

OTTOMAN POLICTIES FOR THE OTTOMANZIZATION OF EUROPEAN CITIES: RHODESISLANDA MODEL

Ottoman Policies for the Ottomanization of European Cities:

RhodesIslanda model

Dr. Mohamed Abd Elwadood Abd Elazim

Assistant Professor

Faculty of Archeology, Fayoum University

maa02@fayoum.edu.eg

Abstract

The Ottomans enforced some policies to restructure the new cities and communities they have been ruled, especially in Southeast Europe. They tried to form a mental image with Islamic features to eliminate the long-standing original image of these cities; this process is historically known as the Ottomanization of European city which was a natural result of urban and architectural activities.

The present study addresses the general policies and the methods of the Ottomans when dealing with Christians in European cities and legalizing their situations to suit the new ruling system since the mid-15th century. Accordingly, various social, architectural, and urban changes took place within the new community framework.

The study investigates the mechanisms of the Ottomanization of these European cities in general and specially the old city of Rhodes from 1523 to 1912 AD, including having an integrated urban policy that resulted in a considerable development of the existing urban communities or establishing new ones on the outskirts of towns. They relied on Turkish immigration to create communities containing the Turks and the local inhabitants.

Therefore, they employed endowments whose works were the basis of the development of new urban communities. Thus, the Ottomans have been changed the population demography and adding the symbolic Islamic elements to the old buildings such as the minarets, minber, mihrabs and Arabic inscriptions.

The field study surveyed the architectural elements and buildings in the old city of Rhodes and how they were reused and converted into mosques. The change of function was followed by a change of the form through the additions that reflect the ideology and thinking of the new ruler.

The main question of the paper is; how the Ottomans had been changed the symbols of Christian cultural heritage of the town of Rhodes to Ottoman or Islamic one?. Also, if them policies were the same in all European cities or not?.

It could be said; that Ottomanization was one of the important issues that preoccupied the Ottoman rulers since the early Ottoman Empire possible because the Sultans thought that such efforts represented the soft power to create and install a mental image among the indigenous population that the Ottomans sought the settlement and development of Ottoman Islamic societies

Keywords: Ottoman, Ottomanization, Rhodes, Conversion of Churches, Ottoman Empire.

Introduction: The sixteenth century was considered a historical turnout, in which the powers were redistributed worldwide, the geographical-historical bases of the modern world were defined, and the positions of the different cultural powers were changed. At that time, the dominant Islamic and Christian powers fought. They showed themselves as protectors of religion and civilization on the Mediterranean or the Balkan front (Ra'sy, 2007).

The Ottomanization of cities became dramatically vivid after the success of the Ottomanization of Constantinople regardless of the political, ideological, and religious implications. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire had a new motif, a distinctive international feature, and a direct relationship with the Mediterranean Sea region. In other words, the Ottomans appeared as the heirs of the Byzantine Empire with its historical role of dominating the Mediterranean Sea. The seize of Constantinople and its implications played a critical role in the history of successive regions conquered by the Ottomans, as well as others' perspective to the Ottoman Empire and its power and position.

The Ottomanization of Constantinople by converting its main church into a mosque and changing its name Constantinople (Gr. Κωνσταντινούπολη, Oth. in Turkish. قسطنطينيه, Konstantiniyye) to Istanbul which became Istanbul (Gr. εις τὴν Πόλιν or εις τὰν Πόλιν, eis tèn Pólin, "to the City", it developed in Turkish in 16th century as a corruption of Greek phrase eis tan (ten) polin "in (or to) the city," which is how the local Greek population referred to it. (<https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=istanbul>). It was a dramatic event in the Ottomanization of Mediterranean ports and cities (Hons, 2010). It was an Islamic trend itself. The Ottomans stressed their early role in making these regions strongly related to the Ottoman Empire, giving them an active environment for

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the historical, religious, commercial, and cultural correlation to reflect what was firmly rooted among the Ottomans as historical heirs of the Byzantines(Hons, 2010).

The same thing took place in the Islamic Orient, where the Ottomans acted as the heir of the ruling states in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, etc. They took actions of administrative Ottomanization directly. They also issued *Ḳānūn-Nāma Masr* and *Ḳānūn-Nāma Levant* that were based on earlier Mamluk traditions and laws, suggesting the appreciation of the Ottomans to the weight and peculiarities of the Arab region. Accordingly, they were shown as heirs and protectors of the Islamic and Arab civilization. Moreover, they were keen to promote and continue in the future(Algameel, 1989).

It is worth noting that the Ottoman Empire had a clear policy to address non-Muslims in the conquest of a non-Muslim areas (mainly in Europe), another in defending a Muslim region against hostile forces (North Africa and Andalusia), and a third policy in the Muslim regions (Egypt, the Levant, and the Arabian Peninsula). Till the late 16th century, these political domains helped the Ottoman Empire achieve its political and religious objectives (Algameel, 1989; Ra'sy, 2007).

Thus, the Ottomans succeeded in being leading actors in determining the fate and history of the Mediterranean region. They wanted it as an Ottoman lake under the slogan of Islamic Jihad. They were also defenders of Islam by fighting the Holy Crusades. In a nutshell, the conflict in the Mediterranean region began with ideological religious backgrounds and ended with a commercial and economic nature only.

Ottomanization was one of the important issues that preoccupied the Ottoman rulers since the early Ottoman Empire possible because the Sultans thought that such efforts represented the soft power to create and install a mental image among the indigenous population that the Ottomans sought the settlement and development of Ottoman Islamic societies. Accordingly, the reader should compare directly the states of these societies before and during the Ottoman rule, as manifested by many European authors in their statistical studies of the number of Ottoman buildings (Kiel, 1981; Kiel, 1990; Ameen, 2019), especially public service facilities, including baths, khans, fountains, bridges, schools, and Imarets that highlight the role of the urban policy of the Ottomans since early times of changing the European society from mere castles and forts(Ameen, 2019).

Thus, the movements of the Ottomans to achieve their political, social and religious goal, to Ottomanizing the European societies shall be discussed. Their religious and administrative references in handling these communities with their population and fixed

assets shall also be discussed to highlight their methods to turn them into Islamic Ottoman societies to serve their attitude to settlement ultimately as follow;

3.1.The Ottomans deliberately carried out the demographic change. For example, Turkish immigration (Hammoush, 2002) of Mujahideen princes and Sufis who found a fertile land to disseminate their doctrine and attract Murīdūn (followers) was one of the Ottoman imperial ways to change the cultural and social image of the European cities.

The immigrations of 15th-16th centuries of Muslims to the Ottoman European provinces for settlement were the most important event in the Ottoman era. Therefore, the Ottoman authorities adopted various policies to integrate and resettle migrants as a religious duty (Hammoush, 2002). The Ottoman Empire regularized other means to motivate people to immigrate by various means, including applying the Timar system in the new cities. This system was indirectly responsible for the urbanization of villages and approval of the local people on their properties (Rustam 1930, Oughly, 1999).

3.2.The waqf (endowments) played a prominent role in the formation of the required urban structure in the new communities in the new and ancient cities. Such endowments were the basis of the development of urban life to serve the religious, commercial, and political activities of these societies. Accordingly, the endowments documents are a significant basis of tracking the urban activity and development of cities to become centers of civilization after being mere castles and forts (Branes, 1987).

