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*Beyond Dominant Paradigms in Ottoman  
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A Tribute to Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj

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# The ‘Soup Muslims’ of the Ottoman Balkans: Was There A ‘Western’ & ‘Eastern’ Ottoman Empire?

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This paper serves as a logical outgrowth of much of the work I have published in the past decade.<sup>1</sup> A *leitmotif* linking each of these studies has been my implicit acceptance of the idea that the Ottoman conquest of the heartlands of the older Islamic world, the project realized by Sultan Selim I in 1516-1517, marks a major ‘fault line’ in Ottoman history. What had been largely a southeastern European, i.e., Balkan state, whose inhabitants shared neither a common religion, language, culture, nor history with

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1 These works include (in order of publication): *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities: Christian Peasant Life on the Aegean Island of Limnos* (İstanbul: Eren, 2002); *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003); *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Ottoman & Modern Turkish Studies Publications, 2003); *Defterology Revisited: Studies on 15<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Society* (İstanbul: Isis, 2008); *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: Conquest, Settlement and Infrastructural Development of Northern Greece* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2008); *In the Footsteps of the Ottomans: A Search for Sacred Spaces and Architectural Monuments in Northern Greece* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2009); *Ottoman Architecture in Greece: A Review Article with Addendum and Corrigendum* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2009); with İsmail E. Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty of Yenice-i Vardar: Notes and Documents* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2010); and *The Evrenos Family and the City of Selânik* (İstanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2010).

their Ottoman rulers, was transformed virtually overnight into not only a far larger entity geographically, but one whose inhabitants were more or less equally divided between Muslims and non-Muslims. Even more importantly, from that point forward, it was a state whose institutions were increasingly reshaped in keeping with practices which had developed in the Islamic world throughout the preceding eight hundred years.

Implicit to my view of early Ottoman history is an acceptance of the fact that despite its origins in northwestern Anatolia, the Ottoman polity came of age in the Balkans. More importantly, its institutional framework was heavily influenced, indeed shaped, by virtue of the fact that the overwhelming majority of its population in the fourteenth and fifteenth century was Christian, i.e., these institutions were developed with the needs of the ruled in mind.

The present paper focuses on one specific item: the institution of the *zâviye-imâret* (dervish lodge-soup kitchen), and its impact on the establishment of Ottoman rule and the process of Islamization in the fourteenth-fifteenth century region of Western Thrace and Macedonia. It weighs the manner in which this key institution developed in the Balkans, and contrasts it with the form it exhibited in Anatolia and the Arab East.

Likewise key to my understanding is a belief that from its outset the Ottoman polity was aware that the long term benefits of conquest, typified by a regularized form of taxation and the profits of a secure commercial network, was far more advantageous than the short term gains provided by booty and slaves. While the promise of slaves and booty was an essential element in attracting warriors (many, if not most, of whom in the opening century were dervishes) to its banner, from the outset effective steps were undertaken to regularize the long terms fruits of conquest. These included the establishment of a series of institutions designed to forge a new polity in the conquered regions. None of these was more important than the *zâviye-imâret*, or dervish lodge-soup kitchen. This institution, together with an ever-growing network of *hans/kervansarays*, soon came to mark the urban landscape throughout the Ottoman Balkans. While over time it was the minarets piercing the sky which came to symbolize the Ottoman presence, it was, I would argue, rather the built environment of dervish lodges, soup-kitchens and kervansarays, which provided the glue that initially served to unite the region.

As the present paper seeks to illustrate, the clientele of the Balkan *zâviye-imârets*, and therefore their very purpose, was far different from that seen in Anatolia and the Arab lands. In this respect, as is so often the case, I take as a dictum the all too often overlooked advice proffered by Halil İnalçık, the doyen of living Ottomanists, half a century ago, in his path-breaking study on the Christian *timar* (appanage) holders in the Balkans,<sup>2</sup> where he began by stressing the necessity to bear in mind that “*during its formative period, in the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire’s character was completely different* [from that seen in later periods].”<sup>3</sup> He went on to state that “the ‘*deep lines*’ which divide the state’s institutions (even when they bear the same names) in different periods are generally overlooked by scholars working on Ottoman institutions who all too often fail to comprehend the fifteenth century realities of the Ottoman conquest and administration of the Balkans due to the inadequacy of the sources at their disposal.”<sup>4</sup>

Stated differently, not only do I concur with İnalçık’s assessment as to how the function of key institutions evolved over time, I would go one step further and suggest that it is a mistake to assume that any institution’s form in the Balkans is necessarily the same as that seen in Anatolia (and in the east after the beginning of the sixteenth century), even when the same name is used for both. In other words, I would modify his warning to read:

“the ‘*deep lines*’ which divide the state’s institutions (even when they bear the same names) in different periods and different regions are generally overlooked by scholars working on Ottoman institutions who all too often fail to comprehend the fifteenth century realities of the Ottoman conquest and administration of the Balkans due to the inadequacy of the sources at their disposal.”

Given the absence of significant Muslim settlement throughout the Balkans, for this long term goal of effective fiscal exploitation to succeed

2 Halil İnalçık: “Stefan Duşan’dan Osmanlı İmparatorluğuna: XV. Asırda Rumeli’de hıristiyan sipahiler ve menşeleri,” in Halil İnalçık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1954), 137-184.

3 *Ibid.*, 137.

4 *Ibid.*, 140-141; Lowry, *Fifteenth Century Ottoman Realities*, 1-4, 173-175.

it became necessary to ensure the support of the newly conquered populations. This was done by the implementation of what Halil İnalcık has termed *istimâlet*, or goodwill, i.e., a policy of 'not rocking the boat.' Stated differently, a policy of causing as little unrest among the conquered peoples as was possible. The 'carrot and stick' approach of the fourteenth and fifteenth century conquests was typified by the promise of good treatment for those who surrendered when called upon to do so and accepted Ottoman rule, and it provided the new subjects guarantees that they would be allowed to keep their properties, practice their religion as they wished, and even continue to live in the walled town and cities in which they had previously resided. For this 'carrot and stick' approach to succeed, it was essential that once given, the word of the Ottoman sultans or their commanders on the ground had to be kept.

This key, albeit generally overlooked, aspect of the nature of the early Ottoman conquests, is fundamental to a better understanding of the actual nature of the polity. In short, as a result of the fact that the Ottoman rulers constituted a minority throughout the overwhelmingly Christian Balkans, the early sultans and their men on the ground, that is, the *Uc Beys*, or March Lords, who actually were primarily responsible for the conquest of the Balkans, implemented a series of steps to gain the loyalty of their new subjects.

Of these, none is more striking than the establishment of an ever-growing number of *zaviye-imârets*, or dervish lodge-soup kitchens, an ever-expanding chain of which were built in the wake of conquest along virtually every major road network in the Balkans, as well as in more isolated locations. When we examine the role of these facilities in establishing an Ottoman presence in the newly conquered lands, as well as the clientele they were intended to serve, it becomes apparent that they not only were a key institution but that their development in the Balkans bore little relationship to the form they took in Ottoman lands to the east.

A surprisingly large number of the earliest foundations established by the members of the House of Osman and their military commanders on the frontier (*Uc Beys*), fall into the categories of *zâviye-imârets* (dervish lodge-soup kitchens) and *hans/kervânsarays* (inns with large courtyards), both of which were facilities specifically designed to provide for the comfort and

protection of travelers and merchants, as well as to provide sustenance for wandering dervishes, the poor and needy.<sup>5</sup>

In this regard it may be more than coincidence that the oldest document to have survived from the early Ottoman era is the 1324 Mekece *vakfiyesi*, wherein the newly enthroned Ottoman ruler Orhan Gazi established a *hanegâh/zâviye* (dervish lodge) for the purpose of feeding and housing travelers, the poor, and wandering dervishes. This document, which I have elsewhere described as the ‘birth certificate’ of the newly founded Ottoman entity,<sup>6</sup> is the earliest surviving fourteenth century written record of the polity upon whose authenticity scholars are in unanimous agreement. As such it provides us a unique contemporary glimpse into the historical nature of the evolving entity, rather than how it was viewed by chroniclers writing two centuries after the fact. That is, the document reflects the fledgling Bithynian *beylik* before it metamorphosed into the powerful Ottoman Empire stretching across three continents.

Specifically, the *vakfiye* bestows in perpetuity the entire income from the region of Mekece (on the Sakarya river east of İznik) on behalf of a *hanegâh* (dervish lodge) to be administered by Orhan’s freed slave, a eunuch named Sharaf al-Din Muqbil, for the “*interests of the traveling dervishes, the poor; the strangers and mendicants, and for those in search of knowledge, who will be residing in that Sufi lodge.*”<sup>7</sup> It takes no great leap of faith to conclude that the interests of the poor and those of traveling dervishes included the filling of their stomachs on a regular basis, i.e., that the services provided by the Mekece *hanegâh* included an *imâret* (soup

5 For examples of both a fourteenth century *imâret* and a *kervansaray*, built by the March Lord Hacı Evrenos, see Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550*, 29-35, 41-47; see also Lowry and Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty*; and Lowry, *In the Footsteps of the Ottomans*, 32-34, 136-137. For similar examples, built by the early Ottoman rulers and their officials, see Abdülhamit Tüfenkçioğlu, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Yazı* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001), in particular the 1335 *Orhan Gazi İmâreti* in İznik [pp. 19-22]; the 1388 *Nilüfer Hatun İmâreti* in İznik [pp. 68-70]; the 1394-1395 *Issız Han* in Ulubat [pp. 78-80]; and the 1415-1418 *Mihal Bey Hanı* in Gölpazarı [pp. 133-135].

6 For a facsimile of this document complete with transcription, translation and analysis of its contents, see Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 72-78.

