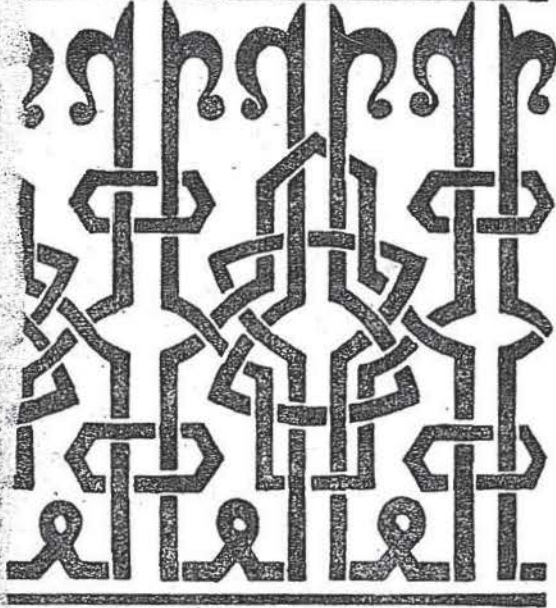
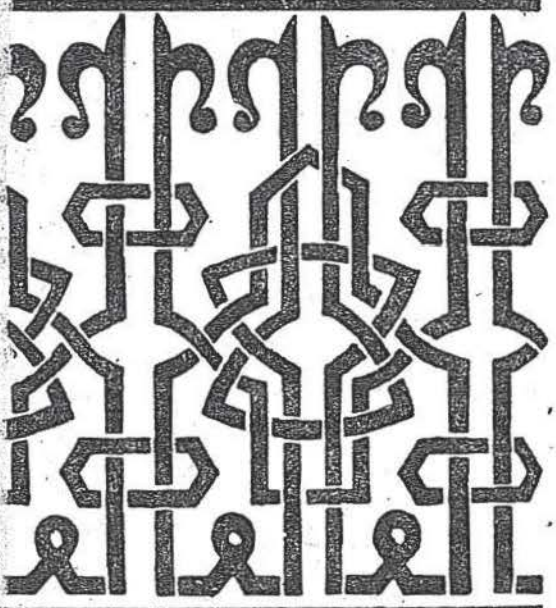


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**THE OLDEST MONUMENTS OF OTTOMAN-TURKISH
ARCHITECTURE IN THE BALKANS***

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*The Imaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gü-
mülcine (Komotini) and the Evrenos Bey Khan in the vil-
lage of Ilca/Loutra in Greek Thrace (1370 - 1390).*

Brief historical and architectural remarks.

The historical Landscape of Thrace, since the events at the beginning of the present century (Balkan Wars, First World War, Treaty of Lausanne) divided in three roughly equal parts between Turkey, Bulgaria and Greece, constituted the oldest part of the Ottoman provinces in Europe. The conquest of this geographical unit, before the coming of the Ottomans a heavily contested and ruined border zone between Byzance and Bulgaria¹, took place between the

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As the intention of the article is primarily to make known some overlooked buildings and to date them on historical grounds the annotations have been restricted as much as possible.

1 For the situation in Thrace at the advent of the Ottoman conquest see Konstantin Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prag, Wien, Leipzig, 1891, p. 49-49 or a more general account, using a source unknown when Jireček wrote: M. Kiel, *The Vakıfnâme of Rakkas Sinan Beg in Karnobat and the Ottoman colonisation of Bulgarian Thrace*, in: *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, I, Istanbul, 1980, p. 15-18. The ruined and depopulated character of Thrace prior to the Ottoman conquest is preferably left in the dark in the modern Greek and Bulgarian historiography, who put the blame of the depopulation solely on the Ottoman conquerors. The reasons for doing this have a political, not a scientific background.

mid 1350's and 1371, when the Ottoman victory over the Serbians consolidated their hold on Thrace. The process of the Ottoman conquest of Thrace is not known in detail and there is no unanimity about the key dates (conquest of Edirne: in 1361 or in 1369)² but it is at least clear that Thrace was the first province conquered by the early Ottomans and the first that was intensively colonized by Muslim Turks, coming over from Asia Minor³. It is also certain that some of the great old Ottoman warrior families, the Evrenosoğlu, the Mihaloğlu and the Turhanoğlu, played a large role in this process and acted very independently from the central power, which was still in process of formation. These warlords resided in some Thracian towns and pursued a kind of «kulturpolitik» of their own, promoting their residences to centres of Islamic culture. If we want to see the oldest examples of Ottoman architecture we should go to these places first.

In the Balkans monuments of Ottoman architecture dating from before the year 1400 are very rare. In Edirne, the first capital on European soil the first great mosques were two big old Byzantine churches, converted to other purposes after the conquest. The oldest mosque built by the Ottomans in that fair city and still extant, appears to be the Yıldırım Camii dated around the turn of the century⁴.

² Compare Halil İnalcık, *Edirne'nin Fethi (1361)*, in: *Edirne'nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara, TTK, 1965, p. 138-159, and: Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs, La pénétration Turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques Turques*, in: *Travaux et Mémoires*, I, Paris, 1965, p. 439-461.

³ For the Turkish colonisation of the Balkans the general study remains: Omer Lütfi Barkan, *Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman*, in: *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, 11 e année, No 1-4, p. 1-65. Compare also the short but rich article of M. Münir Aktepe, *XIV. ve XV. Asırlarda Rumeli'nin Türkler tarafından iskânına dair*, in: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 20, p. 298-299; and of course M. Tayyib Gökbilgin's classic collection of documents: *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân*, Istanbul, 1957.

⁴ For this building see: Oktay Aslanapa, *Edirne'de Osmanlı Devri Âbideleri*, Istanbul, 1949, p. 2-6; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarîsinin İlk Devri*, Istanbul, 1966, p. 484-494 or: Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago-London, 1968, p. 105-109. Surprisingly enough Kuran declares that this mosque was not built by Yıldırım Bayezid, as mentioned by the Ottoman geographers and by local tradition, but by sultan Murad.

In the part of Thrace which today belongs to Turkey the only structures from the 14th century are to be found in Gelibolu and Bolayır but the works in both places were heavily restored or reconstructed in the past in such a way that no original stone remains visible. A place where we can still find a genuine 14th century structure is Kırklareli, with its Eski Cami, built in 785 (1383/84) by Mihaloğlu Hızır Bey as far as we can trust an inscription in the porch which mentions a repair in the early 19th century, and the above mentioned name and date⁵. The building, a single-domed mosque, is certainly very old. The other places of Turkish Thrace have no more 14th century buildings. Hafza, Babaeski, Lüleburgaz, Tekirdağ, İpsala and İnceik received their great buildings and civic centres in the 16th century. Silivri and Çatalca remained in Byzantine hands until the conquest of Constantinople. Çorlu was until 1453 a frontier post, upon which not much money was spent, Uzunköprü was not founded before 1435 and Vize and the Black Sea coast also remained Byzantine until 1422⁶.

In Bulgarian Thrace most Ottoman buildings were destroyed during the last hundred years. A building there that can possibly be assigned to the 14th century is the Imaret Camii of Ihtiman between Sofia and Plovdiv (Filibe), whose founder appears to be Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey, who fell in the Battle of Ankara against Timur

Hüdavendigâr between 1361 and 1375. His chief argument is that the Ottomans could not have done without a mosque from the year of the conquest (assumed as 1361) and the year 1399, when the Yıldırım Camii is allegedly built. Doing so he wholly overlooks the statement by the local historian of Edirne, Hibri Efendi (first half 17th century) and the very rich article of Semavi Eyice (Edirne'de Bizans devrine ait anıtlar, in : Edirne'nin 600. Fethi etc. p. 64-76) from which we can see that the time of the conquest the largest churches of old Hadrianopolis were transformed into mosques, one later known «Kilise Camii» and another also transformed into mosque which later became known as «Halebi Medresesi» because of the medrese added to the old building by Murad II. With this state of affairs the whole theory of Kuran falls.

