

THE MAKING OF THE COMMERCIAL CENTER IN TIRE (14TH – 16TH CENTURIES) (1)

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1. This article derives from a subdivision of the author's recently published book Caner Yüksel (2012), which is a concise, revised and rewritten version of the dissertation supervised by Prof. Dr. Ömür Bakırer and completed in Middle East Technical University- considering a more general international readership. The author would like to thank Prof. Dr. Ömür Bakırer once again for her invaluable support, critical insight and inspiration.

Also, the general outline of this article is presented in the Architectural History Conference / Turkey I, held at the Middle East Technical University on 20-22 October 2010. With the feedbacks from the audience it is revised and elaborated.

2. Lively markets of Tire are nationwide popular that newspapers list them among the top ten open air bazaars in the country. In *Hürriyet*, 07.09.2007, Tire was number one among the "Top ten authentic local bazaars" and in *Hürriyet*, 26.08.2012, it is among the "Top ten bazaars along the coasts". Likewise youtube videos demonstrate the lively markets of the town as broadcasted in Show TV chief news under the title "Tire Pazarı ve Ot Yemekleri" [www.youtube.com/watch?v=XvDVav8STvI] last accessed (24.05.2013) and Kanal B under the title "Tire Salı Pazarı / Tire Open Market - Ellerin Türküsü" [www.youtube.com/watch?v=wAMRrOckJr8] last accessed (24.05.2013)

Today Tire is one of the administrative districts under the city of İzmir. Located southeast of İzmir, it is situated on the southern edge of the Küçük Menderes Plain and the northern fringe of the Güme Mountains (**Figure 1**). It is surrounded by the neighboring administrative districts of Bayındır to the north about 18 km away, Ödemiş to the northeast and east about 35 km away, and Selçuk to the west about 40 km away (**Figure 2**). The town is renowned for its lively traditional markets, particularly open air bazaars held once a week. Rich both in food products and in traditional handcrafts, these markets are still significant nodes of attraction in the region (**2**). This article reveals how the markets of Tire came on the scene back in the 14th – 16th centuries. It sheds light on the making of the town's commercial center in the given periods that correspond to two distinctive, yet consecutive eras of first the Aydınlı Principality and next the Ottoman rule.

INTRODUCTION

Tire was a significant urban center in Western Anatolia in the 14th – 16th centuries, since it stood at a critical position within the trade routes and urban network in the region. This facilitated its steady development and enlargement first under the Aydınlı and then the Ottoman rule. Located on the land routes connecting inner Anatolia to the Aegean coast, this important inland urban center functioned as a transit market for overseas trade to Genoa from overseas ports of Ayasoluk and Foça, and to Venice from Ayasoluk and southern ports, under the Aydınlı Principality rule (**3**). After the Ottoman takeover, Tire kept its prominence as a source and transit market, this time for interregional trade, now that it served to İstanbul, the huge capital of the Empire, both through maritime and through land roads (**4**). The town flourished as the most significant commercial hub in the region, which in turn stimulated production, manufacture, and trade activities it lodged. Such an increase and enhancement in the town's economy supported the rise of the living

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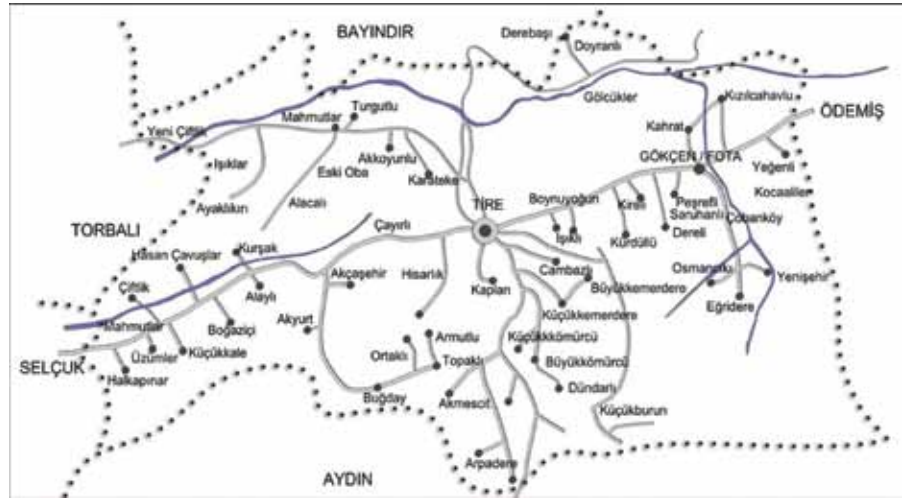
3. Grain, dried vegetables and fruit, cotton, hemp and wool were the trade items frequented in the markets of Tire both for internal and especially for overseas trade with the Italians from the nearby ports during the Aydinid rule. For further information about trade items and trade flow in Western Anatolia in this period see Caner Yüksel (2012, 11-3) Fleet (1999, 27, 29-30, 63, 65, 97, 99-100), Pegolotti (1936, 55-6, 425), Zachariadou (1983, 159, 163-4, 167, 170).

4. Tire was rich in its rice, fruit (chestnuts, apples, grapes including raisins and grape molasses), vegetables, cotton, hemp and wool markets. It was a valuable source to feed the rapidly growing capital now that interregional trade replaced overseas trade with the Europeans. For further information about trade items and trade flow in Western Anatolia in this period see Caner Yüksel (2012, 23-26), Faroqhi (1984, 29-30, 32, 120, 135-7, 159, 161) Fleet (1999, 27, 97-100, 131-2), İnalçık and Quataert (2000, 228-9, 289).

Figure 1. Location of Tire in Western Anatolia (<https://www.google.com/maps/@38.342228,27.0039251,9z>, last accessed 21.08.2014)



Figure 2. Location of Tire, its Villages, and its Environs (redrawn from Tokluoğlu (1964))



standards of its inhabitants, population growth and, most importantly, the architectural and urban initiations to respond to this increasing dynamism of urban life. In these circumstances and mainly through trade activities, the commercial core of the town was established and spatially transformed in time. The influence of trade on spatial formation was two fold. On the one hand, trade items and major trade sectors had their impacts on the shaping and location of the commercial spaces in the town. As such, some commodities and their manufacture and trade might have necessitated spatial and locational conditions particular to them, for instance animal bazaars, tanneries, etc. On the other hand, trade roads which are the long distance roads that continue as the major arteries of the town effect the establishment of the commercial spaces, in other words, the growth pattern of the commercial core in the town.

