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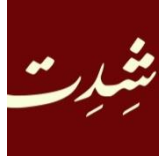
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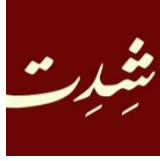
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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

On behalf of the editorial board and the administration of the faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University, we are proud to present the sixth issue of *SHEDET* (the Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University). With this journal, we are opening a new era of scientific publication of Heritage and Archaeology in Egypt, designed to reach people all over the world, and to be judged according to international standards of excellence.

Presenting the sixth volume of *SHEDET* gives us – in the same context of our five previous volumes– happiness and challenge; happiness in being able to provide our readers with a volume of selected and refereed intellectual contributions, and challenge in trying to sustain this journal and provide publications of international quality. Of course help is needed from scholars and researchers all over the world in the field of heritage and archaeology, to be able to continue and sustain producing this publication. The continuation of this journal is vitally important, as it is one of the very few scientifically peer-reviewed journals dedicated to Archaeology in Egypt

The main scope of the *SHEDET* Journal is various aspects of ancient Egyptian, Islamic and Coptic archaeology, conservation, museology, and heritage (concerning language, literature, history, art, and related subjects), before the modern period. It aims to publish research that contributes to the enlargement of knowledge or the advancement of scholarly interpretation.

Finally, we would like to thank all contributors to the successful publication of this new journal for their support and collegial collaboration, and express our hopes for more successful issues to come. We must also thank all the editorial team, language editor, and advisory board for all their efforts.

**Prof. Dr. Atef Mansour & Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Sobhi**

Fayoum, 2019

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ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGY & EGYPTOLOGY

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# ISLAMIC ARCHAEOLOGY

*SHEDET* Issue nu. 6 (2019)



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# THE OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE IN GREECE THEN AND NOW: QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

Ahmed AMEEN

Fayoum University, Egypt  
[ahmed.ameen@fayoum.edu.eg](mailto:ahmed.ameen@fayoum.edu.eg)

## ABSTRACT

Usually, of most studies on the Ottoman architecture in the Balkans are done by comparing between the numbers of buildings then and now. This paper discusses such method with regard to its comparative advantage and maximising its use in understanding Ottoman architecture. With Greece as a case study, the present paper identifies change in the quantity of Ottoman buildings considering the archetypal, functional, chronological, and geographical evidence, in the changing context of the nature of the Ottoman rule over centuries.

The scholar provides new statistics presenting the numbers of Ottoman buildings in Greece over centuries, with special reference to three periods: the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (time of Evliyâ Çelebi), the late period of the Ottoman rule in Greece (based on İyverdi's statistics, the Ottoman *slanames*, and *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm* of Şemseddin), and the existing architectural heritage in light of the recent publications and fieldworks' results.

Through statistical methods, this research identifies quantitative change of several types of buildings, proper to each region or in Greece as a whole. It observes the growth or decay of the pace of construction on the basis of three main factors: type of building, period, and region. The most significant results come from the comparison between the numbers of the Ottoman buildings in Greece dating to Evliyâ's time at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the last decades of the Ottoman rule.

The statistic table and the two charts with function and region indexes clarify to what extent the change in the number of buildings according to their function and region summarises the different phases of the Ottoman rule and the nature of each phase. The paper shows that the change in the numbers of buildings according to their function summarizes the alteration in nature of the Ottoman policy over the centuries, and the numbers of extant buildings strongly relate to the history and site of the corresponding regions. The paper clarifies that the reasons beyond the demolition of ottoman buildings in Greece include both human and natural factors, and concludes with a recommendation of preserving and reuse of extant ottoman structures.

## KEYWORDS

Ottoman architecture, Balkan, Greece, statistic, Mosques, Medrese, Imaret, Zawiya.

## المخلص

تبدأ معظم الدراسات والبحوث المتعلقة بالعمارة العثمانية في البلقان بإشارة تقارن بين أعداد العمارات التي كانت قائمة وبين المتبق منها في الوقت الراهن؛ في إشارة واضحة لتدمير النسبة الأكبر من العمارات العثمانية في البلقان دون الوقوف على أعداد تلك المباني بشكل صحيح ومجملها لا في الماضي ولا حتى القائم منها حتى الآن؛ فضلا عن قراءة وتحليل تلك الأعداد في ضوء رصد التغير والاختلاف فيما بينها. وهذا هو ما تهدف إليه هذه الورقة البحثية عبر عمل إحصاء دقيق لأعداد العمارات العثمانية في اليونان كدراسة حالة، وفق وظائفها وأماكن وجودها من خلال المصادر المتاحة في هذا الصدد، ثم مقارنتها بأعداد العمارات القائمة حتى الآن، في ضوء دراسة مسحية ميدانية قام بها الباحث على مدار عشر سنوات، وفق نفس المدخلات. ويمثل الإحصاء بشكل رئيسي ثلاث فترات تاريخية: (1) النصف الثاني من القرن 17/11م اعتمادا على مؤلف الرحالة العثماني الشهير أوليا جلبي، (2) نهاية الحكم العثماني في اليونان والذي امتد في بعض المناطق حتى الربع الأول من القرن 14/20م، وتمثل كتب السلناتامات وموسوعة قاموس الأعلام لشمس الدين، ومؤلف الباحث التركي الشهير أيفردي المصادر المباشرة لتلك الفترة، (3) الوضع الراهن (حتى 2018) بناء على الدراسة الميدانية للباحث والمؤلفات الحديثة ذات الصلة.

وفي هذا السياق تم عمل جدول إحصائي لحصر العمارات العثمانية في اليونان وفق الفترات المشار إليها عاليه. ويساعد هذا الجدول في رصد التغير في أعداد كل نوع من أنواع العمارات العثمانية الأثرية بحسب الوظيفة، أو بحسب المنطقة الجغرافية، أو الفترة التاريخية. وتمثل مقارنة أعداد العمارات بحسب وظيفتها وموقعها الجغرافي فيما بين فترتي أوليا جلبي ونهاية الحكم العثماني، وتحليل هذه الأعداد في ضوء الاختلاف فيما بينها زيادة ونقصاناً أحد النتائج المباشرة لهذه الدراسة.

وتنتهي قراءة الجدول الإحصائي وكذلك الرسمين البيانيين المتضمنين بالدراسة لرصد الأعداد بحسب الوظيفة والمنطقة الجغرافية في ضوء الفترات المختلفة بإعادة قراءة للمراحل المختلفة للحكم العثماني في اليونان، وطبيعة كل مرحلة. وتخلص الورقة إلى أن التغير في الأعداد لايعكس فقط حجم التدمير الكبير، والممنهج في عدد كبير من المناطق، للتراث المعماري العثماني، وإنما كذلك لتغير طبيعة سياسة الحكم العثماني، فضلا عن أن عدد العمارات الباقية يرتبط ارتباطاً وثيقاً بتاريخ المناطق القائمة فيها.

## الكلمات الدالة

العمارة العثمانية – البلقان – اليونان – إحصائية – حصر – المساجد – المدرسة – عمارت – زاوية



## INTRODUCTION

Thousands of buildings were constructed under the Ottomans patronage in Greece over a period ranging almost from three to five centuries. These architectural edifices gave an Ottoman flavour “Ottomanisation” to the skyline of Greek cities and islands. After the independence of Greek territories, in a desire to eradicating the ottoman impact on cities, besides other factors including wars and earthquakes, a large number of Ottoman architectural heritage was demolished in Greece.

Despite of this, Ottoman buildings in Greece still represent, as a whole, one of the largest well-preserved and varied collection of Ottoman architecture in the Balkans.

Dealing with numbers in studying Ottoman architecture in Greece and all the Balkans is not only a significant issue, but also a tricky approach. In this context, most studies offer general results regarding the numbers of Ottoman historic buildings between then and now. All conclude that the existing Ottoman buildings form no more than 5% of the original ones. This demolition tends to only be attributed to political reasons or as a result of the local hostility against ‘Turkish’ objects after the departure of the Ottomans from the Greek territories. They may have been other reasons behind the decreased numbers of Ottoman buildings in Greece, such as wars, earthquakes, new demographic situations ...

Understanding the numbers of Ottoman buildings in Greece then and now (2018) clarifies several aspects regarding the Ottoman construction growth rate in light of building types, time and regional factors. Furthermore, it facilitates identifying the change in numbers of the Ottoman buildings over centuries and its indications.

## METHODOLOGY

This paper provides a new quantitative statistic of Ottoman buildings in Greece. In order to consider a large period of time, three time-frames of Ottoman buildings have been selected, due to the availability of sources:

- 1) The second half of the 17th century (time of Evliyâ Çelebi).
- 2) The late period of the Ottoman rule in Greece (based on Iyverdi’s statistics, the Ottoman *slanames*, and *Kamûs-ül Âlâm* of Şemseddin).
- 3) The present state (2018).

These three periods are specifically selected considering the availability of sources that include data, regarding the numbers of ottoman buildings, covering almost all Greece, and classified in quantitative method the types of buildings in each region. Also, the first two time-frames formed the two main historical frames of the ottoman rule in Greece; the utmost point of the ottoman domination of the Greek territories (late 17<sup>th</sup> c), and the end of the ottoman rule of Greece. While the third time-frame identifying the state of ottoman buildings in Greece after the ottoman rule until now (2018) in quantitative method.

The evolution of these numbers is analysed according to the types of buildings and the regions.

## SOURCES USED IN THE STATISTICAL MODEL

Six main categories of sources are used to run the present statistical model:

### 1) Before Evliyâ Çelebi

Most territories of present-day Greece were dominated by the Ottomans almost two

centuries before the journey of Evliyâ, and in some regions up to three centuries prior to that, such as the case of Thrace (1361-1660s). Research on the Ottoman buildings in Greece belonging to this period is a difficult task as it requires to access the early Ottoman archives, among which the most important are TD. (Tahrir Defteri), EV.D. (Evkâf Defterleri), Ev.K.K. (Evkâf Kuyyud-ı Kadîme), VGMA. (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi), C. EV. (Cevdet Evkâf), as well as different kinds of registers (Sicil, Defter and Evrâk).