7 *Ibid.*, 76.

kitchen) designed to serve the material needs of its clientele in the same manner that other aspects of the foundation fed the spiritual.<sup>8</sup>

In short, even prior to the time the Ottoman principality included a single city (Bursa was only conquered two years later in 1326), its second ruler had begun the practice of establishing institutions for the purpose of feeding the poor, travelers and wandering dervishes. That this was not a unique occurrence is confirmed in Aşıkpaşazade's description of the aftermath of the conquest of İznik (Nicaea) which surrendered to Orhan Gazi's forces in 1331, only seven years after the Mekece *vakfiyesi* had been drawn up. While written at the end of the fifteenth century, Aşıkpaşazade's sections dealing with the establishment of the state were drawn from a no longer extant chronicle written by a certain Yahşi *Fakîh*, whose father İshak *Fakîh* had served as Orhan Gazi's *imam* (prayer leader).<sup>9</sup> Here, in a series of passages which present the usually distant Ottoman rulers in a remarkably human light, Aşıkpaşazade relates how, after a long siege, the inhabitants of İznik surrendered the city to Orhan on March 2, 1331:

The unbelievers sent a trusted envoy from among their number to him [who pleaded]: 'Reach an agreement with us and don't destroy us. Let those who want to go, do so. Those who want to stay, will stay. We will surrender the fortress to you' he said. Orhan Gâzi agreed to their proposal. As a result they declared that this generosity represented the best kind of conquest. And this generosity had the effect of making many of them accept Islam.<sup>10</sup>

8 In Ottoman usage of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the terms *hanegâh*, *zâviye*, *tekke* and *imâret* all appear to have been used interchangeably, a logical inference given the fact that all tended to meet the needs of the poor and therefore provided food to their visitors. European visitors, on the other hand, tended to group these facilities under the heading "hospital." My Princeton colleague, Professor Hossein Modarressi, informs me that in this period, the Persian equivalent of the *imâret* was the *hanegâh*.

9 Halil İncalcık, "How to Read Ashık Pasha Zade's History," *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V.L. Menage*, eds. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (İstanbul: İsis, 1994), 143-45; see also Halil İncalcık, "The Struggle Between Osman Gazi and the Byzantines for Nicaea," in *İznik Throughout History*, eds. Oktay Aslanapa et al. (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2003), 59-85.

10 Heath W. Lowry, "Ottoman İznik (Nicaea): Through the Eyes of Travelers and as Recorded in Administrative Documents, 1331-1923," in *İznik Throughout History*, 133-174; see p. 137 in particular for this passage which is taken from *Osmanlı*

From his ensuing description it is clear that the effects of the siege on the city's inhabitants had been severe. After relating Orhan's victorious entry into the city, Aşıkpaşazade goes on to describe the manner in which the local Christian population greeted their new conqueror:

It was as if a ruler had died and his son was being enthroned. And many of those who came were women. Orhan Gazi enquired: 'Where are their men?' They replied: 'They are dead: some due to fighting, others due to starvation.' Among them were many beautiful women. Orhan Gazi apportioned them out among his warriors. He ordered that: 'You are to marry these widows.' And they did what he requested. There were many prosperous houses in the city. These he gave to the warriors who had married. They received both wives and homes. Who wouldn't accept this?<sup>11</sup>

Reading beyond the actual wording of this passage we may infer that Orhan Gazi was interested in seeing life in İznik (the second major Bithynian city he had besieged into submission) restored to some form of normalcy as quickly as possible. To that end he sought to replace the missing male inhabitants with his own soldiers whom he married to the widowed local Christian women and apportioned out the city's houses as their wedding dowries.

However, his interest in the city did not end at this point. He then endowed what may well have been the earliest Ottoman *imâret* (though it is possible he had previously established a similar institution in Bursa following that city's surrender in 1326). Aşıkpaşazade describes this event in the following passage:

He [Orhan Gazi] established an *imâret* (soup kitchen) at the edge of the Yenişehir Gate [...] When the doors of the *imâret* were first opened and its first food prepared, it was distributed by the blessed hands of Orhan Gazi himself. He served as the *imâret*'s apprentice on the opening evening.<sup>12</sup>

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*Tarihleri* (Ahmed Aşık: *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*), ed. N. Atsız (İstanbul, 1949), 119; and *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman: Aşıkpaşazade Tarihi*, ed. Ali Bey (İstanbul, 1914), 41.

11 Aşıkpaşazade/Atsız, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, 119; and Aşıkpaşazade/Ali, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, 41-42.

12 Aşıkpaşazade/Atsız, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, 119-120; Aşıkpaşazade/Ali, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, 42-43.

And who were the recipients of Orhan Gâzi's largesse? Given the absence of a Muslim population, it takes no great imagination to realize that they must have been the city's pre-conquest local Christian inhabitants. Bearing in mind that the Ottoman siege of İznik had lasted for almost a decade, and that the city had been so tightly encircled that in the closing stages of the siege the inhabitants could not even venture out on the lake to fish, the immediate needs of the new Ottoman subjects must have been great. In response, the new Ottoman ruler's first official act was to open a soup kitchen and ladle out the first meal with his own hands.

While Orhan's İznik *imâret* has not survived, the inscription which once stood above its entranceway has recently come to light. As such, it provides archeological evidence confirming the accounts of our written sources as to both the location of the *Orhan Gâzi İmâreti* and the approximate date of its construction. Specifically, in 1963-64 Oktay Aslanapa of İstanbul University excavated a site just outside İznik's *Yenişehir Kapısı* in the course of which he discovered a portion of the dedicatory inscription (*kitâbe*) from Orhan's *imâret*. While surviving only in fragmentary form (part of the construction date is missing), it describes the building it once adorned as an '*imâreti's-şerîfeti* which was built in the year [h. 73]5 (September 1, 1334 – August 22, 1335) by *es-sultânü... A 'la a 'lâhü ' illâhü Sultân Orhân bin 'Osmân*.<sup>13</sup>

What then was the intended role of the *imâret* institution in facilitating the acceptance of the new order? Here, our answer must remain at best somewhat speculative. It starts with the assumption that from the outset the Ottoman *imârets* were intended for the needs of all subjects regardless of religion. As noted earlier, this had to be the case in İznik given the absence of a Muslim populace who could conceivably have benefited from the ruler's largesse. But was this a unique situation or was it actually part of a larger policy?

To answer this query we must turn to the extant travel literature penned by visitors to the first Ottoman capital of Bursa in the fourteenth and

13 For a readable photo and transcription of the inscription, see Tüfenkçioğlu, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarîsinde Yazı*, 19-22, 543 (fig. 2). Tüfenkçioğlu's suggested reconstruction of the missing segments of the inscription is convincing. While this building has not survived, its original dedicatory inscription is preserved in the garden of the *Nilüfer Hatun İmâreti* in İznik.

fifteenth centuries. This approach is necessitated by virtue of the fact that we have no other contemporary sources which shed light on the question. The first such visitor specifically to mention the presence of *imârets* in the city was the Bavarian captive Johann Schiltberger who described the Ottoman capital (ca. 1397): “*the city contains [...] eight hospitals [German: spitäler] where poor people are received, whether they be Christians, infidels [Muslims] or Jews.*”<sup>14</sup> Clearly, he was describing the institution of the *imâret*, or soup kitchen for the poor. Interestingly, the second extant revenue register (*tahrir defter*) covering the city, which was compiled in 1530, more than a century after Schiltberger’s account was written, records eight *imârets* in Bursa, thereby confirming the Bavarian’s account.<sup>15</sup> Schiltberger’s knowledge of the exact number of such religious foundations justifies our trust in his claim that these soup kitchens for the poor were indeed open to Muslim, Christian, and Jew alike.

Unfortunately, the only contemporary religious foundation documents (*vakfiye*) which have survived for any of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Bursa *imârets* are somewhat vague when it comes to the question of just whom they were intended to serve. A typical example is the charter for a *zâviye-imâret* founded by Bayezid I (1389-1402), which states that its intended clientele included *şeyhs*, members of the *ulema*, *seyyids* (descendants of the Prophet), the poor and travelers (“*those who come and go*”).<sup>16</sup> The latter two categories, the poor and travelers, are not specifically limited to Muslims and do not exclude the likelihood that in the opening centuries of Ottoman rule the largesse of the sultans was distributed equally to all those in need, regardless of their religious affiliation.

This possibility is strengthened by the account of the Frenchman Bertrandon de la Broquière who visited Bursa in 1432 and made an interesting observation in regard to the city’s *imârets*: “*There are very nice places, like hospitals. In three or four of these, bread, meat and wine are*

14 Johannes Schiltberger, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger: A Native of Bavaria in Europe, Asia and Africa, 1396-1427*, ed. and trans. J. Buchan Telfer (London: Hakluyt Society, 1879), 40.

15 Ahmet Özkılınç et al., *166 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri (937/1530)* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1995), 6.

16 Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinin İlk Devri, 1230-1402* (İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1966), 63-65.

*distributed to all those who want to take them in God's name.*"<sup>17</sup> We can easily account for the fact that Schiltberger's eight *imârets* in 1397 had been temporarily reduced to three or four by the time of Broquière's visit in 1432, since in the interim Bursa had been sacked, pillaged and burned on two occasions. First, the son of the Central Asian conqueror Timur had laid waste to the city in 1402, and then Karamanoğlu Mehmed, the head of a rival Turkish dynasty in Anatolia, did the same a decade later in 1413. The havoc thus wrought is known to have affected the city's imperial foundations, so that the temporary reduction of soup kitchens from eight to three or four at the time of Broquière's visit is quite in keeping with the city's known history. That such foundations would have been rebuilt and thus once again appear in the 1530 cadastral register is also in keeping with known Ottoman practice.

Broquière did not specifically state that the *imârets* he described were serving both the Muslim and non-Muslim poor, but his comments that "*bread, meat and wine are distributed to all those who want to take them in God's name*" certainly implies that this was the case. As a Christian, he might well have noted the fact had such charitable institutions excluded his co-religionists. More problematic is the menu of items which he reported to have been served in the city's *imârets*; in particular, his mention of wine along with bread and meat. This would represent a somewhat startling innovation. If true, the inclusion of wine would represent a real departure from the norm and one not confirmable on the basis of surviving documents.<sup>18</sup> Even here, our knowledge of the latitudinarian practices associated with the heterodox dervish orders in this period does not allow us to exclude pro forma the possibility that the menu provided by Broquière may be correct. Alternatively, as a good fifteenth century European, he may simply have included wine in his menu as an essential part of any meal.