In revealing the influence of trade on the making and shaping of the commercial center of Tire, this article is divided into six parts. After introduction, kinds of trade items and major trade sectors in Tire are considered and their probable impacts on the molding of the physical environment are touched upon. Next, the general features of the urban form of Tire are figured out. Then, the morphological analysis of the commercial core of Tire in its current physical setting is presented and the findings are supported with historical accounts, both written and visual, which depict Tire through history. Finally, spatial development of the commercial center from the Aydınid to the Ottoman rule in the 14th -16th centuries is studied and concluding remarks are given in the end.

TRADE AND COMMERCIAL SPACES IN TİRE

Food production and trade comprised a vital portion of commerce in Tire. Benefiting from the geography of the site, a considerable variety of grains, vegetables, and fruits were planted here and in the immediate surroundings. Within the bigger picture of Anatolia, Tire was not a chief grain production center. Yet, located on the trade roads, it functioned as an entrepôt market of grain to be exported to Italian city states during the Aydınid period and as a source and transit market of grain to feed İstanbul during the Ottoman era. Fruit and vegetable production and trade in their turn occupied considerable space within the town's economy. İbn-i Batuta, the Arab traveler who visited Anatolia during the early 14th century, described Tire as "full of vineyards, gardens, and abounding in water!" (İbn-i Batuta, 424). Through the 14th - 16th centuries the fertile lands towards the Küçük Menderes Plain, within Tire's territory allowed cultivation of vegetables, leguminous plants, rice, and sesame; the vineyards on the gentle slopes yielded grape and grape molasses; groves on the rising spurs of the southern fringes bore apples, olives, chestnuts and walnuts (Armağan, 2010, 49-51, Edgüer, 1941, 126, Faroqhi, 1984, 29, 31-3, Tire Chamber of Commerce, 1951, 17-21, Ülkü, 1940a, 33-4, Ülkü, 1940b, 6-7). These commodities had their own places of sales that Tire is known to have had apple, fruit, chestnut, grape, grape molasses, vegetables, grain and rice bazaars down to the 16th century (Armağan, 2010, 45-6, 49-51, 81-2, Faroqhi, 1984, 29, 31-3, 306-7, Telci, 2008, 34-5) (5). For instance, there was a *han* named Piriñç Han [Rice Market], which is not extant today, as listed in the *vakfiyes* [endowment deeds, foundation charters] of Lala Sinan Paşa dating to H 931 / CE 1525 (Armağan, 2003, 169) (Figure 3).

Stockbreeding had an important role in the trading activities of Tire (Tire Chamber of Commerce, 1951, 22-5, Tokluoğlu, 1973, 9, Ülkü, 1940a, 33-4, Ülkü, 1940b, 7). There was an Animal Bazaar and a renowned Horse Market, which took place outside the town center (Figure 3). In addition to livestock trade, related commodities such as leather, tanned leather, and hide took an important place. The Arappınarı (Tabakhane or to use its recent name Derekahve) River splat the town into two, parallel to the commercial strip which was aligned north-south. By this river, a neighborhood outside the town center called Tabakhane or Debbaglı [Tannery] was established in the first half of the 14th century on the north of today's Derekahve, (Armağan, 2003, 86) (Figure 3). Actually, as Göksu (1985, 62-3) states, this was presumably the exact location of the tanneries, where they were generally built outside the town centers, by the flowing waters for reasons of sanitation. As the town grew in time, that location still held the tanning houses but they were not any more outside the town

5. Faroqhi and Telci gather the information from *Aydın Vakıf Defteri*, H. 991, No. 571, Archive of General Directorate of Land and Property in Ankara. Armağan refers to court records, *Tire Şer'ıye Sicili*, H 154, Cilt 4; H 1272, Cilt 7 which were previously in the Archive of Tire Museum.

