

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TOPOGRAPHY OF 19th CENTURY ADRIANOPOLE

The city of Adrianople offers an enchanting sight, wrote the great French geographer Elysée Reclus, in the early 1870s. *"No other city is more gay, more mixed with countryside and woods. With the exception of the centre, in the area around the Fortress. Adrianople, the Turkish Edirne, appears as an agglomeration of distinctive villages; the different groups of houses are separated from one another by fruit-gardens and curtains of cypress and poplar trees, over which rise here and there the minarets of 150 mosques. Vivid waters of aqueducts and of many creeks and the abundant rivers of Maritza, Toudja and Arda cheer the suburbs and the gardens of this dispersed city". ... "Adrianople is not only a charming city, but also the most populous centre of the inland... However, in this antique imperial capital, the Turks are a minority. Greeks equal them in number and exceed them in activity; Bulgarians are also present and they form a considerable community; moreover here one can see, as in all oriental cities, the multicolored crowd of people of all races starting from the gipsy musician to the Persian merchant. Jews are present in a large proportion...."*

Reclus described the city at a critical time of its development. Indeed since the second third of the 19th century, a new period opened for the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire. New national states were gradually formed and the territory of European Turkey was reduced considerably. Moreover this period coincided approximately with the Tanzimat era, when the Empire underwent a great effort to modernise and reform its traditional theocratic institutions, following the model of the European States of the time. In this effort the cities were seen as a major testing area of reforms, thus motivating important planning operations as well as the establishment of new urban legislation (municipal government and administration, planning and building regulations). The 'westernization' which took place under pressure of western European states in search of new markets, modified profoundly the existing urban hierarchies. Major development occurred in cities along new railway lines and in the coast, while traditional inland cities, especially the ones located near the newly traced frontier lines, declined rapidly.

Until then Adrianople had been the most important city of European Turkey, the administration and trade centre of an extended

hinterland and had lived in peace since its capture by the Turks, almost five centuries before. Still, from 1829 onwards, Adrianople found itself in the middle of disruptive events: the whole region was taken by Russians during the Russo-Turkish war (1828-29).² In 1854-56 the city was occupied by the French army during the Crimean war. In 1877 it was again taken by Russians in the war that resulted in the creation of modern Bulgaria (1878-1880).

Adrianople was the first city of the Empire to communicate with Constantinople through the Oriental Railway Scheme, put forth in the 1860s in order to link the Ottoman Capital to Europe. The line to Belova in Bulgaria, via Adrianople, was constructed between 1869 and 1872 by the *Société Impériale des Chemins de Fer de la Turquie d'Europe*, but its impact on regional development was not as important as expected. Indeed before the end of the 1870s Adrianople would lose its Bulgarian hinterland and would be turned into a frontier city. In the meantime, the development of maritime communication through steamships modified significantly the movement of trade, and directed economic expansion to the coastal cities of the area, especially to Salonica, Cavala and Dedeagach. Although Adrianople continued to be a largely populated city, Salonica would rapidly outgrow her and the population would gradually decline (see Table 1). At the same time many cities of European Turkey were modernized, their central districts were partly redesigned, expansion schemes were prepared and implemented, and important buildings -public and private-were constructed. It seems that Adrianople did not follow in this effervescence and the traditional layout persisted for many years later.

This article will not focus on the important monuments of Ottoman architecture which made the city famous and for which there is rich bibliography. On the contrary very little is known of the urban space of Adrianople in general and more specifically of the intramuros city, which perished in a fire in 1905; and almost nothing is known of the everyday places where the various ethnic-religious groups lived and worked.

In 1854-56, during the Crimean War, a French army corps of 15000 men under general Bousquet camped in Edirne. The French had orders to fortify the city and they began to draw plans of the region.³ Most probably this is how the plan signed by the French *chef d'escadron* Osmont came into being.*

This beautiful manuscript, with an index of 200 buildings in scale of 1:10.000, is a valuable document for the topography of Adrianople in the middle of the 19th century. Written almost at the same time, a report by Greek consul K.P.Foivos is an important source of information about the buildings and the urban structure of Adrianople.⁵

With the help of these documents as well as of other sources listed at the end of the article, we will try to trace the city's evolution after the middle of the 19th century, which marked the end of an era of major development, demographic and other, and preceded the hard years of economic and political decline that would follow.

