TÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNÜ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF TURKISH CULTURE
INSTITUT ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DER TÜRKISCHEN KULTUR
INSTITUT D'ETUDES SUR LA CULTURE TURQUE

CULTURA TURCICA

VOLUMEN IV 1967 NUMERUS 1 - 2

THE RE-BUILDING OF ISTANBUL BY SULTAN MEHMED THE CONQUEROR

by
Halil İnalcık

"It was Sultan Mehmed that made Istanbul"
Neşrî

Before the Conquest, İstanbul was but a dead city. Mehmed the Conqueror strove with great energy to make it again into the political and economic centre of an empire; to this end he took measures for the speedy repeopling of the City, as well as for its reconstruction.

A. M. Schneider[1], on the strength of testimonies from a number of sources, shows how Istanbul, after its occupation by the Latins in 1204, entered on a long period of decadence, in the course of which it became ruralized, vineyards and fields coming to spread over vast areas within the city walls. The population of the city was estimated at a maximum of 50.000 before its capture by the Ottomans. Scholarios, who was made Patriarch in 1454, describes it then as a "city of ruins in great part deserted, stricken with poverty".

In 1453 Mehmed the Conqueror did not wish his future capital to fall into his hands a ruined city. When the decision was made for the final general onslaught, he dispatched an emissary to the Emperor, proposing that he should surrender the city to save it from pillage, and promising him the despotate of Morea. After the conquest, he summoned to his presence Lukas Notaras, the most influential man next to the Emperor, and asked him angrily why he had not persuaded the Emperor to surrender the City, which thus would have been spared

(1) *Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil. -Hist. Klasse, 1949.

much damage and destruction, and the loss of so many lives[2]. Notaras replied that they had intended to surrender the City, but that neither the Emperor nor himself had the power to do so, as the Latins who participated in the defence had firmly opposed such a step[3]. As a result the Conqueror had proclaimed to the army his decision for a general attack and sacking. According to Islamic law this was inevitable. This provided that the enemy that rejects the proposal for surrender and puts up resistence should be taken prisoner, and his properties became the legitimate booty of the Muslim fighters. The Conqueror, while allowing looting, explicitly imposed the condition that no building should be destroyed. No sooner had the three days of sacking expired than he took up with the utmost energy the question of the protection and restoration of the City. The contemporary historian Kritovoulos, who lived at the Conqueror's court, informs us that, after the Conquest, "First of all he planned to repopulate it, not merely as it formerly was, but more completely, if possible."

Provious to the Conquest, part of the population had left the City and fled, the rest being taken prisoner by the army; the fortress having been captured by force, "the city had become empty and deserted". The Conqueror ordered a great number of the Greeks to be freed on condition that they paid out their ransom to their masters[4]. To enable them to earn their ransom money he arranged for their employment as workers in the extensive constructions he had ordered. He frequently went out to tour the City, distributing money to the poor in an attempt to win the hearts of the people[5]. Also he announced that, if those who had fled from the city came back within a given delay, their properties would be restored to them; and in his eagerness to attract the population,

(2) Phrantzes, p. 291.

(3) H. İnalcık, *Fatih Devri*, I, Ankara 1954, p. 131. N. Jorga *(Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches,* II, p. 22). In pointing out that the Latins played the greater part in defending İstanbul against the Turks he stresses a simple truth. Of the defence force, the total strength of which was about nine thousand men, the well equipped part of it were Italians, and a Genoese *condottiere* Giustiniani-Longo had been appointed their commander-in-chief. The Emperor had lost all influence and authority. During the siege, most of the Greeks refused to work on the city walls "as long as they did not receive money" (Z. Dolfin, Ch. XX, XXV). It is easy to guess why the Italians fought so fiercely in defence of the City: In case the Turks took Istanbul, the Italians were faced with the danger of losing all their colonies on the Aegean and the Black Sea. In the last days of the siege, the fleet moving from Venice had reached Euboea (*Mehmed* II, İsl. Ans., fasc. 75, p. 511).

(4) Ch. Riggs Transl. Princeton 1954, p. 83, cf. Neşrî, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951 p. 181.