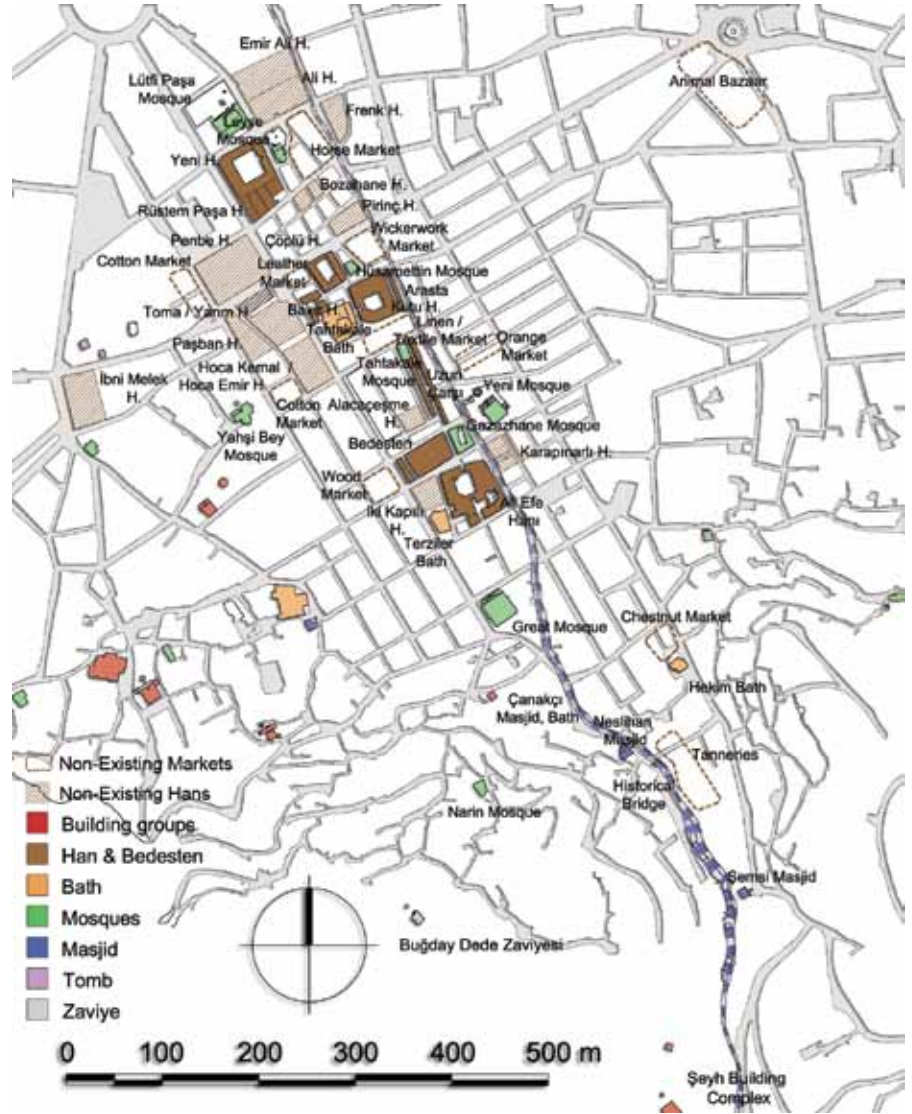


Figure 3. Location of Markets, Existing and Non-existing Hans in the Commercial District in the 14th -16th Centuries

center. Accordingly, it was at the beginning of the 20th century, in the early years of the Republic that the riverbed of the Tabakhane was dried and reclaimed and the tanning market was moved elsewhere.

Textile and rope manufacture and trade also thrived in Tire. The town was renowned for its hemp manufacture and rope making especially during the Ottoman period. Historical accounts show that rope trade occupied a crucial place in the town's industry. The ropes and other hemp-based naval commodities were traded to İzmir and İstanbul, particularly for the use of the Ottoman navy, and some were even exported from the smaller Western Anatolian ports (Armağan, 2010, 102-3, Tire Urgancılığı, 1933, 8; Tire Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1951, 20, 27-9, Tokluoğlu, 1973, 53-8). Likewise, cotton thread was woven into cotton cloth and a cotton manufacturing industry was established in Tire (Faroqhi 1984, 29, Telci, 2008, 34-5; Tire Chamber of Commerce, 1951, 20-2; Tokluoğlu, 1973, 58-63). The cotton in Tire was not only traded in regional markets and sold to make sailcloth in the Arsenal in İstanbul but was also illegally exported to Venice (Faroqhi, 1984, 136). There used to stand a *han*, named Pamuk Hanı [Cotton Market] (Penbe Han and to use its recent name Belediye



Figure 4. Felt Makers in Tire Today

Figure 5. Saddlers in Tire Today



Figure 6. Coppersmiths on the North of the Bedesten Today

Hani). This extinct *han* was part of the Lütfü Paşa Foundations according to its charter dating to H 950 / CE 1543 and it was located next to the Cotton Bazaar on its west (Ertekin, 2007, 25, 36). It collapsed in 1950s and Municipality Retail Food Market was built in its stead (Çulcu, 2005, 28; Armağan, 2003, 166) (Figure 3).

Wool production and felt making were also important in Tire's industry of the period (Armağan, 2010, 100; Faroqhi, 1984, 34; Telci, 2008, 34-5). The town is still popular for its felt making crafts, and even in the weekly bazaars felt products are frequently sold. Today, felt makers are located on the northern part of the commercial strip together with rope makers, leash makers, saddlers and shoe (*pabuç*) makers southwards (Figure 4-5). This part was named as "lower market place" from the time it was established (Armağan, 2010, 82). It is probable that the earlier location of these markets more or less overlapped the current one.

In addition, there were mat manufacturers, who process the rushes, which are abundant in number in the watery lands around the lakes in Tire Plain. Hence, a sector based on mat production, or in other words, a wickerwork

6. For historical written sources, some foundation charters are published by Ertekin (2007), Ertekin (2008a), Ertekin (2008b), some by Akın (1968, 172-3) and Demirbaş (1994) is also contributing. Account registers of Province of Anadolu are published by Özkılınç et al., (1995). Court records are published by Akın (1968, 179-80, 193-7), Armağan (1983, 53-79) and Armağan (2003, 337-61). For travel accounts see citations from Kâtip Çelebi's *Cihannüma*, 1145 Tâbi, 636, in Yelken (1941, 126), also see Polonyalı Simeon (2007, 32) and Evliya Çelebi (2005, 85-92).

industry developed (Armağan, 2003, 33, Armağan, 2010, 102). The rush mat manufacturers, wickerworkers gathered in a particular place called *Hasır Pazarı*, (Wickerwork Bazaar) within the commercial district and a mosque named as Hasır Pazarı Mosque was located in this area (**Figure 3**). Finally, where sword making was the most common metal crafts in Tire, there were a number of coppersmiths and blacksmiths (Faroqhi, 1984, 33, Telci, 2008, 32-35), who gathered in and around Bakır Han. However, the workshops of coppersmiths are nowadays located on the north of the Bedesten and there is still a blacksmith shop to the south of the Ali Efe Hanı, at the southern end of the weekly bazaar (**Figure 6**).

Eventually, both as a reason and as an outcome of its location and geographical conditions, Tire witnessed considerable economic and urban growth. The economic growth can well be traced in the increasing number of craftsmen, tradesman and guilds, as well as in the number of shops, bazaars and commercial edifices like *hans* and *bedesten*. Documents like *Vakfiyeler* (Foundation charters or endowment deeds), *Muhâsebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri*, (Account registers of the Province of Anadolu) H 937 / CE 1530, no. 166, and *Tire Şer'îye Sicilleri* (Court records) in the Archives of Tire Museum, in addition to travel accounts by the Pole Simeon, Kâtip Çelebi and Evliya Çelebi (written sources) and depictions by Paul Lucas (visual sources) and still existing commercial buildings and spaces (architectural sources) provide a wealth of information in this respect (6).