Direct examination of these archives was not available to the researcher. A considerable section of their content has been published in several works<sup>1</sup>, forming the sources of the present paper. Thanks to these, a better understanding of many aspects of early Ottoman rule in the Balkans was made possible. It is worth mentioning that the most recent work *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı vakıfları, vakfiyeler Yunanistan* (Ottoman Waqfs in the Balkans: Waqf Deeds in Greece)<sup>2</sup>, by Halit Eren et al. (eds.), IRCICA 2017, is the most useful encyclopaedic work concerning the *Vakf* works in Greece.

Studying these waqfiyehs is useful to recognize the cultural, religious, commercial, educational, and social contexts of their production period. Moreover, waqfiyehs enable the correction of wrongly identified ottoman buildings in Greece, such as the so-called “A[r]slan Pasha Medrese” in Ioannina (Yanya).<sup>3</sup> Its waqfiyeh (1025H/1616) clearly determined the building as a zawiya/Khanqah<sup>4</sup> and not a medrese, describing it as “a nice zawiya with impressive rooms.” The same correction is possible for the Veli Pasha Complex in Rethymno (Resmo)<sup>5</sup> considered to be a “Tekes – Mosque – Medrese – Imâret.” However, its waqfiyeh did not have any reference to a medrese, but identified it as a tekke following the Qadiriyya order.<sup>6</sup> For the statistic of ottoman buildings in Greece, there is no doubt that the true identification of the building based on the archives, gives –in terms of building type– an accurate inventory.

Beside the archives, there were also the manuscripts of the Ottoman geographers and cartographers which provided a wealth of information regarding regions in the Balkans, including Greece, in the early centuries of Ottoman rule. The most important

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the studies of Barkan, Gökbilgin, Ayverdi, Eyice, Kiel, Lowry, Balta and others, and the content of the Ottoman archives concerning Ottoman Greece and some other regions in the Balkans, is made available. The works used here the most are: Barkan, “İmaret sitelerinin Kuruluş ve isleyişi.” Pp. 239–378; Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*; Eyice, “Yunanistan’da Türk mimari eserleri.”; Ayverdi, *Avrupa’da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri, IV.*; Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, including some important related republished articles; “The Quatrefoil Plan in Ottoman Architecture Reconsidered in Light of the “Fethiye Mosque” of Athens,” pp. 109–122; Lowry, *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*; *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*; *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350–1550*; Balta, *Les vakıfs des Serrès et de sa région (XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> s.)*; *Ottoman Studies and Archives in Greece*.

<sup>2</sup> Eren et al., *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı vakıfları, vakfiyeler Yunanistan*, 5 vols.

<sup>3</sup> Σμύρης, “Τα Μουσουλμανικά τεμένη των Ιωαννίνων και η πολεοδομία της οθωμανικής πόλης,” p. 56; Papadopoulou, “Aslan Pasha Medrese,” p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> VGMA, Defter nr. 623, s. 199, 193, sıra 193; Eren et al., *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı vakıfları*, vol. 4: 123-126, vol. 5: 593-594. This Waqfiyeh specifies the jobs and wages of employees and the financial allocations for resident darwishes in the zawiya, the expenses, types and quantities of food, and the zawiya beneficiaries as students, darwishes, poor and travelers. The Waqfiyeh also referred to the twelve rooms of the zawiya which were inhabited by twelve Sufi darwishes, and identified their duties and allocations as well.

<sup>5</sup> Giapitsoglou, “Veli Pasha Complex. Tekes – Mosque – Medrese – Imâret,” p. 442.

<sup>6</sup> VGMA, Defter nr. 734, s. 26-29, sıra 10; Eren et al., *Balkanlar'da Osmanlı vakıfları*, vol. 3: 204-208, vol. 5: 385.

manuscript is *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (Book of Navigation) by Pîrî Reis<sup>7</sup> (d.1553), and *Menâzirü'l-avâlim* (Perspectives of the Worlds) of Âşık Mehmed<sup>8</sup> (d. 1598?). The latter provides a detailed description of the city of Thessaloniki (Selânîk) in the 1590s.

The work published by Özergin<sup>9</sup> represents a different set of manuscripts that provided detailed statistics concerning the ottoman buildings in the Balkans. This old inventory gives a thorough count of the ottoman medrese's in Istanbul, Edirne and the Balkan; with reference to their place, names of the founders, and their classification according to the mudrris salary. This classification divided the medrese's into nine categories: 10, 15, 18, 20, 25, 30, 40, 50, and 60. This interesting work is dated to c. 1660 a few years before the Evliyâ's work. It documents 144 medrese's in the Rumeli in addition to 122 medrese's in Istanbul and 22 in Edirne. It accounts for 44 medrese's in the present-day Greece as follows: Chalkida (Eğriboz) 1, Didymôteichon (Dimetoka) 7, Drama (Dirama) 1, Elassona (Alasonya) 1, Fanari, Andritsaina (Fener) 1, Farsala (Çatalca) 1, Florina (Filorina, Florine) 1, Giannitsa (Yenice-I Vardar) 3, Karytaina (Karitene) 1, Kavala (Kavala) 1, Komotini (Gümülcine) 1, Lamia (İzdirin) 2, Larissa (Yenişehir) 4, Methone (Moton, Modon) 1, Nafpaktos (İnebahti) 1, Narda (Arta) 2, Nea Zichni (Zihne) 2, Petras (Balyabadra) 1, Rhodes (Rados, Rodos) 2, Samothraki (Semendire, Semadirek) 1, Serres (Siroz) 2, Sidirokastro (Timurhisar, Demirhisar) 1, Thessaloniki (Selânîk) 2, Trikala (Tirhala) 2, Veria (Karaferye) 1, and Ypati or Neopatras (Badracuk) 1.

It is important to note that the abovementioned record did not refer to any medrese in Athens (Atina), Feres (Firecik), Ioannina (Yanya), most parts of the Peloponnese (Mora) and of course Crete (Girid) which has not yet been conquered in 1660. Comparing the medrese's cited in this record with the numbers of the medrese's mentioned by Evliyâ Çelebi, almost a decade later, one concludes that both inventories are acceptable and very likely to be accurate.

## 2) Evliyâ Çelebi

The 10-volumes *Seyahatnâmesi* by Evliyâ is simply the most useful reference describing the Balkans and other regions during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century under the Ottomans. Three volumes of which comprise the description of almost all present-day Greek territories and islands. The biggest part of the mainland and Crete are included in the 8<sup>th</sup> volume, while the islands of Chios (Sakiz), Samothraki (Semadirek), Kos (İstanköy), and Rhodes (Rodos) are in the 9<sup>th</sup> volume. Volume 5 contains the description of the regions of Florina (Florine), Kastoria (Kesriye), and Servia (Serfiçe).<sup>10</sup>

Complete statistic inventories of Ottoman and non-Ottoman buildings in overall Greece during the last decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> century could only be done thanks to Evliyâ's work. Any study dedicated to the history and/ or architecture of Greek

<sup>7</sup> As far as this paper is concerned, *Kitab-ı Bahriye* is very useful regarding the Aegean islands. For more about this book, manuscripts, and its content see: Sarıcaoğlu, "KİTÂB-ı BAHİRİYYE ...," pp. 72-75.

<sup>8</sup> This valuable work was a reference and inspiration for latter travelers such as Kâtib Çelebi and Evliyâ Çelebi. See: Ak, *Aşık Mehmed Menazirü'l-Avalim*, Regarding his description of Thessaloniki, see: pp. 983-992.

<sup>9</sup> Özergin, "Eski bir rûznâmeye göre İstanbul ve Rumeli Medreseleri," pp. 271-272.

<sup>10</sup> Evliyâ #1; Evliyâ #2; Evliyâ #3; Evliyâ #4; Evliyâ #5; Evliyâ #6. The statistical data of Evliyâ in the included table are cited from the last three references (Evliyâ #4, Evliyâ #5, and Evliyâ #6). There are many Greek translations for the parts concerning the Greek regions included in Evliyâ's book, among which the most useful are: Evliyâ #7; Evliyâ #8; Evliyâ #9.

regions under the Ottomans has to start with Evliyâ's data, due to the exceptional value of his work. Moreover, his method of describing the regions, cities and buildings was more or less the same way that used, two centuries later, in the Ottoman *Salnames*.

### 3) *Salnames*

The *Salnames* or *nevsal* (Yearbooks) were published during the last epoch of the Ottoman Empire (1847-1918)<sup>11</sup> and drew a detailed picture of the regions ruled by the Ottomans until then.. Greek cities and islands were no exception. There is a comprehensive description thanks to the following *Salnames*: Edirne Vilayet Salnâmesi (1287-1319 H/ 1870-1901 A.D.), Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi (1287-1321 H/ 1870-1903 A.D.), Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Girid (1292-1310 H/ 1875-1892 A.D.), Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Manastır (1292-1314 H/ 1875-1896 A.D.), Selânîk Vilayeti Salnâmesi (1287-1325 H/ 1870-1907 A.D.), and Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi (1288-1319 H/ 1871-1901 A.D.). These *Salnames* give very rich information regarding the geographical, geological, political, social and economic details of each city (*Kaza*) or region (*nomos* or *sancak*) in Greece, with exception of regions that had been liberated from the Ottoman rule at the time such as the Peloponnese and Central Greece.

The numbers of Ottoman and non-Ottoman buildings were presented in the *Salnames* in two different approaches: 1- the numbers come within the description of the city or the region as the case in Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1294: 163-165 and Selânîk Vilayeti Salnâmesi 1325: 217, 248, 301, 340, 388, 396, 410, 424.

2- The numbers are cited within the statistics of the buildings types in the *Vilayet* in the table in which buildings are divided in two: welfare buildings and governmental official ones, as it is the case in Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1312:316-317. Moreover both categories of buildings include each building type per its number, such as Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Manastır 1292:102-103, Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1292: 122-123 and Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1293: 144-147. In these statistics each *sancak* is mentioned separately with all its cities (*kazas*), ending with a sum row of the whole *sancak*; then ended with another sum row for the whole *Vilayet*. In some cases, the buildings are classified into religious and service buildings, educational buildings, and military buildings as the seen in Crete according to Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Girid 1310: 183-185.

