Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi'nin hâtırasına

OSMANLI MİMARLIK KÜLTÜRÜ

hazırlayanlar
Hatice Aynur
A. Hilâl Uğurlu

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Machiel Kiel*

THE ZAVİYE AND KÜLLİYE OF MİHALOĞLU MAHMUD BEY IN İHTİMAN IN BULGARIA, SECOND OLDEST OTTOMAN MONUMENT IN THE BALKANS

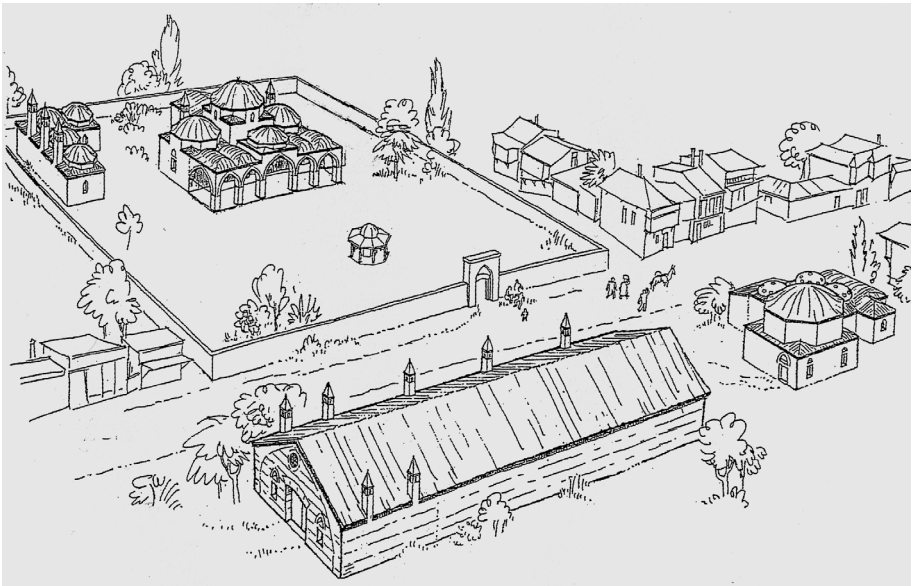
Problems about its function and date of construction, its place in the line of development of the so-called Zaviyeli Cami, and the immediate danger of its complete collapse and destruction.

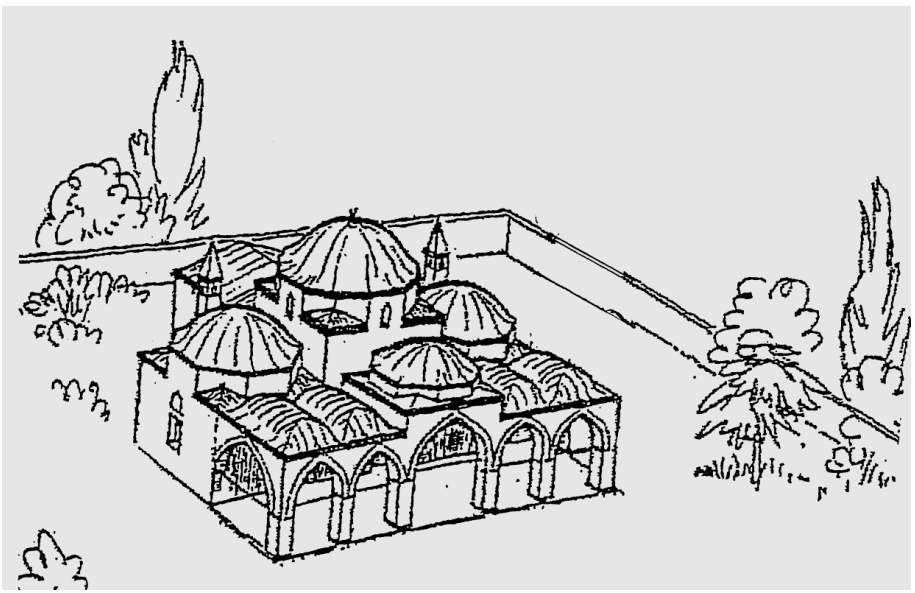
The Zaviye-Imaret of Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey in the town of İhtiman on the road between Sofia and Plovdiv (Filibe) in the middle of Bulgaria, is the second oldest monument in the entire Balkans (excluding Turkish Thrace). A decade or two older is the Gazi Evrenos Imaret in the town of Komotini (Gümülcine) in Northern Greece. The so-called Eski Cami in the Bulgarian Haskovo (Hasköy) – between Filibe and Edirne – is held to be from the 1380s, but is in fact the product of a total reconstruction in the late 18th century. The Ottoman inscription on the building is a crude 18th century fake. The İhtiman building is most likely from the last decade of the 14th century (for the argumention see below).

The İhtiman building served the *Via Militaris* from Belgrade via Sofia, Plovdiv (Filibe) and Edirne to Constantinople (İstanbul) and is often mentioned by the travelers from the past, who lodged there free of charge and received free meals and fodder for their animals. The staff of the building and its dependencies includ-

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EKREM HAKKI AYVERDİ'NİN HÂTIRASINA
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HAZIRLAYANLAR HATİCE AYNUR-A. HİLAL UĞURLU
(İSTANBUL: KUBBEALTI, 2016)





ed cooks, bakers, cleaners, cellar master, door keeper, secretary and administrator. The salaries of the staff (in 1526 14 persons) and the amounts of rice, wheat, meat, butter, oil, honey, salt, etc. are mentioned in detail in the *tahrir defter* of the district of Sofia, T.D, 130 from 932 (1526) and in T.D. 370 from 937 (1530). The income of the pious foundation (*vakf*), needed for its upkeep and the services it provided came from three sources: of the yearly tax revenue of the little town of İhtiman, of three old Bulgarian settlements, and of 15 villages with Turkish names and Muslim inhabitants. The latter were Turkish colonists from Anatolia and for an important part settled yürüks. The original *vakıf-nâme*, or *vakfiye* has not (yet) been found but the data given by the *tahrir*s from 1526, 1544, 1570 and 1595 give sufficient information to see how the *vakf* functioned in that time.[1]

The preserved buildings, the so-called mosque, or 'Džamiyeto' in Bulgarian, and the remarkable hamam, are not unknown to the scientific world. In 1921 the Bulgarian art historian Krăstyu Miyatev wrote a small study about it, pleading for restoration or maintenance, and added a photograph showing the building largely intact, including a high minaret that had visibly been added later and was not bound with the masonry of the main building. In 1975 Semavi Eyice wrote a very rich article on the building,[1] my self in 2000 and 2007,[2] Mariya Kiprovska in 2009 (on-line study) and Aleksandar Antonov in 2010 and 2012,[3] and Stephen Lewis in 2010,[4] Ayverdi in his 'Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri'[5] only mentioned the building but could not see or study it. In spite of all this a number of elements

1 Semavi Eyice, 'Sofya yakınında İhtiman'da Gazi Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey İmaret Camii,' *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası* 5, no. 2 (1975): 49-61.

