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**THE MURADIYE AND IMARET  
MOSQUES IN THE CONTEXT OF  
EARLY OTTOMAN FILIBE,  
TWO CASE STUDIES**

**ELENA CHARDAKLIYSKA  
2016**

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School of Humanities and Social Sciences

THE MURADIYE AND IMARET MOSQUES IN THE CONTEXT OF  
EARLY OTTOMAN FILIBE: TWO CASE STUDIES

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Arabic and Islamic Civilizations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts

by Elena Chardakliyska

(under the supervision of Dr. Bernard O'Kane)  
December 2015

The American University in Cairo

# The Muradiyya and Imaret Mosques in the Context of Early Ottoman Filibe: Two Case Studies

A Thesis Submitted by

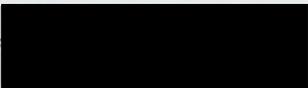
**Elena Chardakliyska**

To the Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

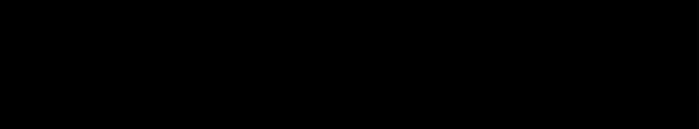
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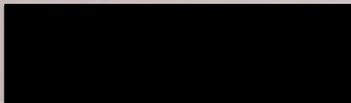
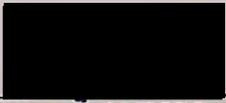
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## ABSTRACT

The two mosques remaining in present-day Plovdiv, Bugaria or Ottoman Filibe are the Muradiye and Imaret mosques. The Muradiye Mosque, also known as the Cuma (or Friday) mosque built in ca. 1435 and the Imaret Mosque, founded in 1444, represent an important period of the history of the town vis-à-vis its transformation into an important urban center in the Ottoman province of Rumeli. The Imaret Mosque is an example of a reserve T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* which was surrounded by a charitable complex. It is also the monument whose study is more challenging because of the uncertainties posed by its changing functions. By exploring at the monuments as they stand today, this thesis aims to come to an understanding of the nature of the urban growth and changes, which occurred in the second half of the 15th century.

The monuments and their contexts are studied at the intersection of two seemingly divergent approaches—the first one calls for the close examination of the monument, both historic and architectural, while the other looks at the patterns of conquest and settlement, the most commonly applied architectural styles and their distribution in other urban centers in the Ottoman Empire pre-1453. The first approach takes into consideration architectural interventions and aims to find visual evidence for what the original forms of the monument must have been like. Archival photographs have been employed to enhance our understanding of the last century in the buildings' histories. The two mosques serve as evidence in rephrasing dichotomies such as center-periphery and imperial-provincial and allow not only for an entry point through which to explore Ottoman Filibe in the 15<sup>th</sup> century but also for understanding the early Ottoman Empire and its connection to the Balkans and Rumelia.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis is about two mosques in present-day Plovdiv, Bulgaria—the Muradiye and Imaret mosques. Both date to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, during the first century of Ottoman rule in Bulgaria.

The architectural features and histories of the mosques will contribute to understanding the transformation, role, and legacy of Filibe from a nearly depopulated town in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century to a significant urban center just decades later. Before the individual monuments are considered, the introduction will look at the history of Ottoman rule on the territory of present-day Bulgaria, and especially the area around Filibe. Then, it will give an overview of the remaining Ottoman monuments in Bulgaria and a brief review of the secondary literature. The second chapter will focus on the Muradiye and the third on the Imaret. The conclusion will offer a quick chronology of the development of Filibe as an Ottoman town and look into what the two monuments contribute to the understanding of its formation. This final chapter will also revisit the center-periphery juxtaposition when looking at monuments and their development and will point to lines of inquiry which could contribute to a more detailed and nuanced understanding of the Ottoman Balkans.

So far the scholarship hasn't focused exclusively on the art historical or aesthetic experience of the buildings. The scholars who work in the field currently tend to be historians who gather their information from archival research. It is my hope that this thesis will not only show a rarely, if ever, seen part of Bulgaria and its Muslim community, but will also leave important documentation on the state of preservation and conservation of the buildings as they stand now.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> All photos of the Muradiye and Imaret mosques were taken in 2011-2 by me unless otherwise noted.

### **Ottoman rule on the territory of present-day Bulgaria (1365-1878)**

The town variously called Byzantine Philippopolis, Ottoman Filibe, and modern Plovdiv<sup>2</sup> is centrally located in the fertile Thracian valley. The river Maritsa divides the town, whose seven hills have been inhabited for thousands of years. Filibe was conquered by the young Ottoman state in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, nearly a hundred years before the fall of Constantinople, and remained an important administrative and economic center in what the Ottomans referred to as Rumelia.<sup>3</sup> Archival and photographic sources as late as the early 20<sup>th</sup> century show the significant impact the Ottoman state left on the town—dozens of minarets pepper panoramas of the town in which sizeable Muslim, Armenian, and Jewish populations had settled.

For the nearly five centuries it was part of the Ottoman Empire, present-day Bulgaria played an important role in the Eastern provinces as demonstrated by the architectural heritage as well as the charitable endowments based on properties in its territory. Still, the entire span of Ottoman rule—from the initial conquests in the 1360s to the declaration of partial independence for Eastern Rumelia in 1878 and the unification of the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia in 1885—should be considered in relation to the processes (conquest, settlement, expansion, etc.) which determined its context.

Such a homogeneous view has been mostly imposed by the way the Ottoman period is taught in Bulgarian schools and written about from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century until the present day. However, the history of Bulgaria as part of the Ottoman Empire is much more nuanced. There are several intersecting layers which influence each other, and which need to be considered before generalizing. The first of these is determined by the chronology. Bulgaria's were some of the earlier conquered lands which would later form Rumelia, the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire. As the Ottoman Empire developed and redefined its centers and direction of expansion central Rumelia soon became a well-established, securely conquered back province.

---

<sup>2</sup> Since 1878 when the independence of the Principality of Bulgaria (capital Sofia) and the semi-autonomous Eastern Rumelia (capital Plovdiv) emerged from the Russo-Turkish wars and the Berlin Treaty.

<sup>3</sup> Rumelia stands for "Lands of the Romans," which refers to the territories of the Eastern Roman Empire, also known as Byzantium.

The other factor calling for more precise analysis is geography. The territory of present-day Bulgaria cannot be looked at as a monolithic whole when considering its history as part of the Ottoman Empire. Defined by their geographic and strategic location, different provinces experienced different changes as part of the Ottoman conquest. Some, like the Thracian valley, had suffered catastrophic conflict for centuries, being torn apart between the Byzantines and the Bulgarian kingdom, and as a result the Ottomans found them nearly abandoned at the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> These areas, some of which lay on important Roman military roads connecting Rumelia to Constantinople, were quickly populated with Muslims who tended to the rich arable lands and provided the infrastructure needed for a smooth flow of Ottoman soldiers and travelers within the conquered territories.<sup>5</sup> Other areas, such as the mountainous regions where the local populations had escaped in order to avoid the wars in the valleys, continued with a Christian-majority population, which was taxed accordingly. Thus, the social development of different geographic areas differed significantly from one another and was most often determined according to the role the region in question played in the expanding empire.

These differences in the ways of conquest and settlement led to a variety of Ottoman cultural and religious monuments founded in each area. Thus, looking at the territory of Bulgaria as a whole is less productive than looking at the various provinces that made it up and their characteristics. For the purposes of this thesis, the focus will be on the territory of the Thracian valley and the city of Filibe and its immediate surroundings rather than the entire territory of present-day Bulgaria. Where fruitful, comparisons will be made with other areas, the Balkans, or Rumelia.

The territory of Filibe had been settled since before Thracian times. The town is one of the longest-populated settlements in Europe. Roman Philippopolis lay on the *Via Militaris*, in the heart of the fertile Thracian valley and along the river Maritsa. In fact, the area saw a constant movement of armies, conquests and would-be conquests since antiquity because it was easily accessible and offered fertile land and a favorable climate. Grigor Boykov asserts that through the centuries it had suffered many raids and conquests

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<sup>4</sup> Boykov, *Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace*, 28.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

and these intensified immediately preceding the arrival of the Ottoman armies. In addition of course, the strategic location was useful not only for war but for trade as well.

After enjoying a period of relative stability for around two centuries while under the rule of the Byzantine Empire, the region of Thrace was contested again as the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (1185-1396/1422) emerged north of Thrace under the leadership of the brothers Asen and Peter, and a militarized struggle started to bring the entire Thracian valley back to the Bulgarian lands. During the 12-13<sup>th</sup> century, the area was constantly assaulted by both Bulgarians who were struggling to expand the reclaimed area north of Thrace, as well as by the knights of the Third Crusade who passed through. The local governor abandoned Philippopolis and the locals' resources were drained as the knights demanded provisions and ended up burning the city upon leaving it.

The early 13<sup>th</sup> century saw a constant struggle between Byzantines and Bulgarians in the area. The Bulgarians recaptured Philippopolis in 1344. After 1354, the year of the establishment of the first Ottoman base in Europe, Thrace saw constant attacks.<sup>6</sup> In the period between the 11-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Boykov concludes that the city of Philippopolis must have changed hands around fourteen times between Bulgarians, Latins, Byzantines and Ottomans. It was after 1360 when the conclusive Ottoman conquest began and the tumultuous period of the Ottoman Interregnum, that the region started enjoying relative stability in the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup>

In the context of the Balkans, the conquest of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom and its disintegration were only a small part of the progress of the Ottoman Turks in the 13-14<sup>th</sup> century. The Ottomans managed to play a decisive role as the Byzantine Empire was coming apart the former were diplomatically advanced enough to form an alliance with the Genovese against the Venetians and other Latins, which would later prove beneficial for Ottoman trade interests.<sup>8</sup> In 1321 the Ottoman troops conquered their first town in Rumelia: Mudanya in present-day Bursa province in Turkey.<sup>9</sup>

The young Ottoman state established diplomatic contact with the rulers of the Balkans in the 1340s when the Serbian king Stephan Dušan requested the cooperation of

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>8</sup> Inbaşı, "Ottoman Rule and Policy of Settlement," 92-93.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 93.

Orhan Bey in order to try to capture Constantinople from the Byzantine Emperor. Orhan Bey however had just married the daughter of Domestic Kantakuzenos, the young Byzantine emperor's guardian, and did not respond to Stephan Dušan's request.<sup>10</sup> Ultimately, Kantakuzenos was able to ascend to the throne and in return for the Turks' support endorsed their deal with the Genovese and provided a military base in the Tsympe Castle, in present-day Turkey near Gallipoli, effectively making it an Ottoman base from which they started conquering the Balkans. A natural disaster provided just the stroke of luck the Ottomans could use—an earthquake in March 1354 destroyed the towers of the Gallipoli castle and the Ottomans used the opportunity to take it over.<sup>11</sup> Edirne was captured within the reign of Sultan Murad I (r. 1362-89) in 1361, becoming the second Ottoman capital in 1365.<sup>12</sup> Once Sultan Murad I established himself in Edirne, he tasked Lala Şahin Paşa with conquering Filibe and Eski Zağra.<sup>13</sup> In 1363 Filibe was captured in the Sultan's name.<sup>14</sup>

Following a failed attempt of the Eastern and Western churches to stop the quickly advancing Ottoman forces, the Battle of Çirmen (27 September 1371)<sup>15</sup> proved key to Ottoman expansion to the west. Towns fell into Ottoman hands quickly but until the decisive victory of Gazi Evrenos Bey at Kosovo pole (1389), where Murad I was killed, things remained uncertain for both sides.<sup>16</sup> The expansion continued steadily in several directions until the Balkans were brought under Ottoman control by the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> Murad II (r. 1421-44 and 1446-51) continued this trend and his successor, Mehmet II (r. 1444-6 and 1451-81), captured Constantinople in 1453. The steady conquest continued until the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-66).<sup>18</sup>

Even though after the 1453 conquest Istanbul became the undisputed center, it can be claimed that the Ottoman Empire "was established and developed as a Balkan State."<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>13</sup> Boykov, *Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace*, 30.

<sup>14</sup> Inbaşı, "Ottoman Rule and Policy of Settlement," 94.

<sup>15</sup> It is alternatively known as the Battle of Chernomen or Battle of Maritsa.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

This is relevant when considering center-periphery relations and trying to use it as a lens through which to contextualize the early Ottoman architecture on the Balkans. In the administration of the Ottoman State, Rumelia served as its center between 1361 (the conquest of Edirne, which was the first center of the *beylerbey*<sup>20</sup>) until 1453 when Constantinople was conquered. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century on, the position of *beylerbey* was directly connected to the grand *vezir*.<sup>21</sup>

Military conquest was just one aspect of the multi-pronged approach employed to ensure stability and assimilation of the growing Ottoman state. From very early on there was a complete settlement and deportation plan in place. Populations from Anatolia were encouraged to move to the Balkans while troublemakers in Anatolia were deported to far-flung corners. Whole tribes from Anatolia were promised land if they resettled as one group.<sup>22</sup> Ali Eminov confirms that while some Muslims settled in the Balkans prior to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the more permanent settlement occurred in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>23</sup>

It was also important to keep the local populations and benefit from their labor and tax obligations. In addition, Mehmet II declared himself “the guardian of the Orthodox,” thus keeping peace with the local populations in order to advance the conquest.<sup>24</sup> Ottoman control was good for trade as borders between warring states were gone and people could easily travel and transport their goods. As mentioned above, native Christian populations from the more flat, fertile areas escaped the fighting armies by retreating to the mountains. Once the territories were conquered, Muslim settlers were established in the deserted plains and valleys. As a result, villages were often divided by religion and ethnic origins.<sup>25</sup>

The history of the Ottoman conquest of Philippopolis and its subsequent years fits into the general narratives of the Balkan conquests. There is no established account of how Filibe was captured. Hoca Sadeddin notes that in 1364 the Ottoman commander Lala Şahin headed to Filibe after conquering and pillaging Eski Zağra. The governor of Filibe

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<sup>20</sup> A *beylerbey* was a senior provincial governor in the Ottoman administration.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>23</sup> Eminov, “Islam and Muslims in Bulgaria,” 209.

<sup>24</sup> Inbaşı, “Ottoman Rule and Policy of Settlement,” 97.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

abandoned the battlefield and barricaded himself in the castle. After a long siege, the city surrendered and opened its doors to Lala Şahin who was to become the first *beylerbey* of Rumelia.<sup>26</sup>

Despite the fact that multiple legends abound about a heroic battle and damage inflicted on the city after its conquest, most sources agree that Filibe was not conquered by assault. What most likely happened is that when the city was besieged, the governor asked for certain conditions to be fulfilled, including safe passage to Serbia for him and his family, and when these were accepted, he surrendered the city. Boykov asserts that the inhabitants were given certain guarantees for their life and property, for the usual three-day raid by the conquering forces did not happen when the Ottomans took over. Christians were allowed to remain in their neighborhoods while new ones were established for the Muslim settlers. Churches were not destroyed and later repairs to them were allowed.<sup>27</sup>

Whatever legends and theories they choose to acknowledge regarding the conquest of the city, the majority of the sources agree that in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and at the time of the Ottoman conquest, Thrace and its main city, Philippopolis, were depopulated, looted and in a very bad condition. An unexpected opportunity showed itself with the Ottoman conquest, after which the town was transformed to an established seat of local government, with steady sources of income from agriculture<sup>28</sup> and trade, and in the relatively stable position of being in a prosperous province of the Ottoman Empire. Thus a clean slate was provided for the establishment of Ottoman architectural, social, and religious foundations.

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<sup>26</sup> Boykov, *Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace*, 30-31.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-37.

<sup>28</sup> It was after the Ottoman conquest that rice cultivation was introduced in the areas around Filibe and soon became a profitable crop. Boykov also addresses the difference in opinion about who introduced rice cultivation in Upper Thrace—Lala Şahin Paşa or Mehmed II and Beyazid II. Boykov, *Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace*, 19.

### **Ottoman urban centers and remaining Ottoman heritage on the territory of present-day Bulgaria**

Published in 2011 in Bulgaria, *A Guide to Ottoman Bulgaria* is the first book to document the existing Ottoman heritage in Bulgaria away from the academic work on the subject. With its brief histories and photographs as well as recognition of the vanished and destroyed monuments, it signals a much-needed change in popular attitudes towards Bulgaria's Ottoman past.

The summarized results of the monuments in the book have been laid out in Appendix A. These show the breadth—geographic, chronological, and architectural—of Ottoman built heritage on the territory of present-day Bulgaria. The list of the extant buildings in addition to those important foundations which were destroyed or neglected in the late 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century serve to paint a fuller picture of the architectural, social, and economic impact of the Ottoman Empire on the conquered territories. It makes it clear that the Muradiye and Imaret mosques in Plovdiv represented important architectural foundations at the time they were built. Thus, it is possible to draw reliable conclusions about the context surrounding them and their foundations.

Reading the long lists of significant monuments which no longer exist and the reasons for which they were destroyed is the basis for understanding where current attitudes towards Bulgaria's nuanced past, and especially the Ottoman period, started. Clearly the struggle for independence in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as well as Russia's increasing influence over them led to resentment of the Ottomans and everything they had built and represented. In the immediate aftermath of the Berlin Treaty of 1878 as the Muslim population realized the mounting hostile attitudes and joined in a mass exodus to the territory of present-day Turkey, the local population left in the cities had no clear idea of what to do with the remaining monuments, which were often some of the most imposing and significant in a given town or settlement. Many were left to decay and were eventually demolished, while others were converted to museums, hotels, or restaurants. In the immediate aftermath of independence and the departure of the Muslim population, there was no plan or even intention to safeguard the Ottoman built heritage. Unfortunately, this attitude persists but to a lesser degree—several restoration projects have taken place in the last fifteen years and not all of them have been funded by

Bulgarian sponsors. The state of Turkey has been one of the most notable donors, a fact which further complicates the relationship between Bulgaria and Turkey as it leaves Bulgarians to still consider the Ottoman heritage Turkish as opposed to a result of a nuanced Bulgarian past.

Looking at the survey based on the book *A Guide to Ottoman Bulgaria*<sup>29</sup>, the state of the conquered lands determined the buildings to be erected. Most of present-day Bulgaria was conquered in the 14<sup>th</sup> century—some cities were practically depopulated because of wars, which had taken place in the preceding decades, while some surrendered to save themselves from being sacked. It is not clear how well the remaining monuments represent what existed and no exhaustive study exists of the chronology of building in the conquered lands. Including domestic architecture would make such a register nearly impossible to compile.

Many of the remaining buildings are in such a state of disrepair that it's hard to draw conclusions about the sequence of decorative programs. It is however clear that in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially before the conquest of Constantinople and before the concentrated effort to develop and sustain an imperial style, the monuments in the territory of present-day Bulgaria followed the style of the imperial capitals Bursa and Edirne.<sup>30</sup> Later, with the development of a distinct, more sophisticated visual culture in the capital Istanbul, what filtered through the provinces was more distinct as such. However, examples of mosques built by imperial architect Sinan, such as the one in present-day Sofia, show that artist, craftsmen, and master builders were not limited to the capital. Quite on the contrary, foundations bearing their names exist throughout the provinces.

The most significant urban centers in Ottoman Bulgaria were Filibe, Sredets (present-day Sofia), Vidin, Eski Zağra (present-day Stara Zagora), Şumla (present-day Shumen), Tatar Pazarcik (present-day Pazardjik), Yambol, and Nikopol.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, there are cases of villages prospering for a century or two under the Ottomans because of the weekly market or a trade route, as a result of which a relative small settlement would have numerous and impressive Islamic foundations.

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<sup>29</sup> Please see Appendix A.

<sup>30</sup> This is particularly true of the two remaining mosques in Plovdiv.

<sup>31</sup> Petrunova, *Early Ottoman Monuments*, 3.

An important, and insufficiently explored, aspect of Ottoman heritage is the military architecture which survived after 1878. The Bulgarian state was instructed to destroy them but most of them just fell into disrepair. Despite the Treaty of Berlin some of the fortifications were not only not destroyed but used in later wars.<sup>32</sup> It is important to keep in mind that during the Ottoman conquest, they destroyed many of the forts they encountered on their way. They didn't need to rebuild many of these as the borders of the empire lay far away.<sup>33</sup>

Water fountains are another type of Ottoman heritage, spread throughout the country and not studied in its entirety. The tombstones from Turkish cemeteries are further sources of information about the demographic and social development and composition which have not been documented and analyzed. A meticulous investigation would surely bring in interesting aspects of life under the Ottomans and offer an alternative timeline of changing decorative tastes.

Regardless of their origins and development throughout the Ottoman period, most towns underwent a similar fate at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century—a few buildings have been restored and in some cases even given a new function but the vast majority were destroyed or allowed to fall into disrepair.

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<sup>32</sup> *Ottoman Bulgaria*, 37.

<sup>33</sup> A notable exception is Vidin. *Ottoman Bulgaria*, 39.

## Brief Review of Sources and Literature

It is important to outline the sources used in order to get a sense of the context of the topic.

The surviving Ottoman architectural heritage in present-day Bulgaria until recently was not published as such for Bulgarian audiences. Turkish authors published it and much of it was referred to as Turkish, enforcing an impression that it somehow belongs to the modern state of Turkey. One such book is Hüseyin Memişoğlu's *Islamic Culture and Art in Bulgaria*.<sup>34</sup>

At the core of the studies of Ottoman heritage and influence on the Balkans and offering a highly informed, nuanced perspective is that by Machiel Kiel, who has been active since the 1960s. His doctoral thesis focused on the art of Bulgaria during the Ottoman period,<sup>35</sup> and his methodical study of the architectural heritage not just of Bulgaria, but of Albania, Serbia and the former Yugoslav republics, and Greece resulted in what Maximilian Hartmuth calls "not a synthetic work, however, but a compilation of case-studies or micro-histories."<sup>36</sup> Machiel Kiel's studies rely on two important pillars, both of which he has mastered and published with unrivaled productivity and proficiency—the reading and interpretation of archival documents, especially Ottoman *tahrir* registers of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and the careful, decades-long observation and documentation of the monuments.<sup>37</sup> As a result, his work has tapped into the essential questions and conclusions defining the study of the Ottoman Balkans until today. As summarized by Hartmuth, these avenues of inquiry define not only Kiel's work but also the field. Kiel strongly questioned and put to the test the "catastrophe theory" of the Ottoman conquest and presence and managed to prove based on hard facts that being part of the Ottoman Empire was actually beneficial most of the time in terms of economy and demography at the very least.<sup>38</sup> His article "Ottoman Sources for the Demographic History and the Process of Islamization of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria in the 15th-

<sup>34</sup> Original title: *Bulgaristan'da Türk İslam Kültürlü ve Sanatı*.

<sup>35</sup> *Art and Society of Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: A Sketch of the Economic, Juridical, and Artistic Preconditions of Bulgarian post-Byzantine Art and Its Place in the Development of the Art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70-1700: A New Interpretation*.

<sup>36</sup> Hartmuth, "The Man and His Method," 8.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

17th Centuries: Old sources - New Methodology,” published in the *International Journal of Turkish Studies* directly challenges those myths with concrete evidence.<sup>39</sup>

The second important avenue Kiel defined has to do with the bridging the gap between what is considered “Muslim” and non-Muslim when it comes to cultural expression and styles. Kiel would explore both and use them to shine light on the culture and society of the Early Ottoman Balkans.<sup>40</sup> Kiel questioned the lens of “provinces” applied when dealing with the Ottoman Balkans as in the early period, the one also this thesis explores, this designation did not exist with the meaning we assign to it when we talk about the 15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Balkans and particularly Thrace were central to the Ottoman state especially during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>41</sup> This has been supported by Kiel’s research and publication as well as his recently published online digital archive, hosted by the Netherlands Institute in Turkey.<sup>42</sup> Last but not least, Kiel has been leading the charge in cultivating a new generation of historians and art historians who are not only interested in the history of the Ottoman Balkans but have expanded on his research in order to create a more complete picture of early Ottoman society and culture. Among those are Maximilian Hartmuth, Grigor Boykov, and Mariya Kiprovska.

With some notable exceptions to be outlined below, Bulgarian historiography tends to look at the whole period of Ottoman rule as a sustained and deliberate oppression against native Bulgarian customs, religion, and expression: “There’s a well-established tradition in Bulgarian historiography which treats the Ottoman period in Bulgaria as a five-century-long dark age during which the Ottomans deliberately attempted to wipe out Bulgarian culture and nation by a combination of forced conversion of Orthodox Christians to Islam, assimilation, and genocide.”<sup>43</sup> Of course if such claims were true, Orthodox Christianity wouldn’t have survived as a religion in the Balkans. Archival evidence from the religious composition of various Balkan towns points to the sustained co-existence of Christians and Muslims in urban centers. There’s an overall equilibrium

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<sup>39</sup> Anecdotes shared by Hartmuth in “The Man and His Method” recount the displeasure of authorities, especially in Bulgaria, with the resulting articles as well as Kiel’s presence. Yet, Kiel also shared that despite the obstructive official attitudes, he was always helped and supported as much as possible on a personal level.

<sup>40</sup> Hartmuth, “The Man and His Method,” 11.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 11-12.

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.nit-istanbul.org/kielarchive/index.php>

<sup>43</sup> Eminov, “Islam and Muslims,” 214.

to be observed—some towns have a Muslim majority, and others—Christian.<sup>44</sup> This changed with the Russo-Turkish wars of the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when large parts of the Muslim urban population left with the retreating Ottoman armies.<sup>45</sup>

Ibrahim Tatırlı (1925-2013) was one of a few Bulgarian-Turkish scholars and intellectuals turned politician in the last decades of his life. His most notable work is *Turkish Temples and Inscriptions in Bulgaria*, which looks at some of the remaining inscriptions in Ottoman buildings in Bulgaria. In this survey the author not only transcribed and translated the main inscriptions in the relevant monuments, but also reviewed the related paleography and epigraphy studies since 1907. It is a work that will only grow in importance as many of the featured inscriptions have disappeared or been misplaced.

Vera Mutafchieva (1929-2009), a prolific Ottomanist and novelist, wrote extensively on archival sources and how they add to the understanding of the Ottoman period of Bulgarian history. Her work on the institution of *waqf* and especially how it affected urban economy is some of the earliest published on the subject. Another article, focusing on Ottoman sources for *waqf* properties on the territory of Bulgaria provides excellent comparison of the various charitable endowments and how they affected the local population. Her work does deal with architectural history but it also provides invaluable commentary on primary sources regarding the monuments, which inevitably enhances the art historical study.

Grigor Boykov's work focuses on detailed case studies based on Ottoman tax and population registers as well as a study of the built heritage and archival photographs. It is thanks to his work that the histories of conquest and revival of numerous Bulgarian towns have been retraced in the archives and documented. Relying on solid foundations in Ottoman history and his own archival discoveries, Boykov has been able to incorporate the Ottoman monuments in a way that reconstructs the histories of towns and creates rich local histories based on the newest research.

Maximilian Hartmuth is among Kiel's students who have championed the cause of Balkan Ottoman Studies. He has studied the Ottoman legacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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<sup>44</sup> Eminov, "Islam and Muslims in Bulgaria," 211-3.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 213.

among others. His work looks at general trends among the Ottoman Balkans and highlights this sub-division of Ottoman studies, including urban studies and applying various theories to this little-studied field.

Margarita Harbova and her [*A*] *Study on Town-Planning and Architecture on* [sic.] *Bulgarian Lands during the 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c.* contains a welcome amount of building plans and data, however the theory-heavy volume adds little to a constructive discussion of urbanism during the Ottoman period. Furthermore, this book is a prime example of the aforementioned bias, calling the period of 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries “Ottoman yoke” and presenting the already existing “fortresses, churches, and monasteries from the Bulgarian Middle Ages” as the basis for what the majority of urban settlements transformed into as a result of Ottoman rule.<sup>46</sup> The book has been useful in visualizing and comparing various plans of monuments but the above hypothesis and its “proof” leave a lot to be desired.

Nikolai Ovcharov is among the authors who managed to write in an objective and scientific way about archaeology and the study of monuments, steering clear of even subtle political propaganda. His work on the Imaret mosque is probably one of the most extensive in Bulgarian art historical writing and it is the most detailed study of the graffiti which were left on its walls. Ovcharov does a good job of giving a brief history of the monument, placing it in a wider Ottoman architectural context and referencing conservation and repair works. I was intrigued by his and his team’s findings (and meticulous documentation) on the etchings in the walls of the Imaret. However, their hypothesis that they date back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century and that the people who drew them must have been eyewitnesses of the events and elaborate ships they depicted is dubious. While I have seen some of the etchings (many have vanished since 1987 when the book was published) I have had trouble finding enough evidence between them and Ovcharov’s assertions. Therefore, I have acknowledged their existence but have not delved much into it.

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<sup>46</sup> Harbova, *Study on Town-Planning*, 234.

### Questions and issues this thesis will touch upon

Archival materials have proven that the most significant changes during Ottoman rule happened in urban centers. This is where the Turkic immigrants from Asia Minor settled and where the grandest architectural achievements are. The Ottomans however did not stop at this. They revitalized and repopulated older towns “that had suffered significant population decline and economic dislocation during the two centuries of incessant wars preceding the Ottoman conquest, as well as destruction caused in the course of the Ottoman conquest itself.”<sup>47</sup> Such towns were then given a fresh start by settling Muslim populations either from elsewhere in the Empire or from outside the Empire. Thus, all major urban centers on the territory of present-day Bulgaria experienced sizeable restructuring. Eminov quotes Greek historian Stavrianos who writes that those of the Bulgarians who didn’t want to have any dealings with the Turkish conquerors and their administration, retreated to the mountains regions. Thus, “the towns became denationalized. During most of the Ottoman period they reflected the nationality of those who held political and economic power.”<sup>48</sup>

It is through this lens that the architectural developments of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century will be looked at. The city will be used as an illustration to the reality of the first decades after the Ottoman conquest.

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<sup>47</sup> Eminov, “Islam and Muslims in Bulgaria,” 209.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 211.

## Chapter 2: The Muradiye Mosque

### Overview

The Muradiye mosque in central Plovdiv (Ottoman Filibe), also known as Cuma Cami, or Friday mosque, was probably built in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century and was an important statement about the place of the newly conquered town in the provincial administration of the Ottoman provinces in Rumelia. The architecture of the mosque and its decoration, which will be explored in detail in this chapter, and their similarities to other monuments of early Ottoman architecture place the town and its two remaining mosques<sup>49</sup> in a wider context of the early Ottoman Empire and its urban centers.

Some of the most recent primary source research on the Muradiye, as it will be referred to in this study, come during the International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference, held in Plovdiv, Bulgaria on 7 June 2008 and scheduled after the complete restoration and conservation of the monument.<sup>50</sup> Unprecedented in its concentrated effort to look at the monument from the viewpoint of its historical, aesthetic, structural, conservation, and preservation history, the conference brought together scholars (Machiel Kiel, Maximilian Hartmuth, Gönül Cantay), architects (Selçuk Seçkin, Mustafa Özer) and architectural restorers (Hasan Turhan) in addition to including data sheets on the materials used in the restoration, as well as remarks about the future safeguarding of the monument in the case of earthquakes and other structural disturbances. Finally, the trilingual publication (Bulgarian, English, and Turkish) provided a platform for tangible dialogue concerning the Ottoman heritage in Bulgaria, its safekeeping and study.<sup>51</sup> This study will rely on the findings presented during the conference as it tries to read the Muradiye mosque in the context of Ottoman architecture and the urban fabric of Ottoman Filibe and modern Plovdiv.

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<sup>49</sup> Imaret Mosque is to be explored in the following chapter.

<sup>50</sup> The findings were published by Vion, Plovdiv in 2008 (Издательство Вион Пловдив) and the book is currently out of print. I was fortunate to be lent a copy by one of imams at the Muradiye, which I photocopied before returning the original to its owner.

<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, to this date, no other similar forums have taken place in Bulgaria.

## History and Patronage

The case of the Muradiye mosque, despite its being one of the most prominent mosques not only in Plovdiv but also in all of Bulgaria and the Balkans, is not very clear when it comes to its patronage and date of foundation. There is no remaining inscription which points to these facts.<sup>52</sup>

Grigor Boykov, one of the first Bulgarian historians to build a nuanced picture of the city in the 15<sup>th</sup> century based on chronicles, archival, and architectural evidence, has presented a view of the urban development of three Ottoman towns in the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries—Edirne, Plovdiv, and Skopje.<sup>53</sup> Looking at architectural structures common to all three places, he compared and contrasted the early stages of development under Ottoman rule and established several hypotheses regarding the Muradiye in central Filibe.

Currently, the Muradiye mosque is the oldest standing Ottoman building in Plovdiv, built in the mid-1430s, or more than half a century after the city submitted to Lala Şahin Paşa.<sup>54</sup> Boykov investigates the interesting fact that a city of Filibe's strategic position in the Rumelia provinces and home of the *beylerbey*<sup>55</sup> seat was left without a major religious or otherwise building for more than half a century. He considered the Muradiye along with other extant buildings (or were until recently such as the Imaret Mosque and its complex, a bridge over the river, commercial buildings and bath houses) as evidence for a spur of architectural activity which was fueled by Şihabeddin Paşa and Murad II in an attempt to rebuild a city destroyed by the fighting between Orhan and Murad.<sup>56</sup> This not only negates the theory that the city was neglected and not deemed important enough to have its own purpose-built Friday mosque, but rather suggests the opposite—even facing near total destruction, Filibe was helped by some of the highest-ranking officials in the empire and re-built under their direct patronage, thus, reflecting imperial rather than

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<sup>52</sup> It must have been lost as it is hard to imagine a foundation of this size and importance, a Friday mosque of the town where the seat of the governor was, to have been without a clear mark by who and when it was made.

<sup>53</sup> Published in the proceedings of "Centres and peripheries in Ottoman architecture: rediscovering a Balkan heritage," a conference held in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 22-24 April 2012, pp. 32-45.

<sup>54</sup> Boykov, "Reshaping Urban Space in Ottoman Balkans," 39.

<sup>55</sup> The *beylerbey* was the highest position in the hierarchy of provincial governors, responsible for the whole region consisting of several sub-regions and ranking after the grand vizier in the imperial administration.

<sup>56</sup> Boykov, "Reshaping Urban Space in Ottoman Balkans," 39-40.

provincial traditions and tastes. This hypothesis will be further considered when looking at the architectural elements and monuments in detail.

In the absence of a surviving foundation inscription, much discussion has been devoted to the patronage and approximate date of construction of the Muradiye mosque. Below is an overview of some of the different sides of this debate and a historical overview of how the debate evolved.

In an article devoted to the mosque and published on his blog dedicated to the Ottoman architectural heritage in Bulgaria<sup>57</sup>, Grigor Boykov points out that the most often cited conflict is that which patron – Murad I or Murad II – built the mosque. The name Muradiye indicates that it was indeed one of the two and thus two different foundation dates are possible. A remark by Ottoman traveler and chronicler Evliya Çelebi, noting that the Muradiye in Filibe was built by "the conqueror of Edirne Gazi Hüdavendigâr" is the only reference to an early construction date, i.e. by Murad I in 1364, which would make it the earliest standing Ottoman monument in the Balkans. The reasons for rejecting this theory, other than the ones Boykov points out which have to do with the fact that Evliya Çelebi's accounts are useful but can only be considered true if confirmed by other sources as well, lie also within the importance of Filibe when it was first conquered or rather when it surrendered to the forces of Lala Şahin Paşa. Filibe was an important town because of its strategic location but just as in other towns, the Ottomans appropriated a large church to use as a prayer and community gathering space in the newly conquered territory. Thus, the construction of other buildings, such as *hans*, bath houses, and *imaret* complexes, was given priority. It makes sense that these community buildings were all destroyed in the war between the sons of Beyazıt I, Musa and Süleyman, and when it came to restore the town, monuments of imperial grandeur were erected. Furthermore, it seems as also suggested by Boykov in his blog entry, that neither Filibe was important enough nor Murad I secure enough to build such an imposing central mosque in what even then were the far-flung edges of the territories.

The case Boykov makes for Murad II's patronage is much stronger. Coming to power in 1421, Murad II was preoccupied with securing the throne and fighting enemies along the borders of the empire. The Muradiye mosque in Filibe was included in the *waqf*

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<sup>57</sup> Ottoman Architectural Heritage in Bulgaria, [www.oahb.org](http://www.oahb.org)

of the Edime mosque of 1435, so it must have been built before that. Boykov proposes the early 1430s as the most likely time of finalizing the construction and also places it in the context of Murad II's ambitious building program, which included other important monuments in the Balkans.

Maximilian Hartmuth also asserts that Plovdiv and the Balkans in general prospered for the first time as part of the Ottoman Empire under the rule of Murad II, who took over after the tumultuous years of the so-called Ottoman interregnum.<sup>58</sup> It was after this period that Plovdiv was established as the seat of the *beylerbey*.<sup>59</sup> This sequence of events makes sense in as much as we can see the monuments that resulted from it. It is hardly likely that buildings of this scale would have been erected in a newly conquered town whose significance for the Ottoman state was yet to be proven and whose main asset was that it lay on the road to Constantinople. As a matter of fact, when Murad II came to power and some of these monuments were built, Istanbul (then still Constantinople) had not yet part of the empire, let alone its capital.

Furthermore, Hartmuth asserts that the choice of plan for the Muradiye in Plovdiv puts it in a larger context of great mosques built by Murad II throughout the empire<sup>60</sup>, an argument which will be later looked at in more detail but for now it suffices to add yet another piece of evidence for an attribution to Murad II.

Ibrahim Tatırlı, one of the first Bulgarian academics to engage the Ottoman architectural heritage in Bulgaria, in his work on the inscriptions on Ottoman religious monuments in Bulgaria also asserts that the mosque was built by Murad II.<sup>61</sup> Quoting Evliya Çelebi, Tatırlı notes that Çelebi stressed the lack of foundation inscription when he visited Plovdiv, so his theory that Murad I built the Friday mosque was based on hearsay of the time. According to Tatırlı, other sources point out that Murad I was rarely in Plovdiv and his longest stay there was involuntary and unplanned—rains had caused the river to rise and the sultan had to stay a couple of extra days on his way to battle. In addition to that, Tatırlı asserts that the architectural style of the mosque points to the time of Murad II.

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<sup>58</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, 20.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Tatırlı, *Turkish Ceremonial Buildings*, 18, 48.

Older research by Bulgarian authors as exemplified by the short exposé on the mosque in *Memory of a Town*<sup>62</sup> asserts with little evidence the urban legend that the original mosque was built over a church of St Petka. When Murad I entered the town (a statement that has been since contested and proven wrong since it seems that it was Lala Şahin who conquered Plovdiv) he took over the church and converted it into the great (ulu) mosque, which was almost destroyed in the war between Musa and Süleyman, the sons of Bayazıt I. It is Murad II who ordered the mosque to be rebuilt in its current form in 1435 and that's why it was named after him after his death in Kosovo Pole, an area close by. Alvadjev asserts that the mosque was built as it stands today and by the same architect who built the *ulu* mosque in Edirne.<sup>63</sup> The year 1435 is quoted as the year of rebuilding but no evidence is offered to substantiate this claim. This short passage is symptomatic of the majority of scholarship published domestically in the 1960s, 70s, and 80s. Papers and journalistic pieces on Ottoman architectural heritage tend to be based on oft-repeated urban legends and are rarely fully substantiated by traceable archival or architectural evidence.

From the above-reviewed sources it seems that it is safe to conclude that the Muradiye *ulu* mosque in Plovdiv was built by Murad II in the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century and probably at some point in the mid- to late 1430s. Establishing that Murad II was the patron will allow a comparison between what he did in Filibe to that in other urban centers of the Ottoman Empire. Adding the Muradiye in Filibe to the list of significant monuments founded by Murad II—among them the Muradiye in Edirne (1436) and the Uç Sefereli, also in Edirne—will give a framework from which to approach the Muradiye in Filibe.

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<sup>62</sup> Alvadjev, *Memory of a Town*, 40.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

### The Muradiye Mosque in the larger context of mosques with the same plan throughout the Ottoman Empire

In his exhaustive study of Ottoman architecture, Godfrey Goodwin follows the birth and development of Ottoman architecture.<sup>64</sup> Tracing the origins of what is later labeled imperial style, he devotes special attention to the first capitals—Bursa and Edirne. Unfortunately, as so many other surveys, his does not look into contemporary architectural developments in the Balkans. Still, analyzing what's at the capitals Goodwin makes important conclusions regarding the origins of different architectural styles and their later development in the empire.