One notices that some later *Salnames* are written in both Ottoman Turkish and Greek such as the 1303 Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâme (1885-1886).<sup>12</sup>

As mentioned earlier, it is thanks to the *Salnames* that it is possible to make a statistic of the numbers of the Ottoman buildings in Greece during the late Ottoman period. In this context *Salnames* are used especially in places that were not addressed by Ayverdi such as the Greek islands. Greek cities and islands that are covered by each

<sup>11</sup> For more about the history of the *salnames* and their types, see: Duman, *Osmanlı yıllıkları (Salnameler ve Nevsaller)*.

<sup>12</sup> Bilingual texts in both Turkish and Greek either in the inscriptions of the buildings and the *salnames* monitor the shifting in the Greek history during the last decades of the Ottoman rule. In some regions, as in Crete after the Pact of Halepa 1878, Greek language was used beside Turkish language in courts, newspapers, inscription... See: Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*, 470; Türkmen, "Girit Adasini Osmanli İdaresinden Ayırma Çabalari ... ," pp. 243 – 244; "Bilingual and trilingual inscriptions of the Ottoman buildings in Greece: a search for the history of late ottoman period," *Abgadiyat, scientific refereed annual journal*, Calligraphy Center – Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2019 [in press].

*Salname* are shown in the table of the numbers of Ottoman monuments in Greece (Table 1).

#### 4) *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm* of Sami Frashëri Şemseddin

There is a parallel to the Ottoman *Salnames*, the 6-volumes encyclopaedic work *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm* (Dictionary of the World)<sup>13</sup> (1306-1316 H/ 1889–1898 A.D.) of the famous Albanian Writer Sami Frashëri Şemseddin (1850–1904). Published in Ottoman Turkish, it confirms or updates the data included in the Ottoman *Salnames* regarding the cities and regions of the Balkans under the Ottomans. Thanks to *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm*, it is possible to detect the development, from many aspects, of these cities and regions. Unfortunately, *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm* does not contain more information on the Ottoman buildings in the Greek cities and regions that were liberated from the Ottoman dominance till its date. Table 1 shows the numbers of Ottoman buildings in Greek cities and islands that are stated in *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm*.

#### 5) *Avrupa'da Osmanli Mimari Eserleri* of Ekrem Hakki Iyverdi

*Avrupa'da Osmanli Mimari Eserleri* (Ottoman Architectural Works in Europe), a 4-volumes study of Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi<sup>14</sup> is the most distinguished work that deals with the numbers and statistics of the Ottoman buildings in the Balkans. The 1982 4<sup>th</sup> volume covers the Ottoman architecture in Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. The part discussing the Ottoman buildings in Greece, “*V. KİTAP. Yunanistan'da Osmanli Mimari Eserleri*” comes in 207 pages: 142 pages of text and 60 pages with 282 figures (including maps, drawings, old photos, author’s photos and plans), ending with two tables of the Ottoman buildings found in Greece at the end of the Ottoman dominance.

Iyverdi’s book relied mainly on Evliyâ’s data. Furthermore, he used the Ottoman archives whenever possible with special reference to the Ev.K.K. (Evkâf Kuyyud-ı Kadîme). He also discussed past and contemporary studies on the topic, and recognized the significance of travelers’ drawings and old photographs as an important source to identify ruined and destroyed buildings. Moreover, the fieldwork he implemented, as well as the team he worked with, produced accurate plans and perfect photos included in his book, comprise one of the most characteristic patterns of this study.

As mentioned above, Evliyâ’s description of the Ottoman buildings with their names, numbers, and inscriptions formed the core of Iyverdi’s study. Thus in several cases, the numbers in both references are the same.

Despite the incomparable value of Iyverdi’s work, the data and numbers need to be crosschecked as, in several cases, the cited amounts exceed the actual number of buildings. This is primarily due to the diversity of the names of the same building according to the diverse sources that Iyverdi relied on. As for Athens (Atina), Iyverdi mentioned fourteen mosques within the text,<sup>15</sup> but cited fifteen mosques in the final statistical table.<sup>16</sup> Though there were actually only eight Friday mosques (câmi or *jâmi* ‘ in Arabic), there were eight minarets: two in the Acropolis Castle and six in the Lower City of Athens. Evliyâ also cited that there were seven small mosques (*mescid*

<sup>13</sup> Şemseddin, *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm*, 6 vols.

<sup>14</sup> Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanli Mimari Eserleri*, IV.

<sup>15</sup> Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanli*, 198-201.

<sup>16</sup> Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanli*, 398.

or *masjid* in Arabic) in Athens without any reference to their names. However, Iyverdi stated that there was a total of fifteen Friday mosques in Athens.

Furthermore, in some cases there are differences between the numbers stated in the text and those stated in the statistical tables at the end of the Greece section. For instance, the total numbers of mosques (both *câmi* and *mescid*) of Chalkida (Ağriboz), Didymóteichon (Dimetoka), Feres (Firecik), Kavala, and Mistras (Mizistire) are not the same in text and statistical tables. These differences caused incorrect amounts in the statistical tables. Moreover the sum included in the statistical tables itself has some mistakes, for instance in the sums of *mektep* and *han* buildings.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, the book under discussion forwent the Greek islands Rhodes, Kos, Chios, Lesvos (Midilli), and Lemnos (Limni).

The statistic table of the Ottoman buildings in Greece presented here follows, with some adaptations, the form and sequence of the Iyverdi's model. Moreover, our table here sets in parallel the numbers recorded by Evliyâ, the Ottoman *Salnames*, *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm*, and current records.

## 6) Recent Works

Many publications and digital studies on the Ottoman buildings in Greece were issued in the past century. While a considerable number of these studies were dedicated to the Ottoman buildings in specific regions<sup>18</sup> and/ or particular periods,<sup>19</sup> among which few covered Greek territories horizontally, exploring the buildings type throughout Greece, or in a specific regions. As far as this study is concerned, the useful works on the statistics of Ottoman buildings in Greece, even of a specific city or region, are insufficient. On the one hand, the first attempts— such as the articles of Eyice<sup>20</sup>— were clearly abbreviated and restricted to major cities or main landmarks. On the other hand, the more recent researches dating to the last two decades came more extended and in depth. The most effective, in chronological order, were the studies of Bıçakçı<sup>21</sup>, Kanetaki<sup>22</sup>, Brouskari<sup>23</sup>—along with its reviewing work of Lowry<sup>24</sup>, Koutroulas<sup>25</sup>, Konuk<sup>26</sup>, and Ameen<sup>27</sup>, in addition to some relevant catalogue publications.<sup>28</sup>

The publications of this last category did not only question the architectural history of the Ottoman buildings, but also explored their urban and civilisational significance<sup>29</sup> as well as their preservation, with special reference to the study of Stefanidou.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı*, 398-400.

<sup>18</sup> Balducci, *Architettura Turca in Rodi*; Σμύρης, “Τα Μουσουλμανικά τεμένη των Ιωαννίνων ...”; Μελκίδη, *Τα Μουσουλμανικά μνημεία της Ξάνθης*; Μαργιέ and Ματσokάνη, *Η οθωμανική αρχιτεκτονική της Βέροιας*; Δημητριάδης, *Τοπογραφία της Θεσσαλονίκης κατά την εποχή της Τουρκοκρατίας*; Καρύδη and Kiel, *Μυτιλήνης αστυγγραφία και Λέσβου χωρογραφία*.

<sup>19</sup> Kiel, “The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman–Turkish Architecture in the Balkans: ... ,” pp. 117–144; Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*.

<sup>20</sup> Eyice, “Yunanistan'da Türk mimari eserleri.” 1, pp. 157-82 & 2, pp. 205-30.

<sup>21</sup> Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk mimari eserleri*.

<sup>22</sup> Κανετάκη, *Οθωμανικά λουτρά στον Ελλαδικό χώρο*.

<sup>23</sup> *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*.

<sup>24</sup> Lowry, *Ottoman Architecture in Greece: A Review Article*.

<sup>25</sup> Κουτρούλας, *Μουσουλμανικά τεμένη και τεκκέδες στη Θράκη*.

<sup>26</sup> Konuk, *Ottoman Architecture in Lesvos, Rhodes, Chios and Kos Islands; Ottoman Architecture in Greece I*.

<sup>27</sup> Ameen, *Islamic Architecture in Greece: Mosques*.

<sup>28</sup> Çam, *Yunanistan'Daki Türk Eserleri*.

<sup>29</sup> Σμύρης, “Τα Μουσουλμανικά τεμένη των Ιωαννίνων...”; Καρύδη and Kiel, *Μυτιλήνης αστυγγραφία και Λέσβου χωρογραφία*; Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans 1350–1550*.

<sup>30</sup> Στεφανίδου, *Η συντήρηση και η αποκατάσταση των οθωμανικών μνημείων στην Ελλάδα*.

The project “Digital Crete” is an excellent enterprise of digital documentation of the Ottoman monuments in Crete is, and is considered the best reference for the Ottoman buildings in Crete then and now.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned sources, the fieldwork conducted by the author during the years 2006-2016 was essential to record the current state of preservation of the existing Ottoman architectural heritage in Greece.

### STATISTIC TABLE OF THE OTTOMAN BUILDINGS IN GREECE THEN & NOW

Based on the aforementioned sources, this paper presents a statistic inventory-table of the Ottoman buildings in Greece then and now (Table 1). It follows the Iyverdi’s model: the buildings’ categories are in the vertical columns and the regions sequence in the horizontal rows. They are in this study thirty eight rows included the regions and islands which Iyverdi forwent. Moreover each region’s row is compared with the numbers of the same region as recorded in other sources: Âşık Mehmed, Evliyâ Çelebi, Ottoman *Salnames*, and *Kamûs-ül Âlâm*. Each reference is characterised with a different colour. The grouped rows of the same region end with a row citing the number of the current Ottoman buildings in the region.