Chronologically, in 1441, there were 48 shops in Tire and more than 120 shops in its wider vicinity providing income for Yahşi Bey Foundations according to its charters (Ertekin, 2008b). In 1543, there were 632 shops in Tire and 704 shops in its wider vicinity providing income for Lütü Paşa Foundations according to its charters (Ertekin, 2007). During 1530s, the total number of shops and depots was 792 as given in the Account Registers of the Province of Anadolu (Özkılınç et al., 1995, 390). In this respect, Faroqhi (1984, 39-41, 304-5) lists the commercial buildings as 1 bedesten, 8 hans, 425 shops in the town center and 207 outside which totals 632 between 1550 and 1600, while Telci (2008, 34) claims there were more than 560 shops during the reign of Süleyman I (1520-1566). Foundation charters and the court records also report changes in administration, property and related details of existing markets and agricultural lands financially supporting the foundations (witness the court records account of the Hafsa Hatun Foundations) (Akın, 1968, 194-5; Armağan, 1983, 59-60; Armağan, 2003, 342-4). Last but not least the travel accounts of Pole Simeon, Kâtip Çelebi, and Evliya Çelebi, who visited the town in the 1610s, 1650s, and 1670s respectively support the view that Tire had been an active trade center and hence a wealthy, developed, and populous urban center. Over and above, there was also a mint in Tire, where Ottoman coins were minted, which further underlines the town's economic significance. During the reign of Mehmed II, the mint of Ayasoluk was replaced by the mint in Tire, and from then on, the demand for copper and silver coins in Western Anatolia was met from here (Kabaklarlı, 2007, 29-30).

THE PRESENT URBAN FORM OF TİRE

The town of Tire elongates in east-west direction due to the topographical conditions of the region. The residential areas were located on the gentle slopes of Güme Mountains, overlooking the plain of Küçük Menderes. Accordingly, at present, the town continues to expand northward, towards the Küçük Menderes Plain. There are two major arteries which helped to



Figure 7. Plan of Tire, Street Network, Topography and Major Foci of Settlement

7. The most recent damage was given during the Greek occupation in the town between 1919 and 1922 and then a new era started with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Tire was hit by destructive earthquakes 1846-1850, 1778, 1739, 1688, 1664, 1653, 1048, and 177, devastating floods such as in 1832, deadly plague outbreaks in 1866, 1838 and severe fires in 1916, 1880, and 1857 (Armağan, 2003, 40-1; Tokluoğlu, 1973, 35-6).

8. The 1916 fire was named as the “big fire” by the citizens and was the most destructive one that encompassed not only the commercial district but also the residential neighborhoods of the Greeks and the Turks. Filiz (2006, 57-9, 66), a native of Tire, says that the fire started in the Greek neighborhood east of the commercial district, spread rapidly and even extended to the south of the Great Mosque damaging the Mosque domes and the piled belongings which citizens brought from their homes to the mosque for protection. It destroyed many of the shops, markets and commercial buildings as well as the nearby Turkish neighborhoods including Filiz’s own house.

9. In modernizing Tire, not only urban planning but also architectural products had been significant tools. At this point, Can Egeli’s architectural works deserve considerable attention. For a list of his works see Tuna (2006).

mold the urban structure of Tire and were at the same time the extensions of the long distance roads passing through the town. These are the Selçuk-Ödemiş Road passing through the east-west axis and the İzmir via Bayındır Road cutting the town in the north-south axis. The shaping of the urban patterns and street network of Tire as well as the siting of the historic buildings in the town indicate that the historic town is located on the south of Selçuk-Ödemiş Highway. Conversely, the north of this road is recently planned in the 20th century. The north section, which is the new town, displays a purposely planned, decisively organized network of streets and divisions of urban parcels. The south section, which is the old town, displays an organic, intricately weaved network of streets connected with blind alleys. The morphology of the urban patterns and street network of this old Tire suggests a tripartite settlement composed of three distinct segments. First is the vicinity known as Yeniceköy on the west. Second is the commercial district in the center, which aligns the İzmir via Bayındır Road in the form of a strip and extends to north beyond the Selçuk-Ödemiş Road. Third is the Bademiye, also known as Ekinhisarı on the east. The Aydinid rulers had their palace built in this part of the town. The main common feature, apart from the grid pattern in and by the commercial core, is the increasing frequency of the streets organically connected in harmony with the rising topography to the south (Figure 7).

Before going into detail on this grid pattern of the commercial center, it is necessary to mention some major disasters Tire lived through its history (7). The town witnessed severe fires, the most destructive of which was in 1916, where not only the commercial center but also the nearby residential neighborhoods were harmed (8). Hence, it is possible that the grid layout within the commercial strip and the adjacent building lots on both sides are outcomes of the urban redevelopment and renewal projects. The Tire Urban Redevelopment Plan, proposed by Vedat Erer in 1950 makes use of the grid scheme with wide and continuous boulevards in re-organizing the urban pattern and in ending up a more open and axial plan (Figure 8). Implementation of this redevelopment plan, with its urban rehabilitation works and related new building projects reshaping the urban form of Tire, was supervised by architect Can Egeli, who worked in Tire Municipality between 1952 and 1955 (9).

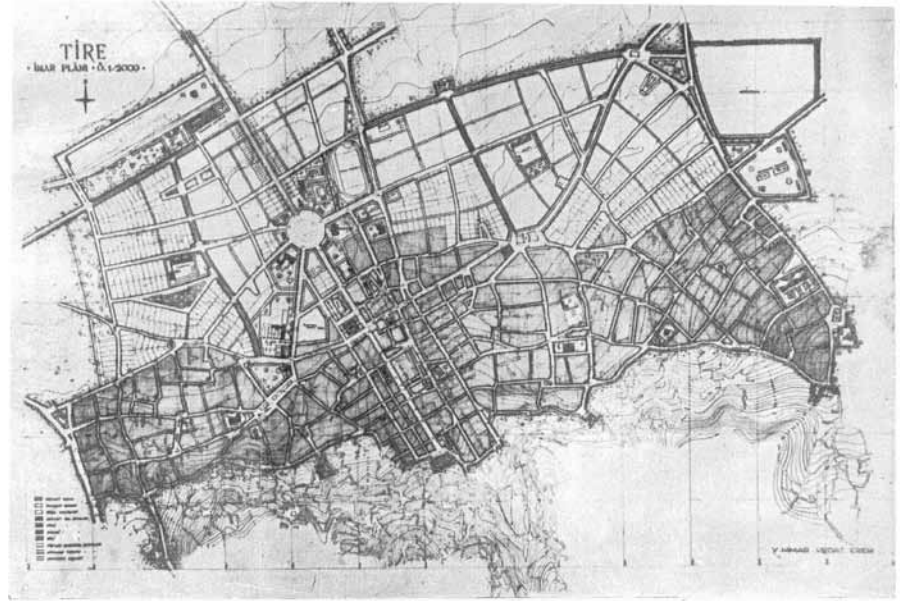


Figure 8. Urban Redevelopment Plan of Tire in 1950 (*Beş Yılda Tire 1950-1955*. (1955))