Geography and urban form

The city is situated on the main road from Constantinople to Sofia and Belgrade, at the junction of the rivers Tunja and Arda with Evros (the Maritsa). The Tunja forms a semi circle round the west side of the town; the river Evros runs through low-lying marshy country and the area is liable to floods. The town was surrounded by low hills, 100 to 150

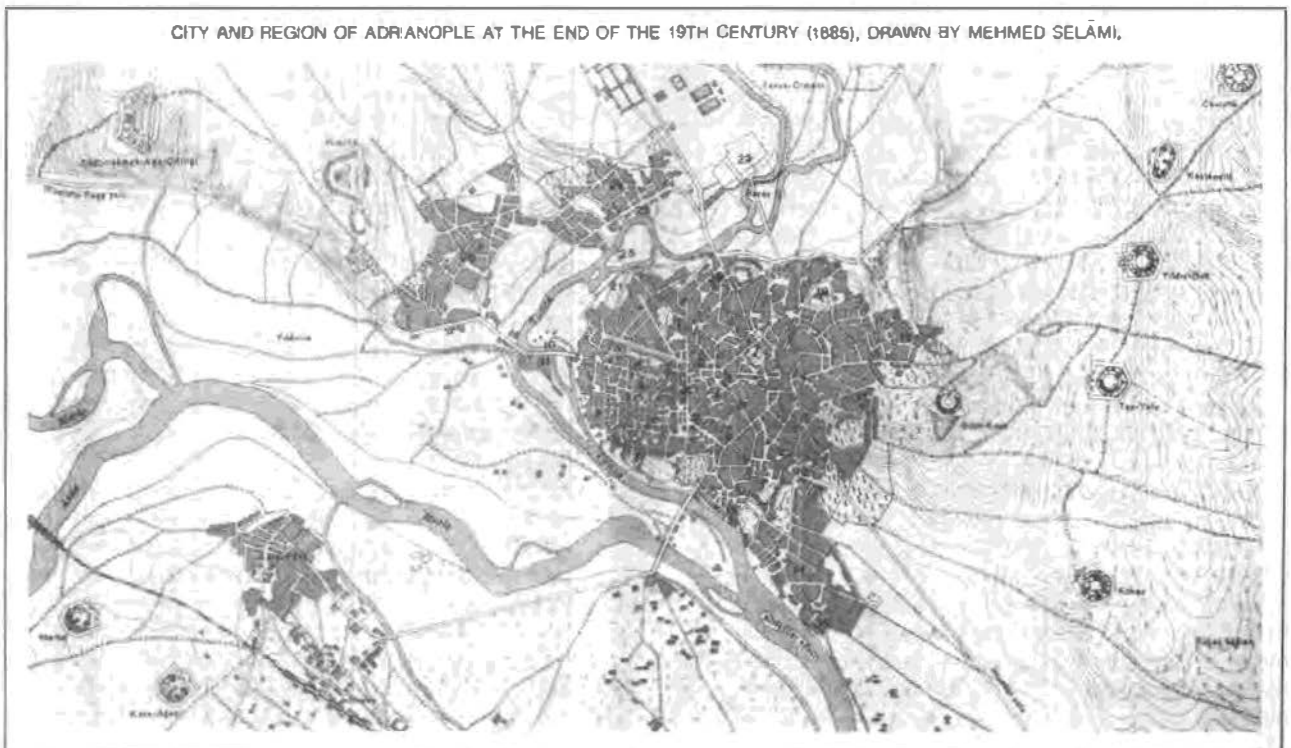
meters high from northwest to east;⁶ to the south it faced the plains of Evros. The hills were planted with vineyards, and after 1877 they carried a ring of forts.

The city layout, as it appears in the plan of 1854, is particularly interesting because it reveals two distinct historical stages of development:

- The intra muros city -Roman fortress, Byzantine administration and military centre- was designed in a plain, ideal scheme.⁷ and inhabited by mainly a non-Moslem population (Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Catholics).

- The extra muros city was founded outside the eastern walls by the Ottomans after they captured the city in 1361-62. Adrianople, appointed imperial capital for a century, grew rapidly and soon became the biggest city in the Balkans after Constantinople.⁸

An interesting description written in 1760 by a Greek scholar⁹ offers a hypothesis on the possible evolution of the city: Adrianople, he claimed, consisted of the inner city (Asty), three suburbs (Kiyik, Kirishane and Yildirim) and "huge varosh". The word *varosh* was used in almost all Balkan cities and beyond (in Cyprus also), meaning the first urban ex-



tension outside the city walls. It can be argued then that the suburbs were originally formed as independent settlements, and as the city grew, Kiyik eastwards, and Kirishane southwards, were progressively incorporated into it. Yildirim, on the northern bank of the Tunja, probably existed before the Ottoman conquest, because the great mosque built there in the 14th century is believed to stand on the foundation of a Christian church.¹⁰