5 For this mosque and its inscription see : Mehmet Tuncel, Babaeski, Kırklareli ve Tekirdağ Camileri, Ankara, 1974, p. 23-25; and : Özcan Mert, Kırklareli Kitâbeleri, in : İst. Ün Edeb. Fak. Tarih Dergisi, XXV, 1971.

6 For the problems concerning Vize as Byzantine frontier town see : Machiel Kiel, A Note on the History of the Frontiers of the Byzantine Empire in the 15th century, in : Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 66, München, 1973, p. 352.

(1402). His mosque, originally a Zaviye, must have been built in the last decades of the 14th century and really looks like that⁷. A building from the same founder, which has long been overlooked is a very curious hamam, now badly ruined, and situated a hundred metres to the west of the mosque/zaviye. The Eski Cami of Haskovo (Hasköy) is reportedly the oldest Ottoman building of Bulgaria but is in fact a reconstruction in the 18th century, as is its so-called 14th century inscription. The two other places in Bulgarian Thrace, where very old Ottoman buildings are still preserved, are Stara Zagora (Eski Zağra) and Yambol⁸. Both were restored recently by the Bulgarian Institute for Monuments of Culture and now in an excellent state of preservation. One is the Ecki Cami, or Hamza Bey Camii in Stara Zagora, built, according to its well preserved Arabic inscription, in 811 (1408/09). The Eski Cami of Yambol is anepigraph. The restoration of the 1970's made clear that it was the product of two major building campaigns of which the first one could be from the last decades of the 14th century. We hope to discuss this building on another occasion.

It is in Greek Thrace, the least known province of Ottoman architecture of the southern Balkans, that we still find a series of Ottoman buildings from the very first period. For the most part their authentic 14th century building substance is still preserved. In a recent study I published the bath of Timurtaşpaşazâde Oruç Pasha built in 1398. In these few pages I will describe three other works of the early period. On two of them, the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos and the Cami of Gümülcine/Komotini I published some remarks

7 For this building see the detailed study of Semavi Eyice, *Sofya Yakınında Thtiman'da Gaazi Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey Imâret-Camii*, in : *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmûası*, yıl 4, Nisan 1975, Sayı 2, p. 49-61.

8 For these two buildings see : M. Kiel, *Some Early Ottoman monuments in Bulgarian Thrace, Stara Zagora, Jambol and Nova Zagora*, in : *Belleten Türk Tarihi Kurumu*, XXXVIII, sayı 152, Ankara, 1974, p. 635-656. The mentioned restorations were still going on in 1981. Compare also the notes of Ayverdi (Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, II, Istanbul, 1972, p. 575-577 for the state of repair of the mosque prior to the restoration. (Ayverdi's four great volumes are further cited as : «Ayverdi I» etc.)

a decade ago^{8a}. The third building, a large and monumental khan, has remained wholly unknown until now.

It is generally accepted that Gümülcine was captured by the Ottoman forces under Ghazi Evrenos Bey in 1361⁹, who made his residence there, being the governor of a march (uc) facing Serbian controlled Macedonia. Evrenos resided in Gümülcine until 1383, when Macedonia was conquered and the seat of his march was moved to Serres, the key fortress of that province. In the last decade of the 14th century Ghazi Evrenos moved his seat again. This time to Yenice-i Vardar, further west and closer to the chief field of action at that time.

The Ottoman chroniclers, Anonymus-Giese and Aşıkpaşazâde, place the years in which Ghazi Evrenos resided in Gümülcine between 1371 (the decisive Battle on the Maritsa) and 1383 (capture of Serres). The historian Gelibolulu 'Alî, who wrote during the last decades of the 16th century, but using older sources, noted that Ghazi Evrenos, when he transferred his seat to Serres, turned the houses he possessed in Gümülcine into vakf property for the «İmaret» he had constructed there. Idris Bitlisli, writing at the beginning of the 16th century, noted that Ghazi Evrenos erected a «tekke intended for the travellers» in Gümülcine and another in Yenice. Hoca Sa'deddin and the geographer Mehmed 'Aşık, both writing towards the end of the 16th century, also mention the buildings of Ghazi Evrenos in Gümülcine and in Yenice Vardar¹⁰. The learned Hoca was basically a com-

8a Cf. M. Kiel, Two little known monuments of early and classical Ottoman architecture in Greek Thrace, in : *Balkan Studies* 22,1, Thessaloniki, 1981, p. 127-146; and : M. Kiel, Historical and architectural description of the Turkish monuments of Komotini and Serres, in : *Balkan Studies*, 12 1, Thessaloniki, 1971, p. 415-462.

9 For Ottoman and Greek accounts on the date of the conquest of Gümülcine see : M. Kiel, article «Gümüldjine» in *Encycl. of Islam*, 2, Supplement, p. 329-331.

10 Friedrich Giese, *Die Altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken*, Leipzig, 1925, p. 32, and 35; Aşıkpaşazâde in German translation of Richard F. Kreutel, *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, Graz, Wien, Köln, 1959, p. 85 and 92/93; Muşafâ 'Alî, *Küh'n'l-Ahbâr*, printed edition, Istanbul, 1277, V, p. 75. The work of Idris Bitlisi I could only use the excellent Serbo-Croat translation of Salih Trako in *Prilozi*, XXI, Sarajevo, 1971, p. 167. Mehmed 'Aşık, *Menâzır'l-'Avâlim*,

piler assembling the information from numerous older sources but Mehmed 'Aşık was a widely travelled man, who carefully distinguished between the information from older sources and that which he saw himself. In conclusion we may say that we can be very sure about the attribution of the two very old Ottoman buildings in Gümülcine to Ghazi Evrenos. Besides that the various accounts allow us to date both buildings with a great amount of certainty between 1371 and 1383. The buildings were needed in these years. After 1383 the attention of Evrenos was directed to Serres and then to Yenice Vardar. Before 1371 the Ottoman hold on Thrace was very insecure. In such circumstances few people would risk much money on buildings.

Pre-Ottoman Gümülcine was a small fortified settlement. The greater part of the walls remain preserved to the present time, in the very centre of town. This Byzantine «Koumoutsinas¹¹» measures 125 x 140 metres, thus just over one and a half hectare. The archeologist of the mediaeval period have worked out the formula of 300 inhabitants per hectare in a normally built up town and 500 inhabitants for a very densely inhabited place with multi-story houses along very narrow streets¹². If we regard Byzantine Koumoutsinas as a town of the average kind and if we remember that the first half of the 14th century was particularly ruinous for Byzance and especially for Thrace we may perhaps be allowed to place the number of its inhabitants at 300 to 400.

manuscript Halet Efendi, No 616, II, p. 20v; Hoca Sa'deddin, Tacü't-Tevârih, edition Ismet Parmaksızoğlu, vol. I, Istanbul, 1974, p. 118.

11 In this form the name is given by the Byzantine historian Kantakusinos. The form «Gümülcüne» appears to be from the pre-Ottoman period. It appears in the Destan of Ümür Pasha (edition I. Mélikov) p. 101 and 124, relating the exploits of Ümür Aydınoğlu in Thrace in 745 (1344).