One of these significant styles is the so-called Bursa style which is later somewhat replicated in Edirne and which the Muradiye in Plovdiv most closely resembles. Investigating its close architectural and formal resemblance to other monuments and their social and religious function can bring insights into the intended purpose and function of the Muradiye in Plovdiv.

The Muradiye Mosque in Plovdiv is an imposing rectangular structure, measuring 29m x 40m with a height of 13.4m.<sup>65</sup> Boykov confirms these dimensions.<sup>66</sup> The Muradiye is oriented along a north-south axis, the *qibla* side pointing south. It is a nine-bay mosque supported by four massive pillars in the center. The central bays along the north-south axis have domes above them, while the two sides (of three each) have rectangular vaults (Fig. 1). A five-dome portico, which has not survived, originally existed on the entrance façade.<sup>67</sup> A tall, brick minaret is attached to the northeastern side of the mosque.

The first major mosque to which the Muradiye bears formal resemblance is the Ulu Cami of Yıldırım Beyazıt in Bursa, built around 1400 as dated by the inscription on the minaret.<sup>68</sup> The prayer space consists of twenty domes carried on twelve piers. The mosque is full of light and stands for the grandeur of the early capital. Currently, the mosque has undergone serious changes which include the centrally located fountain which was inserted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Baroque-style decoration on the walls and

<sup>64</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*.

<sup>65</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, 79.

<sup>66</sup> Boykov, "Architecture as a Symbol of Power," 77.

<sup>67</sup> Further on in the chapter the fate of the portico will be examined alongside some archival photographic material.

<sup>68</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 51.

domes, the large-scale calligraphy on the pillars, some of which bear resemblance to what has happened to the Muradiye in the course of the centuries since it was constructed. Goodwin points out that the location of the mosque in the city of Bursa—above the bazaar—in addition to its architectural grandeur, sent a strong message from Beyazit, namely that mainstream Sunni Islam was winning over the Sufis and that the prosperity of the young empire was reflected in the city of Bursa.<sup>69</sup>

Another mosque with architecture similar to that of Muradiye is the Eski Cami in Edirne, started by Emir Süleyman Çelebi, who fell fighting for the throne against his brother Musa in 1411, but completed by his brother Mehmet, then Sultan Mehmet I (r. 1413-21) in 1414. The Eski Cami, or Old Mosque, resembles the Muradiye in Filibe much more closely as it has four pillars and nine interior bays (Fig. 2). Goodwin calls the Edirne mosque "the final true ulu cami of the Bursa type" but its plan is extremely close to that of the Muradiye in Plovdiv.<sup>70</sup> The statement, other than showing the long-standing bias against considering the former Ottoman territories in the Balkans, is making us turn to the seat of the *beylerbey* in Rumelia and why this plan was used as opposed to something which was later developed in the provinces. Was it too close to the fall of Constantinople and the development of the real imperial centralized style? Or was it suited to the site available in Plovdiv?

In his study of the nine-bay plan, Bernard O'Kane traces this architectural form through centuries and religions, bringing into consideration places from around the world. This exhaustive study also serves as a warning against establishing interrelationships and continuities.<sup>71</sup> With something as widely used as the nine-bay plan—examples of houses of worship, palaces, bath houses abound from pre-Islamic times to early modernity and with an immensely wide geographic spread—one should be careful to attribute a similarity to cultural influences and continuity only and allow for the possibility that similar examples be seen "as separate cultural developments, spurred by the plan's inherent practicality, economy and aesthetic appeal."<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 55.

<sup>71</sup> O'Kane, "The Origin, Development and Meaning of the Nine-Bay Plan," 189, 244.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 244. Further evidence for this is the fact that the nine-bay plan endured throughout the centuries and continued to be used until the 19<sup>th</sup> century as O'Kane points out in "The Origin, Development and Meaning of the Nine-Bay Plan," 219-20.

Maximilian Hartmuth links the *ulu* mosques in Bursa, Edirne, and Filibe not only based on their plan, but also in terms of their patronage; Hartmuth makes an appealing case for studying the Muradiye in Plovdiv from the angle of its patron and his choice of architectural plan.<sup>73</sup> He points out that Emir Süleyman, who was fighting with his brother Musa for the throne of Beyazit, chose the Bursa *ulu* type for his mosque in Edirne (Eski Cami), while his brothers and the eventual winner sat in Bursa.

Adding the above historical facts to the fact that Muradiye in Plovdiv was most likely built by Murad II after the interregnum during which the feuding brothers destroyed the town of Filibe, makes one wonder if the current mosque replaced an *ulu* type or if Murad II was seeking a strong reminder to the authority of the early capital and the days of Beyazit.

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<sup>73</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, 23.

## Description of the monument

### Inscriptions<sup>74</sup>

In an essay devoted to the architecture and decoration of the Muradiye, Mustafa Özer lists all the inscriptions relevant to piecing together the history of the mosque.<sup>75</sup> He proceeds to transcribe them in Turkish and give their approximate meaning. It is worth noting (as it is impossible to make them out in the photographs included in the conference proceedings) that all inscriptions in the mosque are in the Arabic script and Arabic language, but for two that are in Ottoman Turkish. Ibrahim Tatırlı, in a book dedicated to epigraphs on Islamic monuments in Bulgaria, looks only at one (Fig. 155) of several inscriptions in the mosque speaking of its history.<sup>76</sup>

It is worth mentioning that no sources, including Evliya Çelebi, speak of a foundation inscription. On the contrary, the medieval traveler Evliya notes its absence.<sup>77</sup> What remains are dates associated with repairs as well as calligraphers' signatures. These are elaborated on below.

One of the above-mentioned inscriptions bears a date referring to repairs as well as the patron's name mentioned simply as Murad, without specifying whether it refers to Murad I or Murad II. The full text of the inscription, originally in Ottoman Turkish, mentions repairs and hails the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid I (r. 1774—1789) (Fig. 155). The exact date of the end of the repairs is mentioned—Sha'ban 1199/5 July 1784. Tatırlı notes that the inscription rhymes and also gives the name of a calligrapher, Arif. It is also this inscription, which mentioned a Sultan Murad, which has led many historians to conclude that Murad I built the mosque. As mentioned above, this has been recently (and not so recently by Ibrahim Tatırlı) proven to be wrong as much more evidence points to a patronage of Murad II.

The second inscription is inside of the same entrance, written in a different style and referring to the mural ornamentation of the mosque (Fig. 154)<sup>78</sup>. It bears no date, but it

<sup>74</sup> Appendix B outlines the inscriptions currently found in the mosque.

<sup>75</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, pp. 60-70.

<sup>76</sup> Tatırlı, *Turkish Ceremonial Buildings and Inscriptions*, 48-51.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>78</sup> Figures from 154 and on are in Appendix B.

does mention the name of a Said Naqshibandi Çelebi Mustafa of Edirne, whom Özer links to a signature in the Edirne Selimiye Mosque. Özer translates the name Naqshibandi as the Embroider, which is probably a misleading translation, as the name probably refers to the Naqshibandi order rather than to embroidery.<sup>79</sup> Hasan Turhan, in an article about the restoration principles of the mosque, dates this inscription to 1818 but offers no evidence for this assertion other than repairs were done in the mosque after a destructive earthquake in 1818.<sup>80</sup>

A third inscription (Figs. B 6-7) also points to a calligrapher, al-Hajj Mahmud Efendi Filibeve, and the year 1264/1847. The name of the calligrapher points to the fact that he was a local artist. It is unclear if that's the only epigraph associated with his hand or if he did other work on the mosque's interior in that year.

Hasan Turhan in an article about the restoration principles of the mosque<sup>81</sup> mentions three natural calamities which affected the mosque and its structure and which are worth considering alongside the signatures left on the inscriptions in the mosque. These are two earthquakes—in 1785, 1818—and a fire in 1846.<sup>82</sup> The above inscription of 1847 came a short time after the destructive fire of 1846 and probably was part of the efforts to repaint and repair the mosque and its inscriptions.

Another epigraph bears the date 1264/1847, and reads "Masha' Allah." This points to the fact that maybe extensive repairs were made to restore the mosque to its pre-fire condition and thus, those who made it felt it was necessary to protect the mosque and the work with this symbolic gesture.

The last epigraph with a year (Fig. 157) is on a board above the platform for the second imam or for a *muezzin* calling to prayer from inside the mosque. It bears the date 1328/ 1910. No further details are given regarding whether this refers to repairs.

An inscription of interest (Figs. 161-2) has been placed next to a cartouche containing hadith. What is interesting about this inscription, which names Mohamed Talaat as the calligrapher is that it bears some obvious mistakes like a missing *alif* in front of l-Nuri and an extra *alif* at the very beginning. This may point to a repair done by a

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<sup>79</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, 63.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 75—76.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 78—80.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 79.

local artist who couldn't read Arabic and who misplaced some of the letters. It is most likely that this happened after the city ceased to be part of the Ottoman Empire in 1908, but not necessarily. It is not as likely that this would have been the original inscription and that it would've been left with these inaccuracies.

Another group of inscriptions adorns the summit of each dome. With the exceptions of the three bays leading from the entrance to the *mihrab*, each bay has been crowned by a central roundel or oval inscribed with calligraphy. The three central bays on the north-south axis leading from the entrance to the *mihrab* contain a band of inscription at the base of the dome as well (Figs. B 11-26).

The choice of Qur'anic verses and their placement is neither unusual nor surprising, and given the fact that they were probably picked and calligraphed during the last real (non-scientific conservation) intervention, then they say little about the early history of the mosque and the choice of its inscriptions. The only slightly unusual fact is that the central bay of the mosque actually consists of two sayings of the Prophet, or *hadith*, while all others are verses from the Qur'an.

#### Architectural and decorative features: Exterior

Today, the Muradiye Mosque stands prominently in the city center, having preserved its position in the urban fabric. Excavations, which have been on-going since 2012 in the mosque's immediate vicinity have revealed an extension of the Roman amphitheater, which is less than 20m away west of the mosque and which probably extends to under its foundations (Figs. 3-4).

The masonry is of the so-called cell masonry, consisting of stones encased by a layer or more of thin brick, thus forming what looks like a square cell. Originating in Byzantine times, this buildings style was popular locally and many contemporary mosques and churches in the Balkans were built this way, pointing to the fact that local techniques and craftsmen were employed to build the mosque. The domes and vaults were made of lead.<sup>83</sup> Currently the building is not painted on the exterior and archival photos show the same monotonous masonry pattern of the exterior broken only by the arches of the windows and their brick outlines. In the centuries following the capture of Constantinople, the Ottoman state centralized and organized the manufacture of building materials, specifically bricks and roof tiles especially when it came to the foundation and repair of monuments directly funded by the crown.<sup>84</sup> Prior to 1453 in newly conquered territories, this was not the case and local materials and builders were used.

There are three entrances to the mosque. The main entrance is from the north side, directly facing the *qibla* wall (Fig. 5). It is elevated above street level and reachable through a staircase. A "double" door leads to the interior (Fig. B 3).

The second entrance is from the west side, the so-called *harim* entrance as it supposedly led to the women's section of the mosque (Fig. 4). The name was probably given later and this was simply a side entrance as it is unlikely that the 15<sup>th</sup> century mosque would have had a women's section. Currently the women's section is a wooden terrace along the entire north wall. This side entrance is elevated above street level, but because of the natural incline of the plot, it is closer to the street than the main entrance on the north (Fig. 7). Hasan Turhan asserts that this western entrance was not in the

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<sup>83</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, 94.

<sup>84</sup> Kolay, "Ottoman Construction Materials," 151.

original plan and was added to the mosque a century after its construction.<sup>85</sup> It does not possess striking decoration, other than the carefully laid out brick arch and the rectangular frame around it. Clearly, this was not always the case as during the most recent restorations a part of a previous layer of painted decoration was uncovered, its style similar to the majority of the decoration on the inside, therefore dating it to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Baroque influenced interventions (Fig. 8).

The other side, known as the sultan's door, is on the southwest side. On the inside, this door leads directly to an elevated balcony east of the *mihrab*, protected from prying eyes with woodwork. It is understood that this was the private prayer and contemplation space of the sultan or other high-ranking officials, and existed in the original mosque plan.<sup>86</sup> The entrance as it stands now is not especially decorated; it looks the same as the *harim* entrance and bears remains of the same style of decoration (Fig. 9). In the latest restoration works of the mosque, both side entrances were equipped with wooden eaves above them as the architectural restorers find the original condition was (Fig. 14).<sup>87</sup>

The western and northern walls meet at a marble sundial, built into the mosque's corner (Fig. 10). Currently the sundial has inscriptions in Bulgarian pointing to the coordinates of the place and using Istanbul and Paris as references in terms of time difference. The sundial is indeed from the very early decades of the mosque but was redrawn to Paris time in 1882 by Russian military topographers.<sup>88</sup>

Around the whole building but mostly on the *qibla* wall some changes can be traced from the recent past which the interior confirms and which can be a start to understanding the transformations this building went through. A photograph of what the south façade looks like today (Figs. 11-12) can be compared to what the façade looked like in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, after the destructive earthquake of 1928 (Fig. 13).

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<sup>85</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, 79. There is no solid evidence presented to support the claim that the western door is a later addition. In any case, the façade and interior seem to have been regularly readjusted and altered throughout the mosque's long history.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Dionisiev, "Пловдивското време" ["Plovdiv's time"], 2.

## The Minaret

The Muradiye's minaret stands in the northeastern corner and, has undergone rebuilding work after earthquakes destroyed it (Figs. 5-6, 13). The minaret is made of bricks and has one balcony close to its top. The decoration consists of painting white the squares formed by laying the bricks, thus creating a rhomboid pattern. Above the balcony, which is perched on three tiers of *miqarnas*-like elements, the pattern changes to a white-and-brick stripe. Archival photos show that before this current reconstruction, the minaret was shorter and above the balcony, the characteristic striped design was not executed. During the renovations of 2006-2008, the top part was destroyed and rebuilt to match what is believed was the original structure.<sup>89</sup>

## Transformations traced in archival photographs

Built in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Muradiye underwent transformations in its exterior and interior. Thanks to archival photographs and scarce written primary sources, some of these can be traced back.

Much like the Ulu Cami in Edirne, the Muradiye in Filibe had a five-vault domed portico, which is reported to have collapsed at some point during the eighteenth century.<sup>90</sup> Boykov supposes it collapsed and was replaced in the renovation of 1785 with the stone columns supporting a slanted roof structure, suspended from the sides.<sup>91</sup> There are archival photographs, which support this claim as well (Fig. 14). At some point during the late 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century this entire structure, except for its northeastern wall was removed and a replaced with a two-floor wooden structure, which currently houses the offices of the mufti of Plovdiv, as well as an oriental-style coffee shop (Figs. 5-6). Boykov places this transformation at around 1900.<sup>92</sup> The first floor on the east side

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<sup>89</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, 95-6.

<sup>90</sup> Boykov, "Architecture as a Symbol of Power," 77.

<sup>91</sup> Boykov, "Muradiye (Cumaya) Mosque in Plovdiv," blog entry on Ottoman Architectural Heritage in Bulgaria.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

currently houses the ablution area. Since the collapse of the portico, the spaces formed at the front of the mosque have been used for commercial purposes. In 1972 Kiel photographed the springing of the arch.<sup>93</sup>

Comparing the façade depicted on the 1940s postcard and the photo of the mosque in 2013, it is also clear that the five arched window openings (Fig. 5) did not exist several decades before. These were clearly done at a stage later than the removal of the stone columns and portico and replacing them with a wooden structure, but there is scarce evidence as to when exactly.

The southern façade offers further architectural riddles. According to Turhan, some of these were opened in the restoration of 1785 and closed later as it was discovered that they were on carrying walls.<sup>94</sup> Kiel's photographic archive corroborates this view (Fig. 16). The oval window in the southern wall, behind the *mihrab* is an example of this. It was expanded to an oval in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and returned it its original shape during the renovation in the 2000s. It will be interesting to explore further what the arch-like openings must have been – they are not centered on the southern wall and seem only like half-windows if they were open. It is possible that these were added to break the monotony of the wall (Figs. 11-12).

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<sup>93</sup> <http://www.nit-istanbul.org/kielarchive/index.php>

<sup>94</sup> International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference Proceedings, 79.

### Architectural and decorative features: Interior

The main entrance to the mosque is reached after climbing an external stairwell from the northern side. The door facing the exterior is about a meter away from the door facing the interior, forming a small chamber between the two doors. The exterior door is visibly new and made of wood inset into a stone frame, made of two colors of stone, interlocked to form a striped pattern around the opening. The inner doorframe is made of a solid piece of stone. However, it has been painted in white and black/dark green to look like *ablaq* masonry (Figs. 154,156).

On the inside the entrance is decoration with a series of painted bands. Some of the floral elements found in the cartouches are considerably better executed than others, reflecting an inconsistent attention to detail during the recent restoration works. The motif is a single strand of an unidentifiable plant consisting of red blossoms and green leaves (Fig. 17).

Flanking the entrance are two marble *muqarnas* niches (Fig. 18). They appear to be carved out of marble and closely mirror the structure and decoration of the *mihrab*, pointing to a much earlier, possibly the original, decorative program which has been pushed to the background by the Baroque-influenced painted elements throughout the mosque.

The entrance and the *mihrab* form the main north-south axis of the mosque. The wall facing the *qibla* and featuring the main entrance in its center currently sustains a wooden structure, creating two terraces on the side of the entrance with a small balcony, directly above the entrance, joining them. As per contemporary designation, this is the women's section. The entire structure is made of wood and has probably been changed and modified many times during the history of the mosque if it even existed as such (Fig. 19). Looking at other mosques from the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, there are no designated spaces for women to pray neither are there open wooden structures resembling balconies.

Immediately above the entrance is a pointed arch, with a grilled window (Fig. 20). The opening on the exterior facade is smaller. The interior opening is not surrounded by the green-yellow border but has the usual floral decoration on top. Surrounding the window are painted cartouches containing a verse from the Qur'an (Figs. B 39-40). The

two inscription cartouches are surrounded by the yellow-green border utilized as a framing device throughout the interior of the mosque. In the middle of the two side bays are identical grilled windows, outlined in the green-yellow scroll and enhanced with further floral elements on top.

Dominating this wall is the outline of an arch, slightly pointed, whose sides form the triangles which are the squinch-like transitional zone forming the dome (Fig. 19). The supports of the arches are integrated into the wall and it looks like the arches are springing from the wall directly, the columns are only slightly protruding. The squinches are highly decorated: floral elements in white and red intertwine against a rich green in green background, with red and white elements. There are roundels in each squinch, spelling out names and attributes of God (Figs. 20-1). In a pattern which is to be repeated throughout all bays of the mosque, cartouches rest on the tip of the arches forming the bays, and spell out further names and attributes of God mentioned in the Qur'an (Figs. 19, 21).<sup>95</sup>

The squinches are decorated against a greenish or a reddish background, while the arches are white with grey or red painted elements. The decoration is very leafy, a popular Baroque style in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire which subsequently affected the entire empire. The Muradiye probably acquired its Baroque touches in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when during its restoration, which was part of a larger effort to maintain those monuments founded in the centuries before.<sup>96</sup> There are vases with overflowing flowers, and other naturalistic elements combined to form un-naturalistic compositions. Immediately following this transitional zone, in a pattern to be repeated in all the domes, is a border band with a repeating ribbon pattern. Above the squinches, at the bottom of the dome is an inscription in white against a red background, with four bulls-eye windows with grills. The inscription is placed around the windows in cartouches, the windows acting as the circles in the cartouche series. Above the inscription band is another band with orange-red background and grey-white floral elements and above that the repeating motif at the base of the real dome—a motif with a central vase and two symmetrical floral elements to the side. The individual motifs are painted and repeated around the base of

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<sup>95</sup> For specific readings and translation of some of these roundels, see the Appendix B.

<sup>96</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 408.

the dome, which with the exception of the inscription roundel at its summit, is without any further embellishments. This pattern is repeated throughout the nine bays.

The ribbon-like floral motifs bear resemblance to the decoration of the Nuruosmaniye Complex (completed 1755) in Istanbul. While different in architectural forms, the decoration of the *qibla* side of the mosque, and especially the half-dome above the *mihrab*, resemble strongly the motifs in the Muradiye. It was precisely the Nuruosmaniye which introduced a combined baroque-rococo style of both building and decoration, which fascinated the Ottomans and thus, remained in fashion for a century thereafter.<sup>97</sup>

Consistently throughout the mosque, the soffits of the arches have been decorated with the same painted pattern: intersecting double lines in red and maroon forming squares and rectangles. Positioned in the squares are flowers with grey shaded petals and red centers. In the very center of the arch and its highest point, is a roundel with inscriptions.<sup>98</sup> Noticeable throughout the mosque and especially along the arch framing the entrance, the contours of the stairs, framing the windows and many other places is a yellow-green ribbon of what looks like cherries and stylized leaves (Fig. 192). The motif is also present around the wall inscriptions and along the walls, but is surprisingly subtle. Throughout the interior, the architectural features are outlined and accentuated by painted decoration—the corners, spandrels, transitional zones are all emphasized through this technique. The execution is neither particularly sophisticated nor innovative (Fig. 23). The decoration is quite uniform throughout the space, suggesting a fast, measured approach to adorning the spaces. There's a lot of repetition of motives and often the only variation comes from color substitutions and motive permutations.

The northwest bay (immediately to the right of the entrance) has two small rectangular windows positioned on the east side and cutting into the decoration underneath the vault (Fig. 24). They are both grilled with stucco grills identical to the grills found in the rest of the windows of the mosque. Below them, much closer to the left window is an arched window, with a horseshoe arch, grilled in an identical fashion. A

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 386-7.

<sup>98</sup> All of these inscriptions are to be found in Appendix B, and consist of names and attributes of God according to the Qur'an.

mirror positioning of the windows exists on the northeastern side. On the western side, below the larger window, there is the *harim* entrance there; on the eastern side—a large window looking onto the street. The obvious asymmetry of the configuration of the windows points to different stages of construction and reconfiguring of the space, which was not done just in one place of the monument, but throughout. Similar interventions are visible in the other bays as well, pointing to a concerted effort to open up windows and let light in to interior (Fig. 25).

The northeastern bay is where as a result of the recent conservation work on the mosque, different levels of the previous decoration were left exposed. Shaped like narrow rays, and rather hard to read, these don't reveal a scheme much different from the current decoration (Fig. 26). This can mean that in a rather short period of time, the mosque was repaired and repainted several times. It also reveals that probably even the original decoration was painted rather than molded, carved, or done in any permanent way, allowing us to assume that the interior more likely than not rather austere.

The ceilings of all of the bays are similarly decorated—several bands of floral motifs serve as a base for lush, plant-motifs based repeated compositions. At the top of the vault or dome is a roundel of calligraphy, embellished by elements similar to those at the base of the dome or vault (Fig. 210). The quality of the calligraphy varies from bay to bay, signaling either craftsmen with different skill levels or uneven repairs later.<sup>99</sup>

The central bay is formed by four thick brick columns supporting the central dome of the mosque. The arches, transitional areas and soffits are decorated in a fashion similar to the rest of the mosque (Figs. 19, 21). Just like in the other two domes, bull-eye windows at the base of the dome let light in. Predictably, the central dome culminates in a roundel, with inscription, which is then surrounded by a lush layer of decoration (Fig. 166-7).

The two brick columns closer on the northern side are decorated as the ones already described—the soffit is decorated with the checkered flower pattern while the bottom part is painted to enforce the look of columns. The two columns closer to the *qibla* have some enhancements. The one on the western side has a structure similar to a pulpit attached to its lower part (Fig. 204). It is a very low and very small balcony with an invocation to the

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<sup>99</sup> Such differences can be seen by looking at Appendix B.

Prophet's family in gold paint, made of wood and decorated with painted details—floral cartouches in reds, blues and greens.

Across from this small pulpit, the column on the east side of the central square supports the so-called second *muezzin* platform. The wooden structure is on two levels and has been rudimentarily decorated (Figs. 27-28). The columns of the wooden platform are decorated either with a wrapping-around stripy pattern or with star-like pattern. It leans on the column decorated in a style similar to the wood-work of 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century Bulgarian residential architecture. The inscription above the muezzin's platform spells a standard invocation to Belal, the first muezzin in Islam's history (Fig. 157).

The bay directly in front of the *mihrab* bears standard decoration—four roundels in the spandrels spell out (moving clock-wise from the *mihrab*) the names of the four caliphs Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali (Fig. 29). Similarly to the rest of the mosque, the roundels in the soffits of the arches spell out the roundels in the tops of the arches spell out attributes of god according to the Qur'an.<sup>100</sup>

The area immediately in front of the *mihrab*, which is about half a bay wide and spanning across the entire southern wall, is elevated and thus separated from the rest of the prayer area by two steps (Fig. 30). The *mihrab* in the Muradiye is a simple niche, embellished by painted patterns and features. It does not have intricate carved motifs such as *muqarnas* (Fig. 31-32). The columns are painted to look like marble, the striped pattern on the inside, all crowned by gold-colored molded band, speak to a relatively recent reimagining of what the focal point of the mosque should look like (Fig. 33). The features point to a diluted 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Baroque style, which the latest renovation neither addressed nor revisited. Directly above the *mihrab* is a grilled window, on whose sides two roundels spell out, respectively, Allah and Muhammad.<sup>101</sup> Below the roundels are two cartouches, which spell out the *shahada*, split on both sides of the *mihrab*, against a crimson background (Fig. 31). Such inscriptions are standard in a mosque and especially around a *mihrab* and while we have no evidence that this was the original 15<sup>th</sup> century decoration of the *mihrab*, it is clear that those who repaired it later (and to the present day) didn't see a reason for even the slightest deviation of from the norm. The dome

<sup>100</sup> These can be seen in Appendix B.

<sup>101</sup> This is the interior of the window on the southern façade mentioned earlier which was opened as an oval at some point and then returned back to its original shape.

culminates in a roundel, whose outer circle, like the others, has an inscription set against a blue background. Interestingly, what looks like a second band of writing at the very center in reality is a decorative pattern (Figs. 29, B 13-14).

To the left of the *mihrab* is a big window, which similarly to the other windows on the ground level has a fake *ablaq* pattern painted above its arch. To the right of the *mihrab* is the *minbar*, whose place has probably remained the same since the foundation of the mosque (Fig. 30). The small *minbar* entrance spells out the *shehada* and leads to *Above* its entrance is the *shehada*, and the top is in the typical Ottoman pointed shape. The two sides of the *minbar* are painted with washed, subdued colors and decoration made up of irregular patterns of un-identifiable plants (Fig. 34).

Interestingly, the shape of the entrance to the *minbar* has a similar shape as the entrance of Imaret Cami. The same shape is mimicked behind the seat in the pulpit itself, which has been similarly decorated (Compare Fig. 35 with Fig 84). This can be a strong indication that the *minbar* in the Muradiye is indeed from the 15<sup>th</sup> century while the majority of the rest of the mosque had gone through significant transformations in the time since it was built.

The bay to the right of the *mihrab* has five windows on each of the two walls—two rectangular above one with a rounded top above one big one on the ground level, none of the windows are symmetrical—in fact each is on a slightly different level. There are two inscriptions in red –background cartouches—one between the big and medium window on the *qibla* side and one between the big and medium windows on the side (right when facing the *qibla*) These are hadith and have the signature of a calligrapher, but it seems like the inscription has been repaired and its current shape is not entirely correct (Figs. B 8-9).

The south-east bay, or the one to the left of the *mihrab*, contains the so-called Sultan's entrance which allows one to enter directly from the south eastern façade into the mosque (Fig. 36). While an important urban center, Filibe was never a capital of the Empire and only occasionally saw visits by the Sultan himself. Thus, this loge was probably used by the highest-ranking local officials. The space is elevated to a second story level and surrounded by see through, partition-like walls. The overall structure reminds of domestic architecture readily found in Filibe. The decoration is similar to the

rest of the mosque focusing mostly on floral elements. The pillars supporting the structure are made of wood but painted to look like marble (Fig. 37). The top is made of carved and painted wood. A *mihrab* with a lamp hanging from it is painted on the *qibla* side (Fig. 38); there is an inscription above at the top part of the painted *mihrab* and two further cartouches with text from the Qur'an on either side of the window (Figs. B 53-56). The inscriptions in this space are specifically chosen to refer to Friday, the day of prayer, and instructing the pious to defer to God. Just like in the rest of the mosque, the choice of inscription is neither unusual nor surprising.

With the Muradiye, we are lucky to have interior photographs from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century available. The Plovdiv Library Archive has two similar views of the mosque's interior from the 1940s – one is taken from the ground level and the other from the prayer platform on the northern side (Fig. 39). Both photographs look towards the *qibla* wall. When compared with a photograph of the current, post-restoration condition of the mosque, significant transformations become clear (Fig. 40). The *minbar* for one has not changed much at all, its decoration and form persisted. The oval window crowning the *qibla* wall and positioned exactly above the *mihrab* in the 1940s has given way to an arched window, which is also claimed to have been the original shape.<sup>102</sup> The *mihrab* itself has changed its decoration but its main characteristics remained the same. Significantly, in the 1940s the mosque had a fountain in its interior. Such an arrangement is not unusual and can be seen in many other Ottoman mosques. However, Boykov claims that this pool had been a 20<sup>th</sup> century addition and thus was removed during the latest renovations, which aimed to restore an authentic a look as possible.<sup>103</sup> Between the 1940s and the 2000s when the mosque was renovated, it had fallen into disrepair as a result of earthquakes and neglect. Another striking difference between the two photographs is the painted decoration—the two bear almost no resemblance to each other. In the 1940s the mosque was adorned in Ottoman-baroque inspired floral decoration with a great deal of effort devoted to make the soffits and some of the transition zones look like they are made of marble. In the 2000s this has been changed to reflect what one would imagine a provincial mosque in the Ottoman Empire might look like. As demonstrated in the

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<sup>102</sup> See discussion of the southern façade earlier in this chapter.

<sup>103</sup> Boykov, "Muradiye (Cumaya) Mosque in Plovdiv," blog entry on Ottoman Architectural Heritage in Bulgaria.

northeastern bay, today's decoration is loosely based on other decorative programs in the mosque, so it fulfilled the intention of the restoration team to bring the mosque into an authentic look.<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately neither of these can take us back in time enough in order to be able to imagine what the original Muradiye interior might have looked like in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

## Conclusions

The Muradiye Mosque in Plovdiv is a vivid example of an early Ottoman monument. Built in Filibe less than a century after it fell in Ottoman hands, the Muradiye dominates the center of the town until today. After decades of the building nearly falling to ruins, a joint Bulgarian-Turkish project did major structural and decorative restorations in 2006-8. A symposium, the first of its kind in Bulgaria to be organized around an Ottoman monument, marked the end of the project by inviting scholars, architects, and architectural conservators to share their research on the Muradiye.

Some scholars note that the Muradiye Friday Mosque was part of a larger complex. There is no evidence of the other buildings today, but they are said to have been a bath, *bedesten*, and a caravanseray. These can be seen in a photograph dating back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 41), which shows the Muradiye (portico still intact) in the upper left hand corner. Next to it, a six-dome *bedesten* is clearly visible as well as the roof of a bath. Without further evidence it's difficult to be sure that these are indeed the other buildings from the complex, but the probability is very high.

How the Muradiye fit into the 15<sup>th</sup> century Ottomization Filibe will be explored further in the Conclusion.

### Chapter 3: The Imaret Mosque

#### Overview

The Imaret mosque, locally known as Imaret džamiya, stands on the southern bank of the Maritza River. Centrally located in present-day Plovdiv, it marked the outskirts of Ottoman Filibe for decades after it was constructed.<sup>105</sup> Built as an expansive complex featuring a T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviye*, a mausoleum, a public bath, and a *medresa*, only the T-shaped building, now functioning as a mosque only, and the mausoleum remain today.<sup>106</sup> The complex occupied both sides of the street where one of the first and largest wooden bridges (no longer extant but information about it is readily available in the sources) crossed the Maritza (Fig. 40).

Numerous gravestones from what some report was a Muslim cemetery nearby are piled in the mosque's yard and support the hypothesis of the existence of a larger complex as well as of the fact that it was on the outskirts of the town.<sup>107</sup> It was in the piles of marble gravestones that in 2010 I found the foundation inscription, broken into three pieces. With the help of the imam and some of those who had come to Friday prayers that day, I managed to prop the large stone restored to a more appropriate place near the entrance of the mosque (Figs. 41).<sup>108</sup> While some sources claim that the original

<sup>105</sup> Boykov, "Architecture as Symbol of Power," 78.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>107</sup> Graveyards are rarely in central areas and tend to be on the outskirts of dwellings.

<sup>108</sup> Ibrahim Tatrılı provides a photograph and a transcription only of the Arabic inscription in his 2003 book *Turkish sacred buildings and inscriptions in Bulgaria*. I couldn't locate the inscription, which in Tatrılı's book is pictured in situ in the wall. My attempts to find it in the archaeological museum also led to nothing. One day, using the fact that the mosque seemed very quiet and the imam was taking his nap, I jumped the small fence into the back of the mosque where many marble gravestones lay discarded. There, guided by the photograph in Tatrılı's book, I identified three pieces, one larger and two smaller. To my knowledge, the lower right-hand side has not been found to this day. I told the imam that I had found something promising, but he was too weak to help me retrieve the inscription; I immediately went to the local mufti's office, located in the Muradiyye mosque. My attempts to convince the mufti to send help to lift the stones proved futile and led to a rather heated diatribe on the politics of the "Turkish properties" in Bulgaria. Luckily, by the time I had gone back to the mosque after my failed meeting, the imam had sourced help from some of those who were there to pray (luckily it was a Friday) to dig out "what the Bulgarian girl found." Only when I showed him the page of the book against the inscription the men had recovered, was he convinced and content. A picture of the inscription as we put it on the front of the mosque appears in *A Guide to Ottoman Bulgaria*, published in 2011. No one seemed to remember the circumstances under which the inscription had been removed and discarded. In his article on the *waqf* of Şihabeddin Paşa, Grigor Boykov cites Machiel Kiel's notes from visits in 1972 and 1977. Kiel noted that

foundation inscription has been kept in the Plovdiv Archaeological Museum, situated in close proximity to the mosque, this has been difficult to verify. In any case, the foundation inscription (original or not) available at the mosque has been carved in stone and contains the name of the patron as well as the year the mosque was built. More discussion will be devoted to the foundation inscription later in this chapter, but it is important to note that it is one of the very few inscriptions of its sort remaining on monuments in Bulgaria, thus allowing us to securely date the Imaret mosque and to create solid context for the foundation of other monuments in Filibe.

The Imaret mosque is also an important example of the transformations which the T-shaped multifunctional building underwent throughout the centuries as clues to the original architectural program are easily observed in the building. These can be looked at against the changes in function—from a place for temporary shelter of traveling "missionaries" and soldiers, to a more traditional town mosque, more integrated with the urban fabric, with a soup kitchen, a cemetery, and a *medresa*.

Furthermore, numerous seemingly "random" and "informal" drawings of varying sizes have been found etched into the interior and exterior walls of the mosque, which led a team of archaeologists and historians to look at them more extensively. Their finding will be covered and problematized below, and regardless of whether or not they can be accepted without reservations, the drawings nonetheless pose interesting questions and exhibit a unique feature which so far has not been reported to exist on any other existing Ottoman monument in Bulgaria.

Last but not least, when examined alongside the Friday mosque discussed in the previous chapter, the Imaret mosque not only speaks to the diversity of the Ottoman building program in the provinces in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century and around the time of the capture of Constantinople, but also delineates an important axis in the two, which will be examined in more detail when the changes which took place on the level of the urban fabric post the Ottomanization of the town are be looked at.

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after the renovations of 1965-65 the inscription was removed from its place and discarded with the gravestones. In 1977 Kiel found the inscription lying on a pile of tombstones inside the building. Those were obviously later discarded to the back, where I found it in 2011. Taturli's claim that it was in the Archaeological Museum seem to be unsubstantiated unless of course what I found is a replica and the original is in the museum. This however is highly unlikely.

## History and Patronage

Thanks to the preserved foundation inscription, concrete facts exist about the history and patronage of the İmaret mosque.<sup>109</sup> Nonetheless, the popular imagination as well as decades of state-sponsored biased reading of Bulgaria's history as part of the Ottoman Empire have given rise to numerous urban legends about how the mosque complex came to be.<sup>110</sup>

The most commonly repeated legend, which even the current imam and those helping him with the day-to-day chores believed to be the true story of how the monument came to be, tells the story of Şihabeddin Paşa who was on a military campaign outside of his entrusted *beylik* Filibe. Ill-meaning and envious courtiers spread a rumor that the paşa's son had fallen in love with a Bulgarian Christian girl from Filibe.<sup>111</sup> Furious, Şihabeddin Paşa ordered his wayward son killed at once. However Şihabeddin soon discovered that the rumors were not true and were aimed to hurt him and his heir, thus weakening his position as a *beylerbey*, or local governor, of Rumelia. Upon return to Filibe, Şihabeddin bitterly regretted his quick temper and the decision to have his son killed. As a way of penance, he built the mosque with a *medresa* and a soup kitchen for the poor.<sup>112</sup>

Unsurprisingly, there are no archival sources confirming even a part of the legend above whose narrative fits perfectly with the highly biased retelling of Bulgarian history, which started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, aiming to portray the Ottomans as vile invaders and the Bulgarians as innocent victims of massacres, forced conversions, and impossibly high taxes. Scholars have long stated that the dramatic juxtaposition outlined above ignores historical nuances and their sources.

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<sup>109</sup> Or an accurate copy thereof in the case that the inscription reportedly kept at the Plovdiv Archaeological Museum resurfaces.

<sup>110</sup> The work of Dr Antonina Zhelyazkova (St. Kliment Ohridski University, Sofia) speaks about the state-sponsored propaganda aimed at a biased reading of Bulgarian history, especially the period during which Bulgaria was part of the Ottoman Empire. Prof. Machiel Kiel also touches on this tension in his article "Ottoman Sources for the Demographic History and the Process of Islamization of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria in the Fifteenth—Seventeenth Centuries: Old Sources – New Methodology," p. 94.

<sup>111</sup> In fact, Şihabeddin bore no children as he was a eunich and most likely came from a non-Muslim background (Boykov, "The Waqf and Complex of Şihabeddin Paşa," 182). More on the background of the founder will be discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>112</sup> The word *imaret*, where the mosque gets its name, means a soup kitchen for the poor and was a common part of charitable complexes in the Ottoman Empire.

Anna Roshkovska, in an article about the aesthetic program of the mosque published in 1976, traces the settlement of the area and its gradual Islamization in the early decades of the Ottoman Empire as an important factor in the context in of the Imaret mosque.<sup>113</sup> As early as the 1330s different Turkic ethnic groups began to settle and pass through Filibe on their way to other newly conquered lands. These so-called colonialists, because they heralded the beginning of policies to repopulate the newly conquered towns with Turkic Muslim inhabitants from Central and Western Asia, included those looking to settle down in a piece of the newly conquered territories as well as those whose mission was to spread Sunni Islam to the Balkans. Both groups were equally important in unifying territorially and spiritually the young empire and keeping the new territories, especially those with a majority of Christian population, in the fold. The mission of these travelling dervishes, as they are somewhat romantically often referred to, was to convert people in the newly-conquered territories side by side by the more militarized *ghazi* troops, who were seizing new lands.<sup>114</sup> They were also traveling mystics and followers of different Sufi orders. Because of the importance of their work for the overall good of the empire and the success of the expansion, these dervishes were treated with utmost care and were provided with places such as the Imaret complex to stay temporarily while on the road.

Boykov<sup>115</sup> explores the history of several other towns—Bursa, Iznik, Skopje (Ottoman Üsküb) and Komotini, Greece (Ottoman Gümülçine) which fell under Ottoman control around the same time and where the conqueror was the first one to erect Muslim pious foundations. Often, the most practical and unambiguous approach was to build a T-shaped *imaret* complex to allow for traveling missionaries as well as a public bath and a soup kitchen, which would also serve as informal community centers.<sup>116</sup>

This theory for the reason for building the complex is also confirmed by Nikolai Ovcharov who points out the transformation which the complex underwent from fulfilling a more social function to becoming a more purely religious and prayer space. This change in function is of course tied to the changing role of the monument in the urban environment and the change in the status of Filibe from the main town of a border

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<sup>113</sup> Roshkovska, "The Imaret Mosque," 26-28.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>115</sup> Boykov, *Architecture as Symbol of Power*, 73.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

province to the seat of one of the prosperous, inner-empire provinces, Rumelia.<sup>117</sup> It is interesting to mention that in the years pre-1990 (and still in many Bulgarian academic circles) the idea of missionaries roaming the empire with the goal of converting the recently conquered “infidels” held a much more prominent place. Currently, the understanding that these *imaret* complexes around a T-shaped building served a more diverse function is generally acknowledged.