2 Machiel Kiel, *Bulgaristan'da Osmanlı Dönemi Kentsel Gelişmesi ve Mimari Anıtları* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000), 138; Machiel Kiel, "Four Provincial Imarets in the Ottoman Balkans, Ihtiman, Kačanik, Kyustendil and Mitylini," *Feeding People - Feeding Power: The Imaret System in Ottoman Empire*, ed. Christoph Neumann-Amy Singer (Istanbul: Eren Kitabevi, 2007), 96-120.

3 Aleksandar Antonov Aleksandar, "Zaviya Mahmud-Bega u Ihtimanu," *Naučno djelo Akademnika Branislava Djurdjeva, Posebno Izdanja Knjiga* 103 (Sarajevo: Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 2010): 125-39; Machiel Kiel, "The Development of Early Ottoman Architecture on Bulgarian Territory: Mahmud Bey's Imaret in Ihtiman," *Études Balkaniques* 48, no. 4 (Sofia, 2012): 88-117.

4 Stephen Lewis, "The Ottoman Architectural Patrimony of Bulgaria Revisited: Infrastructure, Intentionality, and the Genesis and Survival of Monuments," *Monuments, Patrons, Contexts, Paper on Ottoman Europe Presented to Machiel Kiel*, ed. Maximilian Hartmuth (Leiden, 2010), 143-70 (İhtiman on p.163-64 and especially Ill. 9.)

5 Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri* (İstanbul, 1966)





remained un-discussed or were not observed or understood. Most important, however, is the present condition of the building: it is on the verge of collapse! The main dome of the building collapsed after 1970, almost half the barrel vault of the *eyvan* went in the 1980s. The minaret had already disappeared shortly after 1940. The newest development was the crumbling of the last piece of masonry that keeps the dome of one of the two guest rooms standing. In June 2014 only a piece of one meter still held up the dome but vandals keep cutting away bricks from this vitally important section. The Municipality of İhtiman did not move a finger and the people of the İhtiman Museum of History and Ethnology, very much in favour of a restoration, have hardly money enough to keep their Museum working. If we really want to save this monument immediate action should be taken. Alas, until now the Municipality stubbornly rejected proposals and in June 2014 the mayor of the town even said to us that '*the best thing that could happen is that the building collapses on its own*.'

Although commonly called 'the Mosque' originally, in the first century and a half of its existence, the building was no mosque at all! It is not orientated to Mecca (here: south-East) but to due South! and it has no *mihrab* at all. On the plan of the building as given by Eyice a *mihrab* is drawn at the place where one usually can expect it: the rear wall of the *eyvan*. What we see on the building is a plain wall with no trace of any *mihrab* whatsoever. The plan of Eyice also has a minaret as structurally bound with the rest of the masonry. In a remark about the difficult working condition in late-communist Bulgaria Eyice explains that he could not see the interior of the building. The plan of the building was drawn by Yılmaz Önge on





the basis of Eyice's sketches. Önge himself had not been in İhtiman. This explains why there are considerable differences between the actual building and the 'Eyice plan.' It should be added that Eyice was convinced that the İhtiman building was from the earliest times of the Ottoman Empire.

The building as we see it today is a good representative of the group of buildings called T-Plan Mosques, or 'multi-functional buildings' or 'Zaviyeli Mosques' where the central domed congregation room is on both sides flanked by domed, of barrel vaulted annex rooms. In some cases these side rooms are separated from the main domed hall by walls and are accessible by doors, or have a small corridor leading to them. In other cases the separating walls have been removed at a later date, when the side rooms were added to the main prayer room to gain space





to accommodate the growing number of Muslims. This must have taken place in the advanced years of the 16th century in the later years of Sultan Süleyman and his drive to a greater 'sunnification' of his empire. Originally the side rooms must have been reserved to lodge the travelers and the guests. Some of the T-Plan buildings still have fireplaces and chimneys in these guest rooms still preserved. In İhtiman, after the thick coats of plaster of the right side room fell off, together with some masonry, a well preserved chimney became visible. The one that once was on the left side room has collapsed long ago.

Near the Zaviye of Mahmud Bey, but not directly connected with it, must have been a separate kitchen building. In the zaviye itself there were no facilities to cook. Several Early Ottoman kitchen buildings are still preserved. As examples can be mentioned two famous Early Ottoman buildings: in the *külliye* of the Yeşil Cami of Mehmed I in Bursa (completed 1419) and that of his son and successor Murad II (1428) also in Bursa. The latter is again functioning, meaningfully transformed into a nice 'Ottoman style' restaurant. A less famous one is near the strange 'Zaviye-Mosque' of Yıldırım Bayezid in Edirne, from 1399-40. A similar kitchen building and bakery was standing to the left of the 'Mosque' of Gazi Mihal on the bank of the Tundza river in Edirne from 1422. This kitchen building disappeared half a century ago, when the river dike of the Tundza was made. Some old photographs of it remain preserved. A part of the annex buildings of Mahmud Bey in İhtiman is a sizeable hamam, which is mentioned in the 16th century *tahrir*s as one of the sources of income for the zaviye. This hamam survived the centuries, still worked in the 1960s and was magnificently restored in the 1970s by the Bulgarian Institute for Monuments of Culture.