(5) Kritovoulos, p. 93-94.

he went so far as to contemplate giving a post to the megadux Lukas Notaras, who was known as an opponent of the Italians. However, "some people", by insisting on the dangers such a step would involve, succeeded in dissuading the Sultan from carrying it out[6]. According to a letter dated August 16, 1453, the Conqueror had people transferred from Selymbria (Silivri) and Galata to Istanbul, and settled there[7].

During the whole of his reign the Conqueror's preoccupation was to make Istanbul a true metropolis of his empire.

In June 1453, before leaving Istanbul, he appointed Süleyman Bey the first governor (**subaşı**) and Hızır Beg[8] first judge (**kadı**), and entrusted them with the resettlement of the City and the restoration of the fortresses as their chief duties. Similarly he ordered a powerful stronghold to be built on the site of **Yedikule**[9]. At the same time in the centre of the City (in the present University grounds) he ordered a palace to be built for himself. After that, he announced to the vizirs, the beys and the **kapıkulu's** that henceforth "my throne is **Istanbul**"[10].

We see him busy sending orders for people to be brought at once from Anatolia and Rumelia for the resettlement of the City. According to Dukas[11], he asked for 5 000 families to be sent first. A letter

(6) Kritovoulos, 83, First the Conqueror showed respect to Notaras and favoured him. But when he noticed that Notaras and the Byzantine noblemen, who surrounded him, started to behave as though nothing were changed, he became suspicious. The Conqueror was told that when he returned to Edirne with his army, it was by no means unlikely that these would attempt to cooperate with the Italians (Cf. Kritovoulos, p. 83; Chalcocondyles, Hist. de la décadence de l'empire grec, trans. by *the Vigenère,* Rouen 1670, p. 175). A fanatical contemporary historian such as Phrantzes tries to show the relations between the Conqueror and Notaras in an ugly light. See A. E. Bakalopoulos, *Die Frage der Glaubwürdigkeit der "Leichenrede auf L. Notaras",* Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Band 52 (1959) p. 13-21.

(7) N. Iorga, *Notes et Extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades,* vol. IV (Bucharest, 1915) s. 67: "vier Tawsent wirt nömmen sy auch dar ein und haben sy darein geseczt" (a contemporary German source).

(8) Hızır Beg, one of the foremost scholars of the Conqueror's epoch, was born in Sivrihisar, studied under Molla Yegân, and taught at Sivrihisar and at the Sultan Medresesi in Bursa. Many of the most distinguished scholars of the reign of the Conqueror were his pupils (Kestelli, Ali Arabî, Hoca-zâde, Hayalî should be mentioned). Hızır Beg who with his vast encyclopedic knowledge, had attracted the Conqueror's notice was nicknamed *İlim Dağarcığı, (Şakâyik-i Nu'mâniyye,* Mecdî transl. İstanbul 1269 H., pp. 111-114). He died in 1459 while a kadi.

(9) Kritovoulos, pp. 85, 93.

(10) Tursun Beg, *Tarîh-i Abu'l Feth,* TOEM publ., p. 59. (Tursun Beg is a contemporary of the Conqueror).

(11) Dukas, Ibid., p. 313.

published by Iorga[12] informs us that he ordered 4 000 families to be exiled from Anatolia and again 4000 from Rumelia. These might be Christians, Moslems and Jews. He also announced that vacant houses would be distributed to the settlers free of charge. After adopting these measures, the Conqueror left Istanbul to return to his palace at Edirne (June 21, 1453).

In the fall of the same year he returned to Istanbul. His first and foremost preoccupation was the resettlement and rebuilding of Istanbul. But the resettlement suffered delays, as the well-to-do, whom the Conqueror especially wished to attract, were unwilling to leave their homes[13]. On January 6, 1454 the Conqueror appointed Scholarios, who was known to oppose the Latins, patriarch of Istanbul. One of his purposes in this was to attract back to Istanbul the Greeks who had fled the City. Thereupon he passed to Bursa and stayed there for 35 days, adopting severe measures and changing many of the governors[14]. He ordered a number of rich and of poor people to be selected and sent by force (the procedure was styled **sürgün,** deportation). Records are extant in the Register of the Judge of Bursa concerning the deportees from that city. In this way it appears that in the years of 1454 and 1455 considerable numbers were brought to and settled in Istanbul.