The architectural and archival evidence point to a different course of events and a much more nuanced portrait of the complex's patron, Şihabeddin Paşa. Since he's named in the foundation inscription, what is known of his life and personality deserves to be mentioned. One of the most active and prominent of the military men who conquered the Balkans, Şihabeddin Paşa rose to power quickly and also quickly lost his influence when the battles he was leading were not going in favor of the Ottoman sultan.<sup>118</sup> Such a tumultuous military career was not unusual for a *ghazi* in a young empire. From *sandjak-bey* (a high-ranking officer responsible for a district or *sanjak*) in the territory of Albania in the 1430s, Şihabeddin Paşa was promoted to *beylerbey* of Rumelia and head of the Ottoman forces in Europe.<sup>119</sup> After a defeat in Transylvania, he fell out of favor with Murad II and was dismissed only to be called back to serve the sultan and help against the threat posed by the Hungarian Janosh Huniadi and his armies. It was then that he was re-installed as *beylerbey* of Rumelia and as second *vizier*, a position which he continued to hold under Mehmet II. It is assumed that he retired in Filibe after 1455 when his name last shows in the official documentation.<sup>120</sup> The year of his death is not clear but it is believed that he is buried in the mausoleum in the Imaret mosque, a claim that has not been conclusively proved. It is important to note that Şihabeddin Paşa's military

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<sup>117</sup> Ovcharov, *The drawings of the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv*, 10.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>119</sup> Boykov and Ovcharov's narratives differ when it comes to the life of Şihabeddin Paşa. According to Ovcharov, he was the head of the naval defense while Boykov asserts that it was the Ottoman forces in Europe which were under his command. Ovcharov's version of events is as follows: and took an active part in the conquest of the Serbian kingdom. For a brief period between 1440 and 1442 he was vizier while still holding the post of *beylerbey*. After the battle of Yalomnica in 1442, his men were defeated by Janosh Huniadi and his name disappears from the official records for a couple of years. However, Şihabeddin Paşa remained the *beylerbey* of Rumelia and during the Interregnum period took part in battles on the side of Mehmet, fighting against Orhan Çelebi. While not in the favor of Murad II, Şihabeddin became a vizier again in the court of Mehmet II Fatih and took an active role in the conquest of Constantinople (Ovcharov, *The drawings of the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv*, 10).

<sup>120</sup> Boykov, "The Waqf and Complex of Şihabeddin Paşa," 182.

accomplishments, his access to the imperial court, and last but not least his sizeable income determined the Ottoman face of newly-conquered Philippopolis as it became Filibe and acquired quite a few Ottoman-style buildings and an influx of Muslim population.

In addition to the T-shaped multifunctional *imaret* building, now the Imaret mosque, the complex included a soup kitchen, which remained in use until the end of the Ottoman period. Boykov reports having seen the enormous chimney of the kitchen on a photograph by the Greek Dimitris Kavra taken in 1878.<sup>121</sup> He further identifies all buildings of the complex on that photograph (Fig. 42), which means that the destruction of Şihabeddin Paşa's foundation happened in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The T-shaped mosque is easily identifiable by its minaret and dome. To the left of the minaret, the lead roof of *Hünkâr hamamı* or the Sultan's bathhouse<sup>122</sup> can be seen. Right behind it stood *Panayır han*, which hosted travelers. The mausoleum is hard to make out in this photograph as it is obscured from view by the southern façade of the mosque. The prominent chimney to the right of the main T-shaped building belonged to the kitchens, and the domed building even further to the right, almost on the water, was the madrasa.<sup>123</sup>

The complex in Filibe was supported by a substantial *waqf* established by Şihabeddin Paşa. The *waqf* was established in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and while it has not survived, the Bulgarian National Library holds a register of the *waqf* for 1639-40.<sup>124</sup> Analyzing the income and expenditure, it is clear that the pious endowment was set up to allow it to prosper and play an active role in the economics of Filibe and the surrounding villages even 200 years after its establishment. Mutafchieva listed nine villages from the vicinity of Filibe as well as *waqf* properties in Filibe, Edirne, Thessaloniki, and Bursa. The income consisted of the payment of various taxes, of the sale of produce such as wheat, rice, and grapes and of rentals of shops, baths, workshops, and plots of land. In fact, the *waqf* was managed so well that it allowed for food to be dispensed to poor Muslims and non-Muslims until 1878. After that the *imaret* started to decline and its

<sup>121</sup> Boykov, "Architecture as a Symbol of power," 78.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 79. While the name remains unexplained, Boykov relates the curious later history of the bath. After the declaration of independence from the Ottoman Empire, the assembly of Eastern Rumelia held its meetings in the bathhouse. It was later used as storage for administrative documents until it fell into disrepair and was demolished in 1923.

<sup>123</sup> Boykov, "The Waqf and Complex of Şihabeddin Paşa," 187.

<sup>124</sup> Mutafchieva, "New Ottoman Documents," 271.

building to deteriorate.<sup>125</sup> Already in the 1920s the building was "in a pitiful state of decay" according to a photograph taken by Otto Rudloff.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Peev, *Grad Plovdiv (The Town of Plovdiv)*, 226.

<sup>126</sup> Boykov, "Architecture as a Symbol of power," 79. The photograph was published in the Bulletin of the Bulgarian Archaeological Institute in 1934 in an article co-written by Gertrude Rudloff-Hille.

### The Imaret Mosque in the architectural context of T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*<sup>127</sup> structures throughout the Ottoman Empire

The T-shaped multifunctional *imaret* complex was a common architectural form in the early centuries of the Ottoman Empire. It appeared primarily in the territories first conquered by the Ottoman forces and despite its seemingly simple structure and modest size, remained an enduring form. The adjustments in its structure and changes in its function signal important shifts in how the new territories' and their Muslim population's relationship to the Ottoman state changed depending on the needs of the centralized government.

Boykov and Ovcharov look at the examples of T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* structures in order to establish similarities and differences with the Imaret mosque in Filibe. Ovcharov provides an overview of similar structures in the Ottoman Empire built around the same time and looks at them chronologically in order to trace the development of the T-shaped architectural form. Boykov, on the other hand, looks at examples that speak to the function and role of the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* in the urban fabric. Both authors hypothesize that these structures were built with a socio-religious purpose in mind and only later were assigned the full functions of a mosque.

Ovcharov compares the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv to the Hatuniye (1489<sup>128</sup>) in Manisa (Fig. 43)<sup>129</sup>, the (Yeni) Muradiye (1421<sup>130</sup>) in Edirne (Fig. 44-5), and the Gazi Mihal (1422<sup>131</sup>) also in Edirne (Figs. 46-7).<sup>132</sup> He finds some similarities in the masonry of the minaret—this is true of the Imaret and the Hatuniye, both of which have brick zigzag-pattern minarets, while the Muradiye exhibits a different pattern (and building material) entirely. The main façade of the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv is decorated with zigzag horizontal and vertical brick rows, which cross each other—which indeed is a similarity and to other monuments built around the same time in Bursa and Edirne.<sup>133</sup> The

<sup>127</sup> While the most correct way to name these buildings before they were turned into mosques would be T-shaped multifunctional buildings, most of the literature still refers to them as *imaret/zaviye*. As I have not closely studied the other examples of this architectural type, I will continue calling them *imaret/zaviye*.

<sup>128</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 158-9.

<sup>129</sup> Image from <http://wowturkey.com/forum/viewtopic.php?t=44917>

<sup>130</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 73.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 468, nr. 35.

<sup>132</sup> Ovcharov, *The drawings of the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv*, 8.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

case of Gazi Mihal appears to be more complex as the minaret was rebuilt after 1971 and in its current form does not have a zigzag pattern. Based on the above, Ovcharov concludes that the Imaret mosque is a typical *imaret/zaviye* in its appearance and similar to other contemporary monuments in the former Ottoman capitals of Edirne and Bursa, respectively.<sup>134</sup> While the minarets are not the same throughout, the main buildings do exhibit great similarity at least on the level of the exterior so it possible to accept that the T-shaped monument was widespread.

Boykov approaches this issue from the point of view of conquest and functions assigned to the T-shaped structures in different cities. He notes that when Bursa surrendered to Orhan in 1326, the monastery of St Elias was converted to a mausoleum, while a mosque, a royal residence, and a bath were erected in the vicinity. Yet, as a step to attract Muslim settlers, Orhan commissioned a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*. As Boykov stresses, the *zaviye/imaret* complexes attracted settlers to the new urban centers as opposed to the opposite—that the large number of incoming population necessitated the foundation of *imaret/zaviye* complexes.<sup>135</sup> Grand Friday mosques were not built to attract a population, but rather to keep and celebrate it.

Similarly, in Iznik, which fell into Ottoman hands in 1331, the church of St Sophia was immediately converted to a mosque, and Orhan ordered the construction of a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* outside the fortified Byzantine city.<sup>136</sup> Ovcharov also discusses the *imaret* of Nülifer Hatun built in 1389 in Iznik by Murad I in memory of his mother. As such it was a charitable endowment meant to help the poor and support students of Islamic theology.<sup>137</sup> While the above doesn't say much about the strategy of conquest and attracting new population to the town, it speaks to the intended purposes of the foundation, namely—commemorative and charitable ones aimed at helping the community rather than strictly religious ones. In Üsküb, present-day Skopje, the conqueror Paşa Yiğit Bey also erected an *imaret/zaviye*, which along with several other service buildings formed the city center and attracted people to settle there.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Boykov, "Architecture as Symbol of Power," 71-72.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>137</sup> Ovcharov, *The drawings of the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv*, 9.

<sup>138</sup> Boykov, "Architecture as Symbol of Power," 73.

The pattern of positioning the *imaret/zaviye* complex as a way to mark the periphery of the city and establish a welcoming signal outpost to incoming travellers remained well into the conquest of the Balkans as illustrated in the case of the Imaret mosque. Even in the 1878 photograph by Kavra, it is easily seen that the Imaret mosque stands on the clear outskirts of the city, marking the end of the urban center.

A further example is brought in by Boykov who follows arguments made by Lowry and Kiel in their discussion of the earliest history of the Ottoman Balkans.<sup>139</sup> Hacı Evrenos Gazi, leader of the Thrace and Macedonia conquest, built in Gümülcine, present-day Komotini, a T-shaped multifunctional building, currently the oldest standing Ottoman monument in the Balkans. The building may have also have served as his residence,<sup>140</sup> making it clear that the T-shaped plan was not used only for mosques. On the contrary, it seems more likely that the plan was initially used for buildings other than mosques and only later were converted to mosques. Thus this structure marked the beginning of the conquest and was accompanied by an inn and a public bath. Often, these would be erected in the immediate vicinity of the main local church, which in some cases would in turn be converted to a mosque.

The most prominent example of a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* at the time is the Yeşil Cami (1420), or Green Mosque, in Bursa, where according to Ovcharov the reversed T-shape originated.<sup>141</sup> The Yeşil Complex of Mehmet I in Bursa consists of a T-shaped mosque, a mausoleum, a *hamam* and a *medresa*.<sup>142</sup> Lavishly decorated and having features such as a royal loge and apartments as well as a vestibule, it is clear that the building was not planned as a prayer space only.<sup>143</sup> It is interesting to compare the Imaret mosque with the Yeşil Cami in Bursa as the latter is in a much better state of preservation and much more lavishly decorated.

Both complexes feature a T-shaped structure as well as a *türbe* or a mausoleum. In Bursa, the Yeşil tomb is clearly marked as Mehmet I's and is dated to 1421.<sup>144</sup> Similarities of the Yeşil and Imaret mosques emerge immediately—the general layout

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 72—3.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 72.

<sup>141</sup> Ovcharov, *The drawings of the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv*, 8. The statement is clearly challenged by the existence of the Gazi Evrenos Imaret in Komotini, as cited above.

<sup>142</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 69.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 59.

<sup>144</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 59—63.

very similar including the portico. Goodwin stresses that this was the private mosque of the sultan and thus was equipped with royal apartments and spaces, such as the royal loge, which looked straight onto the *mihrab* from the second level. While I was not given the opportunity to explore the second floor spaces in the Imaret mosque, such an arrangement—that the mosque was once partly residential, is not implausible. As will be shown later, elements such as fireplaces and small quarters speak of a residential more than a worship space.

Yet, a little known example from the town of Karacabey near Bursa presents the closest similarity to the plan of the Imaret Mosque.<sup>145</sup> The only place where the plan has been published is Aptullah Kuran's exploration of early Ottoman mosques. The plan matches that of the Imaret almost exactly but as the mosque was destroyed in the 1920s, not much can be learned about the building as a whole. In addition, the plan of the mosque in Karacabey shows the side rooms closed off from the central court, as they must have been in the Imaret. Further exploration of the similarities between the two monuments may yield interesting conclusions about their earliest function and circumstances.<sup>146</sup>

Ovcharov notes the T-shaped structures always came as a part of a complex, featuring other community-useful buildings such as *medresa*, hospitals, baths, a kitchen, a place to shelter travelers, and a mausoleum for the founder. According to Ovcharov, this plan went out of fashion in the fifteenth century when the period of classical Ottoman architecture takes over. It is of course interesting to consider if it died out because the urban centers were sufficiently developed and settlers were offered different incentives. An example of such complexes, or *külliyeye*, are the mosque-*medresa* Hudavendigâr in Bursa built in the outskirts by Murad I, which had in its vicinity a kitchen, imaret, baths, and a mausoleum for the sultan. The complex of Yıldırım Beyazıt (1390-95) in Bursa also contained a hospital, a bath, a *medresa*, a monastery, a soup kitchen, *caravanseray*, and mausoleum belonging to the founder all united by a dual-dome mosque in a T-shape.<sup>147</sup> While Ovcharov claims that this is the beginning of construction of complexes of

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<sup>145</sup> I am grateful to Dr Chahinda Karim for pointing out the example and reference.

<sup>146</sup> Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, 92-3.

<sup>147</sup> Ovcharov, *The drawings of the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv*, 9.

buildings, which are to develop over time,<sup>148</sup> it is worth noting that complexes of mausoleums and charitable foundations such as soup kitchens and hospitals were also seen in Anatolian Seljuk, Ilkhanid and Mamluk times.

Thus Ovcharov links the foundation of the new mosque and complex to the cornerstone of a whole new neighborhood, one which was to be designed and constructed as a Muslim city. According to him, in the early decades of the rule of the Ottomans, mosques were community centers as well as prayer spaces. Thus, prayers were taking place in the inner hall, while the outer rooms were being used to give shelter to wandering dervishes and travelers, whose mission was to travel the empire and convert the local population to Islam; the missions of the *zaviye* and soup kitchens were the same.<sup>149</sup> And indeed, elements from the side rooms point to the fact that they were intended for the rest of the above-mentioned dervishes and soldiers. Goodwin proposed a different arrangement for the T-shaped Yeşil mosque—it was the private mosque of the sultan, thus, it housed private quarters and access to it was limited to those with access to the ruler.<sup>150</sup> Thus, initially the mosque/*zaviye* fulfilled sacred and community functions and with time, as the Ottoman rule settled in, the balances were shifted in favor of the religious function.

Another complex, much more similar to the Imaret Mosque in terms of decoration and function, is the Muradiye Complex in Bursa. Built after the Yeşil Complex in 1426-8, the Muradiye Complex in Bursa bears much more similarities to the Imaret in Filibe, which will be explored as the individual features of the Imaret mosque are revealed.

Towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the community function disappears and the mosques were adapted to the requirements of prayer only. The architectural evidence of this is easy to prove when the whole building is looked at carefully.<sup>151</sup>

The Imaret is one of the rare T-shaped *zaviye/mosques* in Bulgaria. The one in Ihtiman, built in 1572, didn't survive and thus it's hard to say much about it.<sup>152</sup> It is worth noting that Ihtiman, like Filibe, rests on a Roman road leading to the Bosphorus and was key to controlling the Gates of Trajan mountain pass, one of the few passes through the

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>150</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 60.

<sup>151</sup> Ovcharov, *The Drawings of the Imaret mosque in Plovdiv*, 6, 11.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., 11.

mountain chain running through Bulgaria. The fact that there wasn't an *imaret/zaviye* at more of the conquered cities in the territory of present-day Bulgaria complicates evidence for the argument that such foundations were crucial in setting a new Muslim urban center and/or housed its most prominent ruler. Such facilities were built obviously at the more significant and strategic places where the full cost of their maintenance would have been commensurate with their expected impact in the community.

## Description of the Monument

### Inscriptions

In his work on Ottoman buildings in Bulgaria and their inscriptions, Dr Ibrahim Tatrılı states that there are three inscriptions in the Imaret mosque.<sup>153</sup> I have been able to locate only two of them. One is the foundation inscription, which Tatrılı states was centrally located above the entrance door. At the time of my research visits, it was nowhere to be seen, but I was able to identify it among the gravestones behind the mosque, thanks to Tatrılı's photographs.<sup>154</sup> The second inscription Tatrılı located to the left of the entrance door. That one is in Persian and refers to repair works of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 48).<sup>155</sup> Tatrılı mentions a third inscription as well—in the bottom corner of the entrance portico, referring to the addition of a drinking fountain. There is no trace of either the drinking fountain or the inscription that went with it. In Machiel Kiel's archive there is a photograph which bears the caption "Cesme inscription," and it is possible that this is the one referred to (Fig. 49).

The significance of the Imaret mosque for tracing the development of the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* is increased by the fact that it is one of the few Ottoman monuments in Bulgaria with an intact and documented foundation inscription. The foundation inscription has been read, translated and also understood as a chronogram, which has allowed us to accurately establish the building date of the mosque.

The Arabic inscription, which until the summer of 2010 was discarded in the back of the mosque and considered lost, reads as follows:

امر ببناء هذه العمارة العالية بميامن دولة السلطان بن  
السلطان سلطان مراد خان بن محمد خان خلد ملكه  
امير الامراء الحاج شهاب الدين باشا اسر الله في الدارين ما انشاء  
في تاريخ تقبل يا قدم الاحسان هجرة نبوية

<sup>153</sup> Tatrılı, *Turkish Ceremonial Buildings and Inscriptions*, 34.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> This inscription is unpacked in Appendix C.

Tatırlı<sup>156</sup> translates the inscription and elaborates on the points, which were previously misinterpreted:

The building of this lofty imaret was ordered with the blessings of the righteous Sultan,  
Son of the Sultan, Sultan Murad Khan, son of Muhammad Khan, may his kingdom be perpetuated immortal  
Emir of emirs [i.e. *beylerbeyi*] the hajj Shahab al-Din Pasha, may God reward him in both worlds for what he erected,  
In the date of “accepting longstanding charity” of the hijra of the Prophet.<sup>157</sup>

This seemingly simple and short inscription gives a lot of information about the building and its patron, Şahabbedin Paşa. The date of 848/1444-5 is given in the underlined passage of the last line of the inscription.<sup>158</sup> The *abjad* sum of the letters gives the number 848.<sup>159</sup>

Murad II ruled between 1421 and 1444, and then again between 1445 and 1451.<sup>160</sup> Mehmet II Fatih ruled during the period of 1444-5. The inscription doesn't mention Mehmet and it points to two possibilities—either the construction was finalized before Mehmet II took the throne in 1444 or that Murad II never fully abdicated in favor of his son and continued to be regarded as the sultan.<sup>161</sup>

On the front of the mosque, to the left of the entrance door is a second inscription. This one is in Ottoman Turkish and Persian and speaks of repairs to the mosque done in the eighteenth century.<sup>162</sup> The chronogram, *Bu âlî ilticâgâhın mükemmel bitti*, found in the last line adds up to the year 1146 A.H., corresponding to 1733-34. At that time ruling was Sultan Osman III (r. 1730–1754).

<sup>156</sup> Tatırlı, *Turkish Ceremonial Buildings and Inscriptions*, 35-6.

<sup>157</sup> The Translation into English is mine and is based on Dr Tatırlı's reading. I thank Bernard O'Kane for the stylistic suggestions.

<sup>158</sup> Multiple scholars have calculated the date to be as written above. Among them are Anna Rochkovska, Ovcharov and Tatırlı.

<sup>159</sup> Tatırlı, *Turkish Ceremonial Buildings and Inscriptions*, 38.

<sup>160</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 11. Chronological table.

<sup>161</sup> Tatırlı supports the second version of events, 38-40. He points out that the winter of 1444 was exceptionally cold and that a construction project of these proportions would not have been possible to complete.

<sup>162</sup> This inscription has not been read or discussed in any of the secondary sources I have looked at. I am immensely grateful to Jake Benson for his expertise in transcribing and translating this inscription from the photos I showed him. I am also grateful to him for providing an interpretation of the text, for placing the text in the stylistic conventions of the time, and making me aware of them. For the full inscription, transliteration, and translation, all three courtesy of Jake Benson, please see Appendix C.

The main purpose of the inscription is to provide reference for the renovation works. The seventh line from the top refers to this specifically:

*Harâbe muşerref olmuşnun pezîrâ-yi hîtam oldu  
Bu ca-yi sad şikâf erkânın ta'mîr ve teşyîdî*

The above translates as: "The ruin of the honorable has concluded; the pillars of this place of a hundred cracks are repaired and reconstructed." The text of the chronogram refers to the renovation as well: "The renovation of this entire lofty refuge is complete." It is possible that with the renovation of 1733-4 the side rooms were opened towards the interior court and the interior of the monument was transformed. Another curious element of the inscription is the mention of the feast of Jamshid, a Persian mythological king, who started the celebration of Nowruz. The feast could refer to the time of the spring equinox or it could have a much more metaphorical significance such as a time of rebirth and new beginnings. At least according to the attached translation, there is no mention of the monument as a mosque. On the contrary, it is referred to as "official palace building" in the last but one line, so it could either be from another building (which is not very likely as there is no uncovered documents or archaeological evidence speaking of a palace or another grand residential building in the vicinity or in Filibe) or that the Imaret complex enjoyed a number of functions and at some point that could have included serving as a seat of power.

Scattered around the mausoleum as well as behind the mosque are numerous gravestones with varying degrees of decoration. At first glance some look like inscriptions belonging to the building, but their text shows that they commemorate a certain deceased person. Most of the gravestones bear dates around and later than the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> A separate study could be devoted to sorting through these stones and their inscriptions and undoubtedly gathering valuable information about the prominent Muslim citizens of Filibe around the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

## Architectural and decorative features

### Exterior

Originally consisting of a whole complex, featuring a soup kitchen, a madrasa, a mausoleum, and a *zaviye/mosque*, today only the mosque, originally built as a T-shaped multifunctional building, with an adjacent minaret (Figs. 50-2) and the mausoleum stand (Fig. 139).<sup>164</sup> The discussion of the physical qualities of the monument as it stands today aims to examine the functions which it embodied throughout the centuries and to find tangible evidence for the transition from the initial program for the buildings and their current uses.

The exterior proudly exhibits one of the main decorative principles of the building program—at first glance bare and without decoration, the monument employs rules of geometry and symmetry to create a space that is harmonious, aesthetically pleasing and yet not ostentatious. Facing the main entrance of the mosque from the courtyard, one encounters five arches placed on a raised entrance portico. The portico is one bay wide (Fig. 53). The central arch, taller than each of the pairs on its sides, leads to the interior of the mosque and faces the *mihrab*. The portico is elevated and one reaches it by climbing two tall steps. Almost centered on each side of the mosque entrance, on the northern exterior, is a *mihrab*-like niche, parallel to the *qibla* wall and thus indicating the direction of Mecca (Figs. 54). These outdoor prayer spaces point perhaps to the previous, original function of the mosque, when it was a more social place, giving shelter to travelers and housing students of religion. The outdoor spaces were used for the daily prayers and probably point to the fact that the interior of the mosque was not meant as a functioning mosque, but rather an *imaret/zaviye*/living or lodging quarters, where those wishing to fulfill their daily prayers could easily find the *qibla*. At the same time, it is possible to admit other uses of these two outdoor niches as almost all of the exterior decoration has vanished.

While no wall decoration as such exists on the exterior, the arches' masonry has been carefully laid to create visually pleasing patterns. The masonry is a style often

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<sup>164</sup> The T-shaped building currently functions as a mosque only and the main building will be referred to as mosque, even though this designation through the centuries since its foundation will be questioned.

employed on buildings, both mosques and churches as well as houses, namely the so-called cell masonry, consisting of laying thin bricks around stones and thus creating a cell-like appearance.<sup>165</sup>

A frame outlines the extrados of the five arches of the portico. Its lattice pattern stands in contrast with the undulating pattern on the spandrels, achieved with the thin bricks and forming wave-like patterns similarly found in Central Asian mosques and mausoleums (Fig. 55). While the cloisonné masonry of the other three sides is common locally, the understated decoration of the façade is not. The lattice frame above the arches stretches between the crowns of the two outermost arches. This kind of refined decoration seems to have been central to the initial building plan where symmetry, variation with the basic materials, and spatial organizations are the underlying principles of the aesthetic program in a way that makes clear that decoration was not the main priority.

The Muradiye in Bursa exhibits similar, albeit differently executed, features on the façade.<sup>166</sup> The plinth masonry is exhibits more variations and is elaborated on with tile elements, creating an interesting blend of the local traditions and the new decorative industries of the Ottomans. Goodman brings evidence that the tiles were custom-made for the façade.<sup>167</sup> The general outline of the portico is also very similar to that of the Imaret Mosque, down to the side entrance and the *mihrab* niches in the northern exterior (Figs. 56-7). It is not surprising that the local governor's foundation would not have been as extravagant as one funded by the sovereign. Working with the resources he had and the restrictions he no longer had to abide by, Şihabeddin Paşa nonetheless made sure his building lacked none of the overall style and elegance innate to the best architecture.

The outlines of the arches as well as the thick, nearly square columns supporting the Imaret mosque's portico are made of plinth masonry only, thus making them stand out on the façade. The ceiling of the portico is divided into five interior hexagonal domes forming supported by triangular squinches (Fig. 58-60). These were painted probably more than a decade or two ago, but the paint is now fading. The *mihrab*-like openings on

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<sup>165</sup> The origins of this style are local as it closely resembles the cloisonné masonry originating in Byzantium. The surrounding thin red bricks are called plinths. In Constantinople, it was more common to have masonry entirely of plinths. (Byzantine monuments of Attica: <http://www.eie.gr/byzantineattica/view.asp?cgpk=679&xsl=terms&obpk=462&lg=en>)

<sup>166</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 71.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

the southern wall are not centered below the springing of the arch, which is where the natural middle of the wall would be, but rather set at an equal distance from the entrance.

The exterior walls of the portico show layers of renovations, but none of what is there is enough to suggest a more complete picture. There are remains visible of brick-colored paint as well as a deep cobalt blue color on the walls. One of these layers, the red-brick one, carries some of the rough drawings and sketches, which will be discussed later, but these can only be noticed upon close inspection and from a close distance (Fig. 61). There are also remains of white text against a black background which from some of the vocalization marks still visible, were probably verses from the Qur'an. However, currently the state of disrepair is such that one can make out no more than a few letters. So far the search for archival photographs, which might have the inscription intact or in a better state, has yielded no finds.

There are remains of large-scale calligraphy close to the center of the portico, above the entrance door of the mosque and intercepting an inscription speaking about the renovation, which took place in the eighteenth century (Fig. 62).<sup>168</sup> The remains of paint on the exterior wall most likely spelled the name of the Prophet Muhammad, as illustrated by the late Ottoman tradition of attaching a flower at the end of his name; in this case, the flower is a rose (Fig. 63). Considering the example of the Eski Cami in Edirne, the outside decoration most likely was a large-scale calligraphy of the same type (Fig. 64). Indeed the placement of the Ottoman Turkish panel right on top of the inscription, and especially on the name of the Prophet, begs some questions as to the reasons behind it. Is it possible that the large-scale writing on the wall was gone by the time the inscription was affixed? Or was it elsewhere and its current placement has been arbitrary?

The rest of the exterior of the mosque, other than the façade, does not present any unexpected relationships or findings. All the walls exhibit the cell masonry rather consistently. The windows on the second level are in the shape of pointed horseshoe arches and have identical white, marble, or stone grills with medium-sized round openings closely following the shape of the window (Fig. 65).

The windows on the first level, closest to the ground show a more layered case. The initial shape seems to be of arch-in-an-arch, the outer one mirroring the shape of the

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<sup>168</sup> See the Inscriptions section of the chapter for more on this inscription.

arches of the windows above, thus creating a rather harmonious arrangement. The tympana of the Muradiye in Bursa are decorated with elaborate tile work (Fig. 66), while the ones in the Yeşil Mosque had been adorned with fine marble carvings (Fig. 67). It is hard to propose what the original decoration of the windows of the İmaret would have. The metal bars are undoubtedly a recent addition necessitated by the need to protect the interior of the mosque.

### Archival evidence for changes in the exterior and function of the mosque

Archival images of the mosque prove interesting in establishing some changes in the exterior and possible function of the monument. While quite a few photographs exist of the Imaret mosque and it features prominently in several of the panoramas from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, establishing a chronological sequence and approximate dating has been challenging. The reason is that many of these images have been scanned from albums or even personal archives and uploaded to websites with historic photos. Even some of the ones I found in the main Plovdiv library lack exact dates. The Plovdiv national archive also yielded some images, mostly those of Greek photographer Dimiri Kavra from 1879-80. The images most diligently dated are those of historian Machiel Kiel, who has organized them in an excellent online archive.

The earliest dated image of the entire Şihabeddin Paşa complex, which included a bath, a madrasa, a soup kitchen, a place for travellers, a mausoleum and the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, is to be seen in a photograph from the late 1870s – early 1880s (Fig. 69). Grigor Boykov identifies the various buildings of the complex in this photograph.<sup>169</sup> Looking at the *imaret/zaviye* in particular, it is possible to see well its eastern and southern facades as well as its minaret. On the eastern façade, above the eastern opening of the portico, a metal awning has been constructed and suspended above the arch with metal beams. In all historic photos, until the renovations done by the Bulgarian National Institute for Historic Monuments in 1965—76, the holes of where the metal beams must have been are clearly visible. It means that the metal awning surrounded the portico until it was removed probably before 1900 when it disappears from the photographs.

A panorama,<sup>170</sup> shot by Kavra in 1881 shows the whole town and the dozens of minarets in it (Fig. 71). However, the quality and resolution of its digital copy are not sufficient for drawing observations about the Imaret mosque at that time. This panorama is probably very close in date to the photograph discussed above.

The next panoramic photo comes from 1900. It is taken from almost the same vantage as the previous one, but significant changes have happened in those few years

<sup>169</sup> Boykov, "The Waqf and the Complex of Şihabeddin Paşa in Filibe," 187.

<sup>170</sup> I obtained this photograph from the National Archives in Plovdiv. Special thanks go to Mr Dimitar Balchev for his kind assistance. In the National Library Ivan Vazov in Plovdiv, where the other archival photographs came from, I am grateful to Dr Veneta Ganeva and her colleagues for their assistance.

(Fig. 72). After the independence of Eastern Rumelia in 1878 from the Ottoman Empire, projects of national revival were rapidly developing. In the photograph from 1900 several items call for attention. A newly erected monumental church of Saints Cyril and Methodius completed in 1885, has taken center stage. The Şihabeddin complex still stands even though reports started to appear about its deterioration.<sup>171</sup> The metal awnings surrounding the portico have disappeared never to return. A drawing of nearly the same perspective was published as a postcard – the school and the church are positioned in the center and look even more imposing (Fig. 73).

The next historic photographs give a chronological overview of the *imaret/zaviye* and its functions (Figs. 74-80). I have not been able to date the photographs; the ones from the Machiel Kiel archive (Figs. 79-80) are dated to 1972, for the reasons explained above. Thus, the following trajectory is based on visual analysis alone.

What appears to be the oldest photograph of the group was published in an album about Plovdiv and its history in 1957<sup>172</sup> and also features at the University of Bamberg's Balkan studies visual archive (Fig. 74). The photograph itself dates well before the 1950s. The church of Cyril and Methodius is probably concealed by the tree in the background. The hill in the background, which would later be densely populated, stands almost bare. Visible in this photograph is the entire minaret, whose top part would change several times over the coming decades. The roof over the portico has started to show signs of disrepair and the area in front of the *imaret/zaviye* is rather bare. Electricity came to Plovdiv between 1900 and 1906<sup>173</sup>, so the presence of an electrical cables and an electric pole point to a date later than that.

The next photograph in the chronology shows some interesting alterations (Fig. 75). The roof above the portico has fallen into disrepair and either there is vegetation growing through it. It is remarkable to see that underneath the roof tiles, one of the domes of the portico is visible. The upper part of the minaret is narrower than the one on the previous photograph. The events and reasons that lead to the change are not clear. Curiously, the portico has been fitted with walls and what look like rooms have formed. The presence of big trays and cauldrons suggest that people probably live there. A note of expenses dating

<sup>171</sup> Boykov, *The Waqf and the Complex of Şihabeddin Paşa in Filibe*, 185.

<sup>172</sup> <http://www.hralupa.com/index.php?act=viewProd&productId=25407>

<sup>173</sup> <http://www.cez-rp.bg/bg/za-nas/istoriya.html>

to the early 1900s documents the funeral of a poor woman, who used to live in the *imaret*.<sup>174</sup> This photograph definitely provides a visual idea of what this might have looked like post-1878. Additional one-story buildings stand directly in front of the portico and two small additions flank the western façade, across from the mausoleum. The large tree to the left of the dome, visible in the previous photograph, is no longer obscuring the church in the background. The points where the metal beams used to attach and support the awning are clearly discernible along the entire portico façade. The minaret's silhouette is very close to its current form and so is the balcony. It is possible that this photo and others similar to it have served as the reconstruction model.

The next two photographs are the easiest to date from the group and serve as orientation for those before and after (Figs. 76-7). They show the earthquake damage, which hit the town of Chirpan, in close proximity to Plovdiv, in the spring of 1928. The photos are not dated so they could be from 1928 or from the years after. The first one is taken from in front of the *imaret* and shows the severely damaged minaret. On the western façade, near the western opening of the portico, a white line clearly marks the outline of what used to be the roofs of the two tiny buildings seen in the previous photo. The deterioration of the roof continued, no doubt exacerbated by the earthquake. The vantage point does not permit us to establish whether the one-story buildings were still there. A short article relating to the Imaret mosque in the aftermath of the earthquake was published in a local newspaper "Юр" (meaning South).<sup>175</sup> The piece asks if the damaged parts of the Imaret mosque (and the Muradiyye mosque) should be demolished (as was the fate of the majority of Ottoman monuments in Plovdiv after 1878) or if they should be repaired. More importantly, the piece states that the Imaret mosque was under the care of the Turkish *waqf* authority and that it had not only allowed for the building to fall into disrepair, but had used it as a storage for raw tobacco. This remark drives the point that the building was not used as a place of worship for decades at least.

The second photograph from the aftermath of the earthquake gives a view towards the building from the street (Fig. 77). It is interesting to see that there is a large gate with a sign above it. The word barrels is barely visible on the sign and the presence of barrels

<sup>174</sup> I have unfortunately lost the exact reference, except for the following information: Document #283, National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv.

<sup>175</sup> Вестник "Юр" от 11.05.1928г.

on the street in front of it suggests it was probably a place where people could buy fuel for their household. It is not unreasonable to suppose that whatever business is marked on the sign was actually housed in a building across from the *imaret* or in its immediate vicinity. This would only reinforce the hypothesis that for decades the monument was left to the forces of nature and its dilapidation progressed. On this photograph it is very clear that the dome of the mausoleum had lost all of its metal covering and has turned into a fertile ground for the growth of moss and small plants.

The next photograph, also undated, shows the *imaret* and mausoleum from the other side of the street (Fig. 78). There are probably several years separating it from the one before it. The roof of the portico has been fixed and the mausoleum has been taken care of as well. The street looks clean and organized and the gate sign is no longer there. A small wooden cabin sits next to the mausoleum and at the entrance. The writing on it is unintelligible from the digital copy of the photograph, but the words on the bigger sign can be made out. The main word, “даракчийница,” is an outdated word, meaning a small workshop where wool is spun by a machine. This would again indicate that the mosque and its immediate surroundings were used by workshops and businesses.<sup>176</sup> Indeed, the specific court decision<sup>177</sup> states that a wool-spinning was established in the two-story building which is visible between the mosque and the river in all the archival photographs (Fig. 69). Thus, the photo is from the mid- to- late 1940s.

The following wider-frame photo shows the bridge crossing the Maritza River, located in the same spot where Lala Şahin built the first wooden bridge when he took the town (Fig. 40). The photograph has been dated to the 1940s and comparing the shape of the minaret with that of the previous picture, this rough dating makes sense.

There's a gap of nearly three decades before state-sponsored renovations of the mosque started in 1965. According to more than one source, that is when the foundation inscription was removed from its place above the door and was discarded.<sup>178</sup> Machiel Kiel's images from the early 1970s document the mosque in a state of disrepair and

<sup>176</sup> [http://www.adms-pv.bg/spravki/dela/SD/SD\\_2009\\_11.htm](http://www.adms-pv.bg/spravki/dela/SD/SD_2009_11.htm) cites a court decision regarding damages payments as a result of the the nationalization of a darakchiinica in exactly this same address.

<sup>177</sup> The full court decision: <http://www.adms-pv.bg/spravki/dela/SD/0261d808/011a0209.htm>

<sup>178</sup> Boykov writes that Kiel saw the inscription inside the mosque under a pile of stones in 1977 and no one had seen it until 2011 when I uncovered it in the back, under the gravestones that used to be in the nearby cemetery.

reconstruction.<sup>179</sup> One of the photos from his photographic archive clearly shows the well-preserved decoration of the portico (Fig. 79). Also there seemed to be an effort to organize the marble gravestones, the majority of which have been either used as pavement for the front yard of the mosque or are lying discarded behind the building (Fig. 81-2).

It is in these photos from 1972 that the marks from the metal beams disappear from the facades and the roof takes its contemporary shape. Instead of the four-sided triple roof on the portico, the dome of the entrance has been accentuated and a flat metal roof installed. Even though Kiel does not have photos of the minaret on his archive, it looks like it was certainly being rebuilt or at least worked on. The mausoleum was also getting renovated, albeit having been gutted from inside and out (Fig. 80). It is clear that this renovation of the late 60s and early 70s is what determined the look of the monument today. It was not until 1992 though that the building resumed its function as a mosque. It is unclear what its function was between 1976 and 1992.

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<sup>179</sup> Machiel Kiel Photographic Archive, <http://www.nit-istanbul.org/kielarchive/index.php>.

### Architectural and Decorative Features: Interior

In the process of researching and gathering materials for this thesis, I have not come across a complete interior plan of the Imaret mosque. Floor plans of the main level exist but neither of them shows the spaces on the higher levels. Unfortunately, I have not been able to gain access to these rooms either and thus the subsequent discussion will not cover the interior in its entirety.

Studying all the interior spaces will no doubt bring a much better understanding of the mosque, its historical functions and the transformations, which have made it what it is today. These are apparent when the interior features of the building are examined systematically with basic principles of symmetry in mind.

Ovcharov, who mainly focused on the wall drawings throughout the building, also looked at the ground plan and the history of the mosque and its patron, and linked all this architectural and historic information in order to establish the authenticity of the drawings. He proposed two ground plans, one supposing what the mosque looked like when it was built in 1444-5 and another one showing the ground plan after 1700 (Fig. 83).<sup>180</sup> Currently the mosque stands in a configuration very close to the eighteenth century plan with slight changes, which will be discussed below. From the provided materials and references it is unclear how the early 18<sup>th</sup> century emerged as the time when the changes took place. While there is an inscription marking renovations during the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it does not specify exactly what was done. Furthermore, as demonstrated with the archival photos of the exterior, it is also hard to establish if the mosque had seen more than one transformation. It is possible that what we consider the original plan is simply an earlier one as no definitive information exists as to the initial plan of the building.

The plans scanned from Ovcharov's study show the following general trends. The main building of the complex was built as a T-shaped multifunctional construction with an open portico, supported by six (three on each side of the entrance arch) nearly square columns. Two more of these columns are on both sides of the entrance, forming an imperfect square and supporting the hexagonal dome above the entrance (Fig. 58). The

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<sup>180</sup> Ovcharov, *The Drawings in the Imaret Mosque*, 7.

walls, almost as thick as the columns, are uniform through the exterior and the interior as the window niches show.