3.3.The Ottoman Empire had been adopted an old tradition that helped achieve the Ottomanization of European cities, including the recruitment of architects and artists from all over the Empire to carry out architectural and artistic works. This tradition had a significant impact on the transfer of the mental image of the form of the Islamic city to the European cities satisfactorily. It interprets many influences and clear similarities between many architectural and decorative elements from the Ottoman or Ottomanized European cities.

Maintaining the status quo was reflected in many modified administrative aspects that included Ottoman administrative laws and legislation and architectural aspects- the focus of the present paper. In other words, the Ottoman Empire did not try to carry out comprehensive cleansing as done by the European states that restored some cities from the Ottomans, such as Belgrade in which the Europeans did complete cleansing from humans to architectural and artistic monuments. The Ottomans only added some architectural features to the buildings, especially the religious ones, and shifted their

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function from churches to mosques. Simultaneously, they were keen on normalization with the population that was clear in the legislation and laws, which defined handling Ahl al-dimma "the people of the dhimma" and other religions in the European cities (Hamza. 2002).

Here, we discuss briefly the principles and references adopted by the Ottomans to define the policy of handling the European peoples. These principles were directly and principally related to the Islamic foundations. The Prophet (Peace and Blessing be upon Him) instructed having the general bond of Tawheed (monotheism) that he was ordered to disseminate as was the case of Judaism and Christianity following the Qur'an:

"إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَالَّذِينَ هَادُوا وَالنَّصَارَى وَالصَّابِئِينَ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا فَلَهُمْ أَجْرُهُمْ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ
وَلَا خَوْفٌ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ يَحْزَنُونَ"

“Indeed, those who believed and those who were Jews or Christians or Sabeans [before Prophet Muhammad] - those [among them] who believed in Allah and the Last Day and did righteousness - will have their reward with their Lord, and no fear will there be concerning them, nor will they grieve”.(Qur’an, 2: 62).

This recognition attests to the way the Prophet handled the Christian and Jewish tribes as allies. With time, he included them in the Muslim state without the need to generalize religions, as shown by some treaties and was the first Islamic principle that dominated the life of the peoples of Europe under Ottoman rule. That is, the monotheistic person who accepts the sovereignty of Islam, wants to live in an Islamic state, and abides by conditions becomes Dhimmi (a protected person). This protection was not limited to the religious freedom only, as illustrated by the Treaty of Najran in which the Ottomans allowed an institutional system of self-government, known as Mila System (Sugar, 1998).

In other words, the principles of Islamic Sharia were the legal basis of issuing some laws that were highly important for the Europeans under the Ottoman rule. Religion, law, and administration correlated within the framework of the principles of Islam. Thus, the multiple public facilities of hospitals, public fountains, bridges, roads, and others in Southeastern Europe resulted from the commitment to these Sharia principles(Hons, 2010).

Socially, the Ottoman-Islamic ideology resulted in a remarkable intermingling of the political and social Islamic traditions, on one hand, and the Turkish and Byzantine elements, on the other. The Ottoman society in Europe differentiated on two bases:

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Religion between the Muslims and non-Muslims and the other between the public officials and others (Sugar, 1998).

In light of this attitude and these actions of the Ottoman Empire, the Christians enjoyed peace under the law and system in action. Over time, they rediscovered themselves around churches that retained some of their properties and authorities to regulate the lives of the followers even if they sometimes demonstrated resentment because of the restrictions enforced by law and society, such as forbidding building domes, bells, or new churches. They also encountered some difficulties in restoring the existing churches (Inalcik, 1973; Sugar, 1989).

After all, the Ottomans in collaboration with the Orthodox Church succeeded in establishing the System of Religious Groups to manage the affairs of Orthodox and their representation before the Ottoman authorities. Accordingly, a central administrative structure parallel to the Ottoman one was established on which they relied to support the attitude to the Ottomanization of European cities. This structure evolved from the traditional spiritual system of Muslims in collaboration with the Ottoman Sultan and direct instruction to establish a unified church (Ali, 1983).

Discussion : As a result to the ottoman movements to encourage the immigrations to the European lands, the social structure of European cities under the Ottoman rule changed as a natural process of the demographic change that took place since the conquest of the Ottomans. This change is evident in the census instructed by the Ottoman authorities of the population of these regions between 1520 and 1530 AD based on the number of houses as a taxing unit that was examined by Peter Sugar when studying the religious sects in the major European cities (Table.1, Chart. 1).

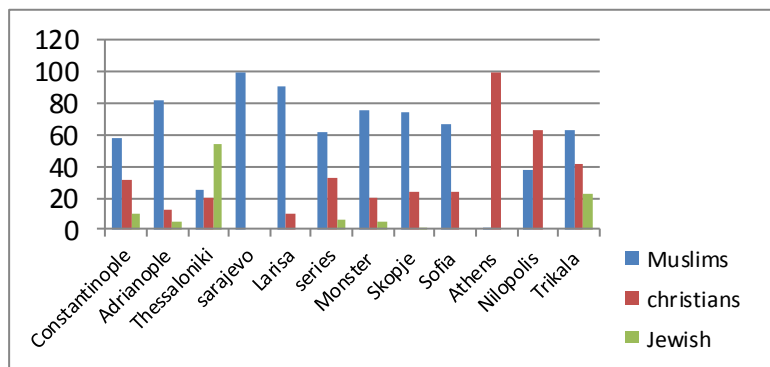
City	Muslims	Christians	Jewish
Constantinople	58.2	31.6	10.2
Adrianople	82.1	12.8	5.1
Thessaloniki	25.2	20.2	54.3
Sarajevo	100	-	-
Larisa	90.2	9.8	-
Series	61.3	32.8	5.9

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Monster	75.4	20.2	4.8
Skopje	74.8	23.7	1.5
Sofia	66.4	23.6	-
Athens	.5	99.5	-
Nilopolis	37.7	62.3	-
Trikala	63.3	41.5	22.2

Table (1). Shows the religious sects in the major European cities based on the 1520-1530 census (Sugar, 1989).

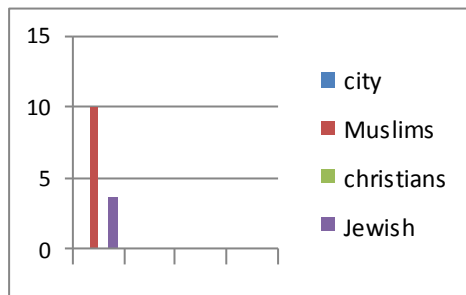
chart.(1). Diagram showing the proportions of the population according to their religion in European cities in the second half of the 16th century.