There is also a modification in the numbers and order of the columns; starting from the left with a serial column, followed by a new column containing the names of the regions; showing the different names for each region in Ottoman, Modern Turkish, Greek and English with historical clues to the Ottoman period.<sup>32</sup> Thereafter, a new column comprises the different sources citing the amount of Ottoman buildings for each region. The next column is the Iyverdi’s data with the names of the regions, but modified in language and alphabet according to the corresponding source cited in the previous column. The title of this column is adapted to “Place/ Details” instead of ‘Kaza ve Kariyeler’ (city and villages) in Iyverdi’s method. Furthermore, the first column of the buildings labeled ‘câmi ve mescid’ is followed with two new columns: one for Friday mosques ‘câmi’ and the second for ‘mescid’; the number of each category is cited separately, as much as possible, with regard to Iyverdi’s text itself and other sources. The column entitled *darülkurrâ* in Iyverdi’s table is merged here with the *medrese* column, in which the stated numbers of *darülkurrâ* are very limited. Likewise, the label of the *han* column is modified to contain the *bedestans* as well. Moreover, the column entitled ‘Kule-Ocak’ in the Iyverdi’s table is missing here, since no corresponding numbers were cited. There is also a new column at the end labelled *Kutubkhane* (library), an important classical type of Ottoman building with existing examples.

Thus this table monitors the numbers of Ottoman buildings in Greece with functional, geographical and chronological evidence. Moreover it enables the detection of changes in the numbers of each region according to the same keys, and to compare them from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, against the current known numbers.

<sup>31</sup> <http://digitalcrete.ims.forth.gr/index.php?l=1> [Access Date: April 1, 2016]

<sup>32</sup> Based on the relevant references used in the table for each region, in addition to: Sezen, *Osmanli Yer Adlari (Alfabetik Sirayla)*.

(Table 1) A STATISTIC TABLE OF THE OTTOMAN BUILDINGS IN GREECE THEN AND NOW (5 pages, A. Ameen 2018)

Place	Reference / Date	Place/Details	Mosque (CÁMI+MESCID)	CÁMI (Friday Mosque)	MESCID	Medrese "Traditional"	Mektep	Tekiye & Zawiyeh	İmaret	Han (Khan)/Bedestan	Hammam	Türbe	Clock	Bridge	Castle	Kârbansaray	Çeşme	Aqueduct	Sebil	Other Diff. Works	Kutubkhane	Sum/Row	
1	(Evliyâ 2011a: 236-8)	أغريبوز	22	7	15	>2	>5	>4		2B	3						19					57	
	Iyverdi: 195-7	Ağrıboz	20	15	5	6	7	7		1	3				2			1				47	
		Villages	3			1	1	2	1	2		1								2			10
	NOW	Chalkida	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	4	1	0	0			8
2	(Evliyâ 2011a: 186-7)	الأصونيه	10	4	6	1	1	1	1	1	1			1							88	105	
	Shemseddin 1306 (1889). I: 280	الأصونيه قصبه	7	4	3	1	1	1															10
		الأصونيه قضاء	15	---	---	2	12	1	2					16									33
	Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1294: 163-4	الأصونيه	7	4	3	1			1								50					59	
	Iyverdi: 197-8	Alasonya	7	7	0	1			1		1	1											11
		Villages	7	6	1	1	1	1			1												11
NOW	Elassona	1	1	0																1		2	
3	(Evliyâ 2011a: 254-5)	آتنه	11	4	7	1	3	2		2	3											22	
	Iyverdi: 198-201	Atina	14	14	?	2	3	7		2	4				1							33	
	NOW	Athens	3	3	0	1					1						1					6	
4	(Evliyâ 2011a: 214)	قصبه جمعه	7	2	5	1	2	3		2	1										20	36	
	Iyverdi: 201-2	Cumapazarı	5	5	0	1	2			2	1											11	
	Iyverdi: 202-3	Villages	52	49	3						1			1								54	
	NOW	Nea Charavgi																				0	
5	Shemseddin 1308 (1891). III: 2123-4	دده آغاچ قصبه	2	1	1	1	3				2											8	
		دده آغاچ سنجق	105	103	2	2	111	18		22	6						249					513	
	Edirne Vilayet Salnâmesi 1319: 1070	دده آغاچ	2	2	---	1	4										12					19	
	Iyverdi: 203-4	Dedeğaç	5	4	1		1																6
		Villages	6	5	1	1					1												8
NOW	Alexandroupoli	1	1																			1	
6	(Evliyâ 2011a: 137)	تیمور حصار	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---											0	
	Shemseddin 1891. III: 1724-5	تیمور حصار قضاء	35	25	10	1	23			35	2			4								100	
	Selanik Vilayeti Salnâmesi 1325: 388	تیمور حصار قصبه	6	6	---	4	3			31	1											45	
	Iyverdi: 204-6	Demirhisar	24	22	2	2		6			1												33
		Villages	27	27	0			2	1		1												31
NOW	Sidirokastro	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---												0	



Place	Reference / Date	Place/Details	Mosque (CÁMI+MESCİD)	CÁMI (Friday Mosque)	MESCİD	Medrese "Traditional"	Mektep	Tekiye & Zawiye	İmarat	Han (Khan)/Bedestan	Hammam	Türbe	Clock	Bridge	Castle	Kârbansaray	Çeşme	Aqueduct	Sebil	Other Diff. Works	Kutubkhane	Sum/Row		
7	DİMETOKA (ديمتوقه، ديديموتيكوس), Dimotika, Didymoteichon (Διδυμότειχο): It was the Capital of the Ottoman State for few months before the conquest of Edirne, 17th c. Kaza (Edirne / Rumeli eyâleti), 1846 Sancak (Edirne eyâleti), 1865 Kaza (Edirne/Edirne vilâyeti), 1913 Kaza (Bulgaria), 1919 Kaza (Greece, Yunanistan)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 71)	ديمتوقه	12	1	11	4	5	5	2	2	3				2							35	
		Shemseddin 1891. III: 2215-6	ديمتوقه قصبه	10	7	3	1	2	3							1							17	
		Edirne Vilayet Salnâmesi 1319: 997	ديمتوقه قضاء	23	11	12	2	18	>3							1							47	
		Iyverdi: 206-216	ديمتوقه	10	7	3	2	36	3			6												57
			Dimetoka	27	16	11	6	16	2	3	1	3	1				2							61
		Villages	104	97	7	2	2	9	4				1											122
NOW	Didymoteicho	2	2	0				10			2	1			1		1			1		18		
8	Dırama (درامه، دیرامه), DRAMA: 17th c. Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 1867 Sancak (Selânik vilâyeti), 1913 Sancak (Selânik/ Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 119)	درامه	16	7	9	3	4	3		10+2 B	2											40	
		Shemseddin. III: 2126-7	درامه		3	---	2	>3															9	
		Selanik Vilayeti Salnâmesi 1325: 410	درامه	16	8	8	3	4	3		30	2						46			many		104	
		Iyverdi: 216-221	Drama	27	21	6	7	14	6	1		1							1		1		58	
			Villages	138	131	7	3	3	4			2	2											152
NOW	Drama	3	2	1													1			many		4		
9	İzdirin (ازدين، زیتون، لاميا), Zeytun, Zeytuni, Ezdin, Lamia: Eyâlet Mrk. (Fityotide maa Fokide eyâleti), Eyâlet Mrk. (Greece, Yunanistan)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 216-7)	ازدين	7	4	3	3	6	?	1	2	2			5								26	
		Iyverdi: 221	İzdirin	3	3	0						2			1								6	
		NOW	Lamia	0	0	0						1				1		3					5	
10	FİRECİK (فره جک), Farecik, Ferecik, Firecik, Feres (Φέρετζ): 1865 Nahiye (Merkez / Alexandroupoli / Edirne vilâyeti), 1919 Nahiye (Merkez / Alexandroupoli / Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 74)	فره جک	7	3	4	2	5	2		5	1											22	
		Shemseddin 1314 (1896). V: 3402	فره جک	3	2	1																	7	
		Iyverdi: 221-4	Firecik	10	6	4	3			10		1	1	1										26
			Villages	31	30	1																		31
NOW	Firecik									1	1									1		3		
11	FLORİNE (فلورينه، فلورييه), Filoriyye, Filorina, Florina, Florina (Φλωρίνα): 1520 Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 1874 Kaza (Manastır / Manastır vilâyeti), 1913 Kaza (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2010: 799)	فلورينه	17			3	7	1		2	2											16	
		Shemseddin V: 3434	فلورينه	7	7	---	3	5			19	1											35	
		Iyverdi: 224	Florine	20			3	8	1	1	2	2											17	
		NOW	Florina	1	1							1										some	2	
12	GİRİD (كريد، كريت، اقريط، اقريطش), Girit, Kirid, Crete (Κρήτη): 17.yy. Eyâlet (Girit eyâleti), 1822-1840 Eyâlet (Egyptian Management), 1867 Vilâyet (Girit Vilâyeti), 1890 Vilâyet (Autonomous Administration), 1913 Vilâyet (Greece); It consisted of four main sancaks (HANYA, KANDIYE, RESMO and LAŞİD) and sometimes there was a fifth sancak İSFAKYA, as follows: 1) HANYA (حانيه، خانیه) Canea, Chania (Χανιά): 1850 Eyâlet Mrk. (Girit eyâleti), 1867 Vilâyet Mrk. (Girit vilâyeti), 1913 Vilâyet Mrk. (Greece); 2) KANDIYE (قنديه، ريثن، ريثن)، Heraklion, Iraklion, Candia, (Ηράκλειο): 1846 Eyâlet Mrk. (Girit eyâleti), 1850 Sancak (Girit eyâleti), 1913 Sancak (Greece); 3) RESMO (رسمو، ريثن، ريثن)، Retimo, Rethimnon, Rethymno (Ρέθυμνο): 18. yy. Sancak (Girit eyâleti), 1867 Sancak (Girit eyâleti), 1913 Sancak (Greece); 4) LAŞİD (لاشيد)، Yenişehir, Lassithi, Lasithi (Λασιθί): 18. yy. Sancak (Girit eyâleti), 1850 Kaza (Kandiye / Girit eyâleti), 1897 Sancak (Girit eyâleti), 1913 Sancak (Greece); 5) İSFAKYA (اسفاقيه)، Sfakia, Esfakya, İsfakiye, İsfakye, Sfakion, Sultaniye (Σφακιά): @1857 Sancak (Girit eyâleti), 1870 Kaza (Hanya /Girit vilâyeti), 1913 Kaza (Greece).	(Evliyâ 2011a: 371-9) Hanya (حانيه), Suda (صوده), Apokoron (ايوكورون), and Acsu (اجي صو); (Evliyâ 2011a: 378-383) Retime Kalesi & varosu (رتمه رتمه المدينة & القلعة); (Evliyâ 2011a: 383-388, 481-499) tamamlanması (جبل قرية طمان)، İnadiye (عناديه)، Kandiye (قنديه)، and many other castles including İstiye (استيه)، Yalıpetre (يالي پتره) and İspirlonka (اسپر لوقه)	Hanya & Regions	16	8	8		1			8+1B	8			1								37	
		Retime & Regions	17	7	10	2	3	3	3		3	2						10						43
		Kandiye & Regions	142	26	116	12	14	19			24	16						73			many			300
		Total Crete	175	41	134	14	18	22	3		27	26	0	0	1	0	0	83						369
		Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Girit 1310 (1893): 183-185	Chania	30	24	6	1	60	14						2			9			2			118
			Kandiye	101	67	34	2	91	16						3			26			4			243
			Resmo	40	26	14	5	44	7						1			21			0			118
			Lashid	47	35	12	1	33	0						0			10			0			91
			Total Crete	218	152	66	9	228	37						6			66			6			570
		Shemseddin V: 3856	كريد	175	175	---	---	---	---	---	19	---												194
		NOW	Iyverdi: 224-235	Girid	75	59	16	9	35	11	5	27	28	1			2		1			1	89	
Chania	9			8	1	1	1	2	1		1	4	4			1		12			50		86	
Kandiye	10			9	1			3			3	3				2		15		1	16		53	
Resmo	8			8				1	2	1		8	3			3		8			15	1	50	
Lashid	2			2												1		3			2		8	
Total Crete	29	27	2	1	2	7	2		1	15	10	0	0	7	0	38	0	1	83	1	197			

