâsıldır.

A man, no matter even if he's stupider than Habennak or thinks he is as smart as a fox, who visits this place of learning and says even a single *Besmele* [at the beginning of his lesson], will in a year be able to translate the Quran, for this is the space empowered by the vision of the Exalted Şeyh İlahî. In this medrese there are teachers and students. The eating expenses and candle expenses of the students are met by the pious foundation.

*Ve cümle yedi aded mekteb-i dâru'l-ulûm-ı sıbyân-ı ebcedhân-ı püserândır. Evvelâ Yürekli Alî Beğ mektebi ve Receb Çelebi mektebi ve İsâ Beğ mektebi ve (.....) (.....) (.....) (.....) bunlar meşhûr-
dur.*

And there are a total of seven primary schools for the education of young boys. First, is that of [İki] Yürekli Ali Beğ School, the School of Receb Çelebi and the School of İsâ Beğ and [names of the remaining four are left blank]. These are well known.

Ve cümle (.....) aded tekye-i sâhib-i tarîk-i pîşvâ-yı dervîşân-ı abdâlân hânkâhlarıdır. Cümleden Şeyh İlahî tekyesi ve (.....) tekyesi ve (.....) (.....) hânkâhı ma'mûrdur.

And there are a total of [.....] dervish lodges for the religious orders. Of these the Şeyh İlahî Dervish Lodge and that of [.....] and that of [.....] are the most flourishing and prosperous.

Ve cümle 3 aded dâru'z-ziyâfe-i me'kel-i fakîrânı vardır. Cümleden Receb Çelebi imâretî ve Şeyh İlahî medresesi imâretî ve Gâzî Evrenos türbesi imâretî. Bunların bay [u] gedâya ve hâss u âmma ni'metleri dâ'imdir kim şeb [ü] rûz matbah-ı Keykâvus'undan muğân u cuhûdâna bile bezl-i it'âm-ı âm olunur.

And there are a total of three *imaret* facilities (soup kitchens) for the feeding of the poor and indigent. These are the Receb Çelebi Soup Kitchen, and Soup Kitchen of the Şeyh İlahî Theological Seminary, and the Soup Kitchen of Gazi Evrenos' Mausoleum. Their generosity is open to all, the rich and the poor alike and the upper class and normal people. These are soup kitchens whose generosity rivals that of Keykavis, which are open to all, even to fire-worshippers [non-Muslims] and Jews, day and night.

Ve cümle yedi yüz kırk aded çârsû-yı bâzâr dükkân-ı bezzâzistânı var. Cemî'i zî-kaymet eşyâlar bî-minnet ve bî-kaymet bulunur. Ammâ altı aded kurşum örtülü kubbe-i pür-cevherli ve dörd aded demir kapulu kârgîr binâ bir mefîn ve kavî bezzâzistânı var kim değme şe-hirde eyle bir kârhâne-i zîbâ yokdur.

There are in the marketplace and the covered market halls a total of seven hundred forty shops. In all of them one readily finds valuable goods and products. There is an extremely well built Market Hall, topped by six lead covered domes (*bezzâzistân*) with four metal doors, a business center which is not found in every city.

Ve cümle üç aded hammâm-ı rûşenâları var. Cümleden Gâzî Evrenos Beğ hammâmının âb [u] hevâsı ve binâsı ve hüddâmları ve bisâtları memdûhdur. Ve çârsû içinde Ahmed Beğ hammâmı gâyet müferrih ve dilküşâ germâ-yı vâsi'dir.

There are three comfortable Bath Houses, of which the Gâzi Evrenos Hammâm, in terms of its water, its air, the facility itself, the service provided, and its organization, is the most noteworthy. Within the marketplace itself is the Ahmed Beğ Hammâm, which is a large and pleasant bathhouse.

Ve nazargâh-ı hammâm-ı Seyh İlâhî: Bir küçük hammâmıdır, ammâ bi-emri Hudâ her ne kadar emrâz-ı muhtelifeye mübtelâ âdem kırk gün bu hammâma girmeğe müdâvemet etse bi-emri Hayy-ı Kadîr şifâ bulur. Azîz-i merhûm asrında bu hammâma girenlerden aslâ akçe alınmazmış ve külhanında aslâ âteş yanmazmış. Yine böyle iken derûn-ı hammâmın şiddet-i hârından bir âdem bir sâ'at hammâmında durmağa tâkat getiremezmiş.

The Şeyh İlâhî Hammâm is a small one. But by the will of God, whoever is ill, with whatever type of illness, if they visit the bathhouse for forty days they are cured. During the lifetime of the Saint, all those who entered this bathhouse did so free of charge and there was never a fire lit in the stokehole. However, when this was the case, reportedly one could not stay inside for even an hour due to the heat.

Ba'dehu mürrûr-ı eyyâm ile bu hammâmı ta'mîr ü termîm iktizâ etdikde mütevellîsi külhanın meremmât ederken dîvârın bir cânibi obrulup münhedim oldukda görseler kim hammâm kazganı altında yedi aded taşlar durup ol seng-i hârlardan alev ber-alev âteşler çıkup kazgandaki suyu kaynadır. Ol taşlar kim Kuds-i Şerîf kurbunda Hazret-i Mûsâ aleyhi's-selâmın türbe-i pür-envârı etrâflarında olan ot taşlarıdır.

Thereafter, with the passage of time, it became necessary to repair the bathhouse, in the course of which they broke through one wall of the stokehole. What they discovered was that there were seven stones lying underneath the cauldron, and that these stones were continuously emitting flames which served to boil the water. Those fi-

re stones were from the holy tomb of the Exalted Moses (Peace be upon him) in the holy city of Jerusalem.

Bir köşesinde dahi bir demir kandil içinde şîr-i revgan memlû olup bir gûne mülebbes ve mülemma' ve musanna' fitil ile bir kandil-i çerâğân iken benî âdemlerin nazarları bu kandildâna ta'alluk edince yâhûd rîh-ı akîm isâbet edince kandil söniüp ve yedi aded taşların âteşleri de teskîn olup hammâm-ı kudret buzhâne gibi olup ilâ yevminâ hâzâ âteş-i germâ-germ ile meshûn bir germâ-yı nazargâhdır. Lâkin yine hasta girse bi-emri Hudâ şifâ bulur. Hattâ bu hakîrin Kâzım nâm bir gulâmı gâyet müşevveşü'l-hâl iken bu humma-i nazargâha girüp tendürüst oldu.

In one corner stood a lamp filled with olive oil and a wick. Once, while the lamp was burning, either due to the negligence of the people looking after it, or due to the effect of the wind, its light was extinguished and the seven stones simultaneously lost their fire. From that time forward this thermal spring became like an ice house. Until the present day it is heated by a built fire. Still, if those who are ill enter it, by the Grace of God, they are cured. A slave of mine named Kâzım, who was very ill, entered this bathhouse, was cured, and emerged in full health.

Ve "Cümle yetmiş aded sarây hammâmlarımız vardır" deyü a'yân-ı kibâr tefâhür kesb ederler.

The leading men of the city proudly state that: "there are a total of seventy residential bathhouses [as well]."

Ve cümle 9 aded hân-ı sevdâgerânları vardır. Cümleden (....) (....) (....) (....) (....) (....) (....).

And there are a total of nine large commercial buildings (*hans*) of the merchants. They include [the names are not given].

Ve cümle bir aded kârbânsarây-ı mihmân revân-ı hasbîsi var. Ol dahi Gâzî Evrenos Beğ'in hayrâtındandır kim şeb [ü] rûz beşer yüz altışar yüz kadar atlılar konup her ocak başına birer bakar sini ta'âm ve âdem başına birer nân ve birer şem'-i revgan ile birer şem'dân ve her at başına birer tobra alîk-ı esbân gelüp cemî'i

âyende vü revendegâna ta'âm-ı bî-minneti tenâviül edüp def'-i cî'ân etdikde sâhibü'l-hayrâta her âdem birer Fâtîha tilâvet edüp rûh-ı hayrâtı şâd ederler. Hakkâ ki hayrât-ı azîmedir.