12 J.B. Russell, Late Ancient and Mediaeval Population, Philadelphia (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society), 1958, maintains that the population density of an ancient city was never above 200 people to the hectare. See also: C. Clark, Urban Population Densities, in: Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Series A, 114, 4, 1951, p. 490-496. André Raymond, The Ottoman conquest and the Development of the great Arab towns, in: International Journal of Turkish Studies, Vol I, No 1, Madison, Wisconsin, 1980, p. 84-101, calculated 600 people to the hectare for the most densely inhabited Arab towns of the 16th-18th century.

The circumstances of the Ottoman conquest of Gümülcine are not known. We have to reconstruct them. The Eski Cami and the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos were built a hundred metres to the east of the castle walls, outside it. It appears that a sizeable number of the original Christian inhabitants of the town survived the conquest. The Tapu Defter No 70 from 925 (1519) preserved in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul (p. 23) mentions 42 households of Christians in the town and six unmarried Christians as well as 9 widows. This would give a total of 250 Christian inhabitants. These Christians lived inside the old castle walls and possessed a church. This is mentioned by the French traveller Pierre Belon du Mans, who visited Gümülcine shortly before the year 1555¹³. Gümülcine was a Muslim-Turkish town. The 1519 Defter is very clear about that, mentioning the Muslim population as 393 households and 197 unmarried male Muslims, altogether perhaps 2,200 people. These people must have been the descendants of the Turkish settlers from Anatolia who resettled the empty towns and villages of Thrace immediately after the conquest and most certainly there were a number of converts to Islam among them¹⁴.

The fact that Christians remained living in the walled town, possessing at least one church¹⁵ (still preserved in an altered state after various repairs) and Muslims basically lived outside the town, around some prominent buildings they had erected themselves, strongly suggests that the town had capitulated more or less voluntarily to Evrenos Bey. If the town had been taken with violence the laws of warfare then valid, allowed the vanquished inhabitants

13 Pierre Belon du Mans, *Observations de plusieurs singularités et choses, etc.* Paris, 1555, chapter IX.

14 This is a general remark based on work in the Ottoman defters concerning a large number of towns in Ottoman Europe. The defters give the patronyms after the names of the heads of the registered households. In cases of converts to Islam a symbol is used which stands for «ben 'Abdallah» (son of the Servant of God), which was a metaphor for non-Muslim. In most of the registers we went through these sons of 'Abdallah counted 10 to 20 percent of the whole population. Seldom more.

15 The Ottoman administrative Yearbook «Sâlnâme-i Vilâyet-i Edirne» from 1310 (1892/93), which is a rich source in many respects, mentions (p. 434) two Greek Churches in Gümülcine, dating from olden times.

to be sold as slaves, their churches confiscated and turned into mosques and the walls of the town demolished. This all suggests that Ghazi Evrenos had made a fresh start when he transformed the old walled mini-town into a Muslim Turkish urban centre. His buildings included the mentioned mosque and imaret, both still extant, but also a hamam, of which the last traces were removed in 1970, at the time of the dictatorship of Papadopoulos, (with help of dynamite). Until 1923 an inscription in Arabic, dating from the 14th century and giving the name of Ghazi Evrenos, was still to be seen at the entrance of this bath. In the same year it was smashed by the new masters of the town. This hamam is also referred to in the 1519 Icmal register mentioned above (p. 23) as belonging to the Vakf property of Ghazi Evrenos. A caravanserai in Gümülcine also belonged to this Vakf, as well as the revenue from the village of Helvayı in the Gümülcine district and some *çiftlik*s and other landed property. The whole of this property yielded a revenue for the Vakf of 55.902 akçe, which made it a rich and powerful foundation for the provincial affairs. There was sufficient revenue to pay a substantial staff and spend a considerable amount on the distribution of food to the traveller and the poor. Let us now describe the two preserved buildings.

Eski Cami.

The Eski Cami of Gümülcine, situated, in the very centre of town, in the old Çarşı, at the corner of what is today the Konstantinos Palaiologus Street and the Filiki Etaireia Street, is composed of two clearly distinguishable parts. The first part, certainly the original mosque of Ghazi Evrenos, is a robust square of 13.08 metres which encloses an inner space of 10.20 by 10.20 metres. This square is covered by a relatively low and squat dome resting on a series of simple and unadorned «Turkish Triangles». The four walls are extremely thick and in accordance with the relatively primitive, low and ponderous character of the structure. The inner space of this domed hall is far removed from the lofty elegance of 16th century Ottoman art. The system of transition between dome and square is almost identical with that of the Eski Cami, or Hızır Bey Camii of Kırklareli, from 1383/84 and some examples of the same type

of building as preserved in western Anatolia (Asilhan Bey Camii in Kemallı near Ezine, from 784 (1382/83), which is slightly bigger than the Gümülcine mosque, and Murad I's mosque in Behram Kale (Assos, to be dated in the 1370's or 1380's)¹⁶. No original windows have been preserved at the Gümülcine mosque. All have been widened during the reconstruction the building underwent in the mid 19th century. The original masonry is also invisible, covered as it is by a thick coat of plaster. A very ancient feature is the covering of the dome on the outside. This is effected by very large and rather flat tiles, which are unusually thick. This covering is of the same kind and quality as that of the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos, nearby, and we will not be very far wrong in attributing it to the original construction¹⁷.

The original façade of the building, including the open portico in front of it and the inscription which must have been placed above the entrance gate, all disappeared when the building was enlarged and repaired. According to the Sâlnâme of the Edirne Vilâyeti of 1310 (1892/93) (p. 417). These repairs took place in 1270 (1853/54). The Sâlnâme also noted that there was a certain tradition (rivayet) that this mosque was once a church and that this was proved by the presence of a column on which some inscriptions were carved in an old and unknown language. It is of course very well possible that during the construction of the mosque spoils of ancient buildings were used. This was common practice in the Middle Ages. The old part of the present mosque, however, is without doubt early Ottoman and not Byzantine. The proportions of the inner space and especially the Turkish Triangles exclude this categorically. Moreover, there were hosts of local legends that this or that mosque was originally a church. This is a folkloristic «topoi» and is true only in a very few cases¹⁸. And it is highly unlikely that there would have been a

16 For the Asilhan Camii see : Ayverdi I, p. 337-342. For Behram Kale, Ayverdi I, p. 224-229; and Kuran, The Mosque, p. 38/39.

17 Evliya Çelebi, Seyâhatnâme, VIII, p. 88, called this mosque «without lead» (kurşunsuz).

18 Legends concerning mosques that had been churches before the Ottoman, or Turkish conquest, existed everywhere in the Balkans and in Anatolia and are often groundless. Archaeological research has proved that this was indeed the case, but in a very limited number. Often it was propaganda of the

church relatively far outside the walls of Byzantine Gümülcine in the late Byzantine period in which insecurity was paramount.

