

PANAGIOTA PSARRI is a graduate of the Department of History and Archeology of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki with a specialization in Archeology and postgraduate DEA studies in Byzantine Archeology at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. She has been employed by the Greek Ministry of Culture at the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese since 1989. Her duties included rescue excavations, the protection of the historic preserved settlements of the medieval city of Rhodes, Lindos and Symi and various administrative and management issues related to the responsibilities of the local Ephorate of Antiquities. Proficient in French, Spanish, English and Italian she has written several articles that have been published in collective volumes and conference proceedings, contributing to the archaeological research and the knowledge of the monuments within the jurisdiction of the Dodecanese Ephorate of Antiquities.

“I feel deeply grateful for the honour of being part of this beautiful collective work. Sharing the knowledge I’ve gained over the years—working with the monuments and people of my home city—has been a true gift. It’s a small, but meaningful contribution to the research and understanding of my country’s past.”

Panagiota Psarri

People and Monuments of the Medieval Town of Rhodes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

Thanks to its architectural distinctiveness, but especially due to the originality and intactness of its fortifications, the medieval town of Rhodes is world renowned as a cultural asset of supreme intertemporal value, and of ecumenical reach and radiance.¹ As a typical example of eclectic development of a purely medieval architectural style, the town is noted for its imposing defences, but also for its layout. One essential element of this layout is that the medieval urban web followed the design of the ancient town, as attested by the remnants of classic and Hellenistic fortifications, but also of the Hippodamian plan whose traces remain in the foundations of the settlement's medieval buildings.²

A series of noteworthy ecclesiastic buildings is attributed to the town's contact with the Orthodox Hellenism of Byzantium, as is the construction of its layout with the proto-Byzantine fort being built in the 7th century to repel Arabian raiders. The town's heyday, however, was during the time of the Knights.³ During the nearly two centuries of the Knight's rule over the island, from 1309 to 1522, Rhodes acted as one of western policy's outposts in the southeastern Mediterranean, making the most of the Order's concerted effort and technological experimentation in the field of fortifications. For all the progress achieved, however, it was not able to prevent the island's subjugation to the Ottoman factor.

The Turkish conquest of 1523 signalled the end of the progress achieved in the arts, the economy and letters during the Knights' rule, but it also served as the occasion to reconnect the island with its vital space, Asia Minor. Thus the beginning of a new era was inaugurated, during which new cultural

1 See Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή – Μαρία-Χριστίνα Γεωργαλλή, *Η διαχρονική- οικουμενική αξία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου ως μνημείου παγκόσμιας κληρονομιάς στα Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά* (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2012), v. ΚΕ', 197-210

2 On the remnants of the Hellenistic fortifications, see Μελίνα Φιλήμονος-Τσοποτού, Ρόδος Ι. Η ελληνιστική οχύρωση της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, 2004). On the transformation of the town, see Κατερίνα Μανούσου - Ελένη Παπαβασιλείου, *Μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου: Η αρχαιολογική έρευνα ως βάση για τον σύγχρονο σχεδιασμό- διευθέτηση της πόλης*, 583-602, in νέες πόλεις πάνω σε παλιές, Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο, Ρόδος 27-30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1993, Ελλην. Τμήμα ICOMOS- ΚΒ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων - 4η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων - ΤΕΕ, Τμήμα Δωδεκανήσου (Εκδοτική Παραγωγή: Επτάλοφος ΑΒΕΕ: χ.η.). Also, Κατερίνα Μανούσου-Ντέλλα, Ρόδος. Στοιχεία πολεοδομικής ανάλυσης μιας μεσαιωνικής οχυρωμένης πόλης in Δελτίο της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας (Αθήνα: Χριστιανική Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, 2000), Δ', Volume ΚΑ', 27-42 and Η. Κόλλιας, Η παλαιοχριστιανική και βυζαντινή Ρόδος. Η αντίσταση μιας ελληνιστικής πόλης in Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι της κατάληψή από τους Τούρκους (1523) Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο Ρόδος, 24 -29 Οκτωβρίου 1993 (Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού ΚΒ' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων 4η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, 2000), v. Β', 299-308. Concerning the traces of the Hippodamian plan in the foundations of medieval buildings, see indicatively Μαρία-Χριστίνα Γεωργαλλή, Η αρχιτεκτονική πρόταση διαμόρφωσης των θόλων της ιπποτικής οικίας Τζεμ ως παράδειγμα εφαρμογής των αρχών διατήρησης της διαχρονικότητας - οικουμενικότητας της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου στα Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά, op. cit., v. ΚΕ', 298-330 and particularly 314-315, footnote 52.

3 On the development of the fortifications from late antiquity until 1480, see Κατερίνα Μανούσου- Ντέλλα, *Η δημιουργία και εξέλιξη της οχυρωμένης πόλης της Ρόδου (7ος αι.- 1480)*, (Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδόσεις Μπαρμπουνάκη, 2022).



RHODES May 15/62

136 -
Bedford

forms that were initially hostile, came to an eventually harmonic interaction with the existing ones⁴, (FIGURE 1, previous two pages, panoramic view of the town, Francis Bedford, 1862).

This unbroken multicultural chain, which remained unscathed until the Italian occupation of the island in 1912, made the town's architectural appearance unique. During the period of Italian rule (1912-1943), the Italian conquerors engaged in a monumental renovation project⁵ in order to promote the place's architectural character. At the same time, they put together the island's cadastre, managing within an admittedly short time span (1922-1930) to make a record of the building stock that they received.

Indexing the 2,432 recorded plots of the historic settlement has shown the existence of a total of 22 quarters⁶ spread on the inside of the medieval walls, the sea front, the commercial port, and the mills' pier. The quarters named are: *Giami Chebir, Hanzadè, Enderum, Suleimaniè, Mercato, Hamzà or Hanzà Bey, Tachegì, Sicchinti, Cadi Megit, Demirli, Cavacli, Ebreo, Dolapli, Ibraim Pascia, Pialetin, Alemnach or Olemnach, Abdul Gelil, Bab - Mestut, Regeb Pascia, Hudai, Cismegi and Ilh - Mihrap*.⁷

Following the Turkish conquest, the historical settlement's population makeup was significantly altered. With 4,000-5,000 Rhodians in tow, the Knights left in search of a new base, leaving the town in the hands of Turkish settlers from Anatolia and Rumelia, while the Jews, already residing in the Jewish quarter since the time of the Knights, were given exceptional permission to inhabit the space. The Greek inhabitants of the castle were forbidden to remain inside the fort, a measure that remained in force practically throughout the Turkish rule, until 1912 when the island was occupied by the Italians.⁸

4 On the names of the settlement's mosques and churches see Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, (Αθήναι: Εκδόσεις Έσπερος, 1973), 72-80, X. Ι. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου από τους Προϊστορικούς Χρόνους έως την Ενσωμάτωση της Δωδεκανήσου* (1948), β' έκδοση συμπληρωμένη, (Αθήνα: Δήμος Ρόδου, Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 1994), 372-375, 384-385, 421 και 507-509. Also Η. Κόλλιας, *Αναζητώντας τα χαμένα μνημεία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου* (Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων και την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), v. Α', 283-297 and v. Β', πίν. 264-276).

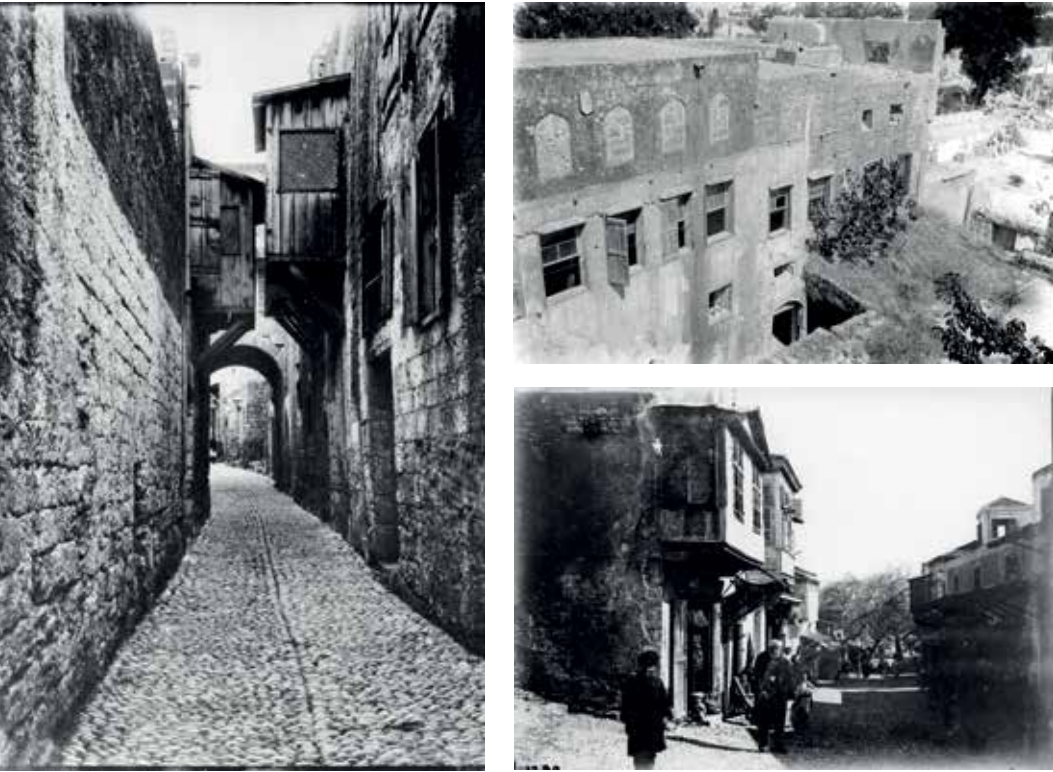
5 On the period of Italian rule see Z. N. Τσιρπανλής, *Ιταλοκρατία στα Δωδεκάνησα 1912-1943 Αλλοτρίωση του ανθρώπου και του περιβάλλοντος*, (Ρόδος: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, 1998) and R. Santoro, *I restauri degli edifici medievali di Rodi*, 211-250 στο *La Presenza Italiana nel Dodecaneso tra il 1912 e il 1948*, La Ricerca archeologica· La conservazione· Le scelte Progettuali, (Catania: Edizioni del Prisma, 1996). Also, Κ. Καρανάσος, *Ρόδος 1912- 1947 Η πολιτική για τον σχεδιασμό του χώρου και τη διαχείριση των μνημείων κατά την ιταλική Κατοχή*, (Αθήνα: Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς, 2023). Concerning the contemporary renovation work on the town's monuments and the restoration projects, see. *Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2011-2016* (Ρόδος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού, 2017), *Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008* (Ρόδος: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2008) and *Μεσαιωνική πόλη Ρόδου, Έργα αποκατάστασης (1985-2000)* (Ρόδος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2001).

6 See Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή, *Ιστορική τεκμηρίωση των συνοικιών της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου κατά την περίοδο της ιταλοκρατίας στα Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά* (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2021), τόμ. ΚΘ', 761-802.