Our clearest testimony stating that Ottoman charity was available to all, regardless of religion, is found in the early sixteenth century Italian

17 Galen R. Kline, trans. and ed., *The 'Voyage d'Outremer' by Bertrandon de la Broquière* (New York: P. Lang, 1988), 83.

18 For the widespread usage of wine by members of the dynasty in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, see Heath W. Lowry, "Impropriety and Impiety Among the Early Ottoman Sultans," *The Turkish Studies Association Journal* 26 (2002): 29-38.

chronicle written by Theodore Spandugnino (Spandounes), a descendant of the imperial Byzantine family of the Cantacuzene. While born in Italy, Spandugnino had spent part of his youth as a ward of his aunt Mara (the widow of Sultan Murad II) in the Serres (Siroz) region of Macedonia<sup>19</sup> and later made several extended sojourns in the Ottoman capital Istanbul. He was conversant in Turkish and related by blood to a number of high-ranking Ottomans, including the late fifteenth century Grand Vezir Mesih Paşa [Palaialogos] who was his cousin.<sup>20</sup> Spandugnino provides the following informative description of the imperial foundation endowed by Sultan Mehmed II (1451-81) in his new capital:

Among the churches [mosques] and hospitals [imârets] in Europe (Grecia) is that of Mehmed in Constantinople, a superb building, with his tomb nearby. The hospital is open to all, Christians, Jews and Turks; and its doctors give free treatment and food three times a day [...] The official in charge of this great Marath [imâret] is called the Mutevoli [mütevelli] [...] These Turks, large and small, are constantly engaged on such pious and charitable works – far more so than we Christians.<sup>21</sup>

Here we have nothing less than an eyewitness observer describing a practice that heretofore we have only inferred on the basis of an *ex silencio* argument. Clearly, at least as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century one sultanic foundation, that of Mehmed the Conqueror in the capital, was providing services to Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Spandugnino states here again, as had Schiltberger in the fourteenth century and Broquière in the fifteenth, that the facility in question provided both medical care and free food for the indigent. More importantly, he names the facility providing such services as the *imâret* ('*marath*') of Mehmed the Conqueror

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19 Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Les illusions d'une princesse: Le sort des biens de Mara Branković," *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte=Arts, Women and Scholars: Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich; Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, ed. Sabine Prätör and Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul: Simurg, 2002), vol. I, 43-60.

20 Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 115-130.

21 Donald M. Nicol, trans. and ed., *Theodore Spandounes on the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), ix-x, 3 [emphasis mine].

and states (again correctly) that the official entrusted with running it was known as the *mütevelli* ('*mutevoli*').

It is in the accounts penned by sixteenth century visitors to the western Ottoman realm, i.e., the Balkans, that we get our first detailed accounts of how such facilities actually operated, and who it was that benefited from their largesse.

A starting point for our examination of the Ottoman institutions of the *imârets* (soup kitchens) and *hans/kervânsaray*s (inns for travelers), must be the description found in the work of the German traveler Salomon Schweigger,<sup>22</sup> who served as the Protestant Pastor attached to the Hapsburg Ambassador to Istanbul, Joachim Freiherr von Sintzendorff, in the years 1577-1581.<sup>23</sup> Schweigger, who published his account in Nürnberg in 1608, gives us one of the clearest glimpses into just how these key Ottoman institutions functioned. Indeed, the detail he provides on both allows us to infer that he was not only a keen observer, but someone who understood the importance of the often overlooked role played by these facilities.

In Book II, Chapter 32: 'The *Imârets* [*Imarerth*] of Constantinople,' he writes the following:

After schools their most important institution is that known as the *imâret* [*imarerth*], that is, 'poorhouses.' The pious foundations of virtually all mosques which do not have a school, contain a building known as the *imâret*. These are not places for the poor and needy to stay in, rather they are built for the purpose of feeding such individuals. Each has a cook, who prepares food for the poor and needy. It is customary that everyone be given a mixed meat and rice dish, a drink called *bosa* (*boza*), which is made from a watered down fermented millet, and a loaf of bread.

From this charity, everyone -- rich, poor, Christian, Jew or Turk -- without any distinction, may partake. This custom is of particular value for

22 The first German edition of this work is *Ein Neue Reyssbeschreibung Auss Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem, Mit Hundert Schönen Newen Figuren In III Unterschiedlichen Büchern. Auff's Fleissigst Eigner Person Verzeichnet Und Abgerissen Durch Salomon Schweigger* (Nürnberg: Johann Lantzenberger, 1608). More recently, an excellent Turkish translation has appeared Salomon Schweigger, *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk, 1578-1581*, trans. S. Türkis Noyan, ed. and annot. Heidi Stein (İstanbul: Kitap Yayinevi, 2004), 247.

23 Schweigger/Noyan/Stein, *Sultanlar Kentine Yolculuk*, 14.

travelers. Every traveler may stay for three days in an imâret and take advantage of all its offerings; however if one stays more than three days it arouses suspicion and you will be shown the road.

If you ask me, this type of foundation is far more valuable than buildings such as Roman obelisks, statues, or, even for that matter, the great pyramids of Egypt. That is because, aside from serving as great works of art, none of these ancient monuments are worth anything.

In the course of our journey to Constantinople we frequently benefited from this type of generosity. These imârets are extremely well ordered and clean buildings. They have a number of rooms where food is served. After having eaten one retires to a *kervansaray* (inn with a large courtyard) or to a *han* (inn). We spent our nights in these types of buildings. Some of the members of our company partook of the food which they offered, while others waited for our cook to prepare their meals. Distinguished individuals and high officials do not shy away from supporting these imârets, and they never hesitate to provide this kind of assistance.<sup>24</sup>

Not only does Schweigger provide useful detail on the actual manner in which the Ottoman soup kitchens operated, he also stresses the fact that their services were open to “*everyone—rich, poor, Christian, Jew and Turk—without any distinction,*” while likewise making it clear that he, and his traveling companions, while crossing the Balkans enroute to the Ottoman capital, had frequently been the recipients of the generous hospitality afforded by the *imârets*.

An even earlier account of a *kervansaray* serving the role of hostelry, together with an adjacent *imâret* where travelers and the poor were fed is found in the French traveler Pierre Belon’s account of his 1547 visit to the northern Aegan port town of Kavala.<sup>25</sup> In a section discussing the role played by Sultan Süleyman’s Grand Vezir, İbrâhim Paşa, in endowing a number of charitable works on behalf of the inhabitants of Kavala, he makes it clear that their services were in no way restricted to Muslims. Belon states that the *kervansaray-imâret*, or inn-soup kitchen which he built as part of his *vakıf* (religious foundation), was open to all regardless of their religious affiliation:

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 128 [emphasis is mine].

<sup>25</sup> See Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550*, 227-242, for a description of İbrâhim Paşa’s role in building Kavala.

Taking into account that there are hardly any hostelries in Turkey let us speak about the great building which İbrâhim Paşa erected in Kavala, which the Turks call a Carbasharra [sic. Kervansaray]. He also built a mosque next to the hostel, where all who pass by are lodged and fed. Our group was only three in number, with our horses, and we were given food for three days in succession without paying anything and without any trouble..... Nobody, be he Christian, Jew, Muslim or idolater is refused here.<sup>26</sup>

Although we have similar traveler accounts describing *imârets* in other Ottoman cities as also being accessible to non-Muslims, Belon is the earliest European traveler to specifically provide eye-witness testimony on the hospitality and free food and lodging which he and his traveling companions were provided in İbrâhim Paşa's Kavala *imâret*.<sup>27</sup>

Near the end of the sixteenth century in 1591, the secretary of a new Venetian Bailo to Istanbul, a certain Gabriele Cavazza, traveled overland along the traditional route of the Via Egnatia, to İstanbul. He kept a detailed journal in which he recorded how throughout their journey they found that every town they spent the night in (including Elbasan, Struga, Manastir, Vodena, Yenice-i Vardar, Selanik, Yeni Bazar, Pravi, Kavala, Yenice Karasu, Bori, Gümülcine, Makri, İpsala and then on to İstanbul) possessed a strongly built and well maintained *kervansaray* and/or *imâret*, in which they stayed.<sup>28</sup>

Just how widespread this practice was, is determinable by numerous passages from the work of the seventeenth century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, in which he described the services provided by endowed soup kitchens and caravansarays throughout the region of today's Northern Greece in the Ottoman Balkans.

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26 Alexander Merle (ed.), *Voyage au Levant – Les observations de Pierre Belon du Mans* (Paris, 2001), 190-191 [emphasis is mine].

27 Belon's visit occurred in 1547 just thirty years earlier than Schweigger in 1577. For a description of similar practices in other Ottoman cities, see Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 16-18; and Lowry, "Ottoman İznik (Nicaea)," 135-74 (for *imârets*, see 143-7); Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, 80-82; Heath W. Lowry, "Random Musings on the Origin of Ottoman Charity: From Mekece to Bursa, İznik and Beyond," in *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imârets in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. N. Ergin, C. Neumann, and A. Singer (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2007), 69-79.

28 Vassilis Demetriades: "Vakıfs Along the Via Egnatia," in *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule, 1380-1699*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996), 85-95. For the itinerary followed by Cavazza, see pp. 94-95.