According to the earlier (possibly the original) plan, the entrance led directly to an inner court--a long, rectangular open space culminating in the *mihrab*, positioned on an elevated prayer area. One notices the relative narrowness of the main entrance, which is another clue to the fact that the monument had more of a utilitarian than official ceremonial purpose (Fig. 84). Immediately to the left and right of the main entrance were two small antechambers (Fig. 85). Completing the reversed T-shape, there is a room on each side of the central chamber. The windows are symmetrically positioned throughout the building.

The second plan, dated to post 1700 by Ovcharov, reveals an open layout, with the walls separating the side rooms from the central space taken down. Furthermore, the openings from the side rooms to the antechambers of the room to the right had been changed and have replaced the fireplace visible in the earlier plan. The mere existence of fireplaces suggests that the rooms were used separately either to provide shelter to travelers or as separate spaces for gatherings or religious instruction.

The prayer space in front of the *mihrab* remains unchanged throughout the history of the mosque as illustrated by these two plans. This makes sense if we accept that the building embodied many functions which changed according to what was needed and appropriate. The prayer area was probably utilized as such on a daily basis by the students in the nearby madrasa and those staying in the *imaret/zaviye* even before the building became a full-functioning mosque.

As the mosque stands now, there are two entrances leading to its interior. The main entrance links the portico to the interior. The second door stands on the east side and at least according to Ovcharov's plans has been there since the mosque was built. Currently, the side entrance leads straight to the ablution area and through there to the mosque. The cloisonné voussoirs also indicate that this opening was done at the time of original construction (Fig. 85).

Looking back to the entrance and the wall on which it is positioned, with one's back to the *mihrab*, the top of the doorframe has a broken-headed arch like the opening right above it (Fig. 87). According to the imam who was there at the time of one of the site

visits, this was used as balcony for the muezzin to call to prayer for the *iqama* – the call to prayer inside the mosque (Fig. 87).

Godfrey Goodwin's chapter on Bursa and the Green mosque opens with a full-size photograph of the royal loge.<sup>181</sup> The shape of the opening as well as its position in the mosque (looking directly towards the *mihrab* from a slightly elevated vantage) matches exactly the shape of the broken arch. Clearly the space in the Imaret mosque does not have the expansive space available in Bursa and it is maybe safe to assume that it was used as a private balcony or a place for the *muezzin* and the *iqama* more than as a space for "delight and relaxation"<sup>182</sup> (Fig. 87). The broken arch was often employed especially in this early period and its presence. The entrance of the Muradiye in Bursa has the same shape indeed (Fig. 88).

Framing the entrance door, symmetrically on each side, are two niches with concave tops in the shape of half-shells with basic geometric shape *muqarnas* below them (Fig. 89-90). Immediately after the main entrance, on each side, are the entrances to the two antechambers. To the right is the private room of the imam, who often stays in the mosque overnight (Fig. 91). The room on the left is the ablution space where the side entrance also is (Fig. 92). The opening to the ablution area (which ends in a door leading to the side of the mosque) as well as its ceiling is also wide and below a similar slightly pointed arch (Fig. 93).

Immediately in front, on both sides of the entrance space, are sets of stairs leading up to the rooms flanking the central spaces (visible in Fig. 85). These are believed to have been separate rooms and based on the decoration and the room divisions, which will be looked at in detail below, evidence can be found that these rooms were not initially open to the central area. The two side rooms as well as the raised prayer area are in a way stand-alone spaces because of their elevation above the central court, through which they are accessible. This central space is the one that feels the most airy and expansive as the distance from floor to dome is the greatest, also suggesting that the building was not meant as a prayer space exclusively at the time of its construction. If it had been meant as such, it would have reserved the highest dome for the prayer hall or *mihrab* area. The

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<sup>181</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 58.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

spatial organization is similar at the mosque in Bursa. The main difference is that in Bursa the central space, i.e. the interior court, hosts an elaborate marble fountain lending the mosque an air of sophistication and yet simplicity.<sup>183</sup> In the case of the Imaret, it is possible that an open dome and an ablutions court were in the middle originally.<sup>184</sup> This could also explain why the side rooms were previously closed off to the center court.

The interior layout is very similar in the Muradiye T-shaped mosque in Bursa, which has experienced similar transformations. The side rooms were opened up to the central court and the fact that they were only accessible through a set of stairs from the inner court is a suggestion that the *iwans* were closed.<sup>185</sup>

In the Imaret mosque, the interior court dome rests on an octagonal drum supported by a transitional zone of *muqarnas* pendentives (Fig. 96). There are eight windows in the drum, seven of which are open and letting light in (the *qibla* one is closed). All of the eight windows have grills with round openings on the exterior similar to all windows on the facades. The lantern of the dome also has eight openings (Fig. 94-5, 98), allowing for additional light. There, below the windows is a pattern of red and wider squares of green, outlined in yellow and set against a black background. The white-washed dome bears no color or painted decoration. The only element vaguely resembling decoration is a band above the *muqarnas*, at the base of the dome, a transitional zone made of up rectangles (so-called Turkish triangles). This feature occurs throughout the monument—on the interior domes, the base of the minaret (Fig. 52) and the transitional zones of the central portico dome (Fig. 58). The Yeşil in Bursa, even though much more elaborately decorated and in a much better state of preservation, exhibits some similar details in the choice of dome shape, transitional zone (Figs. 99-103).

The dome, resting on an octagonal drum, is most likely made of brick and supported by eight-tier *muqarnas* pendentives, identical on both sides of the entrance door and differing slightly from the ones on the side of the *qibla* (Fig. 96-7). When observed from below, these *muqarnas* pendentives elements form a set of three eight-pointed stars—one closer to the ground and two on its two sides on the next *muqarnas* tier. The *muqarnas* on the sides of the entrance door, especially the one to the right, have

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>184</sup> I would like to thank Bernard O'Kane for this insight.

<sup>185</sup> Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 73.

all their elements still in good condition, clearly showing narrowing down to two and then one pointed element. These are undoubtedly part of the original decoration of the space or at least of an organized and comprehensive decorative program which must have been executed if not at the time of building then at a later date, accentuating subtle and carefully positioned elements, making up in sophistication and precision what they lack in grandeur.

Goodwin argues that the similar diameters of the two domes speak for "the move to unity between the two main domes."<sup>186</sup> This is the case exactly in the Miradiye in Bursa, where the two domes are equal in diameter but the one above the prayer area is only half as high as the one above the central court. The squinches are similarly made of stars and honeycomb patterns.<sup>187</sup>

The two *muqarnas* squinches on the *qibla* side have their bottom element missing, and some black paint where it must have been (Figs. 110-3). It is worth noting that there is no evidence if the last painting on the inside was during the last documented renovation of 1965-76.<sup>188</sup> As there is no documentation of more recent works, it is safe to assume that the paint remaining is from then. It was most likely then that some of the previous layers were uncovered, but because of the long history of the mosque, it cannot be claimed with any certainty that whatever has been uncovered has any relation to the original decoration. All but one *muqarnas* supporting this entry dome space have remnants of brick-red color. Below the missing *muqarnas* pendentives, the dark black-blue paint matches what remains of the outlining of the central arch. A quick look at the Bursa mosque shows this is more of a certainty rather than a guess (Figs. 99-103). Unfortunately most mosques in Bulgaria are in a state of disrepair and it's hard to draw comparisons, hence the mosques of Turkey provide material such juxtapositions.

An interesting and telling element of the interior of the mosque are the pointed arch moldings above the *iwān* openings. These blind arches are carefully and elegantly executed. The springing of the arch moldings starts at the corners, with elegant pointed elements, which after some undulation and curves, continue into the full span.

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<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> In my two years of visiting the Imaret Mosque, there was evidence of basic upkeep such as painting the walls, renovating the ablution area, etc. being done by the staff of the mosque. Such upkeep probably does not apply to the wall decoration and other decorative elements.

These blind arches are on three sides of the inner court; the fourth is in the same shape but it's the actual opening to the *mihrab* area (Fig. 104-5). It is another detail pointing to the concern with symmetry throughout the space, which was imbued in the original plan for the building. Telling of the later opening of the walls leading to the side rooms are the arches which were formed in the process. These arched openings, whose shape is much more rounded than the pointed arches employed throughout the building, exist below the molded ones, not quite centered and not symmetrical to the rest of the elements and of different profiles. The springing of the arched openings to the side rooms are is much less sophisticated when compared to the molded ones overarching them, consisting of a basic concave pinch before going up, leading me to believe that maybe they were made later and with not the same attention to detail as the initial builders. Further evidence for this are the profiles of the blind arches which are immediately perceived as not identical—the one outlining the eastern room being significantly more pointed than the one above the western side room. Furthermore, protruding stones can be noticed in the base of the arch and this irregular masonry is another clue that the *iwans* were originally closed off. Clearly not all building stones could be perfectly removed and cutting them was beyond what was intended.

The main prayer hall is elevated eight steps above the interior court (Figs. 106-7).<sup>189</sup> The arch framing it follows roughly the same shape as the moldings on the other three walls, creating a harmonious *iwan* opening, which is then mirrored by yet another molded arch on the actual *qibla* wall. On both sides of the stairs are three niches with the same elegant pointed arch profiles seen in the windows. The niches are not identical however indicates that previous repairs had been not precise. The niches' positioning is probably dating back to the original construction of the building. Given that the building had multiple functions and probably hosted some religious instruction, these niches could have served as a place for books, shoes shoes – as seen in 15<sup>th</sup> century Persian paintings.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> The photos were taken two years apart and some changes in the interior, such as new painting, can be noticed.

<sup>190</sup> Today, the whole mosque is considered a prayer area and those entering leave their shoes immediately after the entrance.

Unlike the two examples from Bursa, the *qibla* wall in the Imaret Mosque is not lavishly decorated. Two rectangular windows flank the *mihrab*. Only the one on the right has an arched molding above it, therefore similar to the ones in the side rooms (Fig. 106). There are another two pointed arch windows directly above the ones flanking the *mihrab*. Framing all these elements is a simple pointed arch molding, painted in blue, white, and red (Fig. 110). Above the *mihrab* are the faint remains of 19<sup>th</sup> century floral decoration. (Fig. 106) whose origin is in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but was probably renovated and retouched during in the 1970s during the last renovation. Currently there are no inscriptions and no visible traces of inscription on the *qibla* wall or elsewhere in the interior which is yet another clue to the modest intentions of the monument.

The four corners of the prayer space are decorated by *muqarnas* elements to transition to the dome, which is smaller and lower than the one above the interior court (Figs. 110-5). In contrast to those of the interior court, these *muqarnas* do not form stars and are they are only five-tiered but exhibit much more detailed work. The drum of the dome has four windows; the one to the north window is closed. Some painted decoration in the 19<sup>th</sup> century provincial style remains in the top of the dome (Fig. 115). As mentioned above, this relationship between the two domes as well as the *muqarnas* star decoration are very similar to the prayer area in the Muradiye in Bursa, further accentuating the architectural similarities between the two monuments.

Unlike the Friday mosque described in the previous chapter, no photos of the interior of the Imaret mosque have been located to show us what the space looked like in previous periods. This may point to the fact that in the last couple of decades, with the political pressures on the Muslim community during Communist times as well as the disrepair that has obviously not been fully addressed even to this day, the mosque was closed off to most visitors and hosted only a very small congregation, if at all. Furthermore, in light of the analysis of the archival photographs of the exterior, it is possible to assume that for long periods in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the mosque was not used for prayer and was therefore not deemed worthy of being recorded.

The soffit and the sides of the central arch opening have what seems like a lot of painted decoration compared to the rest of the interior (Figs. 116-8). There are some *muqarnas* on the spring of the arch, which are currently covered in later paint layers

(Figs. 117-8). Below the relief elements, a base of the capital has been painted in a rather un-historic and provincial way. Such a style of painting seems to have been prevalent in the 19<sup>th</sup> century renovations of mosques and monuments around the country.

More importantly, upon a close inspection of the spandrels, some layering can be noticed, which was probably done by the architectural conservators working on the building in the 1970s. It seems like lying underneath were organized layers of *muqarnas* carved in stone, rather than stucco (Figs. 111-2). The *muqarnas* is identical to the kind found in the squinches of the prayer space dome. It seems like these have been plastered over and painted several times for unclear reasons. It is not well known when these stone elements were uncovered under the painted layer.

Another curious and rather disjointed in terms of function elements takes place on the *qibla* wall. The prayer area is surrounded by six windows, two on each side these windows all have identical grills (Fig. 106). The pair of windows on the east side (left when facing the *qibla*) flank a somewhat idiosyncratic floral element, lodged in the space between them. This decorative element is not very carefully executed and the color has been applied in a dotting technique, its eight branches spreading out like tentacles. Directly underneath, there's a rectangular window above which there is a rather large floral composition which has been painted in the same dotting technique as the 19<sup>th</sup> century element described above (Fig. 119).

The *minbar* features on plans from all periods of the existence of the monument and has been built of masonry, with the wooden railing and stairs attached to it and probably changed over several times throughout the centuries. To the very left of the *qibla* wall, in the corner between the *qibla* wall and the eastern wall, there's a small structure which looks like a short *minbar* facing sideways; above it is a small, elegant molding in the shape of a rounded arch with decorated, curved springing (Fig. 120). Even though currently used as a place to store copies of the Qur'an and other religious books used by the community, the place with its proximity to the window, was probably used by a Qur'an reader or by someone offering instruction (Fig. 106).

The thickness of the wall can be seen by the soffit, which has been decorated with painted motifs, now faded, probably in the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries with a central medallion and two cartouche-like elements on the two sides lower space (Figs. 116).

This eastern side room offers an entry into the ablution area through a door that was also constructed later (Fig. 121). In fact, the post-1700 layout offered by Ovcharov does not show this opening, but the original does. The opening leading to the ablution area is framed by a rounded arch, leading to the assumption that these are from the same 18<sup>th</sup> century alterations of the imam's and ablution's area doors (Fig. 131).

The eastern room is crowned by a dome that is much lower than the other domes of the interior. The corners feature the familiar triangular geometric transition zone to the dome which has a similar molding to that of the western room. (Figs. 123-4). There are four windows, two open (in the *qibla* direction and to the left) while the other two are closed. All windows are the same shape, with the same grill. On the *qibla* side, there's an elegantly outlined, pointed molded arch below which a window has been fitted (Fig. 128). Even though according to Ovcharov's plans the windows have always been there, it might mean that its surroundings were added later or that it was not intended to be in the current arrangement initially. Above another window on the left is preserved a fragment of painted wall decoration, somewhat maybe similar to the decoration on the soffits of the arches (Fig. 125).

Additionally, there are four wall niches in the space—one on the *qibla* side, to the left of the window, one next to it across the corner, one on the other side of the side window and one facing the *qibla* one (Fig. 126). These are with rounded tops, outlined in yellow and furnished with green bathroom tile on the inside. These have obviously been very recently equipped with the tiles and paint, but seem to have existed from the time when the mosque was built, which makes perfect sense especially if one accepts that the side rooms were used for purposes other than communal prayer. The niches most likely offered a place for books or personal belongings.

On the northern side of the room there is an opening, exposing the brick behind a thin curtain (Fig. 129). Looking up, it is possible to see the carefully constructed brick chimney, which probably extended up from a fireplace (Figs. 130). Earlier plans document the existence of chimneys; this coincided with when the rooms were not open to the central court. Once the interior was connected, the chimneys seem to have been scrapped. The two outcomes however do not necessarily indicate causality.

An almost identical side room rests on the west side of the inner court, to the right of the entrance (Figs. 131). The main difference is that this one has more preserved decoration—on the side of the arch of the inner court some of the *muqarnas* panels have been painted and are kept this way. They exhibit a very basic, geometric outlining probably from the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 132). Steps also lead directly to the imam's room. There's a pointed arch opening, which is now a window, looking into the room, where the chimney/air tunnel is in the other room (Fig. 135).

It is interesting to note that according to Ovcharov's plan, this was not the original entrance to the room before the walls were taken down and the space unified.<sup>191</sup> Why the existing entrance was closed and another one, in very close proximity to it, was broken into the quite thick walls is not clear. Both windows have arched moldings, the one on the *qibla* side and the one on the west side which supposedly looks out on the courtyard towards roughly where the tomb is (Fig. 134). Also there are remnants of decoration on the opposite of the *qibla* wall, high up where the *muqarnas* are. Neither of these remains of decoration are enough to construct a more complete picture of the interior decoration nor the time period it must belong to.

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<sup>191</sup> Ovcharov, *The Drawings of the Imaret Mosque in Plovdiv*, 6.

## Interior drawings

The Imaret mosque presents an unusual problem. A team of Bulgarian archaeologists and historians, headed by Dr Ovcharov, discovered what they called graffiti in different places in the mosque. In 1984-85 a team of archaeologists, historians and photographers photographed the extant graffiti and catalogued them. These were collected, studied and published in 1987 by Nikolai Ovcharov, who claims that the drawings were etched into the oldest layer of painting and thus date to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>192</sup> Understandably, with renovation and repair works part of the drawings must have been lost but the remaining body provides a good basis for analysis.

Many of the drawings Ovcharov and his team discuss, are still extant I have tried to photograph them with rather poor results (Figs. 136-8). There are several groups of images according to what they depict—ships<sup>193</sup>; historic scenes, symbols and heraldry<sup>194</sup>; plants and animals<sup>195</sup>; everyday scenes, with some depictions of humans<sup>196</sup>.

The dating and interpretation of the graffiti in Ovcharov's work, while interesting, is not solidly supported by evidence. He states that the drawings date to the 15<sup>th</sup> century based on the illustrated ships and on the fact that the side rooms were not yet open towards the inner court and main prayer space and that prior to the unification of the spaces, the side rooms were used for lodging for various traveling officials. It is his assumption that the people who did the graffiti experienced first-hand what they depicted.<sup>197</sup> Such a statement is hard to accept without further evidence. The drawings could have also been done by someone who had seen illustrated images elsewhere—be it in books or other monuments. There is also not enough evidence to suggest that they were all done by different people. Further, statements such as: "It can be stated with absolute certainty that the people who drew the graffiti were not Turks"<sup>198</sup> lack sufficient evidence backing them as well. The reasoning suggested is that "Turks" could not have known

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<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-4.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-48.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 49-57.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-62.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 63-65.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

western European ships in detail nor the heraldic symbols of Europe. Such statements are difficult to accept without solid evidence.

An important point about Şihabeddin Paşa's history points to his service in the coastal guard and his participation in the conquest of Constantinople. Clearly, there were people with him who knew ships and also, could have been knowledgeable enough to be able to draw on the walls of a public building.<sup>199</sup>

The meaning and historic context of the graffiti leave a lot to be researched. If indeed these etched graffiti are from the earliest period of the monument, questions about its function and use would become even more pertinent and hopefully also easier to answer.

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 67.

### Mausoleum of Şihabeddin Paşa

On the west side of the plot, in close proximity to the mosque, is the octagonal mausoleum, believed to house the remains of Şihabeddin Paşa (Fig. 139). There is neither inscription nor any other evidence, written or otherwise, to confirm that this is indeed the case.

The exterior of the mausoleum is similar to that of the mosque. The brickwork switches between cloisonné with only plinths to the local variation of cell masonry employed on the exterior walls of the mosque. Two of the eight walls have blind arches (Figs. 141-2), two have windows, another one has the door, and the rest are plain cell masonry (Fig. 143).

The fine brickwork matches the one on the mosque—the understated border of diagonal bricks crowns the walls and falls under the metal-covered dome (Fig. 144). The door to the mausoleum rests under an arch, whose top matches the rest of the arches around the walls of the tomb (Figs. 140, 144).

Inside the mausoleum, there is a single sarcophagus covered in green velvet cloth, embroidered in gold with verses from the Qur'an (Fig. 145). There is a short ledge running throughout the eight sides of the interior (Fig. 146). The interior is bare except for simple rugs placed there for those wishing to pray<sup>200</sup> or spend time in the mausoleum. Since it is not clear who exactly is buried there – Lala Şahin Paşa or Şihabeddin Paşa, or someone else entirely—those who come in to pray for a long-deceased *ghazi* are few.

The walls all bear marks of hatchings used on walls for the adhesion of plaster (Figs. 148-50). There was probably a layer of paint on the inside of the mausoleum that was removed at some point in order to reveal the decoration below. The decoration is consistent in style and color palette with what remains of the 19<sup>th</sup> century painting in the interior of the mosque. The walls had been painted in separate, color-blocked panels (Fig. 148) similar to the treatment of the space above the arch in the western side rooms. It is clear that the painting in the mosque is contemporary with that in the mausoleum, but unfortunately there's no evidence as to when exactly that happened. It is unlikely that it

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<sup>200</sup> Prominently displayed is a sign in Turkish and Bulgarian, reminding the faithful: "Allah is the one who accept the prayers (du'a). Request only from Allah!" (Fig. 147).

happened post-1878. The repair works of the 1960s probably removed the layers hiding the painting.

A small *mihrab* reveals the thin bricks used in the mausoleum just as they were used in the main building. The upper frame of one of the windows reveals wooden lintels – but looks modern used in the construction (Fig. 149).

Framed in irregular cartouches, seven names (the Prophet's name, the first four caliphs—Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali—as well as the names of Ali's sons Hassan and Hussein) from the most revered in the history of Islam grace the sides of the mausoleum. The eighth simply states "Allah." It is perhaps no coincidence that the name above the *qibla* is that of Othman (Fig. 150).

Despite the uncertainties surrounding the mausoleum, it is an important evidence of the larger complex which Şihabeddin Paşa built. It is the only remaining part of it other than the main building, i.e. the *imaret*.

#### Chapter 4: Conclusion

It is incredibly lucky that two mosques remain in Plovdiv, namely the Muradiye and Imaret mosques. Or is it that given their history and significance in the town they were the most likely mosques to have survived through the centuries? The answer is probably a combination of both as the two monuments signal important transformations in Filibe on its way to recovering from the decades of war and developing into a prosperous Ottoman town. These monuments also offer two case studies of early Ottoman architecture as it changed as a result of the evolving significance of the territories of present-day Bulgaria in relation to the center of the Empire. It emerges that the Muradiye and Imaret mosques are a product of an architectural program for the provinces disseminated by the imperial center; rather, they offer tangible evidence of how the empire's spread and growth was reflected in their architecture and functions.

The previous chapters have demonstrated that both the Muradiye and Imaret mosques were erected as the conquest of Rumelia advanced and at the same time closed in on Constantinople. As noted previously, the two mosques were founded at a time when the territory of present-day Bulgaria was at the forefront of expansion and when the Ottoman state was not only energized by its Balkan conquests, but kept moving its center westwards—from Söğüt, to Bursa, then to Edirne before finally conquering Constantinople—despite the sizeable Anatolian territories under its control. Thus, it would be misleading to consider the monuments only in terms of how they stood in relation to the center of the Empire, as for a century and a half after Filibe surrendered to the Ottomans, the center of the Empire was not immutable as it moved from Bursa to Edirne in 1363 and eventually to Istanbul in 1453.

### Filibe's building program in comparison with Bursa and Edirne

The building program in Filibe resembles the main stages of how the cities of Bursa and Edirne came to be Ottomanized. Conquered in 1326, Bursa became the capital of the quickly-expanding empire in 1335. There, the Ottoman forces of Orhan Gazi settled in the fortified part of the city. The monastery of St Elias was converted to serve the Muslim community of the invaders.<sup>201</sup> Within the city walls, a Bey's Palace emerged, equipped with military buildings and audience halls.<sup>202</sup> Across the entrance of the palace, Murad I built the oldest congregational mosque in Bursa still standing, albeit partially, the Şahadet Mosque, located outside the palace and within the fortified city. Lala Şahin Paşa, who served Murad I and conquered Philipopolis, built a madrasa in Bursa as well during his time serving the sovereign.

More interestingly however is the history of the emergence of the imaret complexes in Bursa. As early as the 1330s, Orhan Gazi built the first one—a mosque, a madrasa, a *khan*, a soup kitchen, a *hammam*, and a *khanqah*. The entire complex was protected by a wall and situated outside of the fortified city. In short, Orhan Gazi was providing a nucleus around which the multitudes of Turcoman and Anatolian migrants could settle. Establishing a strong civilian Muslim presence in the city was key to extending control over it in perpetuity. An imaret complex defined a center for the community, one that was directly supported by the crown and operated according to the principles of Islam, thus, already attracting settlers to a Muslim town and encouraging them to settle and develop it further. It was at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century that Beyazit I developed the commercial center by building an Ulucami and a *bedesten*.<sup>203</sup>

Following his victory in the Interregnum struggle, Mehmet I set to build an imaret complex in Bursa himself. The resulting Yeşil imaret is one of the most lavish examples of this kind of building complex and features a madrasa (with an unfinished upper floor), a mosque (whose portico was not finished either), and a mausoleum. Mehmet chose a location closer to the city center than other previously built imarets. It is clear both from the choice of location and architectural plan (and decoration) that Mehmet I's imaret was

<sup>201</sup> It is where Osman Gazi and later his son, Orhan Gazi, were buried.

<sup>202</sup> Kuran, "A Spatial Study," 114-5.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

very different in function and intention than that of Orhan Gazi. At the time when the Yeşil was being built (1419) the capital had already been moved to Edirne, and such a foundation was not intended to attract new settlers. It was there to celebrate a victorious ruler and to commemorate his legacy. Murad II was the last one of the sultans to build an imaret in Bursa. His was not a copy of either type but rather a refined version of both—organized and yet not opulent, with mature layout and decoration. It was located outside the fortified city and finished in 1425-6.<sup>204</sup>

Architecture and settlement were closely linked in Bursa and the city continued to follow this model even after the capital moved from there. Emirs and prominent community members were also encouraged to establish imarets, further proving that building an imaret was not a royal prerogative only, but an important community-building mechanism.

Known as Adrianople during Roman times, Edirne was conquered by the Ottomans in 1361. Upon entering the former Roman garrison town<sup>205</sup>, Murad I found the available palace unsuitable and built a new one away from the old city starting in 1365-6.<sup>206</sup> Of the churches of Adrianople, St Sophia was turned into the Ayasophia Mosque immediately after Murad I took the city; later this mosque became a madrasa. The other main church was also converted and was later replaced by a six-dome mosque.<sup>207</sup> Earlier the Great Mosque of Edirne (also known as Eski Cami) had been built in 1414 as well as a *bedesten* following the Bursa plan of seven pairs of domes.<sup>208</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the building emphasis was on *khans*. In contrast to Bursa, in Edirne the Ottomans lived within the confines of the old city for half a century before venturing out to establish new areas. The monuments that bear witness to this later settlement pattern are single-dome neighborhood mosques none of which dates to pre-15<sup>th</sup> century. Şihhabendin Paşa founded one here as well, almost a decade before the Imaret complex in Filibe. Imaret complexes emerged in Edirne relatively soon after the conquest (the first one in 1399-1400) and were built in order to provide the needed services to the community. Murad II

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 118.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 120.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

himself built three imaret complexes in Edirne in addition to those founded by high-ranking government officials.<sup>209</sup>

Placing the conquest of Filibe and its first century under Ottoman rule in the context of Bursa and Edirne, the foundation of the Muradiye and Imaret mosques provides information about the type of urban center that was to be created while close architectural studies of the two mosques reveal what transformations they brought about in the urban fabric. The Ottomans swept through the territory of present-day Bulgaria between 1360-1410. It seems that it took them several decades between 1360-1430 to ensure that Filibe remained securely in Ottoman hands; some of the battles of the Interregnum had affected the town and it seems that most of what Murad I had built in the city immediately after its conquest was destroyed.<sup>210</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>210</sup> Boykov, "Architecture as a Symbol of Power," 70.

## The Ottomization of Filibe

Based on archival and architectural evidence, it is possible to put together the history of the transformation of Filibe after the Ottomans took control and to trace the arch of development of its Ottoman architecture throughout the five centuries in which Filibe was part of the Empire. It is important to keep in mind that despite the desire to subsume urban architectural histories under a simple narrative, such a narrative rarely exists. Study of various Balkan towns<sup>211</sup> shows that the developments that followed the Ottoman conquest were as much influenced by the Ottomans as by the town itself—how developed it was, what its layout was, what its main resources were.<sup>212</sup> Sometimes the conquering forces were actually “reluctant to intervene in drastic ways in the existing urban fabric.”<sup>213</sup> One of the most often cited transformations is that where the defensive walls of the town were destroyed and the main church converted to a mosque, but this was not the case in many towns. On the contrary, more often than not, the Ottoman town would develop outside the existing settlement, in effect setting up a new focal point in the existing urban settlement.<sup>214</sup>

Hartmuth identifies a set of “established [architectural] types” which Ottoman towns made use of. The basic structure would be the Friday mosque, usually one founded in the beginning, as well as neighborhood mosques, “covered marketplaces for luxury goods, bathhouses, ... elementary and higher schools, aqueducts, public fountains, etc.”<sup>215</sup> Filibe, as will be shortly demonstrated, exhibited all of the above. Interestingly, during the 15<sup>th</sup> century bathhouses were more monumental and lavishly decorated than other foundations, however, with the 16<sup>th</sup> century came the threat of “heresies” and thus the monumentality of Friday mosques was emphasized instead.<sup>216</sup> At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, following a trend in Istanbul, institutions of learning became the core of complexes and building activity but in general building activity was lessening.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Boykov and Hartmuth's works are the prime examples.

<sup>212</sup> Hartmuth, “The Historic Fabric of Balkan Towns,” 20.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 19

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*

Boykov adds another, more specific dimension to the above discussion: he asserts that the main architectural and spatial instruments of "Ottomanizing" a conquered city were through "the appearance of a communal mosque, either a converted church or a new building, situated at a focal point of the city, and ...a complex centered around a T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviye* outside the walled part of the city."<sup>218</sup> As such, the Muradiye and the Imaret are the perfect starting points (and evidence at the same time) to discuss the process that happened in Filibe starting with the Ottoman conquest. Iznik and Bursa set up a model for establishing a focal point in a newly-conquered city—a congregational mosque was erected in the commercial center and then, depending on the size and importance of the settlement, the foundation of T-shaped multifunctional complexes at strategic locations-followed.<sup>219</sup>

The oldest standing Ottoman building in Filibe today is the Muradiye mosque, built in the 1430s or nearly 60 years after the conqueror Lala Şahin Paşa entered the city. Incredulous that the Ottomans did not leave their mark in the city for decades, Boykov proposes another theory. A chronicle of the Interregnum Period (1402-14) written by Constantine the Philosopher<sup>220</sup> notes a bathhouse where Süleyman would host feasts. Boykov assumes that the *hammam* was part of a larger complex, possibly the same one which was established right after the city surrendered.<sup>221</sup> In a town like Philippopolis, which had been inhabited for thousands of years, it was more practical to convert a church into a mosque and focus on building outside of the town, where most likely a T-shaped multifunctional building and a surrounding complex were erected. Boykov supposes that is where the *hammam* mentioned by Constantine the Philosopher was and that it was damaged (and thus destroyed) in the battles of the Interregnum. The location of the bathhouse is not known for sure.<sup>222</sup>

The spur in patronage and building activity that followed with the rule of Murad II can be explained by the sovereign's desire to rebuild a mostly ruined city, whose practical location and established trade would be beneficial to the Empire. Thus, the Muradiye Mosque came to anchor the commercial city center, while the *beylerbey* was allowed to

<sup>218</sup> Boykov, "Reshaping Urban Space," 33-34.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>220</sup> Also known as Konstantin Kostenečki.

<sup>221</sup> Boykov, "Reshaping Urban Space," 39.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 40.

erect a foundation at the point where the *Via Militaris* entered the city.<sup>223</sup> As illustrated in Chapter 3, as late as the late 19<sup>th</sup> century the other parts of the Imaret Mosque complex were standing, namely the bath, the kitchens, the inn, the madrasa, and the tomb of the patron.<sup>224</sup> Murad II's patronage extended to the areas surrounding the Friday mosque as well. He included many of the standard architectural foundations mentioned above. A spacious *hammam*, which was meant to complement the Muradiye and serve its congregation, emerged nearby. A photograph of 1895 shows the *bedesten* and *caravanseray*, or Kurshum Khan as it was known locally (Figs. 151-3). Boykov concludes that soon after these monuments were built, and more single-dome mosques were added, Filibe became very similar architecturally to Edirne and Bursa, the most significant urban centers of the Ottoman Empire at the time.

The transformations which the two mosques—Muradiye and Imaret—underwent throughout the centuries show that rather than founding new buildings when the needs changed, existing buildings were adapted and repaired to satisfy the needs of the moment. While many mosques sprang up in Filibe (as can be seen in some of the archival panoramas of the town), they no longer exist.

Older Bulgarian sources point to the aggressive settlement of Muslims throughout the Empire as the main reason why the town got "Ottomanized." However, even they recognize Filibe's importance to the Ottomans and the fact that there seems to be evidence for this in the type of buildings founded. Writing in 1941, local historian Hristo Peev summarizes Evliya Celebi's chronicles and adds a list of mosques no longer extant.<sup>225</sup> He lists 37 sites where mosques had previously stood. While there are no dates of construction listed, Peev does provide some descriptive material such as street addresses or the dates when they disappeared. Furthermore, it is understood that each Turkish neighborhood had between two to four mosques; Plovdiv had 23 Muslim neighborhoods, so the town had close to a hundred mosques.<sup>226</sup> There's a brief mention of

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Along with the main T-shaped building, it's the only one remaining from the complex.

<sup>225</sup> Peev, "Plovdiv during the Turkish Domination," 219-220.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 221-222.

the neighborhood mosques, which disappeared almost as soon as the Turkish population left en masse at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>227</sup>

The next category looked at in detail is the *hammams*. According to Peev, in 1941 four of the eight bathhouses were standing. While not pointing to specific sources, Peev asserts that private baths existed in the homes of the ruling elite and the well-to-do Christians.<sup>228</sup> The other important category of building types which existed in Filibe in abundance was water dispensaries. Peev describes them as wooden pavilions on solid foundations; the water was in the fountain in the middle surrounded by small sinks. He adds that some had a bench or a shaded place where one could take a rest and that they were always decorated and surrounded by a small flower garden. Schools were also in abundance. The madrasa of Şihabbedin Paşa was famous for its seven auditoriums and the fact that every day there was a public reading, probably of religious literature. Dervish *tekkes* are also mentioned; they were a novelty and the idiosyncratic rituals of the dervishes attracted the curiosity of the local population. There were eleven dervish *tekkes* and three *mevlevi hans*, of which one was of the “dancing dervishes.”<sup>229</sup>

In 1933 Kurshum Khan<sup>230</sup> was completely destroyed in order to make way for a large, state-owned supermarket. Curiously Peev mentioned that because it was such an impressive structure, a small-scale model was made of it.<sup>231</sup> A truly impressive building, Kurshum Khan was erected in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the spur of building activity following the settling of the political situation in and around Filibe (Fig. 152-3). Other than the ample and comfortable rooms, the *khan* impressed with its two floors of solid stone masonry and its lead-covered dome roof. The elegant arches of the two floors impressed visitors.<sup>232</sup> Peev could not help but lament the destruction of the *khan*, saying that until its last days it embodied the dignity of its times and continued to impress with its solid construction and elegant lines. He also mentions that its destruction caused protests in archaeological and historical circles. Peev commented on the shops clearly visible in (Fig.

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 223.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 222-223

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Kurshum Khan was named such because of its lead covered roof; “kurshum” means bullet in Bulgarian.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 225. Unfortunately, the small-scale model is nowhere to be found now.

<sup>232</sup> Peev, “Plovdiv during the Turkish Domination,” 226.

153) which he found took away from the beauty of the building's façades.<sup>233</sup> As the only *caravanseray* in the town, Kurshum Khan was most prosperous up until the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Then when private lodgings started opening up in Filibe and attracted rich merchants, only travelers of very modest means stayed in Kurshum Khan. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century most of its spaces were occupied by small administrative offices, storage spaces, and workshops; those in charge of its *waqf* slowly start selling off rooms. The guild of the makers of wool outer clothes (абаджийски еснаф) bought the biggest part and put their logo (a tape measure and a pair of scissors) on the door. Starting in 1879 a bank occupied the second floor.<sup>234</sup> It is chronicles such as this one that show the flexibility in functionality that most buildings embody and how with the changing town, most of the significant foundations changed as well.

Another important building in the central commercial part was the *bedesten* built in close proximity to the Muradiye Mosque. Towards the end of Ottoman rule, 38 people owned it. The *bedesten* was built in such a durable manner that it was in a great shape until the 19<sup>th</sup> century; Peev supposed that it might have been built as a *caravanseray* and then bought by private individuals.<sup>235</sup>

In terms of imarets, Peev mentions that of the Imaret Mosque complex. The building was one of those with a lead roof and distributed food to anyone who came since it was built. It was used to house poor Turkish families towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but after 1896-7 it was empty and in such bad shape that it had to be taken down.<sup>236</sup>

Further evidence for the state of Filibe from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards are travel accounts. While these can help as supporting evidence, their credibility is reinforced when multiple travelers report the same details. Because of its convenient location on a major road, even before Istanbul became the capital of the Empire, Plovdiv lay on the path of many travelers. One of the first features 16<sup>th</sup> century travelers note upon entering the town is the long wooden bridge, which had more than 30 arches.<sup>237</sup> Reported after the

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Alvadjev, *The Memory of a Town*, 44.

<sup>235</sup> Peev, "Plovdiv during the Turkish Domination," 229. Peev asserts that the fact that the *careavansarai* was bought by private individuals and converted to a *bedesten* is his theory only.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 229.

<sup>237</sup> Tsvetkova, "[Archival] Materials for Urban Centers and Building Activity," 490-1.

bridge is a description that fits what we know about the Imaret complex; especially impressive to the travelers was the bathhouse, whose roof was made of lead.<sup>238</sup> The travel accounts are similar in that they describe the three hills in the town, around which the remains of a wall could still be seen in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as well as some churches in poor condition and other decrepit buildings.<sup>239</sup> Such observations fit with one of the urban development types proposed by Hartmuth; Filibe was a town where the old neighborhoods were left as they were and new Muslim neighborhoods were started. What is interesting about the accounts of Western travelers is that the Ottoman monuments were as exotic to them as the Greco-Roman ruins and the domestic architecture of the time, so all of the above received the same treatment in their recollections of the journey.

Domestic architecture and the fate of the surviving Christian monuments must also be considered in order to gain a more complete idea of how an urban center such as Filibe developed after it was conquered by the Ottomans. Filibe was spared destruction when it surrendered to the forces of Lala Şahin Paşa. However, as noted by Boykov and Hartmuth, the conquering forces followed the established practice and converted the largest church into a mosque, and enforced the Hanafi law that no new churches could be erected. Repairs went ahead following a special permission and until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, churches were often rebuilt exactly within the confines of the old building.<sup>240</sup> Thus, with churches and other non-Muslim monumental architecture brought to a near standstill, the conquered territories acquired a decisively Ottoman look even if they retained a balance between local (ie non-Muslim) and Muslim populations.

Domestic architecture is another major factor in the way a town develops and looks, however the sources for these in Filibe are scarce. Hartmuth notes that few pre-19<sup>th</sup> century domestic buildings survived and they do not provide a secure enough basis to make conclusions larger than the specific examples.<sup>241</sup> Travelers' accounts from the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century point out that residential architecture stood in sharp contrast to the monumental Ottoman foundations they encountered. Most of the residential architecture they describe was made of wood and mud brick, not higher than two storeys and lined

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid., 491.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Hartmuth, "The Historic Fabric of Balkan Towns," 17.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 18.

along mud-filled streets. In the winter, the smoke from the fireplaces and furnaces made the air unbreathable.<sup>242</sup> The travelers made no distinction in the condition of the residential quarters of the town when it came to Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks—they all seemed to be equally unimpressive and sometimes even squalid.<sup>243</sup> Given the descriptions of houses, living and working quarters, it is not surprising that examples of these buildings did not survive.

The Muradiye and Imaret mosques stand also as representations of the two men who are most responsible for making Filibe an Ottoman town. The Muradiye was built by Murad II, whose building activity changed the architectural identity of towns such as Edirne and whose forces conquered Philippopolis and gave an impetus to the robust building program which happened in it in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Imaret Mosque was built by Şihabeddin Paşa whose generous patronage in the city made Murad II's vision possible. Şihabeddin Paşa was responsible for the foundation of monuments such as the Imaret complex, part of which was Hünkar Hammam, or the Sovereign's bathhouse, which impressed with its dimensions, architecture, and roof made of lead.<sup>244</sup> Alvadjev notes with melancholy that six hundred years after he built them, many of Şihabeddin's foundations were still standing and a source of admiration and pride.