It took art historians long to realize that most of the T-shaped buildings were originally no mosques at all. Their function was to house members of a religious brotherhood, the chivalrous Akhi brotherhood of the early centuries of the empire who saw it as its main task to offer hospitality to travelers of all creeds, 'rich or poor, Muslim, Christian or Zoroastrian,' as the travelers of East and West mention. The same building type was often also called 'Imaret' in the sense of soup kitchen. On the monumental inscriptions above their main entrances these buildings are never called 'mosque' or 'mesdjid,' but have names like Dârü'l-Hayr, Dar ar-Ref'i, Buk'at'ş-Şerîfât, Mekânu'l-Mübârak, or İmaret or İmâretü'l-Mübârek. In the foundation charter (vakfiye) of the great 'Mosque' of İsa Bey in Skopje (Üsküp) the building is called 'Hanikah' but on the main inscription 'İmâretü'ş-Şerîfâtü'l-Mübârek. In the same *vakfiye* the leading person of the staff of this building was called 'Akhi' (hânikahin akhisi). An older example of an Akhi as head of an imaret is the Imaret of Gazi Evrenos in the Greek-Macedonian town of Serres *vakfiye*. The building disappeared long ago but its vakfiye is preserved and was recently published. In the *tahrir* defters the same person is often called Şeyhü'l-İmâret. So it is also mentioned in the records about the İhtiman zaviye. Finally many of these buildings originally had no minaret. On a number of T-plan buildings we can still see how the minaret was added to the building, sometimes in a rather awkward manner, best visible on the Gazi Mihal Camii in Edirne when one tries to climb up to the balcony (şerefe) of the tower. Sedat Emir even published the copy of a Sultanic order from 1594 stating that a minaret was about to be built on Murad II's 'Mosque' in Bursa.[6] Ayverdi in volume II of his great work *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri* published an extract of the same order in 1972. The text does not concern a repair but a new construction which was *bina etmek üzere*.

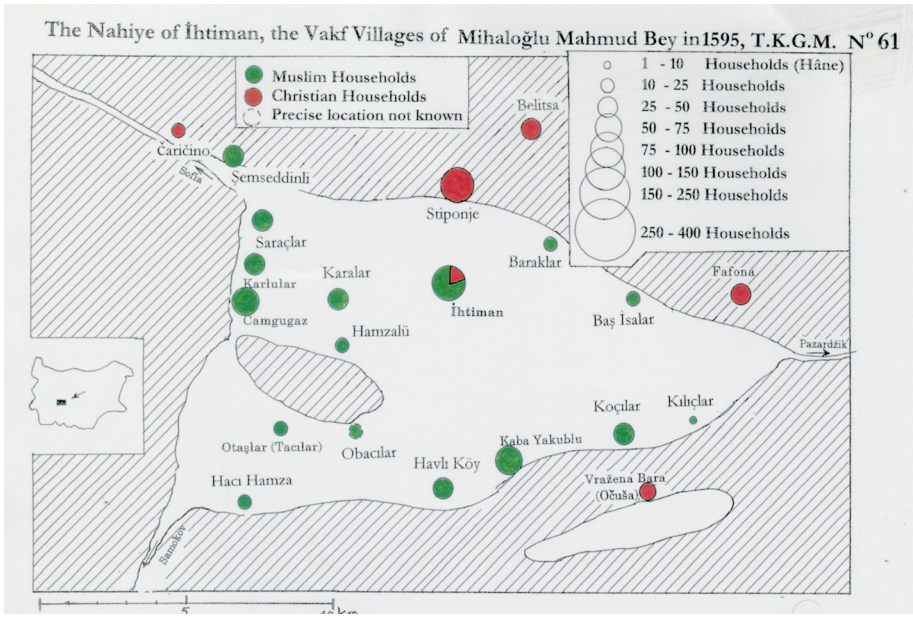
Around the year 1500 the old Akhi brotherhood slowly disappeared, its member finding a new spiritual home in the reformed Bektashi brotherhood or were incorporated in the guilds, the Esnaf. Their old buildings, either called Zaviye, or Imaret lost their function as place to host travelers. In most cases the walls separating the guest rooms from the main congregational hall are broken away. To keep the building

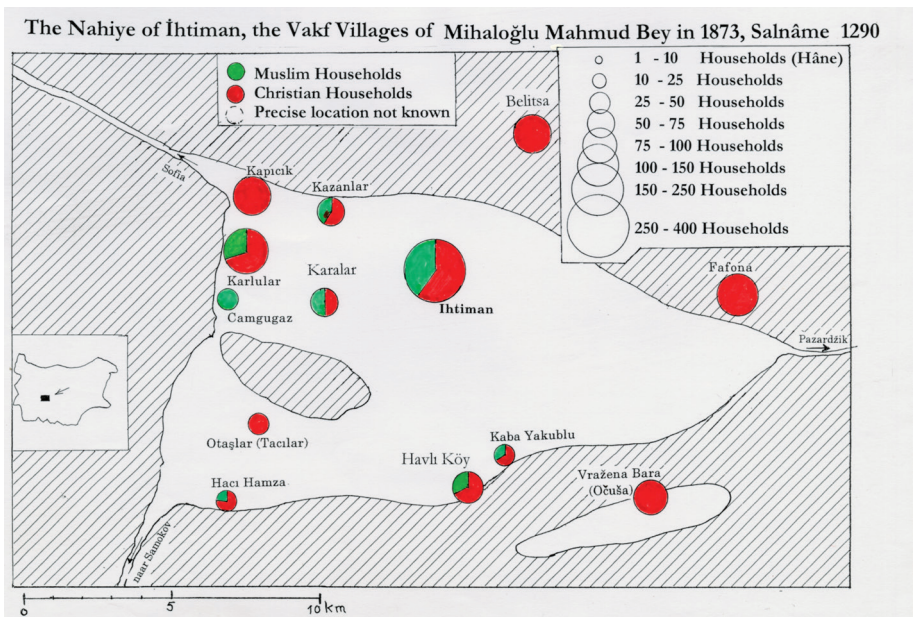
6 Sedat Emir, 'Reconstructing a Early Ottoman Building: the Zawiya of Murad II in Bursa,' in *Mélanges Prof. Machiel Kiel*, ed. Abdeljelil Temimi (Zaghouan: FTERSI, 1999), 269-98, (the text on the construction of the minaret on p. 276 and 298).

standing a relieving arch was built to shoulder the load of the domes. When the great 'Imaret-Cami' (from 1444) in Plovdiv (Filibe) was restored the traces of the old separating walls became visible, as did the remains of the water pond below the main dome of the former congregational hall. When a part of the coats of plaster on the interior walls of the İhtiman building fell off (in the 1980s) it became visible that the arch between the main hall and the lateral spaces had rather awkwardly been improvised. At the same time the chimney of the former right guestroom became visible. There are a number of T-Plan buildings where the lateral walls were broken away an relieving arches were built, but this has not been realized by many who wrote about these buildings. Good examples are the Alaca Imaret in Skopje (Üsküp) from 1435 or the great Mosque of Sultan Bayezid II here in Istanbul. In both cased the form of the arches is round and not pointed arched as it should be, and the arches themselves are 'squinting, cross-eyed' and irregular, showing the difficulty the builders had.