7 Translator's Note: these names are Italian attempts at transliterating Ottoman words and, therefore, when reading them one must take into consideration Italian spelling conventions. To the English speaker, the following transliterations might be helpful in pronouncing the words: *Djami Kabir* (i.e. Great Mosque), *Hanzade, Enderum or Enderun, Suleymaniye, Mercato, Hamza Bey, Takkedji, Sickinti, Cadi Mezđjit, Demirli, Kavakli, Ebreo, Dolapli, Ibrahim Pasha, Piyaletin, Alemnac or Olemnac, Abdul Djelil, Bab- Mestut, Redjep Pasha, Hudai, Chizmedji, Ilh Mihrap*. The names *Mercato* and *Ebreo* are Italian translations rather than attempts at recording the pronunciation of the Ottoman names. They mean "Market" and "Jewish" respectively.

8 See X. Ι. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, op. cit., 399- 402.

The Turkish residents appropriated the building stock from the time of the rule of the Knights, adapting the buildings to their own needs with the necessary alterations in morphology and structure, FIGURES 2, 3 and 4.



FIGURES 2, 3 and 4: Residences in the historic settlement.

The existing churches were converted to mosques through the addition of prayer niches⁹ and minarets, and new places of worship and public baths were erected in central spots of the settlement.

The period is characterised by the closed wooden balconies that were added to building facades, the small pointed fanlights, the doubling of the storeys and living space of the dwellings through the construction of attics and the use of internal partitions, and the stone buttresses on the streets. The single-, two- or three- storey homes had verandas, wooden stairs connecting the ground level with the storeys, small hammams for the family's needs, gardens and courtyards with wells, stables, and storage spaces.¹⁰

Following the Turkish conquest, the few Romaniot Jews already living in the settlement were joined by Sephardi Jews who fled persecution in the Iberian peninsula to find refuge in the Ottoman Empire. In spite of initially tense relations between the two communities, eventually the Sephardis

9 TN: referred to in Turkish and Arabic as *mihrab*.

10 The existing buildings from the period of Turkish rule were recorded and depicted in the early '30s by Italian architect Hermes Balducci. See H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca in Rodi* (Milano: Editore Ulrico Hoepli, 1932). On the buildings of the period of Turkish rule, see also X. Ι. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, op. cit., 507-515.

fully assimilated the Romaniots culturally. In the mid 19th century, the Jewish community of Rhodes numbered 2,000-4,000 individuals, whereas by the late 19th century their number had decreased to approximately 3,000 individuals due to the wave of emigration to America and Africa.

Their professional activities were mostly in connection with trade, mainly in products such as foodstuffs, wine, perfumes, textiles, and jewellery, but also stock exchange transactions. Already in the 18th century Jews were working as moneychangers, lenders, and tax collectors, playing an important role in the field of bank processes. The less privileged commonly held manual professions such as shoemakers, blacksmiths, woodcarvers, and milliners, while there were also some community employees such as the cantor and the shochet.¹¹

Contrary to the Jews, Greek residents of the castle, having been evicted from their buildings and homes, settled in the suburbs of the town, the so called *marasia*¹², setting up their new lives in the parishes of Ai Giannis, Agioi Anargyri, Agia Anastasia, Mitropoli, Ai Giorgis o pano, Ai Nikolas, Ai Giorgis o Kato.^{13, 14}

For public hygiene, the historic settlement had two great baths: *eschi hammam*^{15, 16}, once found on today's Eudemos sq¹⁷ but no longer surviving; and *yeni hammam*¹⁸ also known as Suleiman's or Mustafa's bath¹⁹, found today on Arion Square²⁰ but no longer functioning, **FIGURE 5**.

One of the most important provincial baths in the Ottoman Empire, the building is first mentioned in a registration firman issued in 1558 by Sultan Selim, Suleiman's successor, and it was constructed in two phases: the male section was completed first, with the female one added later by intervention of Sultan Mustafa III.



FIGURE 5: Suleyman's or Mustafa's hammam.

Inside the settlement there were also small, cute fountains²¹, benefactions by Ottoman noblemen whose names were recorded on the inscriptions on their backs, that praised the name of God and his precious commodity, water. Although we do not know the period's water system, it is certain that Mohammedans' and Jews' needs for ritual ablution before participating in worshipping events would have led to a rise in the number of water fountains that would certainly have served not only the need for ritual cleansing of the faithful, but also their everyday needs for clean drinking water. The settlement also included wells and windpumps, while outside it stretched the town's extensive graveyards that were removed during the period of Italian rule, **FIGURE 7**.

In spite of the devastation that the settlement suffered in 1856 from the explosion of gunpowder forgotten inside St John's church on today's Panaetius Street²², the 1863 earthquake, and the fire in the market quarter in 1876²³, the 20th century found the town and its residents still dwelling in the residences of the historical centre and maintaining small gardens, citrus tree orchards, small groves and vegetable gardens stables and barns near the town's entrance gates, workshops and small shops, **FIGURE 6**.

11 The presence of Jews on the island is recorded at least as early as the 2nd c. BCE. See Α' Βιβλίο Μακκαβαίων 15, 23. The Jewish community in Rhodes is mentioned in the 12th c by Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela. See X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, Ιστορία της Ρόδου, op. cit., 401. On the Jewish presence in Rhodes during the Knights' rule see Z. N. Τσιρπανλής, Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το Αρχείο των Ιωαννινών Ιπποτών 1421-1453 (Ρόδος: Γραφείο Μεσαιωνικής Πόλης Ρόδου - Προγραμματικής Σύμβασης ΥΠΠΟ - ΤΑΙΠΑ - Δήμου Ρόδου, 1995), 84-88, 232-234, 616-617, 659-662 and Η. Κόλλιας, Μάστορες, πρωτομάστορες και μηχανικοί των μεσαιωνικών οχυρώσεων της Ρόδου, Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 20 (1998-1999), περίοδος Δ' στη μνήμη του Δημητρίου Ι. Πάλλα (1905- 1995) (Αθήνα: Έκδοση Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 1999), 149-164. On the Jewish community in modern times see Κ. Φ. Σκανδαλίδης, Σελίδες Ιστορίας, Ροδιακά και άλλα (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Θυμέλη, 2002), 240-253. Also, Η Εβραϊκή Κοινότητα της Ρόδου, The Jewish Community of Rhodes. Μια έκθεση του Εβραϊκού Μουσείου Ελλάδος και της Ισραηλιτικής Κοινότητας Ρόδου, An exhibition of the Jewish Museum of Greece and the Jewish Community of Rhodes (Εβραϊκό Μουσείο Ελλάδος, The Jewish Museum of Greece: 2019).

12 TN: from Turkish maraş/marash.

13 See. X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, Ιστορία της Ρόδου, op. cit., 399- 402.

14 TN: respectively St John, Holy Unmercenaries, St. Anastasia, Cathedral, St George the upper, St Nicholas, and St George the lower.

15 For its depiction see H. Balducci, Architettura Turca, op. cit., 42-45, img. 21-23.

16 TN: *Eschi hammam* is the Italian transliteration of *eski hammam*, i.e. the old bath.

17 TN: *platia Evdimou*.

18 TN: the new bath.

19 See Η. Τσίγκρας- Άννα Παρασκευοπούλου- Ν. Ζαρίφης, Δημοτικά Λουτρά *Yeni Hammam* στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. Α', 87- 90 and v. Β', table. 62-71. Also , Δημοτικά Λουτρά, *Yeni Hammam* (Ρόδος: Έκδοση Δήμος Ροδίων- ΥΠΠΟ 4Η ΕΒΑ, 2000) Municipal Baths Yeni Hammam (Rhodes: Publication Municipality of Rhodes-M.C.4th EBA, 2000).

20 TN: *Arionos* square.

21 Concerning all water fountains in Rhodes town see “....Απηλλάγησαν αι συνοικίαι της ξηράς δίψης” Οι ροδίτικες κρήνες “The parishes were rid of the dry thirst” Fountains in the Town of Rhodes (Ρόδος: Τεχνικό Επιμελητήριο Ελλάδος- ΤΜ. Δωδεκανήσου ΥΠΠΟ- 4Η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων 3η Εφορεία Νεώτερων Μνημείων Δήμος Ροδίων, 2000)

22 TN: *Panetiou* Street.

23 See X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, Ιστορία της Ρόδου, op. cit., 476-478. Concerning life in Rhodes during the 19th c see Α. Σ. Μαίλλη- Κ. Ε. Σκανδαλίδης- Κ. Φ. Τσαλαχούρης, Η Ρόδος τον 19ο αιώνα, (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Θυμέλη/ ΤΕΔΚ Δωδεκανήσου, 2002). Also, Σοφία Ηρακλίδου - Ειρήνη Τόλιου, Ένα ταξίδι στα Δωδεκάνησα του 19ου αιώνα μέσα από ιστορικά τεκμήρια & έγγραφα της εποχής Μια πρώτη καταγραφή (Αθήνα: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση, 2024).



FIGURE 6: Gardens inside the settlement.

Blacksmiths, carpenters, cobblers, painters, barbers, goldsmiths, quilters, bakers, tailors, clockmakers, printers, tinkers, farriers, clog makers, and saddlers and trunk makers, confectioners, millers, pasta makers and distillers, among others, made up the main professional work force active inside the walls²⁴. Their workshops were housed inside dedicated spaces or incorporated into buildings with other uses, mainly commercial. The products produced were probably manufactured on the spot, to then be sold by the manufacturers themselves or their family members in specially configured spaces inside the shops. In the town there were also a few commercial activities related to vending all manner of commercial goods and foodstuffs, as well as services such as banks, restaurants, taverns, coffee shops, confectionaries and hotels.

The 20th century distribution of professional uses of properties in the settlement indicates a clear predominance of commercial and mixed uses, compared to crafts, alimentary, and agricultural uses. The vast majority of these uses were concentrated on and around the settlement's main commercial street, today's Aristotle Street²⁵, and expanded in continuous zones to the streets named today after Apellas, Agesander, Polydorus, Hermes, Protogenes, Eudemus, Aeolus, Miltiades, Euripides, Democritus, Pythagoras, Plato, Electryone, Dinocrates and Eudoxus, Laches Street²⁶ and the Street of the Knights, as well as the sea front on the outside of the medieval walls.

Despite the fact that the penetration of commercial uses to the inside of the walled town was weak, it is nonetheless not negligible, for instance on Archbishop Euthimius, Pericles, Dosiadas, Byzantius, Pindarus, Hippodamus, Alcaeus, Constantine of Rhodes, Emmanuel Kisthenios, Homer,

24 Concerning the professional uses of the settlements properties, see Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή, Ιστορική τεκμηρίωση των επαγγελματικών χρήσεων των ακινήτων στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου κατά την περίοδο της ιταλοκρατίας in σοφία αδόλος, Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Χρ. Παπαχριστοδούλου (Ρόδος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αιγαϊακών Σπουδών, 2014), 439-459.

25 TN: Aristotelous Street

26 TN: Apellou, Agisandrou, Polydourou, Ermou, Protogenous, Evdimou, Eolou, Miltiadou, Evripidou, Dimokritou, Pythagora, Platonos, Ilektrionis, Dinokratous, Evdouxou, Lachitos streets respectively.

and St Phanourios²⁷ streets. During the period of the Italian rule, stables and barns mainly occupied buildings on the periphery of the town, such as Simonides, Homer, Timachidas, Aristides, Kimon, Pericles, and Menander streets, as well as Dorieus and Kontis squares²⁸, while grain processing facilities and bakeries²⁹ were placed in spots that were immediately accessible to the locals.