Sugar reports that about 30% of the Islamic units added- based on the 1520-1530 AD censuses were due to Turkish immigration. Moreover, 96,500 units converted to Islam from the non-

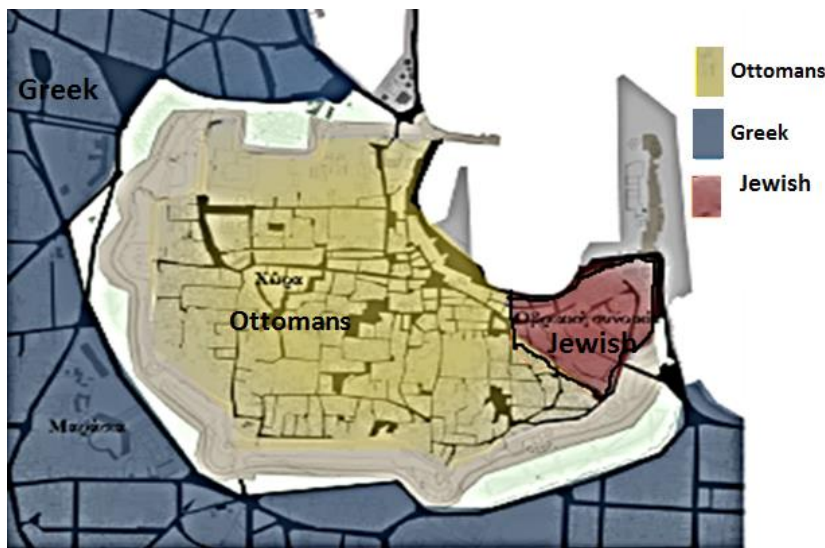
All these actions and policies resulted in the Castle of Rhodes directly after the conquest of Ottomans. The local Orthodox people were forced to move outside the fortified city and settle in a suburb called Marasia to make a demographic change. The Turks and some people from Asia Minor replaced the indigenous population of the Island. As a result, there was a social structure of the Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and Jews. According to the statistics of the 18th century, the population of Rhodes numbered 28,000-29,000 and about 10,000 of them lived in the city. This demographic change caused the emergence of the Muslim majority of about one-third of the population because of the immigration of Muslims from Turkey, on one hand, and the immigration of Orthodox from Rhodes to Asia Minor and Egypt, on the other. At the same time, the Jews increased in the city and numbered 3,600 in 1900 AD (Vryonis, 1975), and the 4,000 Christians moved to Marasia outside the walls of the Castle (Table. 2-Chart 2) (Παπαχριστοδούλου, 2012)

Table (2). Shows the religious sects in the major European cities based on the statistics of the 18th century



City	Muslims	Christians	Jewish
Rhodes	10.000	-	3.600

Chart (2). Diagram showing the proportions of the population according to their religion in Rhodes city in end of 17th century.



Pl. (1). Shows the quarters of the old city of Rhodes and the proportions of the population according to their religion in Rhodes city in end of 17th century. (Μίχαλου. 2013; İbrahimgil, 2018).

It is worth noting that the Ottomans succeeded in the Ottomanization of cities, as shown through the careful reading of the number of the Muslim population in many European provinces, especially if they were compared to the periods of Ottoman control of them. These periods are relatively short to cause a demographic change in the European cities, as clearly expressed in the statistics of the sixteenth century (Sugar, 1998) that give a good idea of the population of the Ottoman Empire. They showed that these regions contained a large number of Muslims, especially in the major cities. These statistics

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reflected the policy of the Ottomans and keenness to make a demographic change in European cities.

The other method of the Ottomanization of European cities was the cultural and architectural change of the architectural components of the city to create a new mental image in a new Ottoman form to replace the old one with its Christian details.

The Ottoman Empire adopted an integrated urban policy, which had a clear impact on the development of old European cities, on one hand, and establishing new urban settlements, on the other. In both cases, many buildings fulfilled different functions and met many essential needs and requirements to change the aspects of social, economic, and cultural lives parallel to the different elements of the society, including native people or Turkish immigrants from Anatolia (Hamza, 2002).

The sovereignty of the Ottomans over Rhodes had a considerable impact and a turning point for the development of the Island and changing its archaeological and cultural landmarks. Over 390 years, only the walls and forts remained with some modifications to enhance fortification and strength unlike other establishments within the walls that were difficult to determine the architectural identity because of the several modifications and alternations made by the Ottomans.

In fact, the Ottomans realized the importance of regulating the issue of treating the population of South-east Europe legitimately and legally. They also realized the importance of enforcing these laws in reality in terms of organizing and regulating these cities to look, after many actions and architectural installations (i.e. the subject of the study) and adding other types of religious and social service facilities, e.g. fountains, hospitals, and schools, Ottoman Islamic after being Orthodox and Catholic cities (Kiel, 1990).

As indicated earlier, since the settlement of the Ottomans, they tried to relocate the indigenous population outside the walls of the city and began to change the uses of public facilities according to the needs of the new ruler. For example, they converted the palace of the former ruler into a prison and the hospital into a military hostel. They also divided the city into two parts; one for the Muslims and the other for the Jews. They converted the old cavalry field into a yard full of mosques, schools, a library, bathrooms, fountains, simple public drinking. They surrounded it with a bazaar-like form to make a cultural change after the demographic one to have completed Ottomanization of the city.

Additionally, the Ottomans moved in a parallel manner to make radical changes to the cultural appearance of the European city, especially in Rhodes, based on the policy of urban change through two main streams:

They established a set of Ottoman buildings in terms of style and function in various parts of the city. Undoubtedly, these buildings differed from what the indigenous people used to see including mosques, hammams , schools, and fountains (Map 1)(Μηνασίδου2016).

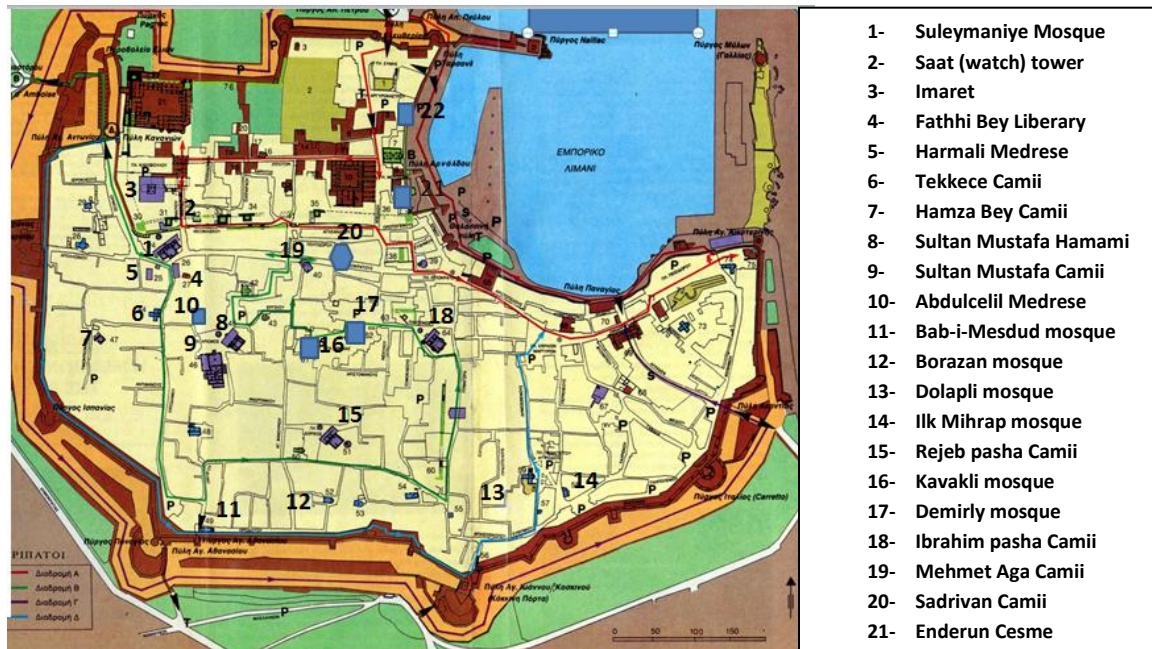
The Ottoman architectural efforts have been succeeding in changing byzantine city of Rhodes to an Ottoman one. The follow table (Table. 3) shows number and types of Ottoman buildings inside the old town of Rhodes according Eviliya Çeleby writings which distributed in the main streets of the city (Ameen. 2019), which reflect the Ottoman policies in the first era of them rule. Most of the buildings served the community, religion, social and health functions (Ameen. 2019).