The transformation of the İhtiman zaviye to mosque must have taken place between 1526 and 1544. The first *tahrir* describing İhtiman, from 1526, does not have a İmam-Hatip on the list of the staff. In 1544 he is there. At this time the minaret must have been added and a khan built opposite the old zaviye to accommodate the travelers. This was called the Bey Khan. The travel accounts from the 16th and 17th century go on to mention that the travelers passing İhtiman slept in 'Turkish Hotel' or in a 'Turkish Church.' Western language had no word to describe Zaviye, İmaret or Cami. In daily speech the buildings are still called İmaret Camii, Yeşil İmaret (in Tire) or Alaca İmaret (in Selanik). In the incompletely preserved *tahrir* of the Sofia district, written in 1519-20 (T.D. 82, p. 335) the building of Mahmud Bey in İhtiman is called 'Zâviye-i Mahmûd Bey veled-i Mihal Bey.' This is well before the transformation into mosque. The register of 1595 still calls it 'Zaviye.' In İznik the Zaviye of Yakub Pasha, son of Murad I (1380-1389) was still called 'Zaviye' when Catharina Otto-Dorn was doing her research at the spot (1935). Until now this particular building kept its guest rooms separated from the main building and also has the original hearts and chimneys still in place.

All what was said above is not new and unknown but should be mentioned briefly in this context. The last word about the real function of the T-Plan buildings has not been said. To mention one aspect only: not all these served the Akhi brotherhood. Those in Tire (Yeşil Imaret from 1440-41 and Muradiye in Edirne (1435) were originally Mevlevi-hânes, as is also well known.


The Nahiye of İhtiman, the Vakf Villages of Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey in 1595, T.K.G.M. N° 61
Muslim Households
Christian Households
Precise location not known
1 - 10 Households (Hâne)
10 - 25 Households
25 - 50 Households
50 - 75 Households
75 - 100 Households
100 - 150 Households
150 - 250 Households
250 - 400 Households
Belitsa
Čaričino
Sofia
Şemseddinli
Stiponje
Saraçlar
Baraklar
Karlular
Karalar
Fafona
İhtiman
Camgugaz
Hamzalü
Baş İsalar
Pazardžik
Koçılar
Kılıçlar
Otaşlar (Tacılar)
Obacılar
Kaba Yakublu
Havlı Köy
Hacı Hamza
Vražena Bara (Očuša)
Samakov


The Nahiye of İhtiman, the Vakf Villages of Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey in 1873, Salnâme 1290
Muslim Households
Christian Households
Precise location not known
1 - 10 Households (Hâne)
10 - 25 Households
25 - 50 Households
50 - 75 Households
75 - 100 Households
100 - 150 Households
150 - 250 Households
250 - 400 Households
Belitsa
Sofia
Kapıcık
Kazanlar
Karalar
Karlular
Ihtiman
Fafona
Camgugaz
Pazardžik
Otaşlar (Tacılar)
Kaba Yakublu
Havlı Köy
Hacı Hamza
Vražena Bara (Očuša)
Samakov
0
5
10 km



Until very recently the date of construction of the İhtiman building was accepted to be just before 1402, when Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey fell in battle against Timur (1402). İhtiman is said to have been taken by the Ottomans in 772 (1370-71), as is mentioned in several Ottoman chronicles: Sa'deddin, Katib Çelebi, Müneccimbaşı basing themselves on sources that no longer exist and noted that İhtiman and the nearby Samokov were taken by the Beylerbey of Rumeli Lala Şahin Pasha. The date '772 H./1370-71' is also accepted by one of the descendants of the Mihaloğlu clan, Mehmed Safiuddin Bey, who in 1315 (1889) wrote his *Gaazi Mihal ve Evlâd-ü Ahfadının Devlet-i Aliyeye Hidamat-i Mesbukaları.* The date they give, however, is incorrect. Well known (among Slavists) and published several times is the great royal Act of Donation of the last medieval Bulgarian Tsar, Ivan Şişman, who on 21 September 1378 donated a whole group of villages around Samokov to the great Monastery of Rila.[7] If someone is coming from Filibe (Plovdiv) and wants to go to Samokov he must pass through İhtiman. High mountains block any other way of going. This means that the Ottomans were not masters of İhtiman and Samokov before 1378.

7 Jordan Ivanov, *Bălgarski Starini iz Makedoniya* (Sofia, 1931), reprint: (Sofia, 1970), 600-01, (edition of the 1382 patent for the Monastery of Dragalevtsi near Sofia).

The first years of the 1380s are more realistic for the conquest of our district. Interesting is the remark by Sa'deddin that the population of the district accepted to become Ottoman subjects and remained in the places they were living: *halk zimmiliği kabul ettikleri için onların yerleri bırakıldı.*[8] Müneccimbaşı added that 'the people of the castle wished mercy, accepted to pay cizye and therefore were left on their places: *Kale halkı isteyip cizyeye kabul ettiğinden yerlerinde bırakıldı.*[9]

In the Byzantino-Slavic Middle Ages the mountain valley in which İhtiman lies must have been very thinly populated, which was already concluded in 1935 by Herbert Wilhelmy in his more than excellent work 'Hochbulgarien.'[10] Above the valley, on the slope of the mountain range north of İhtiman was a medieval castle called Stiponion which emerged in the 10th century under Byzantine rule. The Bulgarians called it Stiponje. The mid-12th century Arab geographer el-Idrisi calls it 'Stobuni'.[11] Around the small castle was an open settlement with the same name. During the Ottoman conquest this castle was taken by treaty. The strange name of İhtiman is explained as deriving from Ahd ve Amân, 'Treaty and Mercy.' The castle was dismantled and disappeared slowly. In the 1890s Jireček still saw at the site a field with old brick fragments laying around on many places. We visited the site of 'Stiponje' in 1991 and found nothing any more.