Later on the Conqueror sent to Istanbul as exiles some of the wealthy, the craftsmen and the merchants of the cities he conquered in the course of his campaigns, and in order to secure the food supply for Istanbul, he settled the farmers among the war prisoners in the surrounding open country and the villages, as **hâs-kul** (sultan's serfs).

The first settlement in the neighbourhood of Istanbul was carried out in 1454, after the Serbian campaign. At the end of the summer of 1454 four thousand families from among the Serbian prisoners were settled in the villages surrounding Istanbul[15]. In the folloving Serbian campaigns (1455, 1456, 1458, 1459) the Conqueror deported to Istanbul a considerable number of the Serbian prisoners. Similarly a part of the population captured during the Morean campaigns of 1458 and 1460, and the prisoners sent form the islands of Zante, Cephalonia and Santa Mavra were settled in the countryside surrounding Istanbul. These **hâs-kul's,** were to deliver half of their production to the Palace. The number of the so called **hâs** villages founded by the Conqueror round about Istanbul

(12) *Notes et Extraits,* IV, p. 67. Cf. Kritovoulos, 93.
(13) Neşrî, 181; Tursun Beg p. 60, Âşık Paşaz. p. 142.
(14) Kritovoulos p. 95.
(15) Dukas, Turkish translation by V. Mirmiroğlu, Ist. 1956, p. 196.

has been calculated at about one hundred[16a] (Barkan, the Laws, LXII). "He did this because... he wanted to provide for the needs of the City"[16b].

Within Istanbul itself christians from the following places were settled: Old and New Phocea (1460); Argos (1463); Amasra (1459); Trebizond (1460); Morea (4000 souls in 1458); the islands of Tasos and Samothrake (1459-60); Lesbos (1462); Euboea (1473); Kefe and Mangup (1475). During the Anatolian campaigns "deportees" were also selected from among the moslem and christian populations. Especially between the years 1468 and 1471 considerable numbers of moslems and christians from Konya, Larenda, Aksaray and Ereğli were transferred to Istanbul (Âşık Paşa and Neşrî record that the people from Aksaray who were exiled to Istanbul in 1470 formed there the quarter of Aksaray). Every group, on arrival, used to be settled in a different quarter and in most cases gave to this quarter the name of their old home city[17]. In order to promote the development of the City the Conqueror saw to it that the people to be settled in Istanbul were wealthy, expert craftsmen or belonged to the aristocracy[18]. From Caffa (Kefe) all the Italian families were transfered to Istanbul along with their serfs and settled in the quarter called **Kefeli**[19].

The Conqueror who returned to Istanbul from the 1455 Serbian campaign in the autumn of that year, saw with satisfaction that the palace and the fortress of **Yedikule** had been completed and that the city walls were being repaired. He gave instructions for further constructions. He ordered the bridges spanning the Küçük Çekmece and the Büyük Çekmece (Athyras and Rhegion), as well as the other roads leading up to the City, to be thoroughly repaired. Pavements were to be constructed along the weaker sections of these roads.

That winter, important decisions were made regarding the reconstruction of the City. The Conqueror ordered a vast market to be built near the new Palace that had been erected at the centre of the City. This was going to be the famous **Kapalı Çarşı** (Covered bazaar) of Istanbul, the **Büyük Bedestan,** or **Bezzâzistân** as it was styled in the days of the Conqueror. Kritovoulos[19a] describes the Kapalı Çarşı as completely surrounded by huge walls and covered with tiles. There is no doubt that this building was completed before 1464. A **Bedestan** is a building,

(16a) Kritovoulos, p. 119.
(16b) Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar,* LXII.
(17) See A. M. Schneider, Ibid, p. 41-43.
(18) Neşrî, p. 203.
(19) A. M. Angiolello, *(Hist. Turchesca)* records that these "soon built remarkable houses and churches", thus creating beautiful quarters.
(19a) p. 104.

more especially destined to the storing and sale of valuable goods such as cloths, furs, jewelry. It is the meeting place of the great merchants. According to the Conqueror's foundation-deed, his grand **Bedestan** contained 128 shops complete with stores, and round about it there were 894 shops occupied by various traders and artisans, and constituted altogether the covered bazaar. The **Grand Bedestan,** subsequently enlarged with several additions, has stood, up to the present, as one of the most important trading centres of Istanbul. The Conqueror arranged that the rent-income from this **Bedestan** should flow into the fund out of which the keeping in repair and the services of the Saint-Sophia Mosque should be defrayed.