FIGURE 7: Muslim cemetery outside the (St. John) Koskinou Gate.

From the early records in the Italian cadastre it is clear that commercial development in the early 20th century was not confined inside the walled town, but extended along the settlement's coastal zone from today's Freedom gate³⁰ and Arnaldo's gate to the Marine gate and St Catherine's gate. These were mainly shops, storage spaces, offices, and grain mills.

The Italian conquerors, however, made a crucial intervention through their policy of clearing the medieval fortifications of any foreign influence, in order to make the medieval phase of the settlement's history dominant. In the name of architectural purification of the historical nucleus of the town, all the buildings from the period of Turkish rule that were outside the medieval walls on the coastal zone along the port were torn down, while at the same time the Muslim and Jewish cemeteries around it were removed in their entirety.

Even though the lush environment around the medieval walls, with the groves and parks of the *zona monumentale*, the monumental zone established by the Italians in 1920, acted as a protective shield for the settlement and contributed to its improved image, the narrow serpentine alleys of the historical nucleus must have presented a less charming atmosphere. The dispersion of stables and

27 TN: Archiepiskopou Eftymiou, Perikleous, Dosiadou, Vyzantiou, Pindarou, Ippodamou, Alkeou, Konstantinou Rodiou, Kisthiniou, Omirou, and Agiou Fanouriou streets respectively.

28 TN: respectively *odos Simonidou, Omirou, Timachida, Aristidou, Kimonos, Perikleous, and Menandrou* streets and *Dorieos, and Konti* squares respectively.

29 TN: The Italian word used is *forno*.

30 TN: *Pyli Eleftherias*

barns, even in the settlement's most remote spots, but also the functional coexistence of workshops, commercial, alimentary and domestic uses within the same building or in neighbouring ones, must certainly have composed a rather unique picture. In many cases the cadastral records describe cesspits and external toilets within the plots, while also mentioning open markets with perishable goods such as fish, but also verandas for drying pasta products, while there are also mentions of huts or makeshift shelters made of wood or sheet metal to serve the customer's needs. After all, the presence of the various cobbler's, quilt maker's, painter's, printer's, blacksmith's and woodcutter's workshops would certainly have weighed negatively on the quality of life.



FIGURE 8: The Grand Master's Palace before the restoration by the Italians (above).



FIGURE 9: Hanzade Mosque (The Church of the Holy Trinity/Agia Triada) on the Socratous Street (left).

FIGURE 10: The Archaeological Museum during the restoration work by the Italians (below).



Among the various polluting installations, the presence of a coal storehouse must be noted, which didn't leave the built-up environment around it unaffected, placed as it was on the coastal zone outside the medieval walls, close to St Catherine's gate.

Finally, the lack of any means of effective prevention and control of natural or other types of disasters must be blamed for the total destruction of 22 buildings inside the historic settlement in the fire of 18 July 1924, in the space now occupied by Hippocrates sq.³¹ The 1928 cadastral update indicates that these lots were cancelled, having been designated *bruciate*, that is to say 'burnt'.

In the early 20th century, the first quarter inside the historic nucleus that gets mentioned in the Italian cadastre is *Giami Chebir*, which was located in the northern part of the town, in between the medieval walls, the Grand Master's Palace, and today's Orpheus, Panaetius, Posidonius, Hipparchus, Chares and Theophiliscus Streets.³² The quarter was named after the Great Mosque, the former Hospitaller convent church of St John³³, which was converted into a Muslim place of worship when the town was conquered, and was finally destroyed in the 1856 explosion caused by gunpowder forgotten inside it. In its place the Turkish school was built, initially a two storey building that was later destroyed by fire or earthquake, only to be replaced in 1898 by a larger, single-storey neoclassical building.³⁴ The vast majority of buildings in the area were of domestic use, and only a few had commercial, agricultural or mixed uses. Registered as an incarceration space, the Grand Master's Palace³⁵ complex was an exception, **FIGURE 8**, as was a two-storey neoclassical building on Thephiliscus Street, built in 1907 during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909), which functioned as a courthouse and the residence of the Kadi.

East of the *Giami Chebir* quarter stretched the *Hanzadè* quarter, which extended along the historic Street of the Knights, but also the smaller Laches, Chares, Hipparchus, and Theophiliscus streets.³⁶ The quarter was named after *Han Zade* mosque on the Street of the Knights, which had resulted from

31 TN: *Ippokratous square*

32 TN: respectively *Orfeos, Panetiou, Posidoniou, Iparchou, Charitos, and Theofiliskou Street*.

33 See H. Κόλλιας, Αναζητώντας τα χαμένα μνημεία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. Α', 284. Also Γ. Ντέλλας, Οι μεγάλες ιπποτικές εκκλησίες της Ρόδου. Παναγία του Κάστρου, Άγιος Ιωάννης του Κολλάκιου, Παναγία του Μπούργκου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. Α', 370-395, v. Β' πίν. 325- 354

34 See Σ. Μ. Δοντάς, Ρόδος Εκατό Χρόνια Φωτογραφίας 1850-1950 (Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδόσεις Ζήτη, 2012), 55. On the building's restoration see Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008 (Ρόδος: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2008), 17-27. Also, Αρχαιολογικά Έργα στα νησιά του Αιγαίου- Γ' ΚΠΣ, ΕΣΠΑ Archaeological projects in the Aegean islands 3rd CSF, NSRF (Σύρος- Ρόδος/ Syros-Rhodes Ενδιάμεση Διαχειριστική Αρχή Περιφέρειας Νοτίου Αιγαίου Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αιγαϊκών Σπουδών Intermediary Managing Authority of South Aegean Region Archeological Institute of Aegean Studies, 2013), 168-169.

35 On the Grand Master's Palace see. Κατερίνα Μανούσου-Ντέλλα - Γ. Ντέλλας, Η οικοδομική εξέλιξη του Παλατιού του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου της Ρόδου στο Χάρις Χαίρε, Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Χάρης Κάντζια (Αθήνα: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αιγαϊκών Σπουδών, 2004), τόμ. Β', 237-264. Also H. Κόλλιας, Οι Ιππότες της Ρόδου Το Παλάτι και η Πόλη (Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., 2003). Του ίδιου, Η Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου και το Παλάτι του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων, 1994). On more recent renovation efforts in the wider complex see Αρχαιολογικά Έργα στα νησιά του Αιγαίου- Γ' ΚΠΣ, ΕΣΠΑ Archaeological projects in the Aegean islands 3rd CSF, NSRF, op. cit., 148-153, Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2011-2016, op. cit., 63-93 and Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000-2008, op. cit., 161-187.

36 TN: *Lachitos, Charitos, Iparchou and Theofiliskou streets* respectively.

the conversion of the medieval Holy Trinity church, **FIGURE 9**, into a Muslim place of worship.³⁷ The Knights' Hospital³⁸, **FIGURE 10**, is recorded among the quarter's buildings, which were mainly homes, but also hosted commercial, agricultural, alimentary, and mixed uses, such as the pasta factory *Girasole & C.* on Laches Street. Research among the neighbourhood's index cards further revealed the name of Zizin street, the alley that led from the house on the Street of the Knights where exiled Ottoman prince *Djem*³⁹ had lived, **FIGURE 11**, heading west and north to today's Theophiliscus and Panaetius streets.



FIGURE 11: The historic Street of the Knights (left). **FIGURE 12:** The Church of Our Lady of the Castle (Panagia tou Kastrou, Santa Maria del Castello, Canduri Mosque, Enderun Mosque) before the restoration work by the Italians.

37 See H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca*, op. cit., 71 and Xp. I. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, op. cit., 67-68.

38 On the building of the Knights' Hospital, see Φωτεινή Καρασάββα- Τσιλιγγίρη, Το νοσοκομείο του 15ου αιώνα στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου: Χρονολογικές παρατηρήσεις στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. A', 322-330. Also, Γρηγ. Κωνσταντινιόπουλου, Μουσεία της Ρόδου I Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Απόλλων, 1977) and Η. Κόλλιας, Οι Ιππότες της Ρόδου Το Παλάτι και η Πόλη, op. cit., 120-126, img. 99-103.

39 Concerning the restoration of Djem's house from the period of the Knights see Μαρία-Χριστίνα Γεωργαλλή, Η αρχιτεκτονική πρόταση διαμόρφωσης των θόλων της ιπποτικής οικίας Τζεμ ως παράδειγμα εφαρμογής των αρχών διατήρησης της διαχρονικότητας-οικουμενικότητας της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου στα Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά, op. cit., v. KE', 298-330 and Μαρία-Χριστίνα Γεωργαλλή - Φερενίκη Βαρδέλλη, Αρχές για την αποκατάσταση της ιπποτικής οικίας Djem στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. A', 120-128 and v. B', table 119-132.

West of the *Hanzade* quarter stretched the *Enderun* quarter, which extended over the northeastern part of the town between the medieval wall and today's Symi, Argyrokastrou and Alexander the Great squares.⁴⁰ The area derived its name from the *Enderun* or *Canduri* mosque, a Byzantine cross-in-square church of Our Lady of the Castle and later the latin cathedral of the Knights, that during the period of the Turkish conquest had been converted into a Muslim place of worship with the addition of a minaret and portico, **FIGURE 12**, that were removed during the period of the Italian rule.⁴¹

Among other buildings recorded in the quarter, one finds the auberge of the "Tongue" of Auvergne **FIGURE 13**; the *Fert* Archaeological Institute; the Bank of Sicily⁴²; the Central Electric Station⁴³ which was housed in the *Hasan Bey* manor from the Turkish rule **FIGURE 14**; shops, warehouses, offices, and mixed-use buildings. Research in the index cards has revealed the original name of today's *Freedom Gate*, **FIGURE 15**, the Italian *Porta Nuova*⁴⁴, as well as that of the Lion's Square, **FIGURE 16**, the *piazza del Leone*, which was to be found in the space between the Auberge of Auvergne and the church of our Our lady of the Castle.⁴⁵



FIGURE 13: The Auberge of Auvergne before its restoration by the Italians.



FIGURE 14: The Hasan Bey manor on the left.

40 TN: *Simis*, *Argyrokastrou* and *Megalou Alexandrou* squares.

41 See. H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca*, op. cit., 71-73. Also Σ. Μ. Δοντάς, Ρόδος Εκατό Χρόνια Φωτογραφίας 1850-1950, op. cit., 90. Concerning the architectural style of the monument see Μ. Κάππας, Οι σταυροειδείς εγγεγραμμένοι ναοί της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. A', 341-352 and v. B', table 305, 308 α-γ and 309β. On the more recent restoration work see Αρχαιολογικά Έργα στα Νησιά του Αιγαίου - Γ' ΚΠΣ, ΕΣΠΑ, Archaeological projects in the Aegean islands 3rd CSF, NSRF, op. cit., 164-167.

42 According to the research data, there were five banks in Rhodes in 1922. One Italian, the Banco di Roma, one from the Ottoman Empire and three Jewish ones: Salomon Alhadeff sons, the Notrica-Menascé bank, and the one belonging to Isaac Alhadeff. The Banca d' Italia branch was designed and built in 1926-30. See Z. N. Τσιρπανλής, Ιταλοκρατία στα Δωδεκάνησα, op. cit., 197-200.