The Muradiye and Imaret also marked the commercial district in Filibe. Surrounding the Muradiye was a vibrant neighborhood of craftsmen and their workshops, which had been there since the time the Ottomans.<sup>245</sup> While Alvadjev's narrative might be slightly romanticized and dramatized, other sources confirm that the Friday mosque was almost always in the busiest, commercial town district. Filibe was not an exception. In the summer of 1906, a fire started in the area and was not contained before it destroyed everything. Another commercial area spanned between the two mosques—a stretch lined with *hans*, public buildings, *hammams*, and coffee houses. There were open stalls there, not the workshops that clustered around the Muradiye.

Filibe began modernizing in 1873 when the railroad to Istanbul was opened. At the same time, an 1874 register lists 24 Friday mosques in Filibe, but these numbers and the

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<sup>242</sup> Tsvetkova, "[Archival] Materials for Urban Centers and Building Activity," 491.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 493.

<sup>244</sup> Alvadjev, *The Memory of a Town*, 42.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

Muslim population rapidly declined after 1878.<sup>246</sup> As of 1874 there were twelve baths in Plovdiv as well.<sup>247</sup> Most Muslim cemeteries were destroyed after 1878 in order to free up space for the centrally located gardens and parks.<sup>248</sup> These changes marked the beginning of the end for most of the built Ottoman heritage in Filibe. None of the monuments had been studied and documented before they were allowed to fall into disrepair and thus the information we have today is schematic at best. Given how much the study of Muradiye and Imaret mosques can enrich the writing of a local history, one can only lament the disappearance of other foundations, which would have enriched the understanding of the town's development.

The Muradiye and Imaret mosques, albeit very different, played a similar role in 15<sup>th</sup> century Filibe. They marked the "Ottomanization" of the town and placed it in the context of the first imperial Ottoman capitals. The two monuments are an indication that Filibe followed an established pattern of conquest, settlement, and urban development, which had been employed previously in Bursa and Edirne. At the time Philippopolis surrendered to the Ottomans, it was not considered a provincial town but rather another strategically placed town with great commercial potential. The Ottomans did what they knew worked—once the conquest was secure (which in the case of Filibe took almost a century because of the Interregnum), Ottoman authority and the commercial nucleus of the city were simultaneously anchored by an imperial Friday mosque, the Muradiye. Soon thereafter, a powerful *beylerbey* marked the edge of the town with an imaret complex which both started a Muslim neighborhood around itself and welcomed travelers heading into the city. Both patrons, Murad II and Şihabeddin, had already built in the other imperial centers and the fact that they were also patronizing Filibe is a testament to the Ottoman vision for the town.

Both the Muradiye and Imaret mosques have rather austere interior and exterior decoration when the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century layer of paint is not considered. There's no evidence currently as to what the original decorative program was so what has reached us is a combination of the 15<sup>th</sup> century forms (nine-bay congregational mosque, T-shaped with a portico), the transformations which have taken place since the 15<sup>th</sup> century

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<sup>246</sup> Ottoman Bulgaria, 90.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid., 94.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

(opening the interior court at the Imaret, adding windows in the Muradiye), and the painted decoration which the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries brought from the capital Istanbul.

There's no evidence that either of these buildings was architecturally replicated elsewhere in the town. The main reason for this is that there was a relatively short window before the foundation of the monuments and the capture of Constantinople. Establishing Istanbul as the imperial capital galvanized subsequent contests and also marked the beginning of a concentrated attention to establishing an Ottoman style in the capital. This fundamentally changed the dynamic between the earlier conquered territories and the capital. What this meant for Rumelia, which had already been Ottomanized and settled, was that architectural and functional transformation was reflected in the oldest foundations and that fewer new ones would be built.

While the function of the Muradiye did not change, the building experienced alterations which are easily documented but remain unexplained. The T-shaped imaret building had a much more diverse history. The fact that no other T-shaped imaret complexes emerged in Filibe could mean that the services it offered were no longer needed in that form. With the beginning of the true imperial style with the capture of Constantinople, both the nine-bay congregational mosque and the T-shaped multifunctional building plans went out of fashion. They were no longer reserved for the most significant foundations and were only used occasionally. With the development of new decorative styles, subsequent repairs brought a locally-executed imperial decorative program to the Muradiye and Imaret, but it was one that would always pale in comparison with their architectural features and history.

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FIGURES

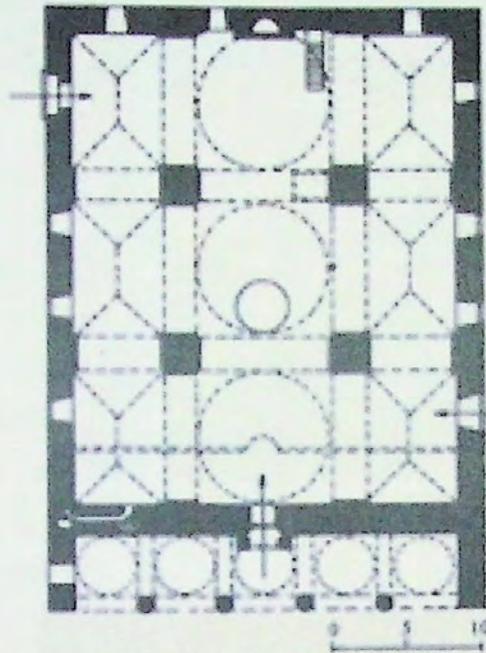


Figure 1: A plan of the Muradiye by M. Staynova.<sup>249</sup>

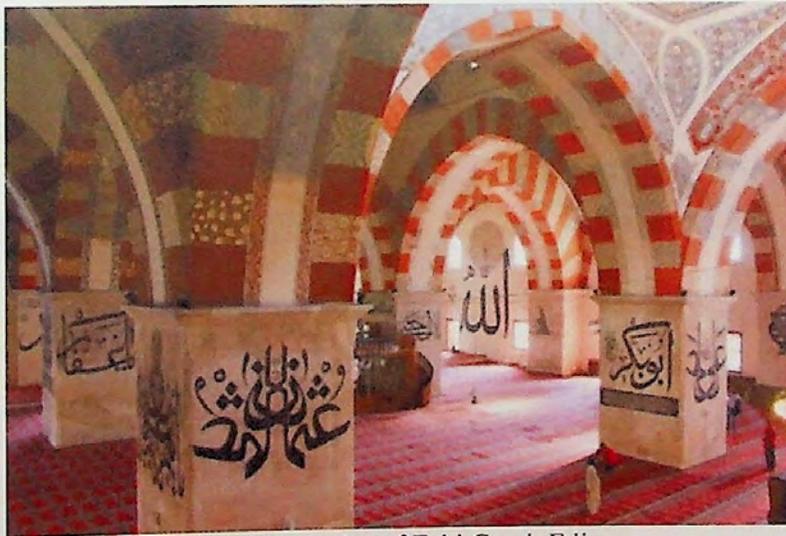


Figure 2: Interior of Eski Cami, Edirne.

<sup>249</sup> Boykov, "Muradiye Mosque," from Ottoman Architectural Heritage in Bulgaria (blog).



Figure 3: A reconstruction of the Roman amphitheater being excavated under and around the Muradiye Mosque.

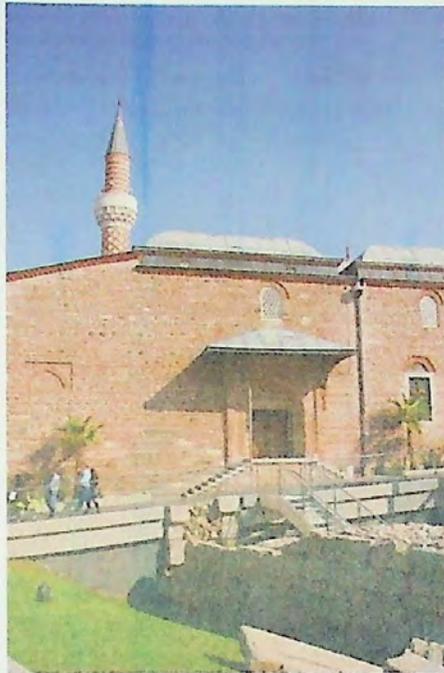


Figure 4: View of the western wall of the Muradiyye with the on-going excavations in the immediate vicinity.

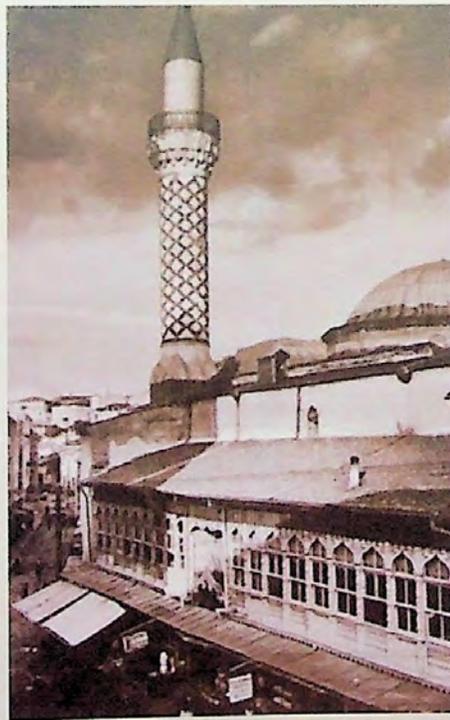


Figure 5: A postcard of the entrance of the Muradiyye, showing the commercial spaces attached to the front of the mosque, 1940s

Source: Lost Bulgaria website, [www.lostbulgaria.com](http://www.lostbulgaria.com)

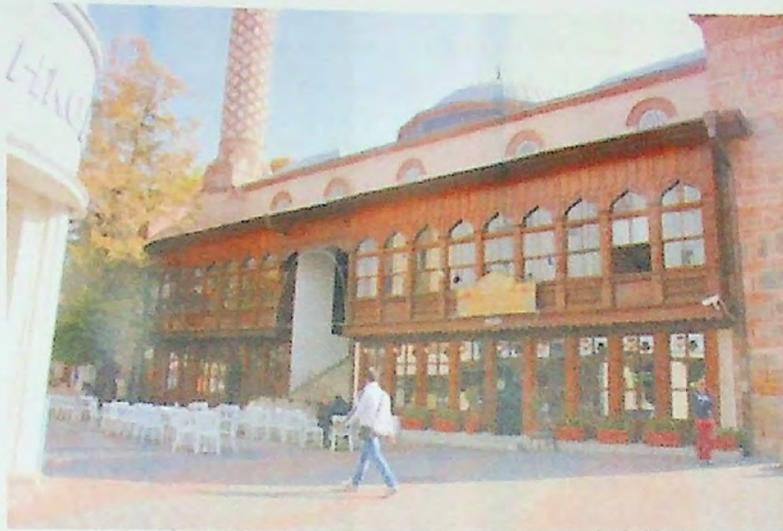


Figure 6: Entrance of the Muradiyye, with the coffee shop on the right hand side (street level), ablutions spaces on the left hand side (street level), and offices on the second level.

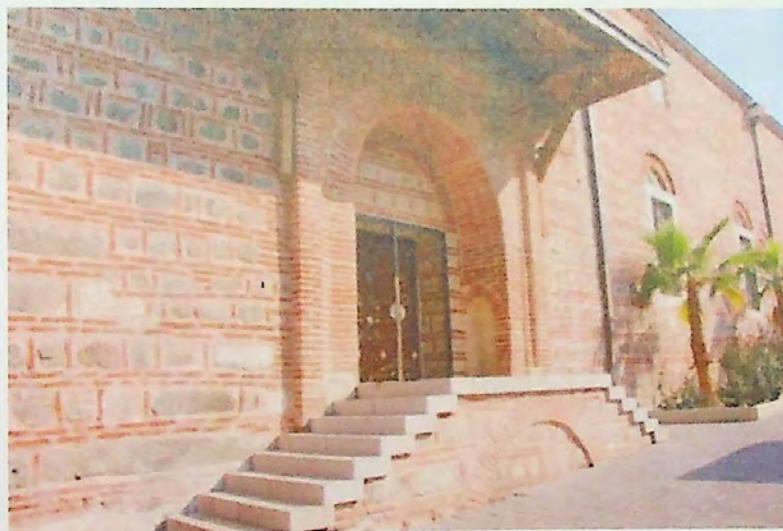


Figure 7: West-side wall with the *harim* entrance.



Figure 8: Decoration on the western entrance.

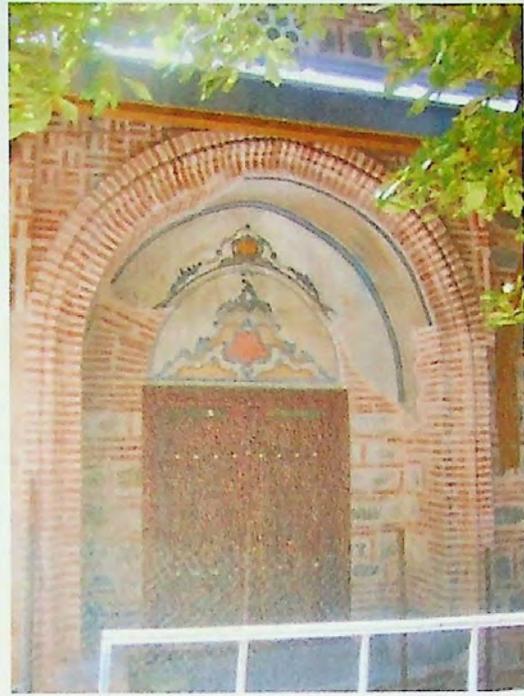


Figure 9: The entrance on the east side, also known as the sultan's entrance.

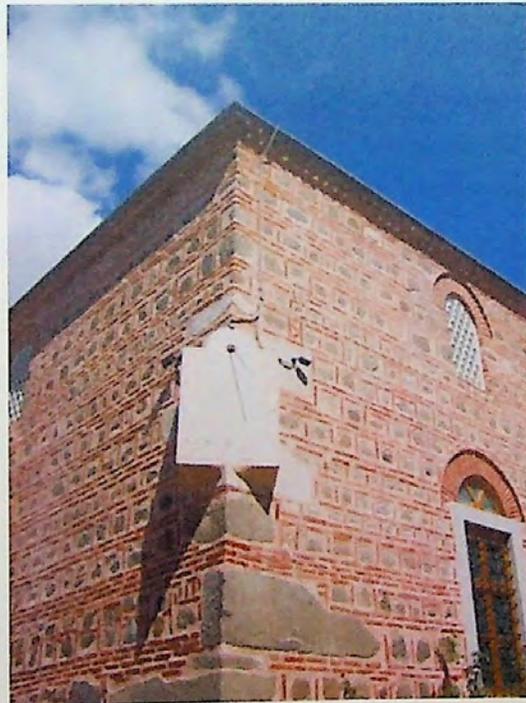


Figure 10: Sundial on the southwest corner.

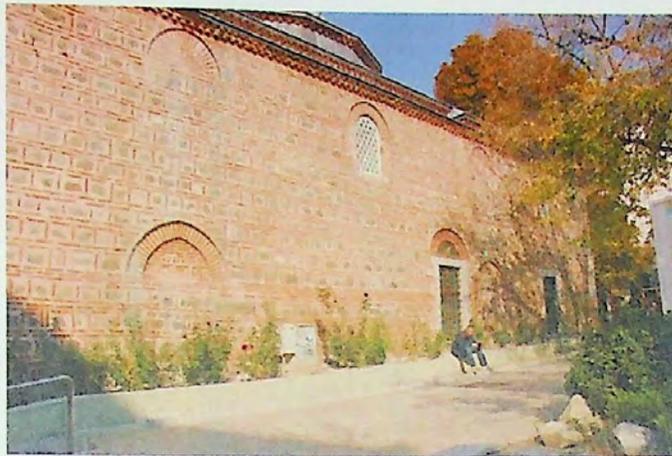


Figure 11: The southern façade, 2013.

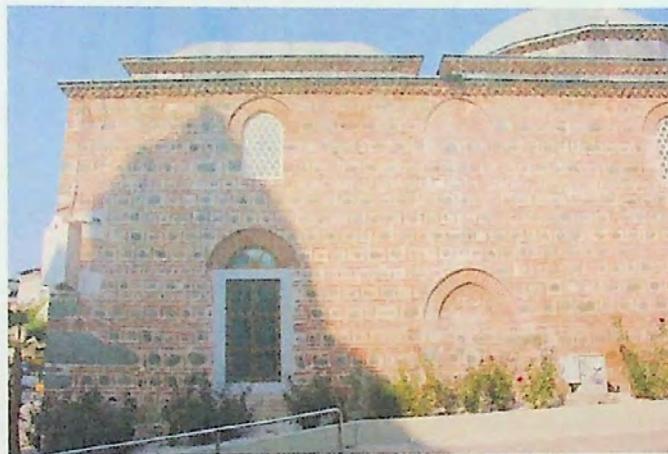


Figure 12: The southern façade and sundial on southwest corner.



Figure 13: The southern façade post the earthquake of 1928.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, FI 562.

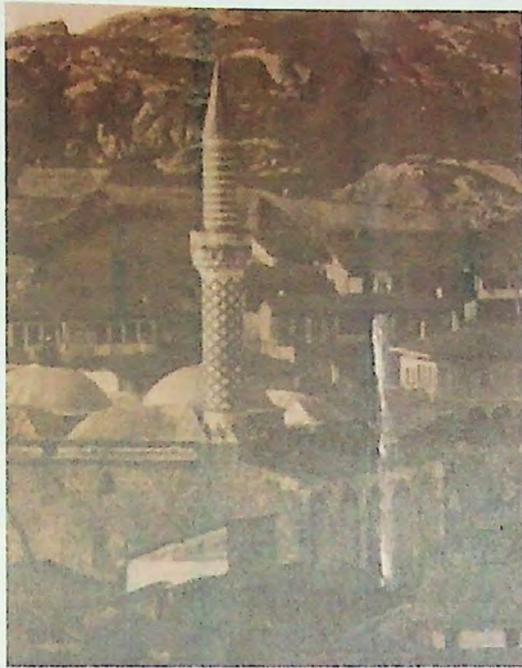


Figure 14: Detail of an 1879 panorama of Plovdiv showing the entrance portico and its arches as well as the minaret before it collapsed in the earthquake of 1928.  
Photo detail from [www.oahb.org](http://www.oahb.org)



Figure 15: The western entrance of the mosque, ca. 1900.



Figure 16: The windows of the Muradiye, 1972.  
Copyright: Machiel Kiel, Muradiye C. original and 18th-c. windows [XV-c12231-31-1972].

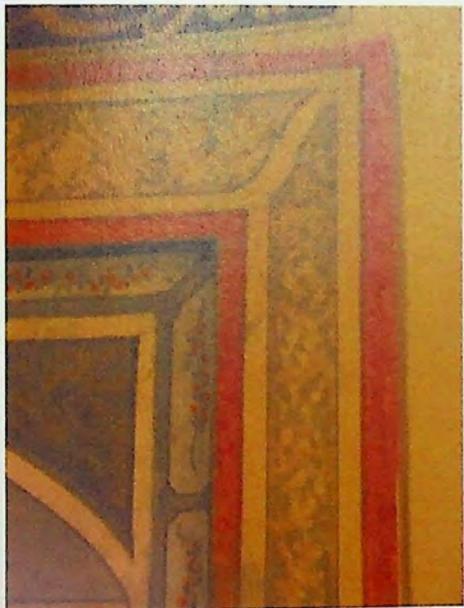


Figure 17: Detail of the bands surrounding the entrance on its interior side.

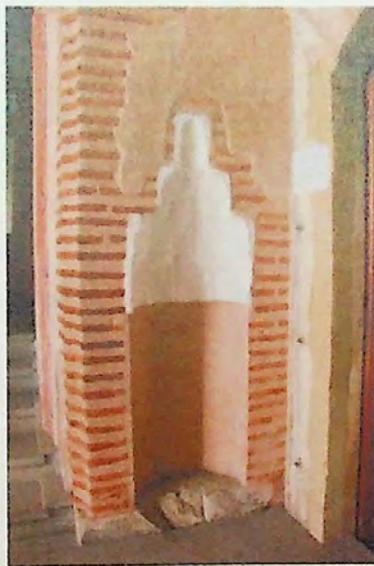


Figure 18: Main entrance. One of the two identical *muqarnas* niches on the sides of the main door.

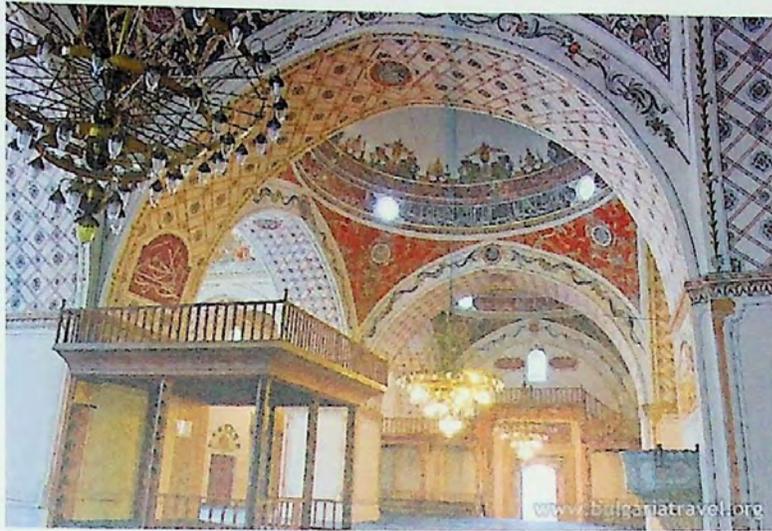


Figure 19: Muradiye interior.  
The wooden structure above and around the entrance is clearly visible.  
Copyright: bulgariatravel.org

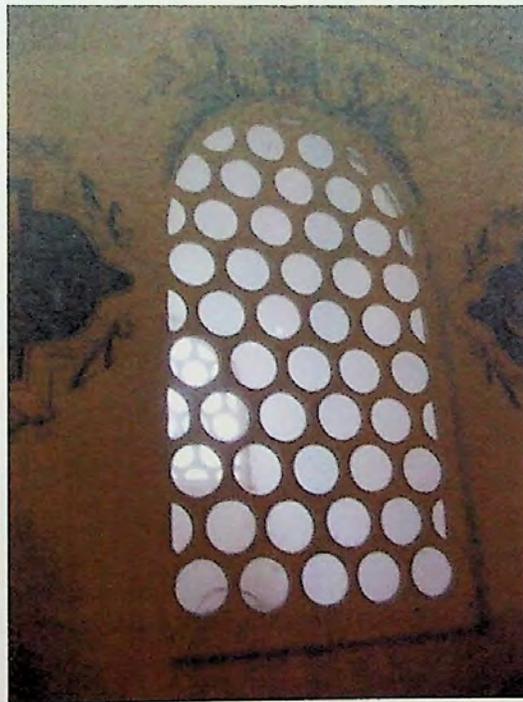


Figure 20: The window above the entrance on the interior looking out to the northern façade.

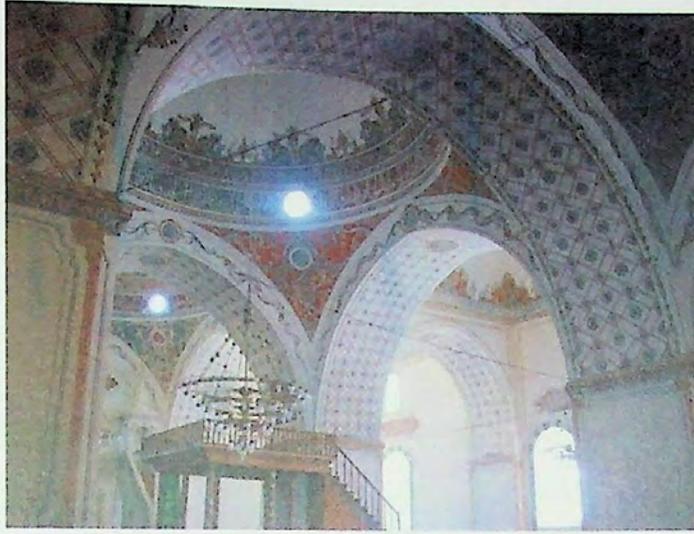


Figure 21: Interior decoration of the Muradiye.

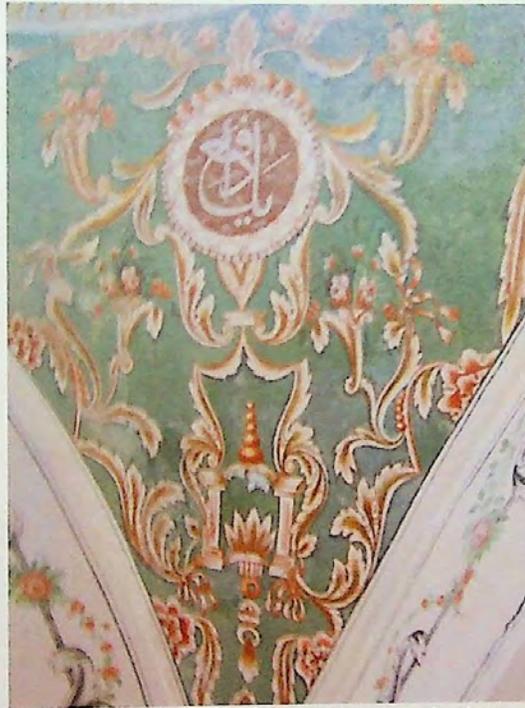


Figure 22: Detail of one of the squinches.

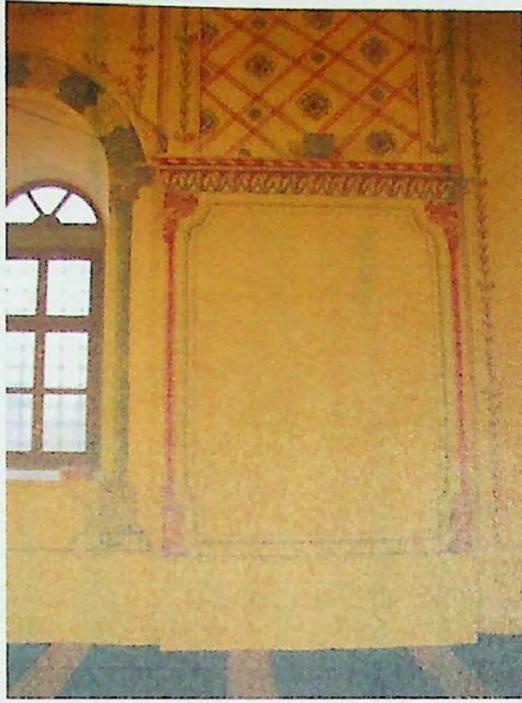


Figure 23: Painted decoration.

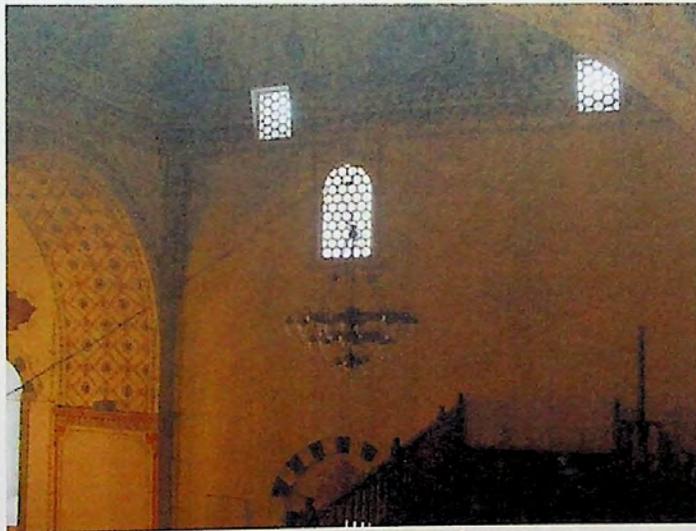


Figure 24: Interior view of the north-western corner.

Note the position of the windows.

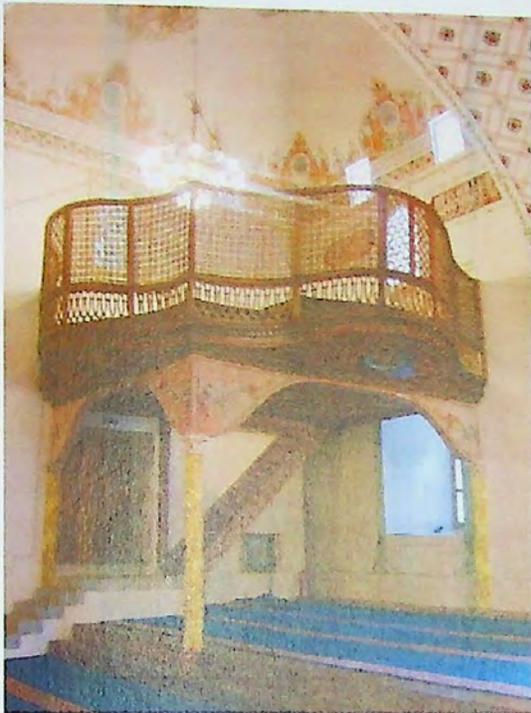


Figure 25: The sultan's entrance and loge in the south-eastern bay.



Figure 26: Remains of previous decorative programs.

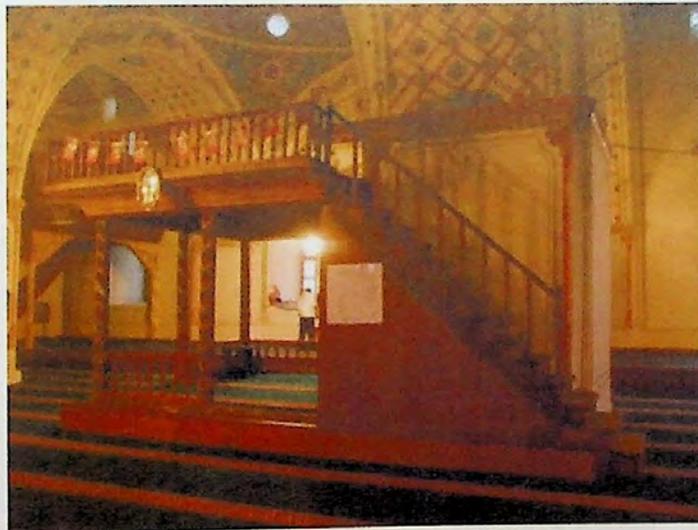


Figure 27: *Iqama* platform, side view.



Figure 28: *Mihrab* bay, dome decoration.

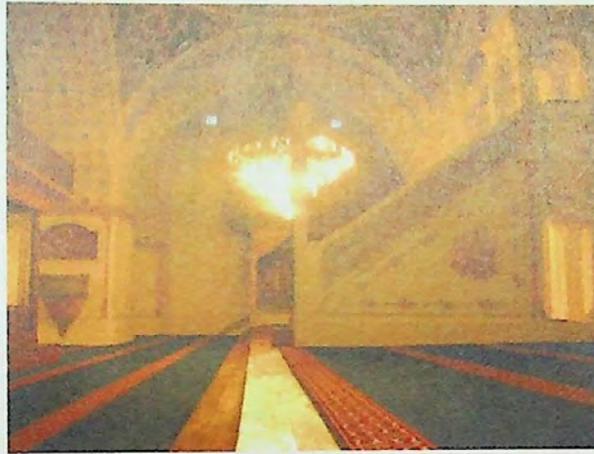


Figure 29: *Minbar*.

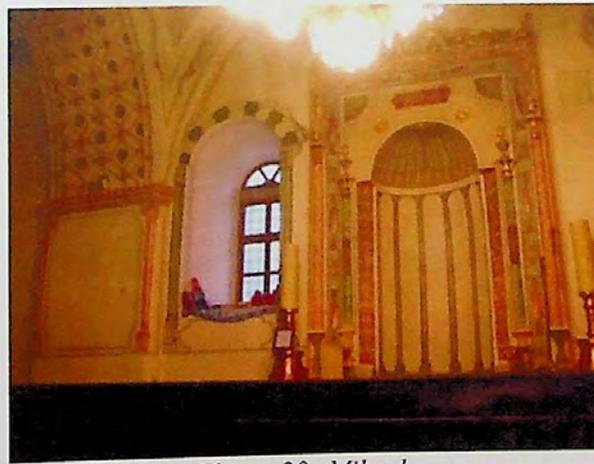


Figure 30: *Mihrab*.

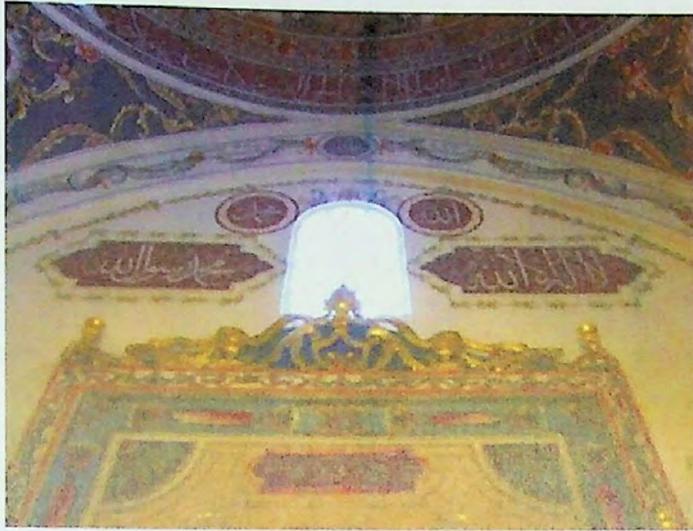


Figure 31: *Mihrab*, details of the upper part.

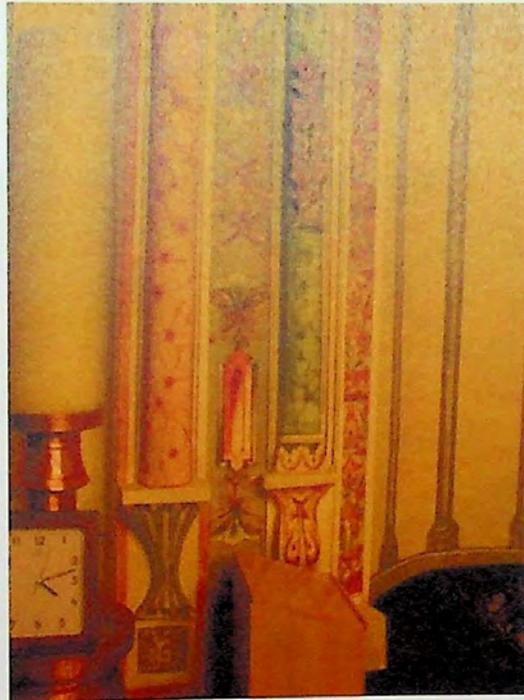


Figure 32: *Mihrab*, detail.

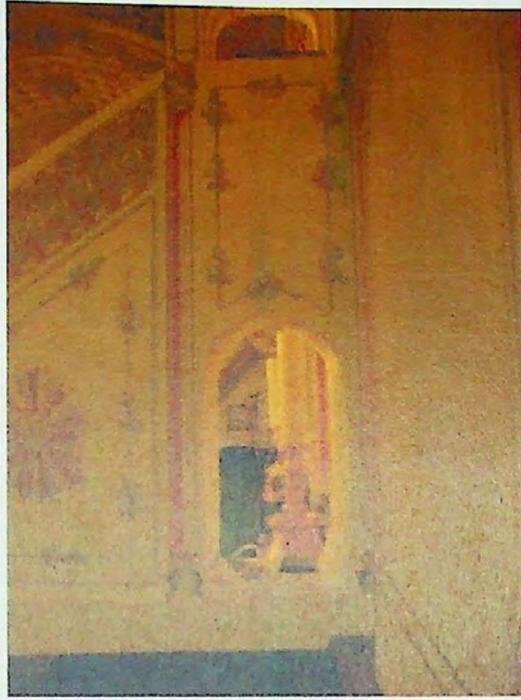


Figure 33: *Minbar*, detail.

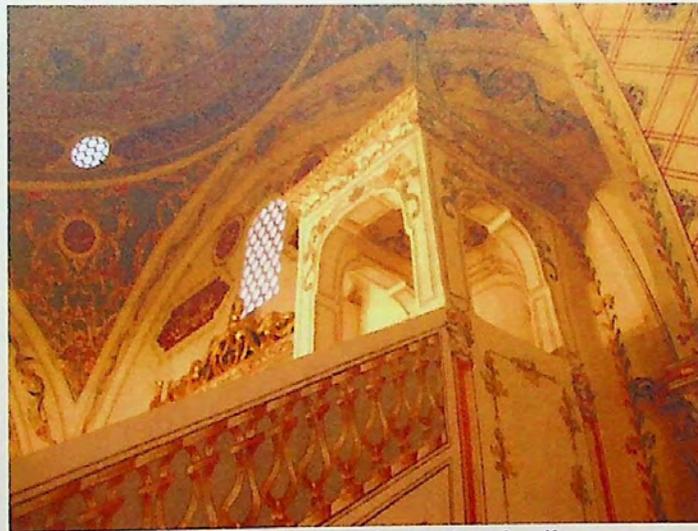


Figure 34: *Minbar*, decoration details.

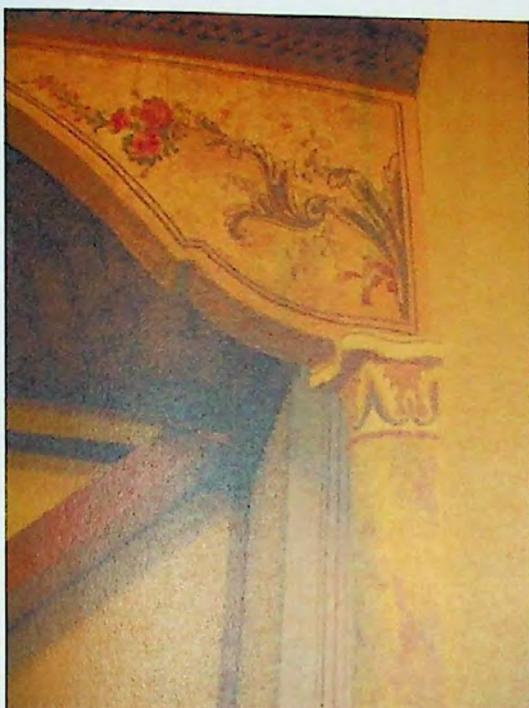


Figure 35: Sultan's loge, detail.

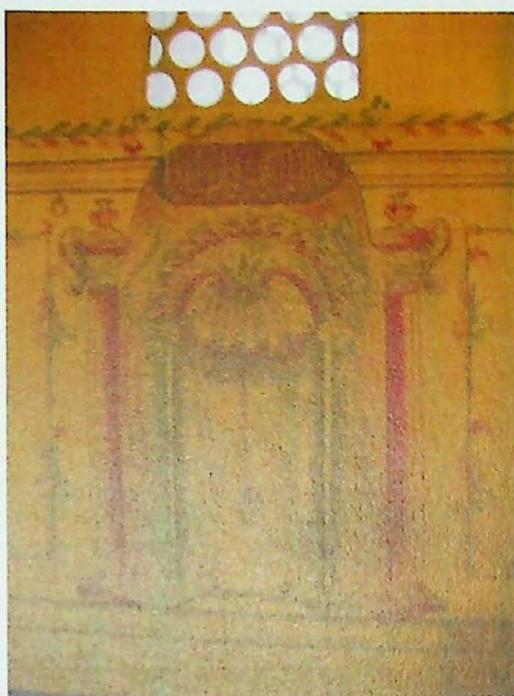


Figure 36: Painted *mihrab* on the *qibla* side of the sultan's loge.



Figure 37: Muradiye interior, 1940s.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, FI 675.

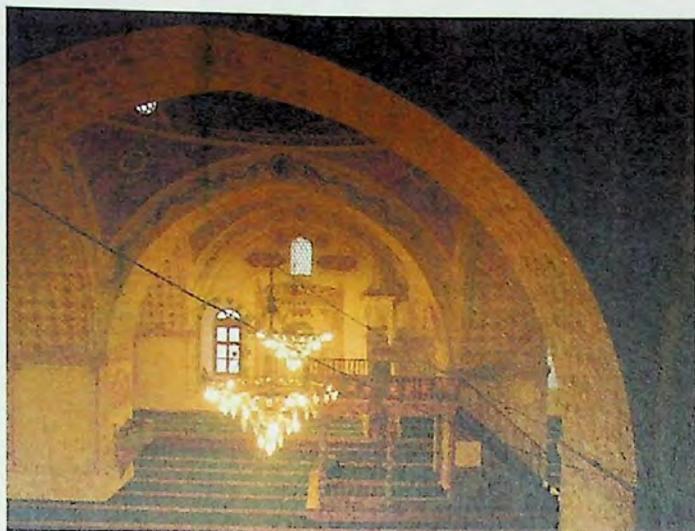


Figure 38: Muradiye interior, comparative view.