Place	Reference / Date	Place/Details	Mosque (CÁMI+MESCID)	CÁMI (Friday Mosque)	MESCID	Medrese "Traditional"	Mektep	Tekiye & Zawiye	İmarat	Han (Khan)/Bedestan	Hammam	Türbe	Clock	Bridge	Castle	Kârbansaray	Çeşme	Aqueduct	Sebil	Other Diff. Works	Kutubkhane	Sum/Row		
13	GÜMÜLCİNE (كوملجنه), Komotini (Κομοτηνή): 15. yy. Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 1865 Sancak (Edirne vilâyeti), 1919 Sancak (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 84-85)	كوملجنه قصبه	16	5	11	5	7	1	2	17	2					many					50		
		Shemseddin V: 3925	كوملجنه قصبه	25	10	15	4	10	2				4			1		125			many	1	172	
		Salname 1309 (1892): 227-8	كوملجنه قصبه	25	10	15	9	9	3	1		1	20		12			156			many		236	
		Salname 1309 (1892): 227-8	كوملجنه قضاء	152	87	65	9	115	8	1		1	20		1			226			many		533	
		Iyverdi: 235-243	Gümülcine & Regions	166	126	40	8	10	10	2	17	2	1	1										217
		NOW	Komotini/city	19	19		1		1	1	1	1	1	1				2			2	1		31
14	İSKEÇE (اسكچه، اڪسانتي), Kanthi (Ξάνθος): 1865 Kaza (Gümülcine / Edirne vilâyeti), 1919 Kaza (Gümülcine / Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 111)	اسكچه	4	1	3	1		2		2	1											10	
		Salname 1309 (1892): 234; 1317 (1899): 448; 1319 (1901): 1059-1060;	اسكچه قصبه	7	5	2	1	4	3					1								15	31	
			اسكچه قضاء	108	49	59	2	130				63	5					213						521
		Iyverdi: 243-248	İskeçe & Regions	171	149	22	2	1	1				1	1	2									179
		NOW	Xanthi	7	7	---			2					1	2									12
15	Horpište (حوربشته), Horpušte, Argos Orestikon (Αργος Ορεστικός): 1874 Subdistrict ([Nahia]/Kesriye [Kastoria]Kaza/ Görice [Korçe] Sancak / Manastır vilâyeti), 1913 Nahiyе (Kesriye / Greece)	Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Manastır 1292: 102-3	حوربشته ناحیه	5	5	---	1	1			3	1										11		
		Iyverdi: 248	Horpište	13	11	2															1		14	
16	KARAFERYE (قره فریه), Karaferya, Veria (Βέροια): 1867 Kaza (Selânik Sancak / Selânik vilâyeti)	DT 935 (1528)/ (M.K. &E.G. TDV İA 24: 391-394)	قره فریه	8	1	7	2		3		1B	3											17	
		(Evliyâ 2011a: 179)	قره فریه	25	16	9	3	10	5	3	15+1B	5			1								68	
		Shemseddin V: 3640	قره فریه	19			2	6	4												8		20	
		Selânik Vilâyeti Salnâmesi 1325: 248	قره فریه	19			3		4												8		15	
		Iyverdi: 248-251	Karaferye	31	19	12	5+3	11	5	6	15					1								77
			Villages	2	2	0																		2
NOW	Veria	6	6	0						1				1						3		11		
17	KATRİN (قطرین), Katerin, Katrin, Katerini (Κατερίνη): Kaza (Selânik Sancak /Selânik eyâleti / Greece)	Iyverdi: 251	Katrin	1	1	0		3	1														5	
		NOW	Katrini					1															1	
18	KAVALA (قواله), Kavalla (Καβάλα): 15. yy. Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 16. yy. Sancak (C. Bahrişefid eyâleti), 17. yy. Kaza (Gelibolu / C. Bahrişefid eyâleti), 19. yy. Kaza (Drama / Selânik vilâyeti), 1913 Kaza (Bulgaria), 1919 Kaza (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 179)	قواله / قلعة	5	3	2																	5	
			قواله قصبه	6	6	0	1	1	1	1	3+1B	1									1		16	
		Shemseddin V: 3704	قواله قصبه	6	6		5	9	3	1													1	25
		Selânik Vilâyeti Salnâmesi 1325: 424	قواله	10	8	2	6	8		1	16										many	1	42	
		Iyverdi: 251-255	Kavala	22	18	4	7	2	1	2	1	1								1		1		38
			Villages	32	28	4	1	1	4		4	4												46
NOW	Kavala	4	4	0	2	1		1						1		1	1					11		
19	KESRİYE (كسريه), Gölîkesri, Kastoria (Καστοριά): 1846 Sancak (Üsküp eyâleti), Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 1868 Sancak (Selânik vilâyeti), 1870 Kaza (Görice / Manastır vilâyeti), 1913 Kaza (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2010: 801-805)	كسريه	3	3	0		10				2									many		15	
		Salnâme-i Vilâyet-i Manastır 1292: 102-3	كسريه	6	6		1	5	7		4	1									many		24	
		Shemseddin V: 3860	كسريه	7	7	---	2	3			3	2		1									18	
		Iyverdi: 255-7	Kesriye	14	14	0	1	1	3		1	1	1									1		23
			Villages	26	26	0		1	1		1	2												31
NOW	Kastoria	2	2	0	1									1					2			6		

Place	Reference / Date	Place/Details	Mosque (CÁMI+MESCID)	CÁMI (Friday Mosque)	MESCID	Medrese "Traditional"	Mektep	Tekiye & Zawiye	İmarat	Han (Khan)/Bedestan	Hammam	Türbe	Clock	Bridge	Castle	Kârbansaray	Çeşme	Aqueduct	Sebil	Other Diff. Works	Kutubkhane	Sum/Row		
20	LİVADİYE (ليوادييه), Livadya, Levadya, Livadeia (Λιβυδαϊά): 1829 Eyâlet Sancak (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 228)	ليوادييه	7	5	2	2	3	3													15		
		Iyverdi: 257-8	LİVADİYE	8	6	2	2	3	4														17	
		NOW	Livadeia	1	1	0									1								2	
21	MORA (موره), Peloponez, Peloponnes (Πελοπόννησος), [1460-1686: Turkish domination I; 1686-1715: Venetian domination; 1715-1821: Turkish domination II, 1821-1827; Rebellion, then the Greek Kingdom]: 1460 Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 17.yy. Eyâlet (Mora eyâleti), 1827 Eyâlet (Greece)	Evliyâ # 5: 270-366	Mora Sancak & some related regions: ANABOLU (Ναύπλιο); Andire (Ανδρός); ARGOS (Αργος); ARKADYA (Καρπαρσία); ANDOROSE (Ανδρούσα); BALLIBADRA (Πάτρα); Benefşe (Μονεμβασία); Egine (Αίγινα); GUSTON (Γαστούνη); GÖRDES (Κόρινθος); İNEBAHTI (Ναύπακτος); KEFALONYA (Κεφαλονιά & İthaki); KORON (Κορώνη); Mizistre (Μυστρέτς); MODON (Μεθώνη); NAVARİN (Πύλος); Trapoliçse (Τρίπολη); Vostiçse (Αίγιο)	128	63	65	26	39	33	2	24	24	0	0	3	6	3	2	0	0	6	0	296	
		Iyverdi: 258-269		129	80	35	19	35	26	1	15	23	2	0	1	7	3	2	0	0	1	0	250	
		Peloponnes		12	12	0	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	7	0	7	1	0	2	0	36	
22	SELÂNİK (سلانيك), Selanik, Thessalonica, Thessalonike, Salonica, Salonika, Thessaloniki (Θεσσαλονίκη): 1430 Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 1846 Eyâlet (Selânik eyâleti), 1867 Vilâyet (Selânik vilâyeti), 1913 Vilâyet (Greece)	Âşık Mehmed 1590s v.3: 983-992	سلانيك	28	11	17					?+1B	7 or 8											36	
		(Evliyâ 2011a: 149-167)	سلانيك	182	32	150	many	many	>3	16	16	11				1	>3	64		>3	many		299	
		Shemseddin 1311, IV: 2591	سلانيك	56	56	?	7	many	23		15												1	102
		Selanik Vilayeti Salnâmesi 1322: 346-350	سلانيك	67	35	32	9	many	16							2						many		94
		Selanik Saln. 1324: 222	سلانيك		35	?	9	9	19	3												many		75
		Iyverdi: 269-291	Selânik	126	78	48	17	16	40	8	4	8	6				3	1	1			11		241
			Selânik/Villages	132	129	3	4	3	8		3	5					1	2				1		159
NOW	Thessaloniki	4	5	0					1	1B	5	1			2		4			many		19		
23	SİROZ (سيروز), Serez, Siruz, Sirez, Serres (Σέρρες): 1867 Sancak (Selânik vilâyeti), 1913 Sancak (Selânik / Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 126-9)	سيروز	91	12	79	>2	27	>3	>1	17+1B	5			3			710		70	many		930	
		Shemseddin 1311, IV: 2755	سيروز	>29	29	?	11	12	15	3	23										many	1	94	
		Selanik Vilayeti Salnâmesi 1325: 340	سيروز	>36	36	?	11	14	15		44										many	1	121	
		Iyverdi: 291-302	Siroz	101	79	22	8	41	41	6	2	6	2		2		1		2	1	4			217
			Siroz/Villages	105	102	3	2	4	1		2	2			1		1							118
NOW	Serres	3	3	0					1B	1						1						6		
24	SERFİÇE (سرفيچه), Serfice, Serfiçe, Servia (Σέρβια): 1881 Müstakil Sancak (Serfiçe sancağı), 1889 Sancak (Manastır vilâyeti), 1913 Sancak (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2010: 812)	سرفيچه	12	6	6	0	2	1	0	1	1											17	
		Shemseddin 1311, IV: 2552	سرفيچه	>4	4	?	1	1	1	---	9	2										some		18
		Salnâme-i Vilayet-i Manastır 1292: 102-3	سرفيچه	6	6	0	1	2	1	---	10	2												22
		Iyverdi: 302-3	Serfiçe	8	8	0		6	3	1	1	1												20
			Villages	2	2	0		1																3
NOW	Servia													1						1		2		
25	SOFULU (صوفولو): Kaza (Dedeğaç/Edirne vilâyeti), 1919 Kaza (Dedeğaç/Greece)	Iyverdi: 303	Sofulu	1	1	0					1			2									4	
		Villages	4	4	0																		4	
26	TIRHALA (ترحاله), Yenişehir, Tırhale, Turhala, Trikkala, Trikala (Τρίκαλα): 17.yy Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 1846 Sancak (Selânik eyâleti), 1854 Eyâlet (Tırhala eyâleti), 1856 Sancak (Selânik eyâleti), 1863 Eyâlet (Tırhala eyâleti), 1867 Sancak (Yanya vilâyeti), 1881 Sancak (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 200-203)	ترحاله	16	8	8	6	9	8	3	5	13			5			1001			many		1066	
		Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1294: 123-4	ترحاله	15				149	18	---	25	1			9			25					227	
		Iyverdi: 303-6	Tırhala	33	23	10	5	10	10	3	1	4	1		7									74
			Villages	3	2	1																		3
NOW	Trikala	1	1	0							1	1		1						2		6		