Thus in describing such facilities in the home base of the Evrenosoğulları dynasty in the central Macedonian town of Yenice-i Vardar (Giannitsa), he notes the following in regard to *imârets* endowed by members of that family:

And there are a total of three imârets (soup kitchen) facilities for the feeding of the poor and indigent. These are the Receb Çelebi Soup Kitchen, the Soup Kitchen of the Şeyh İlâhi Theological Seminary, and the Soup Kitchen of Gazi Evrenos' Mausoleum. Their generosity is open to all, the rich and the poor alike and the upper class and normal people. These are soup kitchens whose generosity rivals that of Keykâvus, which are open to all, even to fire-worshippers and Jews, day and night.<sup>29</sup>

Nor was this family's largesse limited to feeding the poor and travelers in soup kitchens. In Yenice-i Vardar the dynasty's founder, Gazi Evrenos, had also endowed a caravansary (*kârbânsarây*) at the end of the fourteenth century, which over two-and-a-half centuries later, at the time of Evliya's 1667-1668 visit, was still providing sustenance to 500-600 men and their horses every day:

And in addition there is one inn (*kârbânsarây*) whose services are provided without charge to all who come and go. That too is among the charitable works endowed by Gazi Evrenos. By day and by night up to five or six hundred men with their horses come here. In front of every chimney there is provided a copper tray of food, with a loaf of bread and a candle and candleholder for every man. For every horse a measure of grain is provided. All those who come and go benefit from the food they are offered with grace, and quell their appetites. After their needs are met they recite the Fatiha [opening chapter of the Quran] in memory of its endower. In all truth this is a large act of philanthropy.<sup>30</sup>

29 Evliyâ Çelebi bin Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi – VIII. Kitap [Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini]*, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, and Robert Dankoff (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), 77 [emphasis is mine]; the Turkish text of this passage reads: “*Ve cümle 3 aded dâru'z-ziyâfe-i me'kel-i fakîrânı vardır. Cümleden Receb Çelebi imâreti ve Şeyh İlâhî medresesi imâreti ve Gâzî Evrenos türbesi imâreti. Bunların bay [u] gedâya ve hâss u âmma ni'metleri dâ'imdir kim şeb [ü] rûz matbah-ı Keykâvus'undan muğân u cuhûdâna bile bezl-i it'âm-ı âm olunur.*”

30 Lowry and Erünsal, *The Evrenos Dynasty*, 145.

Evliyâ frequently notes that the soup kitchens he describes throughout northern Greece provided their beneficence to one and all: regardless of confessional allegiance. In addition to the phraseology seen in the aforementioned text on Yenice-i Vardar, i.e., “*Bunların bay [u] gedâya ve hâss u âmma ni ‘metleri dâ ‘imdir kim şeb [ü] rûz matbah-ı Keykâvus ‘undan muğân u kuhûdâna bile bezl-i it ‘âm-ı âm olunur*” (“Their generosity is open to all, the rich and the poor alike and the upper class and normal people. These are soup kitchens whose generosity rivals that of Keykâvus, which are open to all, even to fire-worshippers and Jews, day and night”), he uses similar phrases in describing the availability of the *imârets* to Muslims and non-Muslims alike in numerous other Balkan towns and cities, of which the following are typical examples:

**a) Filibe** [in Bulgaria]: “First, at the head of the bridge is the *Şehâbeddîn Paşa imâreti* [its services] are open to all those who come and go [travelers], fire-worshippers and heathens, Christians, Jews, Copts, Europeans, the rich and the poor alike. . . . Its kitchens whose generosity rivals that of Keykâvus are open to one and all”,<sup>31</sup>

**b) Birgaz**: “and there is one *imâret*, throughout the years and the months, in morning and late afternoon, the rich and the poor, and the hungry, come one by one, together with all those who come and go (travelers). Each is provided a bowl of soup, a loaf of bread, and for every fireplace there is a wax candle; and for each animal, both in the morning and in the evening, there is provided a lavish measure of grain. On Fridays, regardless of whether one is a Muslim or a non-Muslim, every comer is provided a tray of pilav with stewed meat and a dish of sweetened rice with saffron, and soup is always provided as well”,<sup>32</sup>

31 Evliyâ Çelebi bin Derviş Mehemed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi – III. Kitap [Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini]*, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), f. 135b; Turkish text: “*Evvelâ cısr başında Şehâbeddîn Paşa imâreti cemî’i âyende vü revende muğ u gebr u tersâ ve Yahûd ve Kabâbita ve Efrenc-i pürrenc ve mesâkîn-i bây [u] gedâya şeb [u] rûz sofra-yı pür-cûdu matbah-ı Keykâvusdan bî-minnet mebzûldur.*”

32 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – III. Kitap*, f. 108a; Turkish text: “*ve bir imâreti var, mâh u sâl bi’lguduvvi ve ‘l-âsâl ganî vü fakîre, cüvân u pîre merreteyn cemî’i âyende vü revendegâna birer sahan çobra ve birer nân-pâre ve her ocağa birer şem ‘-i revgan ve her esb-i hüssân başına birer yem verilüp subh u mesâ ni ‘meti mebzûldur.*”

c) **Hasköy** [near Edirne]: “its generosity is open to the rich and the poor, to Muslims and to non-Muslims alike”;<sup>33</sup>

d) **Tatarbazarçik**: “The kervansaray of the Favorite İbrahim Paşa, the vezir of Süleyman Hân: In the vicinity of the harem is a great soup kitchen. Every night and every day, all its guests, regardless of whether they are unbelievers or sinners, they may stay in this kervansaray. After sunset, all souls are provided from the kitchens whose generosity rivals that of Keykâvus, at every fireplace, a copper tray containing a serving of wheat soup, and for every person a loaf of bread and a wax candle; while for every horse a measure of grain is provided. May God ensure that this benefactor’s largesse never ends, and may God bless his soul”;<sup>34</sup>

e) **Nefes Sultan Tekkesi** [near Ferecik]: “its generosity is open to the rich and poor, even to fire-worshippers”;<sup>35</sup>

f) **Selânik** [Thessaloniki]: In this, the largest city of the region, he notes the existence of sixteen soup kitchens whose: “generosity is open to the rich and the poor, even to fire-worshippers, Gypsies and the destitute”;<sup>36</sup>

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*Eğer müslim ve eğer gayr-ı müslim ve leyle-i cum ‘ada birer sini pilav ve yahni ve zerde ve çobrası dâ’imdir.”*

33 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – VIII. Kitap*, 27, describing an unnamed *imâret* in Hasköy near Edirne; Turkish text: “*cemî’i bay u gedâya ve müslim ve gayr-ı müslime ni’meti mebzûldür.*”

34 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – III. Kitap*, f. 136a; Turkish text: “*kârbânsarây-ı Makkûl İbrâhîm Paşa-yı vezîr-i Süleymân Hân: Bu haremın bir cânibinde bir azîm imâret-i dârü’z-ziyâfesi var. Her şeb [u] rûz cemî’i müsâfirîn eğer kefer ve fecere bu mih-mânsarâyda sâkin ola. Ba’de’l-mağrib cemî’i huddâmlar matbah-ı Keykâvûs’dan her ocak başına birer bakır sini içre birer tas buğday çobrası ve âdem başına birer nânpâresi ve birer şem’-i revgân dânesi verirler ve her at başına birer tobra yem verirler. İlâ mâşâallah sâhibü’l-hayrât böyle vakf-ı dâ’im eylemiş, rahmetullahi aley.”*

35 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – VIII. Kitap*, 34, describing the facilities at the *Nefes Sultan Tekkesi* near Ferecik; Turkish text: “*ve pîr [ü] cüvân u muğâna ni’metleri mebzûldür.*”

36 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – VIII. Kitap*, 73, describing the services provided by the sixteen *imârets* in the city of Selânik (Thessaloniki); Turkish text: “*cemî’i bay u gedâ-yı pîr [ü] muğâna ve Kıptî vü fakîrâna.*”

**g) Husrev Efendi İmâreti** [in Vodina (Edessa)]: “it provides its beneficence to rich and poor, even to unbeliever Christians and to fire-worshippers”,<sup>37</sup>

**h) Aslan Paşa Câmii İmâreti** [in Yanya]: “it provides service to the rich and poor, to unbeliever Christians and to fire-worshippers and to all those who come and go (i.e., travelers)”,<sup>38</sup>

**i) Bektâşi Tekkesi** [at Mudunuç]: “it provides service to the rich and poor alike, to unbelievers, Jews and fire-worshippers, to all those who come and go.”<sup>39</sup>

In short, Evliyâ's form of describing their clientele leaves no doubt but that the services provided in the Ottoman soup kitchens throughout the Balkans were all inclusive, that is, they were open to the rich and poor, as well as to travelers. More importantly, their largesse was in no way confined to Muslims; rather, they were open to one and all regardless of their religious affiliation. This, I would argue, is a reflection of the fact that from the point in time at which the first Ottoman forces entered the Balkans, until the end of World War I, the indigenous Christians of the region outnumbered their Muslim neighbors.

Correspondingly, from the outset in the second half of the fourteenth century, and throughout the following half millennia, the charity of both the Ottoman rulers, and their officials on the ground, was made available to Muslims and non-Muslims alike. This was one way in which the Ottomans sought to ensure both the loyalty and support of the ruled.