After the Ottoman conquest the local population of Stiponje remained where it was. In the registers of 1526 it had 91 households and was the largest settlement of the district. In 1570 it had grown to 148 households. The town of İhtiman came second, with in the year 1526 53 Muslim and 19 Christian households. Stiponje was and remained a purely Christian place up to the severe troubles during the general anarchy around 1800. The 16th century *tahrir*s mention two other settlements with a Christian population, both laying back from the plain and the Via Militaris passing through it: Fafona and Vražena Bara with in the year 1595 49 and 26 households.

8 Sadeddin Efendi, *Tacu't-Tevârih*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu (İstanbul: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı, 1974), 137-38.

9 *Müneccimbaşı Tarihi*, prepared by İsmail Erünsal (İstanbul: Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser, [n.d.]), 110.

10 Herbert Wilhelmy, *Hochbulgarien I. Die ländliche Siedlungen und die bäuerliche Wirtschaft* (Kiel: Schriften des Geographishen Instituts der Universität Kiel, 1935), 128-130.

11 K. Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien* (Praf-Wien, 1891).

Soon after the annexation of the İhtiman Valley in 1382 or in 1385 the great and strong city of Sofia was taken by the Ottomans. The date varies as 1382[12] or 1385[13] and in 1386 the important Niš in Serbia[14] was also taken. A large stretch of the main road through the Balkans was now under Ottoman control, much more traffic passed through and İhtiman greatly gained in importance. To date the construction of the Mihaloğlu Zaviye in the years shortly after 1385 is most likely. The large Plain of Sofia was relatively well populated as noted by Bertrandon de la Broquière in 1433 and needed no special attention. To consolidate their hold on the area the Ottomans settled an important group of Yürüks in the Valley of İhtiman who founded 15 villages, all relatively small. Most likely this took place under the leadership of Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey, or his father İlyas Bey. It is known that Gazi Ali Bey, the teacher (Lala) of Yıldırım Bayezid when he still was a prince, received a large part of the newly won territories after having displayed such a fervour in the Kosovo Battle. Gazi Ali Bey must have entrusted the İhtiman area to Mihaloğlu İlyas Bey, son of his (Ali Bey's) brother Balta. İlyas was the father of 'our' Mahmud Bey, who according to a long upheld view fell in 1402 in the Battle of Ankara against Timur as related in the near contemporary history *Düstûrnâme* of Enveri, which was completed in 869 (1465). On the main road, in the middle of the valley, the Mihaloğlu lords founded İhtiman and most of the new Turkish villages in the Plain. The town, still very small, became a road station between Filibe and Sofia furnished with a zaviye-imaret, a public hot bath and presumably also a caravanserai.[15]

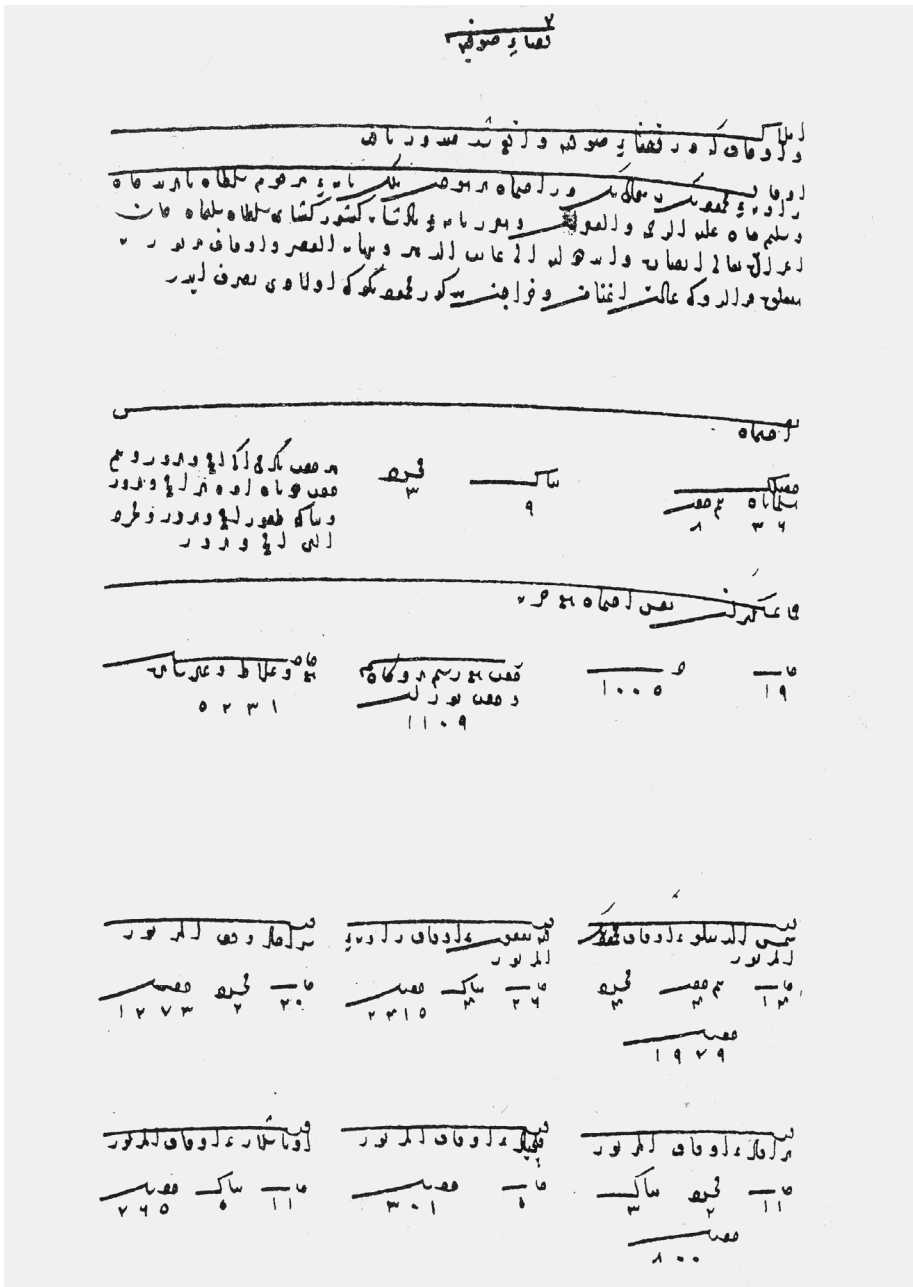
This was the picture until recently when the Bulgarian Akıncı expert Mariya Kiprovska came to other conclusions. The registers from 1519, 1526, 1544, 1570 and 1595 make it very clear that Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey received the mülknâme

12 P. Nikov, 'Turskoto zavladyavane na Bălgariya i sădbata na poslednite Šišmanovtsi,' *Izvestiya na Istoričesko Družestvo* 7-8 (Sofia, 1928), 41-112 (Sofia on p. 66). Dimităr Angelov Dimităr, *Istoriya na Bălgariya III* (Sofia, 1982), 358-60.