– A third stage of the city's development is posterior to the Osmont plan and is related to the Tanzimat era. The old resort place of Karaagach (the contemporary city of Orestias) on the farther bank of the river Evros southwest of the main town to which it is connected by stone bridges, was turned into a regular residential quarter, and it was inhabited largely by railroad employees, (whose children attended a German school, established there on the occasion). Since the 17th century Karaagach had been considered as the most appropriate place to spend the summer by European consuls and envoys and also by the rich inhabitants of the city, and beautiful mansions had been built there.¹¹

Ottoman Adrianople, Edirne, grew rapidly outside the walls. The existing Bazaar was built eastwards at the outer limit of the old city. On the long road starting at the northeastern gate, mosques, khans and covered markets were built; they formed the religious and political centre, the "point fort" of the Ottoman city.¹² The most important commercial buildings in the bazars were built within a triangle formed by the Mosques Uç Sefereli and Eski and by Tahtakale, which always remained the denser part of the commercial quarter. Only a few military and administration buildings (the Military School, the religious court, nos 1 and 11) were constructed *intra muros*. The Bazaar was connected to the Kaleiçi by big and small gates, bearing the names of specific markets, such as Balik pazar gate -fish market, or Tavouk pazar gate -chicken market-.

The city must have suffered a lot during the 18th century.¹³ A great fire in 1745 and a terrible earthquake in 1752 destroyed it almost entirely.¹⁴ Although buildings were reconstructed and monuments repaired, it seems that Adrianople never recovered her old glamour. From several Greek sources we know that all churches in the inner city were continuously being rebuilt or repaired during the 18th century, and again in the beginning of

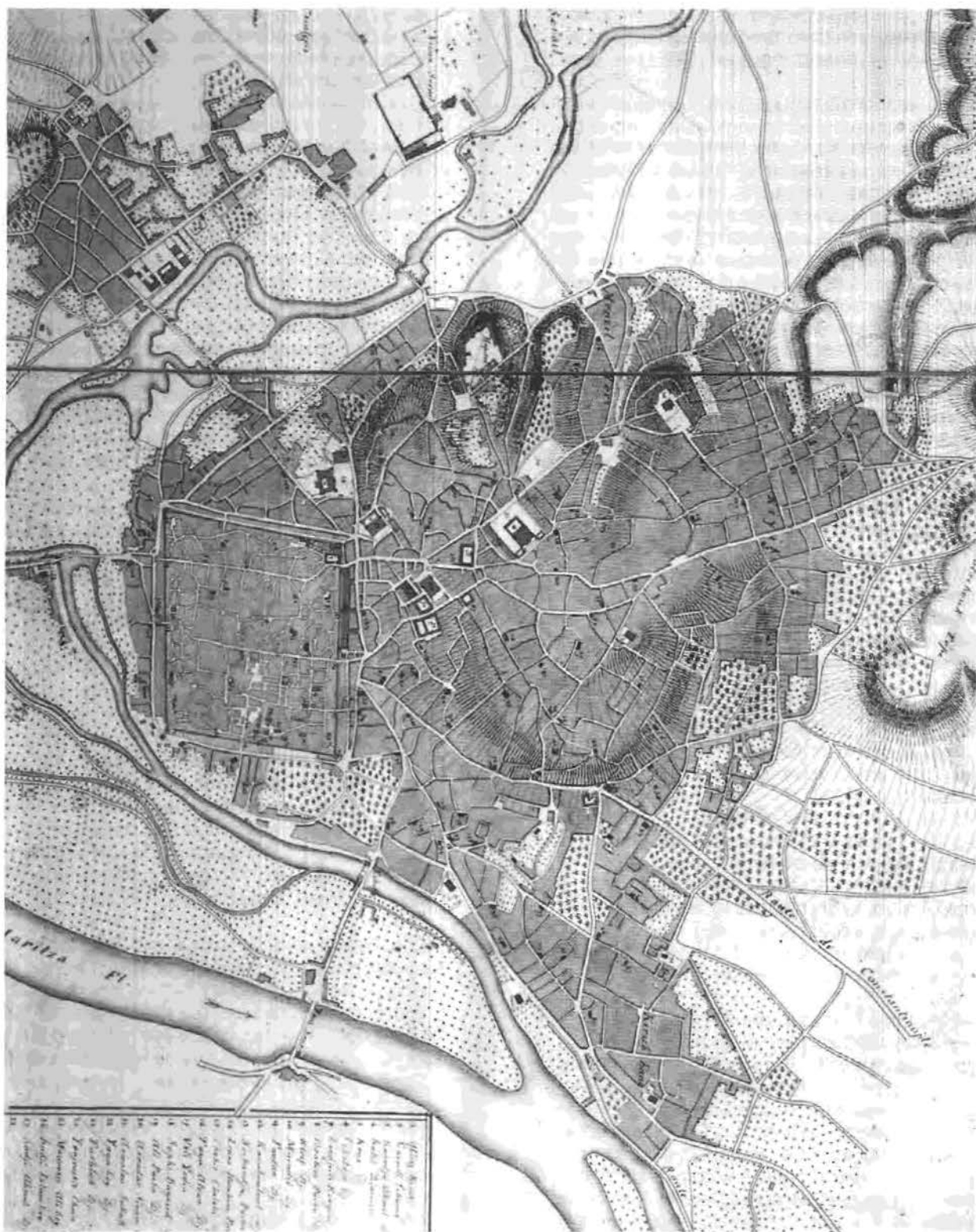
the 19th. After the proclamation of Tanzimat, and especially after the war of 1877-1878, they were renovated once more and adorned with bell towers. The city suffered severe damage during the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-1829. Also a terrible flood ruined 2200 houses in the Greek quarters of the inner city in 1844,¹⁵ while the Jewish quarters perished in a fire in 1846.¹⁶