When we turn from the ‘Western Ottoman Empire’ to the ‘Eastern Ottoman Empire,’ we do not see a single such facility described by Evliyâ in terms similar to those he used in the Balkans. Interestingly, and

37 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – VIII. Kitap*, 80, describing the *Husrev Efendi İmâreti* in Vodina (Edessa); Turkish text: “*cemî-i bay u gedâya ve gebr ü tersâya ve pîr-i muğâna ni'meti mebzûldür.*”

38 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – VIII. Kitap*, 288, describing the *Aslan Paşa Câmii İmâreti* in Yanya; Turkish text: “*cemî'i pîr u muğân ve gebr [ü] tersâya ve bay u gedâya subh u mesâ âye[t] sûre-i (---) üzre nassı üzre cümle âyende vü revendelere ni'meti mebzûldür.*”

39 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – VIII. Kitap*, 103, describing the generosity provided at the *Bektâşi Tekkesi* at Mudunuç; Turkish text: “*bay u gedâ-yı pîr [ü] cüvâna ve cuhûd [u] muğâna, nassı üzre cemî'i âyende vü revendegânlara ni'metleri mebzûldür.*”

somewhat tellingly, he does not name a single *imâret* in the Arab East whose services were open to non-Muslims. Nor does he use similar phraseology when it comes to describing the clientele of the string of *imârets* spread throughout Anatolia (including in the cities of İstanbul, Bursa and İznik). His descriptions make no mention whatsoever of the availability of their services to Christians and Jews, let alone to Zoroastrians and Gypsies. Indeed, it seems clear that the practice of making such Muslim charitable facilities open to all no longer existed in Anatolia (unlike in the Balkans) by the mid-seventeenth century. As for the heartlands of the ancient Muslim empires to the East, while Evliyâ mentions the existence of a significant number of *imârets*, he generally does so by simply stating the fact that among the town's or city's buildings there was a soup-kitchen. In those instances where he provides additional information as to the services they provide, he never mentions the services of these facilities being open to anyone but Muslims:

**a) Urfa:** "Situation of the soup-kitchens: There are a total of (...) soup-kitchens for the feeding of the poor. First among these is the soup-kitchen of the Dervish Lodge of his Excellency İbrâhîm Halîl, where, by day and by month and by year, in the morning and in the afternoon, the rich and the poor, the young and the old, together with all those who come and go (travelers), both visistors and those who live nearby, are twice daily served pilav and soup";<sup>40</sup>

**b) Tanta:** "And there is a soup-kitchen attached to the Bedevî Mosque. It provides a bowl of wheat and lentil soup and a loaf of bread to travelers and to the poor";<sup>41</sup>

40 Evliyâ, *Seyahatnâme – III. Kitap*, f. 56a; Turkish text: "Sitâyiş-i imâret-i dârü'l-it'âm: Cümle (---) aded imâret-i dârü'z-zayf-ı fukarâdır. Evvelâ bizzât Hazret-i İbrâhîm Halîl Âsitânesi imareti mâh [u] sâl bi'l-gudüvvi ve'l-âsâl, ganî vü fakîre cüvân u pîre âyeti üzre cemî'i âyende vü revende ve misâfirîn ü mücâvirîne beher rûz merreteyn, roz pilâvı ve çobrası mebzûldur."

41 Evliyâ Çelebi bin Derviş Mehemed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi – X. Kitap [Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini]*, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, and Robert Dankoff (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2007), f. 288a; Turkish text: "Ve Bedevî câmi'inin bir imâreti var, âyende ve revendeye ve cümle fukarâya merreteyn buğday ve mercimek şorbası ve birer nân pâresi mebzûldür."

c) **Kudüs-i şerîf** (Jerusalem): “And there are three soup-kitchens. They provide food to travelers. The soup kitchen of the Queen Mother is a large foundation”;<sup>42</sup>

Here too, I would suggest that we are face to face with but one of many differences which existed between the ‘Western’ and ‘Eastern’ zones of the Ottoman Empire.

### **Why Were the Clientele of Muslim Charitable Institutions Different in the Christian Balkans and the Muslim Eastern Mediterranean?**

The question this brings to mind is: why? What was the motivating factor behind the establishment of this institution and how may we account for the fact that from the state’s inception, both members of the ruling dynasty and their commanders on the ground were engaged in endowing an ever expanding number of such facilities in the Balkans? To answer this query we must bear in mind the fact that the very same individuals were likewise building *hans* and *kervansarays* along the growing state’s roadways. Finally, we must accept the reality that in the state’s formative years it is almost impossible to distinguish between the network of *imârets* (soup kitchens) and the parallel network of *zâviyes/hanegâhs/tekkes* (derwish lodges), as well as *kervansarays*, each of which likewise provided for the needs of travelers and merchants, which were simultaneously being endowed across the width and breadth of the polity.

I would even go so far as to suggest that the very existence of these networks, a surprisingly large number of which are dateable to the fourteenth and fifteenth century, holds the key to a clearer understanding of the actual nature of the Ottoman conquest of southeastern Europe. First and foremost, is the undeniable fact that at a point in time when standard interpretations of the Ottoman past tell us the primary motivation of its expansion was a desire to extend the confines of the Islamic world at the expense of its Christian neighbors, e.g., the ‘Gazi Thesis’ of Paul Wittek and several generations of followers, quite clearly a great deal of expense and effort were

42 Evliyâ Çelebi bin Derviş Mehmed Zillî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi – IX. Kitap [Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini]*, eds. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Robert Dankoff (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), f. 221a; Turkish text: “*Ve üç imâreti var. Âyende vü revendeye ni ‘metleri ebzûldür. İmâret-i Hâsekiyye kavî evkâfdır.*”

going into providing protection for trade and commerce, as well as meeting the basic needs of the indigenous poor.

As *Hacı* Evrenos moved the Ottoman banner westward through Thrace and Macedonia toward the Adriatic Sea in the second half of the fourteenth century, he (and his fellow *Uc Beys* in other areas of the Balkans) were simultaneously putting in place an infrastructure designed to provide for the needs of merchants and their caravans. Bearing in mind that he was moving east to west, there can be little doubt but that among the primary beneficiaries of the numerous *kervansaray*s and *imârets* he constructed were merchants from the Italian city states who were engaged in transporting woolen goods from Italy for resale in the Ottoman cities of Bursa and Edirne. With the proceeds of their sales they purchased silk and spices which they moved by land across what is today northern Greece for sale in Venice, Florence, and Genoa.<sup>43</sup> Viewed differently, as he moved step by step west Evrenos was putting into place a commercial infrastructure designed to facilitate trade and commerce.

More importantly, for the purposes of this study, he was establishing a social service network to feed the indigenous Christian poor of the conquered lands. It takes no great stretch of imagination to conjecture that those poor Christians who benefited from this largesse (in the course of which they came into contact with another key element of its clientele, namely, the itinerant dervishes who not only ate at the *imârets*, but likewise inhabited the *zâviyeler* of which they were so often a part), likewise were exposed to the heterodox version of Islam practices by the Kalendars, Abdals, and other orders. Here, it pays to recall the pioneering study of the late Ömer Lütfi Barkan on the missionary role of the dervishes in the region and period under study.<sup>44</sup>

And now a personal note: As the son of protestant missionary parents, who grew up in post-British India in the early 1950s, I was –from an early age– familiar with the expression “*rice Christians*.” The term, which actually originated in China and was transferred to the sub-continent by missionaries expelled from that country in the wake of the communist

43 Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 7-11, 24-26.

44 Barkan, Ömer Lütfi: “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler: I. İstilâ devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler,” *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942): 279-386.

revolution, was used to refer to those of the indigenous poor residents of the sub-continent who accepted Christianity less as an embracement of the Nazarene, than as a means of filling what otherwise would have been empty stomachs.

Their parallel in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, as seen first in the overwhelmingly Christian area of Bithynia (northwest Anatolia), and then in the milieu of the Orthodox Christian Balkans, may well have been the ever-increasing number of poor Christians, who opted for the religion of their new rulers, not at sword point, but under the impact and influence of the hospitality provided by the string of *imârets* built by the Ottoman conquerors and their men on the ground, the March Lords (*Uc Beys*). Spurred on no doubt by the latitudinarian version of heterodox Islam they encountered among the itinerant dervishes, it was easy to accept a new faith which, in practices such as saint worship, rejection of the basic tenets of Islam such as the five time daily ritual prayers, and the open use of alcohol, did not require a significant change in life style. In short, the result was the formation of a steadily growing group of what I would term "*soup Muslims*." Poverty and hunger could determine one's religious affiliation as a "*soup Muslim*" in the early Ottoman Balkans, just as it would serve to create "*rice Christians*" half a millennia later in China and India.

How widespread was the phenomenon of hunger induced conversion? While there is no way of quantifying the answer to this query, some idea may be gained by examining the extent of the *imâret* network created by the Ottomans in the wake of their expansion into southeastern Europe. The appendix of this article provides a preliminary list of just the examples of *imârets* I have found in Eastern Thrace, and central and northern mainland Greece. With the exception of those located in Silivri, Malkara, İpsala, Gelibolu, Bolayır, Tatar Bazarı, Hasköy and Edirne (Adrianople), all the remaining sites listed were located within the present-day borders of Greece. In total, there were 104 (one-hundred-four) such facilities endowed in these regions from the early 1360s forward.<sup>45</sup> Given that similar institutions existed throughout the length and breadth of the Balkans (and other Ottoman territories), it is no exaggeration to suggest that the

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45 Were we to include the islands of the Aegean this figure would increase significantly, as, in particular the islands of Crete, Rhodes and Midilli, were home to a number of such facilities.

total number of Ottoman-era *imârets* may well have been upwards to a thousand.<sup>46</sup>

### Conclusion

Unstated, throughout this paper, is yet another underlying thesis. Namely, that in actuality, from the opening decades of the sixteenth century forward, there was a kind of tri-partrite division in the Ottoman state. The ‘West’ of the Balkans and the ‘East’ of the Arab lands were linked by the ‘fulcrum’ of the Anatolian heartland. Thereafter, the institutions of the state, which heretofore had been shaped by having been developed in the overwhelmingly Christian milieu of the Balkans, were increasingly re-shaped by practices which had developed in the preceding millennia in the Islamic world. Indeed, a kind of fight for the heart and soul of the Ottoman state was waged. In this battle the ‘fulcrum’ of the Anatolian heartland increasingly swung toward the East.

These shifts were caused by a variety of factors. For the first time, the Ottomans were faced with a powerful Islamic dynasty, that of Shii Safavid Iran, a state whose latitudinarian practices found willing adherents among the largely heterodox *Kızılbaş* (*Alevi*) Turkman inhabitants of Anatolia. To counter this threat Sultan Yavuz Selim first employed mass killing in an attempt to ensure that his army’s move against the Safavid Şah İsmail would not be threatened from the rear. Only then did he move South against Mamluk Syria and Egypt.

