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# Blurred Frontiers of the Ancient City: Quarters in Ottoman-Era Trabzon (17<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

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### Abstract

The city of Trabzon, which has been one of the most important settlements in Anatolia since the ancient eras, contains the traces of political, economic, and social mobility observed throughout its long history in its urban texture. The study focuses on the urban texture of Trabzon after the Ottoman conquest and focuses on the period between the 17th and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, which is seen as an important deficiency in the literature. In this context, archival documents kept during the Ottoman period, especially through the records of the kadı court of Trabzon; the main backbone of the study is the determination of the mahalles (quarters) that are newly established, whose names have changed and merged, as well as examining where these mahalles are located on the city topography and discussing the dimensions of urban growth seen in 17-20. Century period.

*Keywords:* Trabzon, Ottoman mahalles (quarters), kadı court registers, 17<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries, urban history

# Kadim Şehrin Silik Çeperleri: Osmanlı Dönemi Trabzon'unda Mahalleler (17-20. yy. Arası)

# Öz

Antik çağlardan beri Anadolu'daki önemli yerleşim merkezlerinden biri olan Trabzon kenti, uzun tarihi boyunca gözlenen siyasi, ekonomik ve toplumsal devingenliğin izlerini kentsel dokusunda da barındırmaktadır. Çalışma, Osmanlı fethi sonrası Trabzon kent dokusunu hedef alırken, özellikle literatürde önemli bir eksik olarak görülen 17. yüzyıl ile 20. yüzyıl aralığını ele almaktadır. Bu bağlamda Osmanlı döneminde tutulmuş arşiv belgelerinden özellikle Trabzon şer'iyye sicilleri üzerinden; 17-20. yy.'da varlığını sürdüren, yeni kurulan, ismi değişen, birleştirilen mahallelerin hangileri olduğunun tespitinin yanı sıra bu mahallelerin kent topoğrafyası üzerinde nerede yer aldıklarının irdelenmesi ve bu tarih aralığında görülen büyümenin boyutlarının tartışılması çalışmanın ana omurgasını oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Trabzon, mahalle, şer'iyye sicilleri, 17.-20. yüzyıllar, kent tarihi

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#### 1. Introduction

It is a fact that the social change also means the spatial change, those demographic elements, cultural elements, socio-economic organizations, means, and technologies of production distribution transform the city. The city of Trabzon is one of the ancient settlements where that sort of relationship is observed thoroughly, due to its geographical and geopolitical location (Figure 1). The city that Plato (2017) likened to frogs aligned around a pond features the traces of the urban transformation history in parallel with social dynamics, on a scale from the earliest periods of settlement history to today.

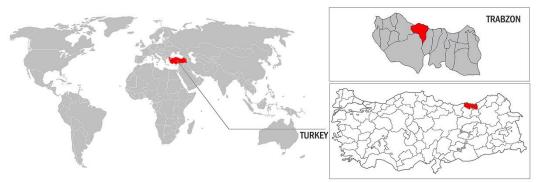


Figure 1. The geographical location of Trabzon, Turkey (Prepared by the author.)

The fact that the earliest settlers settled on the plains in the north-south direction circled by two valleys acting as a natural wall, while there was a safer port called Platana (the center of Akçaabat sub-district of Trabzon). That stood against eight winds by Evliya Çelebi's (2016) terms, indicating that the defining dynamics in Trabzon's foundation were the search for security and the defensive instinct. Trade becoming dominant in social and spatial structure happened after these initial foundation years. The city under the dominion of Komnenos has been conquered by the Ottomans in 1461. Although this conquest disrupted the continuity of the city's commercial identity the ordinary practices of the Ottoman conquest tradition have caused major changes in the city. The greatest cathedral of the city, Panagia Chrysokephalos, was converted into a mosque, some communities from different parts of Anatolia were settled around the mosque or new quarters emerged, due to the settlement policy. In parallel with the demographic transformation, churches/chapels nearby were converted into mosques or mescids (small mosques), or new mescids were constructed commonly named after their founder, also giving a name to the quarter. However, the emphasizing points of the political control giving the city an Islamic identity were not sought in those hipped roof quarter mescids, but in monumental Islamic social complexes (külliyes) dominant in the urban silhouette.

The city of Trabzon, according to the fiscal registers that were kept starting 25 years after the conquest, was comprised of three inner walled city-regions; Kale-i Zir (Aşağıhisar–lower walled city) in the north, Kale-i Evsat (Ortahisar – middle walled city) circled by the valley in the south, east, and west; and Kule (Yukarıhisar-Citadel) up in the hills in the further south, as well as the eastern, southern and western suburbs. The quarters were spread to these regions separated by distinctive topographic thresholds; according to the first fiscal register (1486) the Muslim and non-Muslim people lived in 16 quarters, while there were 52 quarters according to the last register kept approximately 100 years later (1583) (Lowry, 2012; Bostan, 2002). While it would be nonsense to think that the city grew at the same rate in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later; the growth rate, identification of quarters that still existed, that changed their names, newly founded and merged quarters are still objects of curiosity and there has been no proper modern study on these matters. Nevertheless, other sources, especially the kadı court registers kept between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries hold data that can answer these aforementioned questions on quarters; therefore, in this study, responses to them are sought through the kadı court registers of Trabzon. As the achieved results and produced maps bring forward data that clarify many ambiguous evaluations in the literature related to the quarters of the City of Trabzon and their development, the research material will provide concrete justification to researchers of the history of the city of Trabzon based only on archive documents (Figure 2).