The 1853 restoration is not the first one. Evliya Çelebi¹⁹, who visited Gümülcine in the month of Ramazan of 1078 (beginning of 1668) saw an inscription above the main entrance of the mosque which mentioned that it had been repaired after having damaged during a storm. Alas, he seems to have copied the text rather carelessly and the chronogram, which can be deduced from the various manuscripts of his work is not reliable (in the form suggested) by the editors of the *Seyâhatnâme* it would yield 1017 (1608/09). It is at least clear that the original inscription of Ghazi Evrenos was than already lost. Evliya did not note that the mosque was a work of Ghazi Evrenos but does attribute a number of other works to this famous man. The Ottoman chroniclers also leave the mosque unmentioned. Perhaps because it is but a modest building if compared with the magnificent İmaret next to it. Moreover, it is most probable that the Ghazi initially founded it as a mescid and not as a full Friday Mosque. It must have been upgraded somewhere in the 16th century, which was common practice then. To attribute the building to someone else would make little sense. In Evliya's time it was already the chief mosque of the town, the oldest and much frequented by the true believers. Moreover, the other two recorded buildings of Evrenos Bey stood, and still stand in its close vicinity. The caravanserai mentioned in the 1519 defter must have disappeared long ago.

During the repairs of 1853 the mosque received its present form. At that time the need for more room for Islamic prayer in a town which was then quickly expanding²⁰, caused the restorers to enlarge the mosque in such a manner that the original space was more than doubled. They flanked the old building, which they preserved as a

Christian. W.F. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, London, 1929, wrote an interesting study on the backgrounds of this phenomenon.

¹⁹ *Seyâhatnâme*, VIII, p. 85-96.

²⁰ The quick expansion of the town in the 19th century is mentioned in the *Sâlnâme* of Edirne, of 1892/93, p. 417. It is still to be seen on the houses of the town, many of them dating from the 19th century and neatly placed along straight streets which were then newly laid out.

token of piety, with a hall of 4 metres wide and ending with an additional mihrab. They removed the old porch of the mosque and broke away a large section of the old front wall. In front of the old building they erected a spacious wood covered hall of 18 metres wide and 14 metres deep. This hall is divided into three naves by two rows of three slender supports running in the direction of the kibla. The hall has a flat ceiling but the section just in front of the old entrance has been given a wooden dome, a reminder of the dome that once must have covered the central section of the porch, as still to be seen in the previously mentioned mosques in Kemallı and Behram Kale. The Eski Cami of Kırklareli has lost its original porch.

The minaret of the Eski Cami of Gümülcine is a particularly high work with two balconies. It is not the original one and not even Ottoman but dates from the time immediately after the old empire had lost the Balkans, the time of the shortlived «Islamic Republic of Gümülcine», which existed between the Second Balkan War and World War I, in 1913/14²¹. The old minaret was destroyed, presumably during the Bulgarian occupation of 1912, and rebuilt at the expense of a local notable, «Minareci» Ismail Efendi. It got its two balconies - usually an imperial prerogative - to emphasise the independent character of this state.

Today the Eski Cami of Gümülcine is still in a perfect state of repair. It is maintained by the Islamic community of the town and is in daily use as a house of prayer, as it has been for over 600 years.

Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos Bey.

Of the same date, but architecturally much more important, and despite modern mutilations, structurally well preserved and sound, is the so-called Imaret Camii, or Ghazi Evrenos Imareti. It is situated less than 50 metres to the west of the Old Mosque but is enveloped by shops of recent date, while only its lofty domes are visible from afar. The building is one of the very oldest Ottoman works in the Balkans, perhaps the oldest and architecturally of great importance

21 See : Kemal Şevket Batıbey, *Batı Trakya Türk Devleti (1919-1920)*, İstanbul 1979; and Abdurrahim Dede, *Balkanlar'da Türk İstiklâl Hareketleri (Türk Dünyası Yayınları)* İstanbul, 1978.

although this seems not to be realised sufficiently in Greece. Moreover, there are less problems with the attribution of the work to the famous old warlord than there were the Eski Cami. Almost every chronicler mentions it, as do the geographers Mehmed Aşık, Evliya, Katib Çelebi and Badi Efendi²².

The Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos has not survived in an unaltered state. It must have survived the ages very well because those parts still visible on the outside appear to be untouched by any basic repairs. However, in 1923, after Western Thrace had been allotted to Greece, it was confiscated by the town council and transformed into an electric power station for the town. As such it served until the 1970's when it was decided to knock it down and build a fine new power station outside the town. The demolition was luckily prevented by the Greek Archeological Service. In 1972/73 the old machinery was removed and the building was cleaned. Since then it has remained an empty shell, waiting for a better future.

When the building was transformed into a power station one of the inner walls was removed and the structure became enveloped in ugly machinery halls of concrete and plate iron. The northern eastern side of the building became invisible. The rear wall remained basically free and the rubbish heaps of the last decades were cleared out in 1973. At the southern side the building borders immediately on a row of shops. Only the three domes of the Imaret and the upper parts of the walls rise above the surrounding halls and shops. This situation makes a close investigation of the building rather difficult and is perhaps the reason that it has been overlooked, literally and figuratively by the few explorers of Ottoman art in the Balkans who visit the town nowadays.

The building as we see it today, presents itself as a typical example of the T-plan mosque, Bursa style mosque, or as Eyice suggested with good reason: a Zaviye-Mosque²³. We see a central domed

22 See note 10. For Katib Çelebi's work I used Hammer's German translation: Mustafa ben Abdalla Hadschi Chalfa, Rumeli und Bosna, Wien, 1812, p. 69. Bâdi Efendi's work, Riyaz-ı Belde-i Edirne, is preserved as manuscript in the Bayezid Umumi Kütüphanesi, Yazmaları No. 10891-10393, vol III, p. 128.

23 The «classic» about this subject still remains his: İlk Osmanlı devrinin dini-içtimai bir müessesesi Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler, in: İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası, 23, Ekim 1962 - Şubat 1963 (İstanbul), p. 3-80.

section, 10.74 metres long and 7.44 metres wide and covered by a dome and a barrel vault. The dome over the central section is the highest part of the building and is still visible from afar. It is flanked by two lateral rooms, not connected with the main hall but sealed off by walls and only to be reached by means of doors. The door in the original northern separation wall was removed when the Imaret was changed into a power station. At the same time a large hole was broken through the same wall. The original disposition, however, remains clearly visible. The wall sealing off the southern lateral space from the main central hall is entirely preserved. It has one door, placed in a frame of elegantly profilated cornices and colonnettes. The lateral room is closed, its gate walled.

The lateral rooms have a somewhat curious elongated form. They measure 7.33 x 5.65 metres each, on the inside. They are both covered by a dome over the central part. The spaces of the rectangle that remained open have been covered by heavy pointed arches which together form the square base of the dome. The transition between the square and the circle of the dome is obtained by using an elaborate system of triangular panes which distribute the weight of the dome equally over all sections of the walls. Both rectangular rooms must have been equipped with fireplaces. In spite of the damaged condition of these rooms we can still see where the original windows have been. Enough traces remain visible. In the rear and lateral walls they were in the centre but in the façade of the building they are placed excentrically, indicating that the fireplaces must have been situated in that front wall, at a little distance from the window (see plan). The inside of the rooms was plastered over with cement when the building was transformed into power station. Hence no trace of the fireplaces can be seen. I do not doubt, that we are confronted here with the guestrooms of the old Imaret, praised by the historian Bitlisli and Sa'deddin and the geographer 'Aşık.

The central domed hall must have been the communal hall of the Imaret, where the guests conversed around a pond in the middle of the room. Today the lateral rooms and the central hall have the same floor level but this must be due to later transformations. The rear end of the central hall must have been the section reserved for prayers, with a slightly higher floor level. This section is covered by a barrel vault. It measures only 6.80x3.30. It is thus no-

ticeably narrower than the central hall. Curiously enough this oratory is not orientated to Mecca with its rear wall, as is the usual method, but with one of its lateral walls in the manner resembling the Nilufer Imaret of Iznik, of which it appears to be a smaller, reduced, version²⁴.