And in addition there is one inn whose services are provided without charge to all who come and go. That too is among the charitable works endowed by Gazi Evrenos. By day and by night up to five or six hundred men with their horses come and in front of every chimney there is provided a copper tray of food, with a loaf of bread, and a candle and candleholder for every man. For every horse a measure of grain is provided. All those who come and go and benefit from the food they are offered with grace and quell their appetites and after their needs are met they recite the *Fatiha* [the opening chapter of the Quran] in memory of its endower. In all truth this is a large act of philanthropy.

Ve cümle 22 aded âb-ı hayât çeşmesârları vardır. Cümleden çârsû içinde hânlar önünde dörd [p. 78] gözlü çeşme-i ayn-ı zülâl-i cânperveri var kim her uyûnu lülelerinden âdem bâzûsu kalınlığı cereyân edüp andan taşup aşağı Tabahâne ibret-nümâ çârsûsuna gider gâyet lezîz ve nâfi' âb-ı nâbdır. Bu çeşmesâr üzre sâhibü'l-hayrât bir kasr-ı âlî inşâ edüp cemî'i ehl-i sefer garîbü'd-diyâr kimesneler anda cem' olup görüşüp bilişirler, bir mecma'u'l-irfân kasr-ı zîbâdır. Dahi cümle çeşmesârların âb-ı revânları cümle Gâzî yaylasından gelir. Lâkin bu şehre göre suyu azdır. Mürûr-ı eyyâm ile yolları rahnedâr olmuştur.

There are twenty-two life giving fountains. In the marketplace, in front of the large commercial buildings of the merchants, there is a life giving fountain with four fountain heads and out of each of which spouts water in the thickness of a man's arm. The water which overflows runs down into the tannery market. This is an extremely beneficial and delicious water. On top of this fountain a generous patron erected a large pavilion, under which all strangers and travelers come together, meet and engage in conversation. The water in all these fountains is brought from the Summer Pasturage of the Gâzis. But, for a city of this size the water is insufficient. With the passage of time its aqueducts have fallen into disrepair.

Ve cümle kırk bir yerde sebîl-i [sic. sebîl] atşân-ı selsebîl-i şehîdân-ı deşt-i Kerbelâ rûhiyçün meâb-ı kevserlerdir.

In forty-one locations there are thirst quenching free water distribution centers (*sebils*), these paradise-like waters are for the souls of the Kербala desert martyrs.

Ve cümle memdûhâtlarından ekseriyyâ halkının kâr [u] kisbleri çemşir kökünden ve karaçalı kökünden ve erik ve kızılık ağaçları özlerinden gûnâ-gûn musanna' kaşıklar ve keşkûl ve zerdesteler yapup kifâf-ı nefis ederler. Ve vilâyet vilâyet bu şehrin kaşıklarından hedâyâ götürürler. Ve Bursa'nın imâm lülesi kadar meşhûr lüle-i duhân işlenir.

One of the many things to like about this city is the practice of many of its inhabitants of earning their livelihoods by carving wooden spoons out of all kinds of wood, including from the roots of boxwood and gorse trees, together with the wood of the plum, dogwood and other kinds of trees. The spoons from this city are taken as gifts from one province to another. In addition bowls of tobacco pipes, which are as famous as the İmâm tobacco pipe bowls of Bursa, are made here.

Ve dahi Yenice'nin [f. 231a] kuzu kulağı gibi duhânı Rûm ve Arab u Acem'de meşhûr olup birer vukıyye mikdârı iki başı sivri ve ortası yumru duhânı bir yere cem' edüp kazıllar ile bağlayup cemî'i vilâyet a'yânına hedâyâ götürürler. Hakîr ömrümde duhân içmedim ammâ bu Yenice duhânının misk [ü] amber-i hâm [sic. amber-fâm] râyihâsından hazz ederim. Tâ bu mertebe misk-bû tütünü olur.

And also in Yenice is grown a tobacco whose leaves are like the sheep's-sorrell. This tobacco is famous throughout the lands of the Ottomans, the Arabs and the Persians. Its leaves which are long and tapered at the ends and globular in the middle are gathered together in forty dirhem [one ounce] amounts, bound with a leaf, and taken as gifts to all the notables and lords of the province. I have never smoked tobacco in my life. But in truth I take pleasure in the musk and amber scent of this Yenice tobacco. If you are going to talk about beautiful tobacco, it couldn't be any better than this amber-scented tobacco.

Der-vasf-ı tetimme-i şehrengîz-i külliyât: Evvelâ niçe bin hânedân sâhib-i a'yân-ı kibârı gûnâ-gûn çuka libâslar geyüp ferhâdhânî ve hezârî ve altunbaş ve hünkârî ve köse destâr-ı Muhammedî sar[ar]

eşrâf-ı kibârı vardır. Vasatı'l-hâl olanlar ehl-i tüccâr ve ehl-i sanâ-yi'î çuka kontoş ve çuka çakşır ve çuka semmûr ve zerdeva kalpak ve kopçalı çakşır ve bellerinde teybend kuşaklarında kortela bıçak ve varsak taşıyup Rûmeli gâzîleri gibi refîâr eder fetâları vardır. Ammâ istilâhât-ı lisânları Rûm lehçelerine yakın, varmışık, gelmişık ve on-lar ile görismışık ve şöyle etmişık ve böyle etmişık, el-hâsıl sık lafzını sık sık isti'mâl ederler. Zenâneleri dahi cümle çuka ferrâceler geyüüp yassı başlarına beyâz dülbend ızâr bürünüp yüzlerine kıl nikâb dutuk edinüüp mü'eddebâne gezerler(2 empty lines).....

Other features of the city: The notables and the established figures from thousands of homes wear broadcloth garments, similar to Ferhad, gold-headed caps, around which are wrapped *Hünkâri* and *Köse* style turbans. People of the middle class, merchants, craftsmen and tradesmen, wear broadcloth *Kontuş*, broadcloth trousers, broadcloth cloaks, martin fur caps, all fastened with hooks and eyes. At their waists in their cummerbunds, they carry knives and axes, and they stroll around like Rumelian fighters for the faith. In their speech, these speak with something close to a Rumelian accent. They say: 'varmışık,' 'gelmişık' and we spoke with them ('görismışık'), and we did this ('şöyle etmişık'), and we did like that ('böyle etmişık'), and they use the ending 'sık' very frequently. Most of the women wear broadcloth (dustcoats), their heads are covered with white headscarves, their faces are covered by thin veils and they move about with modesty.

Ammâ hevâsı sehel sakîl olduğundan ahâlî-i vilâyet mâh-ı Temmûz eyyâm-ı bâhûra varınca cümle yaylağa çıkarlar.

Because the weather of the city is somewhat heavy, the inhabitants from the month of July until the first week of August go up to the summer pasturages.

Sitâviş-i yaylağ-ı kûh-ı Yenice-i Vardar: *Bu şehrin cânib-i garbîsinde {şimâlisi mâbeyninde} nîm râh kurbuna bir garîb temâşâgâh yalakabdır. Yenice ahâlîsinden mâ'adâ Yenice etrâf kurû ve kasabâtlarının ahâlîleri eyyâm-ı Temmûz'da bu yaylağa cemî'î devâbbâtlarıyla urûc edüp beş altı ay kesb-i tarâvet ederler. Tâ Gâzî Evrenos zamânından berü binâ olunmuş câmi'leri ve dükkânları ve*

hânları ve mesâcidleri ve bir aded hammâmı olup hâlâ Gâzî Evrenos evkâfı bir yaylağ-ı azîm olup "Öşr-i aded-i ağnâmu mü'ebbedü'd-devrân" deyü hatt-ı şerîfler ile bu yayla Evrenos Beğ evkâfıdır. Cemî'î îrâd-ı mahsûlâtı mütevellîsi tarafından zabt olunup aşağı şehirdeki imâret, tekve ve hammâm ve medreselerinin mürtezika ve hüddâmlarına vazîfe-i mu'ayyeneleri verilir.