EARLIER URBAN PATTERNS IN THE COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

Even though the existing grid is a later implementation of the 20th century, when closely analyzed, it can be seen that the grid layout displays three different patterns and divisions. The eastern grid articulation, which intersects the commercial district and the Greek neighborhood, indicates the most regular pattern and almost a completely recent implementation. The western grid articulation separated with the Atatürk Boulevard from the commercial district displays a less regular and more fragmented layout than its counterpart to the east. Finally, the commercial center in between the two has the most irregular grid, pointing to a division into smaller units which later formed into diverse, bigger and distorted units. Such differentiation stimulates a number of arguments. First, the eastern grid overlapped the almost entirely destroyed part after the big fire in 1916. Thus, it was nearly built from scratch as proposed in the redevelopment plan in the 1950s and thus has the most regular layout. Second, the western grid overlapped the less damaged area, in which the Turkish and Jewish populace resided, while the commercial district itself partly overlapped this area. So it is less regular than its eastern counterpart, still newly built, however built taking into consideration the already existing layout. Third, the commercial center itself has the most fragmented and distorted grid, which shows that it probably covered most of the earlier settled area. This commercial strip is presumably a distorted version of an already existing grid, which was divided into smaller units. This argument supports the view that the earlier ancient and subsequent Byzantine cultures had dwelt in this central place (**Figure 3, Figure 9**).

As such, Evliya Çelebi witnessed and described an already existing grid pattern within the commercial district of Tire even in the ends of the 17th century. He likened the plan layout of the commercial district to a chessboard pattern, mentioned the white, clean stones covering the streets and the straight streets continuing directly down to the north. In his words,

“...And all these avenues have been adorned, based on an arrangement of chess-board pattern pertaining to master geometers. And they overall are



Figure 9. Plan of Tire showing Buildings, Original Major Arteries and Supposedly Existing Fortifications

paved with clean, white stones. And they are clean, straight streets that are every morning washed and freed from dirt without a sign of a bit of dust. And all the markets are down to north, if you viewed from above, it is as if these streets are a sea of men, resembling oscillating waves of the sea, and such crowd of people cramped for room and showing the noisy clamorous face of Tire..." (Evliya Çelebi, 2005, 89) (10)

The traces of the grid, the possible ongoing use of ancient stones on street covers, and the straight running streets point to the characteristics of ancient cities, remodeled during the subsequent Byzantine and Islamic periods, rather than features of Seljuk or Ottoman cities. Eventually, the earlier main artery of the town, which ran in the north-south direction, did not meet the modern Atatürk Boulevard. The Boulevard cleared out some of the earlier urban parcels. For instance, Bakır Han, which stood on the same building lot with Çöplü and Kutu Han and Hüsamettin Mosque, was partially pulled down to allow the construction of the boulevard (Figure 10). Hence, instead of the current boulevard, as the plan layout of the commercial strip suggests, the earliest artery might lead from the east of Lütfü Paşa and Leyse Mosques, crossing Selçuk-Ödemiş Road and continuing from the east of Hüsamettin Mosque, *Hasır Pazarı* (Wickerwork market), cutting away Kutu Han, leading through Uzun Çarşı, then the street between the Bedesten and Gazazhane Mosque, finally cutting through Ali Efe Hanı, continued from the east of Great Mosque and intersected today's Uzun İrim Street. Actually, this road runs rather parallel with the riverbed of Tabakhane River, which was the continuation of today's Derekahve. Until very recently, the neighborhood accommodating the tanneries was sited around this expanse of Derekahve. As mentioned previously, in the early years of the Republic the riverbed was dried and reclaimed for sanitary concerns and turned into a street from then onwards. As topography suggests, the river almost coincided with Fevzi Paşa Street

10. Translated by the author, the original is as follows: "...Ve cümle tarik-ı âmların üstâd mühendis satranc nakşı tarh edüp vaz'-i esâsı bu üslûb üzere tezyîn olunmuşdur. Ve serâpâ pâk ve beyâz taş ile mefrûş kaldırılmıdır. Ve her sabâh tathîr edüp gird-i küdürerden bir zerre gubârdan nişâân kalmaz pâk reh-i râstlardır. Ve cemî-i esvâkları şimâle eniş aşâğı vâki' olup fevkinden aşâğı nazâr etsen güyâ bu râhlar içre âdem deryâsı telattum-ı deryâ gibi temevvüc edüp izdihâm-ı benî âdemden omuz omuzu sökmez bir gulgule-i Tire'dir..."



Figure 10. Bakır Han from the Atatürk Boulevard

and ran parallel to the contended earliest north-south artery (11). Hence, it can further be argued that the earliest road, most probably dating from the ancient times shifted eastwards after commercial buildings and public edifices in this area got cluttered (Figure 9).

Another interrelated argument is that the final destination of this old major artery, which more or less paralleled the current artery, was the fortified area, in other words, the citadel of the town. There are no substantial architectural or archaeological evidences, that is, no physical remains, which point to the earlier existence of a citadel, are found in this vicinity. Neither Evliya Çelebi wrote about a citadel in Tire in late 17th century, nor did Paul Lucas sketch any fortifications of the town in the early 18th century. Even so, it can still be claimed that Tire had an inner citadel.