In addition to the **Bedestan** the Conqueror, within the same year, ordered some public baths to be built, and for the purpose of abundantly supplying the City with water, directed the old canals and aqueducts that had suffered damage to be repaired.

The Conqueror's deed of foundation contains these lines: "To found a city is a noble deed; it is to cause the heart of the people to rejoice."

Kritovoulos tells us that the Conqueror spent the year 1457 building, baths, caravanserais, markets all over the City. The canals and aqueducts having been duly repaired, the Palace, the baths and the quarters of the City were abundantly supplied with water. At a point of the aqueduct near the present **Fâtih** quarter a fountain with forty faucets was constructed[20].

The year 1460 was marked by special measures all dealing with the population problem. Firmans were despatched to both Rumelia and Anatolia ordering the former inhabitants of Istanbul who, before or after the conquest, had left the City, to come back and settle there again. According to Kritovoulos[21], there were in Edirne, Filibe, Gelibolu, Bursa and other Ottoman cities numerous Greek learned men and artisans who had left Istanbul to settle in those places, where they had prospered and become wealthy. All of them were ordered back to Istanbul, where they were to be supplied with houses or plots of land. At the same date he forced the population of **Yeni and Eski Foça** (New and Old Phocea), which had developed into an active trading centre, to come and settle in Istanbul.

About the year 1454, Isaac Safrati, in a circular letter addressed to the Jews in Germany and Hungary, urged his co-religionists to come into the Ottoman Empire, where conditions, he said, were very favourable. The message caused a number of Jews from Germany and Italy to immigrate. The 1478 census reveals the presence in Istanbul of 1647 Jewish families.

(20) Tursun Beg, p. 62-3.
(21) p. 148.

Kritovoulos[22], who lived in the Conqueror's palace, tells us how closely the Sultan was interested in the construction of mosques and palaces, personally inspecting them and issuing instructions. Finally the New Palace was completed in 1464. It covered a vast area previously planted with olive trees bordering on the Golden Horn and the Marmara Sea, which was subsequently called Saray Burnu. Kritovoulos[23] and Tursun Beg[24] have supplied us a description of the palace. Both authors mention admiringly the beautiful gardens, fountains and secluded places which covered the slopes round about the palace down to the sea.

Yeni Saray (the New Palace), which later on received the name of Topkapı Sarayı, was to serve the Ottoman rulers as their residence for four centuries. Nowadays it stands as one of the richest and most valuable museums in the world. Within the Conqueror's lifetime, in 1473, a unique piece of art the **Çinili Köşk** was built in the garden, and in 1478 the whole palace area was surrounded by high walls. In 1459 the Conqueror built a mausoleum with a mosque, a medrese and an **imâret** in the immediate neighbourhood of Istanbul, on the supposed spot where Eba Eyyûb Ensârî, a companion of the Prophet Mohammed, had fallen, and immigrants from Bursa were settled there.

The assertion that the Ottoman State had no idea of public service[25] is not true. In our forthcoming discussion we shall see that the duty to "cause the subjects to lead a prosperous life" was counted as one of the main duties of the State. Many of the public services such as the building of roads, schools, hospitals, for which nowadays the State or the municipalities are responsible, used to be carried out through the institution of the Pious Foundations. The Ottoman State is, among the Moslem States, the one that has given this institution the widest development in the direction of public service. The Ottoman State not only pioneered the foundation of a great number of such institutions, but also, subjecting them to strict State control, endeavoured to make them better meet the public requirements and make them serve the purposes of the State. About 1528 the Pious Foundations spent 12 % of the general public revenue in the Ottoman Empire. To take the example of Anatolia, the pious foundations existing there totaled 13,5 million akçe, which served to defray 45 **imâret**, 342 large mosques, 1055 small mosques, 110

(22) p. 149.
(23) p. 207.-
(24) p. 65.
(25) Lybyer, The government of the Ottoman empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, N. Y. 1913, p. 147.

colleges, 626 large and small **zaviye's**, 154 primary schools, 75 large **hans** and caravanserais, 238 public baths, etc[26].