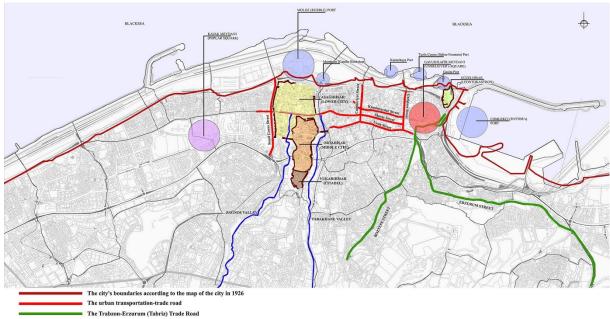


Figure 2. The physical structure of the city of Trabzon (Prepared by the author.)

### 2. Material and Method

The last fiscal register on the city of Trabzon is dated 1583. There is no fiscal register for later dates. The kadi court registers function as the principal source to fill this void in the identification of the quarters of the city from the 17<sup>th</sup> century on. Additionally; yearbooks, foundation registers, travel logs, official reports, maps, and the current structures and remains are the secondary sources to help track quarters, apart from modern studies. While the limited fiscal register data, proving the existence of quarters without the need of any commentary or tracking, point to the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries; some still existing quarters having been featured in those registers indicate that these documents are equally important in identifying quarters for the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later years. Meanwhile, the kadi courts registers are important since they include legal conflicts in the city's social, economic, political, and military life, as well as construction, exploration, repair, and similar documents, and in some registers the names of the plaintiffs are given with the quarters they lived in and where the incident took place, therefore enabling the identification of quarters.

However, since the quarter names are featured only when they are the subjects of a court case, other documents and registers were scanned to detect other quarters that possibly existed but were not featured in court registers. While the 1876-77 Trabzon yearbook does not reveal any information on the location of quarters, it is still important that it mentions quarters within the new administrative order. On the other hand, bearing in mind that this study predominantly used registers already transcribed, it is still possible that there are some quarters whose names did not appear. There have been 297 kadı court registers of Trabzon between the years 1553 and 1915. These registers have been the subject of several studies (Table 1). In this study, transcriptions of the registers were used (Üstün Demirkaya, 2014). As there is no information in these documents on the location of the quarters, but only on their names, this question still goes unanswered. In this context, sometimes the continuation of street or quarter names, the presence of mosques and mescids (small mosques) help trace the quarters and this method is also used in this study.

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 Table 1. Currently available historical sources (Fiscal registers, kadı court registers, yearbooks)

#### 3. Findings

### Quarters in 17<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Century Trabzon

The settlement heritage taken over from the Komnenos Dynasty with the conquest of Trabzon was roughly limited to the walled city where the rulers and the people lived and the trade center on the shore, connected to the ports. Under the Ottoman rule, the city expanded with increasing population and ethnic-religious identities, reaching 28 Muslim and 24 quarters of where the non-Muslim population lived, a total of 52, at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, after rapid growth in a century. In the registers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, most of the names of the quarters from the previous century are not encountered, nevertheless, names of many new quarters appear in these records. But, it should not be understood that some quarters that are known to exist disappeared because they do not appear in the registers anymore. Therefore, in this study, no quarter shall be deemed disappeared, the quarters shall only be categorized as continuing or newly appearing.

# 3.1. Mahalles (Quarters) Enduring from the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Sultan Abdullah Mescid (Quarter of the Small mosque of the Sultan Abdullah) in Yukarıhisar (Citadel-Upper Castle); Bab-ı Bazar (Bazar Gateway) and Hoca Halil known as Mescid-i Halil Ağa Nam-ı Diğer Azeban-ı Cedit (Quarter of the Small Mosque of Halil Aga) in 1553 in Aşağıhisar (Lower Castle); Amasya (Quarter of the Small Mosque of Amasya), Mescid-i Hüseyin Ağa (Quarter of the Small Mosque of Hüseyin Aga), and Mescid-i Kıssahan mahalles in Ortahisar (Quarter of the Small Mosque of the Story-Teller in Middle Castle), and Ortahisar itself known till 1523 as Mahalle-i Meso Kastro, (Quarter of Middle Castle) Ortahisar Cami-i Kebir known as Mahalle-i Cami-i Atik Der Kale-i Evsat (Quarter of Ancient Mosque in the Middle Castle) in 1523; and Bayram Bey known as Mahalle-i Mescid-i Bayram Zade (Quarter of the Small Mosque of Bayram Zade) in 1553 are present also in these centuries.

Almost all the quarters in the eastern suburbs that we are aware of continue to exist in this century. These quarters are; Afrotorlu/Kokorilu, Aya Anadra (Saint Andre), Aya Gorgor (Saint Gorgor), Ayu Kiryaki, Aya Marino, Aya Ovyan-ı Küçük, Aya Todor, Ayo Yani, Ayvasıl, Cami-i Cedid (New Mosque), Çömlekçi (Potter's), Debbağhane/Tabakhane (Tanners'), Değirmenderesi (Millrace), Efrenciyan (Foreign), Ermeniyan (Armenian), Galimona, Ganita, İskender Paşa (İskender Pasha), Ketancızade, Sarmaşık (Ivy-Covered), Sotoko, Tekurçayırı (Christian King's Meadow), Urgancıyan (Ropemakers), Vani, Vazmolika, and Zoğraf. Besides, the Mahalle-i Hacı Hasan El-Maruf Mahalle-i An Abdullah Çelebi (Quarter of Hacı Hasan known as Abdullah Çelebi) mahalle in the fiscal registers appears as Hasan Ağa Mescidi (Small Mosque of Hasan Aga), Köhne Hamam (Old Bathhouse) known as Mahalle-i Tabakhane-i der Kurb-i Hamam-ı Kahya (Quarter of the Tanneries in the Quarter of the Kahya's Bathhouse) in 1553 appear as a separate quarter; and Hacı Kasım Mescidi Mahallesi (Quarter of the Small Mosque of Hacı Kasım) continue to exist in this century by the name of the mescid or by the name of its founder.