The mountain pasturage of Venice-i Vardar: To the northwest of the city at the distance of half a day's journey is a curious summer pasturage. The inhabitants of Yenice, together with those of the surrounding towns and villages, move up to this pasturage, together with their animals, during the month of July. They stay here for periods ranging from five to six months. Dating all the way back to the time of Gâzi Evrenos, it possesses mosques, shops, large commercial buildings, small prayer houses and a bathhouse. This place belongs to the pious foundation of Gâzi Evrenos and it possesses Imperial Decrees relegating the tithe and tax on sheep to its income. All these sources of revenue are collected by this pious foundation's administrator. These revenues provide the incomes for the employees of the soup kitchen, bathhouse, dervish lodge and theological seminary in the city which lies below.

Âb [u] hevâsı latîf niçe yerde aynü'l-hayât misilli kaynak sularının niçesini künkler ile zîr-i zemînden şehrin imâretlerine götürmüşler. Çam ve ardıç ve çimşir ve ar'ar ve sanevber misilli hoş-bû dirah-t-ı gûnâ-gûn ile müzeyyen bir yaylakdır.

The water and climate are beautiful, and in many spots there are natural springs of life giving water. The water from many of these is transported by underground channels to the buildings of the city. It is a pasturage embellished with pleasant smelling trees, including pines, juniper, boxwood, [another type of] juniper and stone pines.

Anı dahi yedi günde temâşâ ediip andan aşağı yine şehre eniip şehir-i Yenice'nin kablesi cânibinde tâ Karaferye yollarınca on sâ'at mesâfe-i ba'îde bir sahrâ-yı azîmin tâ ortasında,

After spending seven days looking around and visiting this place, we returned down to the city. We continued on for ten hours in the

direction of the Kible on the road to Karaferya. Then we arrived at the lake which lies in the middle of the plain.

***Der-feth-i buhayre-i Vardar Yenicesi:** Bu halîc-i ibret-nümâ şehr-i Vardar'ın kable ve şimâlîsi tarafına vâki' olup girdâ-girdi on bir mîldir. Umku beş altı kulaç olup cânib-i etrâfi kamışlık ve sazlıklı ma'mûr köyler vardır. Sâ'ir göller gibi niçe yüz gûne balıkları olmaz ammâ kazı ördeği ve sâ'ir hûş [u] tuyûr [sic. vuhuş] şikârı çokdur.*

The Lake of Vardar Yenicesi: This gulf is worthy of seeing. It lies to the south and north of the city of Vardar and it is approximately ten miles in length. Its depth does not extend beyond ten to twelve double arm lengths [1.66 meters]. It is surrounded by reeds and rushes and well developed villages. Unlike most other lakes this one does not possess a variety of fish, but it is home to ducks, geese, and other game animals.

Lâkin bu buhayre yigirmi otuz yılda bir kerre suyundan bir katre kalmayup zirâ'at edüp çemenzârlarında at bağlarlar imiş, bir gün yine hikmet-i Hudâ her cânibinden taraf taraf âb-ı hayâtlar tulû' edüp zirâ'at olmuş mahsûlâtların gark edüp ol kadar bî-hadd [ii] bî-kıyâs semekeleriyle gelüp buhayre içi mâl-â-mâl mâhî olur, deyü ahâlî-i vilâyet nakl etdiler, ammâ hakîrin manzûru olduğu mahalde buhayresi leb-ber-leb idi.

This lake, once every twenty or thirty years, dries up completely, at which time crops are planted in it and horses graze in it. Then comes a day, according to what we were told, when by the grace of God, the water slowly begins to appear again in the areas which previously were planted. The water rises and covers the planted areas, to such an extent that it once again is overfilled with large numbers of fish. When I saw this lake it was completely filled with water.

Bu gölün dahi cümle mahsûlâtları Gâzî Evrenos'un olup başka iltizâmıdır. Ve bu gölün ayağı nehr-i Vardar ile nehr-i Söğüdü mabeyninde cereyân ederek Selânik'e karîb Akdeniz'e mahlût olur.

All of the income produced from this lake belongs to the foundation of Gâzi Evrenos as a separate branch of the public revenue. The

mouth of this lake lies between the Vardar river and the Sögütlü river and flows into the Mediterranean [sic. Aegean] Sea near Thessaloniki.

Evsâf-ı ziyâretgâh-ı Vardar Yenicesi: Yenice lafzında birkaç şehirler vardır. Evvelâ Zağra Yenicesi ve Kızılağaç Yenicesi (.....) (.....) Ammâ bu Vardar Yenicesi cümleden ma'mûr u müzeyyen ve ziyâretgâh-ı müstecâbü'd-da've nazargâh-ı kadîmdir. Evvelâ,

Visitation Sites in Vardar Yenice: There are a number of city's which bear the name Yenice. For example: Zağra Yenicesi and Kızılağaç Yenicesi [other spaces are left blank]. But this Vardar Yenicesi out does them all in terms of its embellishment by sites of visitation where prayers are answered.

Ziyâret-i ser-çeşme-i gâziyân ve ser-bâzân fetâ-yı şecî'ân u bahâdırân ve mücâhidân-ı fî-sebîlillâh sâhib-i nâmûs va'nî ziyâret-i Gâzî Evrenos: Bu şehir içre bir kurşum örtülü kârgîr bir kubbe-i ra'nâ içinde medfûndur. Ammâ bu kubbe-i müşebbekin [?] [sic. musaykal]¹⁷¹ içi iki kat meşhed-i gâziyândır. Aşağı zîr-i zemîn yanına üç ayak taş nerdübân [p.79] ile enilir kabr-i şerîfin bir tûlânî mermer sandûka içinde Gâzî Evrenos me'nûs olup yatır bir muzlim zîr-i zemîndir. Ammâ bu zîr-i zemîn üstündeki soffada yine ol kubbe içinde bir mermer sandûka dahi var. Başı ve ayağı ucundaki hîce [sic. there is no such word (hîce) in the text. The copier first wrote and then crossed it out] taşındaki târîh budur: Neftice târîhi [sic. netice-i târihi], li-sene işrîn [ve] semân-mî'e tahrîr olunmuşdur, ammâ kendi bizzât na's-ı şerîfleri aşağı zîr-i zemîndeki mermer sandûka içinde medfûndur.

At the head of all of these visitation spots is that of Gazi Evrenos, he of good name, he who led the young men and warriors for the faith on God's path: 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. One descends from the entry level via three stone steps to the first floor. There within a long marble sarcophagus Gazi Evrenos is buried. This

¹⁷¹ In a May 7, 2008 communication, Robert Dankoff (one of the editors of Evliya Çelebi, 2003), writes: "I now think that the word I read as müşebbekin [?] is musanna'in." This too is incorrect, it should be read as: musaykal = well lit.

is a dark place. However, on the upper level there is a second marble sarcophagus. The inscriptions at its head and at its foot give the date: h. 820 [1417]. Despite this fact, Evrenos Gazi is not buried here but is in fact buried inside the other marble sarcophagus on the lower level.