43 See H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca*, op. cit., 28-29, img. 10-11.

44 TN: this gate was opened by the Italians and did not exist in Medieval or Ottoman times.

45 The square was named after a lion-shaped funerary sculpture in lartian stone (TN: a type of marble found in the southeast of Rhodes) that had been placed at the entrance to the space for decorative reasons. Today it is found inside the courtyard of the Archaeological museum. See. Xp. I. Καρούζου, Ρόδος, op. cit., 61, Η. Κόλλιας, Η Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου και το Παλάτι του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου, op. cit., 62, img. 25 and Γρηγ. Κωνσταντινιόπουλου, op. cit., 9-10, img. 4.



FIGURE 15: The Freedom Gate.



FIGURE 16: The Lion's Square

In the northwestern end of the settlement, in the area between the medieval walls and Orpheus, Hierocles, Menander, Apolloniuses, Emmanuel Kountis, Timocreon, Hippodamus, and Panaetius⁴⁶ streets, the *Suleimaniè* quarter was located. It included buildings used for commerce, storage, and agriculture. The mosque of Suleiman the Magnificent, built in the 16th century, FIGURE 17, and renovated in 1808⁴⁷, loomed over this area, which also included the foodbank, the *Hafiz Ahmet*⁴⁸ library built in 1794, and the Clock Tower⁴⁹ built in 1852 on top of the devastated *Guardia*⁵⁰ tower from the period of the Knights' rule.

46 TN: respectively *Orfeos*, *Ierokleous*, *Menandrou*, *APollonion*, *Emmmanuil Kounti*, *Timokreontos*, *Ippodamou*, and *Panetiou*.

47 On Suleiman's mosque see Mohamed Abd el- wadood Abd el- azim Abd el-wahab, *The Ottoman Mosques in the Old Town of Rhodes Island (Sultan Suleiman Mosque, Murad Reis Mosque, Sultan Mustafa Mosque, Mehmet Aga Mosque)*, Thesis, National & Kapodistrian Univeristy of Athens, Department of Archeology and the History of Art (Athens: ΕΑΔΔ ΕΚΤ, 2010), 23-50 and H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca*, op. cit., 126-138. Concerning its restoration see Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008, op. cit., 17-27 and Σ. Βογιατζής, Το τέμενος του Σουλεϊμάν στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. Α', 396-406 and v. Β' table. 355-362.

48 See Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, op. cit., 73. Also J. R. Barnes, *Reflections on an Ottoman Library: the Hafiz Ağa Library in the Old Town of Rhodes: Part II Σχολιασμός μιας Οθωμανικής Βιβλιοθήκης- Η Βιβλιοθήκη του Χαφίζ Αχμέτ Αγά στην Παλιά Πόλη της Ρόδου: Μέρος II* in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά, v. ΚΖ' (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2017), 963- 1043. The same author, *Reflections on an Ottoman Library: the Hafiz Ağa Library in the Old Town of Rhodes (Σχολιασμός μιας Οθωμανικής Βιβλιοθήκης- Η Βιβλιοθήκη του Χαφίζ Αχμέτ Αγά στην Παλιά Πόλη της Ρόδου)* in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2014), v. ΚΣΤ', 333-390. Also of the same author, *The Hafiz Ağa Library on Rhodes. A Problem of Methodology in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου*, op. cit., v. Α', 298- 307 and v. Β', table 277-281.

49 See X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, op. cit., 423-424.

50 See Η. Κόλλιας, Τοπογραφικά προβλήματα της μεσαιωνικής αγοράς της Ρόδου και του νοτίου τείχους του Κολλάκιου, "Versus Civitatem" στο *Ιστορία και προβλήματα συντήρησης της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου*, Επιστημονική Συνάντηση 27-29 Νοεμβρίου 1986 Πρακτικά (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, 1992), 84-90 and img 2-3.



FIGURE 17: Suleymaniye Mosque.

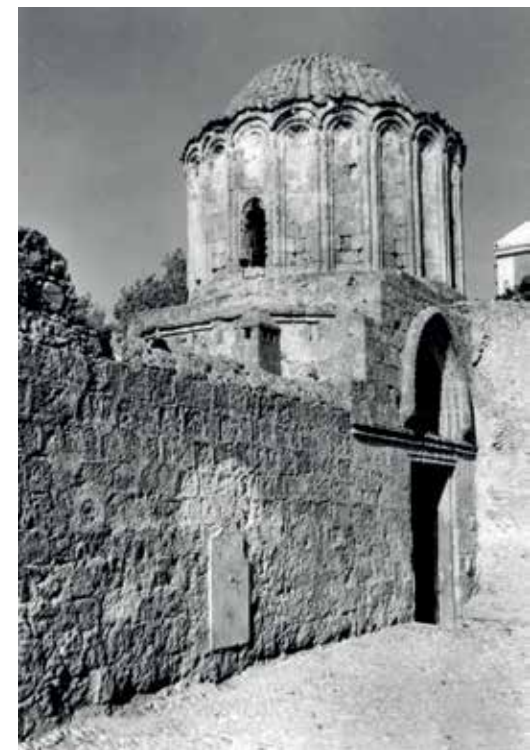


FIGURE 18: St. George, Hurmali Medrese.

The records for this quarter also include the *Saari Celebi*⁵¹ mosque on today's Menander str, which used to be a church from the period of the Knights, built in a cruciform shape in the 14th century and dedicated to St Mark; the *Hurmali medrese*⁵² on Apolloniuses str, a cloister complex from the 14th or early 15th century dedicated to St George, FIGURE 18; as well as the girl school that was housed in the eastern wing of the *medrese*. Thanks to the research in this area's index cards we were able to locate the name of a square dedicated to Suleiman on today's Orpheus str, as well as references to the previous names of Hierocles and Apolloniuses streets, respectively dedicated to *Jacopo da Canelli* and *Pietro dal Ponte*.⁵³

51 TN: Chelebi in English transliteration.

52 See H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca*, op. cit., 146-148 and Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008, op. cit., 37- 43.

53 No information on Jacopo da Canelli was found, other than his origins in the community of the same name in Asti province in *Piemonte*, Italy. Of Grand Master Pietro dal Ponte (1534-1535), who also hailed from Asti, we know that he arrived in Rhodes in 1503 and was appointed commander of the tower and fortress of St Nicholas. Having received the title of seneschal of the Order, he became governor of the island of Kos, where he remained until 1534 when he succeeded Grand Master Philippe Villiers del'Isle-Adam. He died in November 1535 and was interred in the Capella di Nostra Signora della Vittoria, in Sant' Angelo fort in Birgu, Malta, while his remains were later transferred to the crypt of the Concattedrale of San Giovanni in Valetta.

East of the *Suleimaniè* quarter, almost at the centre of the settlement and along today's Socratous, Theophiliscus, Laches, Polydorus, Agesander, Apellas, Protogenes, Aristomenes, Aeolus, Euripides, Miltiades, Plato, Democritus, Themistocles, Lysippos, Minos, Aristoteles, and Constantine of Rhodes⁵⁴ streets, was the location of the Market quarter, recorded as *quartiere Mercato*, one of the most extensive quarters of the town. Within its boundaries, which extended outside the medieval fortifications to the arches across from the commercial port and the Kolona area⁵⁵, the buildings recorded consisted mainly of shops, workshops, offices, and alimentary businesses, **FIGURE 19**.



FIGURE 19: The sea front during the Italian purifications.

Except for Market street (today's Socratous Street), other streets mentioned include *via Capan Onù* (Hermes str), butchers' street (Apellas str), painters' street (Protogenes str), *via dei Duchi di Savoia* (Aeolus str), *Carlo III* square (Hippocrates sq), *via Gran Maestro Caracciolo*⁵⁶ (Apellas str), *Porta Musluch*⁵⁷ (Marine gate) and Carlo di Ventimiglia⁵⁸ street (Agesander or Polydorus str).

54 TN: respectively Socratous, Theofyliskou, Lachitos, Polydorou, Agisandrou, Apellou, Protogenous, Aristomenous, Eolou, Evrippedou, Miltiadou, Platonos, Dimokritou, Themistokleous, Lysippou, Minoos, Aristotelous, and Konstantinou Rodiou.

55 Demolished as part of the purification carried out during the period of Italian rule.

56 Riccardo Caracciolo was born in the first half of the 14th c, probably in Naples, and died in 1395 in Rome. He entered the Order of the Knights of St John at a very young age, at the time of the Great Occidental Schism. He was appointed Prior of Capua in 1378, and in 1383 Pope Urban VI appointed him Grand Master of the Order, ousting Grand Master Juan Fernández de Heredia who was a supporter of the heretic Pope of Avignon Clement VII. Although an officially appointed Grand Master (1383-1395), Caracciolo has become known as an anti-Master and was of little consequence to the history of the Order whose administration remained in the hands of Heredia, until his death in 1396.

57 Musluk is the name by which the leader of the Janissary plot is known, which was organised in 1730 against Sultan Ahmed III (1673-1736). (TN: *Musluk* also means "water tap" in Turkish)

58 Carlo di Ventimiglia was born in Palermo in 1539 and died in Messina in 1583. He was the count of Nasso, baron of Regiovanni, and a nobleman in the court of Felipe II of Spain. He was active in timber and coal trading as well as in sugar production, among other things.

The properties found in this quarter included important buildings in the Ottoman architectural style, such as the *Mehmet Aga* mosque⁵⁹ on Socratous Street, built on a storey in 1820 and repaired in 1875, probably from damage sustained during the 1863 earthquake; and the *Shadîrvan* mosque on Aristomenes Street, also raised on a storey. The inscription still visible on the stairs that lead up to it informs us that it was built in 1888 by Rhodes notables *Faralyali Zaade Hadji Hafız Husein Efendi* and *Osmandjik Zaade Hadji Mehmet Aga*, and it replaced an older building built by *Sinan Bey*, which burnt down in the fire of the market in 1876.⁶⁰



FIGURE 20: The church of Ag. Paraskevi (left). **FIGURE 21:** Sultan Mustafa's Mosque, the ablution fountain, and the Yeni Hammam or Suleiman's or Mustafa's bath

Immediately to the west of the Market quarter, between the medieval walls and Timocreon, Alexandrides, and Xenophon streets⁶¹, the *Hamzà* or *Hanzà Bey* quarter was located, including mostly homes, among which the local Imam's dwelling. The mosque of the same name, found on today's Alexandrides str⁶², had pride of place in the neighbourhood, while the index cards confirmed the old name of Timocreon str, which bore the name of Hospitaller Knight *Paolo Simeoni*.⁶³

59 See Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008, op. cit., 91- 96 and Ρεγγίνα Οικονομίδου, Τέμενος Μεχμέτ Αγά. Ιστορική και αρχιτεκτονική τεκμηρίωση in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. Α', 140-144, v. Β', table 147-162 and Σ. Μ. Δοντάς, Ρόδος Εκατό Χρόνια Φωτογραφίας 1850-1950, op. cit., 89. Also Mohamed Abd el- wadood Abd el- azim Abd el-wahab, The Ottoman Mosques in the Old Town of Rhodes Island (Sultan Suleiman Mosque, Murad Reis Mosque, Sultan Mustafa Mosque, Mehmet Aga Mosque), op. cit., 91-113.

60 See H. Balducci, Architettura Turca, op. cit., 73- 76. On its restoration see Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2011- 2016, op. cit., 57-58, img. 28- 29, Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008, op. cit., 97-100.