Place	Reference / Date	Place/Details	Mosque (CÁMI+MESCID)	CÁMI (Friday Mosque)	MESCID	Medrese "Traditional"	Mektep	Tekiye & Zawiye	İmarat	Han (Khan)/Bedestan	Hammam	Türbe	Clock	Bridge	Castle	Kârbansaray	Çeşme	Aqueduct	Sebil	Other Diff. Works	Kutubkhane	Sum/Row			
27	VODINA (وودينه، فودينه، أدسه), Vodina, Adesse, Edessa (Εδεσσα): Kaza (Selânik Sancak / Selânik / Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 174-5)	وودينا	20	9	11	1	4	2	1	10	1											39		
		Shemseddin 1316 (1898), VI: 4699	وودينه	>12	12	---	2	4	7		14										many		39		
		Selanik Vilayeti Salnâmesi 1325: 217	وودينا	14	9	5	1	2	7			1											25		
		İyverdi: 306-9	Vodine	20	19	1	1	6	5	1		10										1		44	
			Villages	52	49	3	2	2	1			1												58	
NOW	Edessa	1	1	0																		1			
28	YANYA (يانيه), Iannina, Ioannina (Ιωάννινα):1430 Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 1846 Eyâlet (Yanya eyâleti), 1867 Vilâyet (Yanya vilâyeti), 1913 Vilâyet (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 627-9)	يانيه	41	22	19	6+3+2	11	7		3	2						2					77		
		Shemseddin 1316 (1898), VI: 4789	يانيه	>30	30	---	many	many	3		many	many				1							1	35	
		Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1294: 123-4	يانيه / قصبه	>19	19	---	7	14	7		62	5				1		2						117	
		İyverdi: 309-313	Yanya	39	36	3	6	16	15	2		3	1		1		1								84
			Villages	11	9	2	7	9	3			2	1				1								34
NOW	Iaonnina	4	4	0	1			1	1	1	2	1	1		2					3	1	18			
29	NARDA (نارده), Narde, Narta, Arta (Αρτα):14. yy. Sancak (Rumeli eyâleti), 1849 Sancak (Yanya eyâleti), 1867 Kaza (Preveze /Yanya eyâleti), 1881 Kaza (Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 619-620)	نارده	15	6	9	3	5	3		1	?			1								29		
		Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1294: 123-4	نارده/قضاء	>8	8	---	2	41	1		15	2			25			110					204		
		İyverdi: 313-6	Narda	16	13	3	10	13	6	4		8	3		1	1	1							63	
		NOW	Arta	1	1	0										1								2	
30	YENİCE-İ KARASU (يكيجه قره صو), Yenice-i Karacasu, Genisea (Γενισέα): 1865 Kaza (İskeçe / Gümülcine / Edirne vilâyeti), 1919 Kaza (İskeçe / Gümülcine / Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 109-110)	قره صو يكيجه سي	5	2	3	1	3	2	1	11	1			1		1						26		
		İyverdi: 316-9	Yenice Karasu	9	9	0	1			3	1							1						16	
			Villages	74	71	3	2																	76	
		NOW	Genisea	2	2	0																		3	
31	Yenice-i Vardar (يكيجه، يكيجه، واراندار),Giyaniça, Yannitsa, Yenitsa, Gianniza, Giannitsa (Γαυνιτσά): 1867 Kaza (Selânik / Selânik vilâyeti)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 167-9)	يكيجه	17	5	12	1	7	3	3	9+1B	3					1	22					67		
		Shemseddin 1316 (1898), VI: 4803	يكيجه	>10	10	---	2	6		2	35	3									many		58		
		Selanik Vilayeti Salnâmesi 1325: 301	يكيجه	19	10	9	2	6	5		15	3	11	1					1			0	63		
		İyverdi: 319-323	Yenice Vardar	20	17	3	3	4	7	7		2	3	7			1		1					55	
			Villages	44	43	1		1	1															46	
NOW	Giannitsa	2	2	0		1				2	2		1									8			
32	YENİŞEHİR (يکيشهر), Yenişehir Fenar, Yenişehir-i Fenar, Yenişehir-i Fenar, Larissa (Λάρισσα): 1854 Eyâlet Mrk. (Tırhala eyâleti), 1867 Kaza (Tırhala /Yanya vilâyeti), 1881 Kaza (Tırhala / Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 190-2)	يکيشهر	71	22	49	>1+3+3	22	10		21+1B	5			1							138			
		Yanya Vilayet Salnâmesi 1294: 123-4	يکيشهر/قضاء	147			6	70	36		69	4			20			63			many		268		
		İyverdi: 323-332	Yenişehir	78	62	16	12	22	14	2		21	6	1	1	3						2		162	
			Villages	91	81	10	1	5	9	1		6	3	1		1								118	
NOW	Larissa	2	2	0						1B	1			1						1		6			
33	ZİHNE (زيخنه), Zilhova, Zihna, Zihni, Nea Zichni (Νέα Ζίχνη):1867 Kaza (Siroz / Selânik vilâyeti), 1913 Kaza (Siroz / Greece)	(Evliyâ 2011a: 123)	زيخنه	2	1	1	1	1	1		2	1											8		
		Shemseddin 1311, IV: 2438	زيخنه/قضاء	33	25	8	1	18	1		20	3											76		
		Selanik Vilayeti Salnâmesi 1325: 396	زيخنه/قصبه	>3	3		1	1	1														6		
		İyverdi: 332-5	Zihne	7	7	0	1	3	1			2	1											15	
			Villages	24	22	2	3	3	1							1								32	
NOW	Nea Zichni										1											1			

Place	Reference / Date	Place/Details	Mosque (CÁMI+MESCID)	CÁMI (Friday Mosque)	MESCID	Medrese "Traditional"	Mektep	Tekiye & Zawiye	İmarat	Han (Khan)/Bedestan	Hammam	Türbe	Clock	Bridge	Castle	Kârbansaray	Çeşme	Aqueduct	Sebil	Other Diff. Works	Kutubkhane	Sum/Row
34	(Evliyâ 2011b: 131-5)	ساقز	7	7				2		1	3				1		82					96
	Shemseddin 1311, IV: 2486	ساقز	9	9		2		3														14
	Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1293: 145	ساقز	8	5	3	2	1	2		2	2						9					26
	Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1312: 316-7	ساقز	9			2	75	3	0	5	2						33					120
	NOW	Chios	3	3							2	1			1		4			2		13
35	Shemseddin 1316, VI: 4234	مدللی/قصبه	14	14																		14
	Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1293: 145	مدللو	24	23	1		69	5			12	1					132					243
	Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1312: 316-7	مدللو	63			3	124	8			12	1					518					666
	NOW	Mytilene/Lesvos	9	9		2	1	1			3				3		225			4		248
36	(Evliyâ 2011b: 257-275)	ردوس	36	6	30	4+1	17	4	1		4											67
	Shemseddin 1308, III: 2273	ردوس	44	44	0	3	26	4		1	3											81
	Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1293: 147	ردوس	37	13	24	3	7	3			3	5					25					83
	Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1312: 316-7	ردوس	54			6	65	5	1	3	6						124					210
	NOW	Rhodes	13	13	-				1		2	13	1				12			15	1	58
37	(Evliyâ 2011b: 242)	استانکوی	5	3	2		7				1											13
	Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1293: 146	استانکوی	13	8	5	1	35	1			3	3					29					85
	NOW	Kos	6	6								1			1		2			3		13
38	Cezair Bahr-i Sefid Salnâmesi 1312: 316-7	لیمنی	18				39	1	1	1	5						369					416
	NOW	Lemnos	1	1				1							1		1			1		5
Evliyâ. Total		Greece	1171	355	799	123	258	158	44	254+10Beds.	156	0	1	22	9	10	2070	0	74	114	1	4458
İverdi. Total		Greece	1245	944	250	143	277	238	57	135	99	26	5	18	16	9	4	6	2	112	0	2341
		Gr./Villages	966	911	52	30	37	47	7	24	22	3	0	4	1	2	2	0	0	3	0	1145
		Total	2211	1855	302	173	314	285	64	159	121	29	5	22	17	11	6	6	2	115	0	3486
NOW.Total		Greece	145	142	3	10	6	24	7	2+3Beds.	49	31	6	6	31	0	307	3	1	127	4	762



## SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE TABLE'S DATA

This inventory does not exhaustive in presenting the architectural heritage of the Ottoman period in Greece. It contributes to our understanding of specific aspects regarding ottoman buildings in Greece until the late 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The numbers themselves are subject to different interpretations. In several cases, the mosques' count includes the churches which were converted into mosques. Some types of buildings such as fountains and bridges appear to be more numerous than those cited in the table. Moreover the buildings' categories included in our table only represent the so-called typical Ottoman architecture. However, several types of architectural heritage constructed under the Ottomans have not been included, such as townships, residential buildings, monasteries, churches, synagogues, hospitals, bazaars (*çarşı* or *Souq* in Arabic), shops (*dukkan*), industrial buildings and workshops, olive-press, windmills, watermills, cafes or coffee-shops (*kahvehane*), and some types of military and governmental buildings as well.