For lack of more reliable information, we may assume that the city was continuously rebuilt took place on a more or less non-organized, individual initiative basis. Greek historians insist that there was no official authority to supervise the rebuilding process.¹⁷ Recent studies have shown that urban regulations existed before 1839, but it is not yet known to which extent they were applied, if they were applied at all.¹⁸ After Tanzimat, new regulations were promulgated and up to date land registers were drawn. In 1845 the Porte ordered the Vali Tahir Pasa to prepare a register of all immovable properties in the city. All communities were requested to submit lists bearing names of owners and description of lots and buildings.¹⁹

The earliest known attempt to embellish the city was undertaken by local authorities in 1830 and again in 1839, when Sultan Mahmut paid visits to Adrianople.²⁰ The inhabitants were asked to contribute actively to this effort, and the Greek community supplied the cost of the famous kiosk Yildiz. The kiosk was built on a hill outside the city, so that the Sultan could rest and enjoy the splendour of the scenery (Plan Osmont, no 1). A few years later, in 1846, Sultan Abdul Medjit also announced his wish to visit the city. On the occasion Adrianople changed its appearance: streets were enlarged and all trash was removed; public buildings were decorated and adorned with kiosks, paid by Armenian merchants; army barracks were repaired; the bazars were provided with a great variety of European merchandise. The religious leaders of the non-moslem communities asked their subjects to whitewash all houses and shops.²¹

According to the Osmont Plan, in the middle of the 19th century the city covered an area of about 360 hectares, and it appeared very compact, although we know that only the inner city and the part outside the walls, between the market place and Uç Sefereli Mosque, were densely built. In the rest of its residential quarters, the suburbs included, the houses were built amidst large gardens. The street pattern was informal: it conformed

ADRIANOPLÉ, OSMONT PLAN.



to the terrain and followed the main thoroughfares leading to neighbouring cities. On the contrary, "there were no vineyards and gardens" in the inner city as early as the 17th century according to Evliya,

The intra muros city

The antique fortified city lay to the east of the Tundja river. The walls formed a surprisingly regular oblique rectangle, 600 to about 730 meters, measuring 45 hectares of surface. It seems that in the long-lasting *Pax Ottomana* and because of an absence in maintenance, the moat had been filled with earth and garbage,²² upon which were constructed shops, imarets and various other buildings, in long blocks, with streets longing them. Only to the north was there a street adjacent to the wall.

Inside the fortress one can detect the customary regularity of the Hellenistic-Roman planning. The old regular pattern of streets still survived despite successive reconstructions required by frequent calamities – floods, earthquakes, fires – as well as by the use of poor and precarious materials. Naturally the grid was distorted here and there and it is rather difficult to speak of "360 streets, all parallel and perpendicular to the walls, and paved with flagstones according to the old system" as Evliya had noted. As time passed, the old regular shapes were gradually transformed, some of the streets were closed down in order to form more secluded quarters for safety reasons, while new ones were opened and fragmented the once larger blocks.²³

Still, the Roman insulae 130-150 m. long and 50-70 m. wide can be easily traced on the Osmont map, if we attempt to reconstruct the antique street pattern. There are four main streets running from east to west and dividing the city into 5 zones, and a great number of streets perpendicular to them, similar to the hellenistic-roman grids created at the time.