Table (3): shows number of Ottoman buildings inside the old town of Rhodes according to Eviliya Çeleby. (Ameen. 2019)

Mosque	Friday Mosque	Mescid	Medrese	Mektep	Tykie	Imaret
36	6	30	4	17	4	1

They changed the functions of some existing establishments by adding some elements that helped fulfill the new function. However, the actions taken by the Ottomans in handling the existing religious, public buildings (map 1) were not based on the Ottomans' need to use such buildings for everyday activities. Rather, they were the implementation of a planned policy to remove the eras of former rulers and instill the idea that the Ottomans came to settle in the minds of the population.

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Map (1).The distribution of the Ottoman mosques and converted Churches to mosques within the walls of Rhodes (After the Greek Ministry of Tourism).

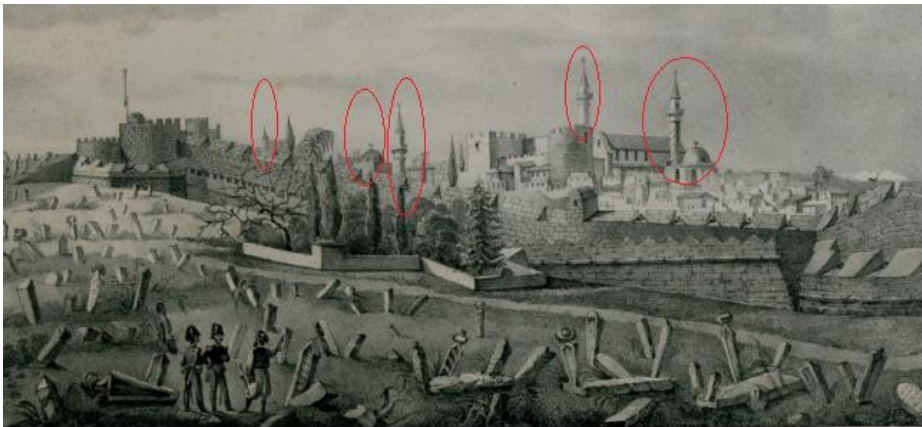
Concerning the first move, the Ottomans from the early beginning till their late rule of the city built many buildings, e.g. mosques, schools, public drinking, bathrooms, markets, simple public drinking, and public facilities according to the Ottoman style (Table.3). This issue played a key role in the change sought by the Ottomans. Many studies covered these buildings and their architectural forms (Gabriel, 1923; Balducci, 1932; Celikkol, 1970; Celikkol, 1992; Ερση Μπρούσκαρη, 2007; İbrahimgil, 2018).

It is necessary to collect the archaeological evidence employed by the Ottomans when converting churches into mosques in the Old Rhodes. The study relies on architectural and decorative elements and inscriptions. Fortunately, some of them are in their position since the Ottoman era. The additions are the ones made to help the building fulfill the new religious purpose of the Ottomans, namely prayer.

The Greek department of antiquities carried out many studies from 1984 to 2003 to restore Rhodes archaeologically and culturally. They restored and architecturally surveyed most of the monuments in the city from the Byzantine era to the conquest of the Italians and the Order of Knights who ruled the city. Accordingly, the stages of the various monuments were documented, and many works and research papers were

published (Balducci, 1932; Gabriel, 1923; Celikkol, 1970; Celikkol, 1992; Ερση Μπρούσκαρη, 2007; İbrahimgil, 2018).

The study also depends on field research and the photos of the buildings used by the Ottomans when they conquered the city. The Italians and Greeks made an archive of these buildings after the withdrawal of the Ottomans and took many photos that showed the Ottoman additions and modifications, especially in churches. Therefore, these old photos can be used to document and identify the status of these facilities during the Ottoman era after removing the Ottoman additions, such as minarets, writings, front arcades, decorations, and other decorative elements. They are the main source of this type of study that relies on the existing elements in their positions in the churches (Pl. 1. a), which will be covered later in the study.



Pl. (1. a). A painting dating back to 1830 of the Old Rhodes showing its Islamic character, (Rottiers, 1830).

It is worth noting that the Ottomans did not ruin the existing model of the city. Rather, they changed some features to make it Islamic Turkish (Konuk, 2008). The same case was found in the cities established by the Ottomans in which they applied the old model of European cities. Under the Ottoman rule, these cities became more organized and systematic, as shown by the general overview of the high buildings. Thus, the city contained a grand mosque, some public drinking, simple public drinking, bathrooms, schools, and stores. On its outskirts, there were the big houses of the rich men and statesmen that these facilities fulfilled daily and spiritual services regularly (Kuran, 1968). Since their conquest of Rhodes in 1522, the Ottomans converted all churches within the walls of the city into mosques. Only a small number of the churches out of (34-35) were not converted to mosques (Brouskari, 2008).

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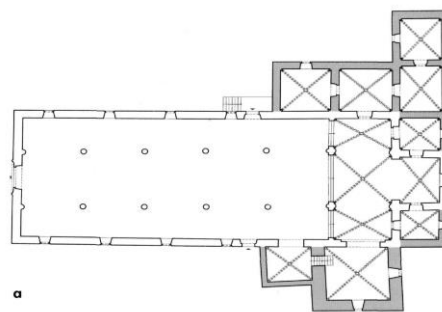
All these actions regulated real application. That is, there were field movements to change the European cities institutionally. A significant example in Rhodes was that when Sultan Süleyman entered Rhodes on Monday 11 Safar/ 30 December, he ordered fixing the Ottoman Sanjak and flags on the walls of the castle. (Alabbasy, 1997).

Converting Churches : For the Ottomanization of Rhodes, the Ottomans since 1522 made an inventory of the existing churches to convert them into grand and small mosques (Table 3). The following section presents an overview of these churches to track the Ottoman additions for changing the functions of the building from a religious Christian building to another following the religion of the new ruler and conforming to the specifications and needs of the new religious use as follow;

Saint John Churc : The remains of the church are clear in the position chosen by Sultan Süleyman to build a mosque on December 27, 1522. He prayed in this church of triple basilica planning covered with a wooden ceiling(Fig. 1).From the very beginning, Sultan Süleyman gave orders to implement actions taken for the city. He first prayed in the Church of St. John. Thus, the Ottomans chose the place of establishing the mosque of the Sultan on the ruins of the old church (Pl. 2).



(Pl. 2): Remains of St. John Church that was converted by Sultan Süleyman into a mosque directly after entering the city on which the Süleyman School was built.



(Fig. 1): A plan of the remains of Saint John Church in front of the Sulaymaniyah School (Ντέλλας, 2009)

The Ottomans established a series of converted churches into mosques inside and outside the walls of Rhodes Castle, as follows:

Panagia tou Kastrou (Virgin Mary of the Castle): This church is located in Museum Square, known as Alexander the Great Square. It was established in the 11th Gregorian century. It is the oldest and largest remaining castle inside the walls of the Old Rhodes. It followed the Gothic style of the Crusade planning while covering the structure with a dome. This style was preferred among the knights of St. John from Cyprus. The Church was later planned to become a triple- Basilic planning covered with domes on Gothic arches. According to the views of contemporary travelers, the church fulfilled various functions in the era of the Order of the Knights.

The Church was originally an Orthodox Cathedral dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Later, it took the same name but as a Catholic church during the era of Knights Hospitaller (Ντέλλες, 2009). It was known as the Sancta Maria Castelli Rodi (Gabriel, 1923; Ορλάνδος, 1948). When the Ottomans conquered the city in 1522, it was converted into a mosque known as Enderum mosque or Kantouri. Currently, it is used as a museum of Byzantine monuments supervised by the Greek Ministry of Culture.