First, *Thyra(i)*, the ancient name of Tire meant 'citadel' and/or 'town' (Armağan, 2003, 28; Gürler, 2002, 90; Tokluoğlu, 1973, 32-3). Vryonis (1971, 251-252) referring to the writings of the Byzantine Pachymeres, mentions that the sieges of the fortified regions by the Turks were entirely successful and that Turkish commanders tried hard to make *Thyraia* fall, as Wittek (1944) and Akın (1968, 18-9) agree that to take over Tire was far from an easy task, which incites that Tire had a citadel. As Tanyeli also claimed (1987, 122-3) the etymology of Tahtakale (*Taht al Kal'a* meaning *Kale altı*, under the citadel) and the neighborhood called Hisariçi (meaning inside the citadel) –listed among the undated *tahrir defterleri* (property deeds) during the reign of Mehmed II (Akın, 1968, 135)- hints at the existence of a fortified area. Baykara (2005, 25-9) suggests that Narin Mosque is further evidence for the existence of earlier fortifications. He explains that the word "Narin" is mentioned in historical sources of relevance to fortified settlements, and associates Narin-Kale with *İç Kale* (inner citadel). In Tire, it is architecturally evinced in the Narin Mosque, which is situated southwest of the commercial district, on the foothills of Güme Mountains, where fortifications have most likely been located. In addition, Telci (2008, 23) argues about the use of the word "*mahrûse*" (protected) in the property

11. The proposed location of the riverbed coincides with the findings of the analysis of sewage and drainage systems of the town by Erdin (2009, 145-9)

deeds dating from 1528, the reign of Süleyman I, noting that the term was introduced and associated with fortifications by Baykara (2000, 97, 104-5) in his research on the Turkish-Islamic cities in Anatolia. Telci distinguishes between the uses of *der-Tire* in the earlier property deeds with *an Mahallât-ı Tire el-Mahrûse*, which means the neighborhood within the protected area, namely the citadel, whereas *Tâbi-i Tire* is used for those neighborhoods outside the citadel (Telci, 2008).

Second, it is said that neither Evliya Çelebi mentions nor Paul Lucas depicts fortifications in Tire. It is known that the beginning of the 17th century brought with unfortunate events to urban life in Western Anatolia. Western Anatolian towns and Birgi, in particular, functioned as a fort during the Celâli Rebellions (Kiel, 2001, 34-5). Evliya Çelebi (2005, 92) narrates the destruction of most of the fortifications in Birgi by the Ottoman commanders in defeating the rebels and maintaining control of the city. By analogy, the citadel of Tire might have been demolished when the revolt was put down in the very same region, considering that the citadel of Tire was probably less of a stronghold than Birgi. In brief, the omission of fortification from the narrations of Evliya Çelebi and depictions of Paul Lucas does not mean that Tire did not have an inner citadel. On the contrary, it might be argued that the existing citadel was destroyed before they visited the town and was not built up again, since there are no remains left today.

Third, a comparison of the physical features with similar towns in terms of geographical conditions, urban form and development patterns hints at the possible existence of an inner citadel. Both in historical accounts (Evliya Çelebi, 2005, 86-9) and in recent publications (Aslanoğlu, 1978, 1; Baykara, 1994, 9-13) it is cited that the urban setting of Tire reminds Bursa. Bursa initially grew up inside the former Byzantine fortified area. Later, the city expanded outside the fortifications: in the immediate vicinity as the commercial center developed, and where topography permitted as architectural complexes were founded. The development pattern here for the most part took its shape from the architectural complexes which generated neighborhoods around them. The urban growth of Tire principally repeated the Bursa model. On the one hand, neighborhoods flourished around architectural complexes, which worked as urban nuclei, and connected to each other in time. On the other hand, a commercial center developed alongside the main road, which gathered a number of *hans* and a *bedesten* nearby the Great Mosque. Similar to Bursa, it is expected that, the major artery continued by the commercial district and arrived at the former Byzantine fortifications (**Figure 9**).

In addition, other Western Anatolian urban centers; Ayasoluk, Balat, Beçin and Birgi, all of which flourished during the Principalities period, developed from the former Byzantine *castron* (settlement centered on a fortified castle) and/or *dioikized* (dispersed) settlement (**12**). As such, Tire grew out of a fortified Byzantine settlement. The new comers not only settled in and around the fortified area but also spread along southwards on the rising slopes and developed commerce alongside the major roads. Such development patterns considering the making of the commercial centers are not exclusive to Western Anatolian towns. Commercial centers of Konya, Kayseri and Sivas also developed at the foot of the inner citadel and city gates on the outer citadel, at the same time along the main roads. The making of these Turkish-Islamic commercial centers instigated from the Seljuk times, yet finalized later in the Ottoman period. The commercial

12. Aftermath the Persian, Arab and later Turkish attacks the late antique or early Byzantine towns shrank and transformed into fortified and fragmented settlements. Two basic types came out: *Castra* are the settlements around fortified castles and *dioikismos* are dispersed settlements Bryer (1986, 274-5). For further information spatial features of Byzantine towns see also Caner-Yüksel (2012, 39-42), Özcan (2005, 52-9) and Tanyeli (1987, 20-32).

center of the early Ottoman towns such as Edirne also grew by the citadel. On similar lines, we have already mentioned the significance of Bursa and its relevance with Tire.

SPATIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMERCIAL CENTER

Urban continuity from ancient to medieval Turkish-Islamic period can be grasped in the urban patterns of Tire for the grid of the commercial area and the old major artery suggests the existence of a Byzantine center, terminating in a fortified inner citadel. Continuity is also evident in the permanence of function at almost the same location, considering the development of the commercial district. The district probably corresponded to the main street intersection with a public square and gathering place from ancient times. Subsequently under Byzantine rule it was gradually modified and shrank towards the fortified area in the middle and late Byzantine periods. Trade activities particularly enlivened after the Turkish rule. Byzantine Tire was less of a town busy with commerce and did not need a developed market place in the form of a commercial district. Due to the lack of socio-political and military stability in the region, as Tanyeli (1987, 65, 86) also claims Byzantine economy was weak which results in less developed commercial spaces in the urban context of Anatolian towns. Except from trade of certain items such as livestock trade and commercial fairs held by nomads, the fortified area was sufficed to accommodate the commercial activities. It was during the Turkish period that the commercial spaces of the towns architecturally developed and began to shape their urban contexts.