Some of the most spacious blocks were gathered on the borders of the central street, about 400 meters from the Batik pazar gate. It could be argued that this is where the antique civic centre lay, but the lack of archeological evidence does not allow further assumptions. In 1854, there was no trace of any kind of central square within the fortress, which functioned as a residential quarter of non-Moslem groups. It seems however that Moslems had lived in Kaleiçi, sometime ear-

lier than the 18th century, because Turkish names of mahalle (quarters) were still remembered at that time. Also the ruins of old churches converted into mosques show that the place had once been inhabited by Moslems.²⁴

The Greeks were the most populous group. They occupied all the neighbourhoods to the north of the central street and also those laying against the western wall. They had nine churches in service (eight of them appear in the Osmont plan: nos 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 31). Five more burned down in 1694 and they were never rebuilt; two of them laying in the Jewish quarter and being gradually encroached by its inhabitants, offered a subject of continuous dispute between the two communities. Another five churches were converted into mosques, among them the Leblebidji Djami, the Eski Kazandjilar Djami and the Kilisse Djami (Nos 27, 28, 29) almost in ruins in the middle of the 19th century. The Othodox Metropolis lay on a hill near the wall at the Koule Kapoussu (no 3). The antique church building collapsed after a heavy snow storm in 1658 and was immediately rebuilt, while interior paintings were completed in 1678. A beautiful Archbishopric and spacious school buildings were erected in the vicinity between 1818 and 1846 and formed a social centre for the Greeks. In a chapel near the Metamorfosis church (Christos no 13), the community had a "madhouse", which offered a "miserable sight". A big church, second only to the Cathedral and dedicated to St George, lay outside the western wall of Kaleiçi (no 105) where also a great number of Greeks lived. Three more churches were found in Kiyik, Yildirim and Kirishane (Twelve Apostles built in 1833, no 81); in Yildirim there was also a Greek hospital (no 127) built in the 1850s.

The Greek quarter in Kaleiçi was guarded by nightwatchers hired by the community, who patrolled till dawn, hitting the pavement with a stick to remind the inhabitants of their presence. The houses were wooden buildings, one or mostly two-stories high; after Tanzimat, they were owned by their occupants. Greeks flourished under Abdül Hamit, as well as Jews; on the contrary rich Armenians were impoverished, as they became involved in unfortunate business affairs.

The Jewish quarter was located in the southeastern corner of the Kaleiçi. Its thirteen

synagogues were discreetly placed in the interior of close-knit residential blocks, which formed the denser part of the city. Eleven synagogues appear in the Osmont plan (nos 15-26 and 43). The quarter was surrounded by a wooden fence, therefore called Tah-takale, within which the community had a strict control over its members.

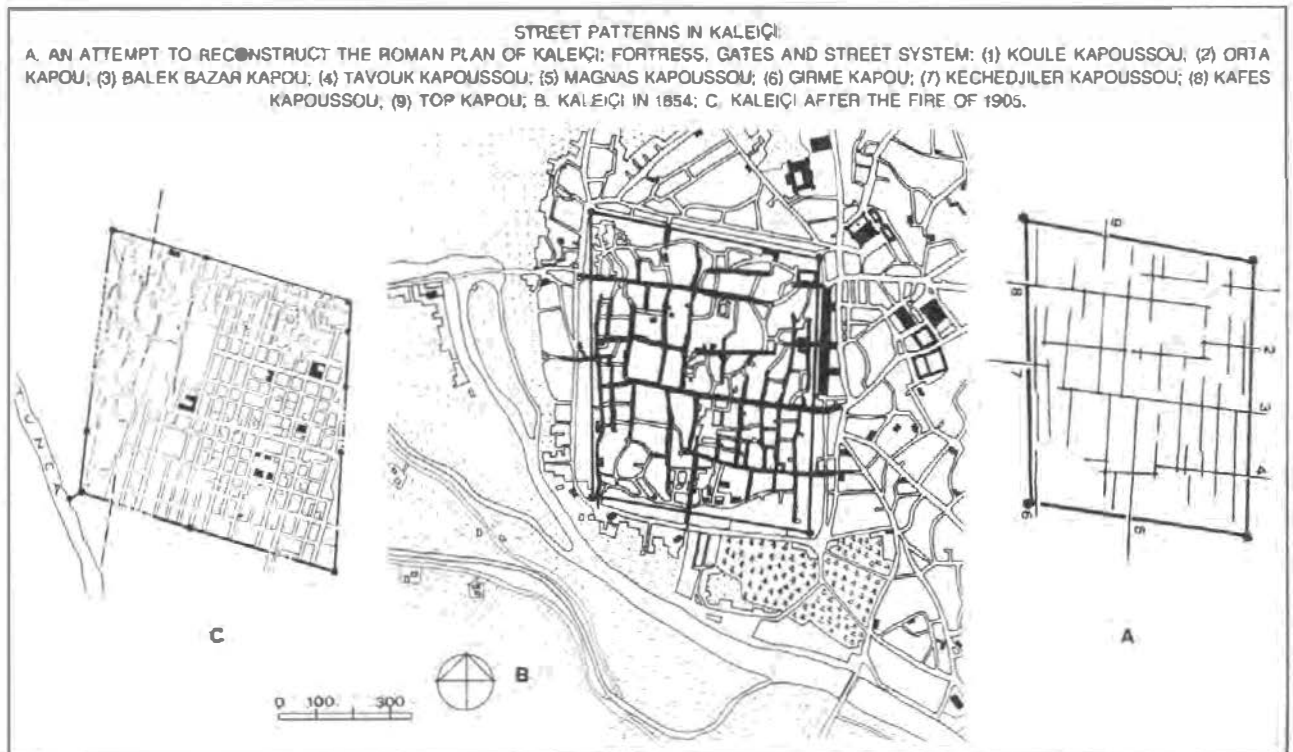
The Jewish quarter was destroyed almost completely by a fire in 1846. The Jews were obliged to move into different neighbourhoods in the rest of the city and the suburbs, "even in the Turkish quarters". Community bonds were loosened, which proved to have "a disastrous moral impact" upon individuals. "Some of them went so far as to buy houses among Moslems, which is strictly forbidden to Christians". By 1858, almost all synagogues had been reconstructed.