Hiçbir vilâyetde bu tarz üzre mebnî bir kabr-i münevver manzûrumuz olmamıştır. Ve kubbe-i âlî olmağile etrâfi revzenler ile müzeyyen olmuş kasr-ı irem-misâl bir kubbe-i pür-nûrdur. Her seyyâhân-ı berr [ü] bihârın [sic. tüccârun?] rûy-ı dîvârda birer gûne hüsn-i hatlar ile âsârları vardır. Rahmetullâhi aleyh. Yedi yüz altmış [f. 231b] aded şehir kalâ' u kasabâtlar feth etmiştir kim Gâzî Sultân (.....) (.....) Hân'ın ümerâlarındandır. Dâ'imâ karârgâhu firdevs-i evc-i illiyîn ola. Andan taşra hareminded,

I have never seen this style of burial in any other province. 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. Every merchant traveler has left different kinds of beautiful messages written on its walls. May God's forgiveness be granted to the deceased Gâzi Evrenos, who conquered seven hundred sixty cities, fortresses and towns. He who was among the commanders of the ruler. May his resting place always be Paradise. In the outer courtyard [of his tomb] is:

Ziyâret-i İki Yürekli Alî Beğ ve buna karîb Gâzî İsâ Beğ: Bu iki aded gâzî âdem ejdehâları Gâzî Evrenos'un evlâd-ı zevi'l-ihtirâmlarındandır kim Rûmeli diyârına bunlar dahi kılıç urup feth etmişlerdir. Bu bürâdereyn-i gâziyeyn pederlerinin taşra cenbinde medfûnlardır ammâ üzerlerinde kubâbları yoktur. Kiremit ile örtülü külbe-i ahzânlar içinde âsûde-hâllerdir. Andan şehir içinde bir mürtefi' yerde Ahmed Beğ mescidinde,

The pilgrimage site of İki Yürekli Ali Beğ and that nearby of Gazi İsa Beğ: These two Gazis, giants dressed as men, were the sons of Gâzi Evrenos, who were responsible for the conquest with their swords of many areas in Rumeli. They are buried outside the tomb of their father, but there are no domes covering them. Instead, they lie in peace in separate melancholy huts which are covered by tiles. In addition, within the city, on a high place, is the small prayer house of Ahmed Beğ.

Ziyâretgâh-ı azîm nâtik-ı hakâyık, nâsîh-ı halâyık, kadve-i ricâl, nokta-i kemâl, p[i]r-i erbâb-ı zevk, seyh-i ashâb-ı şevk, menba'-ı es-râr, merci'-i ebrâr, müftî-i esrâr-ı İlâhî, mücâhid-i envâr-ı nâmiite-nâhî, kutbu'l-aktâb Hazret-i eş-Şeyh İlâhî kaddesenâllâhu bi-sırrıhi'l-azîz: *Bu azîz-i merhûmun maskat-ı re'sleri Anadolu hâk-i amber-pâkinin Kütâhiyye kurbunda Simav nâm kasaba-i benâmda tevellüd edüip Belh u Buhârâ ve Semerkand kümmelînlerinden ci-hâz-ı fakrı (.....) kabûl edüip Rûm erenlerinden yine Simav'da sec-câde-nişîn iken iki kerre yüz bin mürîde mâlik olup hattâ İslâmbol'da medfûn Emîr Buhârî hazretleri de bunların fukarâları zümresinden olup tekni'l-i fünûn edüip Emîr Buhârî gibi niçe bin halîfeye mâlik olup niçe bin menâkıbları vardır.*

The great pilgrimage site of he who was the source of truth, the model of dignitaries, the point of perfection, the leader of the men of good taste, the Sheikh of the companions of ardor, the spring of mystery, the source of righteousness, the expounder of the mystery of the divine, the champion of light, the most eminent of the eminent, the Exalted Şeyh İlâhî. May he expound the secrets of God. This Saint was born in the town of Simav, near Kütahya, on the clean earth of Anatolia. He accepted dervishes from Belh, Bukhara and Samarkand, and while he was still the leader of those who had arrived at the divine truth in Anatolia, he had over two hundred thousand disciples, among whom was the Exalted Emir Buhari who is buried in Istanbul. How many other thousands of followers like the Emir Buhari and how many thousands of heroic exploits.

Sultân (.....) (.....) şeref-i sohbetleriyle müşerref olup âhır-ı kâr bunlara dahi sene 820 târîhinde irci'î ilâ Rabbike¹⁷² emrine fermân-ber olup bu şehir içre medrese-i tekye-i dâru'l-hadîs nazargâhında bir kârgîr kubbe kurşum ile mestûr bir kubbe-i pür-nûr içinde medfûn olup ziyâretgâh-ı hâss [u] âmm-ı erbâb-ı dilândır. (.....) (.....) (.....)

.....(2 empty lines).....

How many times did he enjoy the honor of sitting and listening to the Sultan [Şeyh Buhari?]. At the end, in the year h. 820 [February 18, 1417 – February 8, 1418], in accepting the order of 'return to your Rab' [he died]. In this city where he established a theological

¹⁷² *Kur'ân*, Fecr, 28; "Rabbine dön"

seminary, a dervish lodge and a school where the traditions of Islam were taught, he is buried in a domed mausoleum built of stone and covered with lead, which is a pilgrimage spot of dervishes.

Ve yanında sâhibü'l-hayrât Ahmed Beğ dahi medfündür.

And, Ahmed Beğ, the endower of good works, is buried next to him.

Ve dahi Murâd Baba ve dahi eş-Şeyh Fazlullâh Efendi ve dahi Kerem İssî [sic, kerem ıssı?] Sultân ve dahi Yazıcı Çelebi Efendi, ya'nî Muhammediyye kitâbı sâhibi Yazıcızâde Mehmed Efendi zâdesi Mehmed Çelebi'dir. Ol dahi bu âsitâne-i du'â hareminded medfündür. Rahmetullâhi aleyhim ecma'în.

And, in addition, Murad Baba, and also Şeyh Fazlullah Efendi, and also the possessor of beneficence Sultan, and further Yazıcı Çelebi Efendi, that is to say, the author of the 'Muhammediyye' Yazıcızade Mehmed Efendi's son, Mehmed Çelebi. All of these are buried in the courtyard of this house of prayer. May God bless their souls.

Niçe yüz ziyâretgâhlar dahi var, ammâ hakîrin yüz sürdüğü âsitâneler bunlardır kim himmetleri hâzır u nâzır ola.

There are hundreds more places of pilgrimage, but these are those which this poor one saw with his own eyes whose grace may last forever.

Bu şehrin nisâ tâ'ifeleri bu mezkûr sultân-ı merhûmların rûhâniyyetleri sebebiyle gâyetü'l-gâye sâliha-i mestûre Râbi'a-i Adeviyye gibi mü'eddebe ve taşra çârsû-yı bâzâra çıkmaz havâtin-i hurmeleri vardır. Ve cemî'i hakkında sulehâ-yı ümmetden ehl-i tarîk halîm ü selîm ve halûk âdemleri vardır. Hak cümlesinden râzı ola.

The women of this city, due to the spirit of this deceased saint, are chaste and covered. Each of them is like Râbi'a-i Adeviyye. They do not enter the marketplace. The inhabitants are all righteous, followers of the dervish path, with gentle and good characters. May God grant them all mercy.

Bu şehrin ahubbâsıyla vedâlaşup ertesi gün kalkup garb tarafına sahrâlar geçüp karye-i Eskici ve karye-i Kadı ve karye-i Hisârbeği

ve karye-i Yegoniçe ve karye-i Sindelli bu köy Vodina kasabası hâ-kindedir.

On the next day after taking leave of our friends we traveled west and passed through the villages of Eskici, Kadı, Hisârbeği and Yegoniçe and the village of Sindelli which is attached to the town of Vodina.

Ve bu mahalle karîb nehr-i (.....) haşeb cisrden geçüp bu nehrin menba'ı Oştrova kasabası gölünden ve Vodina dağlarından cem' olup nehr-i Vardar'a mahlût olup anınla Akdeniz'e munsab olur. Andan cümle 6 sâ'atde.

Near this place we passed over the [name left blank] river on a wooden bridge. The waters of this river come from the lake at the town of Oşrova, and gather in the mountains of Vodina before flowing into the Aegean Sea. We traveled for six hours.