A nice decorative minbar was added to the list. On 1522 AD, the Sultan went to the city and entered the church that was converted into a mosque to perform the prayers. The place was filled with worshipers and the sermon was delivered in the name of Sultan Süleyman (Eldesoki, 1979).

The original grand church was mentioned by Alabbas who reported that “It contains their grand church with its wonderful building, a strange structure, and magnificent paintings on the walls whose inscriptions were mastered to make the viewer think that these are figures of alive gods. The big door, in particular, has astonishing paintings. It also has a human figure of yellow copper lying on a wooden sculpture. Its clothes are entirely of yellow copper. They pretend that it is the image of one of their great kings. The church is rectangular. The place of prayer to the east is in the front part. On both sides, there are two high places with compact iron handrails. In the front part of each one, there is a wooden bench with a gilded human figure and a figure of a lady who they alleged to be Mary holding a baby boy who they alleged to be Jesus. To the west, there is a large open yard with a very high building on which their bills were hanged. The church had several idols of white marble that were brought out, broken, and often blur(Alabbasy, 1997).

The Current Situation of the Church: : Reviewing the horizontal projection of the main church in Rhodes before the modifications made by the Ottomans illustrates that it

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adopted the basilica style of three vertical corridors on the wall of the altar. They were distributed with two rows of stone pillars holding two rows of pointed arches. The largest corridor is the middle of the vertical courtyard of the church on the main apse that contains the main altar. The northern and southern corridors end in the east with a large apse. The western wall facing the wall of the altar has three doors. The middle is the largest by nature. It was preceded by an open courtyard that ended with bell towers that were demolished and replaced by a front arcade added by the Ottomans. In short, the church follows the traditional basilica pattern in terms of being from the west to the east (fig.2).

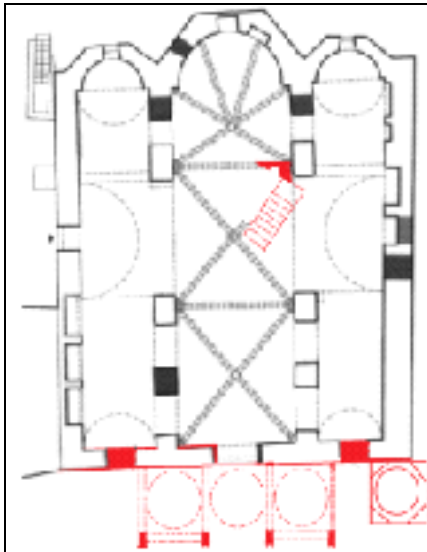


Fig (2): A plan of the Virgin Mary of the Castle before and after the Ottoman additions to convert it to a mosque(After Gabreil, 1923).



(Pl. 3): show the additional Ottoman elements to the Church of Panagia tou Kastrou; the front portico and the minaret. (After the archives of Rhodes Department of Antiquities)

Cross Gothic vaults through four arches with four high raised tracks to support these pointed vaults. It is worth mentioning that the status of the church is close to the original one. All Ottoman modifications and additions were removed to match the change of the religious function into a mosque. Fortunately, the Greeks and Italians registered, photographed, and architecturally documented these modifications and elements before

removal as a form of scientific registration of the monument. The photos and drawings were kept in a special archive of the Greek Department of Antiquities.

The Situation of the Building in the Ottoman Era: Any change in the function of a religious building requires several modifications that may not be substantial. The archaeological foundations are kept architecturally and structurally but some modifications are made to help the building fulfill its new function. These modifications included architectural, ritual, and symbolic elements to inform the visitors about the new function from the first sight, whereas other elements were blurred.

These elements are the front shed, minarets, wall of the mihrab and ritual elements, mihrab, minbar, pulpit, Arabic inscriptions, and crescents above the domes.

The front portico: a shed is a covered added external space to create an outer campus to the mosque (Fig.2- Pl. 3). The Ottomans borrowed it from the Sultanate of Rûm. Thus, this shed preceded most of the plans of Ottoman mosques since the emergence of three models of Bursa. The oldest example appeared in the Haji Özbek Mosque (734 A.H./1333A.D.) and Alâeddin Mosque in Bursa (736 A.H./1336 A.D.). The shed continued to appear in the Ottoman mosques after the conquest of Constantinople (857 A.H./1453 A.D.) and seizing the cities of South-Eastern Europe. It evolved with converting the external corridor into a pathway to the courtyard or external lobby before the house of prayer in the main mosques (Zaki, 2017).The front portico of Ottoman mosques resembled a corridor or transition area between the external and internal parts of the mosque. In other words, it acted as the link between the internal and external composition of the mosque.

Functionally, the Ottoman architect was keen to provide a campus in front of the main entrance of the mosque so worshipers would not crowd together. The front portico also protects the worshipers from rainfall in front of the door when entering the mosque. Sometimes, a mihrab or more were added to define the qibla, confirming that it was used for prayers, such as Sultan Süleyman Mosque, Ibrahim Pasha Mosque, and Murad Reis Mosque in Rhodes (Abdel Wahab, 2010). In short, the Ottomans were keen on using this element as an element symbolizing the identity of Islamic architecture. It was added to most of the buildings they converted into mosques. It was added whenever possible in terms of location and space.

Concerning the shed of the Virgin Mary of the Castle, Balducci H. did an architectural survey of it before demolishing and almost registered all dimensions (Pl. 3a-

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3b)(Balducci, 1932). The shed was placed on the eastern Arab axis of the building, i.e. the axis extending from the east of the church to the three Arab doors, considering the location of the church regardless of the governing rules to guide the internal spaces of Islamic religious building. This type of sheds was common since the Sultanate of Rûm (7 A.H./ 13A.D.) century. It was imitated by the Ottomans in most of their buildings. It took the form of a corridor in front of the entrance block facing the qibla wall on the main axis of the building (Zaki, 2017).



Pl. (3a- 3b).The front portico and the minaret of the Andrum Mosque before removing the addition of Sultan Süleyman in 1523 A.D. (After the archives of Rhodes Department of Antiquities)

The minaret: In the regions under the Ottoman rule, the minaret represented three cases, reflecting the nature, policy, and development of the Ottoman history, as follows:

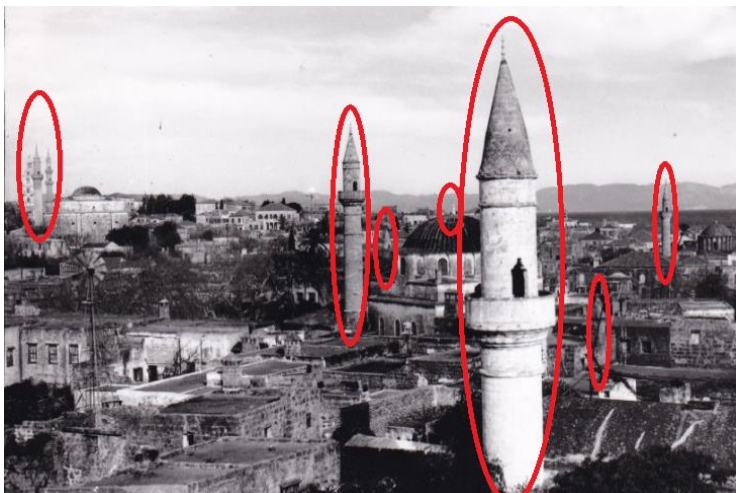
Anatolia, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean islands where the Ottomans represented the first stable Islamic rule. The Ottoman architecture represented the first Islamic architectural style.