In the western suburbs; Ayasofya (Hagia Sofia), Eksotha, Faroz, İmaret/İmaret-i Hatuniye (Lady's Soup Kitchen), Mağara (Cave), Valadis, Kavak Meydanı (Poplar Square)/Meydan-ı Garbi (Western Square), Zağanos/Bab-ı Zağnos mahalles (Zagnos Gateway), as well as the quarter known as Mahalle-i Meydan ki Haric Amedend (Public Square Quarter) in 1553, appear in this period as Meydan-ı Şarki (Eastern Square) Meydan-ı Cedid (the New Square) and mostly as Kâfir Meydanı (Unbeliever's Square).

In the southern suburbs, only Kindinar Mahallesi (Quarter of Kindinar) first appeared in 1553 and we could track its existence until the 20<sup>th</sup> century remain to exist in this century.

# **3.2.** Quarters That Do Not Appear Inin Fiscal Registers and Appear in the Records for the Time Between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries

### 3.2.1. Yukarıhisar (Citadel) Region

Two new quarters appear in the Yukarıhisar region. These are;

*İçkule (Inner Tower):* In the Yukarıhisar region, this quarter constitutes the pre-Ottoman acropolis and inner castle where military organization, the king's palace, the archive, etc. were located (Bryer & Winfield, 1985). In the present day, it refers to the Kule Mahallesi located within Ortahisar Quarter.

*Kale-i Kule:* This quarter that appears in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as Kale-i Kule, and as Kullele/Kulle in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is probably a different spelling of Kule (tower). The quarter certainly refers to the Yukarıhisar region, frequently referred to by travelers and researchers such as Aşık Mehmed (2007) as Kule, Uspenski (2003) as İçkale (inner castle), and Bıjışkyan (1998) as Yukarı Kale (upper castle). In the present day, this region of Yukarıhisar/Kule is within the Ortahisar Quarter territories.

### 3.2.2. Ortahisar (middle walled city) Region

Eight new quarters appear in Ortahisar region. These are;

*Cami-i Aşık (Aşık Mosque):* This quarter that does not appear in any other document than the register 1824 (Zerey, 2003), may just be a misinterpretation of the register. If this hypothesis is true, this Camii Aşık quarter that is supposed to be in Ortahisar according to the records may be Cami-i Atik (Ancient Mosque) in other words the Ortahisar Fatih Mosque and the quarter is Mahalle-i Cami-i Atik Der Kalei Evsat (Quarter of Ancient Mosque in the Middle Castle).

*Cami-i Kebir:* This quarter, meaning great mosque, that does not appear in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>-century records, appears to be new. However, as the kadı court register of 1064-1065 (Hegira calendar, 1654-1655 according to the Gregorian calendar) writes the mosque called the grand mosque of Sultan Mehmed Han in Ortahisar the Cami-i Kebir is the Ortahisar/Fatih Mosque. Accordingly, the Cami-i Kebir Mahallesi should be Mahalle-i Camii Atik Der Kale-i Evsat. Equally, the Ortacami Mahallesi (Middle Mosque Quarter) in the register 1830 is another mention of the same quarter with a different name.

*Eski Saray/Saray-ı Atik (Ancient Palace):* For this location that we come across for the first time in 1523 as Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hüseyin Ağa Ki Serhazin Büd Der Nezd-i Saray-ı Amire, (Quarter of the Small Mosque of the treasury head Hüseyin Aga, in the vicinity of the palace) the Sarayatik Street and Sarayatik Mosque Street names of today give a clue and help us position this quarter to the north of Ortahisar. It is reported that the Hüseyin Ağa Mosque about which we have no information, is likely to be the Saray-ı Atik (Sarayatik?) Mosque, which was demolished in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the estate of which was put on sale by a decree of the Trabzon Town Council in 1953 (Trabzon Municipality Editorial Department Archives, 1953). If this presumption is true, the quarter mentioned as Eskisaray Mahallesi in the year 1643-44 registers, and as Saray-ı Atik in year 1703-05 registers may be the Mahalle-i Mescid-i Hüseyin Ağa of 1523 registers with changed names (Tuluk, 2018).

*Hakabe Han:* This place is mentioned only in the Trabzon kadı court register of 1866/52 (1702-1703). The quarter being described as the quarter where Musa Paşa Mosque is located in the document makes it easy to locate it. This quarter, a prime example of how the same quarters may be mentioned with different names, is the Musa Paşa Mahallesi, located today within the territories of the Ortahisar Quarter.

*Kissahan:* There is no information on the exact location of this quarter that appears only in the records of the seventeenth century, however, the records suggest that it is located in Ortahisar.

*Küçük Pazar (Small Bazaar):* It is understood that the quarter has commercial functions. Like Tabakhane and Bab-I Pazar, Küçük Pazar in Ortahisar is one of these markets, comprised of 70-80 small retailers in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Aygün, 2016).

*Musa Paşa (Musa Pasha):* Bearing in mind the general principles of how Ottoman quarters are built, we can say that the Musa Paşa Mosque in Ortahisar is the center of this quarter.

*Şirin Hatun (Lady Şirin):* The quarter is built around the Şirin Hatun Mescid, which used to be present until the recent day, albeit not today, in the Ortahisar Quarter, Şirin Hatun Street.

## 3.2.3. Aşağıhisar (lower walled city) Region

In the Aşağıhisar region, ten new quarters are identified. These are;

*Aşağıhisar (Lower City):* One of the three regions of Trabzon, circled by walls, Aşağıhisar, is mentioned in the registers as if it unusually were a quarter. However, since there were other quarters in the Aşağıhisar region during that era, it is logical to think that this name does not cover a quarter but a greater region that includes many quarters. The Aşağıhisar region, in present day, is located within the Gülbahar Hatun Mahallesi (Lady Gulbahar Quarter) and it also includes the Pazarkapı Mahallesi (Bazar Gateway Quarter).