When the Aydınid Principality conquered Tire and gradually settled, they also started to develop the market places and commercial spaces. Even though a market place grew into a commercial center near Karakadı Mecdetin Complex by the Selçuk-Ödemiş Road in the east, the major one was simultaneously developing along the İzmir via Bayındır Road. The spatial layout of this commercial district was organized around two distinct areas which extended and connected in time. On the one hand, below the former Byzantine fortifications, the Great Mosque and on its north Terziler Bath were established by the Aydınid founders. This vicinity corresponded to the market place at the south end of the major north-south artery, abutting on the presumed citadel. In a little while, the *Bedesten* slightly on the north, and shortly after, Gazazhane Mosque next to it, were founded along the major artery. On the other hand, at the intersection of the two main arteries of the town trade-related areas were already tenanted during the Aydınid period, since there was the Doğançılar neighborhood established along the north of the Selçuk-Ödemiş Road and the Hüsamettin (Hasır Pazarı) Mosque built within the so-called Hasır Pazarı. By the subsequent Ottoman rule, particularly first with the initiations of Halil Yahşi Bey, the commander of Murad II and the first *sancakbeyi* in Tire, and second during the reign of Mehmed II, this area was highly articulated with the construction of significant architectural works, facilitating the urban functions at this crucial junction. Clearly speaking, while Halil Yahşi Bey had Çöplü and Kutu Han and Tahtakale Bath constructed within this building lot, the area attained its final layout with the definition of the Tahtakale Square and the building of Tahtakale Mosque across. Later, Uzun Çarşı was built to link these two building lots, one on the north and the other on the south side. The area gained further architectural interest with the foundations of Lütfü Paşa as the Bakır Han next to the Çöplü and Kutu

Hans were constructed. The commercial district was also further extended, while the Doğancılar neighborhood north of the main road became spatially organized with the foundations of the Lütfü Paşa Mosque and Madrasa, the Yeni Han, and the Leyse Mosque. The district attained its final spatial layout in terms of monumental urban architecture and large-scale public buildings after the Ali Efe Hanı was founded next to the Terziler Bath and the Bedesten during the reign of Süleyman I and Yeni Mosque were constructed next to the Gazazhane Mosque across the main road during the reign of the subsequent sultan Selim II (Figure 3, Figure 9).

In brief, the market place steadily grew and commercial edifices increased after the Aydınids conquered the territory. The district developed and expanded further with an increase in the number of *hans*, shops, market places, bazaars, plus mosques and baths under Ottoman rule. It took on its final profile after the foundation of the Lütfü Paşa Mosque and its dependencies on the northern town boundary. It was the liveliest commercial center in Western Anatolia and among liveliest centers in Anatolia after Bursa in this period. As such, the accounts of the Polish traveler Simeon in 1610s, Kâtip Çelebi in the 1650s, and particularly Evliya Çelebi in the 1670s depict Tire as an important trading center. While İbn-i Batuta highlighted the fertile lands and landscape of Tire rather than trade activities during the early Aydınid rule, Simeon portrayed the town as a trading center three centuries later under Ottoman rule. In his words, "...a *bender* [busy, much frequented trade centre] and *mâmur* [prosperous, developed] urban center, where everyday goods are loaded and caravans leave for their way..." (Polonyalı Simeon, 2007, 32)

A few decades later, Kâtip Çelebi mentions that Tire is the center of the Aydın Sancağı, a frequented and developed trading center, whose citizens are wealthy merchants. In his words, "Tire is the capital of the province of Aydın ... has lead-covered mosques and markets and baths. It is a busy, much frequented trade center, whose citizens are wealthy merchants" (cited from *Cihannüma*, 1145 Tâbı, 636 in Yelken, 1941, 126) (13).

Finally Evliya Çelebi provides a detailed account of Tire. After equating the town with Bursa and comparing it with Manisa, he comprehensively describes its commercial center and even likens it to the highly frequented urban center of Aleppo. In his words,

"And most markets and bazaars of this town, Tire, like the ones at Bursa, are built with stone arches and domical vaults, they are like cellar in summer and warm and mild in winter and they are great markets that make two thousand eight hundred shops totally... As viewed from uplands it is, seemingly like Aleppo, a busy, much frequented trading center with lead-covered buildings (14). Again, anyone rational should not stroll in here on the market days of the week. This is because in that market place men become cruel and hurtful. To this very extent the town has overcrowded markets." (Evliya Çelebi, 2005, 89) (15)

The economic and urban growth of Tire not only had its impacts in shaping the urban patterns of the commercial core but also brought about spatial transformations in the architectural medium. A specific building type evolved in this particular town. There are two significant mosques in Tire, that are two storey high which have shops on the ground floor and mosque on the upper floor. These are Hüsamettin (Hasır Pazarı) Mosque built in the Aydınid and Tahtakale Mosque built later in the Ottoman period. These mosques are in the very heart of the commercial district, at the junction of the main roads and they serve the masses in the commercial district rather

13. Translated by the author, the original is as follows: "Evsâfı Tire Aydın'ın pâyitahtıdır ... Kurşun örtülü camî ve evsâk ve hamamları vardır. Bender şehirdir. Halkı mütemevvil ve tüccardır."

14. He describes the plan layout of the commercial district to a chessboard pattern, the white, clean stones covering the streets, and straight streets descending directly northwards.

15. Translated by the author, the original is as follows: "Ve bu Tire şehrinin çârşû-yı bâzârının çoğu Bursa esvâkları gibi kârgîr kemer ve tonoz kubbeler ile mebnî Temmûz'da serdâb, şitâda germ ü nerm esvâk-ı sultânilerdir kim cümlesi iki bin sekiz yüz dükkândır ... Yayladan bu şehre nazar olunsa güyâ Haleb şehri gibi kurşunlu bir şehri benderdir [he describes the plan layout of the commercial district to chessboard pattern, the white, clean stones covering the streets, and straight streets continuing directly to north, downwards] Husûsâ hafta bâzâr günleri âkil olan temâşâ-yı bâzâra varmamak gerek. Zîrâ ol bâzârda âdem dilâzâr olup zâr-i izâr olur. Tâ bu mertebe izdihâm çârşûları vardır."

than being neighborhood mosques. This mosque type is not unique to Tire. It is likely to run into this type of mosques which combine religious and commercial functions within a building in Ottoman historic commercial centers in Anatolia. For instance, the same building type repeats in the commercial district, in today's Kemeraltı of İzmir, where İzmir became a far more developed urban center due to trade activities in the later centuries. However, the significance of Tire examples is withheld in their date. It is in Tire that these mosques, in the form of combination of shops in the ground and mosque in the upper levels evolved earlier than their counterparts in other towns in Anatolia.