61 TN: *Timokreontos*, *Alexandridou*, and *Xenofontos* respectively

62 On the restoration of the mosque see Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008, op. cit., 85-90.

63 Simeoni (1488-1556) served as Prior of Lombardy and Barletta, and in 1506 he is supposed to have participated in the defence of the castle of Leros, where he averted Turkish pirate Camali (TN: One of the variant names by which Kemal Reis was known in the West) with the help of the inhabitants, and a small number of Knights and soldiers.

The Tachiegi' quarter, immediately to the east and extending in the area between *Hippodamus*, *Timocreon*, *Archelaus*, *Xenophon*, *Alcaeus*, and *Andronicus* streets⁶⁴, comprised mostly domestic buildings and was dominated by the mosque of the same name, also known as the mosque of *Skoufas*⁶⁵,⁶⁶, on today's Hippodamus str; this was simply the pre-existing Hospitaller church of St Paraskevi, **FIGURE 20**, built in cruciform shape in the late 15th and early 16th centuries.

Farther east yet was the *Sicchinti*' quarter, which developed around today's Arion sq and the area delineated by Menecles, Ergias, Zeno, and Antiotheus streets⁶⁷. The *Cadi Mesgit*⁶⁸ space of worship held a special place in the neighbourhood, standing in the place of an older church which is today dedicated to the veneration of St Artemius; as well as the *Sultan Mustafa* mosque⁶⁹, **FIGURE 21**, built in 1764-1765; and the new bath complex from the 16th century, known as *Yeni Hammam* or *Suleiman's bath* or *Mustafa's bath*.⁷⁰



FIGURE 22: The Church of Saints Constantine and Helen.

To the north was the *Cadi Mesgit* quarter with the *Mesgidi* mosque, which was the result of the conversion into a Muslim place of worship, by the addition of two prayer niches, of an earlier three-aisled Basilica with vaulted roof from the period of the Knight's rule, which today is dedicated to the Saints Constantine and Helen, **FIGURE 22**. Immediately to the east, the area between Eudoxus,

Dinocrates, Plato, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Simonides, Diocles, and Thucydides streets, and Athena square⁷¹ marked the *Demirli* quarter, named after the mosque of the same name, the *mosque with iron grating*.⁷² Lying in ruins today, following the WWII bombings, the mosque was originally the church of Archangel Michael, built in the 14th century on the ruins of a three-aisled early Christian basilica.⁷³

Records from the area also include workshops, storage spaces, vegetable gardens, stables, and mixed use buildings, while the details of the neighbourhood's properties' index cards revealed the older name of today's Aristophanes Street, named in honour of Catalan Grand Master *Pedro Raimondo Zacosta*.

To the west of *Demirli* quarter, in the area defined by St Phanourios, Andronicus, Zeno, Ergias, Eudoxus, Thucydides, Aristophanes, Diocles, and Aeschylus streets⁷⁴, extended the *Cavacli*' quarter, thus named after the Turkish word *kavak* due to the presence of a poplar tree in the area. The *Cavacli*' mosque loomed over the mainly residential area, having started out as the church of St Spyridon and having gone through numerous construction phases, from the early Christian years through to the period of Turkish rule when it was converted into a Muslim place of worship with the addition of two prayer niches and a minaret.

The second most populous quarter of the town, after the Market area, was the *Jewish* quarter at the southeastern part of the settlement⁷⁵. In the early 20th century, the *quartiere ebreo* covered a large portion of the historical centre, defined by today's Constantine of Rhodes, Aristotle, Jewish Martyrs, Democritus, Themistocles, Lysippus, Demosthenes, Cercaphus, Pericles, Dosiadas, Icarus, Cleobulina, Tlepolemus, Archbishop Euthymius, Erinna, Tauriscus, Gabalas, Phidias, Dionysius, Byzantium, Alhadeff, Pindar, and Kisthenios streets and Jewish Martyrs, Nausicaa, Hecaton, Nicasylus, Dioynsius, St Panteleimon, and Peisidoros squares.⁷⁶

The quarter's boundaries were not limited within the town's fortifications, but also extended beyond them to the windmills' quay and the commercial port, with its plots numbering more than 400 in the records and their positions determined in relation to the area's main and secondary streets and its squares. Among them, the Grand Northern Street is mentioned, which today is

64 TN: *Ippodamou*, *Timokreontos*, *Archelaou*, *Xenofontos*, *Alkeou*, and *Andronikou* respectively.

65 Xp. I. Καρούζου, Ρόδος, op. cit., 74 and X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, Ιστορία της Ρόδου, op. cit., 508.

66 TN: the Greek name Skoufas appears to be a direct translation of the Ottoman name. Skoufas means someone wearing a cap of some sort; the Ottoman name, pronounced *Tackedji* (and spelt *Takkeci* in modern Turkish), means someone wearing the traditional Muslim head cap *taqiyah*, or *takke*.

67 TN: *Menekleous*, *Ergiou*, *Zinonos*, and *Antiothiou* respectively.

68 X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, Ιστορία της Ρόδου, op. cit., 510.

69 See Mohamed Abd el- wadood Abd el- azim Abd el-wahab, Mohamed Abd el- wadood Abd el- azim Abd el-wahab, The Ottoman Mosques in the Old Town of Rhodes Island (Sultan Suleiman Mosque, Murad Reis Mosque, Sultan Mustafa Mosque, Mehmet Aga Mosque), op. cit., 68-90. Also, H. Balducci, Architettura Turca, op. cit., 115- 125

70 See H. Τσίγκρας- Άννα Παρασκευοπούλου- Ν. Ζαρίφης, Δημοτικά Λουτρά Yeni Hammam in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., v. Α', 87- 90 και v. Β', table 62-71. Also, Δημοτικά Λουτρά Yeni Hammam, op. cit.

71 TN: *Evdouxou*, *Dinokratous*, *Platonos*, *Eschylou*, *Aristofanous*, *Simonidou*, *Diokleous*, *Thoukydidou* streets. and *Athinas* Square.

72 See Xp. I. Καρούζου, Ρόδος, ό.π., 75-76 and X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, Ιστορία της Ρόδου, op. cit., 384 and 508.

73 See E. Papavassiliou - Th. Archontopoulos, Nouveaux éléments historiques et archéologiques de Rhodes à travers des fouilles dans la ville médiévale στο XXXVIII Corso di Cultura sull' Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna, 15/20 Marzo 1991 (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1991), 333-337. Also M. Κάππας, Οι σταυροειδείς εγγεγραμμένοι ναοί της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., τόμ. Α' , 341 και τόμ. Β, πίν. 306, 310α και 311β.

74 TN: *Agiou Fanouriou*, *Andronikou*, *Zinonos*, *Ergiou*, *Evdouxou*, *Thoukididou*, *Aristofanous*, *Diokleous*, and *Eschylou* respectively.

75 See Z. N. Τσιρπανλής, Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το Αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών 1421-1453, op. cit., 84-88, 232-234, 616-617, 659-662 and H. Κόλλιας, Μάστορες, πρωτομάστορες και μηχανικοί των μεσαιωνικών οχυρώσεων της Ρόδου, op. cit., 149-164.

76 TN: *Konstantinou Rodiou*, *Aristotelous*, *Evreon Martyron*, *Dimokrotou*, *Themistokleous*, *Lysippou*, *Dimosthenous*, *Kerkafou*, *Perikleous*, *Dosiadou*, *Ikarou*, *Kleouvoulinis*, *Tlipolemou*, *Archiepiskopou Eftyhymiou*, *Irinas*, *Tavriskou*, *Gavala*, *Fidiou*, *Dionysiou*, *Vyzantiou*, *Alchadef*, *Pindarou*, and *Kisthiniou* streets, and *Evreon Martyron*, *Nafsikas*, *Ekatonos*, *Nikasyliou*, *Dionysiou*, *Agiou Panteleimonos*, and *Pisidorou* squares respectively

Aristotle Street, as well as the *Alleanze*⁷⁷ schools on Kisthenios Street; the *Notrica*⁷⁸ foundation on Kisthenios Street and Pisidorou Square; the Grand Synagogue and *Schalom* Synagogue streets; but also the garden of the prominent Alhadeff⁷⁹ family of Jewish bankers; the Israelite square; and the small *Engoli* or *Yeni masjid*⁸⁰ on the medieval St Sebastian Square, which was destroyed in the WWII bombings, **FIGURE 23-24**.



FIGURES 23-24: The Jewish Martyrs square

77 In mid 19th century Rhodes there were three Jewish schools, but they were only for boys. In early 1900, with the support of the *Alliance Israète Universelle*, and funding from baron Rothschild, a Boys' school and a Girls' school were founded. In the 1910s there were also two nursery schools. In 1923 the *Alliance Israète Universelle* school came under the control of the Italian government, and as a result more emphasis was placed on teaching the Italian language. With the Italian government's approval, the Rabbinic College of Rhodes was founded in 1928 to train rabbis, cantors and shechita, but it ceased activities in 1938 as a result of the Italian fascist and racist laws. See Η Εβραϊκή Κοινότητα της Ρόδου, *The Jewish Community of Rhodes*. Μια έκθεση του Εβραϊκού Μουσείου Ελλάδος και της Ισραηλιτικής Κοινότητας Ρόδου, op. cit.

78 Z. Tsirpanlis mentions the Notrica-Menascé bank as one of the three Jewish banks in Rhodes in 1922. Like the other two banks belonging to Solomon Alhadeff and Isaac Alhadeff, it was closed in 1938 due to the Italian racist law. See Z. N. Τσιρπανλής, *Ιταλοκρατία στα Δωδεκάνησα*, op. cit., 197-200.

79 Ibid. *Ιταλοκρατία στα Δωδεκάνησα*, op. cit., 197-200.

80 Σ. Μ. Δοντάς, *Ρόδος Εκατό Χρ. Φωτογραφίας 1850-1950*, op. cit., 47 and Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, op. cit., 78.

Lesser streets in the quarter included the *via stretta* (Tlepolemos and Icarus streets), the *via della Turcheria*⁸¹ (Pericles str), *via Elia del Bosco* (Kisthenios str), *via Chinan* (Phidias Street), *via Benvenuto San Giorgio*⁸² (Dosiadas, Pericles, and Byzantium streets), *via per casa Rabino* (Icarus Street), *via Talmudtorà* (Byzantium Street), and *via Sigismondo Malatesta*⁸³. The cadastral plot that included the *via Venezia*, *piazza Principe*, and *via Giovanni da Rivara*⁸⁴ faced today's Jewish Martyrs and Constantine of Rhodes streets, and to the east it bordered the Prince's Square which no longer exists.

The Grand Synagogue and the Shalom Synagogue stood out in the quarter⁸⁵. The first refers to the romaniot style *Kahal Kadosh Gado*⁸⁶ synagogue on Theseus Street next to the Hospitaller St Catherine's lodge, which was ruined by the allied bombings; the second, known as *Kahal Kadosh Shalom*⁸⁷, is on Simmias Street. The restoration of the Sephardi style *Kahal Kadosh Shalom* synagogue brought to light elements of a previous construction phase from 1577, while the pebble mosaic floors in the courtyards retained inscriptions from 1841 and 1888, allowing the dating of the current phase of the building to the mid 19th century.