Armenians lived between Greeks and Jews and their church lay on the main street (no 42). They also had a small church outside the fortress, in the northeastern quarter called At Pazar.

There is no information about a separate European quarter. The catholic church (no 12), shared by European subjects and Catho-

lic Armenians, lay to the north of the main street in the Greek quarters, not far from the French consulate by the Koule Kapoussou (no 44). With the arrival of the railway technicians, a small European quarter was formed in Karaagach.

After Tanzimat and especially in the 1870s, all communities were active in adopting more open and relaxed lifestyles towards other religious groups. Administration buildings were built by the Ottoman authorities. Restaurants and cafés, modern shops, clubs and cultural associations were founded and housed in new types of buildings. A great number of schools were constructed between 1842 and 1853. There was a common desire shared by all groups to introduce European attitudes and establish some kind of cultural integration. For instance in 1868, a European Club was created, on the initiative of the Russian and Greek consuls. All citizens were invited to become members, as long as they were willing to pay an annual fee of 150 piastres. The Greek newspaper *Neologos*, which published the information, praised the novelty "as a marvelous idea promoting the brotherhood of all people in the Orient".



The extra muros city

Outside the intra muros city, different types of urban fabric can be distinguished:

Small blocks, sometimes in regular shapes, formed the commercial quarter. The impressive monumental complexes -khans, kapans, bazaars and mosques- occupied parts of larger blocks, with the exception of the Selimye Djami, which stood alone in a very large block. Before it, lay the Yemich Kapaneu and the Arapelar Khan and more to the west, the Iki Kapoulou Khan (nos 65, 67, 70, all three demolished) in the empty square which is found today among the Eski Djami, the Bezesten and the Rustem Pacha Khan. On this same axis, some 'modern' buildings were erected after the 1880s: the Town Hall (Belediye), government offices, general inspection building, all in an eclectic architecture.

The rest of Kaledisi was formed by residential quarters with narrow tortuous streets and large lots, that climbed gently on the slopes of hills and presented a very informal pattern.

Kiyik had a regular urban fabric, which had perhaps developed from an initially organized settlement. Kirishane had some regular blocks too, along the route to Callipoli. The urban fabric in Yildirim, where a majority of Greeks lived, seemed to have evolved from a rural settlement.

If we compare the Osmont plan of 1854 to the Selami plan of 1885, there seems to be very little change over the thirty years that separate them. Only Karaagach by the railroad station had grown. A much more important change was recorded in 1905, when a fire destroyed the greatest part of Kaleiçi. Dilâver Bey, Adrianople's mayor in 1905, was in charge of the reconstruction. A new plan for the burned area was prepared by municipal authorities according to the planning regulation of 1891. In case of fires, land consolidation measures, which was an avant-garde instrument of planning legislation, had been adopted since 1882. They allowed large areas to be entirely redesigned, so that new street patterns could be adopted. Old shapes of blocks and individual plots could be ignored and public space could expand up to 25% at the expense of private building land. New plans imposed square blocks and a continuous front on the street with houses constructed on building lines. In the case of Kaleiçi, we might think of a historic reconstruction of the roman plan!....

In the new plan blocks were much smaller compared to the old ones as those had survived after many centuries. A possible explanation is that land property was extremely fragmented and, as new regulations did not allow parcels to be placed in the interior of the block, a great number of blocks and subsequent new streets had to be created to accommodate all owners.