اولم انذنت بحیه ابادان قمرالدین کویب - اساعده اوصله اورده سینه او و ایضاً قلعه و اردار در نیلجه
ایک عدد قلعه در بری نکور بیگار قلعه سید کم شهر لیر اوجوانده لهرش بر قلعه کجا عمار اولان شهر اولدند
برده در کم اکه و تیره سینه قلعه کدر لر انکیون دفته قانید، قلعه و اردار در نیلجه کجی عمار و بره سینه در لر با نیس
روم قمرالدین سینه فیلموس اولان لر نیت ایکو برادر ایکو قلعه بنا ایسدر بری نکور قمرالدین و بره سینه قمرالدین
نجه ملوک کد ملوک دکر کجا عمار کلا نار شنده غازی عداوت کجا ارام لر نیت غازی اوره و سوغ ایسدر شاکت
امرا ایسدر و قلعه سن جا عمار منهدم اندیکم بره نکور روم طبع ایسدر عماره انجه لر حال اوم ایلی ایسدر عماره
کجا عمار کدنه اوجیند ایسدر نیت قضا در و نایجه کس قمرالدین و حکومتی در و قضا و سوجله اوجینر
عدده خانه غیر اولونوب خانه عمار ارض اوردو و نیت کجا ایسدر و بره سینه کد ارض و کجی و سردار و
نیت و عمار و نایجه کد ارض و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر
دره لیر و سینه لیر و بار لر سیره جمعه ۱۷ له عدد عمارت عمارت لیر شهر در اولا
مسعودی عمارت لیر
و شکر الیه بشیور عدد کد ره متا در توبیایخ و یاغی لیر و متا اوز و قوت اوز و اسع و بر لر نیت سسر واقع اولوش
کاز کد نایخاندا لیر کد بره آری عمارت لیر و یاغی لیر مقرر در و نیت ۱۷ ایلی عمارت جامع میر و شکر کجا عمارت
خانه لیر در اعمار کد و مکمل و معمور و بر جماعت لیر نه مالک حارس لیر ایسدر کجا عمارت لیر و سسر و سینه لیر
مسد کاه قدیم قریه قیو اولونور و شکر اولان تا نیت لیر در کجا عمارت لیر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر
جده الاعلی قهر نیت عمارت لیر اجرها فی نایجه لیر الاخری جنت الماکر لیر اچا عمارت لیر اجرها لیر
اننت نایجه لیر اچا عمارت لیر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر
نایجه لیر کد نیت لیر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر و نیت کجا ایسدر
بوتیم اولان سسر عدد جوا معلولت ما عمارت لیر ۱۲ له عدد عمارت لیر اچا عمارت لیر اچا عمارت لیر
و شکر الیه سسر

Evliya Çelebi: Seyhatname: Topkapı Saray Bağdat # 308: Folio 230a

وچسبده بر عدد مدرسه سالاندر اولد ختم غاژ اورنوش بکله تور شوق اوتور قیابله ایله ترمین ایش بر دارالتدبیر
تعمیل علومیدر ادم هنر نقد اجهو حقیق تعلی الحیقا عا اولسه بودر شوخانده بر کره بسم اللهی بیسه ایستد بیز
تفسیر شریف استخراج اتیکه لیاقت حاصل ایدر بر کتب الهی حفر نزل نظر کا هیدر جمیع حمله لر و در سر عالم موجود
اوکو هر حاله حاسد معدن لحمه و سمه و عا اولد و جسمه بی عدد هلس دارالعلوم صبا لشد
حوار سر ایدر اولد بور کلر علی یک مکتب و رجب چابو مکتب و عینس یک مکتب
و حمله عدد کلمه صاحب طریق پیشوا درویشا عدلان خانقاها لر بیز جهاد اشع الهی یکم و
یکم و
خانقاها معنور در و جیب است عدد دارالصفا ماکل معد او و اهر جلد اولد رحلی
عاشق شیخ الهی مدرسه کیم عارف و عا اولد اوتور نوز به کیم عارف بن کرک باغ کدایه و خاص و عامه تعهد لر ایدر کم نسب
نور طبع کیم اوستد مغان وجه و دانه بیله بزل اطعام عام اولنور و جسمه لیدر سوز قره عدد جارسه بیله دکان
بزارستان در جمیع زینت ایشا لر بی منت و بی قیمت بولنور اما التعداد تور شوق اوتور نوز نیه بر جوهر لر و در عدد
در قیو کیم کار کیم تار مین و قوی بزارستان وار کم دکه نمره الله بر کارخانه زیبا بولنور و جسمه اوج عدد حمار و شفا
نور جلد الطراز اورنوش یک جامه انداب حواس و سوسو حواس اولد و ساطع محدود و جارسه ایچنده احمد بیله حای عا مفرح و نالشا
کرمایه با سعید و نظر کیم حمار شیخ الهی بر کیم حمله جامه اما امار حمار تعهد امر غنقله بیستادام تور کون حمله کیم
مبارک است اینه باور حقیق شفا بولور عزیزم حوم عشرته و حماره کربلوت اصلا لیه الهی انوش و کله انده اصلا انوشا ایشا
ینه بولده ایکن درون حامل شدت خارتند بر ادم رساعت حماره دوزمغه طاعت کیم ترش بیعه مرور ایل الله
یوحای تعهد و ترم انتفا اندکده متولکس کلشی مرامات ایدر کن دیوار کیم جانیس اوتور لوب مستهدم اولنده کور سه لر کم
حمار قرغان انده بی عدد طاشل در و ب اولد متلخار ایدر علوی علو انوشلر جمیع قرغانده کیم صوی قیاده اول کله ایشا کیم
شیر نقر بند حضرت صو علیه السلام تریه بر اوتور اطر افرنده اولات اولد طاشل در بر کور سده دهر بر در متدیل ایچنده شیر
روضن مملو اولد بر کورنه ملیت و ملیح و مصعب قتیله الله بر متدل بر لغان ایکن سیمه لمل نظرش جو قتیله الله تعالی ایشغه
یا حود بر عظیم اصلا ایچنه متدیل شعوب و بی عدد طاشل انوشلر شسکین او کیم حمار تور نوز خانه کیم اولد ایلدیضا
هذا انوش کیم ایل الله شخون بر کیم عا نظر کا هیدر لکن نه حسه کیمه ایشا شفا بولور حقیق و حقیق کیم نام بر غلامی عا
مشوش لال ایکن نور حقه نظر کا هیدر کیم و شیدر سب اولد و جسمه لیدر تمش عدد سراجا مملو بولور دیو ایشا کیم نظر
کیم ایدر لر و جیب 9 عدد خان سوزا کیم انوشلر بیز جهاد

و جسد بر عدد کار ایشا مهران و ارجس سیم و اولد ختم غاژ اولد شوق بکله خیر ایدر کم شسیر و شسیر نور انوشلر بوز
فهد التدریب هر اوجاق باضیه بر رقیق سوز طعام و ادم باضیه بر رنان و بر شیخ و عا ایلد بر سعدان و هرات باضیه بر روضه و علق
اسبان کیم جمیع انده و روده کا طعام بی صحت سوار ایدر بی دفع جیما اندک صاحب الخیرانه هر ادم بر رقیق نکل ایدر بر حقیق
سان ایدر حقا کیم عا علیه بر و جسمه لیدر عدد ایشا حیشه ساری وار بر جلد اچارسه ایچنده خانلر اوکنده لور کوز لر
حیشه عینر لال حات بر و عوار کم هر عینر بولور لور نون آدم باز و سیمو قالیغی خرو با ایشا شوب انوشلر حاشوب اشع
طه خان عبودت حمار ایشا شونه کیم عا کیم روناغ ایشا ایدر بوجیشه سار اوزره صاحب الخیر بر عا ایشا ایشا جمیع اهل
سفر بیلدیار کیمسته لرانده جمیع اولد کور و شوب لیشلر بر عیج العرقان قهر زیا بر دهر حمله حیشه سار اولد ایدر اولد
جهام عا ریلانستد کیم لکن بونوره کور صوی ایدر در و ایل الله بولور ححه دکر اولمشدر و جیب لیدر قهر بر دره سبیل
عظمتا سلسیل شهیدان شیت کربلا بر عیون ماب کور لر در و جسمه لیدر محمد خان نون انوشلر حقیق کار کیم کیم شسیر
کوکند هر قهر جان کیم کدنت و اربل و فلیق ایشا کیم اولد نون کیم کون صفتی شفقار کیم شکل و در دسه لر سبیل کیم نفس
ایدر و ولاست کیم شسیر لاشدر کیم عا کور در و بر سه نل امام اوله صو و در مشهور لوله دقا ایشلر و رخی بکیم نون
توزر