In the interior little of the original decoration remains preserved. The walls are black and covered with a hard layer of cement. The only decorative element that remains is the intricate pattern of triangular folds supporting the three domes. Those in the central hall are richest and certainly stress the focal function of this room. This ornamental pattern is very rich and belongs to the best of its kind in the Balkans. It remains preserved almost untouched. The Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos is built of a coarse but forceful kind of cloisonné work mixed with alternating courses of large boulders and courses of brick. The bricks are very large, 44 or 45 cm long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 cm thick, a feature which indicates the great antiquity of the building.

Originally both of the lateral rooms were finished with a façade crowned by a tympanon which was covered by cornice of saw teeth. Beneath the tympanon the end of the vaults are made visible by a slightly protruding pointed arch (see photograph). Today the façade of the northern wing is missing, wrapped in the concrete of the machinery hall. The one on the south side is still intact. The oratory has a similar sort of tympanon façade, very well preserved and well visible from the outside since the rubbish was cleared out. At the spot where the upward lines of the cornice meet, slightly above the decorative arch which enlivens the plain rear wall, is a small niche in which a stone sculpture is placed, representing a female head. This must be a spoil from some sort of Classical Greek ruin. The use of such sculpture in a building as the Imaret strongly reminds us of the Seljuk practices.

The drums of the three domed sections of the building have no frieze or cornice of any kind. The roof of unusually large tiles (of the same kind as at the Eski Cami) rest immediately on the upper

²⁴ For this building see : Katharina Otto-Dörn, *Das islamische Iznik*, Berlin, 1941, p. 52-59; or : Ayverdi I, p. 320-328.

end of the masonry. The old covering has been preserved almost untouched.

Another remarkable feature is the fact that the central part of the original façade of the building is not built of cloisonné but of fine-grained soft green sandstone. This façade is continued upward and partly mask the central dome. It is thus a kind of screen, higher and more monumental than the façades of the lateral rooms. It is crowned by a richly profiliated cornice of the same material, all doubtless belonging to the original building because it is structurally one unit with the other masonry. The cornice has suffered badly from the actions of the weather because the green sandstone is much softer than the brick and boulders of the cloisonné. I should add that the stone is of the same kind as that used at a number of historical buildings in the town of Keşan in Turkish Thrace and is certainly quarried locally, somewhere between both places.

It is very difficult to find out what kind of porch or portico originally stood in front of the building as it is today. Such a porch is an almost obligatory element in Ottoman buildings of this kind. One could suggest a porch of the kind as preserved at the Yakub Çelebi Zaviyesi in Iznik²⁵, built in the 1380's by the Ottoman prince of that name, who perished in the struggle for the throne after the Battle of Kossovo (May 1389). We have reconstructed it tentatively on our plan, following that scheme. However, it is very well probable that we have to imagine another kind of porch. Such as the one in front of the famous Nilufer Imaret in Iznik, built in 1388 by Murad I to honour his deceased mother Nilufer Hatun. Yet this porch is very high and if such an element had stood in front of the Gümülcine building the monumental sandstone screen we see today would make little sense. Hence we have to look for another form, lower and less monumental. Some elderly workmen from the power station remembered some sort of domed structure that once stood in front of the present building. They were not certain, alas about the exact form when we asked them about it in 1972. Yet there must have been some sort of porch because the main central hall opens directly towards the front side by a wide arch, built of finely cut and polished sandstone. Precisely on this part of the building it is impossible to

25 Otto-Dorn, Iznik, p. 60-63 : Ayverdi, I, p. 328-332.

carry out any kind of excavation or further investigation because of the vast concrete hall affixed against the old front of the Imaret and the fact that the floor is of solid concrete. Only if these ugly additions are removed, will the traces in the masonry on places where arches or walls of the porch joined the main building become visible and allow us to make definite reconstruction.

Excavation is also needed if we want to know the place where the minaret of the building once stood. Nobody seems to remember that locally.

It has often been said that the T-plan buildings were originally not mosques at all, but were buildings with a socio-religious function in which the section designed for the prayers was but a modest one. For the same reason buildings of this kind had no minaret at all. It has been suggested by some that the members of the Akhi brotherhood of early-Ottoman were housed in this kind of building but this idea is rejected vehemently by others. It is at least certain that the institution once housed in the so-called «Imaret» decayed in the classical Ottoman period. Only at that time, in the course of the 16th century, the pond in the central hall was removed, the floors were made of one level and all the space gained was used as prayer room. In many cases the walls that had separated the guestrooms from the central hall were torn down. In the beautiful «Imaret Camii» of the Bulgarian city of Plovdiv (Filibe) built in 1444 by the Beylerbey of Rumeli, Sihabuddin Pasha²⁶, the traces of the old separating walls and the deeper floor of the central section were discovered when the building was restored by the Bulgarian Institute for Monuments of Culture. In the fine old Turkish city of Skopje (Üsküb) in Yugoslav Macedonia the so-called «Alaca Imaret» built in 1438 by Ishak Bey we still find an inscription marking such a kind of transformation of the old imaret into a mosque²⁷. This took place in the year 925 (1519). Both well dated monuments do have a minaret. The older, 14th century «Imarets» did not. Perhaps we may

²⁶ The most detailed and best illustrated description of this building is that in Ayverdi, II, p. 479-485.

²⁷ Idem, Ayverdi, II, p. 557-563, also: H.W. Duda, *Balkantürkischen Studien*, in *Sitzungsberichte Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 226, Wien, 1949.

assume that a minaret was added to the Gümülcine building when it was definitely transformed into a mosque. What happened to its hospitable kitchen, praised so eloquently by Idris Bitlisi and Hoca Sa'ed-din (thus still in function by that time) is difficult to say. Very probably the actual cooking took place in a separate building, of which no trace remains today. We may perhaps think of a solution as is still to be seen in Edirne, at the Yıldırım İmaretî, or the İmaret of Havza near Amasya, built in 833 (1429/30), both having a separate building standing somewhat apart from the main one²⁸.

As a whole the Evrenos İmaretî of Gümülcine appears to us as a smaller and less elaborate version of the great Nilufer İmaretî in Iznik. The oratory section in Gümülcine is considerably smaller and less elaborate than the Iznik building but there is a striking similarity between the lateral rooms of both buildings. They are in fact wings. I know of no other examples in Ottoman architecture of such wings, placed in a position as at Iznik and Gümülcine. Yet it would be false to regard the building in the Thracian town as a copy of the one in Iznik because it must be a decade or more older.

Among the Muslim community of Gümülcine (about half of the total population) the wish is cherished to transform the empty building into a Museum of Folklore of the Muslim Community of Western Thrace and restore the building in its original form. The wish to restore the venerable old building is cherished also among the Greek Archeological Service and in intellectual circles in Greece but as long as the politicians determine what is done in the field of culture this plan will remain a plan for a very long time. Meanwhile the building is protected by law and cannot be torn down at random.

*Khan of Evrenos Bey in the village of Ilca/Loutra*²⁹.