CONCLUSION

This article attempted to reveal the making of the commercial core of Tire in the 14th – 16th centuries. The town was the largest in Western Anatolia in terms of economic and urban growth. It witnessed the busiest trading activities and had the most developed commercial center among its counterparts in the region. Accordingly, the spatial development of this commercial core under the Aydınid and then the subsequent Ottoman rule is studied, noting the influence of trade and trade roads in its shaping. In doing so, kinds of trade items and major trade sectors in Tire and their part on the molding of the physical environment are reviewed. The main features of the town's urban form are outlined. Then, the urban patterns of the commercial core are examined through a morphological analysis of the current physical setting and the findings are supported with historical accounts, both written and visual, which depict Tire through history. In the end, the spatial development of the commercial center is brought into light from its foundation under the Aydınid rule until its growth in the 16th century during the Ottoman era.

It is seen that, trade was the most influential factor in the making of the commercial center of Tire. On the one hand, certain commodities and their trade demanded certain spatial formations and locations in town. For instance, while tanneries were located outside the town center by the flowing waters, the animal bazaar was sited at the outermost part of the commercial core and most of the food products and textiles were sold at the heart of the center. On the other hand, the commercial district developed along the main roads, which are actually the extension of long-distance trade roads passing through the town. Both the roads and the commercial district, which for the most part elongates by the İzmir *via* Bayındır Road down to north, have their roots back in the pre-Turkish period. Evidenced by the morphological features of the urban patterns and the written sources, this part of Tire witnessed urban continuity from ancient times onwards. However, the commercial district began to take shape under the Aydınid rule with the foundation of earliest commercial edifices. It developed and took on its final profile during the subsequent Ottoman period. The number of *hans*, shops, market places, bazaars, plus mosques and baths increased and the *bedesten* was also constructed in these years. Consequently, the spatial development of the commercial center of Tire was not limited to the number of architectural foundations. Architectural progress in spatial terms was at the same time evinced in the evolution of a significant building type fit for a medieval Turkish-Islamic commercial center. In the commercial center of Tire, a mosque type combining shops in the ground and mosque in the upper floor developed. Even though

this type is widespread in historic commercial centers in Anatolia in the Ottoman era, the ones in Tire are noteworthy for their earlier dates.

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Ticari merkezler; Tire; mekânsal gelişim; Beylikler ve Osmanlı kentleri.

TİRE'NİN TİCARİ MERKEZİNİN İNŞASI (14. – 16. YÜZYILLAR)

Tire, 14. – 16. Yüzyıllar arasında, sırasıyla Aydınoğulları ve Osmanlı hâkimiyetine karşılık gelen dönemlerde Batı Anadolu'da önemli bir kentti. Batı Anadolu ticaret ve kent ağı içindeki nazik konumu kentin hızla büyüme ve gelişmesini kolaylaştırdı. Kent bölgedeki en önemli ticari merkez ve aynı zamanda en büyük yerleşim oldu. Ekonomisindeki büyüme ve gelişme nüfus artışı ve yaşam standartlarının yükselmesine yol açtı. En önemlisi kent yaşamındaki bu hareketlilik ve gelişmelere cevap verebilecek inşaa faaliyetleri hız kazandı.

Günümüzde de çok bilinen Tire Pazarı'nın ve Tire'nin tarihi ticari merkezinin temelleri bu koşullarda, 14. – 16. yüzyıllarda Aydınoğulları ve devamında Osmanlılar tarafından atıldı. Bu çalışma sonucunda görüldü ki, Tire'nin kent merkezinin inşasında ticaret en önemli etkindir. Diğer yandan, belirli mallar ve bunların ticareti kentte kendilerine özgü mekânlar ve konumlar gerektirmişlerdir. Örneğin, tabakhaneler kent dışında, dere kenarında yer alırken, hayvan pazarı kent çarşısının en dış kenarındadır; yiyecek ve tekstil ürünleri ticareti ise çarşının merkezinde

gerçekleşmektedir. Ticari merkez uzun mesafe ticaret yollarının uzantısı olarak kent içinden geçen anayollar boyunca gelişmiştir. Hem bu ana yollar hem de bu ana yollardan İzmir Yolu boyunca kuzeye doğru gelişen ticari merkezin tarihi Türk hâkimiyeti öncesine uzanmaktadır. Morfolojik özellikleri ve de tarihi belgeler ışığında kentin bu bölümünün tarih içinde bir kentsel sürekliliğe işaret ettiği söylenebilir. Bununla birlikte, ticari merkez asıl olarak Aydınoğulları hâkimiyetinde en erken tarihli ticari yapıların inşasıyla şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Ancak gelişimi ve son biçimini alması Osmanlı döneminde gerçekleşmiştir. Osmanlılar zamanında han, dükkân, pazar yerleri ve ek olarak cami ve hamamların sayısı artmış ve de gelişmiş ticari merkezlerde olduğu üzere bir bedesten inşa edilmiştir. Son olarak denilebilir ki, Tire'nin ticari merkezinin mekânsal gelişimi mimari kuruluşların niceliğinden ibaret değildir. Burada Ortaçağ Türk-İslam çarşılarına uygun önemli bir yapı tipinin gelişimi de görülür. Zeminde dükkânlar ve üst katında cami işlevini birleştiren cami yapıları Osmanlı dönemi Anadolu çarşılarında sıkça rastlanan bir uygulama olsa da Tire örnekleri daha erken tarihli olmaları bakımında dikkate değerdir.

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