۲۲۱

توزر و قلاغ کوسه خانسروم و عرب و عجمه مشهور او کبر بر رقیه مقدار اکی باشور سوری و اریتراسیومی و قضاوی مره
 جمیع ایبت قازالاله یاغلیو جمیع و لایستغیانیته هدا یا کتور لر حقدیر میدن دغا اجددم اما بریکجه و خانک مسک عمیر خام بریکجه
 حقلانده درم تا بر تبه مسلک بو سولور در و در وصف بیتیه شهر آنکیر کلینا آلا نجه بلد خانان صبا حساباً کباری
 کوناکون جوفه لیا سار کوب فرهاد هانی و هزار و الوف باش و خنکاری و کوسه دستار حقد صا را شکر کباری و در وصل
 المال اولنلر اهل قیام و اهل صنایع جوفه قوتلوش و جوفه جاقشر و جوفه سمور و وزیر و دایق و قویا جاقشر و بلانده نیند
 قوشا ندرتیه قویر بله نجاق و در ساق طلیس و سیدرم ایوب قازال کوب قازالیدر قازالیدر اما اصطلاحاً لسان کتور و
 نجه اریقین و کوب صق و کلن صق و اولنر ایله کوب سب صق شونله اتمه صق بونله اتمه صق الحاصل صق لغظنی
 صق صق استعمال ایدر زانته لری دغ جمله جوفه قزاحه کوب بصور یا قلمر نه سیاضه بولید غزاق نور منسوب بوز اینه
 قف نقاب دوستق ایدر منسوب ما ذانته کتور لر

اما هوامی سهل تغیل اولدوندک
 اهل و لایت مایه قنوز ایام باهمره و اریجه جماله سیلانجه جمیع اریستایش سیلاغ کوبه بیکجه و اریزار بو شهر جا
 غیر مستند انیم راه فرسته بر غیره قماشاکا و بیلا تا بیدر بیکجه اهل ایستند ماعد ایجه احضار قزاق و قنوز ایستند اهل ایستند
 بو سیلاغ جمیع دیوانلرله عروج ایدر بشیر التوا کس طرورت ایدر تا قازال و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 دغانلر و صاحب کور و صاحب کور اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 شریفله ایل بو سیلا اوره کوب بلد اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 تکیه و حمام و مدرسه لرینلر فریقه و حداملرینه و ظریفه معینه کور و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 قینا و صور و نیکجه بو شهر بیکر ایله زریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 بودر حجت کوناکون ایله مرتز بر سیلا قدر اتد غریب کونده قماشاکا ایدر ایستند انیم شهر و انیم شهر بیکجه
 جائیده مایه بو لریجه اون ساحت متعانه حصده بر صحاب غنفله اوز ناسنده در قق شمیره و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 عبرت نما شهر و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 قاشقون سار و لغوی معهور کوب و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 حودنه لکی بو غیره بکرم له طوز بلده برکه قنوز بیکر قنوز قنوز قنوز قنوز قنوز قنوز قنوز قنوز قنوز
 حکمت خدا هر جائید طوز طوز ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند
 دلوس عمره احر مال مال مایه اولور دیوانه و لایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند
 اویست از اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 اما بو وار اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 قنوز ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند
 کار کیر یا قنوز ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند
 زردیا ایله ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند
 زمین اوستده کوسنده سینه اول قنوز ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند
 نتمه تاریخی نتمه عشر سبغ قماشاکا و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 مدفوندر حقیق و کابینه بو طرز زوزره منسوب قنوز منقولور و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی و اریتراسیومی
 قنوز ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند ایستند

Evliya Çelebi: Seyahatname: Topkapı Saray Bağdat # 308 Folio 231a

عدد شهر قلاوچ وقضبانل فریح انیشدر کم غار سلطان خانلما امرالرنشدر وایما قرار کا هو فردوس اراج علی بی اوله
 آندن طنشره حره منده زیارت انکونیر کجای علی ویکت و بوکه قریب غازی عیسی یک بوالمر عدد غار ادم ارد فالر
 غار اور بوسل اولاد دروغلا حراملر دمدن لم روم البر دیایینه بونلر دخی قلم اور و بقی انیشدر بونلر امین غازی بونلر اوله
 صره حسد مدعو بلر اما اور بریده قبایلتر بوقدر نوره مسالله اور بولر کلبه اجزانلرا احنطه آسوده حالدر آندن سه مهر
 احنده بر فر نفع یرده احنده تک مستجدنده زیارتکا عظیم ناطق حقایق ه ناصح خلائیق ه بقوده رحال نقطه کماله پیر ابراه
 زوقه شیخ اصحاب شوقه منبع انرا و مرجع ابراهه مقبلی امرالرعوب مجاهدانلر انما مشاهیر قطب الاقطا حضرت الشیخ
 الصی قدسنا الله بیره العزیز بوعزیز حرمه مسقطر اسلمرا ناطولر خالصه پرا کند کوا هیبه قریبه سوا و نام قصبه بنامه
 تولداییدیلج و بخار او سر قند که لیسار نند جهاز قهری قبول ایوب بوم ازل نلاند بینه مجاوره سجاده نشین
 ایکن ایکنه بونلر مریه مالک اولو حنی اسلام بولده مدقون امیر غازی حضرتلر بینه بونلر کفر الی زمره سندن اولو تکمیل نند
 ایوب امیر غازی کیم بینه بید حلیقه مالسا اولوب بینه بید منافق واردر لفظا شرف صحبتار لاله مشرف اولوب
 اخر کار بونلر ده و حق کلمه نارغینه ارجی اولوبلر امر بینه فرما ترا و کون بوشهر امیره مدرسه تکب دار الحدیث نظر کا اهنده بکار
 کیم قیله نور شولما ایله مستور بقیه بر نور احنده مدقون اولوب زیارتکا ه خاص عام ابراهه داننر

ویاننده صاحب النیر احمد بید دهر مدقوندر و دخی مراد مانا و دخی الشیخ فضل الله انندی و دخی کیم مراد سلطان و دخی
 یاز حیی چلبی افند بقعه عیدیه کما بر صاحب بلر خور کرده محمد انندی زاده ک محمد چلبی اول دخی مراد سانه دعا حرمه
 مدقوندر رحمة الله علیهم اجمعین لله نور بار طاهر و حور اما حقیر کینور سور و کوا سانه لر بونلر کم همتلر حافظ و اخلر
 اوله بوشهر نسا طایفه کیم بونلر کور سلطان حرمه لار روحا بیکر سبه بیله غایا القایه صالحه مستوره و رابعه عدویه کیم
 مادیه و طنشره چار سوی بارلره جفا از حوا تیر حرمه لری واردر و حیمیر حلقنده صلحا امتدن اهل طریق جلم و لیم و حلوت
 ادملر واردر حوجهلر نند ارضی اوله شهرت احباب ساه و دالشوب ار تسکون قالعوب عمر بطر قعنه صحر الرحمة
 قریه اسکین و قریه قاضی و قریه حصار کیم و قریه یغونچیه و قریه بسند الی و بوکوی و و دینا قصبه کیم خاکنده
 و بو عیاله قریب نهر خشب چدر نکوب بونلر دخی حیمیر اشتر و اقصیه ک کولاندن و و دینا د اخلر دخی جمع اولوب نهر
 واردراره خلوط اولوب انکاله اوق دکنره منصب اولور اند بجهله ۶ ساهند اوضه شهرت اما معینه قلعه و و دینا

Evliya Çelebi: *Seyahatname*: Topkapı Saray Bağdat # 308: Folio 231b¹⁷³

**APPENDIX II.: Monuments of the Evrenos family in Giannitsa
(Yenice Vardar) known only from early 20th century photographs**

**The aqueduct (*su yolu*) & water delivery system (*su tesisat*)
built by Hacı Evrenos**

The earliest reference we have to the construction of a water supply system for Yenice Vardar, is found in the 1498 *vâkfiyye* drawn up by Hacı [Şemseddin] Ahmed Beğ, the grandson of Hacı Evrenos, which refers to his having extended the aqueduct (*su yolu*) and water delivery system (*su tesisat*) initially endowed and constructed by his ancestor.¹⁷⁴ This document makes specific reference to the fact that Ahmed Beğ is providing funds for the extension, and maintenance/upkeep of the city's water delivery system.