Baba Halil (Father Halil): In the registers, the quarter is described to be in the Aşağıhisar region. Since there is a Mahalle-i Mescid-i Halil Ağa Nam-ı Diğer Azeban-ı Cedid the (Quarter of the Small Mosque of Halil Aga also Known as the New Quarter of Guards) quarter located in the same area, around the Hoca Halil Mosque, according to the 1523 register, the name resemblance is noteworthy. The word baba (father) may be used instead of the word hoca (preacher) in the name of Hoca Halil Mosque, referring to the same person. If this interpretation is true, this quarter should refer to the surroundings of the Hoca Halil Mosque in today's Pazarkapı Quarter.

*Çeliçova:* There is no information on the exact location of this quarter that appears only in the records of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, the records suggest that it is located in Aşağıhisar.

*Garibistan:* There is also no information on the exact location of this quarter that appears only in the records of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, however, the records suggest that it is located in Aşağıhisar, just like Çeliçova.

Karabaş Mescidi (Small Mosque of Karabas): The information on the Karabaş Mescid that could not reach the present day was given by Goloğlu (2013) depending on a Sultan's decree. It is stated that, as per Fatih Sultan Mehmed's orders, in the Mumhaneönü (front of candle workshop) district, a church neighboring the walls was converted into a mosque and called the Karabaş Mosque. Şevket (2013) writes that the Karabaş Mosque was in a close location to the Pazarkapı Mosque, "to the right side of the Tophane Hammam" the Pazarkapı Mosque was built by Abdullah Pasha's instructions in the same place. This information is confirmed by the endowment records of the Pazarkapı Mosque, which says also known as Karabaş.

*Molla Siyah (Mullah Siyah):* It is certain that the quarter owes its name to today's Molla Siyah Mosque, converted from the St. Andrea Church in Aşağıhisar. It is also known that the quarter that appears between 1601-and 1635 with this name had been built before the St. Andrea Church was converted into the mosque. The quarter with the name Mahalle-i Ayu Anadre(?) Ki Ez Haric Amedend (Quarter of Saint Andre that have come from outside) in the year 1553 fiscal register, with the name Aya Nedreda in 1565-66, and Ayo Andreda in 1583 should have received the name Molla Siyah after it was Islamicised.

*Muloz/Moloz (Rubble):* Moloz (Bab-I Moloz/Rubble Gateway), one of Aşağıhisar's four gates according to Evliya Çelebi (2016), is the gate opening to the port and the sea in the north. The 19<sup>th</sup> century quarter built around this gate is today within Pazarkapı Mahallesi, however, it is still called by its old name.

*Mumhane (Candle Workshop):* Mumhane, one of Aşağıhisar's four gates according to Evliya Çelebi (2016), is the gate at the northeastern end of the walls, associated with the port with the same name where beeswax and oil wax were processed. The 17<sup>th</sup> century quarter built around this gate is today within Pazarkapı Quarter, however, it is still called with its old name.

*Saçlı Hoca:* The quarter, whose name we first detected in archival documents (hurufat registers, kadı court registers) dated 1758–1769 and 1792 is understood to be in Aşağıhisar (Aygün, Açık & Şimşek,

2019). Albayrak (2008) while mentioning Saçlıhoca Infants' School, does not give any information on its location.

Saray (Palace): There are palaces in Ortahisar named Saray-I Atik (Ancient Palace), Saray-I Amire (Palace); and Tekfur SarayI (Christian King's Palace), Güzel Saray (Beautiful Palace), Paşa SarayI (Pasha's Palace), Üçüncüzâde SarayI (Üçüncüzade's Palace) in eastern suburbs. The Saray (palace) quarter does not refer to any of these regions since the register number 1903 yields the information that the quarter is in Aşağıhisar.

#### 3.2.4. Eastern Suburbs

Eighteen new quarters are identified in the eastern suburbs. These are;

*Ayafilibo:* This quarter that appears for the first time as Ayo Filibas in the year 1601-1635 registers may be considered to be built around the St. Phillip Church, used as the archbishop's church after the Panagia Chrysokephalos Church was converted into a mosque right after the conquest. However, the name of the quarter being absent in the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup>-century registers put a question mark on the minds. Whereas it is not possible to reach a certain conclusion, it may be argued that the church was the center of Mahalle-i Ermeniyan, referring to the Armenian community, and it was named like that until St. Philip Church was converted into a mosque (Cami-i Manastir der Mahalle-i Ayafilbo (Monastery Mosque in the Quarter of Ayafilbo). The building is located in today's Esentepe Mahallesi.

*Ayaklı/Ayaklık:* Regarding the location, since the quarter is mentioned as ma'a çömlekçi in the registers number 1914/127 (1790-1791), it can be said that it is in the Çömlekçi (Potter's) Mahallesi in the eastern suburbs, which is mentioned with the same name. It can also be said that the Hıdırellez Ayaklu Mahallesi in the register number 1924/110 (1759-1760) refers to the same quarter with a different name.

*Ağraka:* The reference of ma'a Kemerkaya regarding this quarter that we come across only in the Trabzon kadı court register number 1964/150, makes it possible to locate this quarter in the Kemerkaya Quarter of today. However, detecting the exact location is not possible.

Derviş Ali Tekyesi (Lodge of Dervish Ali): Whereas there is no information on this quarter and the dervish lodge it was built around that we come across only in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century register, it is possible to speculate on the location of this quarter. Jennings (1990), mentions the Derviş Ali Lodge that he could not locate and the small foundation financing this lodge. Depending on the vakfiyye deeds (religious endowment charters) of this lodge dated 1842 and the endowment list register of the General Directorate of Foundations, it may be concluded that the quarter overlaps the surroundings of the Tekke Mosque in today's Gazipaşa Quarter.