The picture of urbanisation at late Ottoman period in Greece is different due to the essential change in the nature and policy of Ottoman ruling at that time, especially after the *Tanzimât* in 1839. Several aspects of the latter period could be understood better thanks to the Ottoman *salnames* and the analysis of the relevant buildings, archives and historical texts. These indicate new types of buildings that were constructed in Greece such as non-Muslim educational buildings, railway stations, telegraph and post stations, banks, gümürk buildings, hospitals (*hastane*), pharmacies (*eczane*), factories, hotels, theateres (*tiyatrosu*), bakery (*firm*).

Furthermore, during the late Ottoman period there was a clear Western influence on both traditional and newly designed buildings, not only in the architectural elements and decorations but also in the plans and functions. The typical Ottoman *medrese* was replaced by a new construction associated to a modern concept of education; it was innoviative not only in the architectural form but also in its scope, operating system, courses and tools as well. Several new Ottoman governmental buildings were constructed according to the central plan concept throughout Greece.

## QUANTATITIVE ANALYSING OF OTTOMAN BUILDINGS IN GREECE CONSIDERING THE FUNCTION AND THE REGION THEN AND NOW

Often, the comparisons between the numbers of past and present Ottoman buildings in Greece and in the Balkans attempts to illustrate the voluntary destruction of the Ottoman architectural heritage.<sup>33</sup> However, this is not entirely accurate, as differs from one region to another and from one city to another. In fact, this quantitative approach in studies is a complex issue, since presenting and analysing the numbers of Ottoman buildings in Greece then and now could lead to different conclusions in light of the selected sample, buildings' type, period, and geographical region.

<sup>33</sup>The Cultural Imperialism of Greece and the Turkish-Islamic Works.

Ottoman mosques in the Greek Thrace provide an obvious example. The number of existing historic mosques (with historical and architectural value) amounts to 31, but the total number of the existing mosques is 235 while their number at the end of the Ottoman rule in Greece according to Iyverdi was 611. Thus, dealing with numbers gives a very different percentage between the numbers then and now as follows:  $31 \div 611 = 5\%$ , but  $235 \div 611 = 38.5\%$  which is a great disparate result. The same appears when comparing the number of all mosques in Greece then and now:  $143 \div 2211 = 6.5\%$ , but  $347$  (143 historic mosques + 204 in Thrace)  $\div 2211 = 15.7\%$ . The latter percentage differs again to be 18.5% if the comparison is between the number of the Friday-mosques (*cami*) minus small-mosques (*mescid*):  $344 \div 1855$ . Moreover, this percentage will increase if the then number of mosques minus the churches which were converted into mosques with the prominent examples of the *Theotokos Kosmosoteira* Church or Gazi Süleyman Paşa Cami at Feres (Firecik) in Thrace, in addition to many examples in Thessaloniki, Rhodes and Crete. The change in the aforementioned percentage continues if the comparison is restricted to only one governorate in Thrace as Komotini (Gümülcine). The number of mosques in Komotini is 166 for the past and 131 for the present, showing that 79% have survived to present days. The same changes appear when calculating all the numbers of Ottoman buildings in Greece then and now.

In specific regions in Greece, such as Karditsa (Kardiça), Lamia (İzdin), Servia (Serfiçe), and Nea Zichni (Zihne) all the mosques that once stood have by now completely disappeared. Thus, in order to provide a global view of the preservation of Ottoman buildings in Greece, all the regions have to be taken into account, and if we don't it may sway the results.

## QUANTATITIVE ANALYSING CONSIDERING THE FUNCTION

The first quantitative comparison of Ottoman buildings in Greece is between Evliyâ's time in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the end of the Ottoman rule considering the Iyverdi's work, Ottoman *Salnames*, and *Kamûs-ül Â'lâm*.

Regarding mosques –congregational mosques or Friday mosques (*cami*)– there is a remarkable increase in their numbers from Evliyâ's time to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Chart 1). On the other hand, the number of small mosques (*mescid*) decreased significantly. In contrast, Friday mosques prominently increased, illustrating the wide-ranging conversion of *mescids* into Friday mosques after Evliyâ.

In fact, this phenomenon of converting *mescids* into Friday mosques is concomitant to the authorisation of having multiple Friday mosques in the same city (*kasaba*). Hartmuth suggests the late 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup> to date this phenomenon in the Balkans. Possibly, this dating is corroborated in the big centres (capitals) such as Thessaloniki. However, one Friday mosque remained sole for some later decades in some cities such as in Komotini<sup>35</sup> and Veria (*Karaferya*);<sup>36</sup> at least until 1528, there was only one Friday mosque in these cities.

<sup>34</sup> Hartmuth, "A Late Fifteenth Century Change in the Rapport of Friday Mosque and Ottoman City? ..."

<sup>35</sup> Bıçakçı, Yunanistan'da Türk mimari, pp. 129-130.

<sup>36</sup> Kiel and Gara, "KARAFERYE ...," 392.

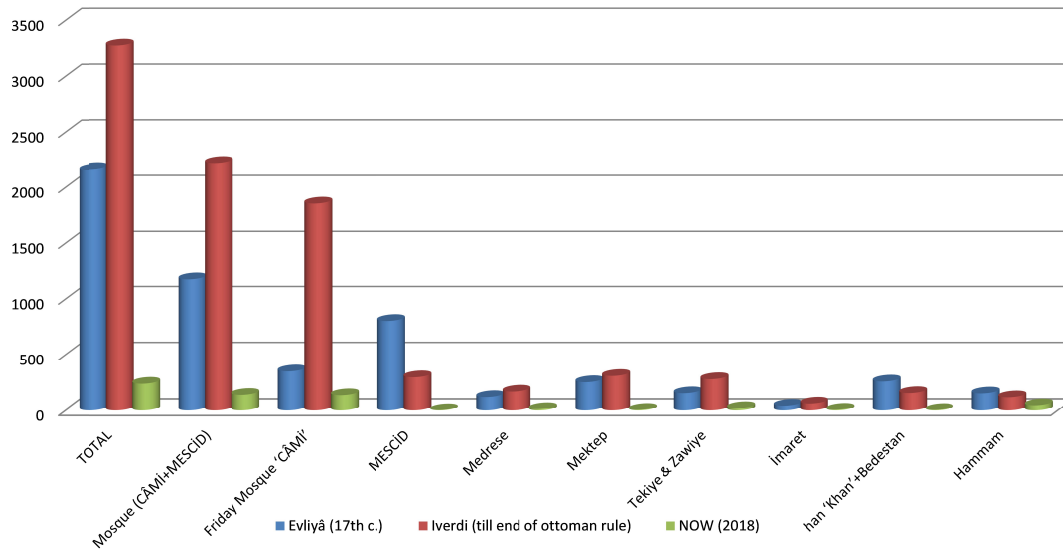


Chart 1. Proportions of typical Ottoman buildings in Greece then and now

Only three examples of *mescids* currently survive. No doubt that the absence of a minaret and the simple architecture of the *mescids* facilitated their reuse as dwellings or other functional buildings. Therefore, the comparison between the numbers of the Ottoman mosques in Greece then and now gives an entirely different perspective if it is restricted to the Friday mosques (Chart 1). Moreover, one must consider the number of mosques which were originally churches, as it strongly affects the aforementioned proportion.

With the exception of the mosques, Evliyâ's time shows a peak in constructing typical Ottoman architecture including *medrese*, *mektep*, *tekiye*, *imaret*, *han*, *bedestan*, and *hammam* (*souq* in Arabic or bath) (Chart 1). The increasing construction rates of *medrese*, *mektep*, *tekiye*, and *imaret* buildings between Evliyâ's time and the end of the Ottoman rule in Greece is very modest in proportion to this long period (Chart 1).

The numbers and types of Ottoman buildings in Greece reflect the nature of the Ottoman policy and the changes that took place over centuries. Most of the buildings served the community, regardless of religion, as they had social, economic, and health benefits, as for instance, the *imaret* and *hammam* structures dating to the first two or three centuries of the Ottoman rule (Chart 1).

The Ottoman *hammam* was not originally only constructed for economic purposes but to serve the local community with various social and health functions. Thus, sultans themselves built *hammams* during the early period of the Ottoman rule, and the *Bey Hammam* built by Murat II at Thessaloniki in 1444 is a distinguished example. Later, the concept was altered to become a building of a more commercial function.

The cost of constructing and operating the aforementioned buildings is very high and continuous, especially the *imaret*. This observation, also applies to the *medrese* and the *mektep* buildings in comparison to mosques as typical religious buildings (*cami* and *mescid*). This may explain the remarkable increase of the latter versus the modest growth rate in the numbers of the *imaret*, *medrese*, and *mektep* buildings after Evliyâ.