13 Franz Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelie 14.-15. Jahr* (München, 1944), 67; İsmail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 1 (İstanbul, 1971), 69; John V.A. Fine, *The Late-Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late-Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1987), 407.

14 Fine, Ibid, 408.

15 How the town of İhtiman and the villages in the plain developed in time is shown on different tables and two maps at the end of this article.



İhtiman, the Vakf villages of Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey in 1526.

According to T.D.370, p. 202-203, based on T.D. 130 from 932/1526.

Name of Settlement	Muslims		Christians		
	Hâne (Households)	Mücerred (Unmarried men)	Hâne (Housen.)	Mücerred (Unmarried men)	Total Tax
İhtiman-Town	53	3	19	/	5.231
Bayramlar	14	2	/	/	800
Baş İsalü	10	/	2	/	1.302
Camcugâz ma' Alagöz	10	2	cema'at-i yürükan ki karye-i mezbure zira'at ederler Hacı		1.726
Fafona, "mezra'a. Kafirs settled on the mentioned mezra'a. They pay ispence, şira and tith"			4		700
Hacı Hamza "Yürükler"	13	/	/	/	818
Havlızâdegân "Yürük"	16	1	/	/	966
İstipon (Stiponje)	1	/	90	9	13.007
Kaba Yakub	30	/	/	/	2.415
Karalar	18	20	/	/	1.475
Karlular	18	/	/	/	1.192
Kılıççılar	5	/	/	/	301
Kocılar	23	/	/	/	1.467
Mehmed Bey	8	/	/	/	509
Obacılar	11	/	/	/	642
Otaşlar	16	/	/	/	765
Saraclar	20	2	/	/	1.273
Şemseddinlü	18	4	/	/	1.979
Vražena Bara	/	/	31	/	[3.900]
TOTALS	284	34	146	11	40.468

Including 1.352 Akçe bad- havva: 41.820

According to "Cemi'-i evkaf-i Mahmud Bey al-merhum 'an Zaviye-i İhtiman: 38.044"
Total 18 villages and one town, in total 430 households of whom 67% was Muslim.

Remark: In the addition of the tax revenue in the defter shows that a considerable mistake was made.

The Vakf Villages of Ihtiman in 1595 according to the Mufassal Defter of the Paşa Livası (Ankara) TKGM No 61, fol. 356r - 364a

Village Name	Muslims household.	Muslims Bachelors	Christians Household.	Christians Bachelors	Tax Revenue
İhtiman (Kasaba)	72	7	21	6	9.334
Baraklar	25	3	/	/	2.645
Baş İsalü	21	2	3	/	2.126
Belitsa	/	/	42	28	3.585
Camcugâz Mezra'a	57	9	/	/	3.304
Čaričino	/	/	13	13 (!)	2.315
Fafona	/	/	49	23	2.079
Hacı Hamza	24	4	/	/	1.440
Havlı-i Azadegân	46	9	/	/	3.112
İstipon (= Stiponje)	/	/	88	8	6.344
Kaba Yakup	72	6	/	/	3.146
Karalar	51	3	/	/	2.530
Karlular	27	3	/	/	1.044
Kılınççılar	10	3	/	/	1.376
Kocılar	28	2	/	/	3.964
Mehmed Bey	haric-ez re'aya [its land were worked by villages nearby]				456
Obacılar	14	3	/	/	996
Otaslar	14	2	/	/	1.065
Saraçlar	29	6	/	/	2.930
Şemseddinlü	42	5	/	/	3.137
Vražene Bara	/	/	26	7	4.146
TOTALS	494	67	193	85	61.077

The two communities together had: 687 households = 72% Muslim when counted via the hâne. When counted over the nüfus: 67% Muslim. The Muslims had static or slightly declining households. The Christians had much bigger household and had grown much faster. In the long run this had great consequences. *Compare the maps of 1595 and 1873.*

Of the 20 villages 15 had Turkish and 5 Slavic names *(in Italics)*

(title deed) for İhtiman and its villages from 'the late Sultan Bayezid II' (1481-1512). On the basis of this document his successor Sultan Selim I confirmed the status. In 1526 the register mentions a *mukarrernâme* (act of confirmation) of the 'Padişah, the Conqueror of Countries, Sultan Süleyman Han.' The successors of Süleyman confirmed the status without changes. It is well known that in the last part of his rule Sultan Mehmed Fatih (1451-1481), in dear need for money to finance his wars, confiscated the vakf property of a large number of pious foundations. In texts from the time of Bayezid II this is often mentioned. Bayezid II reversed this policy by restituting the confiscated vakfs. Kiprovska tried to prove that nowhere in the sources is said that Mahmud Bey got the property of the İhtiman vakf *restituted* to him. If true this implies that the İhtiman foundations are not from the decade before 1402 but 80 years later! A better reading of the source of Enveri's text made clear that

not Mahmud fell in the Battle of Ankara, but his father İlyas.[16] This means that we have to search for another Mihaloğlu as founder of İhtiman and its zaviye, most likely Mihaloğlu İlyas Bey, son of Balta Bey.