*Güzelhisar (Beautiful Castle):* Güzelsaray (Beautiful Palace), mentioned as Leontokastron in the pre-Ottoman period, and as Güzelhisar in the Ottoman period, is the quarter also known as Güzelsaray, Frenkhisarı, and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as Üçüncüzade Palace and Üçüncüoğlu Palace. Today it is in the İskender Paşa Quarter and is called Ganita or Kalepark.

*Kasım Paşa (Ağa) (Kasım Pasha):* While the name of Kasımpaşa Mescid (Aygün, 2016) is mentioned in the literature, there is no information on its location. Kurnaz (1994), in his study on foundations, mentions the Konak Mosque in today's Cumhuriyet Mahallesi, Uzun Sokak as Kasım Ağa Konak Mosque and also refers to Kasım Ağa-Konak Mosque Foundation. If the Kasım Paşa Mescid is the same building, the quarter should be built around this mescid.

Konakmeydani (Square of Konak): Depending on the phrase ...Konak Meydani Mahallesi Mosque in the city of Trabzon... in Trabzon kadi court register number 1918 (1746-1789); it is evident that this quarter is located, just like the Kasım Paşa Mahallesi, around the Konak Mosque at today's Uzun Sokak (Long Street). If the presumption of Kasım Paşa Mescid is Konak Mosque, this quarter may have two different names. Furthermore, the Kınıkmeydanı Mahallesi in the register number 1924/110 (1759-1760) is also a misspelling of Konakmeydanı (Square of Konak).

*Kemer Kayası:* The quarter mentioned as Mahalle-i Mescid-i Sarmaşık (Quarter of the Small Mosque of Kemerkaya) in fiscal registers is called Kemerkaya also in the present day.

*Manastir/ Manastir Cami-i Şerifi:* The quarter is mentioned as Cami-i Manastir der Mahalle-i Ayafilbo (Monastery Mosque in the Quarter of Ayafilbo) in the documents of the year 1665, referring to a quarter of Ayafilbo, the quarter should be in the same region, in today's Esentepe Mahallesi.

*Muhyiddin:* The quarter under Zeytinlik Mahallesi (Quarter of Olive Grove) in Trabzon kadı court register number 1964/150 (1836-1837), probably owes its name to the Hacı Kasım Muhittin Mosque commissioned in 1821-22 by Hazinedarzade Osman Pasha, in today's Cumhuriyet Quarter.

*Yeni Cuma:* The first Muslim quarter outside the walls, still called the same way today, owes its name to the Yeni Cuma Camii of today, converted from the St. Eugenios Church. The Yeni Cuma Mahallesi is not a new quarter, it is the same quarter referred to as Mahalle-i Cami-i Cedid Der Birun-i Şehir (Quarter of the New Mosque outside the city) in the 1523 fiscal register.

*Yeni Cuma'a Bala:* Similarly, due to the bala (upper) word in its name, this quarter may be built around the Yeni Cuma Camii (New Friday Mosque) and describes the upper parts of the quarter.

*Yeni Cuma-i Zir:* This quarter mentioned separately should be the lower parts of the quarter built around the Yeni Cuma Mosque.

Zeytinlik: It is probable that the quarter was built around the Zeytinlik (Olive Grove) Mosque, converted from a church, and demolished in 2003 due to Tanjant (Tangent) Road works. Bijişkyan's (1998) statement of "...around the small place, there is the Zeytinlik Mahallesi with a mosque and a school that the Greeks left, from here you go to Tekke Mahallesi" confirms this presumption. This quarter in today's Cumhuriyet Mahallesi may be located near Zeytinlik Street which was renamed Şehit Onur Fikret Dülger Street by the municipality on 5 September 2012.

*Molla Salih (Mullah Salih):* The name of this quarter was only mentioned once in a late 19<sup>th</sup>-century register. Since the names Molla (Mullah ) and Hoca (Hodja) might have been used interchangeably, the quarter may be located near the Hacı Salih Mosque of today's Çarşı Quarter.

*Semerciler (Saddlemakers):* It is the commercial street referred to with the same name today, at the end of Kemerkaya Quarter, Kunduracılar Street, leaning towards Çarşı Quarter.

*Tekke (Lodge):* Bearing in mind the general principles of how Ottoman quarters are built, the quarter should be built around the Tekke Mosque in today's Gazipaşa Quarter. This quarter that appears in the registers between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, should refer to the same region that we came across as Derviş Ali Tekyesi Mahallesi only in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century registers.

Uzun Sokak (Long Street): In the present day, the street starting by the end of the Meydan (Square) region leaning until the borders of Kemerkaya-Gazipaşa and Çarşı-Cumhuriyet quarters is called the same name.

#### 3.2.5. Western Suburbs

In Western suburbs, three new quarter names appear. These are;

*Ballica:* There is no information on the location of this quarter that appears in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>-century registers. The only clue we have is the existence of a street with the same name in today's Yeşiltepe Quarter. However, whether this is a coincidence or a trace from the past currently needs clarification.

*Tuzlu Çeşme (Saline Fountain):* Bijikyan (1998) on this quarter, gives this information; a quarter named Kemerkaya due to a belt-shaped rock, and another called Tuzlu Çeşme due to a saltwater fountain, where Greeks live. Since there is a street called Tuzlu Çeşme today in the coastal part of İskender Paşa Quarter, parallel to the Gazipaşa Street, we can position this street that we come across for the first time in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in this location with ease.