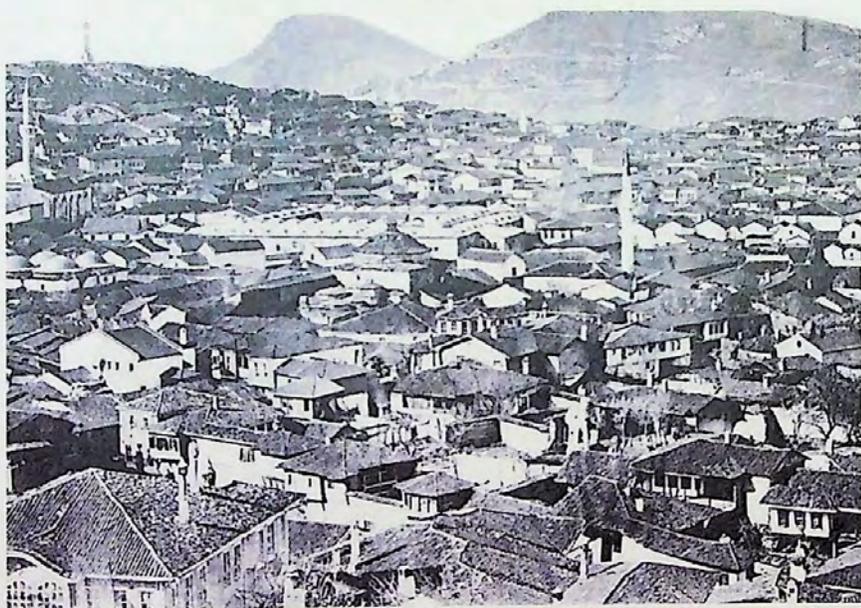


Figure 39: Detail from a pre-1900 panorama of Plovdiv, showing the Muradiye, the nearby bath, a six-dome *bedesten* and Kurshum han.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, 4863.

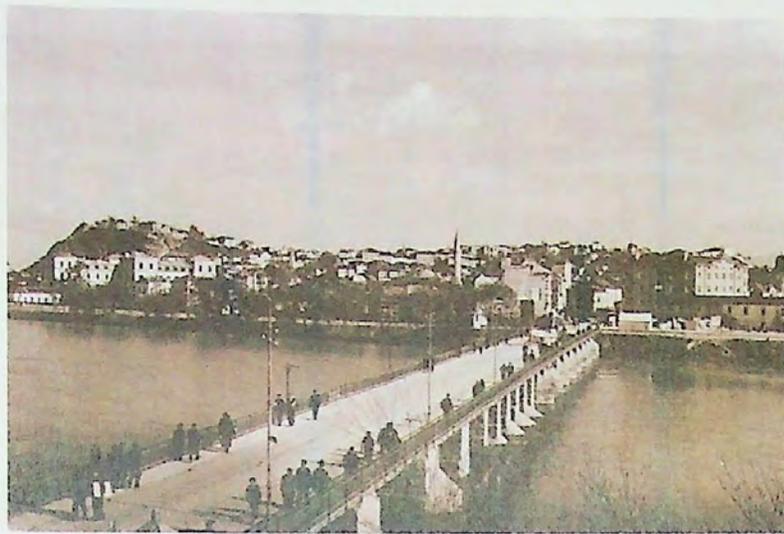


Figure 40: Bridge crossing the Maritza River and leading to Imaret mosque.  
Copyright: [www.lostbulgaria.com](http://www.lostbulgaria.com), 391.

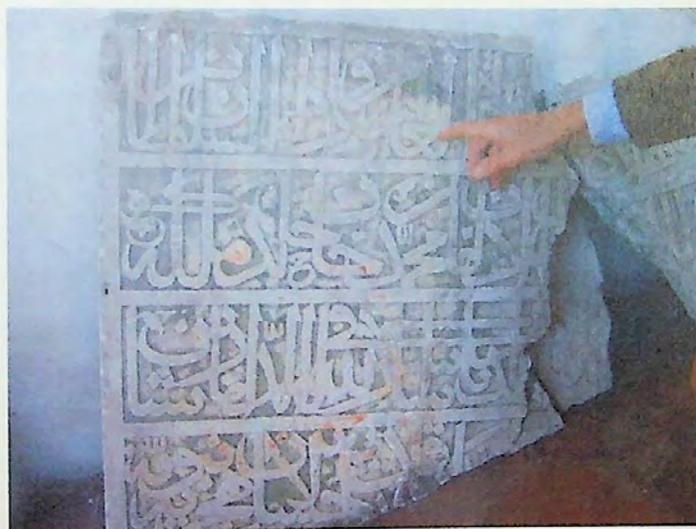


Figure 41: The recovered foundation inscription of the Imaret mosque.

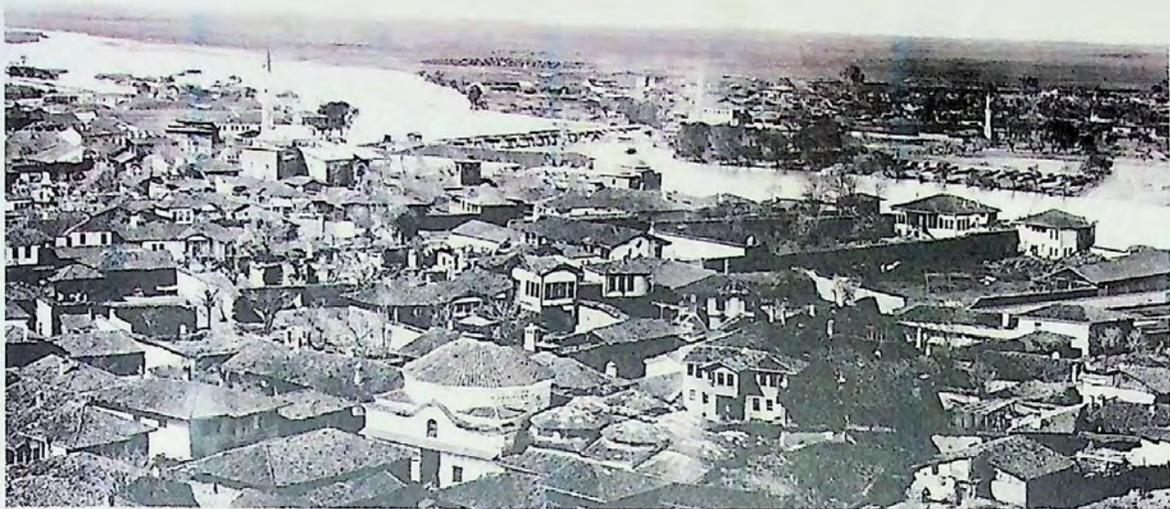


Figure 42: Detail from a panorama of Filibe, pre-1880.  
Visible are all buildings of the charitable complex of Şihabeddin Paşa.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, 4863.



Figure 43: Hatuniye Mosque, Manisa.



Figure 44: Muradiye T-shaped building, Edirne.  
Copyright: Machiel Kiel, Edirne, Muradiye [IV-1211712, 1971]



Figure 45: Muradiye Mosque, Edirne.  
Copyright: Machiel Kiel, Edirne, Muradiye [IV-1211718, 1971]



Figure 46: Gazi Mihal Imaret, Edirne.

Copyright: Machiel Kiel, Edirne, Gazi Mihal imareti [IV-121182,1971]



Figure 47: Gazi Mihal Imaret, Edirne.

Copyright: <http://www.fotokritik.com/2962314/gazimihal-camii-edirne>



Figure 48: Ottoman Turkish inscription on the façade of the Imaret Mosque.

See Appendix C for the inscription's transcription and translation.



Figure 49: Water dispensary inscription, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.  
Copyright: Machiel Kiel, Plovdiv, Cesme inscription.

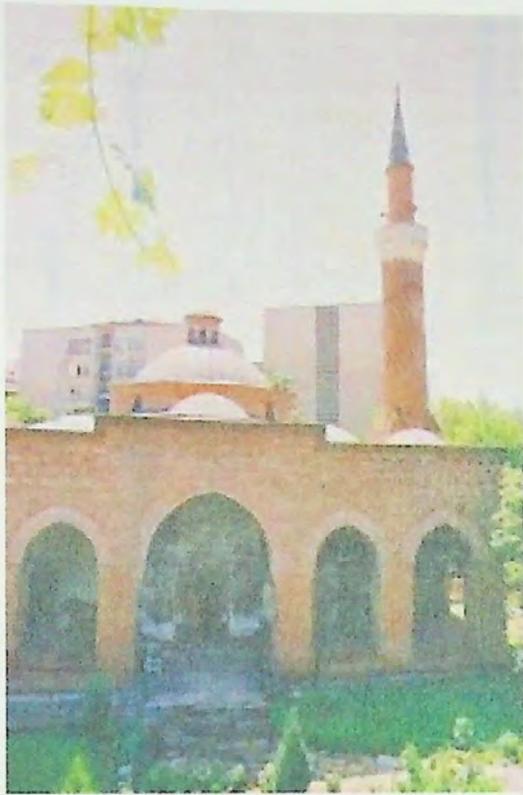


Figure 50: The imaret Mosque, entrance façade.  
Copyright: visitplovdiv.com



Figure 51: Minaret, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.



Figure 52: Minaret, detail of the base, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.

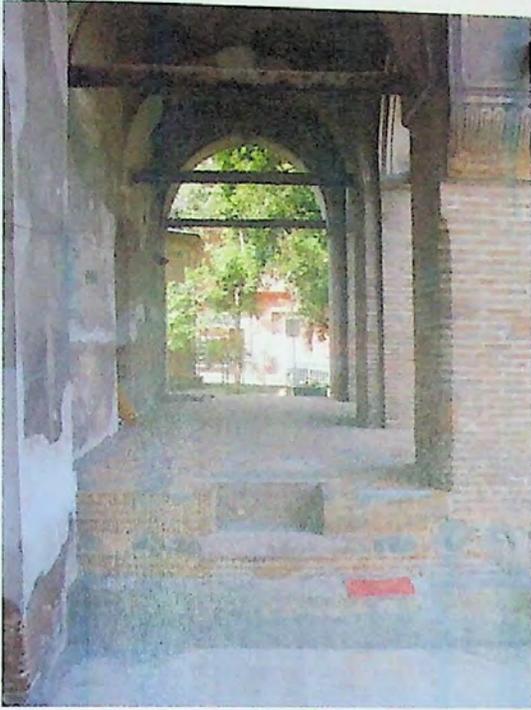


Figure 53: Western side of the portico.



Figure 54: Niche to the right of the entrance, on the western side exterior side of entrance wall.



Figure 55: Imaret Mosque façade, detail.

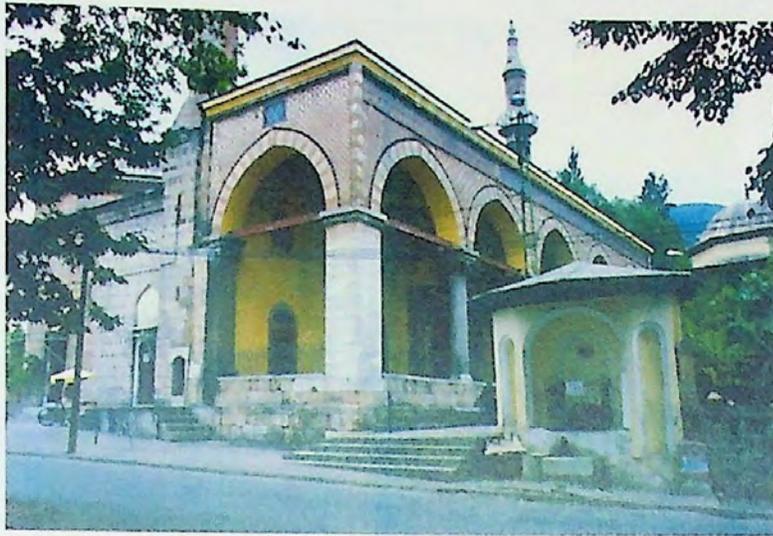


Figure 56: Muradiye Mosque, Bursa.

Copyright: Beatrice St. Laurent / Courtesy Aga Khan Visual Archive, MIT.



Figure 57: Façade detail, Muradiye Mosque, Bursa.

Copyright: Beatrice St. Laurent / Courtesy Aga Khan Visual Archive, MIT.



Figure 58: Central dome of the portico, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.

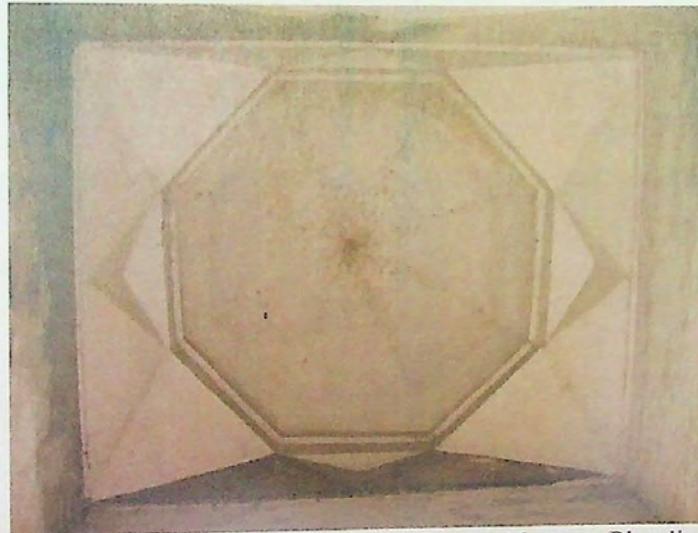


Figure 59: Dome of the side bays, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.



Figure 60: Springing of the portico arches, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.



Figure 61: Graffiti drawing on the façade, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.



Figure 62: Inscription in Ottoman Turkish, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.



Figure 63: Detail of exterior calligraphy.

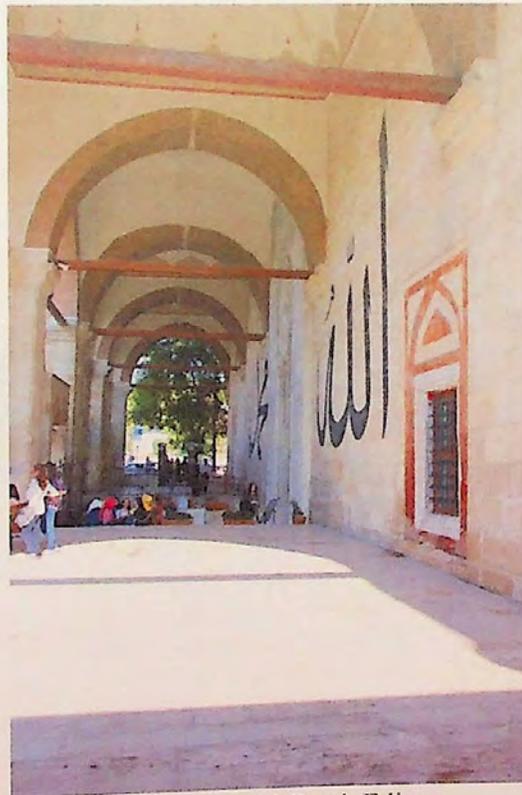


Figure 64: Eski Cami, Edirne.

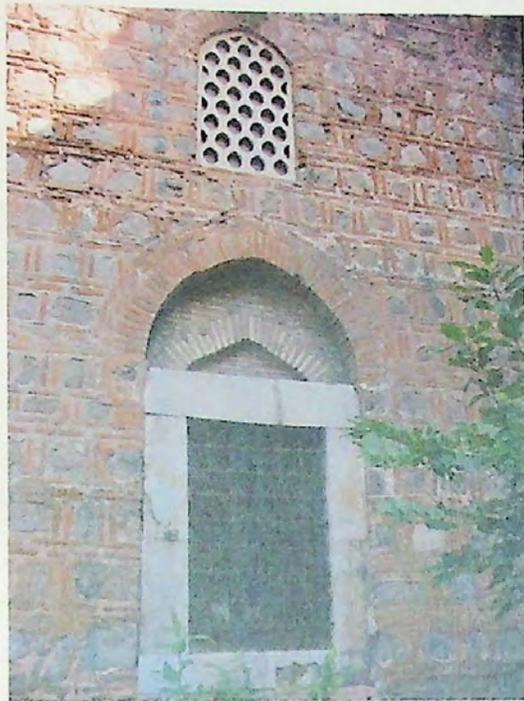


Figure 65: Window types, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.

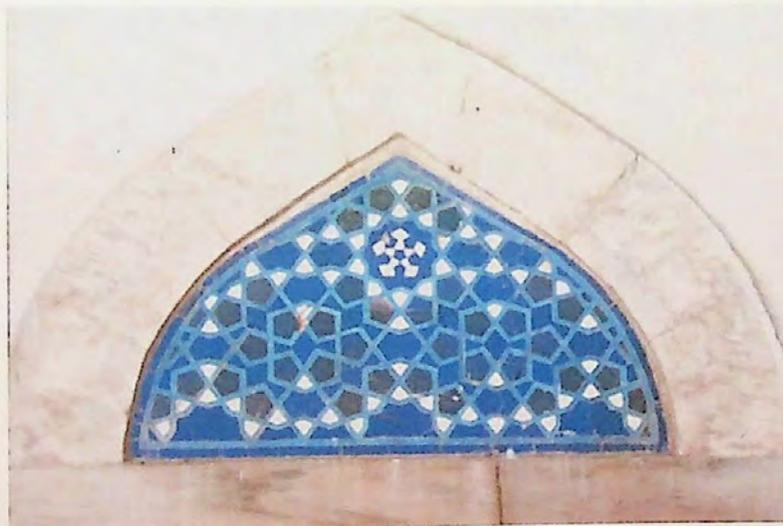


Figure 66: Tiled tympana of a window, Muradiye Mosque, Bursa.  
Copyright: Walter B. Denny

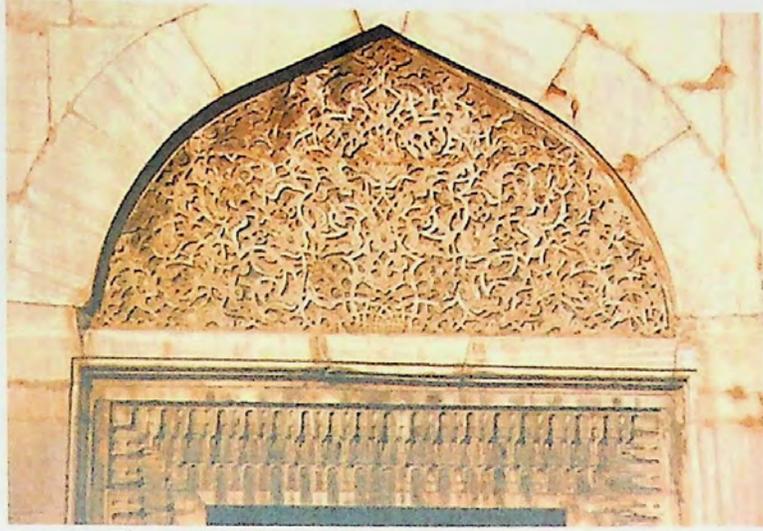


Figure 67: Window detail, Yeşil Mosque, Bursa.  
Copyright: Özgür Basak Alkan



Figure 68: Panorama of Filibe, pre-1880.

Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, 4863.



Figure 69: Panorama of Filibe, pre-1880, detail.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, 4863.

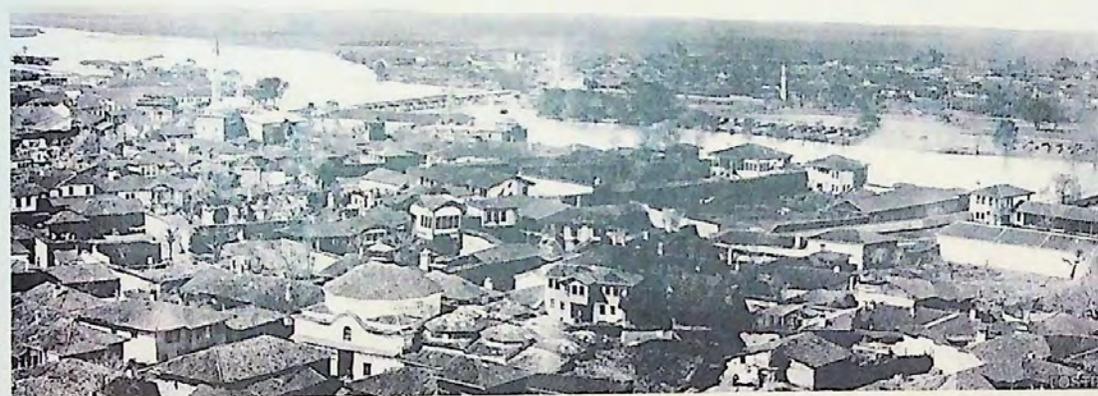


Figure 70: Panorama of Filibe, pre-1880, detail.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, 4863.



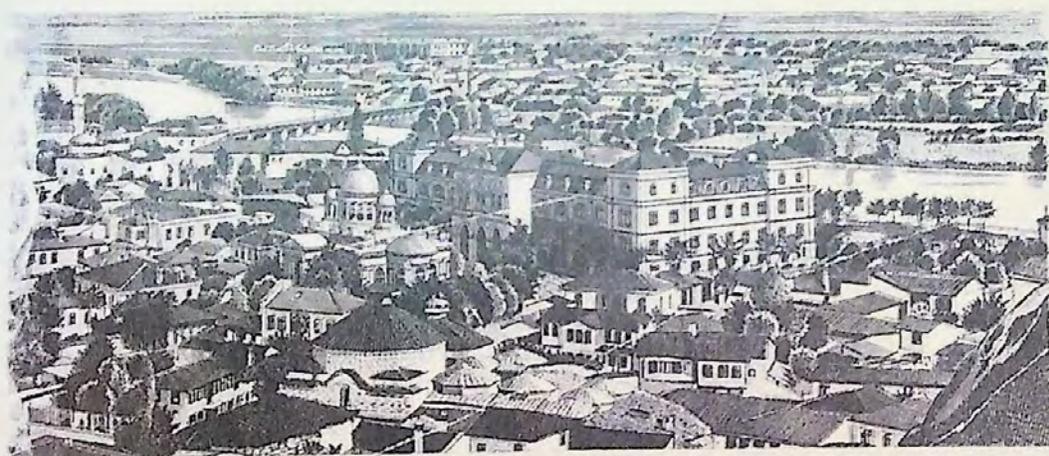
Figure 71 : D. Kavras panorama of Filibe, 1881.

Copyright: National Archives, Plovdiv



Figure 72: Aerial view towards the Imaret Complex, Plovdiv, ca 1900.

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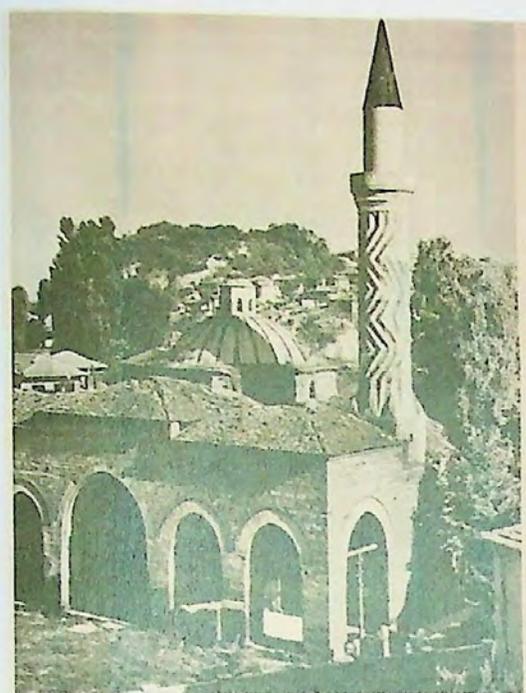


ФИЛИППОПЛЕ

Общи видъ на Пловдивъ

VIEW OF FILIPPOPOLE

Figure 73: A postcard of Filibe, ca. 1900.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv.



Имадет джамия - XV в.  
Имадет джамия - XV в.  
Имадет джамия - XV в.  
Имадет джамия - XV в.

KODEKS.UNI-BAMBERG.DE

Figure 74: Imaret Mosque.  
Copyright: kodeks.uni-bamberg.de

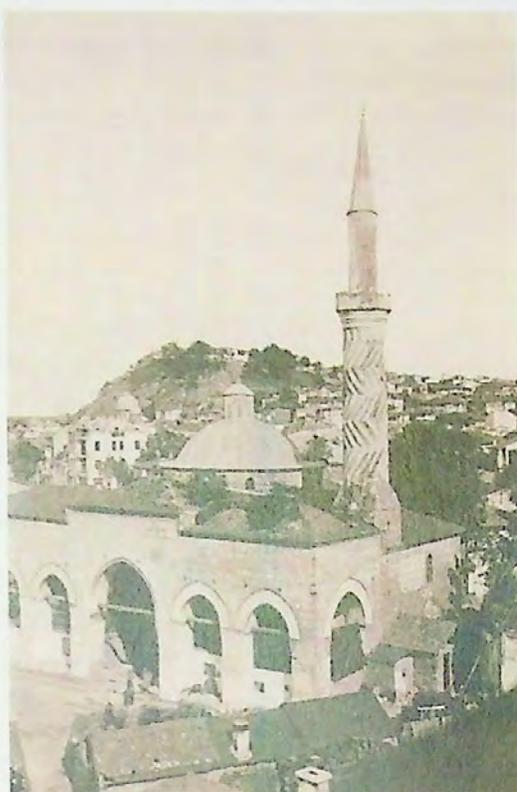


Figure 75: Imaret Mosque.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, ФI 560.



Figure 76: Imaret Mosque, post 1928 earthquake.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, ФI 566.



Figure 77: Imaret Mosque, post 1928 earthquake.  
Copyright: National Library Ivan Vazov Plovdiv, ΦI 560.



Figure 78: Imaret Mosque.  
Copyright: retrobulgaria.com



Figure 79: Imaret Mosque.  
Copyright: Machiel Kiel, Plovdiv, Imaret C. [XV-c12231-34-1972]

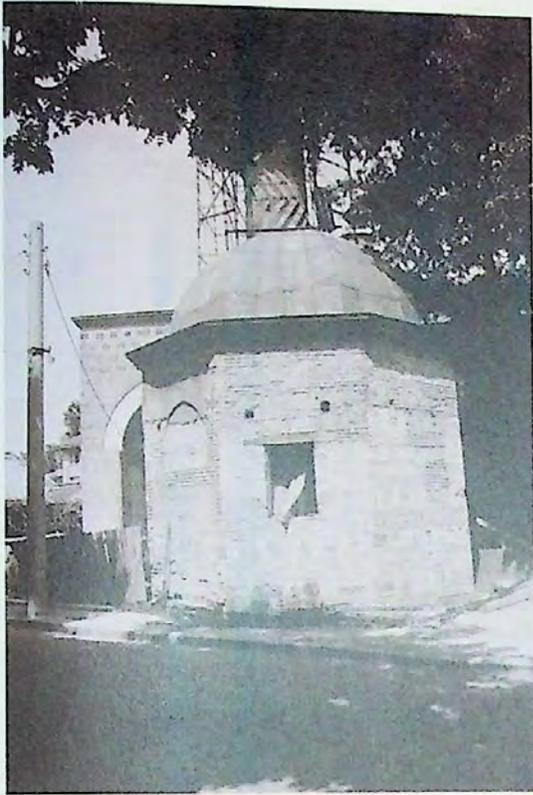


Figure 80: Mausoleum, Imaret complex,  
Plovdiv.

Copyright: Machiel Kiel, Plovdiv, Turbe of  
Sihabeddin P.[XV-c|2231-35-1972]



Figure 81: Imaret Mosque, reused tiles.

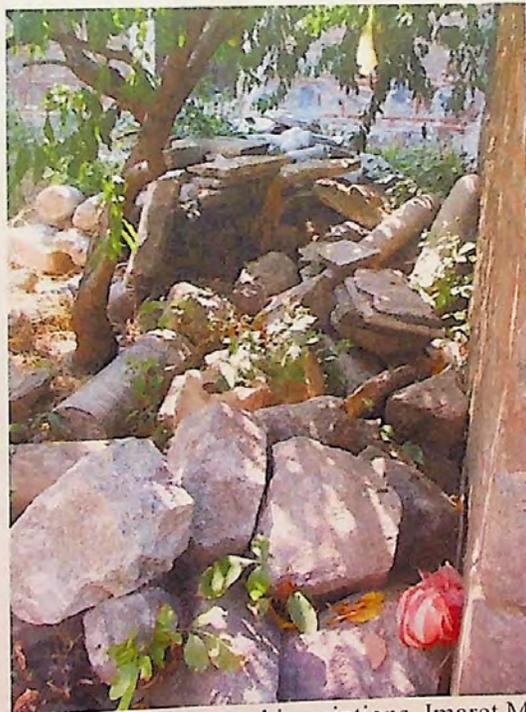


Figure 82: Discarded tombstones and inscriptions, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.

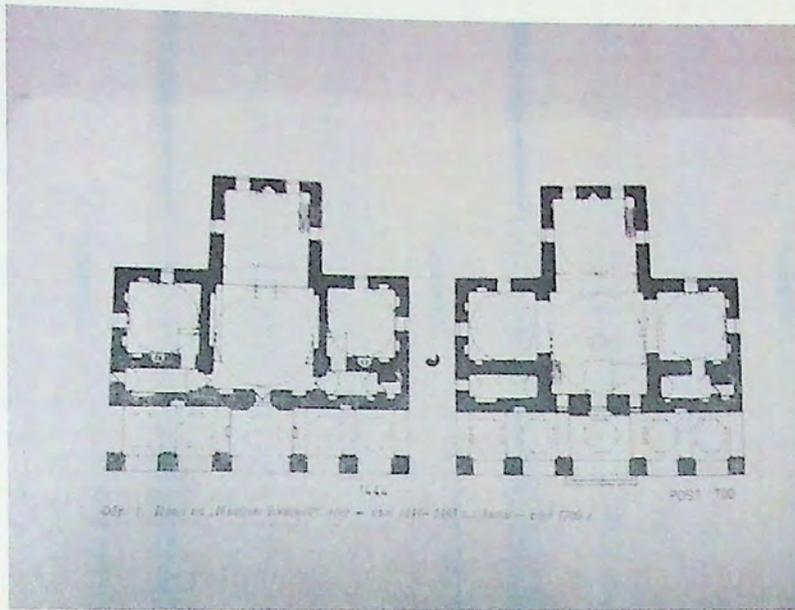


Figure 83: Plans of the Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.  
Copyright: N. Ovcharov

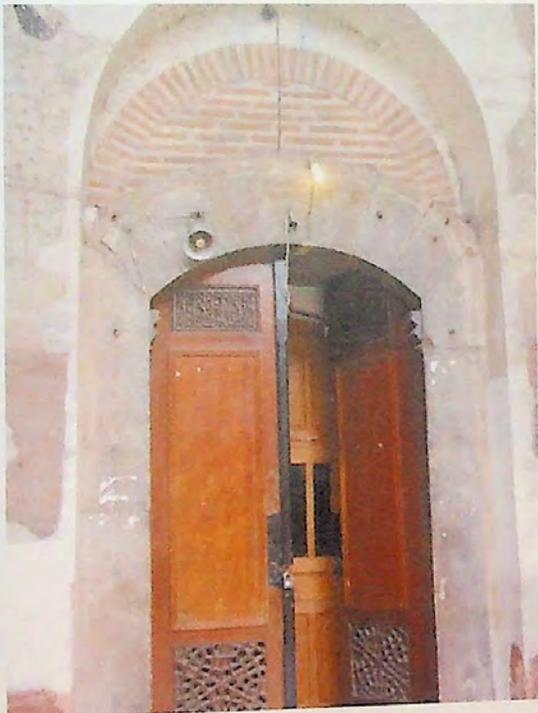


Figure 84: Entrance.

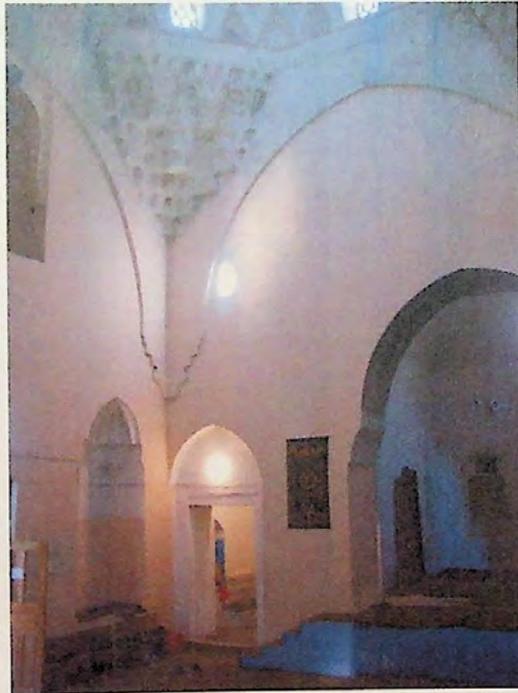


Figure 85: Inner court *muqarnas* pendentives.



Figure 86: Side entrance.

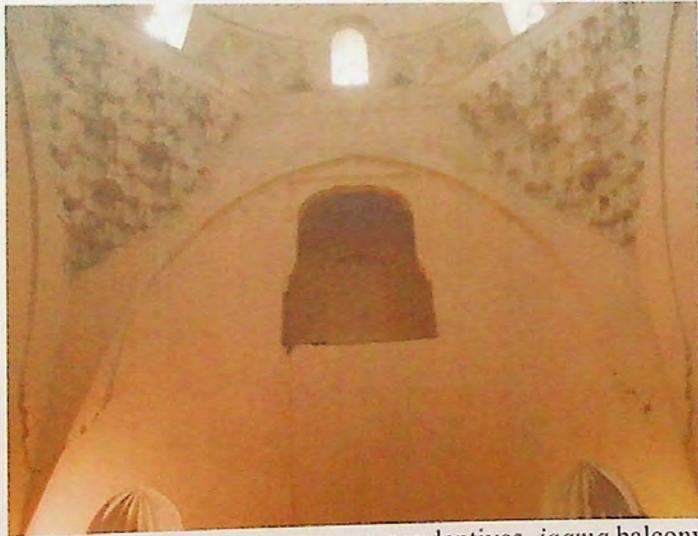


Figure 87: Inner court *muqarnas* pendentives, *iqama* balcony.

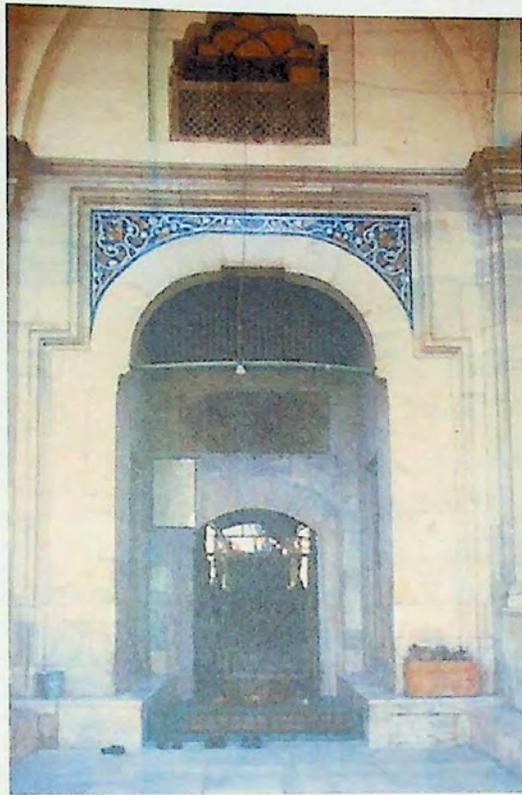


Figure 88: Entrance, Muradiye Mosque, Bursa.  
Copyright: Walter B. Denny

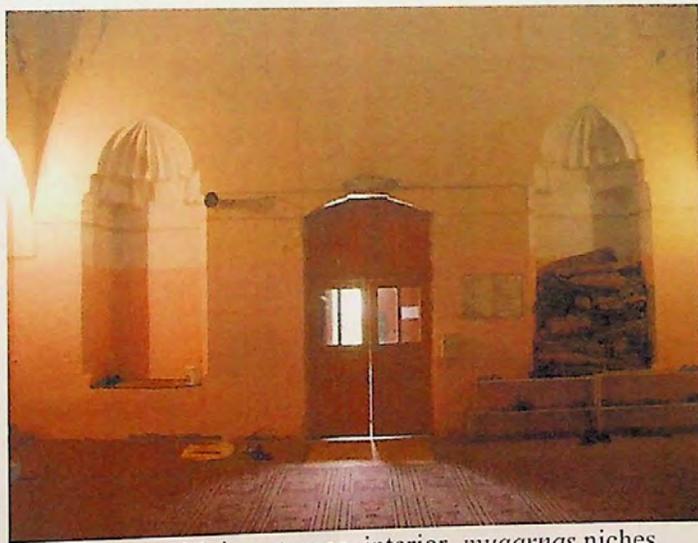


Figure 89: Main entrance, interior, *muqarnas* niches.



Figure 90: *Muqarnas* niche, detail.

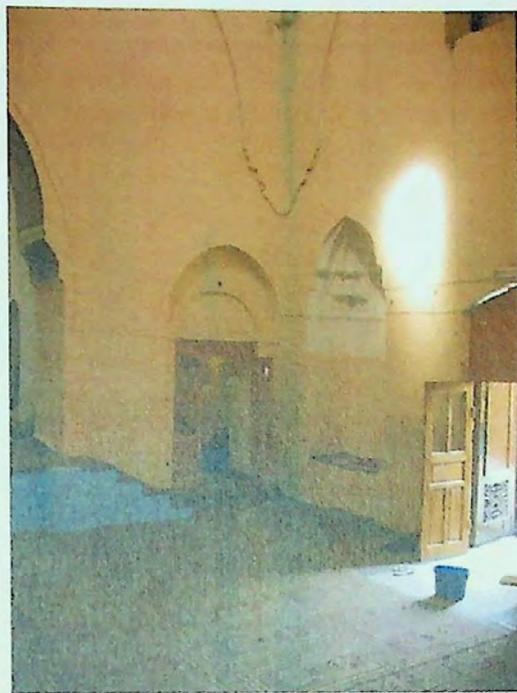


Figure 91: View towards the imam's room.

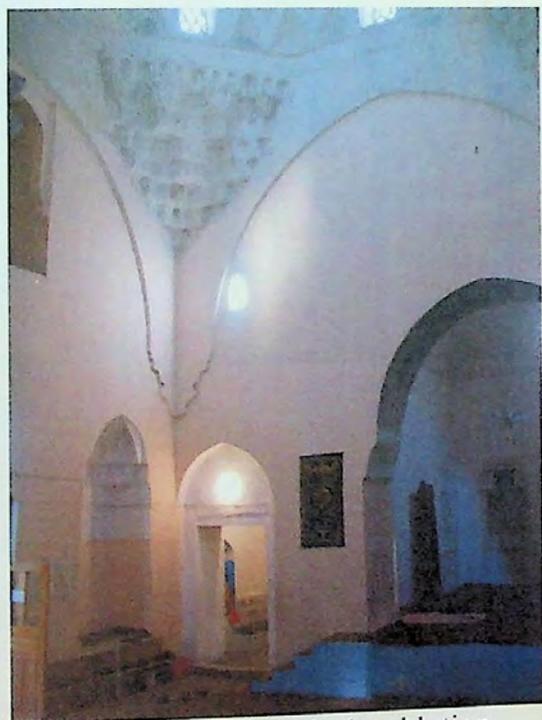


Figure 92: View towards the ablution area.



Figure 93: Ablution area ceiling.



Figure 94: Inner court dome.