West of the *jewish quarter* extended the *Dolapli'* quarter, named after the mosque of the same name with the *well winch*⁸⁸, formerly the cruciform Hospitaller church of the Holy Trinity⁸⁹ from the late 15th and early 16th centuries which had been converted to a Muslim place of worship. The quarter covered the area which today is defined by Pythagoras, Minos, Demosthenes, Cleobulina,

Praxiteles, and Laocoon streets, and Leonidas of Rhodes square⁹⁰, while plots belonging to it had also been recorded on Sophocles and Simonides streets. It mainly included domestic buildings, with the occasional workshop or buildings used for things such as storage, commerce, agriculture or mixed uses. The buildings' location within the neighbourhood is determined in relation to streets and alleys of the *Turkish neighbourhood*, the Craftsmen's street (*via degli Artefici*), which was identified

81 TN: in the Ladino language of the Sephardic Jews, the Jewish quarter (mentioned in this article by its Italian name, *quartiere Ebreo*) was called *Juderia*, and the Turkish quarter was called *Turkeria*. In other words, the street in question was called "the street of the Turkish quarter".

82 Benvenuto San Giorgio (1450-1527) was a scholar, jurist, and historian. He was born in Casale, Italy and was the count of Biandrate.

83 Sigismondo Malatesta (1498- 1553) descended from one of the most prominent families in 14th and 15th century Italy, and was considered the model of the Italian renaissance prince. He bore the title of *condottiero*, ie leader of the mercenary forces, and was renowned as a patron of the letters and arts. In 1432 he was appointed papal bishop in charge of governing Rimini, Fano, and Cesena. He was a brave and able soldier and was considered the best commander in Italy.

84 Giovanni da Rivara was born in Genoa in 1848, an heir to the Ditta Rivara textile trading family business founded in 1802. He served as head of the Banca d'Italia board of directors, and in 1873 he co-founded the *Il Cittadino* newspaper with architect Maurizio Dufour. He died in Genoa in 1901.

85 Beside these two, there are records of two more synagogues that have been lost. They are the Kahal Kadosh Kamondo synagogue from 1865, and the Kahal Kadosh Tikkun Hatzot or Kal de los Ricos, ie the Synagogue of the Rich, from the 19th century. See Η Εβραϊκή Κοινότητα της Ρόδου, *The Jewish Community of Rhodes*. Μια έκθεση του Εβραϊκού Μουσείου Ελλάδος και της Ισραηλιτικής Κοινότητας Ρόδου, op. cit.

86 Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008, op. cit., 113-114.

87 Α. Σ. Μαϊλης- Κ. Ε. Σκανδαλίδης- Κ. Φ. Τσαλαχούρης, *Η Ρόδος τον 19ο αιώνα*, op. cit., 58-121.

88 Χ. Ι. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, op. cit., 508.

89 Η. Κόλλιας, *Η Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου και το Παλάτι του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου*, op. cit., 123-131.

90 TN: *Pythagora*, *Minoos*, *Dimosthenous*, *Kleouvoulinis*, *Praxitelous*, *Laokoontos* streets, and *Leonidou Rodiou* square respectively.

as today's Pythagoras Street, **FIGURE 25**, the *Dolapli'* mosque and *Hagi Chalil's* House⁹¹, known to the locals as the "Seray" on Pythagoras Street.



FIGURE 25: Hagi Chalil's House, "Seray" on Pythagoras Street

Immediately to its west, in the area defined by today's Plato, Pythagoras, Aegeas, Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Electryone streets⁹², the mainly residential *Ibraim Pascià* quarter was to be found, which also included some properties with commercial, agricultural, and storage uses, as well as workshops. The area owed its name to the mosque of the same name on Sophocles str, which, according the inscription that can still be seen above its entrance, was erected in 1540 by Suleiman the Magnificent with the wish that God shelter him, and all those who enter, from all harm.⁹³

91 The Italian record provides the name "*Casa Magnatizia*", ie the house of a "magnate", which, similar to the word's English meaning, refers to an illustrious citizen or dignitary in whose person outstanding political or financial power has been concentrated. According to the plot's index card, the owners during the time of recording were the heirs of Hagi Chalil Effendi Faragialli, his widow Macbulè Cecechgi di Bechcet (TN: these Italian transliterations should be pronounced: *Hadji Halil Efendi Faralyali* and *Makbule Chechekdji* of [probably meaning daughter of] *Bekchet*) and their children *Ihsan*, *Osman*, *Muhein*, *Hussein*, *Sadrettin*, *Selahettin*, *Nefissè* and *Sezà*. See Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή, *Ιστορικά διατηρητέα μνημεία με χρήση κατοικίας στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου στα Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά* (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2018), vol. ΚΗ', 332.

92 TN: *Platonos*, *Pythagora*, *Egeos*, *Sofokleous*, *Eschylou*, and *Ilektrionis* streets, respectively.

93 Even though the mosque bears the name of Pargali Ibrahim Pasha (1493-1536), a favourite of the Sultan, this is not mentioned in the inscription since, although ordered by Ibrahim himself when passing through Rhodes en route to Egypt in 1525, the project was only completed four years after his execution. See H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca*, op. cit., 93-99.

Farther to the south, in the area today defined by Sophocles, Philetas, Homer, Antisthenes, Aristides, and Cleisthenes streets⁹⁴, the *Hudai* quarter was located. The neighbourhood included, among other things, records of the hodja's residence, two mills and as many ovens, storehouses, stables, buildings with commercial and mixed uses, and two mosques. The first mosque was the *Hudai* mosque⁹⁵, a small single-aisled church from the knights' time that is currently dedicated to the Saints Theodore, whereas the second corresponded to the small, single-roomed hospitaller church of St Kyriaki located on a side street of Homer str, next to the medieval walls, and dating from the second half of the 15th and the early 16th centuries. During the conversion of the church to a place of prayer, the mosque was named *Alagia Tekkia* or *Tecche* and it was later renamed *Borasani Mesgid*, ie the bugler's place of prayer. According to an 1870 inscription still visible above its entrance, it appears to have been restored by Ahmed pasha, probably following damage sustained in the 1851 or 1863 earthquakes.⁹⁶

In the southwestern part of the settlement, the medieval walls and Hippodamus, Antiphanes, Callixenus, Homer, Andronicus, Antiotheus, and Zeno streets⁹⁷ determined the location of the *Abdul Gelil* quarter with the mosque of the same name, also known as *chukur djami*, ie the sunken mosque, due to its location relative to the road's level. The mosque owed its name to its founder and commander of Rhodes, *Abdul Gelil*^{98, 99}, and had resulted from the conversion of the 15th-16th century St Nicholas - St Bernardine hospitaller convent complex into a Muslim place of worship. It included a courtyard with a well, in addition to the main worshipping space of the older double-aisled church, to which a minaret and a prayer niche had been added, **FIGURES 26-27**.

The index cards for this quarter's properties, including mainly residences and a few agricultural and storage plots, mention three streets bearing the names of Venetian Doge *Andrea Verdramini*, Genoese knight *Corradino Grimaldi*, and *Gabriel Martinengo*, an engineer from the time of the Knights.¹⁰⁰ These streets were identified as today's Antiphanes, Andronicus, and Hippodamus streets respectively.

South of the *Abdul Gelil* quarter and adjacent to the medieval walls, in the area surrounded by Hippodamus, Homer, Herodotus, Epicharmus, Hephaestus, Peisander, and Timachidas streets, the *Bab-Mestut* quarter was located, with the mosque of the same name, also known as the *mosque of the walled-up gate*. Dedicated today to St Athanasius, this used to be a small early 16th century single-roomed chapel adjacent to the medieval fortifications¹⁰¹, where the coat of arms of Grand Master *Fabrizio dell Carretto* is still on display.¹⁰² Besides the mosque building, the records for this quarter also included houses and properties for storage or agricultural use.

94 TN: *Sofokleous*, *Filita*, *Omiron*, *Antisthenous*, *Aristidou*, and *Klisthenous* streets, respectively.

95 X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, op. cit., 508 and Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, op. cit., 76.

96 Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008, op. cit., 73-78 and Ν. Πιτσινός, Το συγκρότημα της Αγίας Κυριακής στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου, op. cit., vol. Α', 128-139 and vol. Β', table 132-145.

97 TN: *Ippodamou*, *Antifanous*, *Kallixenous*, *Omiron*, *Andronikou*, *Antiothiou*, and *Zinonos* streets respectively.

98 Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, op. cit., 74.

99 TN: pronounced *Abdul Djelil*.

100 On Gabriel Martinengo and his contribution to the renovation of the walls of Rhodes town, see Η. Κόλλιας, Μάστορες, πρωτομάστορες και μηχανικοί των μεσαιωνικών οχυρώσεων της Ρόδου, op. cit., 162.

101 Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, op. cit., 75.

102 According to tradition, the mosque owed its name to Suleiman the Magnificent, who immediately upon conquering the town reputedly ordered the gate at the specific spot in the fortifications to be walled up, not to allow any other conqueror to enter.



FIGURES 26-27: The Church of Saint Nicholas - Saint Bernardine

The *Pialetin* quarter stretched to its north, with the small *Peyal-el-din* mosque¹⁰³ which had resulted from the conversion of the Byzantine church of St Phanourios¹⁰⁴ into a Muslim place of worship¹⁰⁵. The neighbourhood, which occupied the streets known today as Homer, St Phanourios, and Andronicus streets, included mainly records of domestic buildings and a few used for agriculture or storage.

To its south, adjacent to the medieval walls and within the area outlined by current Homer, Antisthenes, and Aristides streets, lay the *Alemnach* or *Olemnach* quarter with the mosque of the same name, founded by Suleiman's standard bearer, according to tradition¹⁰⁶. This was essentially a small hospitaller church converted into a Muslim place of worship, which today is dedicated to Archangel Michael.

103 X. I. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, op. cit., 508 and Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, op.cit., 75.

104 Concerning the mural decoration of the church see † Θ. Αρχοντόπουλος - Αγγελική Κατσιώτη, *Η ζωγραφική στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου από τον 11ο αιώνα μέχρι την κατάληψή της από τους Τούρκους (1522): Μία εκτίμηση των δεδομένων στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου*, op. cit., vol. Α', 454-466, vol. Β', table 392a and 395a.

105 Although the building is from the Byzantine period, its current name is a more recent conventional dedication, in fact from the period after the incorporation of the Dodecanese into the Greek state. See Αγγελική Κατσιώτη, *Παρατηρήσεις στην τοπική λατρεία αγίων στα Δωδεκάνησα, Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά*, op. cit., vol. ΚΕ', 664-674 and Η. Ε. Κόλλιας, *Άγιος Φανούριος: ένας μεταλλαγμένος άγιος στο Χάρις Χαίρε*, op. cit., vol. Β', 285-305.

106 Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, *Ρόδος*, op. cit., 75 and Χ. Ι. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, op. cit., 508.

Immediately to the north, in the area demarcated by Homer, St Phanourios, Antheas, Aristophanes, Philetas streets, and Dorieus square¹⁰⁷, was the location of the *Regeb Pascià* quarter, including homes, commercial, agricultural, and storage buildings, and centred around its namesake mosque, **FIGURE 28**, which was built in 1588 and is considered one of the most important examples of Ottoman architecture in Rhodes¹⁰⁸.