It is, however, not difficult to show that the İhtiman building is indeed from the above mentioned late 14th century date and not from the 1480s. The argument that the sources do not mention a confiscation and later restitution of İhtiman vakf property is not convincing. There are enough cases where this took place but remained unsaid. More important, however, is what the building itself has to tell us. 'The Stones Speake' is the title of a very successful book about the pyramids of Egypt. What is needed to understand what the building tells us it is not sufficient to be a 'document fetishist' but a well-trained historian of Ottoman architecture, and better still, a builder himself. Our monument was not a mosque, as said. It is not orientated to Mecca. This is a feature of the very first T-Plan buildings, as the Nilufer İmaret in Iznik, 1388-89, Evrenos İmaret in Gümülcine, 1371-83, or Yıldırım Bayezid, Edirne, 1399-1400. Most of oldest Ottoman T-Plan buildings, and this is the strongest argument for an early date of the İhtiman building, is that they have a barrel vault (tonoz) over the rear space that was usually reserved for the prayer, a form resembling an *eyvan.* Three examples will be mentioned here and shown on the illustrations: 1) the Zaviye of Ebu Ishak from 1390. This is an archaic building where the two lateral guest rooms are also covered by barrel vaults, making it look closer to the 13th century Seljuk prototypes than an Ottoman building. Bursa has some more early T-Plan buildings an *eyvan* over the prayer section and barrel vaults over the guest rooms. 2) Çandarlı Ali Pasha's 'Mosque' must have begun shortly after he became Grand Vezier of the young empire (1387). The vakfiye is from October 1394. The two guest rooms still have their original hearths and chimneys, one in each room. 3) The 'Mosque of Demirtaş (Timurtaş) Pasha, also in Bursa is of the same plan and layout as that of Ali Pasha. Timurtaş became Beylerbeyi of Rumeli around 1388. According to his preserved gravestone he died in October 1404. It is realistic to date his building around 1390. The three buildings in Bursa are orientated towards Mecca and have an authentic mihrab. Ayverdi gave the text of a petition from 10 July

16 *Fatih Devri Kaynaklarından Düstûrnâme-i Enveri: Osmanlı Tarihi Kısmı (1299-1465),* ed. Necdet Öztürk (İstanbul: Kitapevi, 2003), 40-1.

1573 concerning the Timurtaş building where the Sultanic permission is asked 'to transform the mesdjid into a Friday Mosque.'[17]

After the decisive Battle of Nikopol (Niğbolu), 1395, the victorious Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid erected the famous Ulu Cami in the very centre of Bursa. Just before the battle he had built a large and monumental T-Plan building on an elevated place at the eastern edge of the city. It was inaugurated 1394 which makes it likely that it was begun in 1392. The building is too big and too elaborate in planning and quality of masonry that it can be built in one building season. This season lasted between Hıdrelles günü and Kasım günü, or St. George and St. Demetrius Day in Christian lore. This is between 23 April and 8 November which are almost always free of frost threatening the fresh masonry with destruction. Yıldırım's T-Plan building embodies an important step in the development of the plan. The *eyvan* over the prayer place is now covered by an imposing dome with a diameter of 11.50 meters. Instead of the barrel-vaulted guest rooms we now see two guest rooms on both sides of the main central hall. They are not flanking each other but have an open *eyvan*-like room in between them, each one covered by a dome. In this way a cross-axial building came into being. The four guest rooms do not have barrel vaults any more but mirror-vaults instead. At the İhtiman zaviye, though much smaller than Yıldırım's grand creation, part of the modernization of the plan are also used. Both lateral guest rooms have no barrel vaults anymore but sizable domes. As a relic of the past the *eyvan*-like prayer space is still covered by a barrel-vault. Yıldırım's curious 'Eski İmaret' in Edirne from 1399-1400, still has a barrel-vaulted *eyvan*, but at the same time takes over the cross-axial element of the four-five years older Bursa building. To the best of my knowledge the Gazi Mihal 'Camii' on the Tunca in Edirne is the very last T-Plan building still having the archaic barrel-vaulted. Its building inscription writes as date of its completion the year 825 (1422). In olden times it was called 'Orta İmaret.' On the building inscription it appears as 'Mekânü'l-Mübârak.' The 17th century scholar and Kadı Hibri Efendi noted in 1636 in his *Enîsü'l-Müsâmirîn* '*originally it was a*

[17] Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri*, the three Bursa 'mosques' on p. 385-98; Hamam of Mudurnu and its inscription p. 349-54.

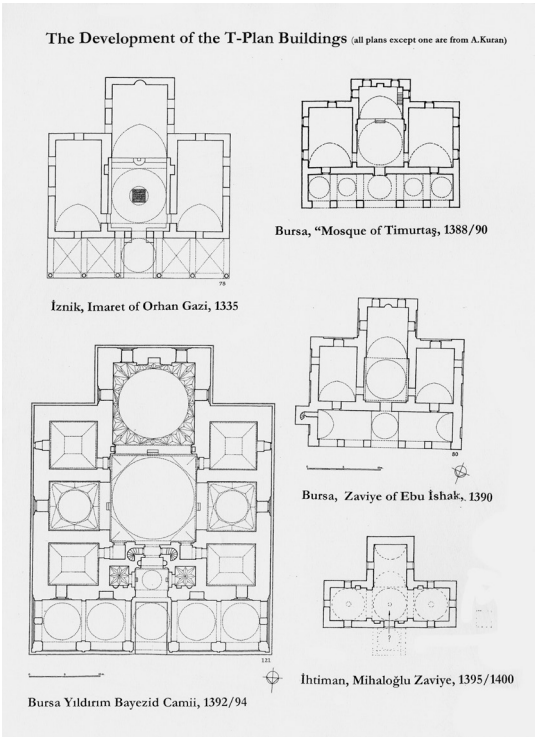
zaviye, later they made a mosque of it.'[18] The year 825 runs between 26 December 1421 to 15 December 1422. Gazi Mihal Bey, son of 'Azîz Pasha died in 835 (1435) as is written on his grave stone which still stands in the courtyard of his imposing building. It is important to know that Gazi Mihal served as Beylerbeyi of Rumeli during a short rule of Musa Çelebi, 1412-13. After the violent death of this ruler Gazi Mihal was thrown in prison in the faraway town of Tokat. Mihal was later released but again imprisoned being a supporter of the revolutionary Sheikh Bedreddin. In the late summer or autumn of 1422, during the crisis caused by the revolt of Düzme Mustafa of 1422, he was again released, sent to the assistance of the new Sultan Murad II, tipped the scales and consolidated Murad's rule. The story is related in detail by one of the most important early Ottoman chroniclers, Aşıkpaşa-zâde, who accompanied the redoubtable Gazi Mihal on his journey from Tokat to Apolyond, where the armies of Murad and Mustafa confronted themselves. After the struggle Gazi Mihal was pardoned and functioned until his death in 1435.[19]