The last early Ottoman building I would like to discuss here is a large and monumental khan which still stands largely as it did 600 years ago in the hamlet of Loutra, known in the past as Ilca. This village is situated in the plain of the Maritsa River about halfway

28 See Ayverdi, I, p. 494, and II, p. 497-503.

29 Also known as «İlcaköy» or «Fere(cik) İlcası» in Turkish and «Therma Loutra» or «Loutra Traianopoleos» in Greek usage.

between Alexandropolis (Dedeğaç) and Ferai (Ferecik), a few hundred metres to the north of the modern road to Turkey. This is the site of the Antique city of Traianopolis, which disappeared in the early Middle Ages. The modern Greek and the Turkish name for the tiny village of today is connected with the strong springs of mineral water. Ghazi Evrenos must have selected this site for the construction of a khan because of the presence of this source. In the course of time an excursion spot (*mesiregâh*) of fame developed around the springs and the khan. The Grand Vizier of Bayezid II, Koca Davud Pasha constructed two domed bath houses (*kaplıca*) over these springs, one reserved for women and one for men. Both are still standing in a ruined condition. Hadschi Chalfa (Katib Çelebi) mentions the baths and their founder and adds that the khan near the baths was a work of Evrenos Bey³⁰. More information on the group of buildings is to be found in the work of Hibri Efendi, the historian of Edirne³¹. Hibri visited the place in 1037 (1627/28). He gives basically the same information about the baths and the khan but adds that in the summer the people of Edirne went with 200 waggons to these baths. These visits seem to have continued throughout the Ottoman period. The *Sâlnâme* of the Edirne Vilâyeti of 1310 (1892/93) mentions that the baths were situated two hours travelling time from Dedeğaç and that they were visited by thousands of people, especially in the middle of May and in August. The *Sâlnâme* also mentions Davud Pasha as the builder of the two baths and Ghazi Evrenos of the khan next to them. At that time the khan was in decay and only preserved as a monument and a sight³².

It is not clear why this important group of buildings escaped the attention of the historians of art so long. Perhaps are misled by the modern Greek mis-identification of the building. The local historian Samothrakes wrote a short article on the khan in 1943³³. He

30 Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, (transl. by J. von Hammer), Wien, 1812, p. 68.

31 Hibri 'Abdurrahman Efendi, *Enis ül-Müsâmirin*, Manuscript Vienna, fol. 34r. For the author and his work see for example : M. Tayyib Gökbiçgin, *Edirne Hakkında Yazılmış Tarihler*, in : *Edirne'nin 600. Fethi* etc. p. 77-117.

32 *Sâlnâme*, p. 566.

33 A. Samothrakes, *Traianopolis*, in : *Thrakika*, 18, 1943, p. 177 vv.

identified the building as a Roman road station, «a station where horses could be changed.» If we bear in mind that the history of art of the Ottoman period was hardly known at the time Samothrakes wrote and the very existence of Ottoman architecture, a style with a code of aesthetics of its own and a complex historical background, is still not accepted in many Greek circles, this mis-interpretation is wholly understandable. Samothrakes' study became the basis for the actions of the Greek Archeological Service, which long ago became the owner of the building, protects it against further decay and has carried out some important works of restoration and conservation on the building. For years this «Roman Stage Post» has sheltered as a lapidarium the archaeological finds of old Traianopolis. As such it appears in tourist guides. Yet it is immediately obvious that this building is not Roman but early Ottoman.

The khan as we see it today is composed of two different sections. The first section is now partly in ruins. The eastern façade has collapsed, as has the heavy barrel vault that once covered the room. The second part of the building is the largest. It is a spacious hall measuring 10.20x25.80 metres and covered by an impressive barrel vault. This vault is strengthened by two heavy arches which divide the room in three equal sections. They rest on four engaged piers which form one structural unit with the lateral walls. The hall is almost entirely preserved, largely untouched. The masonry of the interior is left unplastered. It is a coarse kind of cloisonné or broken stone in the vertical walls and brick for the barrel vault. The engaged pillars and the supporting arches of the vault are made of fine yellowish sandstone which forms a pleasant contrast with the other colours of the building materials used. The arches spring from profiliated cushions of a form never seen in the architecture of Antiquity. This alone should have warned the archeologists that we are here confronted with a building of a different period.

The monumental hall is lit by three windows in the short lateral wall. Two large ones in an upper row and a slit window at ground level, doubtless made so narrow for the sake of safety.

The hall was once equipped with three fireplaces, one in each of the three sections of the long southern wall. In the course of time this particular wall crumbled and lost its original facing. When the

architects of the Greek Archeological Service restored the building (in the 1960's) they mistook the deep niches of the fireplaces for the fireplaces for blocked up windows and opened them. They constructed round arches of thin bricks over the newly made hollows, in a manner resembling Byzantine church windows. The greater part of the half crumbled wall received on that occasion a new facing of cloisonné, which was executed in the most exemplary manner. The upper part of the wall was left more or less as it was: decayed and a bit crumbling. This method of restoration conforms with the most modern principles: an old monument or ruin has to keep something of its character as an old building, weather beaten for many centuries. An old building should not be restored in such a manner that it looks brand new. Many architects in South-Eastern Europe, including Turkey, should learn from example of respecting the character of an old monument and at the same time protect it against further decay.

This principal was also upheld with the first room of the building. This was in ruins for a long time and was left as it was. In fact this was the room which was designed basically for the travellers. It measures 8.50x10.20 and was equipped with four fireplaces. The traces of the latter remain well visible in the ruined walls. A door in the separation wall once led to the main hall, which must have been reserved principally for the animals. Men might have used the hall on cold winter days and the three fireplaces would have been built for such occasions. The once finely profiliated gate in the separation wall built of yellow limestone, is ruined now. That this wall is a part of the original design can be seen in the way the masonry is joined with the lateral walls of the building, and by the manner in which the capitals carrying the relieving arches fit into the masonry. The room once ended in the same manner as the main hall, with a short wall crowned by a tympanon and a cornice of saw teeth of brick work in the same manner as the three façades of the Evrenos Bey Imaret in Gümülçine. In this wall was a portal crowned with a slab of stone on which an arabic inscription was carved. This inscription must have been seen by the old Ottoman geographers who mentioned the khan as a work of Evrenos Bey. Samothrakes saw this inscription still in situ in the 1930's and took a photograph of it. Alas, in 1937 the façade collapsed and took the inscription with

it. In spite of the repeated efforts of Samothrakes it was not possible to retrieve the valuable epigraphical monument. In his Traianopolis study of 1943 Samothrakes wrote : A Turkish inscription of the 14th century was chiseled by order of Evrenos Pasha. A photograph of it will be published in the next issue of (the review) *Thrakika*»³⁴. Unfortunately this was prevented by the circumstances created by the Second World War. Our own endeavours to locate the Samothrakes documentation remained fruitless. However, the combination of the Ottoman evidence and the observations of this deserving local historian combined makes it sure enough that we are here confronted with a monument closely linked with the earliest part of Ottoman history on the Balkans. Perhaps a date somewhere around 1375-1385 might be suggested for this building. This makes it the oldest Ottoman khan of the Balkans and one of the earliest of its kind in general.

As a building the Evrenos Bey Khan is related to some works of early Ottoman architecture in the north western part of Anatolia. The general idea is the same as at the oldest part of the Döğer Han near Ihsaniye in the province of Afyonkarahisar, which is undated³⁵. The principal difference is the entrance, which in the Thracian building is situated in one of the short walls whereas in Döğer Han it is placed in the middle of the long side wall and is preceded by a portico. The khan of Evrenos Bey is almost identical with the Khan of Ghazi Mihal Bey in the village of Gölpazar near Bilecik³⁶ in the ancestral lands of the early Ottomans. This well preserved works is dated by an inscription, still at its place, between the years 818-821 (1415-1418) Also as to size the two buildings are similar and the Gölpazar building could just as well be regarded as a replica of the building of Ghazi Evrenos. Our type of building finds its source of inspiration in the vast covered halls of the Anatolian Seljuk khans

34 *idem*, p. 179.