By 1517, the Ottomans were in control of what for centuries had been the heartlands of the Sunni Muslim world. Not only did they rule the ancient capitals of the Umayyads (and soon those of the Abbasids), they also were in possession of the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. From that vantage point it was an easy step to begin viewing themselves as the rightful rulers of the Islamic world polity. Correspondingly, the ‘fulcrum’ began to swing to the East. A key part of that shift was in the direction of orthodoxy. Heterodox practices which had developed in light of what up to that point in time had been the majority Christian population of the Balkans, were not in keeping with what they encountered in the Islamic heartlands. Throughout the previous centuries, earlier Islamic

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46 See Lowry, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550*, 66-93.

dynasties had developed complex formulas for administering Christian subjects. These might be termed: separate and not quite equal. Complete with restrictions, running the gamut from dress codes to the type of animal one could ride, they were a long way from the practices theretofore seen in the Ottoman 'West.'

As a case in point, we may cite the focus of the present study. In the Islamic 'East' the acts of ritualized Muslim charity, such as the feeding of the poor and travelers, were reserved for co-religionists; unlike in the Ottoman 'West,' where we have seen that the charity of both the Ottoman sultans and their commanders on the ground was open to Muslim and non-Muslim alike.

At the very least, when speaking of the institution of the *imâret*, we would be well advised to qualify our discussion with both chronological and geographical markers. On the one hand, to speak of the Ottoman institution of the soup-kitchen as it developed in western Anatolia and the Balkans prior to the conquest of the Islamic heartlands at the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, thereafter, to distinguish between the 'Balkan *imârets*' and those seen in Anatolia and the Muslim East.

### **APPENDIX: *Îmârets* (Soup Kitchens) in Eastern Thrace & Present Day Mainland Greece: 1350-1750**

<b><u>Order</u></b>	<b><u>Location</u></b>	<b><u>Îmâret Name &amp; Date Established</u></b>	<b><u>Description</u></b>	<b><u>Source &amp; Page</u></b>
1	<u>ŞİLİVRİ</u>	<i>Ayaz Paşa Îmâreti</i>		TT Def. 370: 62
2	<u>MALKARA</u>	<i>Kaya Beg</i> [Prior to: 1456]		Şakir-Taş: 252 TT Def. 12
3	Malkara	<i>Mahmud Beg</i> [Prior to: 1519]		Şakir-Taş: 253 TT Def. 75
4	<u>İPSALA</u>	<i>Evrenos Gâzî Îmâreti</i> [?] [ca. 1358-1364]	<i>imâret-i dârü'z-ziyâfesi</i>	Evliyâ: 168
5	<u>GELİBOLU</u>	<i>Saruca Paşa Îmâreti</i> [1380s]		TT Def. 167: 74 Şakir-Taş: 241 & 244
6	<u>BOLAYIR</u>	<i>Îmâret</i> [Prior to: 1519]		Şakir-Taş: 260 TT Def. 12 Şakir-Taş: 261 TT Def. 75

<b>Order</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Source &amp; Page</b>
7	<u>TATAR BÂZÂRI</u>	<i>İmâret-i Ahmed Beg bin Evrenos Beg</i>		TT Def. 370: 109
8	<u>HASKÖY</u>	[Unnamed] <i>İmâret</i> [?]	<i>Ve bir aded imâret-i dâru'z-ziyâfesi var kim cem'i bay u ge-dâya ve müslim ve gayr-ı müslime ni'meti mebzûldür.</i>	Evliyâ: 27 [V202b]
9	[Northwest of <u>EDİRNE</u> ]	Tekye-i Kademli Baba Sultân	<i>cümle seksen aded fukarâları müsâfirîne ri'âyetler edüp matbah-ı Keykâvus'undan cem'i âyende vü revendegânlara ni'met-i nefîseleri ve sofrâ-i bî-imtinânları mebzûldür.</i>	Evliyâ: 30 [V204b]
10	<u>EDİRNE</u>	<i>Sultân Bâyezîd Hân İmâret-i Cedîd [1390s] İmâret-i Cedîd-i Merhum Sultân Bâyezîd Hân Yıldırım Hân İmâreti aka Bâyezîd Hân İmâreti</i>		TT Def. 167:1-3, 6, 11-12, 16, 19-20, 26-7, 100 Şakir-Taş: 266 & 269 TT Def. 77 TT Def. 370: p 6, 10, 60-61
11	Edirne	<i>Balaban Paşa İmâreti</i>		TT Def. 370: 12
12	Edirne	<i>Sinan Beg-i Mîr-i mirân İmâreti</i>		TT Def. 370: 6 Şakir-Taş: 265 TT Def. 77
13	Edirne	<i>Karaca Paşa İmâreti</i>		TT Def. 370: 12
14	Edirne	<i>Fazlullâh Paşa İmâreti</i>		TT Def. 370: 6
15	Edirne	<i>İmâret-i Mezîd Beg</i>		TT Def. 370: 3 & 12
16	Edirne	<i>İmâret-i Mihal Beg</i>		TT Def. 370: 3, 6, 12 Şakir-Taş: 268 TT Def. 77

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<b>Order</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Source &amp; Page</b>
17	Edirne	<i>Sultân Murâd Hân İmâreti</i> aka <i>Murâdiyye İmâreti</i> aka <i>Mevla-hâne İmâreti</i> [1361-1389]		TT Def. 167: 11, 18 & 30; TT Def. 370: 6 & 101 Şakir-Taş: 286 TT Def. 494
18	<u>DİMETOKA</u> [Gr.: Didymotichon]	<i>Yıldırım Bâyezîd Hân İmâ[re]ti.</i> [Died: 1402]	<i>dâru'z-ziyâfe-i imâret -i it'âmdır</i>	Evliyâ: 32 [V205b]
19	Dimetoka	<i>Nasûh Beğ İmâreti</i> [Died: ca. 1489]	<i>dâru'z-ziyâfe-i imâret -i it'âmdır</i>	Evliyâ: 32 [V205b]
20	Dimetoka	<i>Dimetoka İmâreti</i> [?]		TT Def. 370: 19
21	Dimetoka	<i>Koca Mustafa Paşa Câmii-İmâreti</i> [Died: 1567]		Ayverdi: 210
22	Dimetoka	<i>Turhan Bey İmâreti</i> [ca. 1430-1460]		Ayverdi: 216
23	Dimetoka: Ergene	<i>Vakf-i İmâret-i Ergene</i> [II. Murad, Died 1451]		TT Def. 370: 28
24	Dimetoka: Sultan Şah Köyü	<i>Karaca Paşa İmâreti</i> [Died: ca. 1433]		Ayverdi: 215
25	Dimetoka: Yenice Köyü	<i>Tevkii İbrahim Paşa İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 215-
26	Dimetoka: Yenice Köyü	<i>Murad Paşa İmâreti</i> [Died: ca. 1412]		Ayverdi: 215
27	<u>FERECİK:</u> [Gr. Feres]: Kara Ilıca [Gr. Loutros]	<i>Menzil-i Tekye-i Âsitâne-i Nefes Sultân</i> [ca. 1402]	<i>Ve cem'i müsâfirin ü mücâvirine matbah-ı Keykâvuslarından ni'metleri mâh u sâl bi'l-guduvvi ve'l-âsâl ale'l-ittisâl bay u gedâya ve pîr [ü] cüvân u muğâna ni'metleri mebzûldür</i>	Evliyâ: 34- [V206b-207a]

<u>Order</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Source &amp; Page</u>
28	<u>GÜMÜLCİNE</u> [Gr. Komotini]	<u>Gâzi Evrenos İmâreti</u> [ca. 1363-1383]	<i>Der-imâret-i dâru'l-it'âm-ı garibân: Cümle iki aded me'kel-i imâret-i fukarâdır. Cümleden Gâzi Evrenos imâretinin subh [u] mesâ günâ-gün ni'met-i nefsesi hâss u âmma mâh u sâl bi'l-guduvvi ve'l-âsâl üç âdeme ve beş âdeme birer sini ta'âm dâ'imdir. Ve her müsâfirinin atlarının başlarına birer alif cânib-i vakfdan mütevellî verir, gâyet ma'mûr evkâf-ı azîmdir.</i>	Evliyâ: 38 [V209a]  TT Def. 167: 13, 18-19
29	Gümülcine	Evliyâ's Unnamed second İmâret [Maybe #30 below?]	<i>me'kel-i imâret-i fukarâdır</i>	Evliyâ: 38 [V209a]
30	Gümülcine	<u>Sultan Murad İmâreti</u> [Died: 1389]		Ayverdi: 238
31	<u>YENİ BAZAR</u> [Gr. Apollonia]	<u>Sokollu Mehmed Paşa İmâreti</u> [ca. 1546-1579]	<i>ve imâret-i it'âm-ı dâru'z-ziyâfe-i âyende vü revendegânlar ile bu rabtayî ihyâ edüp</i>	Evliyâ: 43 [V211b]
32	<u>DOYRAN</u> [Gr. Doirani]: Göl Başı Köyü	<u>Makbûl İbrâhîm Paşa or Şeyh Mehmed Toyrani İmâreti</u> [Died: 1536]	<i>imâret -ı dâru'l-me'kel</i>	Evliyâ: 47 [V214a]
33	<u>KARASU YENİCESİ</u> [Gr. Genisea]	[Koca] <u>Mustafâ Paşa İmâreti</u> [Died: 1567]	<i>bir aded dâru'z-ziyâfe-i imâreti var kim cemî'i müsâfirin ü mücâvirine ni'meti dâ'imdir</i>	Evliyâ: 50 [V215a] TT Def. 167: 20
34	<u>KAVALA</u> [Gr. Kavala]	<u>İbrâhîm Paşa İmâreti.</u> [Died: 1536]	<i>imâret-i dâru'z-ziyâfe-i me'keli</i>	Evliyâ: 52 [V216b] TT Def. 167: 37
35	Kavala	<u>Mehmed Ali Paşa İmâreti</u> [h. 1223-1236 / 1808-1821]		Ayverdi: 252-53