The change in the numbers of buildings according to their function summarizes the alteration in nature of the Ottoman policy over the centuries. From the early period until



Evliyâ's time, the Ottomans adopted a foundation policy, spending money collected from booty and taxes on the local community and human development. This policy sent one clear message: the Ottomans came to these regions to establish their own world forever. Thus, they did their best to get the local Greek citizens on their side. The aforementioned welfare buildings, especially the *imaret*<sup>37</sup>, were one of the tools to achieve their goals.

The stability of the Ottoman rule in these regions and the various historical indications of the local people's preference for the Ottomans rather than previous rulers, especially the Venetians, show to what extent the Ottoman policies were effective.

This policy of the first generations (*paşas and beğs*) of Ottomans was changed during the 18<sup>th</sup> century as the numbers of the buildings after Evliyâ suggest (Chart 1). Instead of spending the collected money on the local community, the late Ottoman governors collected money for themselves and spent it on their needs. The context that produced this change in the Ottoman policy was one of the reasons of the Greek revolution against them.

Another factor explains the limited increase in these categories of buildings: they characterised the capitals of *sancaks* and main cities (*kaza*), referring to creating new Ottoman "Islamic" cultural centers. These locations were covered by such buildings until Evliyâ's time. But the systematic increase of the population after Evliyâ refutes this argument as shown in various written sources.<sup>38</sup>

One may suggest another reason for the decrease in numbers of typical Ottoman commercial buildings *hans*, *bedestans* and *hammams* by the end of the Ottoman rule versus Evliyâ's time (Chart 1). This decrease is explained by a lack of demand for such buildings, due to changes during the late period of Ottoman rule in Greece, especially following the industrial revolution, free trade and movement, and the availability of water inside houses. This led owners of some of these buildings to modify their function, or replace them with new structures. Thus, by the end of the Ottoman rule they have decreased in number, compared to Evliyâ's time.

Statistics show the quantitative differences of varying types of buildings considering the disparity in the numbers between the regions, cities and the villages. They declare that, the amount of typical Ottoman buildings, excluding the mosques, in the villages was limited.

Charts 1 and 2 examined typical ottoman structures excluding the fountains (*çeşme*) and the other different works showed in the table. In several times these buildings are not counted, and the sources only state that they are some or many. Regarding the fountains (*çeşme*), there are three hundred and seven extant ones in Greece; the highest number among the existing Ottoman buildings with special reference to Mytilene (Midilli) and Crete (Girid). Despite this high number, it remains small compared to the past.

<sup>37</sup> For more information on the exceptional role of the *imarets* in the community, its operation, beneficiaries, and impact on the local people and the European travellers as well, see: Lowry, "The 'Soup Muslims' of the Ottoman Balkans ...," pp. 106–111.

<sup>38</sup> There is a large body of written sources, all in Ottoman, on the size of the population of the Greek regions, including the census and taxation survey, the *Muhasebe Defters*, the *Mufassal Tahrirs*, and the *Salnâmes*. These resources sketch the rough outlines of the demographic history of these regions. For instance Kiel published the growth of the population of the Island of Mytilene/Midilli during the ottoman period (1488–1900) considering these resources. See: Kiel, "The Medrese and Imaret of Hayreddin Barbarossa ...," p. 167.

## QUANTATITIVE ANALYSING CONSIDERING THE REGION

Chart 2 follows the changes in numbers of Ottoman buildings in Greece during three different periods with geographical index. The growth in the numbers of Ottoman buildings in Central Greece (Atika-Biyotiye), Peloponnese (Mora) and Thessaly (Tesalya) was limited after Evliyâ. On the other hand, the proliferation rate in Epirus, Crete, Aegean Islands (Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid), Thrace, and Macedonia after Evliyâ until late Ottoman ruling is remarkable. This was partially due to the liberation of Central Greece, Peloponnese and Thessaly being earlier than those of other regions, as well as their early revolutionary wars against the Ottomans. This also explains the limited number of existing Ottoman buildings in Central Greece, Peloponnese and Thessaly.

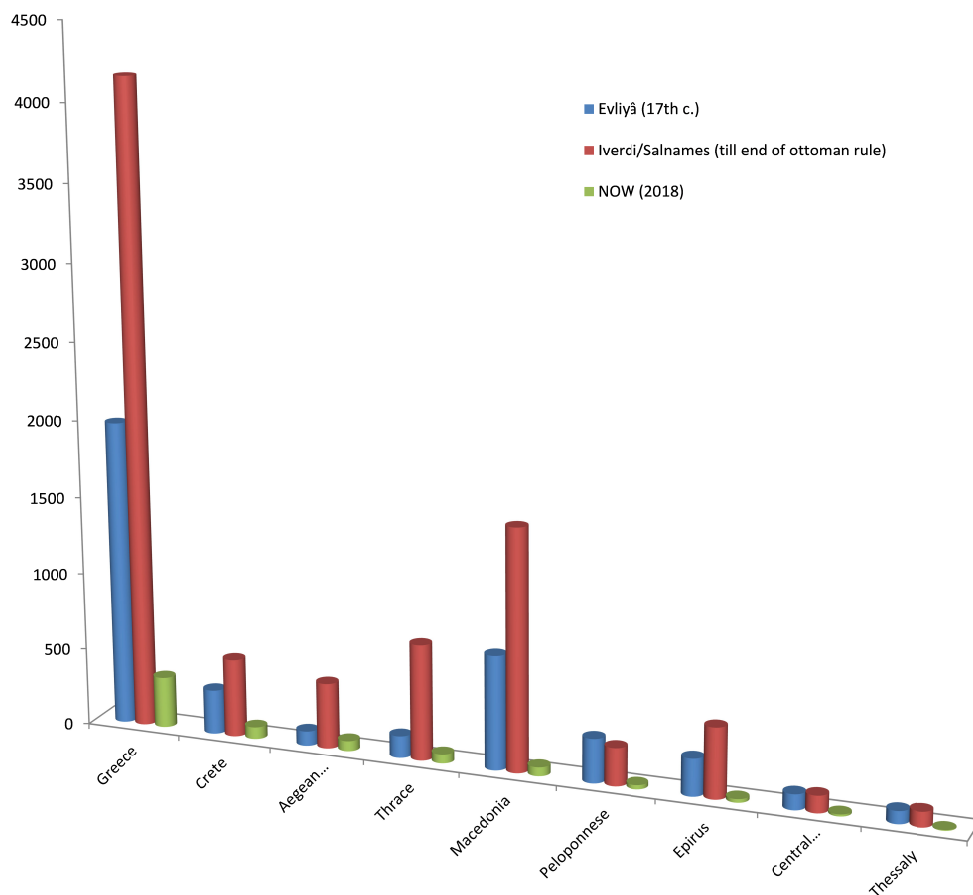


Chart 2. Geographical proportion of typical Ottoman buildings in Greece of past and present

The largest amount of surviving Ottoman architectural heritage in Greece, considering the *çeşme* and other different works –included in the table–, is found in the Aegean Islands, Crete, Macedonia, and Thrace in descending order. But with the addition of two hundred non-historic mosques –i.e. those have no value in terms of the history of art and architecture– in Thrace, the order changes to Thrace having the largest surviving number. Thus, the regions that still have Muslim minorities in Greece and those located near present-day Turkey have the highest numbers of existing Ottoman buildings. Neighbourly

relationships and consequent economic relations played a role in preserving the Ottoman architectural heritage in these regions. There is an inverse geographical relationship between the cultural aversion against 'Turkish' objects and the number of existing Ottoman buildings. This number is decreased from East to West.

The city of Ioannina (Yanya) is an exception in Epirus, north-western Greece, with an impressive and perfectly preserved existing Ottoman architectural heritage. This clearly reflects Ioannina's own historical contexts, which differ from other Greek regions either during the Ottoman period or after the incorporation into the Greek State in 1913.

## THE FACTORS BEYOND THE DEMOLITION OF OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN GREECE

Comparing the number of typical Ottoman buildings in Greece then and now gives the ratio 13.7% (448÷3273). This shows to what extent the Ottoman architectural heritage in Greece suffered, but remains one of the largest preserved Ottoman architecture in the Balkans.

The reasons behind the destruction of a large proportion of Ottoman buildings in Greece were due to revolutionary revenge, to political motives, or to a local aversion against the 'Turkish' objects, but there are other causes that have often been dismissed. Wars, earthquakes, explosions, and reuse of the buildings by other conquerors or according to the new needs of the Greek-Christian community in some regions following the new demographic situation after the treaty of Lausanne in 1923, also reduced the numbers of existing Ottoman buildings.

Some Ottoman buildings were destructed or burnt during wars, mainly the Balkan Wars and the First World War, especially in Northern Greece. The Parthenon Mosque was demolished due to a huge explosion of the mortars bullets and explosive materials stored inside the Parthenon.<sup>39</sup>

Among the natural factors, earthquakes form the most real cause of the ruin of Ottoman buildings, even under the Ottomans themselves, with special reference to the 1856 Crete<sup>40</sup> earthquake. The impact of earthquakes on architecture is still perceived, as the Defterdar İbrahim Efendi Mosque in the Island of Kos (İstanköy) was damaged on 21 July 2017. It was a devastating 6.3 magnitude earthquake in the Aegean Sea, affecting seriously the Defterdar Mosque (1724) and its minaret was completely demolished.<sup>41</sup>

Though all these human and natural factors decreased the number of Ottoman buildings in Greece, the preserved Ottoman architectural heritage in Greece is still one of the largest in the Balkans area, displaying an amazing variety in function, plan, patrons, inscriptions, architects, originality, geographical distribution, and building techniques.

The existing Ottoman buildings in Greece are an international wealth that forms a significant part of the world tangible heritage. It still needs more studies and preservation projects. Preserving and reusing these buildings and the surrounding areas will certainly attract more touristic and economic investments.

<sup>39</sup> Μουτσόπουλος, "Οι περιπέτειες του ναού της Παλλάδος. Ο Παρθενώνας τζαμί," pp. 1–56.

<sup>40</sup> Adiyeye and Adiyeye, "1856 Girit Depremi".

<sup>41</sup> On the impacts of this earthquake on the Defterdar İbrahim Efendi Mosque in Kos and its state before and after the earthquake, see: "Σεισμός στην Κω: Αυτό είναι το τζαμί που κατέρρευσε απο το σεισμό 6,4"; Karagianni, "5 σημεια Στην Κω πριν και μετα το σεισμο."

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