*Yeni (New):* The quarter called Yeni appearing in the 18<sup>th</sup> century may remind of Yeni Cuma Camii (New Friday Mosque) Mahallesi, but these two quarters appear in the same register, therefore they may be different quarters. Today, in the western parts of the city, just to the east of the Ayasofya Mosque, there is a quarter called Yeni Mahalle (New Quarter) hinting that might be the same quarter, however, it may also refer to another newly-founded quarter at that era.

## 3.2.6. Southern Suburbs

In the southern suburbs, there appear four new quarters. These are;

Derviş Ahi Dede Evkafı (Dervish Ahi Dede Pious Foundations): This quarter that we across for the first time in the 17<sup>th</sup> century registers appears to be subject to the Boztepe-i Bala Mahallesi (Upper Boztepe Quarter). Albeit having been constructed in a later period, the Ahi Evren Dede Mosque and shrine (built-in 1890 according to their logs) point at the exact location of Derviş Ahi Dede Evkafı Mahallesi.

*Boztepe:* It appears in the south of Trabzon with the same name today. It should be noted that the quarter is frequently fragmented in the documents as Boztepe-i Kule-i Bab , Boztepe-i Zir (Lower Boztepe), Boztepe-i Bala (Upper Boztepe), referring to smaller regions.

*Boztepe-i Kule-i Bab:* Whereas there is no information on the location of this quarter that appears only in 17<sup>th</sup>-century documents, the name Boztepe makes us locate the quarter in the southern suburbs of the city. It is possible to speculate on the location of the quarter.

*Boztepe-i Zir/Boztepe-i Bala:* The Boztepe Mahallesi that appears in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and is still referred to with the same name, is divided into two in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as Boztepe-i Zir (Lower Boztepe) and Boztepe-i Bala (Upper Boztepe).

### 3.2.7. Quarters with unidentified locations

Locations of some quarters appearing in the registers are not possible to be identified. The fact that quarters do not refer to any building, person, or situation in the city; makes it difficult, even impossible to track the locations of these quarters.

*Hristoz:* This quarter that Bijiskyan (1998) associates with a church appear in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century registers. The words Khristos, Hristos, Christ etymologically refer to Jesus Christ; there used to be a Christ Church in Trabzon, as Bryer & Winfield's (1985) studies mention, this structure used to exist just outside the wall gates, however, demolished in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup>-century Turkish attacks. Nevertheless, is it possible to think that a quarter is still named in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, after a church that was demolished centuries ago, before the conquest of Trabzon? This question requires more data, meanwhile, the records suggest that the quarter still holds a majority of the non-Muslim population in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

*Çarşu (Bazaar):* The Çarşı Mahallesi of today is mentioned as Cemaat-ı Mescid-i Hacı Kasım Der Nezd-i Bezzazistan (Community of the Small Mosque of Hacı Kasım in the vicinity of the covered market hall) in the 16<sup>th</sup> century fiscal registers. Depending on the locations of Cami-i Cedid (today's Çarşı Mosque) and the covered bazaar, the region that these two quarters define is precise. However, the region solely referred to as Çarşı Mahallesi in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century registers is not certain.

#### 3.2.8. Quarters appearing in the registers without information on their locations

The quarters that appear for the first time in the seventeenth century documents are; Araf, Arasur, Asma Çomar, Ayur, Aya Yorgi, Başyak, Çarbakan, Çarıkyan, Eskeluc, Gar, Garb, Gergi, İmamiye, Katine, Kazan Han Mescidi, Kule Boynu, Şehr Emin and Şerife Hatun.

The quarters that appear for the first time in the eighteenth-century documents are; Alunca, Atıkmeydan, Aya Lotin, Ayamir Kıyı, Ayder, Burun, Cami-i Sağır, Celi Hoca, Çukur, Deli Osman, Dere, Göznar, Harşaa, İvriği, Karos, Karuş, Kasaba Havan, Kösha, Kululu, Kürtün, Küçük Zeytinlik, Mescid-i Minare, Muradpaşa, Pazar, Temurcular, Van, Van Kelesre, Yalıca, and Zoğraka.

The quarters that appear for the first time in the nineteenth century documents are; Berberoğlu, Camii Münkir, Hoca, Eksütmene, Enver, İmasiye, Kal'a Bala, Koşura, Kömbe, Kulak, Mahi Lehiye, Ömer Ağa Mescidi, Ömer Bey, Paşa, Sarıcalı Hoca, and Yecekola.

The quarters that appear for the first time in the twentieth century documents are; Aksu Tahsin, Ayakalpu, Bayramyan, Çalı Fulya, Kalemas, Karınkisar, Munda İştiloz, and Murlı.

### 3.2.9. Quarters that appear in the documents but are not in central Trabzon

In the kadı court register number 1824, the Hos Mahallesi is given as if it were in Trabzon. However, since the old name of today's Çimenli Village is Hos Meşalos (Aygün, Açık and Şimşek, 2019), Hos may not be a quarter in central Trabzon.

#### 4. Conclusion and Discussion: Obscure Walls of the Ancient City-Mahalles

While the information we have today states the certain effects of social, cultural, political, etc. dynamics in the physical development of the city of Trabzon; the most powerful determinants are geographical and topographic factors. Even though maritime commerce was an important factor in the city's development, and there was a more safeguarded port nearby, it is no coincidence that the first settlers of the city settled in plains between two deep valleys acting as a natural wall. It is understood that, for the first settlers, a topographic structure suitable for the defense was before a safeguarded port (Üstün Demirkaya & Tuluk, 2018). The geographical preference of the first settlers defined the destiny of their, so to speak, later cousins. The city stuck between the sea and the mountains in the north-south direction, and in the plains between two deep valleys in the east-west direction, later made a big leap and expanded outside the walls, the coastal or plain parts of the eastern, western, and southern suburbs that were suitable for residence.