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<b>Order</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Source &amp; Page</b>
	<u>SİROZ</u> (SEREZ) [Gr. Serres]	[NOTE: Evliyâ only provides the headings for soup kitchens & then leaves two blank lines???	<i>Der-kâr-ı ibret-nümâ-yı binâ-yı âbâdân dâru'z-ziyâfe-i fakîrân:</i> [followed by two blank lines????]	Evliyâ: 59 [V220a]
36		<u>Gâzî Evrenos İmâreti</u> [ca. 1383-1395]		Balta: 139- Zengin: 106-7 TT Def. 167: 64-5, 72, 79, 81 & 124
37	Siroz	<i>Mehmed Bey bin [Gedik] Ahmed Paşa İmâreti</i> [ca. 1492]	<i>Mesîregâh câmi'-i Ahmed Paşa...ve imâreti</i>	Evliyâ: 57 [V219b] Balta: 52 TT Def. 167: 64
38	Siroz	<i>Koca Mustafa Paşa Câmii-İmâreti</i> [ca. 1485]	<i>Andan Koca Mustafa Paşa câmi'i ki Sultân (---) vüzerâlarından câmi'-i atîk musanna'dır. Âsâr-ı binâ-yı azîmdir kim cümle imâreti ve medrese ve mektebi serâpâ kurşum ile mestûr kubâb-ı ma'mûrelerdir</i>	Evliyâ: 58 [V219b] Ayverdi: 296
39	Siroz	<i>Selcuk Sultân Câmii-İmâreti</i> [ca. 1492]		Ayverdi: 296-
40	Siroz	<i>Ahmed Paşa İmâreti</i> [ca. 1492]		Ayverdi: 292
41	Siroz	<i>Hacı Mehmed Ağa bin Ebû Bekir Bey Zâviyesi- İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 298
42	Siroz	<i>Hacı Mehmed Ağa bin Ebû Bekir Bey Zâviyesi- İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 298
43	Siroz	<i>Bedrüddin Paşa Zâviyesi- İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 298
44	Siroz	<i>Karaca Ahmed İmâreti</i> [Died: Bursa, 1450]		Ayverdi: 299

<u>Order</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Source &amp; Page</u>
45	<u>DEMİRHİSAR</u> [Sidirokastro]	<i>Kara Şah Sultân İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi:205-206
46	<u>DRAMA</u> [Gr. Drama]	<i>Sûfî Mehmed Paşa İmâreti</i> [Died: Budin, 1551]		Ayverdi: 217
47-55	<u>SELÂNİK</u> [Thessaloniki]	[NOTE: As Evliyâ gives a total of 16 unnamed soup kitchens in Selânik and we only know the names of 7 of them, the 9 which are unnamed are accounted for by #s 46-54]	<i>Der İmârât-i dâru'z-ziyâfe-i me'kel-hâne-i fakîrân [u] garîbân : Cemâsı on altı aded yerde kurşum örtülü imâretleri var kim yedi adedinin subh [u] mesa matbah-ı Keykâvus'unda ni'met-i uzmâsi tabh olup cem'i bay u gedâ-yı pîr [ü] muğâna ve Kıptî vü fakîrâna birer tâs cobra ve birer nân ile bezl-i it'âm ederler.</i>	Evliyâ: 73 [V228a]
56	Selânik	<i>Alaca – İshak Paşa İmâreti</i> [Died: Selânik, 1485]	<i>Andan Alaca İmâret câmi'i... Kible kapusu üzre merkûm olan hüsn-i hatt ile târîh-i Arabîsi budur:Dâru hayrin kad benâ destûru hâkânî'l-mu'în, A'nî İshâk ibnu İbrâhîme.</i>	Evliyâ: 70 [V226b] Ayverdi: 271 TT Def. 167: 83 & 102
57	Selânik	<i>Evrenos Bey Câmii-İmâreti</i> [ca. 1394-1402]		Ayverdi: 274
58	Selânik	<i>Husrev Kethüda İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 284
59	Selânik	<i>Koca Mustafa Paşa İmâreti</i> [Died: 1567]		Ayverdi: 278 & 284
60	Selânik	<i>Mustafa Paşa İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 284
61	Selânik	[Hadım] <i>Yakup Paşa İmâreti</i> [Died: Selânik, 1501-1502]		Ayverdi: 284

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62	Selânik	<i>tekye-i Âl-i Abâ-yı dervîsân</i>	<i>Bu âsîtânenin evkâf-ı kesîresi olmağın matbah-ı imâretinde ni'met-i nefîsesi cemî'i pîr ü cüvâna ve bay u gedâya ni'metleri mebzûldur</i>	Evliyâ [V227a]
63	Selanik: İncük	<i>Hüseyin Bey İmâreti</i>		TT Def. 167: 105
64	<u>YENİCE-İ VARDAR</u> [Gr. Gianitsa]	<i>Receb Çelebi İmâreti</i> [?]	<i>Ve cümle 3 aded dâru'z-ziyâfe-i me'kel-i fakîrânı vardır. Cümleden Receb Çelebi imâreti ve Şeyh İlahî medresesi imâreti ve Gâzî Evrenos türbesi imâreti. Bunların bay [u] gedâya ve hâss u âmma ni'metleri dâ'imdir kim şeb [ü] rûz matbah-ı Key-kâvus'undan muğân u cuhûdâna bile bez-i it'âm-ı âm olunur.</i>	Evliyâ: 77 [V230b]
65	Yenice-i Vardar	<i>Şeyh İlahî Medresesi İmâreti</i> [Died: ca. 1480]	<i>dâru'z-ziyâfe-i me'kel-hâne-i fakîrânı</i>	Evliyâ: 77 [V230b]
66	Yenice-i Vardar	<u>Gâzî Evrenos Türbesi İmâreti</u> [Died: 1417]	<i>dâru'z-ziyâfe-i me'kel-hâne-i fakîrânı</i>	Evliyâ: 77 [V230b] Ayverdi: 320
67	Yenice-i Vardar	<u>Gâzî Evrenos Beğ kârbânsarâyı</u> [Died: 1417]	<i>Ve cümle bir aded kârbânsarây-ı mihmân revân-ı hasbîsi var. Ol dahi Gâzî Evrenos Beğ'in hayrâtındandır kim şeb [ü] rûz beşer yüz altışar yüz kadar atlılar konup her ocak başına birer bakır sini ta'âm ve âdem başına birer nân ve birer şem'-i revgan ile birer şem'dân ve her at başına birer tobra alik-ı esbân gelüp cemî'i âyende vü revendegâna ta'âm-ı bî-minneti tenâvül edüp def'-i cî'ân etdikde sâhibü'l-hayrâta her âdem birer Fâtiha tilâvet edüp rûh-ı hayrâtı şâd ederler. Hakkâ ki hayrât-ı azîmedir.</i>	Evliyâ: 77 [V230b]

<b>Order</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Source &amp; Page</b>
68	Yenice-i Vardar	<i>Ahmed Bey</i> [ <i>Evrenosoğlu</i> ] <i>İmâreti</i> [Died: 1499]		Ayverdi: 319
69	Yenice-i Vardar	<i>Gâzî Hacı İsâ Bey</i> [ <i>Evrenosoğlu</i> ] <i>Câmii- İmâreti</i> [Died: ca. 1479]		Ayverdi: 320
70	Yenice-i Vardar	<i>Hacı Mehmed Efendi</i> <i>Mescidi- İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 320
71	Yenice-i Vardar	<i>Burak Bey İmâreti</i> [ <i>Evrenosoğlu</i> ] [Died: ca. 1460-1470]		Ayverdi: 320
72	<u>VODİNA</u> [Gr. Edessa]	<i>Husrev Efendi İmâreti</i> [Died: 1567?]	<i>bir aded dâr'l-it'âm</i> <i>me'keli vardır kim</i> <i>cemî-i bay u gedâya</i> <i>ve gebr ü tersâya ve</i> <i>pir-i muğâna ni'meti</i> <i>mebzûldur</i>	Evliyâ: 80 [V232a]
73	Vodina	<i>Gâzî Evrenos Bey</i> <i>Câmii-İmâreti</i> [Died: 1417]		Ayverdi: 306
74	<u>KARAFERYA</u> [Gr. Veria]	<i>Çaşnigîr Beğ İmâreti</i> [?]	<i>üç aded me'kel-i</i> <i>fukurarâ-yı dâru-l-</i> <i>it'âmı vardır</i>	Evliyâ: 82 [V230a] Ayverdi: 250
75	Karaferya	[ <i>Tuzcu</i> ] <i>Sinân Beğ</i> <i>İmâreti</i> [ca. 1490]	<i>üç aded me'kel-i</i> <i>fukurarâ-yı dâru-l-</i> <i>it'âmı vardır</i>	Evliyâ: 82 [V230a] Ayverdi: 250
76	Karaferya	<i>Mehemmed Beğ</i> <i>İmâreti</i> [?]	<i>üç aded me'kel-i</i> <i>fukurarâ-yı dâru-l-</i> <i>it'âmı vardır</i>	Evliyâ: 82 [V230a] Ayverdi: 251
77	Karaferya	<i>Gâzî Mehmed Bey</i> <i>İmâreti</i> [Died: ca. 1520]		Ayverdi: 250
78	Karaferya	<i>Çelebi Sinan Bey</i> <i>İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 249
79	<u>FİLORİNA</u> [Gr. Florina]	<i>Yakup Bey İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 224