Egypt, Sudan, North Africa, the Levant, Hejaz, and Yemen with their considerable architectural legacy. They were significantly affected by the style of the Ottoman minarets. The explorer Evliya Çelebi described the Ottoman minarets in Cairo that they followed the styles of the Islamboli, Rumi, and Turkish Mosques (Çelebi, 2009).

Moreover, the minaret fulfilled an original function of announcing the call for prayer ultimately during the successive Islamic eras as a result of the integration of its elements in terms of the shape of the fiqhi, architectural, and expressive aspect. As an architectural element, the minaret manifested the power, wealth, and faith of the founder (Ameen, 2014). It also fulfilled the propaganda purpose to declare the identity of the new rulers. This is urgently intended for the new states, especially in the stage of establishing the state. The same issue applied to the Ottoman rule of European cities, including Rhodes. The minaret was used as political and religious propaganda, which greatly influenced the imposition of an Islamic image of the Christian cities in reality and the minds of the local inhabitants.

It was one of the most important architectural elements employed by the Ottomans to change the mental and visual image of the modified old buildings to fulfill a different task. When seeing the façade of the building with the minaret and shed covered with domes having crescents and stars at the top with their religious connotations, a person directly notes its Islamic identity.

It can be argued that the minaret was originally presented in all styles of Islamic architecture for one main purpose, i.e. calling for prayer. Over time, it has become a sign and a symbol with certain connotations to give European cities an Islamic identity and visual dimension because it is a symbol of Islamic architecture and civilization. Therefore, the Ottomans built a lot of minarets for the Ottomanization of the European cities through a well-planned and deliberate architectural plan (Pl. 4).



Pl. (4).A general view of Ottoman minarets stressing the Islamic identity of the city (the archives of Rhodes Department of Antiquities)

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The mihrab: The mihrab (prayer niche) is the main Islamic ritual element. It helps define the direction of the qibla according to the Qur'an "And wherever you [believers] are, turn your faces toward it [in prayer]. (Qur'an, 2: 144). Thus, the Ottomans had to determine the direction of the qibla in the building that was designed to the east in the past and did not correspond significantly to the direction to the Kaaba in Mecca.

When trying to convert a niche into a mosque, the eastern niches cannot be used or modified to take the southeast direction in different degrees from a location to the other. Moreover, the main eastern niche cannot be edited because worshippers would have to leave a large area of the mosque without being used for prayer. The rows should be adjusted behind the Imam who should be preceded by none in terms of saying, action, or position. Thus, a mihrab niche should confirm with the qibla direction without losing any internal area to contain the rows of worshipers.

In fact, the Ottoman architect addressed this issue according to the previous conditions to have the mihrab almost on the same axis of the main entrance. He made a semi-circular niche that may be traced in the photos or the works of the European explorers who registered these details.

Minbar: the Ottoman architect added the minbar upon instructions of Sultan Süleyman who ordered transferring the Church of Virgin Mary of the Castle into a mosque and making some modifications that can help it fulfill the new role. Unfortunately, no trace was left of the minbar except for its position defined by Balducci on the vertical projection of the church. The painting and contemporary minibars, especially the minbar of Sultan Süleyman Mosque and the minbar of Mosque Murad Reis help figure out the form and structure of the minbar(Pl. 5)(Balducci, 1932; Abdel Wahab, 2010).



(Pl, 5): a- The minbar of Sultan Süleyman Mosque in Rhodes in 1523AD. b- the minber of Murad Reis mosque in Rhodes.

The base of the minbar was fixed in an oblique direction on the axis of the building's doors to match the direction of the qibla that is parallel to the other architectural elements, including pillars and internal walls. Thus, the minbar and mihrab meet with these elements at an angle of 30 degrees. The worshippers might depend on the direction of the minbar to define the qibla direction. The minbar was often located directly behind the mihrab. The architect fixed it in the angle of the pillar directly preceding the eastern niche to match the context and general system of distributing the movable ritual elements in the space dedicated to prayer. This is natural because the buildings were not originally designed to have these elements.

Obliteration of the Original Identity of the Building: Naturally, the Christian religious building contains many elements that do not match the instructions and rituals of prayer, so they were obliterated whether movable or fixed. Some elements were added or inserted in the wall to make the mihrab niche. Moreover, some courses were added to narrow the openings, like the case of this church.

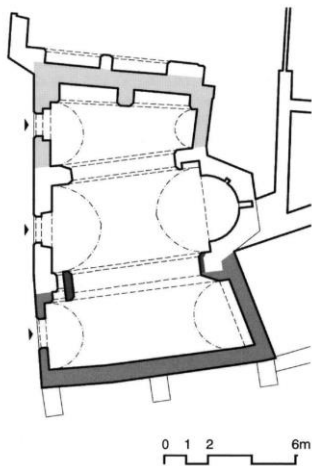
The Knights of St. John moved in the Friday night Safar 15, 929 AH / January 3, 1523 A.D. Then, the Sultan arrived. He made all previous modifications to pray Friday prayer. After that, he moved and left the Minister Qassim Pasha Klodorik to repair the walls of the castle, settle the Ottomans, and change the appearance of the city into an Islamic one administratively and culturally (Alabbasy, 2007).

These modifications were made for the main church of the city that was undoubtedly the central administration of many other churches, which were modified and renewed by the

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Ottomans to become “mosques which Allah has ordered to be raised and that His name be mentioned therein”.

Agia Aikaterini (Ilk Michrab): The Ottomans converted it into a mosque Ilk Michrab (Fig. 3). Some report that it was the first small church to be converted into a mosque when Sultan Süleyman. Historical resources argue that the complex was completely used by the Ottomans (Gabriel, 1923).



(Fig. 3): Aplan of Agia Aikaterini (Ilk Michrab) shows the additional Ottoman elements (After Ντέλας 2009)

Bab Masdud Mosque: It is located next to St. Athanasius gate from which Sultan Süleyman entered the city according to historical sources (Pl. 6). Then, it was closed in order not to allow any enemy to enter. The Turkish text above the gate shows that it was closed as one of many actions to fortify the city.



Pl. (6). The mihrab added to the Church of St. Athanasius (Blocked Door Mosque)

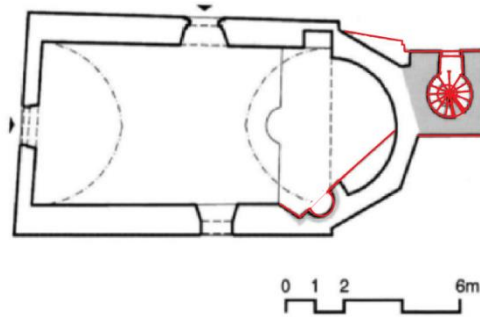


Fig. (4): A horizontal projection of Dolapli Camii illustrating the mihrab added to St. Michael Church and the mihrab and the minaret (After Ντέλας, 2009)

Archival photos show the Ottoman additions to the building plan. They added the mihrab block in the southeast direction to the right of the niche in the southeast side to match the qibla direction. The mihrab niche is topped by a muqarnas dome of the same style of the mihrab of the Borazana Mosque (Pl. 8). The horizontal projection resembles the projection of St. Michael Church known as Dolapli Camii: in terms of internal additions or modifications as is the case of the Kavkla Mosque (Fig. 5).