The distribution of quarters under the Komnenos period and the following early Ottoman period shows how topographic factors were still very relevant despite centuries passing by. The quarters were expanded per the topographic thresholds of the city. The walls of Yukarıhisar, Ortahisar, and Aşağıhisar having their final forms at the end of the Komnenos period, separated from each other with a natural border, also define the precise borders of these three quarters. Three quarters that had spread to the western suburbs are aligned along the coast.

Meanwhile, the popular settlements outside the walls were expanded to the eastern suburbs. The quarter called Leontokastron during the Komnenos period, which was also a Genoese colony was located in the plains over a deep reef leaning towards the sea. There were three quarters in the plains of the eastern suburbs across the sea, and two on the coast.

Even 120 years after the city was captured by the Ottomans, dozens of newly founded quarters were built in compliance with almost the same topographic thresholds or expanded around the old quarters. In other words, many new and old quarters of the city in the 16<sup>th</sup> century are a continuation of a pragmatical settlement practice implemented during the Komnenos period. This situation did not change until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, newly founded quarters expanded towards the eastern suburbs, between the city walls and Leontokastron, so the new quarters were squeezed among the old ones. One reason for that is evidently; even though there were wide plains suitable for settlement in the western suburbs, the port of Çömlekçi and the Değirmendere Valley which connects Trabzon to the inner lands are located in the eastern part of the city.

In this study, the findings on Trabzon quarters between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century show that the city did not grow by new settlements but by expanding the late Komnenos and early Ottoman period quarters and being divided into several quarters. While some quarters preserved their names, some others-with different reasons-changed their names and made it to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even to the present day.

In this context, it is understood that the western suburbs, from the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century where the Ottoman rule began to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in comparison with the other parts of the city, had a stalled development; there were no newly founded quarters, the old ones were preserved keeping their names as well. Among them, the quarter called Eksotha under the Komnenos period was divided into three in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, yet in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these three quarters were merged under the old name.

Unlike the western part, the eastern suburbs were the part where the physical development of the city was apparent. From the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the twentieth, eight new quarters emerged in this region, between the city walls and Leontokastron, in locations where road connections with the old quarters

were possible. In this period, at the outskirts and hills of Boztepe, which is an important border of the city topography making the city stuck between the sea and the mountains, two different quarters were built. One of these quarters being built around the Derviş Ahi Dede Shrine and Mosque, important for the Muslim habitants, explains the settlement in this region despite great difficulties of access. The other quarter was built around a non-Muslim religious center, called Girls' Monastery today.

In this period, even though new quarter names emerged, these quarters probably were built by expanding the old ones, which is understandable bearing in mind the limited settlement area inside the city walls. In this region, almost all the quarters preserve their names. The only southern quarter appearing in the registers after conquest is Kindinar.

In the transcription of Trabzon kadı court registers between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there are 211 different quarter names. Compared to the total number of 52 quarters in the last fiscal register dated 1583, and 37 quarters in the 1876-77 yearbook, this inflation of quarters in the registers is worth questioning. Some of these new names are due to the misspellings of the registrar or the misinterpretation of the researcher transcribing the register. However, the real reason is the practice of keeping records. In Açık's (2014) study on the relationship between mosques and quarters in Trabzon, it is stated that the Ottoman registrar tends to call one upper or lower settlement unit as mahalle due to lack of standardization. According to that study, Yukarıhisar, Ortahisar, and Aşağıhisar circled by the walls are mentioned as mahalle while they should have been called semt (district) in today's terms. This situation may be observed in some registries such as Bâb-ı Pazar quarter of the Aşağıhisar quarter etc. (Açık, 2014).

In this context, in Yukarıhisar, İçkule or Kale-i Kule Mahallesi and Sultan Abdullah Mescidi Mahallesi are used interchangeably in the register, but they refer to the same quarter. Also, the Aya Marino Mahallesi in the registers may be a sub-unit of Kâfir Meydanı, Meydanı Şarki or Meydanı Cedid Mahallesi, or it was a street where non-Muslims lived. The Hakabe Han Mahallesi in the 18th-century registers being mentioned as the quarter where Musa Paşa Mosque is located in the documents shows that the quarter is a part of Musa Paşa Mahallesi in Ortahisar.

Meanwhile, there are also records found that refer explicitly to a sub-unit of a quarter. For instance, the Boztepe-i Zir and Boztepe-i Bala quarters, as it may be taken from their names, refer to the upper and lower parts of Boztepe Mahallesi. Similarly, apart from Yeni Cuma Mahallesi, in the records there are also Yeni Cuma-i Zir and Yeni Cuma-i Bala quarters, referring to the upper and lower parts of Yeni Cuma Mahallesi by the registrars. Some quarters also have name changes. The quarter mentioned as Cami-i Atik in the fiscal registers eventually becomes Cami-i Kebir and Ortacami Mahallesi. The Mahalle-i Mescid-i Sarmaşık in the fiscal registers become Kemer Kayası Mahallesi; the Mahalle-i Cami-i Cedid becomes Yeni Cuma Mahallesi.

Additionally, some of the quarters the locations of which could not be detected might be sub-units of quarters. All these presumptions are taken into account, it can be briefly said that even though about 200 quarter names appear in the registers between the seventeenth and the twentieth century there are 52 quarters, 38 of which being from the previous century and 14 new. Therefore, the city that is comprised of 52 quarters in the year 1583 fiscal register, and only 37 quarters in the 1876-77 yearbook did not grow exponentially; the growth was limited to the ordinary growth of quarters. In other words, some old quarter names not appearing in the registers necessarily mean that they are now defunct, and hundreds of similar or different quarter names do not mean that the city had a growth of an unusual magnitude. The demographic data confirms this inference.