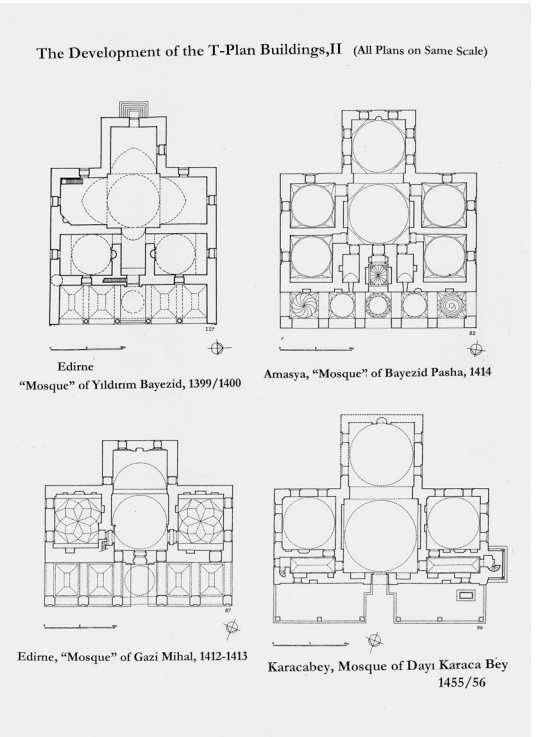
From these historical details, and from the building inscription can be conclude that the Edirne zaviye/imaret of Gazi Mihal was started when he was appointed to the lofty function of Governor-General of European Turkey, had his building designed and largely built before he lost his function and was imprisoned in Tokat. Then the work stopped. The building inscription writes that 'this blessed place/abode was perfected (tekemül) by the great Emir ...Mihal ben Aziz ... in the year five and thirty and eight hundred.' Ayverdi, who studied the text in 1970, remarked about the date of 825: '...but it turns out that the construction had started considerably earlier' *...fakat daha epeyce evvel başlandığı anlaşılıyor.*[20] With this building, conceived in 1412, the line of the T-Plan buildings with the archaic-looking barrel-vaulted *eyvan*s ends. All other buildings after it only used domes to cover spaces. In other words: the T-Plan buildings had completely been 'Ottomanised.' It will be clear that we have to place the İhtiman building in line

18 Kadı Hibri Efendi, *Enîsü'l-Müsâmirîn*, fol. 19b.

19 Aşıkpaşa-zâde, *Vom Hirtenzelt zu Hohen Pforte: Frühzeit und Aufstieg des Osmanenreiches nach den Chronik 'Denkwürdigkeiten und Zeitläufen der Hauses Osman' vom Derwisch Ahmed, genannt ,Aşık-Paşa, Sohn*, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Richard Kreutel (Graz-Wien-Köln, 1959), 121-22, 136-39; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri*, vol. 2 (İstanbul, 1972), (Edirne, inscription and gravestone on p. 390-94).

20 Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri*, 389.





of development as outlined above, thus the later part of the 1390s. To place it in the 1480s is simply impossible. Thus it remains the second oldest surviving Ottoman building on the Balkans. The Mihaloğlu Mahmud who in 1481-82 received its vakf property back from Sultan Bayezid II must have been in his late eighties when this happened. The last we know of him is a remark of the historiographer Şükrülah in 1465, who noted that he was a retired elderly man. What can be said about the building's masonry is that it shows that the structure was built in one go and that nothing was changed or added except the demolition of the separating walls between main hall and guest rooms and the two brick arches improvised to keep the building standing. The mihrab it received in the course of the 16th century, awkwardly improvised in the corner of the *eyvan,* left no traces, telling us that it was made laths and plaster. If the building had a revak in front of it, a porch with five small domes on square pillars, or only a canopy can-

not be said with certainty anymore. The last *Mütevelli* of the İhtiman foundation, Mahmud Râgıb Gaazi Mihal Bey, appointed in 1906 remembered 'a mosque with nine domes and a minaret. Eyice noted that the barrel should be counted as a dome. With the main central dome, the two domes over the guest rooms and the five vaulted units of the porch it indeed gives nine. On the building there seem to be traces of some springs of arches but the masonry of the front of the building crumbled too much to say any sure. If it had a five bay porch it must have had one like that of the Zaviye of Yakub Çelebi in İznik from little before 1389. Maybe an excavation in front of the building can give the answer.

Finally something should be said of about the İhtiman hamam, now in such a splendid condition. This building has an intricate plan with nothing of the symmetry of the 16th century hamams. It reminds one of the hamam of Yıldırım Bayezid in Mudurnu in the Bolu area, well dated by a building inscription from H.783 1382/83.[21] The most striking aspect of this hamam is the excessively high tambour/drum of the main dome, an element occasionally seen in very early Ottoman buildings. The İhtiman hamam has the same strangely high tambour. This, and the archaic masonry, places it in the time before 1400.

The writer of these lines has followed the decay of the İhtiman buildings since his first visit in 1970. In March of 2013 it was at its deepest point, as the illustrations here show convincingly. During my long stay in Istanbul as a fellow of the Koç Institute of Anatolian Studies, with intercession of the veteran scholar Metin Sözen I found someone willing to sponsor the restoration of this building in the person of Recep Altepe, Mayor of the Bursa. The total cost was estimated at 860.650 TL by experts of Istanbul Technial University Altepe said he could shoulder the İhtiman restoration project. Direct action is needed here before the whole building collapses. 'Bursa' is currently working on restorations in five different places in the Republic of Macedonia and in one place in Bulgaria and can start in İhtiman as soon as the Bulgarian authorities give permission. The Service of Historical Monuments in Bulgaria is decentralized. This means that the Municipality of İhtiman can block any work. The Ambassador of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Sofia spoke some weeks ago with the interim Minister of Culture of Bulgaria, who said

[21] Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri*, The three Bursa 'mosques' on p. 385-98; Hamam of Mudurnu and its inscription p. 349-54.

he was well aware of this anti- Turkish attitude of some people in his country and confessed his regret of the situation, but had no power to mix in to the internal affairs of İhtiman Municipality. Here we have to find a solution. The University of Pennsylvania wrote to the Mayor of İhtiman, stressing the value of the monument. The University of Athens did the same. Moscow State University also wrote a very forceful letter. The Swedish Foundation for 'Monuments without Borders' did the same, stressing the fact that in the United Europe *'historical monuments are seen as the product of every people of whatever race or religion, and belong to all mankind,'* which since its beginning is also the credo of UNESCO.