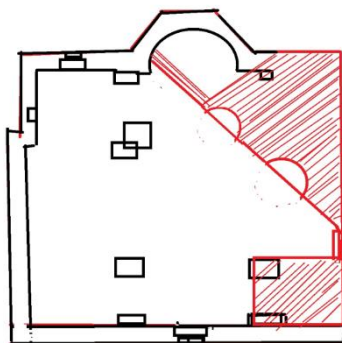


Fig. (5): A plan of Kavkla Mosque illustrating the modifications by the Ottoman architect to adjust the qibla direction and the minaret

Chourmali Mosque: The Church is located in the western corner of the old city on Apulonaos St. It was a Byzantine monastery of a church and some annexes. The church follows the Byzantine style of four divisions meeting on a middle square covered with a high dome (Fig 5). The monastery dates back to the 14-15 century. It was built on the ruins of an old Byzantine building. It is one of the models that spread in the era of the Order of Knights. The Ottomans converted the monastery into a school called Chourmali

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dedicated to girls. The church was converted into a mosque. In the 20th century, the building was used as a house for a poor family.



Pl. (7): The western facade of Agios Georgios Monastery (Chourmali Mosque).

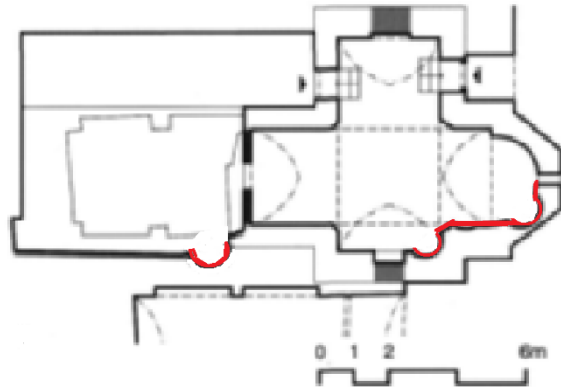


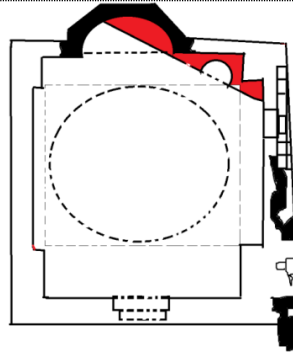
Fig.(5):The mihrab added to Chourmali Mosque in the south corner of Agios Georgios Monastery (Gabreil, 1923).

St.Trellanda Church (Khan Zadeh Mosque): It is located on Knights St. It was established at the orders of the Knights of St. John. Thus, it was dedicated to Catholic Christians in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. It was a room covered with a cellar. The Ottomans converted it into a mosque entitled Khan Zadeh and changed the cellar with an oval dome that is still covering the ceiling of the church (Pl. 8- Fig. 6).



(Pl. 8):

Façade of St. Trellanda Church that was converted into Khan Zadeh Mosque on Knights Street.



(Fig. 6): A plan of St. Trellanda Church on Knights St. illustrating the Ottoman additions to convert it into Khan Zadeh Mosque.

Agia Paraskevi Church: It is to the left of Ebomamo St. It dates back to the 15th century. It was converted to a mosque called Takdja when the Ottomans entered the city. It was attached to a Takiyya for Daraweesh.



Pl. (9). Agia Paraskevi Church which converted to Takdja mosque by the Ottomans.

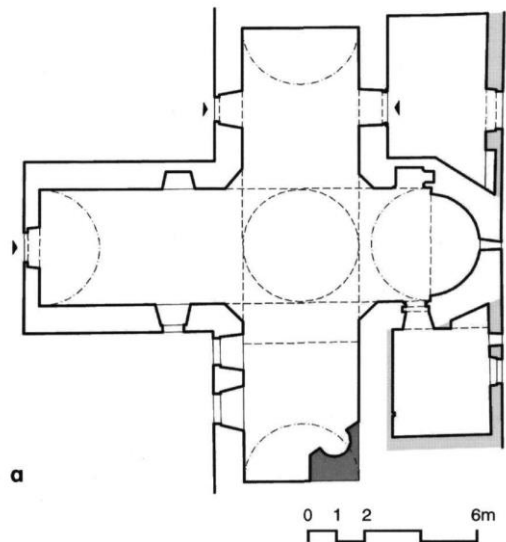


Fig.(8): A plan shows the position of the mihrab added to St. Paraskevi Church (Takdja Mosque) (Gabreil, 1923).

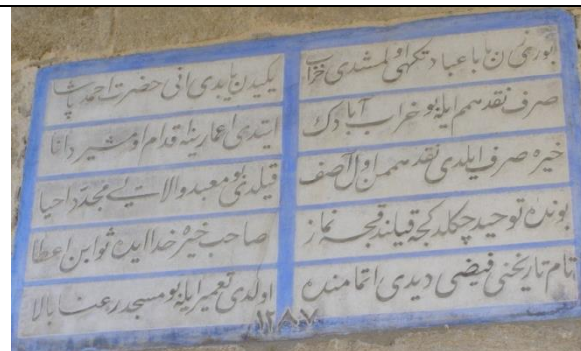
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The Holy Apostles and Old Mess Complex (Imaret): It is located in the southern part of Socratous St. facing the Sultan Süleyman Mosque. It was a basilica church dating back to the 14th-15th century for Catholics. It was destroyed during the first Ottoman siege of Rhodes in 1448 AD. Only some walls and stones were left. Between 1448-1522, it was rebuilt as a one-room church. When the Ottomans came, Sultan Süleyman built a House of Food to feed the poor in the old building to which other buildings were added to be used as a kitchen.

Agia Kyriaki (Barasani Mesgdi): It is located on a side street out of Omirou St. It is adjacent to the walls of the fortress between the fifth and sixth towers (Pitsinos, 2008). It dates back to the 15th-16th century (Pl. 10). It is an arcade covered with a pointed semi-barrel vault on the sidewalls of the church. It was converted to a mosque in 1522 directly after the Ottoman conquest. It was called (Alagia Tekkia) and later as (Barasani) (Balducci, 1932; Konouk, 2008). The original foundation text illustrates that it was dedicated to the Sufis of the followers of Khaluteia and Algelshanah sects (Meftah, 1972; Ghrar, 2015). The minaret was later added in the northwest corner. Additionally, a shrine dedicated to Barasani Ali Baba who held the job of a private borouji for Sultan Süleyman was added (Pitsinos, 2008).



Pl. (10): The foundation text of Barasani Mesgdi dated 929A.H.



Pl. (11): An inscription on behalf of Ahmed Pasha in 1282A.H. to register the restoration of Barasani Takiyya.

The Takiyya was established by Ahmed Pasha 1287 A.H./1870 A.D. (Pl.11) as shown in the foundation text on the northwest facade of the church. It reads:

“The remains of this Takiyya was a rest for Barasani Ali Baba that was restored and renewed by his excellency Ahmed Pasha. He exerted great efforts and spent from his money for restoration. The well-known commander made great efforts for the renewal and restoration of this place so generously to be a house of faith where prayers are held. May Allah give him back rewards for his good works. The restoration of this Takiyya for worship was completed in 1287”.

The minaret of the mosque is to the right of the western corner. It has an Ottoman style and a square base of sandstone from which the cylindrical body begins to be topped by two rows of raised stalactites and to form the ground of the only balcony. From its ground, the upper part of the body emerges. It declines from the lower body. The architect opened and an arched opening during reciting the call for prayer. The pen-like top of the minaret follows the Ottoman style (Pl. 12).