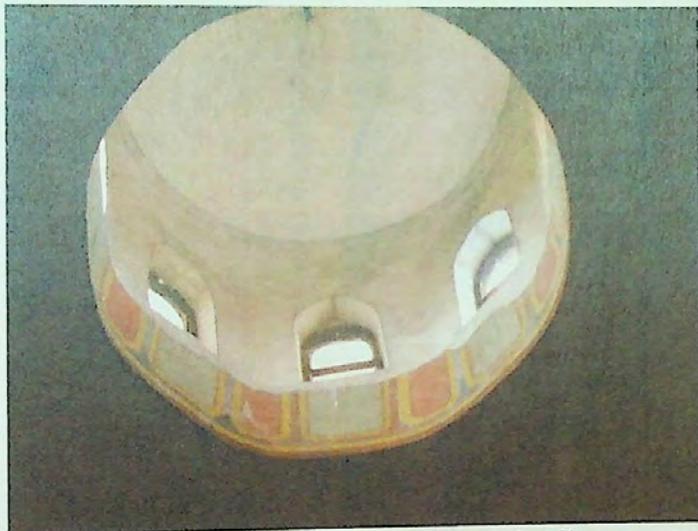


Figure 95: Inner court dome, detail.



Figure 96: Inner court, *muqarnas* pendentives, detail.

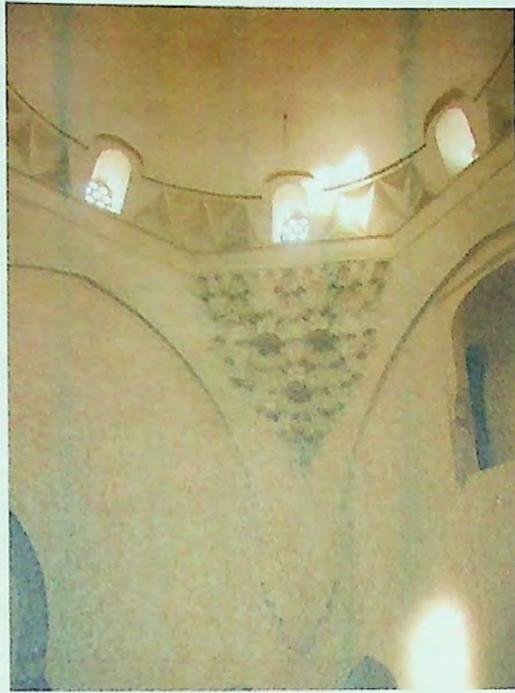


Figure 97: Inner court, *muqarnas* pendentives.

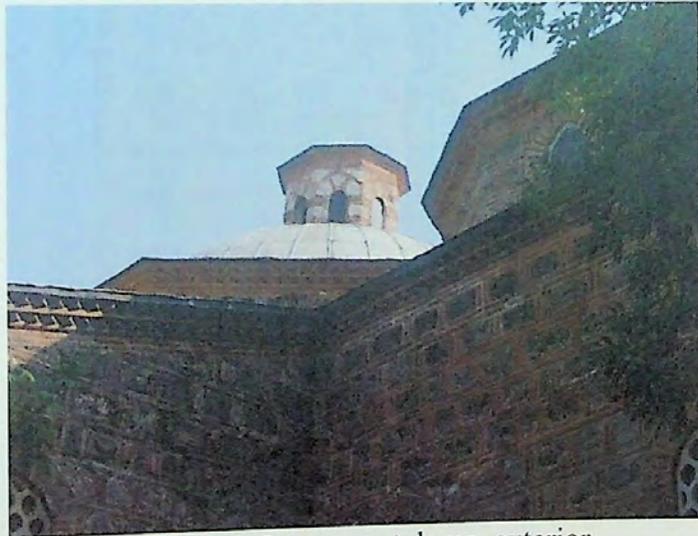


Figure 98: Inner court dome, exterior.



Figure 99: *Muqarnas* pendentives, detail, Yeşil Mosque, Bursa.

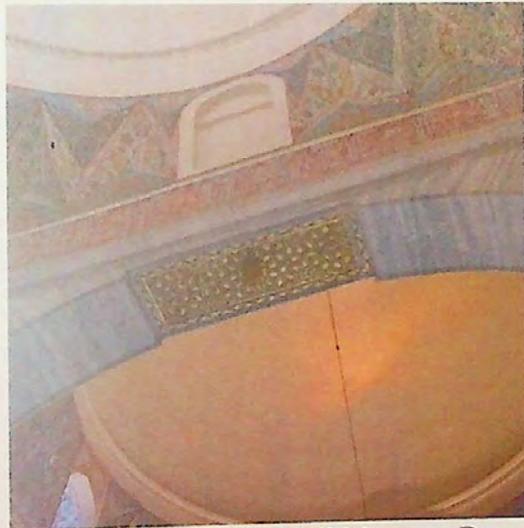


Figure 100: Interior, Yeşil Mosque, Bursa.



Figure 101: Inner court dome, Yeşil Mosque, Bursa.

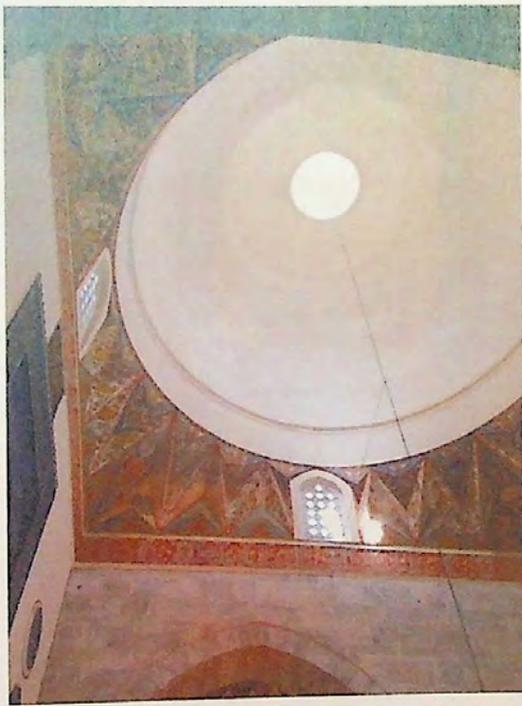


Figure 102: Prayer area dome, Yeşil Mosque, Bursa.

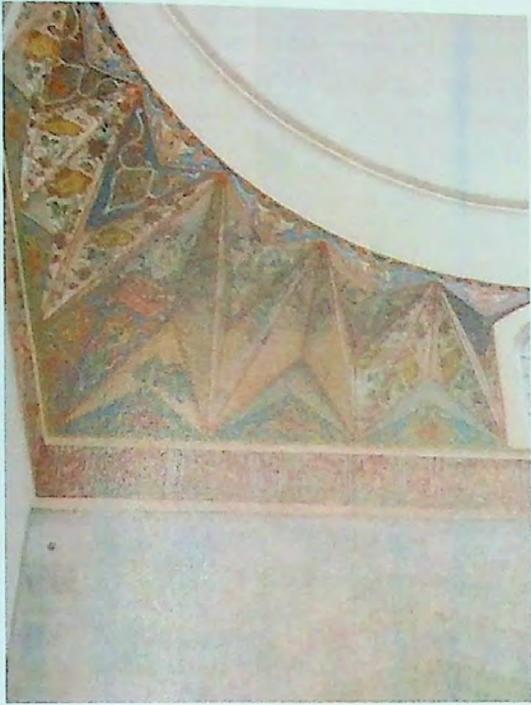


Figure 103: Prayer area dome, detail, Yeşil Mosque, Bursa.

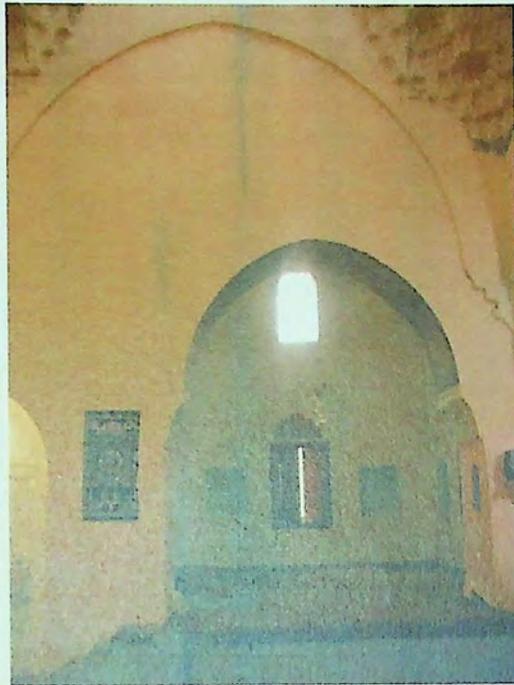


Figure 104: Eastern side room, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.

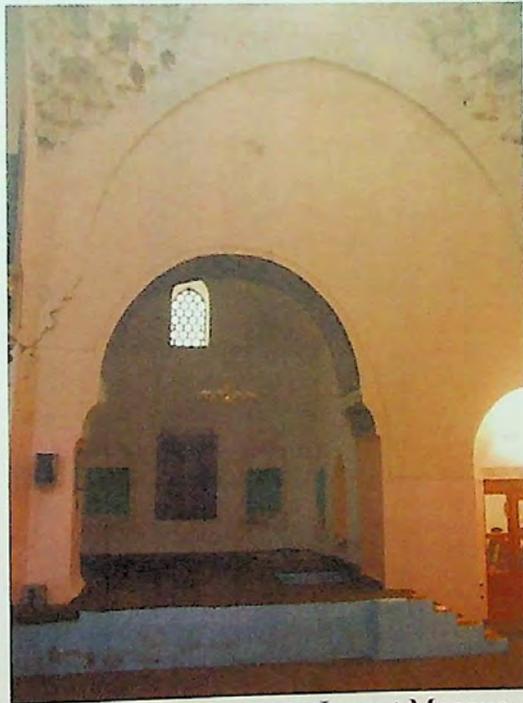


Figure 105: Western side room, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.

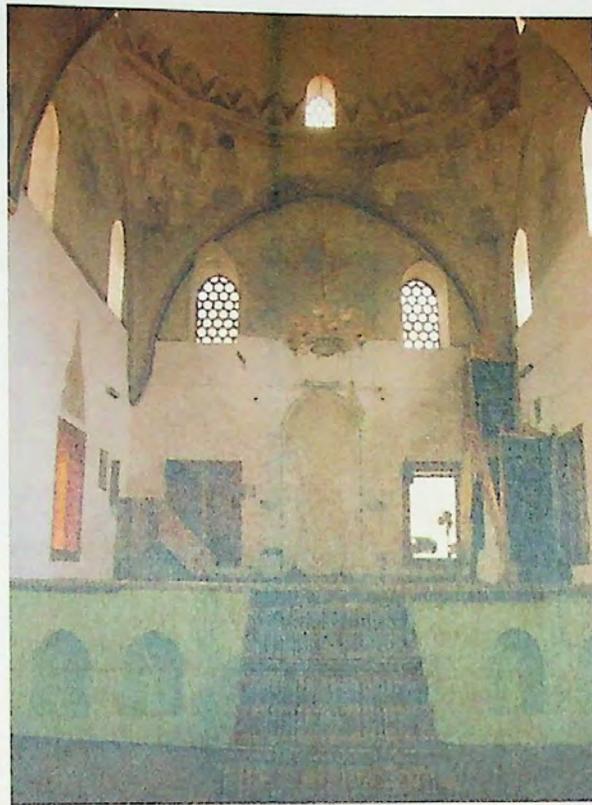


Figure 106: Prayer area, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.

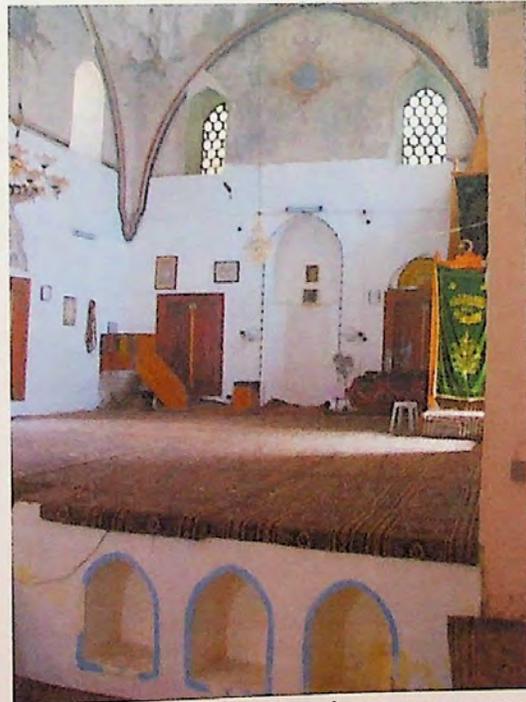


Figure 107: Alternative view, prayer area.



Figure 108: *Mihrab*.

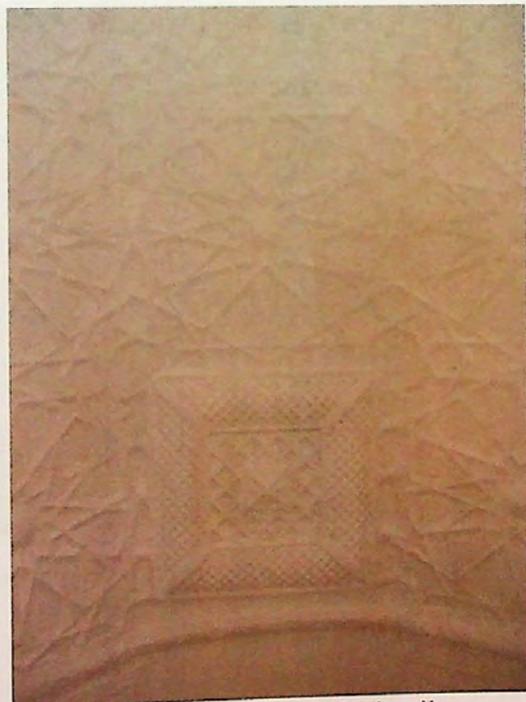


Figure 109: *Mihrab*, detail.



Figure 110: *Muqarnas* pendentives, prayer area, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.



Figure 111: Detail, *muqarnas* pendentives, prayer area, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.  
Visible are previous paint layers.



Figure 112: Detail, *muqarnas* pendentives, prayer area, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.

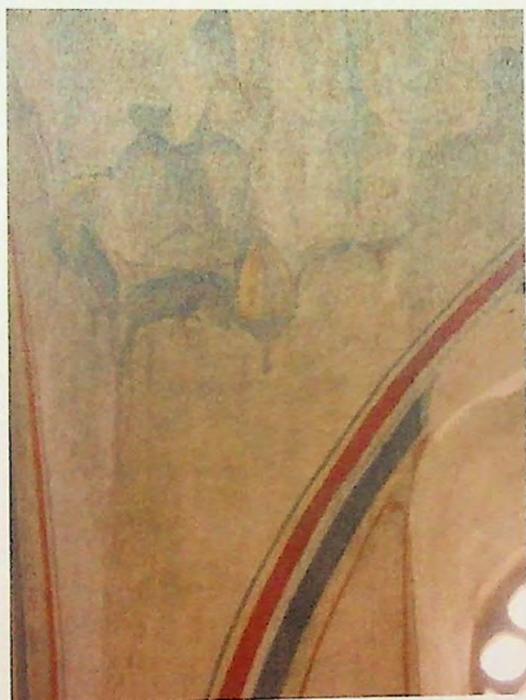


Figure 113: Detail, *muqarnas* pendentives, prayer area, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.



Figure 114: *Muqarnas* pendentives, prayer area, Imaret Mosque, Plovdiv.



Figure 115: Prayer area dome.



Figure 116: *Qibla iwan* soffit.



Figure 117: Springing of the arch of the *qibla iwan*. Visible are the original carved *muqarnas*.



Figure 118: Springing of the arch of the *qibla iwan*, detail. Visible are the original carved *muqarnas*.

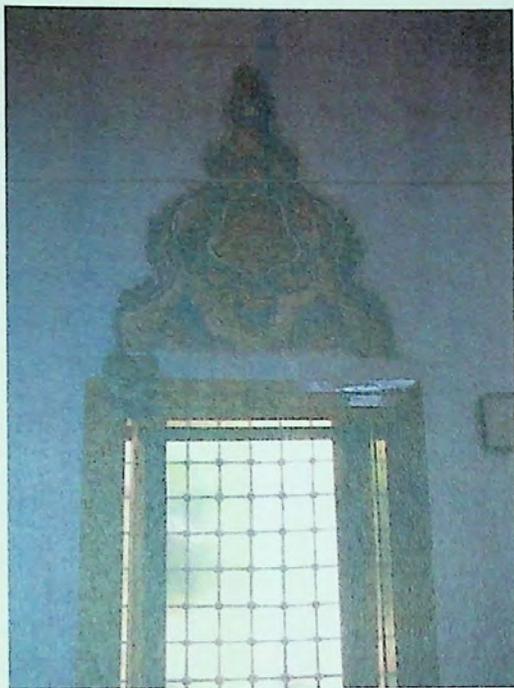


Figure 119: Decoration, window to the east of the *mihrab*.



Figure 120: Small balcony, east of the *mihrab*.

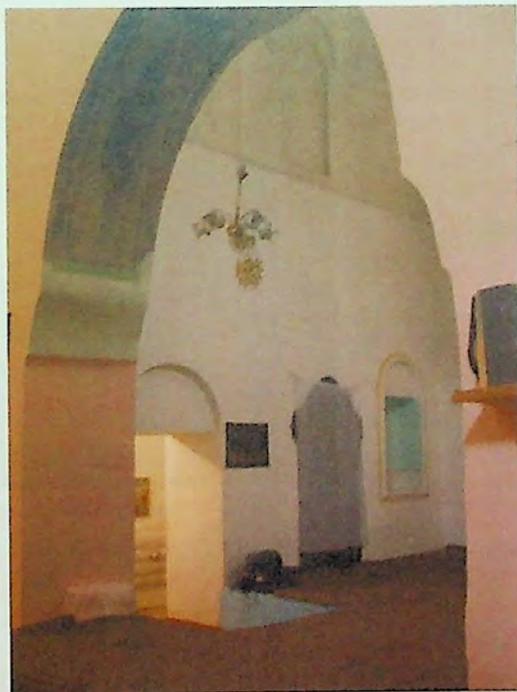


Figure 121: Soffit decoration, eastern room.

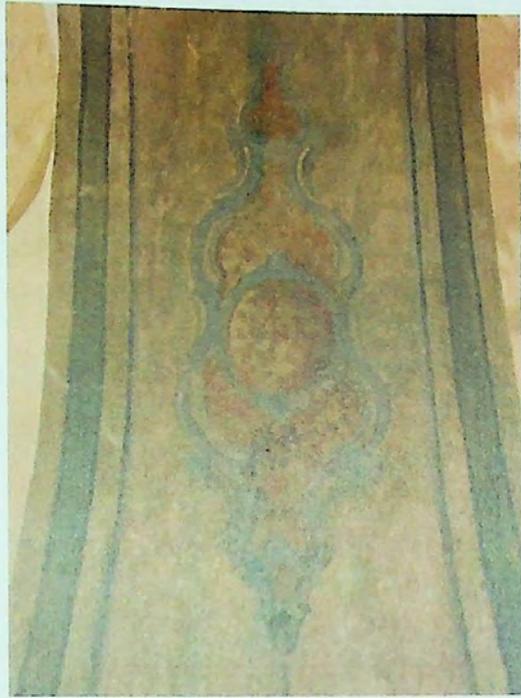


Figure 122: Soffit decoration, eastern room, detail.



Figure 123: Dome, eastern room.



Figure 124: Dome, eastern room, detail of transition zone.



Figure 125: Remains of decoration, eastern room.

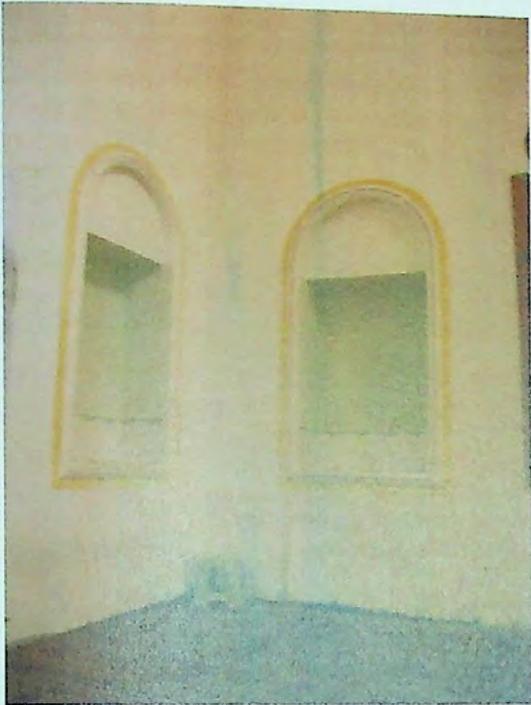


Figure 126: Niches, eastern room.



Figure 127: Door towards the ablution area, eastern room.

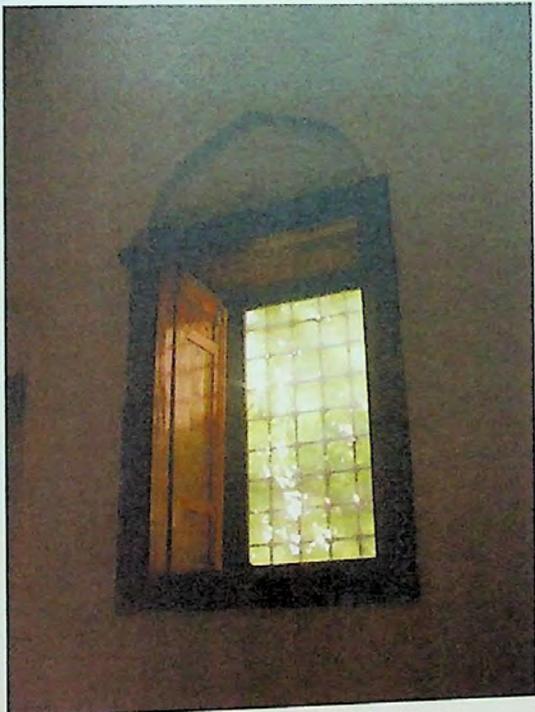


Figure 128: Window, eastern room.



Figure 129: Chimney, eastern room.

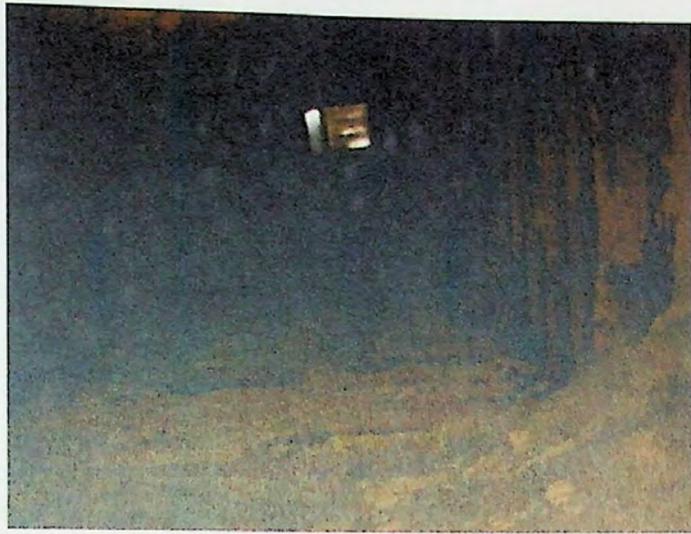


Figure 130: Chimney, eastern room.

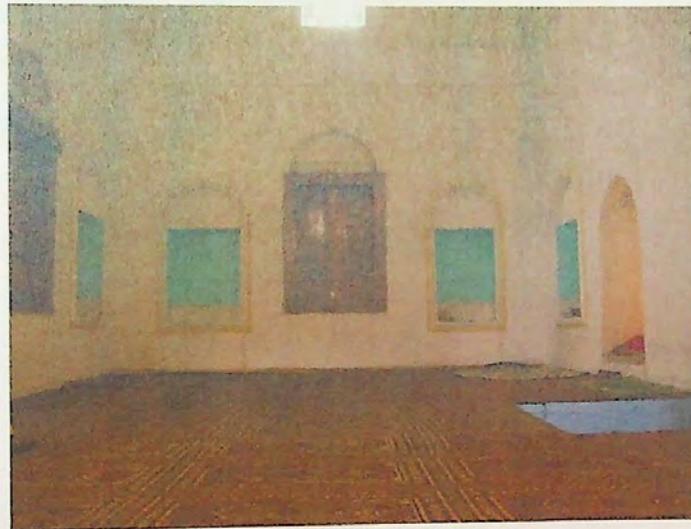


Figure 131: Western room.

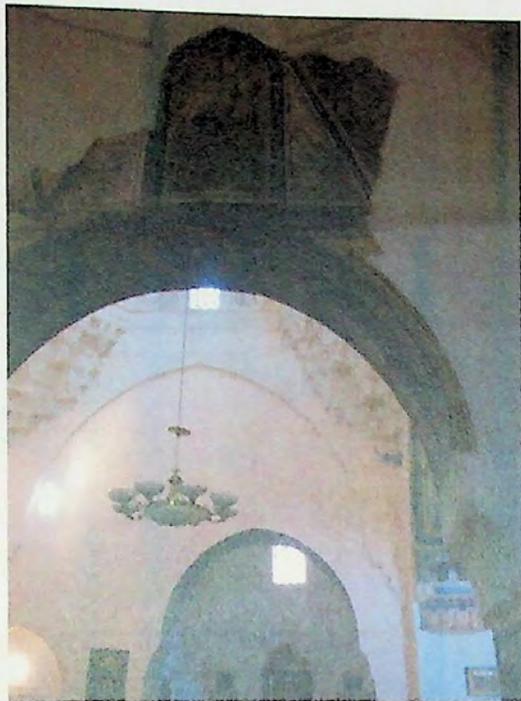


Figure 132: Soffit and transitional zone decoration, western room.



Figure 133: Springing of the *iwan* arch decoration, western room.

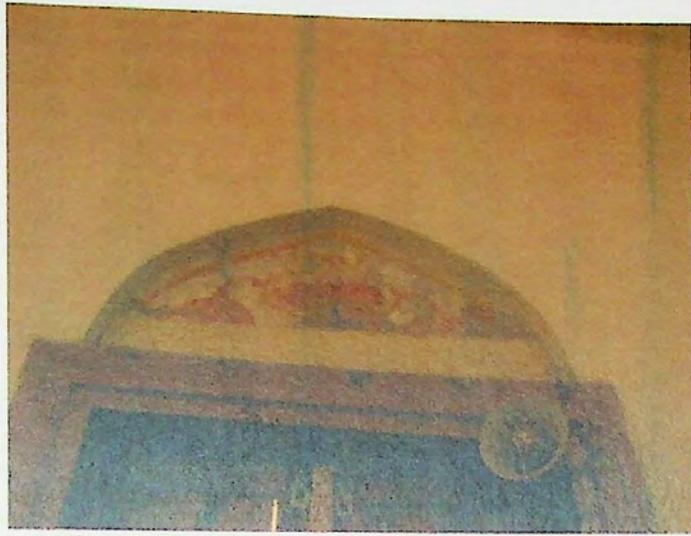


Figure 134: Window decoration, western room.

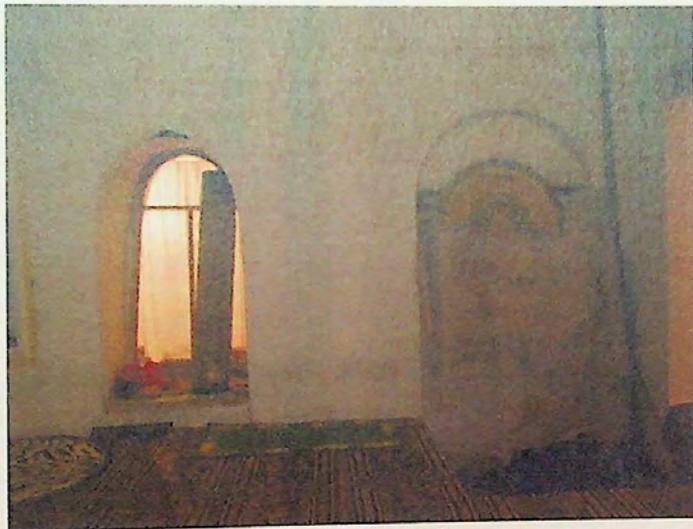


Figure 135: Door towards the imam's room, western room.

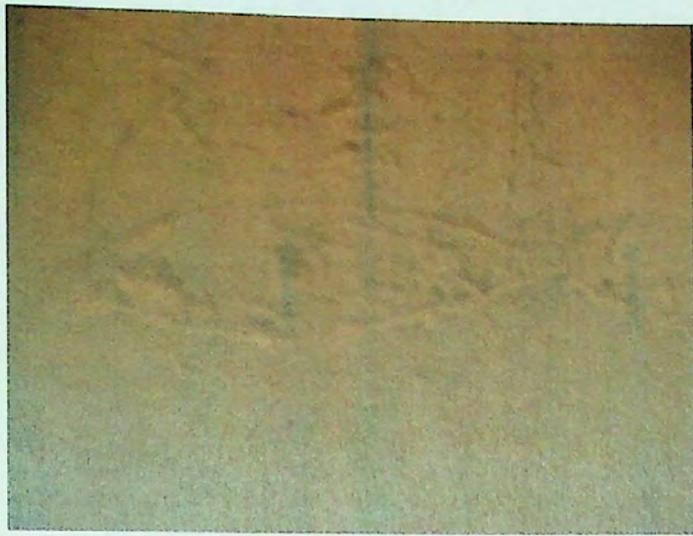


Figure 136: An example of the graffiti drawings documented by Ovcharov.

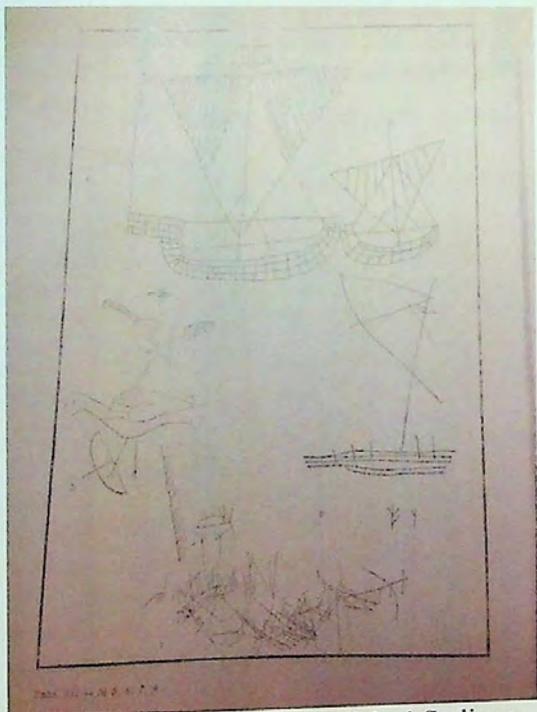


Figure 137: Ovcharov's published findings.



Figure 138: Ovcharov's published findings.

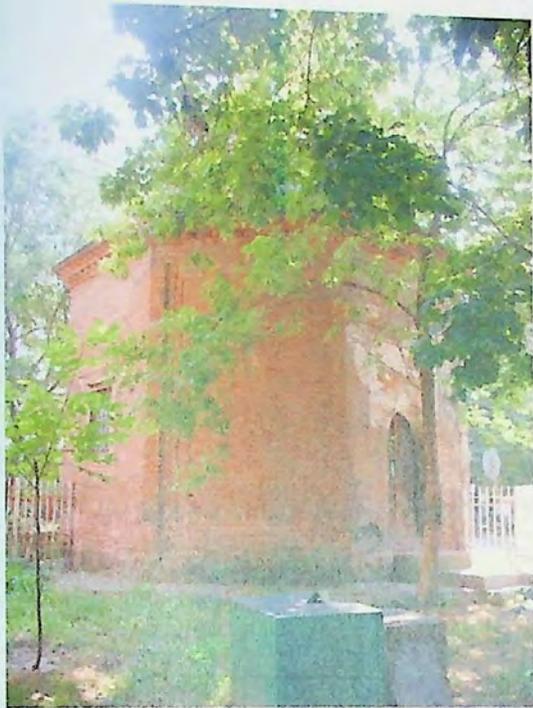


Figure 139: Mausoleum, Imaret complex, Plovdiv.

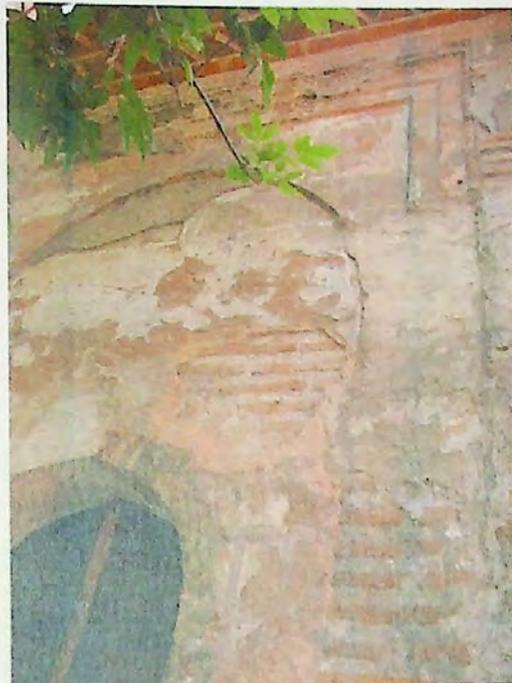


Figure 140: Mausoleum entrance, detail.

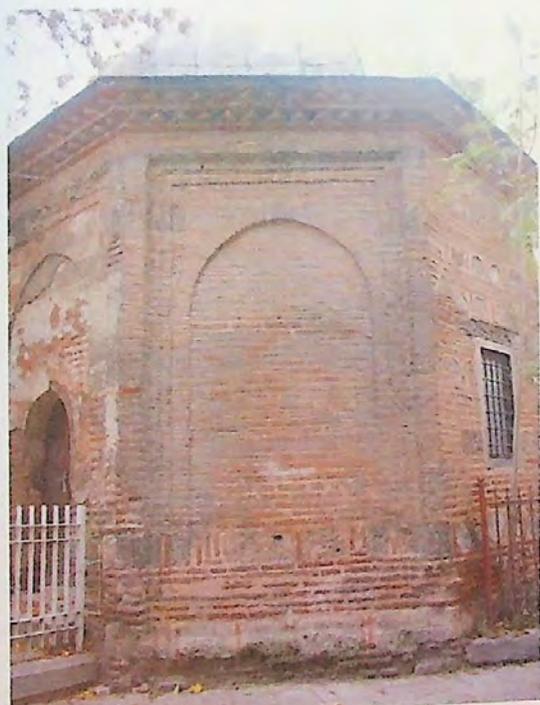


Figure 141: Mausoleum, blind arch.

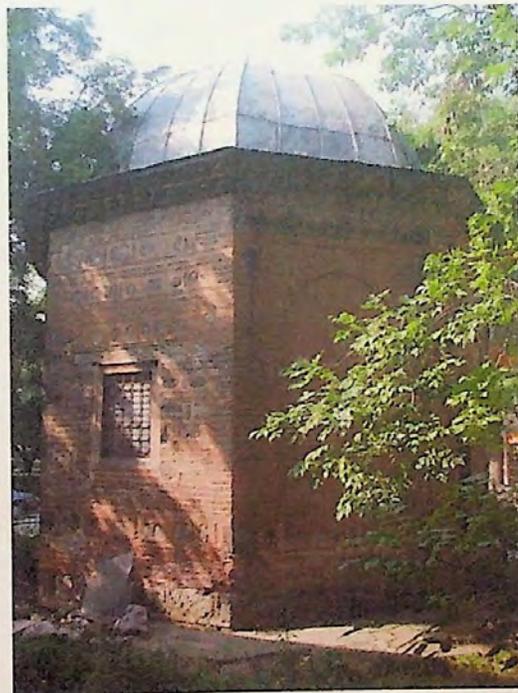


Figure 142: Mausoleum, exterior.

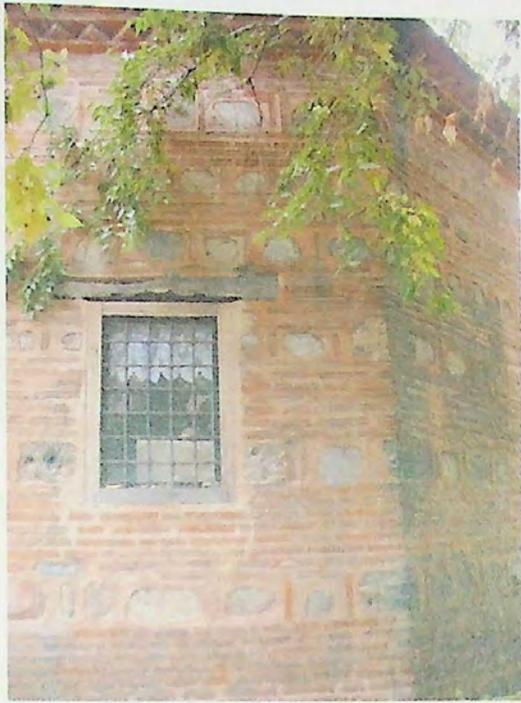


Figure 143: Mausoleum, masonry.

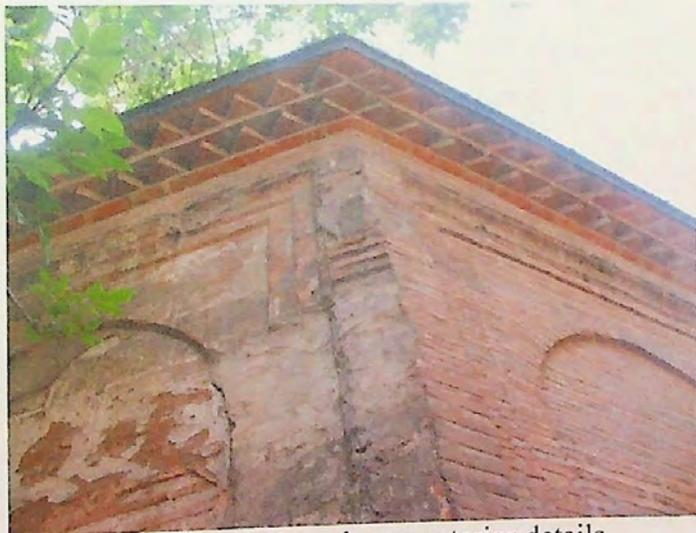


Figure 144: Mausoleum, exterior details.

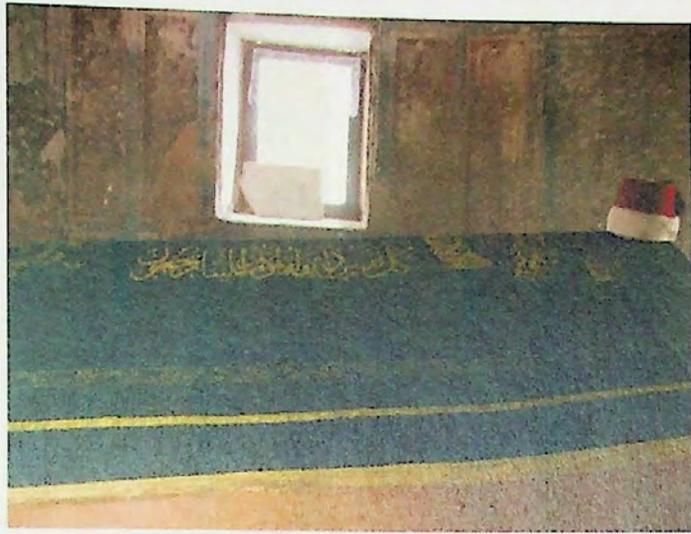


Figure 145: Mausoleum interior.



Figure 146: Mausoleum interior.



Figure 147: Mausoleum, warning against praying to the deceased.

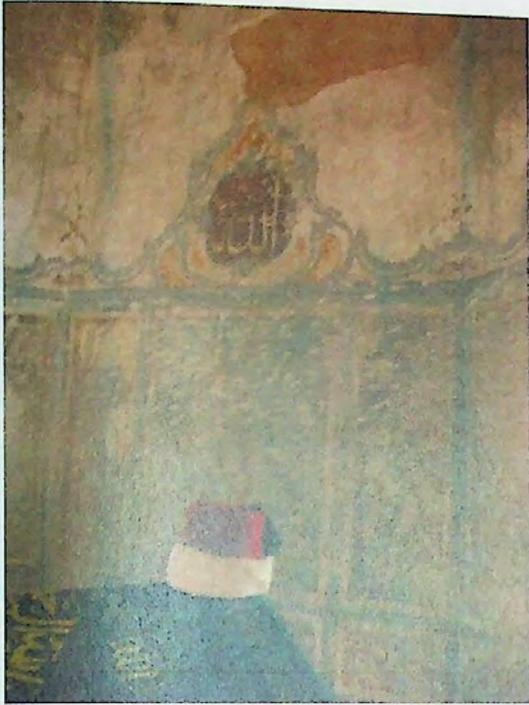


Figure 148: Mausoleum, interior decorative panels.