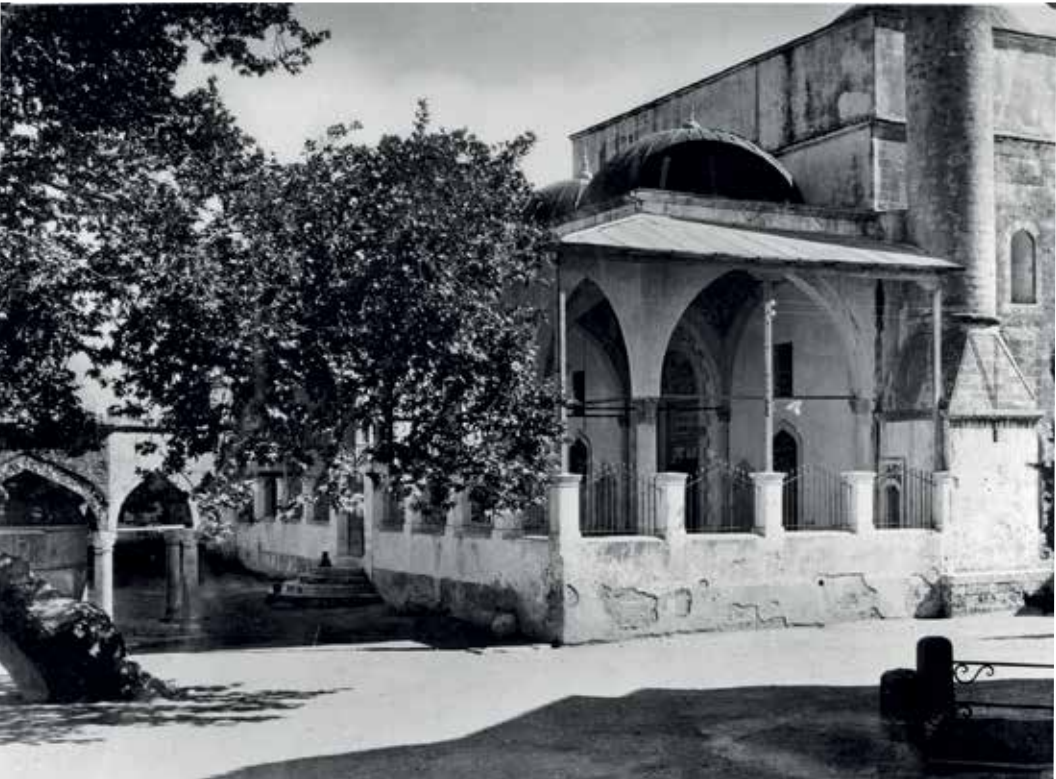


FIGURE 28: The Redjep Pasha Mosque - Alinari archive

To its southeast, in the area between Pythagoras, Archbishop Euthymios, Cleisthenes, Kimon, Praxiteles, and Laocoon streets, extended the *Cismegi'* quarter with the corresponding mosque, which was the result of the conversion of the hospitaller church of St John into a Muslim place of worship, but also with homes, shops, workshops, and storehouses.

The final quarter mentioned in the Italian cadastre is the *Ilh-Mihrap* neighbourhood, located to the northeast of the *Cismegi'* quarter, in the area outlined by the streets known today as Nicias, Archbishops Euthymios, Demosthenes, Pericles, Cleobulina, and Erinna streets. The quarter's records are mostly of domestic buildings, their location identified in relation to the main streets

107 TN: *Omirou*, *Agίου Fanouriou*, *Anthea*, *Aristofanous*, and *Filita* streets and *Dorieos* square, respectively.

108 See H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca*, op. cit., 99-114. Regarding the building's restoration see *Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2011-2016*, op. cit., 170-214.

of the Turkish neighbourhood, the *Dolaplı*’ mosque, and the Koskinou gate. The records brought to light the earlier name of Pericles str, the “*long street*” of the Turkish neighbourhood, while the “*middle road*” is today referred to as Cleobulina str. Among the area’s mainly domestic properties, there was mention of the *Ilh-Mihrap*¹⁰⁹ mosque, in other words the first prayer niche, the first church where, according to tradition, Suleiman prayed after seizing the town¹¹⁰ **FIGURE 29**.



FIGURE 29: The Church of Saint Catherine - Alinari archive

After the period of Italian rule, the town passed into the hands of the Germans (1943-1944) and subsequently the English (1945-1947), while it had already sustained considerable damage from the allied bombings in 1944. The Incorporation of the Dodecanese into Greece in 1948, marked the end of a long period of slavery and subjugation from which the local populace wished to emotionally detach themselves. This was, after all, the reason that the modern nomenclature departed completely from that of previous periods, the streets of the historic settlement receiving names of important figures of the ancient Greek world. The names from the period of the Knights and the Turkish rule were thus lost from living memory, with only few exceptions concerning mainly religious or secular public buildings.

109 TN: the name, as explained in the text, means first mosque/prayer niche. At least in modern Turkish, “first” is written *ilk*. The Italians may have recorded it as *ilh* by mistake or it may reflect some local variant pronunciation, the Italians simply recording names as they heard them.

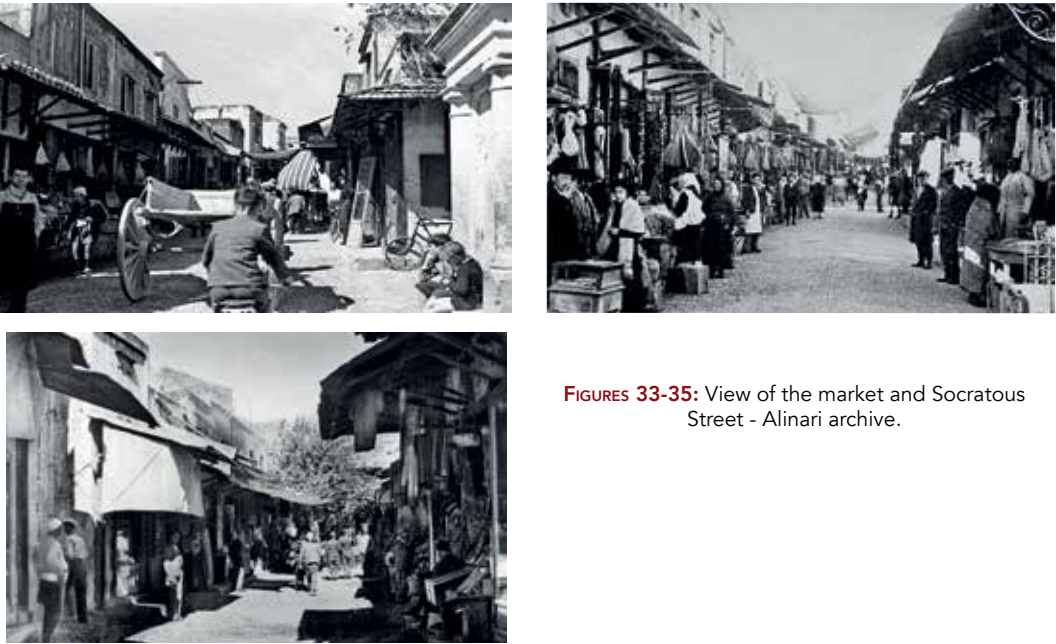
110 The current name of the church, dedicated to St Catherine, is considerably more recent, and was given to the monument in the ‘90s, following the discovery of the saint’s iconographic cycle that was dated to the 15th century. See Θ. Αρχοντόπουλος, Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος της Αγίας Αικατερίνης στην ομώνυμη εκκλησία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου in Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο 41 (1986) Μέρος Α’ – Μελέτες (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων 1991), 85-100, fig. 1, table 21-28. Also, Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008, op. cit., 67-71.

Even though the violent historic events and natural disasters that the settlement witnessed during the past two centuries are now in the past, the town continues to face new economic, political, moral, and social challenges that test the endurance of its residents and its monuments. Its quarters, as recorded in the Italian cadastre and the contemporary photographic lens, with their busy residents, the traditional craftsmen, and the traders and hawkers of all sorts **FIGURES 30-33**, belong to a bygone world.

The town, having resisted for centuries the sweeping shifts that were imposed on it by external factors, has now passed the baton to the domination of tourism, finding itself in danger of permanently losing its authenticity and uniqueness.



FIGURES 30-32: View of the market



FIGURES 33-35: View of the market and Socratous Street - Alinari archive.

Bibliographical References

Αρχαιολογικά Έργα στα νησιά του Αιγαίου- Γ΄ ΚΠΣ, ΕΣΠΑ Archaeological projects in the Aegean islands 3rd CSF, NSRF (Σύρος- Ρόδος/ Syros- Rhodes Ενδιάμεση Διαχειριστική Αρχή Περιφέρειας Νοτίου Αιγαίου Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αιγαϊακών Σπουδών Intermediary Managing Authority of South Aegean Region Archeological Institute of Aegean Studies, 2013).

† Θ. Αρχοντόπουλος - Αγγελική Κατσιώτη, Η ζωγραφική στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου από τον 11^ο αιώνα μέχρι την κατάληψή της από τους Τούρκους (1522): Μία εκτίμηση των δεδομένων in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), vol. Α, 454-466, vol. Β, table. 392^a and 395^a.

Θ. Αρχοντόπουλος, Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος της Αγίας Ακατερίνης στην ομώνυμη εκκλησία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου στο Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο 41 (1986) Μέρος Α΄ – Μελέτες (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων 1991), 85-100, figure 1, table 21-28.

H. Balducci, *Architettura Turca in Rodi* (Milano: Editore Ulrico Hoepli, 1932).

J. R. Barnes, Reflections on an Ottoman Library: the Hafiz Ağa Library in the Old Town of Rhodes: Part II Σχολιασμός μιας Οθωμανικής Βιβλιοθήκης- Η Βιβλιοθήκη του Χαφιζ Αχμέτ Αγά στην Παλιά Πόλη της Ρόδου: Μέρος II in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2017) vol. ΚΖ, 963- 1043.

J. R. Barnes, Reflections on an Ottoman Library: the Hafiz Ağa Library in the Old Town of Rhodes (Σχολιασμός μιας Οθωμανικής Βιβλιοθήκης- Η Βιβλιοθήκη του Χαφιζ Αχμέτ Αγά στην Παλιά Πόλη της Ρόδου) in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2014), vol. ΚΖΤ, 333-390.

J. R. Barnes, The Hafiz Ağa Library on Rhodes. A Problem of Methodology in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), vol. Α, 298- 307 and vol. Β, table 277-281.

I. Βολανάκης, Ο ναός του Αγ. Σπυριδώνα στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου in Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια.. Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι την κατάληψή από τους Τούρκους (1523) Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο, Ρόδος, 24-29 Οκτωβρίου 1993, Πρακτικά (Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού ΚΒ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων 4^η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, 2000), vol. Β, 367-374, img. 1,2.

A. Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes, MCCCX -MDXXII Topographie et Architecture Militaire*, (Paris: E. De Boccard, Éditeur des Écoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1921).

Μαρία-Χριστίνα Γεωργαλλή, Η αρχιτεκτονική πρόταση διαμόρφωσης των θόλων της υποτικής οικίας Τζεμ ως παράδειγμα εφαρμογής των αρχών διατήρησης της διαχρονικότητας - οικουμενικότητας της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2012), vol. ΚΕ, 298-330.