Pl.(12): Mosque and minaret of AljalshnyTakiyya known as Barasani Mesgdi



(Pl. 13): The mihrab of AljalshnyTakiyya known as Barasani Mesgdi

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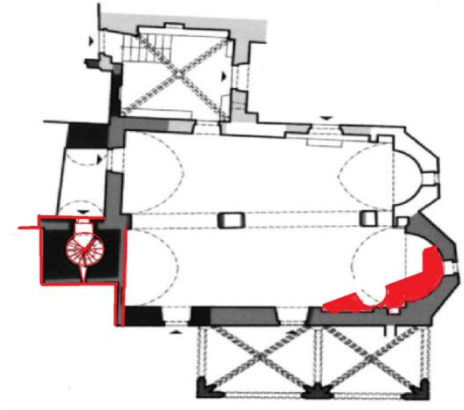
After accessing the building, the alabaster mihrab is observed in the southeast corner of the church to the right of the original eastern niche that is part of the original elements of the church. The difference between the two qiblas can be seen. The mihrab is a shallow niche in the wall. It was directed by alabaster decorations on the simple mihrabs. They spread significantly in the mosques of the Greek islands whether converted churches or newly established. (Pl. 13).

St.Triada Church (Dolabeli Mosque): It is located in the west corner of Leontos Rodiou Square. It dates back to the 15th and 16th centuries at the orders of the Knights of St. John. Therefore, it was dedicated to Catholic Christians in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. It is located on Knights St. It was a room covered with a cellar. The Ottomans converted it into Dolabeli Mosque. The vault was changed to an oval dome, which still covers the ceiling. The Ottomans added a mihrab and a minaret outside the building (Pl. 14).



(Pl. 14): A part of the facade of St. Triada Church (Dolabeli Mosque)

Church of the Monastery of St. Nicholas or St. Augustine: It is on the south west side of Omero St. It is made of a church in the northeast side preceded by a courtyard in the north. Qalayats are in the east. It is one of the most important churches of the Catholic community in Rhodes (Fig 9). The church was completely destroyed during World War II. Based on the remains, a horizontal projection can be drawn. Moreover, the position of the mihrab added by the Ottomans can be distinguished. It is the only evidence in addition to the base of the minaret in the northwest indicating converting the church into a mosque.



(Fig. 9): A plan of the Church of St. Augustine illustrating the mihrab and the minaret converted into a mosque during the Ottoman era (After Ντέλας, 2009).

Conclusion

The paper covered many ongoing Ottoman attempts for the Ottomanization of the European cities they ruled, which is a parallel domain to the military policies they adopted to disseminate Islam in Europe, on the one hand, and secure the economic interests and geographical borders of the Ottoman Empire, on the other.

- The first attempt took the form of a demographic change or substitution of the population. The Ottomans encouraged Turkish immigration to these cities by ensuring many economic and life characteristics for the Muslim population in the cities they controlled completely. As a result, the societal structure of European cities under the Ottoman rule changed as a natural process of the demographic change that took place since the conquest of the Ottomans. This change is evident in the census instructed by the Ottoman authorities of the population of these regions between 1520 and 1530 based on the number of houses as a taxing unit.
- However, this policy of demographic change did not violate the rights of the indigenous population of the European cities because they relied on the Islamic Sharia rules that regulate interaction with the Ahl ul-dimmah "the people of the dhimma". They established the System of Religious Groups that ultimately allowed a kind of self-governance concerning the personal issues for Non-Muslims.
- Moreover, the Ottoman Empire early adopted an old tradition that helped achieve the Ottomanization of European cities, including the recruitment of architects and

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artists from all over the Empire to carry out architectural and artistic works. This tradition had a significant impact on the transfer of the mental image of the form of the Islamic city to the European cities satisfactorily. It interprets many influences and clear similarities between many architectural and decorative elements from the Ottoman or Ottomanized European cities.

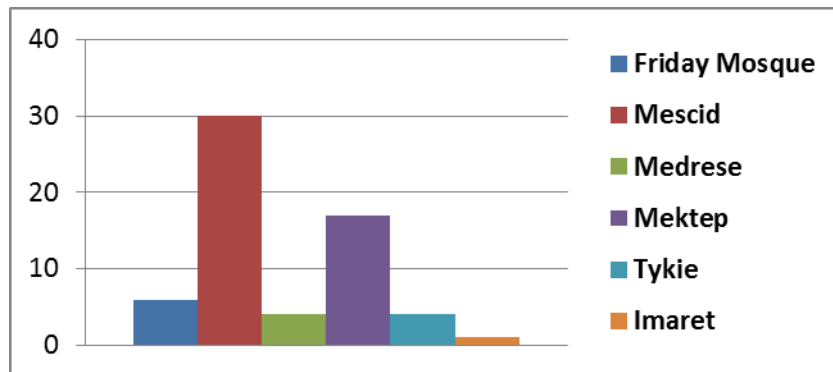
- The study refuted, in some detail, the Ottoman architectural policies as a kind of transferring the general appearance of the conquered European cities by adopting the Ottoman style of the Islamic architecture to change the mental image of the old and new population to the Islamic form.
- In some European cities, such as Rhodes, the Ottomans established a diverse range of religious, commercial, educational, funeral, social, and water buildings to cover all the urgent needs of the population at that time for community service, on one hand, and Ottomanization of the cities, on the other.
- Moreover, they adopted the principle of maintaining the status quo concerning the existing facilities in Rhodes. In other words, they used the existing buildings to fulfill different purposes. For example, they transferred twenty-eight Churches to mosques by announcing this to the public, on one hand, and adding many elements that declare the identity of the religious establishment from the outside, such as the minaret, external penthouse, and foundation text in Arabic. At the same time, the architect added the pulpit, mihrab, and other elements to help fulfill the new function.
- Archaeological and social Ottoman studies are a fertile area for researchers because the remaining material pieces of evidence enable us to identify the Islamic Ottoman society in these European cities adequately. Therefore, the study recommends investigating such evidence, including the remaining buildings, documents, and endowments containing many statistics that bridge a significant gap in the history of the Ottoman society in Europe till the early twentieth century.

Results

- The Ottomans deliberately carried out the demographic change. For example, Turkish immigrations of 15th-16th centuries were the Ottoman imperial method to change the cultural and social image of the European cities. And motivated the Turkish to immigrate by applying the Timar system in the new cities.

- The endowments which administered by the wakfe foundation played a most important role in the formation of the required urban structure in the new communities in the new and ancient cities.
- They collected the architects and artists from all over the Empire to carry out architectural and artistic projects; this had a significant impact on the transfer of the mental image of the form of the Islamic city to the European cities satisfactorily.
- It is worth noting that the Ottomans did not ruin the existing model of the city. Rather, they changed some features to make it Islamic Turkish; they converted all churches within the walls of the city into mosques. Only a small number of the churches out of (34-35) were not converted to mosques, while the European states that restored some cities from the Ottomans, such as Belgrade and many Greek cities such as Athens, in which the Europeans did complete cleansing from humans to architectural and artistic monuments. The Ottomans only added some architectural elements to the buildings, especially the religious ones, and shifted their function from churches to mosques.
- The Ottoman Empire adopted an integrated urban policy, which had a clear impact on the development of old European cities, on one hand, and establishing new urban settlements, on the other (Chart 3).

Chart (3). Diagram showing the numbers of the Ottoman buildings according to according Evliya Çelebi writings.



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