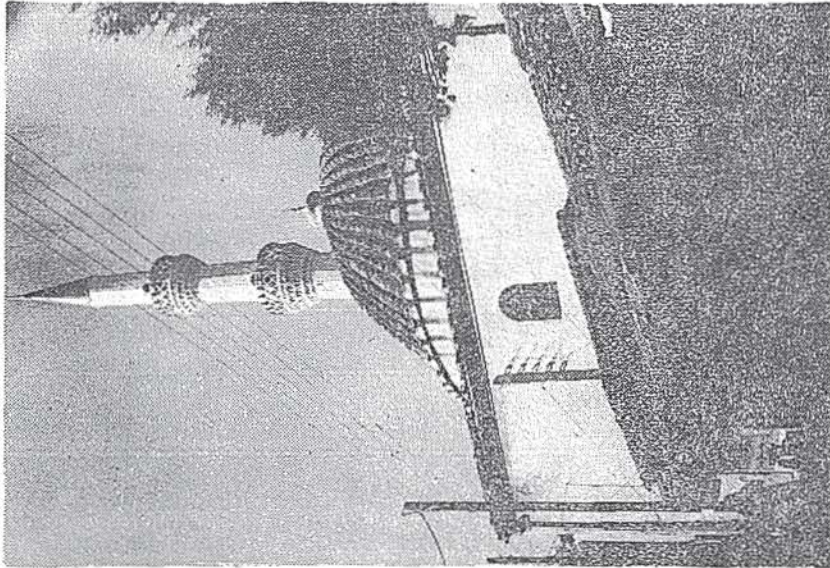
35 For Döğer Han see : Halim Baki Kunter, *Bilinmeyen bir kervansaray tipi Döğer Han* (full text also in English), in : *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VIII, Ankara, 1969, p. 227-229; and : *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler*, Vol I, Ankara, 1972, p. 177-178.

36 See : Ayverdi, II, p. 170-171; or : *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler*, vol II, Ankara, 1977, p. 81-83.

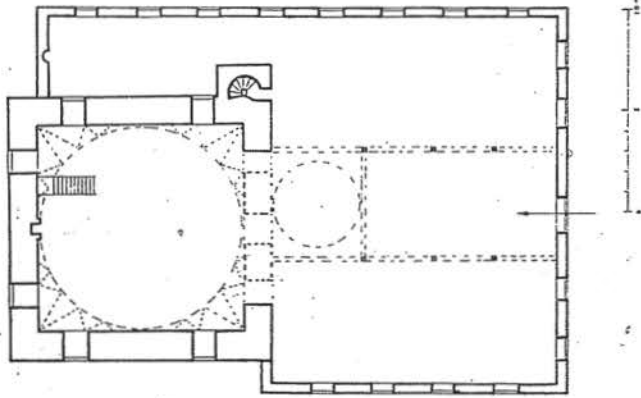
of the 13 th century such as Eshab-i Kehf Khan near Elbistan, the Mama Hatun Khan in Tercan near Erzurum or the Kırkgöz Khan near Antalya. In these khans we see barrel vaulted and single-ised halls which are larger than the cloistered courtyard of the building and can be regarded as individual units. Independently, as a building of its own we see the single-ised barrel vaulted khans at Sarafşa near Alanya and the Ortapayam Khan between Antalya and Beyşehir. As to general proportions and relation between length and width the buildings of Ghazi Evrenos and of Gölpazar come very close to to the Ortapayam Khan and to the great hall of the Kırkgöz Khan³⁷. The relationship is evident.

The existence of a type of khan almost 40 years older than the hitherto oldest known example of this kind is of importance as a link between the Seljuk and the early Ottoman works. That the oldest kind of khans of this type are found on European soil shows how early the Ottomans were busy transplanting their emerging art to the Balkans and how much this art was connected with the great culture of the Anatolian Seljuks. In the historiography of the arts in the Balkans this point is not sufficiently realised. That buildings such as the Evrenos Bey Khan in Ilıcaköy and the remarkable Imaret of Gümülcine could remain unknown so long tells us how little we still know of the art of the Ottoman Balkans.

37 There is substantial literature on the Seljuk kervanserais. I cite only : Kurt Erdmann, *Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, two vols, Berlin, 1961. For Eshab-i Kehf see also : A. Tükel, *Alara Hanın Tanıtılması*, in: *Belleten TTK*, No. 33, 1969, p. 460, plan 21.



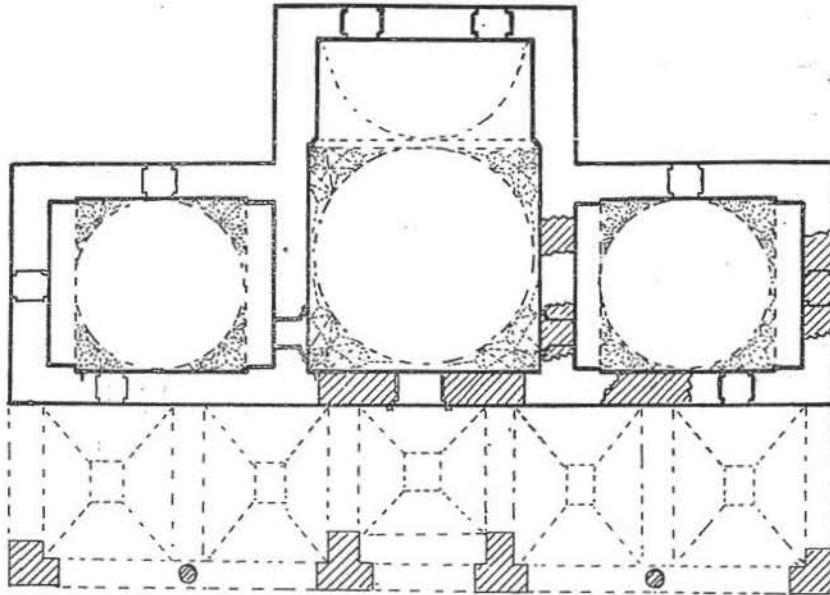
1 *Gümülrine*, Eski Cami, late 14th century (minaret and plaster work 19th, early 20th century).