In 1909 *"the central town contained 15000 houses, most of which were of two stories, built of wood and sun-dried bricks, few stone or brick houses except public buildings, some schools, a Greek college, a bank, a fire tower, a theatre, barracks, hospitals (the military hospital has 1000 beds!), government and military offices. The streets were mostly narrow and badly paved, only a few had been lately improved. The principal streets in the main town, in the suburb of Karaagach and the station road were lighted by petroleum lamps. The Kale quarter, rebuilt since 1905 when it burned down, had comparatively broad streets"*.³⁹ If Salonica was praised by Djavit pasha, minister of Finance that same year, as *"the most europeanized city of the Empire"*, Adrianople remained a traditional oriental city.

More difficult times were still to come between 1912 and 1922, after the Balkan Wars and the War between Greece and Turkey. The Jews left the city, the rich ones to Istanbul, the poor ones to Palestine. New frontier lines were traced four kilometers west of Adrianople, and an obligatory exchange of populations was decided. The few remaining Greeks fled out in search of new homes in national territory. Somewhere in the road they might have crossed the Turks leaving the Macedonian cities. Salonica, Serres, Cavala.... For some of them, without their knowing, there might have been a mutual exchange of homes. The colourful polyethnic cities in the area would continue to live with new homogenous populations.

Alexandra Yerolimpos

¹ E. Reclus *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, Librairie Hachette, Paris, 1876, pp. 161-162.

² The Treaty of Adrianople, signed on September 1829 after Turkey's defeat, assured an autonomous status for Greece and placed the principalities of Walachia, Moldavia and Serbia under Russian protection.

³ Cf. N. Moschopoulos "Adrianople" *Great Hellenic Encyclopaedia*, 1930 (in Greek). The fortifications were realized twenty years later, and they can be seen in the 1885 plan of Selami, published by B. Darkot "Edirne. Coğrafi Giriş" in *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600. Fetih Yıldönümü Armagan Kitabı*. Ankara 1985, pp. 1-10.

⁴ *Plan d'Andrinople 1854 par Osmont. Année Française d'Orient*. Ministère de la Défense - Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, carte 4.10.B.225

⁵ The report was written in 1858 for the Athenian Review *Pandora* and published in 1862. An integral version of the report was included in K. Vachalopoulos *La structure économique de la Macédoine et de la Thrace au milieu du 19^e siècle dans le cadre du commerce international*. Etairaia Makedonikon Spoudon Thessaloniki, 1980.

⁶ Seven hills according to Evliya Celebi. Cf. K. Kreiser *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliya Celebi*. Verlag, Freiburg, 1975; also "Adrianople by Evliya Celebi" *Review Thracica* vol. 15, 1941 (in Greek).

⁷ The intra muros city, called Kaleiçi (Interior of Fortress) by the Turks and Asty (City) by the Greeks, was named Adrianopolis after Roman Emperor Adrian, who fortified and embellished it in the year 127 of our era, and also who settled disabled Roman soldiers. Mansel believes that the city was built under the form of a Roman castrum and supports his argument with the help of engravings on numismatic evidence. Cf. A.M. Mansel "İlkçağda Edirne". *Edirne'nin 600. op.cit.*, pp. 21-37.

The Osmont plan offers an additional proof in favour of this argument. Other cities in the area, e.g. Philippopolis (Plovdiv), were also fortified the same year.

After the Ottoman conquest, the Greeks had the right to remain within the fortress and the Ottomans established themselves outside the gates. However at first all churches were converted into mosques, and only later, in the 16th century did the Christians recover some of them. It seems that before the 16th century Greek population was so diminished, that they could not even support a priest. The first Greek school opened around 1150, while in 1578 there were 15 christian churches. Also many Jews settled in the Kaleiçi when they were invited by their communities to leave the coast cities, and to settle in Adrianople, so that the small local group would be strengthened. See M. Franco *Histoire des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman*. Paris, 1897.

⁸ "Adrianopolis magna urbs" noted M. Crusius *Turcograecia. Annotationes*, 1584, pp.336

⁹ Cf. Ignatios Sarafoglou "Description of Adrianople (1760)" *Review Thracica* vol. 2, 1929 (in Greek)

¹⁰ According to S. Eyice "Bizans devrinde Edirne ve bu devre ait eserler" in *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600. op.cit.*, pp. 39-76. On the contrary P. Cuneo notes that Yıldırım was created on the first half of the 15th century. Cf. P. Cuneo *Storia dell'urbanistica. Il mondo islamico*, Editor Laterza, Roma, 1986, p. 368.