In the scope of the study, the existence of numerous new quarters names is encountered in various sources, and the reason for this may be related to the practical application of registering the records. In the studies covering Trabzon quarters in different eras, there are some quarters whose names are indicated as present on the documents, however, those names were not discovered in our study. The quarters we did not encounter during our study, but their names are present in Ayu Vaniklesi are Alaeddin, which Tülüveli (2002) had mentioned in his study covering Trabzon in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; Abacılar, which was on the list that İnan (2013) presented while determining the quarters between 1643 and 1656; Fas, which Açık (2017) had detected with his study based on the tax rolls, court records,

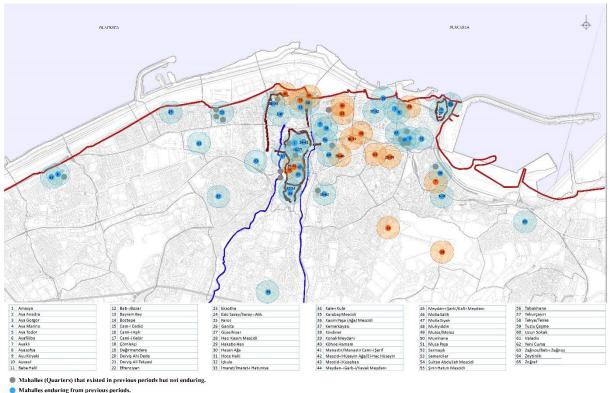
and type rolls in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. On the other hand, Hoca and Güzelhisar quarters that only appear in the Trabzon kadi court register number 2093/273 dated 1909-1911 (İmamoğlu, 2003) or the Semerciler quarter that appears only in the log number 42/2081 dated 1908-1916 (Güney, 1998) not appearing in any other register or yearbook should be considered to be normal, bearing in mind the bookkeeping practices. Even though it is possible that these quarters appeared at a later date, it should be also taken into account that the quarter names are mentioned in the registers as long as they are the subjects of an event. Therefore, the real question lies in the fact that there are hundreds of quarters appearing in the registers but not in the yearbooks; the answer to that question is the pragmatical approach of the Ottoman registrar in defining locations by referring to smaller units of quarters.

The quarter names reveal other information about bookkeeping practices as well. The basis for the argument that defines the Ottoman quarter as the part of the city where the community of the same mescid lives with their families (Ergenç, 1984), is the institutional role of mescid and the personal role of the mahalle imam in establishing a relationship between the state and the individual. The imam, who is in charge of announcing the decrees of the capital to the habitants, is also required to know them. Therefore, it is required that the imam should be a resident of the quarter himself. An imam is essential for a quarter's several functions, and it is required that there is a mescid in every quarter where there's an imam (Açık, 2014).

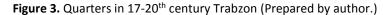
In the registers of the period, the number of quarters that owe their names directly to a mescid, a mosque, or a religious social complex (külliye) is 15. Considering the functions and responsibilities of an imam in the society, it is normal that the names of mescids and mosques that can be considered to be the spaces of institutional legitimacy may give their names to the quarters. Meanwhile, the quarter names bearing person names such as Hoca Halil, Bayram Bey, İskenderpaşa, or Hasan Ağa are names that previously had mosque or mescid in them, which were later discarded in daily language. Similarly, it is certain that Amasya Mahallesi is build around the Amasya Mescid; Bab-I Bazar Mahallesi around the Pazarkapi Mosque etc. Therefore, in those particular quarters, Açık's (2014) argument claims that there should be a mosque or mescid, as well as an imam, for the legal, administrative, etc. matters of the quarters are carried out is valid. On the other hand, the quarters that are the sub-units of quarters and that we do not have any information on their locations should be excluded from this category.

However, apart from the quarters referring to the presence of an imam, some quarters do not observe this rule. The quarters such as Aya Anadro, Aya Gorgor, Aya Todor, Ermeniyan where the non-Muslim communities lived; quarters such as Çömlekçi, Semerciler, Çarıkyan that gather artisans together or quarters like Meydan-ı Cedid/Meydan-ı Şarki/Gâvur Meydanı, Bab-ı Zağnos, Köhne Hamam, Küçük Zeytinlik that the names of which refer to distinctive geographic or architectural features or concepts like new/old are among those. For example, even though there is a document mentioning an imam for Köhne Hamam Mahallesi hints that there may be a mescid in the quarter even though the name does not reveal it; however, in many other quarters, it is still not precise. However, it is still stated that, in the Ottoman administrative scheme, a location without a mescid or imam cannot be considered to be a real quarter but a sub-unit of a quarter, for an instance, a street (Açık, 2014).

To sum up, especially during the foundation of Trabzon and after, the geographical or topographic factors are much more distinctive and determining in comparison to the social, cultural, political, etc. dynamics. The physical development of the city after the conquest is a continuation of a pragmatical settlement practice implemented during the Komnenos period, mainly based on the geographical and topographic thresholds of the city; the city expanded by the growth and division of old quarters rather than by the newly founded settlements between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries. Hundreds of quarter names appearing in the seventeenth-twentieth century registers despite the mention of 37 quarter names in the 19th-century yearbook, apart from misspellings or transcription errors, are related to the bookkeeping practices. It is understood that the Ottoman registrars implemented a pragmatical bookkeeping practice that refers to smaller units of quarters. Therefore, as confirmed by the demographic data, coming across hundreds of quarter names does not mean that the city had an exponential growth (Figure 3).



Mahalles (Quarters) that appear in the records for the time between the 17th and the 20th centuries



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The article complies with national and international research and publication ethics. Ethics committee permission was not required for the study.

#### Author Contribution and Conflict of Interest Declaration Information

All authors contributed equally to the article. There is no conflict of interest.

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