Μαρία-Χριστίνα Γεωργαλλή - Φερνάνκη Βαρδέλλη, Αρχές για την αποκατάσταση της υποτικής οικίας Djem στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), vol. Α, 120-128 and vol. Β, table 119-132.

Σ. Μ. Δοντάς, Ρόδος Εκατό Χρόνια Φωτογραφίας 1850-1950 (Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδόσεις Ζήτη, 2012).

Δημοτικά Λουτρά Yeni Hammam, (Ρόδος: Δήμος Ροδίων- ΥΠΠΟ- 4^η ΕΒΑ, 2000).

Η Εβραϊκή Κοινότητα της Ρόδου The Jewish Community of Rhodes, Μια έκθεση του Εβραϊκού Μουσείου Ελλάδος και της Ισραηλιτικής Κοινότητας Ρόδου. An Exhibition of the Jewish Museum of Greece and the Community of Rhodes (Εβραϊκό Μουσείο Ελλάδος The Jewish Museum of Rhodes: 2019).

Σοφία Ηρακλειδου - Ειρήνη Τόλιου, Ένα ταξίδι στα Δωδεκάνησα του 19^{ου} αιώνα μέσα από ιστορικά τεκμήρια & έγγραφα της εποχής Μια πρώτη καταγραφή (Αθήνα: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση 2024).

Μ. Κάπτας, Οι σταυροειδείς εγγεγραμμένοι ναοί της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), 2007, vol. Α, 341-352 and vol. Β, table 305, 308 α-γ and 309β.

Κ. Καρανάσος, Ρόδος 1912- 1947, Η πολιτική για τον σχεδιασμό του χώρου και τη διαχείριση των μνημείων κατά την ιταλική Κατοχή (Αθήνα: Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς, 2023).

Φωτεινή Καρασάββα- Τσιλιγίρη, Το νοσοκομείο του 15^{ου} αιώνα στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου: Χρονολογικές παρατηρήσεις in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), vol. Α, 322-330.

Χρ. Ι. Καρούζου, Ρόδος (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Έσπερος, 1973).

Αγγελική Κατσιώτη, Παρατηρήσεις στην τοπική λατρεία αγίων στα Δωδεκάνησα, Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά, Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2012), vol. ΚΕ, 664-674 and Η. Ε. Κόλλιας, Άγιος Φανούριος: ένας μεταλλαγμένος άγιος, ΧΑΡΙΣ ΧΑΙΡΕ, Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Χάρης Κάντζια (Αθήνα: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αιγαϊακών Σπουδών) 2004, vol. Β, 285-305.

Η. Κόλλιας, Αναζητώντας τα χαμένα μνημεία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων και την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), vol. Α, 283-297 and vol. Β, πίν. 264-276.

Η. Κόλλιας, Η παλαιοχριστιανική και βυζαντινή Ρόδος. Η αντίσταση μιας ελληνιστικής πόλης στο Ρόδος 2.400 χρόνια Η πόλη της Ρόδου από την ίδρυσή της μέχρι της κατάληψη από τους Τούρκους (1523) Διεθνές Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο Ρόδος, 24 -29 Οκτωβρίου 1993 (Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού ΚΒ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων 4^η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων, 2000), vol. Β, 299-308.

Η. Κόλλιας, Μάστορες, πρωτομάστορες και μηχανικοί των μεσαιωνικών οχυρώσεων της Ρόδου, Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 20 (1998-1999), περίοδος Δ΄ στη μνήμη του Δημητρίου Ι. Πάλλα (1905- 1995) (Αθήνα: Έκδοση Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, 1999), 149-164.

Η. Κόλλιας, Οι Ιππότες της Ρόδου Το Παλάτι και η Πόλη (Αθήνα: Εκδοτική Αθηνών Α.Ε., 2003).

Η. Κόλλιας, Η Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου και το Παλάτι του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων, 1994).

Η. Κόλλιας, Τοπογραφικά προβλήματα της μεσαιωνικής αγοράς της Ρόδου και του νοτίου τείχους του Κολλάκιου, “Versus Civitatem” in Ιστορία και προβλήματα συντήρησης της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου, Επιστημονική Συνάντηση 27-29 Νοεμβρίου 1986 Πρακτικά (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, 1992), 84-90.

Γρηγ. Κωνσταντινόπουλου, Μουσεία της Ρόδου I Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Απόλλων, 1977).

Κατερίνα Μανούσου- Ντέλλα, Η δημιουργία και εξέλιξη της οχυρωμένης πόλης της Ρόδου (7^{ος} αι.- 1480) (Θεσσαλονίκη: Εκδόσεις Μπαρμπουνάκη, 2022).

Κατερίνα Μανούσου- Ντέλλα, Ρόδος, Στοιχεία πολεοδομικής ανάλυσης μιας μεσαιωνικής οχυρωμένης πόλης in Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας Δ΄ Τόμος ΚΑ΄ 2000 (Αθήνα: Χριστιανική Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, 2000), 27-42.

Κατερίνα Μανούσου- Ντέλλα - Γ. Ντέλλας, Η οικοδομική εξέλιξη του Παλατιού του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου της Ρόδου in Χάρις Χαίρε, Μελέτες στη μνήμη της Χάρης Κάντζια (Αθήνα: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αιγαϊακών Σπουδών, 2004), vol. Β, 237-264.

Κατερίνα Μανούσου- Ελένη Παπαβασίλειου, Μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου: Η αρχαιολογική έρευνα ως βάση για τον σύγχρονο σχεδιασμό- διευθέτηση της πόλης, 583-602, in νέες πόλεις πάνω σε παλιές, Επιστημονικό Συνέδριο, Ρόδος 27-30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1993, Έλλην. Τμήμα ICOMOS- ΚΒ΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων - 4^η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων.

ΤΕΕ, Τμήμα Δωδεκανήσου (Εκδοτική Παραγωγή: Επτάλοφος ΑΒΕΕ: χωρίς ημερομηνία).

Α. Σ. Μαϊλχη - Κ. Ε. Σκανδαλίδη < Κ. Φ. Τσαλαχούρης, Η Ρόδος τον 19^ο αιώνα (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Θυμέλη/ΤΕΔΚ Δωδεκανήσου, 2002).

Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2011-2016 (Ρόδος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού 2017).

Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου Έργα Αποκατάστασης 2000- 2008 (Ρόδος: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2008).

Μεσαιωνική πόλη Ρόδου, Έργα αποκατάστασης (1985-2000) (Ρόδος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων: 2001).

Γ. Ντέλλας, Οι μεγάλες υποτικές εκκλησίες της Ρόδου. Παναγία του Κάστρου, Άγιος Ιωάννης του Κολλάκιου, Παναγία του Μπούργκου in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων και την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), vol. Α, 370-395, vol. Β' table 325- 354.

Οι Ροδίτικες Κρήνες “...Ατηπλλάγησαν αι συνοικίαι της ξηράς δίψης” Fountains in the Town of Rhodes “...The parishes were rid of the dry thirst” (Ρόδος: Τεχνικό Επιμελητήριο Ελλάδος- ΤΜ. Δωδεκανήσου ΥΠΠΟ- 4^η Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων 3^η Εφορεία Νεώτερων Μνημείων Δήμος Ροδίων, 2000).

Ρεγγίνα Οικονομίδου, Τέμενος Μεχμέτ Αγά. Ιστορική και αρχιτεκτονική τεκμηρίωση in Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), vol. Α, 140-144, vol. Β, table 147-162.

Eleni Papavassiliou - Th. Archontopoulos, Nouveaux elements historiques et archeologiques de Rhodes a travers des fouilles dans la ville medievale στο XXXVIII Corso di Cultura sull’ Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna, 15/20 Marzo 1991 (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1991), 333-337.

Χ. Ι. Παπαχριστοδούλου Ιστορία της Ρόδου από τους Προϊστορικούς Χρόνους έως την Ενσωμάτωση της Δωδεκανήσου (1948), β΄ έκδοση συμπληρωμένη (Αθήνα: Δήμος Ρόδου, Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 1994), 372-375, 384-385, 421 και 507-509.

Κ. Φ. Σκανδαλίδης, Σελίδες Ιστορίας, Ροδιακά και άλλα (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Θυμέλη, 2002), 240-253.

Η. Τσίγκρας - Άννα Παρασκευοπούλου - Ν. Ζαρίφης, Δημοτικά Λουτρά Yeni Hammam στα Πρακτικά του Διεθνούς Επιστημονικού Συνεδρίου 15 Χρόνια έργων αποκατάστασης στη Μεσαιωνική Πόλη της Ρόδου (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Διαχείρισης Πιστώσεων για την Εκτέλεση Αρχαιολογικών Έργων, 2007), vol. Α, 87- 90 and vol. Β, table 62-71.

Ζ. Ν. Τσιρπανλής, Ιταλοκρατία στα Δωδεκάνησα 1912-1943 Αλλοτρίωση του ανθρώπου και του περιβάλλοντος (Ρόδος: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, 1998).

Ζ. Ν. Τσιρπανλής, Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το Αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών 1421-1453, (Ρόδος: Γραφείο Μεσαιωνικής Πόλης Ρόδου- Προγραμματικής Σύμβασης ΥΠΠΟ- ΤΑΠΙΑ- Δήμου Ρόδου, 1995), 84-88, 232-234, 616-617, 659-662.

R. Santoro, I restauri degli edifici medievali di Rodi, 211-250 in La Presenza Italiana nel Dodecaneso tra il 1912 e il 1948 La Ricerca archeologica· La conservazione· Le scelte progettuali (Catania: Edizioni del Prisma, 1996).

Μελίνα Φιλήμονος - Τσοποτού, Η ελληνιστική οχύρωση της Ρόδου, Ρόδος Ι. (Αθήνα: Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων, 2004).

Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή, Ιστορική τεκμηρίωση των συνοικιών της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου κατά την περίοδο της ιταλοκρατίας in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2021), vol. ΚΘ, 761-802.

Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή, Ιστορική τεκμηρίωση των συνοικιών της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου κατά την περίοδο της ιταλοκρατίας in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2021), vol. ΚΘ, 761-802.

Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή, Ιστορικά διατηρητέα μνημεία με χρήση κατοικίας στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2018) vol. ΚΗ, 318-348.

Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή, Ιστορική τεκμηρίωση των επαγγελματικών χρήσεων των ακινήτων στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου κατά την περίοδο της ιταλοκρατίας in σοφία άδολος Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Χρ. Παπαχριστοδούλου (Ρόδος: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Αιγαϊακών Σπουδών, 2014), 439-459.

Παναγιώτα Ψαρρή – Μαρία-Χριστίνα Γεωργαλλή, Η διαχρονική- οικουμενική αξία της μεσαιωνικής πόλης της Ρόδου ως μνημείου παγκόσμιας κληρονομιάς in Δωδεκανησιακά Χρονικά (Ρόδος: Στέγη Γραμμάτων και Τεχνών Δωδεκανήσου, 2012), vol. ΚΕ, 197-210

Mohamed Abd el- wadood Abd el- azim Abd el-wahab, The Ottoman Mosques in the Old Town of Rhodes Island (Sultan Suleiman Mosque, Murad Reis Mosque, Sultan Mustafa Mosque, Mehmet Aga Mosque), Thesis, National & Kapodistrian Univeristy of Athens, Department of Archeology and the History of Art (Athens: ΕΑΔΔ ΕΚΤ, 2010).