In the course of some five short visits to Giannitsa in the past few years, Heath Lowry has queried residents about any remains of the aqueduct which have survived until the present time. He based his queries upon passages in the work of the 17th century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, who notes the following in regard to the city's water supply system:

a) There are twenty-two life giving fountains. In the marketplace, in front of the large commercial buildings of the merchants, there is a life giving fountain with four fountain heads and out of each of these flows water in the thickness of a man's arm. The water which overflows runs down into the tannery market. This is extremely beneficial and delicious water. On top of this fountain a generous endower erected a large pavilion, under which all strangers and travelers come together, meet and engage in conversation. The water in all these fountains is brought from the Summer Pasturage of the Gâzis. But, for a city of this size the water is insufficient. With the passage of time its aqueducts have fallen into disrepair [Emphasis is ours];

¹⁷⁴ Ayverdi, 2000: pp. 320 & 322. See also: *Başbakanlık Arşivi: EV. VKF 19/11* which is the 4.5 meter long scroll containing the 1498 *vâkfiyye* of Ahmed Beğ.

b) The water and climate are beautiful, and in many spots there are natural springs of life giving water. The water from many of these is transported by underground channels to the buildings of the city [Emphasis is ours].

The underlined sections in these two passages allow us to infer the following in regard to the water supply system of the city: 1) the water originated some 12-15 kilometers west of the city on the slopes of Mount Paiko[n], from the area known as the ‘Summer Pasturage of the Gazis;’ 2) it was transported via a series of aqueducts and ‘underground channels’ to the city; 3) it was distributed freely from a series of *sebils* (water distribution centers), and from a total of 22 fountains which were spaced throughout the city.

Elderly residents have tentatively identified a section of an early 20th century photo postcard [dated: 1918] as showing what then remained of the series of channels which fed water to the city during the *Tourkokratia* [Photo: 60]. When we enlarge the upper left section of the photo they point to [Photo 61], it may be that we are looking at some kind of water collection site (*taksim*), i.e., the point where the channels bringing water from the mountain to the city terminated?

Indeed, there appears to be some kind of large pipe emerging from the long building in the photo, and this is what elderly natives of the city describe as the old water system? Our thanks to Eleni Mavrokefalidou, both for the photo and for sharing the description provided to her by local residents in regard to what it depicts.

From the fact that there is a note dated July 18, 1918 on the face of this postcard, we have a *terminus ad quem* for the street scene for the picture it depicts.



Photo 60



Photo 61¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Mavrokefalidou (2005).

The *han/kervansaray* of Hacı Evrenos in Giannitsa (Yenice Vardar)

At each of the staging points established by Hacı Evrenos as he advanced westward into the Balkans in the years between ca. 1456 and 1417, he is known to have endowed and constructed a variety of types of buildings. Of those which survive, the *hans/kervansarays* (inns for merchants and travelers) which he constructed are of particular interest. To date, the only known such which is extant is that in the western Thracian region of Traianoupolis (just five miles southeast of the town of Ferecik [Gr. Feres]).

It was thus of particular interest when the early photographs published by Eleni Mavrokefalidou in her work on Giannitsa, included what may be the only existing picture of what appears to be the *Han* Evrenos is known to have built in Yenice Vardar.

We owe our knowledge of this facility primarily to the work of the 17th century traveler Evliya Çelebi who described it in the following passage:

And in addition there is an inn (*kârbânsarây*) with a large courtyard. That too is among the charitable works endowed by Gazi Evrenos. By day and by night it feeds, houses and provides rest to between five and six hundred men and their horses. In front of every chimney there is provided a copper tray of food, with a loaf of bread, olive oil and a candle for every man. For every horse a measure of grain is provided. All those who come and go are provided food, drink and a place to rest. After their needs are met they recite the opening chapter of the Quran in memory of its endower. In all truth this is a large act of philanthropy.



Photo 62¹⁷⁶

This *kervansaray* endowed by the city's 14th century founder may be the building a portion of which appears on the left of **Photo 62**. While the date of this photograph is unknown, from the uniforms of the troops it would appear to have taken prior to the First World War. This interpretation is strengthened by our knowledge of the city's history in the opening decades of the 20th century. It was destroyed twice by fire, first in 1912 during the Second Balkan War, and again on September 18, 1944, during the Second World War. The first conflagration occurred in the aftermath of the Greek Army's entry into the city and resulted primarily in the destruction of Yenice Vardar's Turkish quarters, i.e., the very area of the city depicted in **Photo 62**. Given this sequence of events it may well be that this photo (which includes soldiers taking a souvenir snapshot), may well have been taken following the Greek army's entry in 1912 and just prior to the fire?

¹⁷⁶ Mavrokefalidou (2005).

Pöstscript

The authors wish to take this opportunity to thank those members of the Evrenosoğlu who have so generously shared their knowledge, documents and family photographs which have made the present study possible. In particular, the many kindnesses of G. Ersin Evrenos and Özer Gazievrenosoğlu are an essential underpinning to whatever value the present work possesses.

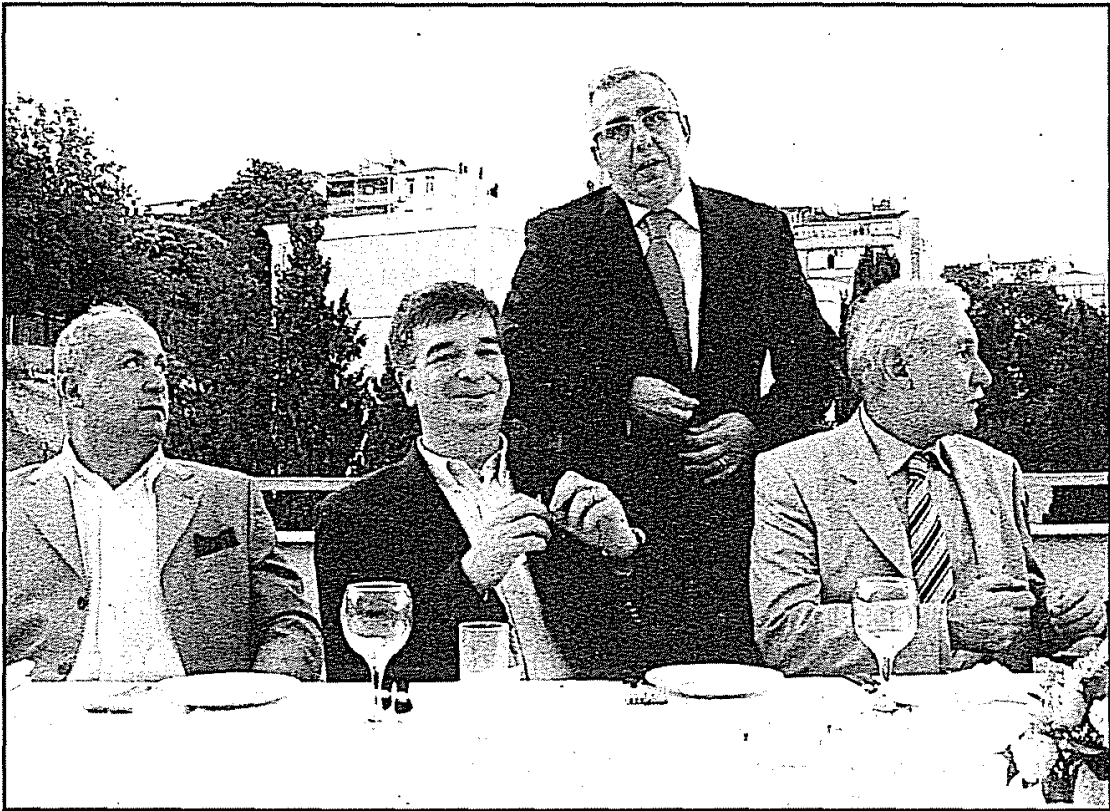


Photo 63¹⁷⁷

**Descendants of Hacı Evrenos' son İki Yürekli Ali Beğ gathered for the First Evrenosoğulları Family Dinner on June 22, 2008 in İstanbul, Turkey
[From left to right: G. Ersin Evrenos, Alp Evrenosoğlu,
Özer Gazievrenosoğlu (organizer of the event) & Metin Manışahoğlu.**