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80	<u>SERFİÇE</u> [Gr. Servia]	<i>Abdülkerim Bey</i> <i>İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 302
81	<u>AYA MAVRA</u> <u>KALASI</u>	<i>Menzil-i Tekyegâh-ı</i> <i>Dervîş Hüseyin Ağa</i>	<i>ve matbah-ı</i> <i>Keykâvuslu ve kilârlı</i> <i>ve niçe cihân-nümâ</i> <i>maksûreli ve bir</i> <i>mescidli ve aşâğıda</i> <i>bir bâğ-ı İrem-misâl</i> <i>bâğçeli bir mesiregâh</i> <i>yerdîr kim Aya</i> <i>Mavra'nın cümle</i> <i>yârân-ı bâ-safâ-yı</i> <i>erbâb-ı ma'ârifleri</i> <i>bunda cân sohbetleri</i> <i>edüp tevhid zikrullâh</i> <i>ederler.</i>	Evliyâ: [V342b]
82	<u>YANYA</u> [Gr. Ioannina]	<i>Aslan Paşa Câmii-</i> <i>İmâreti</i> [Built: 1608]	<i>Andan bu haremin</i> <i>yine göle nâzır bir</i> <i>köşesinde koca Gâzî</i> <i>Arslan Paşa bir</i> <i>dâru'z-ziyâfe-i me'kel-</i> <i>hâne inşa etmiş kim</i> <i>cemî'i pîr u muğân</i> <i>ve gebr [ü] tersâya ve</i> <i>bay u gedâya subh u</i> <i>mesâ âye[t] sûre-i (---)</i> <i>üzre nassı üzre cümle</i> <i>âyende vü revendelere</i> <i>nî'meti mebzûldür.</i> <i>Her Cum'a gecesi</i> <i>kırk elli yere et'ime-i</i> <i>nefise summât-ı</i> <i>Muhammedi çekilü[p]</i> <i>ba'de't-tenâvül Ar-</i> <i>slan Paşa'ya def-i cû'</i> <i>edenler hayr duâ ile</i> <i>Fâtîha tilâvet ederler,</i> <i>zirâ evkâf-ı azimdir.</i>	Evliyâ: 288 [V347b] Ayverdi: 309-

<u>Order</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Source &amp; Page</u>
83	Yanya	<i>Ali Paşa İmâreti</i> [Prior to: 1667]	<i>Der-evsâfât-ı dâru'l- ulûm-ı âlimân-ı müfessirân: Cümlesi altı aded medrese-i muhaddisân vardır. Cümleden Bebr Paşa pederi Ali Paşa medre- sesi bir uzun uzadıya on sekiz aded kârgir binâ hücreli ve her hücre önleri kârgir kemerler ve amûd-ı mermerler ile mebnî müzeyyen medrese-i ma'mûrdur kim her hücreye beşer akçe vazîfe-i mu'ayyene ve üçer aded şem'-i revgan ve ikişer aded nânpâre ve birer tâs çobraları vardır. Bunda olan imâreti gâyet ma'mûr olup âyende vü revendeye ni'meti mebzûldür.</i>	Evliyâ: 289-290 [V348a] Ayverdi: 312
84	Yanya	<i>Kaplan Paşa İmâreti</i> [Prior to: 1667]		Ayverdi: 312
85-86	<u>NARDA</u> [Gr. Arta]	[NOTE: As Evliyâ gives a total of 6 unnamed soup kitchens in Narda and we only know the names of 4 of them, the 2 which are unnamed are accounted for by #s 85-86]	<i>Ve cümle altı aded cevâmî-i imâretgâhıdır. İki câmi'i kal'a içindedir, ammâ çârsû başında kiremitli ve kârgir minâreli Sultân Bâyezîd-i Veli câmi'i fevkânî olup gâyet cemâ'at-i kesireye mâlikdir. Musallâsı haremindedir. Ve şehrin cenûb tarafı ucunda Tekye câmi'i müferrihdır. Ve (---) (---) câmi'i kâr-ı kadîmdir.</i>	Evliyâ: 285 [V345b]
87	Narda	<i>Faik Paşa Câmiî- İmâreti</i> [ca. 1490]		Ayverdi: 314 TT Def. 167: 103
88	Narda	<i>İskender Paşa-Zâde Osman Şah Bey İmâreti</i> [?]		Ayverdi: 315

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<b>Order</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Source &amp; Page</b>
89	Narda	<i>Hacı Mustafa Bey İmâreti</i>		Ayverdi: 315
90	Narda: Karye-i İmâret	<i>Fâ'ik Paşa İmâreti</i>	<i>Karye-i İmâret: Kırk hâneli ve bâğ u bâğçeli Fâ'ik Paşa vakfı olup müselmân köyüdür. Hân ve câmi' ve imâret ve medrese cümle Fâ'ik Paşa hayrâtıdır kim gâyet mesiregâh bâğ-ı İremisâl yerdır, ammâ câmi'i ve gayri âsâr-ı binâları cümle kiremitlidir. Ve matbah-ı dâru'z-ziyâfesinde cem'i âyende vü revendegânlara ni'meti subh u mesâ mebzûldür.</i>	Evliyâ: [V345b]
91	<u>YENİŞEHİR</u> [Gr. Larissa]		<i>Cümleden cisir başında nehr-i Kösdem'in kenârında bir teferrücgâh Mevlevî- hânesi var. Meydân-ı semâ' [u] sařâgâhi ve fukarâ hücreleri ve matbah-ı Keykâvus'u ma'mûr ve ni'meti mebzûl hânkâh-ı Celâleddîn-i Rûmîdir.</i>	Evliyâ: 88 [V236a]
92	Yenişehir	<i>Turahan Bey Câmi-İmâreti</i> [Died: 1456]		Ayverdi: 327
93	Yenişehir	<i>Burak Bey Câmi-İmâreti</i> [Evrenosođlu] [Died: ca. 1460-1470]		Ayverdi: 325
94	Yenişehir: Bey Tatarı Köyü	<i>Gâzî Burak Bey İmâreti</i> [Evrenosođlu] [Died: ca. 1460-1470]		Ayverdi: 329
95	<u>EZDİN-İZDİN</u> [Gr. Lamia]	<i>İmâret-Câmii</i> [Prior to: 1667]	<i>Ve cümle bir aded imâret-i dâ[rı]'l-me'kel-i fakîrândır.</i>	Evliyâ: 100 [V243a] Ayverdi: 221

<u>Order</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Source &amp; Page</u>
96	<u>MUDUNUÇ</u>	<i>Hâlâ ziyâretgâh-ı hâss [u] âmm bir ulu âsitâne-i fukarâ-yı Hacı Muhammed Bektaş-ı Veli hânkâhudır.</i>	<i>Cemî'i âyende vü reven-degânların atlarına ve hüddâmlarına hizmet edüp herkesin ne kadar atları var ise çul ve tobra çıkarmayup tekyenin âhûru tobralarıyla cemî'i atlara sular verüp yemler asup kahveler pişirüp hizmet ederler.</i> <i>Ve matbah-ı imâret-i dâr'u'z-ziyâfesinin ni'met çobrası ve yahnisi ve pilâvi ve zerdesi bay u gedâ-yı pîr [ü] cüvâna ve cuhûd [u] muğâna, nassı üzre cemî'i âyende vü reven-degânlara ni'metleri mebzûldür, zîrâ evkâf-ı azimdir.</i>	Evliyâ: 103 [V245a]
97	<u>TIRHALA</u> [Gr. Trikala]	<i>Osman Şah Câmii-İmâreti</i> [Died: 1566-1567]	<i>Ve cümle 3 aded imâret-i dâr'u'z-ziyâfe-i fakîrânı vardır. Evvelâ Osmân Şâh imâreti ve Gâzî Durhân Beğ, (---) (---) (---)</i>	Evliyâ: 93 [V239b] Ayverdi: 304
98	Tırhala	<i>Turahan Bey Câmii-İmâreti</i> <i>Gâzî Durhân Beğ İmâreti</i> [Died: 1456]		Evliyâ: 93 [V239b] Ayverdi: 305
99	Tırhala	<i>Hacı Mustafa Bey İmâreti</i> [?]	<i>(---) (---) İmâreti</i>	Evliyâ: 93 [V239b] Ayverdi: 305
100	<u>AĞRİBOZ</u> [Gr. Euboia] Modnuc Kariyesi	<i>Şeyh Sultân Veliyullah Câmii-İmâreti</i> [Prior to: 1667]		Ayverdi: 197
101	<u>ALASONYA</u> [Gr. Elasson]	<i>Çarşı – İmâret Câmii</i> [?]	<i>Ve cümle bir aded imâret-i dâr-ı me'kel-i fakîrândır kim Çârsû câmi'i hareminde olup bay u gedâya ni'meti mebzûldür.</i>	Evliyâ: 85 [V235a] Ayverdi: 198

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<u>Order</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>İmâret Name &amp; Date Established</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Source &amp; Page</u>
102	<u>MODON-MUTON</u> [Gr. Modon / Methoni]	Sultan Bâyezid İmâreti [Died: 1512]	<i>Der-dâru'l-it'âm-ı fakirân-ı imârât: Cümle iki aded imâret-i dâru'z-ziyâfe-i müsâfirini var. Sultân Bâyezid'in ve Şeyh tekyesinin ni'metleri mebzûldür. Ammâ bu şehirde fukaraları imârete muhtâc etmez, niçe yüz aded gâziyân-ı mücâhidândan hânedân sâhibleri velî-ni'am ve sâhib-i kerem âdemler var.</i>	Evliyâ: 145 [V269A] Ayverdi: 267
103	Modon	Şeyh Tekyesi İmâreti	<i>Der-dâru'l-it'âm-ı fakirân-ı imârât: Cümle iki aded imâret-i dâru'z-ziyâfe-i müsâfirini var. Sultân Bâyezid'in ve Şeyh tekyesinin ni'metleri mebzûldür.</i>	Evliyâ: 145 [V269A]
104	<u>ANAPOLİ</u>		<i>Der-me'kel-i imâret-i dâru'z-ziyâfât: Her hânedândan imâret-misâl bay [u] gedâya ni'metleri mebzûldür, ammâ taşra tekyelerin ni'metleri bi-minnetdir.</i>	Evliyâ: 163 [V280b]

Note: Sources cited in this TABLE include:

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TT Def. #167: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *167 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530)* [*Defter-i Hâkânî Dizisi: IX*] (Ankara, 2003).

TT Def. #370: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *370 Numaralı Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Rûm-İli Defteri (937 / 1530)* [*Defter-i Hâkânî Dizisi: VII*] (Ankara, 2001).

Zengin: Zeki Salih Zengin, "İlk Dönen Vâkfiyelerinden Serez'de Evrenuz Gazi'ye Ait Zâviye Vâkfiyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 28 (2004): 101-120.

### Map: Towns and Cities with One or More *İmârets*