¹¹ N. Veys "Adrianople" *Encyclopaedia Eleftheroudakis*. Athens, 1927 (in Greek). See also "Adrianople" in *A Handbook of Macedonia and Surrounding Territories*. Ed. by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1920, pp. 459-462.

¹² Actually the city was 'ottomanised' through a process of erecting new buildings on empty lots, as was the case in Bursa, but not in Constantinople. See the remarks by M. Cezar *Typical Commercial Buildings of the Ottoman Classical Period and the Ottoman Construction System*. Türkiye İls Bankası Cultural Publications, İstanbul, 1983, pp. 40-67.

¹³ 17th century descriptions of Adrianople are included in the writings of Hilmi, Kâtip Celebi and Evliya Celebi. Cf. Kreiser and *Review Thracica*, op. cit. Also T. Gökbilgin "Edirne haklin-

da yağlıms tarihler ve Eris-ul Müsâmirin" *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600. op.cit.*, pp. 77-177.

¹⁴ Sarafoglou and Cuneo, op. cit; also A.S. nver "Edirne medeniyetimiz ve tezrin misâlleri" *Edirne. Edirne'nin 600. op. cit.*, pp. 233-253, .

¹⁵ *Greek Foreign Office Record GRECO-AYE*] file 37/13. Consular Correspondence, Thrace, doc. 23 July 1845.

Greece established an under-consulate in Adrianople in 1834. At that time there were also Russian, Belgian, British, Austrian, Spanish, French and Prussian consuls in the city. K. Papatheassi-Moussiopoulos *Greek consulates in Thrace*. Athens, 1976 (in Greek).

¹⁶ Foivos, op. cit. (in Greek).

¹⁷ P. Axiotis "Adrianople" *Review Panathinea* vol. 13, 1913 (in Greek).

¹⁸ S. Yerasimos "La réglementation urbaine Ottomane (XVI^e-XIX^e siècles)" *Proceedings of the 2nd International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Empire*. Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1989.

¹⁹ *AYE op. cit.* doc. 22 October 1845.

²⁰ The Sultan's visits to the provincial cities of the Empire encouraged local authorities to embellish their cities. The modernisation of Salonica was originally inaugurated in 1859, when the Sultan decided to visit the city, in an attempt to promote reforms in the provinces. A. Yerolympos "Urbanisme et modernisation en Grèce du Nord à l' époque des Tanzimat" in (ed. P. Dumont et F. Georgeon) *Villes Ottomanes à la fin de l' Empire*. Ed. L'Harmattan, Paris, 1992.

²¹ *AYE op. cit.* doc. 5 March 1846 - 20 May 1846. The Sultan visited the city on May 3, 1846 and spent there three days.

²² Already since Evliya's visit.

²³ For a comparison with other cities in the Empire, see P. Pinon "Les tissus urbains Ottomans entre Orient et Occident" *Proceedings of the 2nd International Meeting on Modern Ottoman Studies and the Turkish Empire*. Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 1989, p. 22.

²⁴ Cf. Sarafoglou, op. cit.

²⁵ According to a religious register of the 18th century, there were 3275 Greek houses in Adrianople. Cf. Sarafoglou, op. cit.

²⁶ Axiotis, op. cit.

²⁷ In addition to the synagogues listed by Osmont, Turkish historian Peremeci records Kucuk Portugal, Italia and Istanbul, and igriores Roumaga. Cf. O.N. Peremeci *Edirne Tahiri*. Resimli Ay M. İstanbul, 1940. Jews originally established in the Balkans in the first or the second century, were called Romagnotes or Gregos. Franco, op. cit., pp. 22-23, 29-30.

²⁸ Foivos, op. cit.

²⁹ Foivos included a list of schools in his report. In Kaleiçi there were five greek schools with 410 boys and 180 girls, one Bulgarian with 70 boys (no 2 in Osmont plan), two Armenian schools, and religious schools in the Synagogues. There were also many private grammar schools in houses. In the rest of the city he noted some private grammar schools and three Greek schools: one in Kirishane with 140 students, another in Kiyik with 130 students and a third one in Yıldırım with 160-180 students.

³⁰ *Neologos* 384/11 July 1868, Constantinople (in Greek).

³¹ See the interesting information included in the article by B. Cinici "The urban arrangement of Selimiye Mosque at Edirne" *Environmental Design* no. 1-2/1987.

³² A. Yerolympos "Ottoman city planning in the Tanzimat era" *Scientific Annals of the School of Architecture*, vol. 12, Aristoteli University of Thessaloniki, 1990 (in Greek).

³³ *Handbook of Macedonia...* op. cit.