Considering the reconstruction and embellishment of Istanbul as one of the foremost duties devolving on the Empire, the Conqueror convened in 1459 a conference of prominent personalities and asked them to create centres in various points of the City. According to Kritovoulos[27] he himself ordered at that date the building of the New Palace and a great mosque. (We know that the mosque was begun in 1463). It was first Mahmud Paşa followed by the other vizirs and outstanding persons, that founded in several sections of the City mosques, colleges, **imârets** and public baths, creating round about them trading places in order to provide for the expenses of these public buildings by way of pious foundations. These compounds became the growing nuclei of the new Istanbul. Round these nuclei the population gathered, and so reconstruction progressed. The principal quarters of modern Istanbul still bear the names of the prominent personalities of the Conqueror's reign: Mahmud Paşa, Gedik Ahmed Paşa, Murad Paşa, Davud Paşa, etc.

Before it was tried on Istanbul, this system had been applied to the development of Bursa and Edirne, both cities having grown out of the complexes resulting from pious foundations by statesmen or influential and wealthy persons motivated by the public service and charitable ends. Orhan Gazi, the second Ottoman ruler, had erected at the foot of the stronghold of Bursa a mosque, an **imâret** and a **bedestan.** Later on, round about this nucleus, new and larger bedestans came into existence, so that, up to now, this part of the city has continued as the most active trading centre of Bursa. The same process may be observed in Istanbul (in this connection the part played by the **zâviyes**, convents in the countryside which can be considered as a small scale model of the vast religious complexes, in the formation of the villages must be pointed out).

Let us take for example the complex of the Fâtih (the Conqueror's) Mosque. This complex comprised the following main structures surrounding the Mosque: The Semâniye medresesi (divinity colleges), the **dâr-üt-ta'lim** (primary school), the **dâr-üş-şifâ** (hospital), the **imâret** (hostel). The inception of the mosque goes back to the spring of 1463, and it was completed as early as the end of 1470 (The Conqueror had built before this the mosque of Şeyh Vefâ-zâde and the Rumeli-hisarı mosque).

In order to provide for the permanent upkeep and support of the nine mosques of Istanbul (the Ayasofya being included in the number)

(26) Ö. L. Barkan, in İktisat- Fakültesi Mecmuası, vol. XV, p. 268-77.
(27) p. 140.

and of the charitable establishments attached to them, the Conqueror devoted to this purpose the income of 35 villages outside the City. In addition, these institutions were endowed with several of the markets of Istanbul (Büyük Bedestan, Sultan Pazarı, Beylik Pazarı, Mahmud Paşa Pazarı, Saraçlar Çarşısı, Dikili Taş Pazarı and many another large and small market), four **hans**. 14 public baths, 54 mills and hundreds of shops and buildings scattered all over the City.

The hospital **(dâr-üş-şifâ)** forming part of the Fâtih Complex employed two learned and experienced doctors, one expert ophthalmologist (kehhâl), one surgeon and one dispensing chemist. The medicine storehouse could not be opened except in the presence of a doctor and the storekeeper, and the medicines were used only for the patients in the hospital. A director **(emîn)** and his substitute administered the hospital. Two hospital cooks used to prepare the food under the supervision and according to the instructions of the doctor. The hospital porter was instructed not to let in anybody to see the patients. That the patients must receive kind treatment was explicitly stated in the foundation charter. The salaries of the doctors and of all the officials, the expenses for medicine and food were paid out from the foundation income.

The moslem patients in Istanbul, if too poor to afford to call a doctor or buy medicine, were eligible for admission.

After the Conquest, the Conqueror had ordered eight divinity colleges to be opened in eight different mosques. The most important of all was that of Ayasofya. When the Conqueror had built the Eyüp Sultan Mosque, there too he had a small college established (1458). But the great educational institutions, called Semâniye Medreseleri, he had erected round about his own mosque (1470). These comprised a primary school **(dâr-üt-ta'lim)**, a high school **(Tetimme medresesi)** and eight colleges in the full sense of the term for the teaching of the religious sciences. Beside the College there is also a building for the library. The Conqueror himself donated books for it.

In the medreses were taught not only theology and religious sciences, but also the sciences of nature, astronomy and mathematics. Any moslem showing talent was eligible for admission with the status of a student. All the expenses of the students were paid out of the foundation income.