GÜMÜLCINE -- Komotini, Eski Cami

— = original 14th century parts

- - - = mid 19th century additions M.K. '82

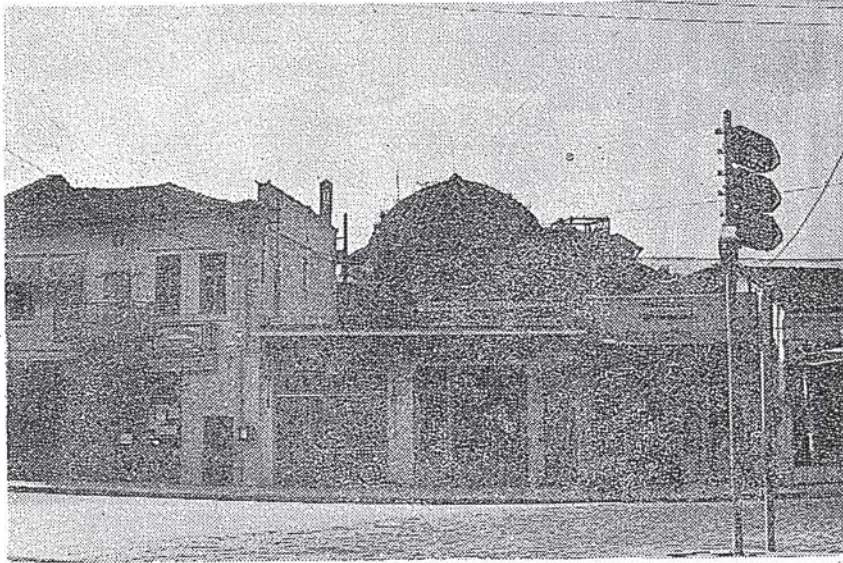


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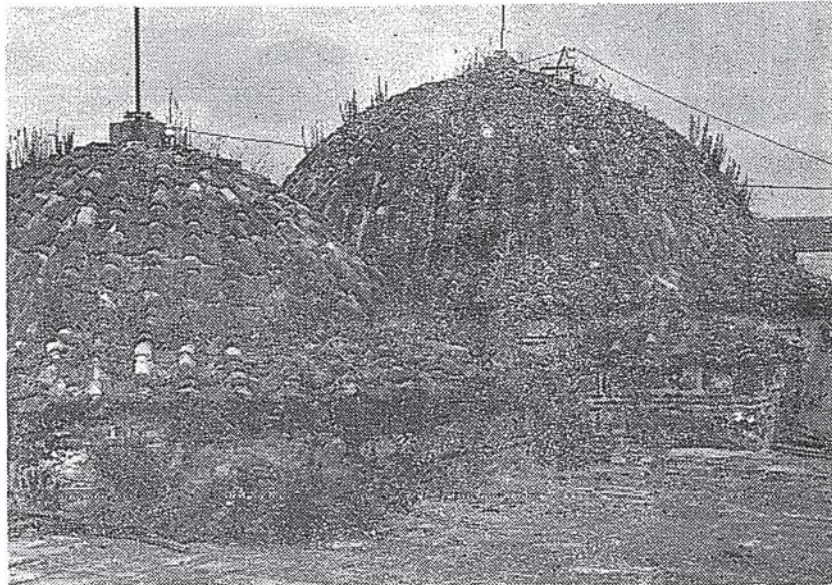
GÜMÜLCİNE-Komotini (Greek Thrace)
Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos Bey

□ = existing parts

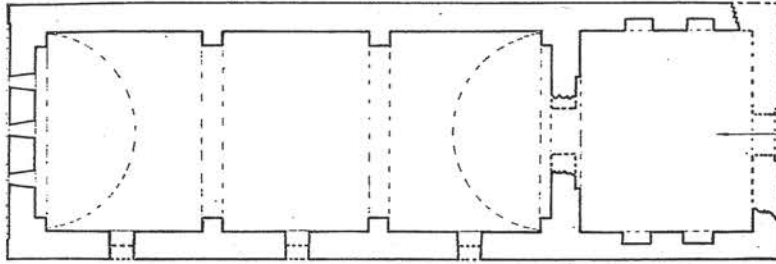
▨ = hypothetic reconstruction M.K.'82.



2 *Gümülçine*, Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century, general view.

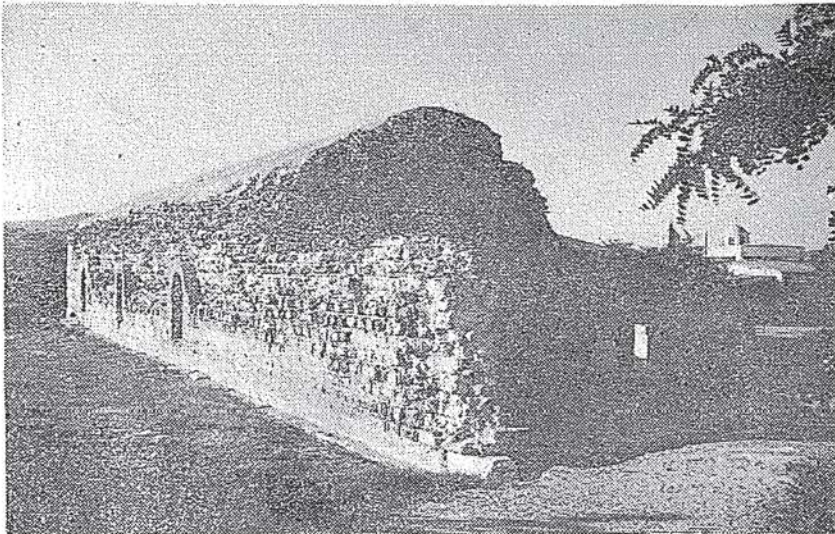


3 *Gümülçine*, Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century, view of the domes of the central hall and one of the lateral rooms.

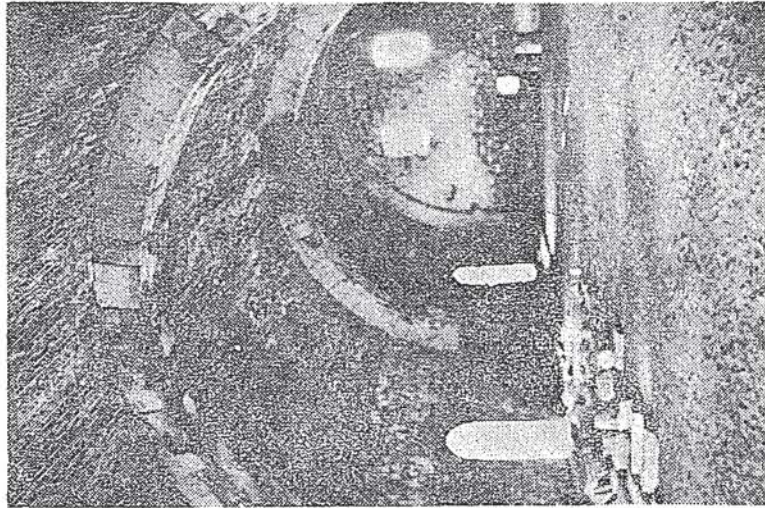


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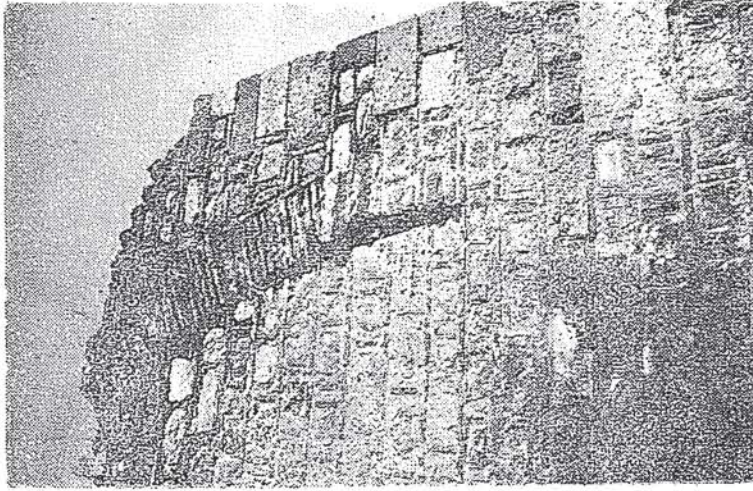
Ilica-Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey
M.K. '82.



4 *Ilica* - Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century, general view.



5 *Itca* - Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century. Interior view.



7 *Itca* - Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century, detail of western façade.



6 *Thca* - Loutra, Khan of Ghazi Evrenos Bey, late 14th century, detail of the masonry.