¹⁷⁷ Photo: H. Lowry (2008).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- [Altınay, Ahmet Refik]: *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi [Anadolu, Suriye, Hicaz (1671-1672)]*. Cilt: IX. İstanbul (Devlet Matbaası), 1935.
- Anonymous: "Ataları, Osmanlı'nın ilk akıncı Beğleri Evrenosoğlu Ailesi," [The Evrenosoğlu Family whose ancestors were the first Ottoman Akıncı Beğs] in *İzmir Life* (Ocak, 2007), pp. 102-107.
- Arslan, H. Çetin: *Türk Akıncı Beyleri ve Balkanların İmarına Katkıları (1300-1451)*. Ankara (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları), 2001.
- Ayverdi 2000:** Ayverdi, Ekrem Hakkı: *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimarî Eserleri* [Ottoman Architectural Monuments in Europe]. Vol. IV., Book V: *Yunanistan (Greece)*. First Edition: İstanbul, 1982 & Second Edition: İstanbul, 2000.
- Başar 1995:** Başar, Fahmettin: "Evrenosoğulları," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 11 (İstanbul, 1995), pp. 539-541.
- Beldiceanu-Steinherr, Irène: *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I.* (Münich, 1967).
- Bıçakçı, İsmail: *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimarî Eserleri* [Turkish Architectural Works in Greece]. İstanbul (İSAR), 2003.
- Bursalı Mehmed Tahir Efendi: *Osmanlı Mü'ellifleri*. Vol. I. İstanbul, h.1333.
- Çabuk, Vahit: "Sultan I. Murad'ın Gazi Evrenos Beğ'e Gonderdiği Yönetimle İlgili bir Emr-i Şerif ve Bunun Düşürdükleri," in *Türk Dünyası Tarih Dergisi*, Year: 6, Number 63 (March 1992), pp. 34-40
- Demetriades 1976:** Demetriades, V.: "The Tomb of Ghazi Evrenos Beğ at Yenitsa and its Inscription," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 39 (London, 1976), pp. 328-332.
- Demetriades, V.: "Problems of Land-Owning and Population in the Area of Gazi Evrenos Beğ's Wakf," in *Balkan Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (1981), pp. 43-57.
- Drakopoulos, Arg., "Trajanoupolos" in *Leukoma Thrace-Macedonia: 1932*.
- Evliya Çelebi 2003:** Evliya Çelebi bin Derviş Mehmed Zillî: *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. VIII. Kitap [Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini]*. Edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Robert Dankoff. İstanbul (Yapı Kredi Yayınları), 2003.

- Eyice, Semavi: "İlk Osmanlı Devrenin Dini-İçtimai Bir Müessesesi Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler. *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*. Vol. 23, Nos. 1 & 2 (İstanbul, 1962), pp. 3-80.
- Eyice, Semavi: "Gazi Evrenosoğlu Camii ve Türbesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Volume 13 (İstanbul, 1996), pp. 549-550.
- [Hamit Vehbi]: "Gazi Evrenos Beğ," in *Meşahir-i İslam*, No. 26. İstanbul, ND., pp. 801-976.
- İnbaşı, Mehmet: "Sultan I. Murad'ın Evrenos Beğ'e Mektubu," in *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, No. 17 (Erzurum, 2001), pp. 225-236.
- Kani, K.: "Evrenos Beğ," in *Kaynak*, No. 36 (Balıkesir, 1936), pp. 923-925.
- Kani, K.: "Evrenos Beğ," in *Kaynak*, No. 37 (Balıkesir, 1936), pp. 17-22.
- Kani, K.: "Evrenos Beğ," in *Kaynak*, No. 38 (Balıkesir, 1936), pp. 60-64.
- Kayapınar 2004:** Kayapınar, Levent: "Osmanlı Üç Beği Evrenos Beğ Ailesinin Menşei, Yunanistan Coğrafyasındaki Faaliyetleri ve Eserleri," in *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Vol. 2004-1, No. 8 (2004), pp. 133-142.
- Kiel 1971:** Kiel, Machiel: "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*. Vol. 3 (Leiden, 1971), pp. 300-329.
- Kiel 1990:** Kiel, Machiel: *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*. Hampshire, Great Britain (Variorum Reprints), 1990.
- Kiel 1983:** Kiel, Machiel: "The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans: The İmaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gümülcine (Kototini) and the Evrenos Bey Khan in the Village of İlica/Loutra in Greek Thrace (1370-1390)," in *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, Volume 12 (İstanbul, 1983) pp. 136-137.
- Lowry, Heath W.: "Random Musings on the Origins of Ottoman Charity: From Mekece to Bursa, İznik and Beyond," in H. W. Lowry: *Defterology Revisited: Studies on 15th & 16th Century Ottoman Society*. İstanbul (The Isis Press), 2008., pp. 51-62.
- Lowry 2003:** Lowry, Heath W.: *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany, NY (SUNY Press), 2003.
- Lowry 2008:** Lowry, Heath W.: *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550. The Conquest, Settlement & Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece*. İstanbul (Bahçeşehir University Press), 2008.

- Mavrokefalidou 2007:** Mavrokefalidou, Helen: *Giannitsa: Historical Photographic Album*. Giannitsa, Greece. First Edition, 2005 & Second Revised Edition, 2007.
- Mehmed Neşrî: *Kitâb-ı Cihan-Nümâ* (Ed. by F.R. Unat & Mehmed Köymen). 2 Volumes. Ankara, 1949.
- Mélikoff 1965:** Mélikoff, Irene "Ewrenos," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 2 (1965), pp. 720-721.
- Müneccimbaşı [Ahmed bin Lütfullah]: *Camiü'd-Düvel* (Edited, translated & annotated by Ahmed Ağırakça). İstanbul (İnsan Yayınları), 1995.
- Müneccimbaşı [Ahmed Dede]: *Sahâif-ül-Ahbar fi Vekayi-ül-a'sâr* (Translated and edited by İsmail Erünsal). İstanbul (Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser: #37), ND.
- Osman Ferid: "Evrenos Beğ Hanedanına Aid Temlikname-i Hümayun," in *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, Vol. VI., No. 31 (İstanbul, 1915), pp. 410-418.
- Öztuna 1996:** Öztuna, Yılmaz: *Devletler ve Hânedanlar: Cilt 2: Türkiye (1074-1990)*. Ankara (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları), 1969 & the Expanded 1996 edition.
- Samothrakes, A.: "Traianopolis," *Thrakika*, Vol. 18 (1943), p.177.
- Struck, Adolf: "Die Makedonische Niederlande," in *Zur Kunde des Balkan-Halbinsels*. Volume 7. Sarajevo, 1908. See: pp. 67-68.
- Tüfekçioğlu, Abdülhamit: *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarîsinde Yazı* [Writing in the Architecture of the Early Ottoman Period]. Ankara (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001).
- Uğur 1997:** Uğur, Ahmet, et. al. (Eds.): Gelibolulu Mustafa 'Âlî Efendi: (Kayseri Raşid Efendi Kütüphanesi'ndeki 901 ve 920 No. lu Nüshalara Göre) *Kitâbü't-Târîh-i Kühü'l-Ahbâr* (I. Cilt – I. Kısım). Kayseri (Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları No. 106), 1997.
- Uzunçarşılı 1964:** Uzunçarşılı, İ. H.: "Evrenos," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 4 (1964), pp. 413-418.
- Zengin 2004:** Zengin, Zeki Salih: "İlk Dönen Vakfiyelerinden Serez'de Evrenuz Gazi'ye Ait Zâviye Vakfiyesi," in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, Vol. 28 (Ankara, 2004), pp. 101-120.