The institution was run by an autonomous special organisation seeing to the collection of the revenues accruing from the foundations, and the proper use of these sums in paying the salaries of the officials, repairing the buildings, and supervising all activities to ensure that these

were taking their regular course. The persons employed in this organisation also drew their salaries from the Institution. In addition, the teachers and other prominent employees met annually to examine whether the activities carried on conformed or not to the intentions expressed in the foundation deed, all activities being jointly overhauled and discussed, and sanctions being meted out to the employees found guilty. These sanctions consisted, according to the gravity of the guilt, in a warning, a censure or dismissal. Thus this complex of establishments formed an administratively and financially independent institution, and was safe from all interference from the outside. The "supervisor" who checked the proper fonctioning of the Foundation was no other than the Padishah himself.

The economic part played by these establishments in the life of the city is equally significant. The caravanserais and shops constructed round about them for the purpose of providing an income for the foundation, used to result in the formation of important trading centres. The Conqueror had caused a vast market composed of 286 shops to be constructed round his mosque, a market which, subsequently assumed the name of Sultan Pazarı.

Before Istanbul's conquest by the Ottoman Turks, contemporary writers (e.g. Clavijo) pointed out the ruinous state of Ayasofya. The very first act of the Conqueror was to have the famous temple restored. To its repair and to the salaries of those employed in it he allocated extensive pious foundations. In Istanbul proper, Galata and Üsküdar (Skutari) there were 2350 shops, 4 caravanserais, 51 baths, 987 houses, 32 bozahane and 22 aşhâne (a kind of restaurant) all allocated to Ayasofya, the total annual income from which amounted to 718 421 akçe (about 13 000 Venitian ducats) (Information derived from the wakf Register of Ayasofya for 1490, Prime minister's Archives, Istanbul).

Following in the footsteps of the Sultan, the vizirs and notables created by way of pious foundations establishments in section after section of the City, and these in turn developed into new districts, contributing to a rapid extension and repopulation of the City. These establishments generally included, as in the case of the Mahmud Paşa Foundations, a mosque, a medrese and an imâret, to which were added caravanserais and shops. The Mahmud Paşa Bazaar, composed of 260 shops, had expanded into one of the liveliest trading centres of the whole City. The Mahmud Paşa Complex was completed in 1462.

Thus Istanbul, in the Conqueror's very lifetime, became covered with palaces, hostels, caravanserais, bazaars, hans, baths, colleges and assumed the aspect of a flourishing, active Turkish city.

According to a census carried out by Kadı Muhyiddin in 1478 (Archives of the Palace of Topkapı, No: D 9524) the population of the City at that date included the following elements:

	Istanbul (number of families)	Galata (number of families)
Moslems	8951	535
Christians (Orthodox)	3151	592
Jews	1647	—
Kefeli	267	—
Karamanlı	384	—
Armenians	372	62
Franks	—	332
Gipsies	131	—
	14903	1521

The same census informs us that in 1478 Istanbul had 3667 shops and Galata 260.

A. M. Schneider, who has partly used this document, estimated the population at 60 or 70 000. There is however a point to be considered: The military class, enjoying immunity from tax, was generally left out of such surveys. However this may be, the fact remains that at the time of the census, that is twenty five years after the Conquest, the City's population was double that of the time before the Conquest, and that there was a moslem majority[28].

Ö. L. Barkan estimates the population of Istanbul at 4 or 500 000 towards 1530; and F. Braudel at about 700 000 at the end of the 16th century[29].

It is difficult to believe that the population of the City should have increased four or fivefold within half a century. On the other hand, there are numerous proofs to show that the population, especially in the reign of Süleyman I (1520-1566), was rapidly increasing. Anyhow, the Ottomans succeeded, a century after the Conquest, in making Istanbul into a capital worthy in every respect of the universal empire they had founded.

(28) Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, p. 52.
(29) In Türkiyat Mecmuası, vol. X, p. 21.

ÜRK KÜLTÜRÜNÜ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ
NSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF TURKISH CULTURE
NSTITUT ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DER TÜRKISCHEN KULTUR
NSTITUT D'ETUDES SUR LA CULTURE TURQUE

CULTURA TURCICA

Volumen IV 1967 Numerus 1-2

ANKARA