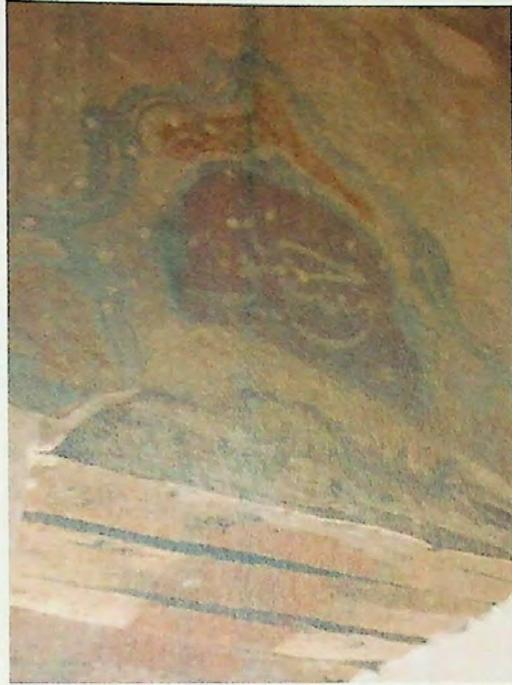


Figure 149: Mausoleum, building materials.



Figure 150: Mausoleum, *mihrab* niche.

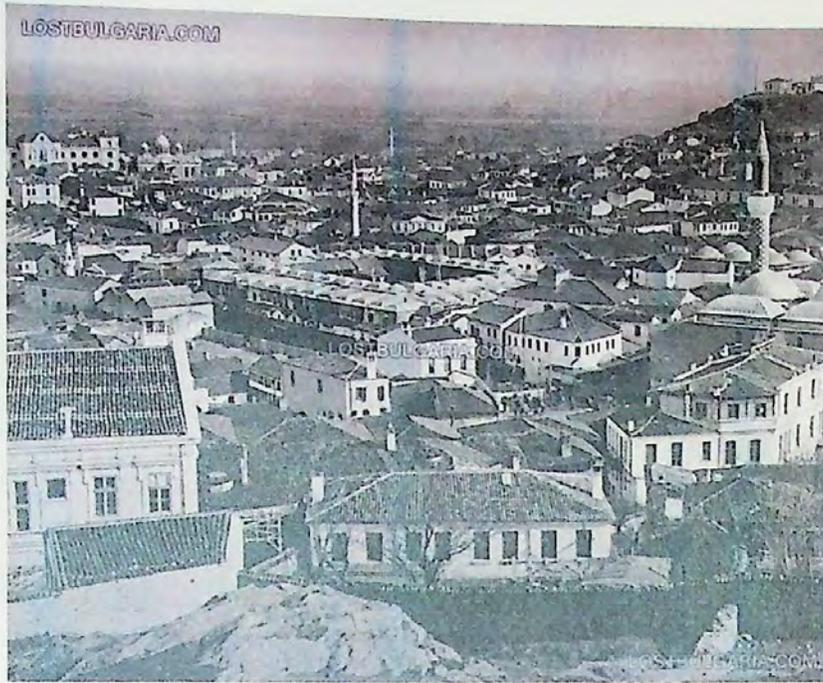


Figure 151: A look towards the *caravanserai*, the *bedesten* and the Muradiye Mosque in Plovdiv, around 1985.  
Copyright: [www.lostbulgaria.com](http://www.lostbulgaria.com)



Figure 152: Kurshum Han, Plovdiv, ca 1930.  
Copyright: [www.lostbulgaria.com](http://www.lostbulgaria.com)



5. Пловдивъ—Куршумъ ханъ

Plovdiv—Courchoum Han

Figure 153: Kurchum Han, exterior, ca 1900.  
Copyright: www.retrobulgaria.com

## Appendix A

Ottoman Monuments in Bulgaria  
Legend: Highlighted monuments are no longer extant.

Monument name	Type	Year	Location	Notes
Şeytan Köprü	bridge	16th c	Ardino	built by Sultan Selim I, was on major road to the Aegean
	cemeteries		Balchik	
Queen Maria villa minaret	minaret	1920s	Balchik	built as a picturesque detail to the Queen's villa
Mosque	mosque		Balchik	very modern looking, no dome, looks like a house; probably post 1876
	water dispensaries		Balchik	
Turkish bath	bathhouse	1735	Banya	built by a Bulgarian
	fortifications	Roman times, 1396	Belogradchik	nearly destroyed but was restored and is a tourist attraction today
	bathhouse		Berkovitsa	
	bridge		Borino	
Agushev residence	summer residence	mid 19th c	Chereshevo	built by Agus Aga to serve as summer residence; small scale of the konak built in Mogilica
	bridge		Debelets	
	bridge		Dolen	
	bridge		Drangovo	two bridges in this Rhodope village-- one almost destroyed by treasure hunters, the other one was used until recently
Kolyo Ficheto bridge	bridge	mid 19th c	Dryanovo	
Ahmed Bev hamam	bathhouse	1570s	Dumnitsa	

Clock tower	clock tower	1782	Dupnitsa	
Ahmed Bey kuttap	elementary school	1570s	Dupnitsa	
Ahmed Bey mosque	mosque	1570s	Dupnitsa	after 1878 turned into a prison until 1922; archaeological museum in 1930s; art gallery now
District House	public building		Dupnitsa	after 1878 turned into a prison until 1922; archaeological museum in 1930s; art gallery now
"	water dispensaries		Everywhere	spread throughout the territories, each town had several, many of which survive
"	lighthouse	by 1866	Galata	"
"	bridge	1876	Goleshovo	
"	bridge		Gorski Izvor	
"	bathroom		Gotse Delchev	bad restoration, at one point housed a bar
"	bathroom		Gotse Delchev	demolished to make way for a school
Hunchback bridge	bridge	16th c	Harmanli	built by Siyavuş Paşa
"	caravanseray		Harmanli	built together with the bridge
Çifte hamam	bathroom	16th c	Haskovo	destroyed in 1960s despite being declared cultural monument; made of solid marble blocks, decorated with stone columns and arches; one of the oldest buildings of its kind in modern-day Bulgaria
"	clock tower	end of 18th- beg of 19th c	Haskovo	pulled down in 1916
Eski Cami	mosque	1394-5	Haskovo	first significant building the Ottomans built after the conquest of the Upper Thracian Valley
Çarşı Mosque	mosque		Haskovo	recently renovated, repairs in 1831-2 according to an inscription
"	mosque		Haskovo	collapsed during the 1928 earthquake

	mosque			Haskovo	demolished in the 1950s
Ihtiman hamam	bathhouse			Ihtiman	now an art gallery
Mihaloğlu Mahmud Bey complex	hamam	1380-95		Ihtiman	now a picture gallery
	inn	1380-95		Ihtiman	
Mehmet Paşa fountain	water dispensary	1660		Ihtiman	in front of the hamam, had a sophisticated marble carved inscription
	zaviye	1380-95		Ihtiman	one of oldest in Bulgaria, minaret added and turned into a mosque in 16th c; the inscription on side of the mosque has not survived
Modern one doesn't bear resemblance to original	lighthouse	by 1866		Kaliakra	built by Compagnie des Phares
	bathhouse			Kalofer	
	clock tower	1762 or 1834		Karlovo	built in the market, has been renovated and still stands
	han			Karlovo	now a hotel
Kurshun Mosque madrasa	madrasa	17-18th c		Karlovo	
Kurshun Mosque	mosque	1485		Karlovo	built by Karlizade Lala Ali Bey, was small but elegant; town was founded around it, named after its lead roof
Red Mosque	mosque	1654		Karlovo	pulled down in the 1960s to make way for a community center; was among the most remarkable buildings in the town
Yalı Mosque	mosque			Karlovo	plain, but only one that's still functioning; severely damaged in a fire in 2010
	water dispensary			Karlovo	
Old Bath	bathhouse			Kavarna	now a maritime museum
	bathhouse			Kircali	modernized
	konak	mid 19th c		Kircali	used to be a museum, now an art gallery
	mosque	1812		Kircali	bad restoration

	school		Kircali	modernized
	türbe		Kircali	modernized
Bali Efendi tekke	türbe	16th c	Knyazhevo, Sofia	local Muslim saint who followed Ibn Arabi's teachings; multiple legends about his personality exist
Bali Efendi tekke	zaviye	16th c	Knyazhevo, Sofia	the church in the vicinity probably stands where the mosque used to stand
	bridge		Koshnitsa	
	bathhouse		Kyustendil	town boasted manu baths, as there are mineral springs there
Çifte Banya	bathhouse	1489	Kyustendil	constructed on Roman termae, beg of 20th century replaced by a completely new building
Alay Banya	bathhouse		Kyustendil	similar fate to Çifte Banya
Dervish Banya	bathhouse	1566	Kyustendil	used as bath house until 1992, now a cultural monument
Mehmet Fatih Mosque	mosque	mid 15th c	Kyustendil	built by Kara Mehmet, later gifted to Sultan Mehmet II; deserted and in a state of decay today
Ahmed Bey mosque	mosque	1573	Kyustendil	minaret was damaged in a 1904 earthquake and pulled down; today building is part of the history museum; Evliya Çelebi left his signature on one of the marble frames of the windows; it is one of only three such signatures of his ever recorded.
Deli Hamam	bathhouse		Lovech	contrary to popular belief, it's not Roman; awaits much-needed restoration
	bridge		Madan	
	bridge		Mogilica	
Agushev konaks	konak	1825-1842	Mogilica	impressive residence with a tower built by Agus Aga; biggest and best preserved residential building in Bulgaria; disputes

					between owners and the state keep it closed
Kız Ana tekke	türbe			Momino, Targovishte	girl saint tekke
Demir baba Tekke	türbe			near Isperih	Demir baba is the most venerated Alevi saint, tekke was surrounded by a large, no-longer extant complex
	bridge			near Nenkovo	
	bathhouse			Nesebar	
Kadin bridge	bridge		1469-70	Nevestino, Kyustendil	built by Ishak Paşa
	bathhouse			Nevrokop	almost demolished
	fortifications			Nikopol	only one gate survives 19th c Shishman gate, fort was damaged in wars against Russia in beg of 19th century and rebuilt
Novi Han karavanseray	caravanseray		17th c	Novi Han	only surviving caravanseray, many many others existed in the network between the towns; actually only one of the walls survives; had fountains, wells, small mosque
Ak Yazılı Baba imaret	imaret		first half 16th c	Obrochishte, Balchik	near the tekke
Ak Yazılı Baba tekke	türbe		first half 16th c	Obrochishte, Balchik	Alevi shrine with a Christian counterpart, so both religions consider it sacred and come to get the saint's blessings; probably largest in the Balkans; heptagon-shaped
	bridge			Pletena	
Hünkar Hamam	bathhouse		1444-5	Plovdiv	part of the Imaret complex, housed the Regional Assembly of Eastern Rumelia because of its excellent acoustics
Çifte Hamam	bathhouse		1461-79	Plovdiv	only remaining hamam in the town, built by Ismail Bey; turned into a contemporary art center

Trakia Bath	bathroom		Plovdiv	had some of the most exquisite interior decorations in Bulgaria
Bedesten	bedesten		Plovdiv	
	bedesten	15th c	Plovdiv	near Muradiye Mosque, six-domed structure, demolished after WWII
Şahib Paşa bridge	bridge	15th c	Plovdiv	led to the road to Sofia
Sahat tepe clock tower	clock tower	late 16th - early 17th c	Plovdiv	one of oldest clock towers in Ottoman Empire; only Skopije (1573) and possibly one in Bitola are older; mechanism made by Italians still works despite repair works at beginning of 19th c.
	han	1444-5	Plovdiv	part of the Imaret complex
Kurshum Han	han	15th c	Plovdiv	two-storied inn, damaged in an earthquake in 1930s and demolished during WWII
	mausoleum	1444-5	Plovdiv	part of the Imaret complex
Mevlevihane	mevlevihane or cloiser	mid 19th c	Plovdiv	in Christian quarter, whirling dervishes appeared there; during Communist times it was turned into a posh restaurant
Muradiye Mosque	mosque	1425	Plovdiv	restored after an earthquake in 1785
Imaret Mosque	mosque	1444-5	Plovdiv	Part of a complex which included on the biggest zaviyes in Bulgaria
	mosque	1461-79	Plovdiv	part of complex built by Ismail Bey, torn down in 1914
Orta Mezar Mosque	mosque		Plovdiv	in 1920s-30s it was empty and the minaret collapsed, after which it was turned into a private residence; returned to owners in 1989 after being confiscated by the Communist regime in 1944; currently a restaurant
	soup kitchen	1444-5	Plovdiv	part of the Imaret complex
	türbe	1461-79	Plovdiv	part of complex built by Ismail Bey, torn down in 1914

çifte hamam	bathhouse	15th c	Plovdiv	now a contemporary art gallery made entirely of timber and wooden joints, no nail used in it; legend links it to seven maidens who built it with their dowries overnight and then disappeared forever; minaret is bizarrely unique, made entirely of tin sheet metal
Podkova mosque	mosque		Podkova	
	clock tower	17th c	Provadia	
	fortifications		Provadia	fort was damaged in wars against Russia 1828-9 and rebuilt
Yusuf Mosque	mosque	1623	Provadia	also known as Tusun Mosque
	mosque	16th-17th c	Provadia	intact minaret, an efferlyspelling! Gypsy woman lives in the courtyard
	mosque	16th-17th c	Provadia	minaret half torn, windows bricked up, walls shake with each earthquake; Communist slogans in Bulgarian and Turkish feature prominently on the exterior walls
	bridge		Raduntsi	
Ibrahim Paşa hamam	bathhouse	1530-6	Razgrad	largest in Bulgaria, but was torn down 1970s in order to make way for the town square
Ibrahim Paşa Complex	bathhouse, caravanserai, minaret, religious school		Razgrad	brought lot of trade into the town, was also meant to promote Sunni Islam; until recently the hamam existed as largest recorded Ottoman bathhouse in Bulgaria, destroyed in 1970s when town center was being modernized
Ibrahim Paşa Mosque	mosque	1616-7	Razgrad	original was torn down in early 17th c as vizier fell out of favor, new one erected there and finished by Mahmud Pasha, had a stone portico whose columns were pillaged in the 1828-9 Russo-Turkish wars; heralded as "the most beautiful in Rumelia" by Evliya

					Chelebi, today it's 3rd largest on the Balkans; now in horrible disrepair
Ahmed Bey Mosque	mosque		1542-3	Razgrad	only foundation inscription in Bulgaria written in Persian
Roman bath	bathroom			Razlog	Roman is just a name locals use, now a restaurant
	bridge			Ribaritsa	
Mahmud II commemorative column	column		19th c	Ruse	only one in Bulgaria; from the tour of Sultan Mahmud II in his European territories; these were placed on his route
	drinking fountain		18th c	Ruse	in the courtyard of a school
Seid Paşa Mosque	mosque		1875	Ruse	
Tombul Mosque	mosque			Ruse	made of heavy stone, destroyed in 1980s, what remains of the stones is in the history museum
	fortifications			Rustchuk, Ruse	fort was damaged in wars against Russia in 1810-1 and rebuilt
Levent Tabia	fortifications		1830s	Rustchuk, Ruse	after 1970 was turned into a restaurant
Künt Kapu	fortifications, gate			Rustchuk, Ruse	only one of five gates that survives
Ghazi Baba tekke	türbe			Ryahovitsite, Sevlievo	burial place of Ghazi Baba and his healer shepheard friend; people come to pray to both
	bathroom			Samokov	had marble pools, torn down early 20th c
	clock tower			Samokov	wooden, mechanism from Dalmatia, torn down early 20th c

Bayrakli Mosque	mosque	15th c	Samokov	in its place, in 1845 a new building was erected in its very place by Hüsrev Paşa who had local craftsmen paint it; has a multi-color minaret; serves as a hall for the history museum; had a huge collection which is now in the National Library of Sofia collection
Great Fountain	water fountain	1660	Samokov	one of most beautiful in the country
Lighthouse with crescent	lighthouse	1856-7	Shabla	oldest one in Bulgaria, built by Compagnie des Phares
	bridge		Shiroka Laka	
Sontur Banyya	bathroom	second half 18th c	Shumen	built against the short wall of the bedesten; now in ruins
Benesten	bedesten	1529	Shumen	built by Dubrovnik merchants, one of oldest Ottoman buildings in Bulgari; was used as ammunitions depot, restaurant, night club; now privately owned
	clock tower, drinking fountain	1740	Shumen	
	fortifications	18th c	Shumen	closer to the borders of the Empire,
Tombul Mosque complex	kuttub	1744-5	Shumen	Muslim elementary school
Tombul Mosque complex	library	1744-5	Shumen	second floor from madrasa, over 5000 volumes in Arabic and Persian
Tombul Mosque complex	madrasa	1744-5	Shumen	included teachers in calligraphy, some of the most prominent Ottoman calligraphers were educated here
Tombul Mosque	mosque	1744-5	Shumen	biggest mosque in Bulgaria, only example of Tulip period architecture, exquisite Baroque decorations; part of a <i>kilise</i> : only surviving mosque of the town's 47 mosques
Sahat Mosque	mosque		Shumen	
	watchtower	1740	Shumen	
Kurshun foundation	water dispensary	1710	Shumen	free standing Ottoman water dispensary

Tombul Mosque complex	water dispensary	1744-5	Shumen	
Kurşunlu Mosque complex	complex	early 16th c	Silistra	fort was damaged in wars against Russia in 1810-1 and rebuilt
Mecidi Tabiya Fort	fortifications	1841	Silistra	only remaining part of the fortifications that used to surround the town
Kurşunlu Mosque	mosque	early 16th c	Silistra	underwent renovations in 1630, then new interior decoration in 18th c; in need of repairs
	bridge		Smilyan	
	bridge		Smolyan	
	bathhouse		Sofia	water from hot springs piped into this bathhouse
Sofia Bath	bathhouse	15th c	Sofia	gone, but features prominently in European travellers accounts
Bedesten	bedesten		Sofia	largest on the Balkans, disappeared in the first years after independence
	han		Sofia	close to Banyabaşı mosque
	han		Sofia	close to Banyabaşı mosque
	han		Sofia	close to Banyabaşı mosque
	han		Sofia	close to Banyabaşı mosque
	konak		Sofia	disappeared in the first years after independence, replaced by neoclassical royal palace
Siyavush Mosque	mosque		Sofia	had been the Late Antiquity church of St Sofia, collapsed and abandoned after the earthquake of 30/9/1858
Banyabaşı mosque	mosque	1576	Sofia	built by poet Saidi Effendi, name comes from the hot mineral springs nearby

Büyük mosque	mosque	1451-91	Sofia	nine-dome mosque, instead of one large one; largest and oldest, started by order of Grand Vizier Mahmud Paşa Angelović, various functions after Independence, since 1905 it's the National Archaeological Museum
Imaret Mosque	mosque	1528 or 1548	Sofia	built by Mimar Sinan in what was then outside the city as an imaret complex; was known as the Imaret Mosque or the Black Mosque because of its basalt minaret; after 1878 parts were a library, parts a prison, then turned into a church in 1901-3
Roman wall	mosque, mihrab		Sofia	not Roman, but Ottoman; probably a mihrab in a Muslim cemetery; no definitive answer as to what exactly it was
Eski Cami	mosque	1408-9	Stara Zagora	built by Hamza Bey, only building to survive the fire of 1877, architect Lubor Bayer put it at center of the new city; massive proportions, minaret added in 18th c; new flooring and Baroque decorations added after fire of 1856. Immediately after 1878 turned into a church until 1970s when restorations took place; recent excavations show that it was built on a holy Thracian site and a 10th century church-- only case where the mosque built on church legend actually has proof
Suvorovo mosque	mosque	16th c	Suvorovo, near Varna	provincial mosque, various theories/legends including that it was built by Mimar Sinan
Kademli Baba tekke	türbe	15th c	Svetiliyskite, Nova Zagora	Alevi shrine, oldest of the 4 Alevi shrines in Bulgaria and only one that's deserted
	bathhouse	1529	Svilengrad	Built by Mustafa Paşa in close proximity to the bridge, was part of a travel station that offered free accommodation and food to travelers regardless of their religion

Mustafa Paşa Bridge	bridge	1529	Svilengrad	was on main road between Belgrade and Istanbul
	caravanseray	1529	Svilengrad	Built by Mustafa Paşa in close proximity to the bridge, was part of a travel station that offered free accommodation and food to travelers regardless of their religion
	clock tower	1765-6	Svishtov	built by Hussein Ağa, renovated in 1859-60 by Hadji Abdullah Ağa and immortalised in a long poem
Sahat mosque clock tower	clock tow	1860s	Targovishte	
Sahat Mosque	mosque	18th c	Targovishte	
Osman Baba tekke	türbe	1505-7	Teketo, Harmanli	Alevi shrine, Bektashi dervish tomb, Alevi Shiite sect
	fortifications		Tutrakan	fort was damaged in wars against Russia in 1810-1 and rebuilt
	bathhouse	16th c	Uzundzhovo	part of complex for merchants and travelers built by Koca Sinan Paşa
	caravanseray	16th c	Uzundzhovo	part of complex for merchants and travelers built by Koca Sinan Paşa; 350 rooms and place for 1,000 horses; only one arch remains of it as the fair ended in 1876, all the other buildings decayed as well
	clock tower	17th c	Uzundzhovo	added to complex for merchants and travelers
	imaret	16th c	Uzundzhovo	part of complex for merchants and travelers built by Koca Sinan Paşa
	mosque		Uzundzhovo	part of complex for merchants and travelers built by Koca Sinan Paşa; was turned into a church and survived; Muslims left after the 1885 unification and the village church collapsed; new "church" was consecrated in 1906

Baruthane	citadel		Varna	demonished in 1908 along with the city walls
	fortifications		Varna	known from descriptions and old maps
	fortifications		Varna	fort was damaged in wars against Russia 1828-9 and rebuilt
"	lighthouse	by 1866	Varna	"
Aziziye Mosque	mosque	1867	Varna	probably built around the visit of Sultan Abdulaziz to the city in 1867.
Hayriye Mosque	mosque	1835	Varna	restored in 1926
Water Fountain	water dispensary	1834	Varna	dedicated to Mahmud II, currently in 3 parts kept in 3 different places
Skele Kapu water fountain	water dispensary		Varna	marble fountain
Sun Water Fountain	water dispensary	1836	Varna	
Baba Vida	fortifications	10th c, 1396	Vidin	best-preserved castle with a massive moat which can turn it into an island; border between Ottoman and Austrian Empires; result of centuries of construction not just the Ottomans
Stamboul Kapı	fortifications, gate		Vidin	
Telegraph Kapı	fortifications, gate		Vidin	turned into a restaurant in 1950s, now deserted
Saray Kapı	fortifications, gate		Vidin	leads to palace of Osman Pazvantoglu
Florentin Kapı	fortifications, gate		Vidin	damaged beyond recognition
	kutuphane		Vidin	close to the Pazvantoglu mosque, same patron; books are now in Sofia
Mustafa Paşa Mosque	mosque	early 18th c	Vidin	demolished 1970s
Ak Mosque	mosque	1801	Vidin	demolished 1970s
Pazvantoglu mosque	mosque	1801	Vidin	Pazvantoglu built it for his father, Baroque wood carvings
	konak	after 1750s	Vidin, Varosha	since 1957 houses the main collection of the history museum

Bedesten	bedesten	beg 16th c	Yambol	waqf of Grand Vizier Hadim Ali Pasha; has no equivalent on the Balkans; restored in 1972 despite having been abandoned for almost a century
Eski Cami	mosque	1375-85	Yambol	town conquered by Ottomans in 1370; stones in façade point to earlier buildings; mosque was expanded in 15th century. Immediately after 1878 was turned into a church but Prince Aleko Bogoridi ordered it returned to the Muslim community
Sofular Mosque	mosque	1481	Yambol	Built with a tekke and a minaret by Sufi scholar, had a huge library. Abandoned in 1878, locals used it as a source of building materials until it disappeared
	fortifications		Zistova, Svishtov	fort was damaged in wars against Russia in 1810-1 and rebuilt
<b>Monument name</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Şeytan Köprü	bridge	16th c	Ardino	built by Sultan Selim I, was on major road to the Aegean
	cemeteries		Balchik	
Queen Maria villa minaret	minaret	1920s	Balchik	built as a picturesque detail to the Queen's villa
Mosque	mosque		Balchik	very modern looking, no dome, looks like a house; probably post 1876
	water dispensaries		Balchik	
Turkish bath	bathhouse	1735	Banya	built by a Bulgarian
	fortifications	Roman times, 1396	Belogradchik	nearly destroyed but was restored and is a tourist attraction today
	bathhouse		Berkovitsa	
	bridge		Borino	
Agushev residence	summer residence	mid 19th c	Chereshevo	built by Agus Aga to serve as summer residence; small scale of the konak built in

					Mogilica
	bridge			Debelets	
	bridge			Dolen	
	bridge			Drangovo	two bridges in this Rhodope village-- one almost destroyed by treasure hunters, the other one was used until recently
Kolyo Ficheto bridge	bridge		mid 19th c	Dryanovo	
Ahmed Bey hamam	bathroom		1570s	Dupnitsa	
Ahmed Bey bridge	bridge		1570s	Dupnitsa	seven-arched stone bridge
Clock tower	clock tower		1782	Dupnitsa	
Ahmed Bey kuttab	elementary school		1570s	Dupnitsa	
Ahmed Bey mosque	mosque		1570s	Dupnitsa	after 1878 turned into a prison until 1922; archaeological museum in 1930s; art gallery now
District House	public building			Dupnitsa	after 1878 turned into a prison until 1922; archaeological museum in 1930s; art gallery now
	water dispensaries			Everywhere	spread throughout the territories, each town had several, many of which survive
"	lighthouse		by 1866	Galata	"
	bridge		1876	Goleshovo	
	bridge			Gorski Izvor	
	bathroom			Gotse Delchev	bad restoration, at one point housed a bar
	bathroom			Gotse Delchev	demolished to make way for a school
Hunchback bridge	bridge		16th c	Harmanli	built by Siyavuş Paşa
	caravanseray			Harmanli	built together with the bridge

Çifte hamam	bathhouse	16th c	Haskovo	destroyed in 1960s despite being declared cultural monument; made of solid marble blocks, decorated with stone columns and arches; one of the oldest buildings of its kind in modern-day Bulgaria
	clock tower	end of 18th- beg of 19th c	Haskovo	pulled down in 1916
Eski Cami	mosque	1394-5	Haskovo	first significant building the Ottomans built after the conquest of the Upper Thracian Valley
Çarşı Mosque	mosque		Haskovo	recently renovated, repairs in 1831-2 according to an inscription
	mosque		Haskovo	collapsed during the 1928 earthquake
	mosque		Haskovo	demolished in the 1950s
Ihtiman hamam	bathhouse		Ihtiman	now an art gallery
Mihaloglu Mahmud Bey complex	hamam	1380-95	Ihtiman	now a picture gallery
	inn	1380-95	Ihtiman	
Mehmet Paşa fountain	water dispensary	1660	Ihtiman	in front of the hamam, had a sophisticated marble carved inscription
	zaviye	1380-95	Ihtiman	one of oldest in Bulgaria, minaret added and turned into a mosque in 16th c; the inscription on side of the mosque has not survived
Modern one doesn't bear resemblance to original	lighthouse	by 1866	Kaliakra	built by Compagnie des Phares
	bathhouse		Kalofer	
	clock tower	1762 or 1834	Karlovo	built in the market, has been renovated and still stands
	han		Karlovo	now a hotel
Kurshun Mosque madrasa	madrasa	17-18th c	Karlovo	

Kurshun Mosque	mosque		1485	Karlovo	built by Karlizade Lala Ali Bey, was small but elegant; town was founded around it, named after its lead roof
Red Mosque	mosque		1654	Karlovo	pulled down in the 1960s to make way for a community center; was among the most remarkable buildings in the town
Yahi Mosque	mosque			Karlovo	plain, but only one that's still functioning; severely damaged in a fire in 2010
Old Bath	water dispensary			Karlovo	
	bathroom			Kavarna	now a maritime museum
	bathroom			Kirjali	modernized
	konak	mid 19th c		Kirjali	used to be a museum, now an art gallery
	mosque	1812		Kirjali	bad restoration
	school			Kirjali	modernized
	türbe			Kirjali	modernized
Bali Efendi tekke	türbe		16th c	Knyazhevo, Sofia	local Muslim saint who followed Ibn Arabi's teachings; multiple legends about his personality exist
Bali Efendi tekke	zaviye		16th c	Knyazhevo, Sofia	the church in the vicinity probably stands where the mosque used to stand
	bridge			Koshnitsa	
	bathroom			Kyustendil	town boasted manu baths, as there are mineral springs there
Çifte Banya	bathroom		1489	Kyustendil	constructed on Roman termae, beg of 20th century replaced by a completely new building
Alay Banya	bathroom			Kyustendil	similar fate to Çifte Banya
Dervish Banya	bathroom		1566	Kyustendil	used as bath house until 1992, now a cultural monument
Mehmet Fatih Mosque	mosque		mid 15th c	Kyustendil	built by Kara Mehmet, later gifted to Sultan Mehmet II; deserted and in a state of decay

				today
Ahmed Bey mosque	mosque	1573	Kyustendil	minaret was damaged in a 1904 earthquake and pulled down; today building is part of the history museum; Eviya Çelebi left his signature on one of the marble frames of the windows; it is one of only three such signatures of his ever recorded.
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	bridge		Madan	
	bridge		Mogilica	
Agushev konaks	konak	1825-1842	Mogilica	impressive residence with a tower built by Agus Aga; biggest and best preserved residential building in Bulgaria; disputes between owners and the state keep it closed
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	bathroom		Nesebar	
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	bathroom		Nevrokop	almost demolished
	fortifications		Nikopol	only one gate survives 19th c Shishman gate, fort was damaged in wars against Russia in beg of 19th century and rebuilt
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	imaret	first half 16th c	Obrochishte, Balchik	near the tekke
Ak Yazılı Baba imaret				
Ak Yazılı Baba tekke	türbe	first half 16th c	Obrochishte, Balchik	Alevi shrine with a Christian counterpart, so both religions consider it sacred and come to get the saint's blessings; probably largest in the Balkans; heptagon-shaped
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Bedesten	bedesten		Plovdiv	
	bedesten	15th c	Plovdiv	near Muradiye Mosque, six-domed structure, demolished after WWII
Şahib Paşa bridge	bridge	15th c	Plovdiv	led to the road to Sofia
Sahat tepe clock tower	clock tower	late 16th - early 17th c	Plovdiv	one of oldest clock towers in Ottoman Empire; only Skopije (1573) and possibly one in Bitola are older; mechanism made by Italians still works despite repair works at beginning of 19th c.
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	bridge		Radumtsi	
Ibrahim Paşa hamam	bathroom	1530-6	Razgrad	largest in Bulgaria, but was torn down 1970s in order to make way for the town square

Ibrahim Paşa Complex	bathhouse, caravanserai, imaret, religious school		Razgrad	brought lot of trade into the town, was also meant to promote Sunni Islam; until recently the hamam existed as largest recorded Ottoman bathhouse in Bulgaria, destroyed in 1970s when town center was being modernized
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Ahmed Bey Mosque	mosque	1542-3	Razgrad	only foundation inscription in Bulgaria written in Persian
Roman bath	bathhouse		Razlog	Roman is just a name locals use, now a restaurant
	bridge		Ribaritsa	
Mahmud II commemorative column	column	19th c	Ruse	only one in Bulgaria; from the tour of Sultan Mahmud II in his European territories; these were placed on his route
	drinking fountain	18th c	Ruse	in the courtyard of a school
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Tombul Mosque	mosque		Ruse	made of heavy stone, destroyed in 1980s, what remains of the stones is in the history museum
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Levent Tabia	fortifications	1830s	Rustchuk, Ruse	after 1970 was turned into a restaurant
Kiint Kapu	fortifications, gate		Rustchuk, Ruse	only one of five gates that survives

Ghazi Baba tekke	türbe			Ryahovitsite, Sevlievo	burial place of Ghazi Baba and his healer shepheard friend; people come to pray to both
	bathhouse			Samokov	had marble pools, torn down early 20th c
	clock tower			Samokov	wooden, mechanism from Dalmatia, torn down early 20th c
Bayrakli Mosque	mosque		15th c	Samokov	in its place, in 1845 a new building was erected in its very place by Hüseyin Paşa who had local craftsmen paint it; has a multi-color minaret; serves as a hall for the history museum; had a huge collection which is now in the National Library of Sofia collection
Great Fountain	water fountain		1660	Samokov	one of most beautiful in the country
Lighthouse with crescent	lighthouse		1856-7	Shabla	oldest one in Bulgaria, built by Compagnie des Phares
	bridge			Shiroka Laka	
Sontur Banya	bathhouse		second half 18th c	Shumen	built against the short wall of the bedesten; now in ruins
Benesten	bedesten		1529	Shumen	built by Dubrovnik merchants, one of oldest Ottoman buildings in Bulgari; was used as ammunition depot, restaurant, night club; now privately owned
	clock tower, drinking fountain		1740	Shumen	
	fortifications		18th c	Shumen	closer to the borders of the Empire,
Tombul Mosque complex	kuttap		1744-5	Shumen	Muslim elementary school
Tombul Mosque complex	library		1744-5	Shumen	second floor from madrasa, over 5000 volumes in Arabic and Persian
Tombul Mosque complex	madrasa		1744-5	Shumen	included teachers in calligraphy, some of the most prominent Ottoman calligraphers were educated here

Tombul Mosque	mosque		1744-5	Shumen	biggest mosque in Bulgaria, only example of Tulip period architecture, exquisite Baroque decorations; part of a <i>küllye</i> ; only surviving mosque of the town's 47 mosques
Sahat Mosque	mosque			Shumen	
	wathtower		1740	Shumen	
Kurshun foundation	water dispensary		1710	Shumen	free standing Ottoman water dispensary
Tombul Mosque complex	water dispensary		1744-5	Shumen	
Kurşunlu Mosque complex	complex		early 16th c	Silistra	
	fortifications		1841	Silistra	fort was damaged in wars against Russia in 1810-1 and rebuilt
Mecidi Tabiya Fort	fortifications			Silistra	only remaining part of the fortifications that used to surround the town
	mosque		early 16th c	Silistra	underwent renovations in 1630, then new interior decoration in 18th c; in need of repairs
Kurşunlu Mosque	bridge			Smilyan	
	bridge			Smolyan	
	bathhouse			Sofia	water from hot springs piped into this bathhouse
Sofia Bath	bathhouse		15th c	Sofia	gone, but features prominently in European travellers accounts
Bedesten	bedesten			Sofia	largest on the Balkans, disappeared in the first years after independence
	han			Sofia	close to Banyabaşı mosque
	han			Sofia	close to Banyabaşı mosque
	han			Sofia	close to Banyabaşı mosque
	han			Sofia	close to Banyabaşı mosque
	konak			Sofia	disappeared in the first years after independence, replaced by neoclassical royal

					palace
Siyavush Mosque	mosque			Sofia	had been the Late Antiquity church of St Sofia, collapsed and abandoned after the earthquake of 30/9/1858
Banyabaşı mosque	mosque	1576		Sofia	built by poet Saidi Effendi, name comes from the hot mineral springs nearby
Büyük mosque	mosque	1451-91		Sofia	nine-dome mosque, instead of one large one; largest and oldest, started by order of Grand Vizier Mahmud Paşa Angelović, various functions after Independence, since 1905 it's the National Archaeological Museum
Imaret Mosque	mosque	1528 or 1548		Sofia	built by Mimar Sinan in what was then outside the city as an imaret complex; was known as the Imaret Mosque or the Black Mosque because of its basalt minaret; after 1878 parts were a library, parts a prison, then turned into a church in 1901-3
Roman wall	mosque, mihrab			Sofia	not Roman, but Ottoman; probably a mihrab in a Muslim cemetery; no definitive answer as to what exactly it was
Eski Cami	mosque	1408-9		Stara Zagora	built by Hamza Bey, only building to survive the fire of 1877, architect Lubor Bayer put it at center of the new city; massive proportions, minaret added in 18th c; new flooring and Baroque decorations added after fire of 1856. Immediately after 1878 turned into a church until 1970s when restorations took place; recent excavations show that it was built on a holy Thracian site and a 10th century church-- only case where the mosque built on church legend actually has proof

Suvorovo mosque	mosque	16th c	Suvorovo, near Varna	provincial mosque, various theories/legends including that it was built by Mimar Sinan
Kademli Baba tekke	türbe	15th c	Svetiliyskite, Nova Zagora	Alevi shrine, oldest of the 4 Alevi shrines in Bulgaria and only one that's deserted
	bathhouse	1529	Svilengrad	Built by Mustafa Paşa in close proximity to the bridge, was part of a travel station that offered free accommodation and food to travelers regardless of their religion
Mustafa Paşa Bridge	bridge	1529	Svilengrad	was on main road between Belgrade and Istanbul
	caravanseray	1529	Svilengrad	Built by Mustafa Paşa in close proximity to the bridge, was part of a travel station that offered free accommodation and food to travelers regardless of their religion
	clock tower	1765-6	Svishtov	built by Hussein Ağa, renovated in 1859-60 by Hadji Abdullah Ağa and immortalised in a long poem
Sahat mosque clock tower	clock tow	1860s	Targovishte	
Sahat Mosque	mosque	18th c	Targovishte	
Osman Baba tekke	türbe	1505-7	Teketo, Harmanli	Alevi shrine, Bektashi dervish tomb, Alevi Shiite sect
	fortifications		Tutrakan	fort was damaged in wars against Russia in 1810-1 and rebuilt
	bathhouse	16th c	Uzundzhovo	part of complex for merchants and travelers built by Koca Sinan Paşa
	caravanseray	16th c	Uzundzhovo	part of complex for merchants and travelers built by Koca Sinan Paşa; 350 rooms and place for 1,000 horses; only one arch remains of it as the fair ended in 1876, all the other buildings decayed as well§
	clock tower	17th c	Uzundzhovo	added to complex fro merchants and travelers

	imaret	16th c	Uzundzhovo	part of complex for merchants and travelers built by Koca Sinan Paşa
	mosque		Uzundzhovo	part of complex for merchants and travelers built by Koca Sinan Paşa; was turned into a church and survived ; Muslims left after the 1885 unification and the village church collapsed; new "church" was consecrated in 1906
Baruthane	citadel		Varna	demonished in 1908 along with the city walls
	fortifications		Varna	known from descriptions and old maps
	fortifications		Varna	fort was damaged in wars against Russia 1828-9 and rebuilt
"	lighthouse	by 1866	Varna	"
Aziyiye Mosque	mosque	1867	Varna	probably built around the visit of Sultan Abdulaziz to the city in 1867.
Hayriye Mosque	mosque	1835	Varna	restored in 1926
Water Fountain	water dispensary	1834	Varna	dedicated to Mahmud II, currently in 3 parts kept in 3 different places
Skele Kapu water fountain	water dispensary		Varna	marble fountain
Sun Water Fountain	water dispensary	1836	Varna	
Baba Vida	fortifications	10th c, 1396	Vidin	best-preserved castle with a massive moat which can turn it into an island; border between Ottoman and Austrian Empires; result of centuries of construction not just the Ottomans
Stamboul Kapı	fortifications, gate		Vidin	
Telegraph Kapı	fortifications, gate		Vidin	turned into a restaurant in 1950s, now deserted
Saray Kapı	fortifications, gate		Vidin	leads to palace of Osman Pazvantaglu
Florentin Kapı	fortifications, gate		Vidin	damaged beyond recognition

	kutuphane		Vidin	close to the Pazvantoglu mosque, same patron; books are now in Sofia
Mustafa Paşa Mosque	mosque	early 18th c	Vidin	demolished 1970s
Ak Mosque	mosque	1801	Vidin	demolished 1970s
Pazvantoglu mosque	mosque	1801	Vidin	Pazvantoglu built it for his father, Baroque wood carvings
	konak	after 1750s	Vidin, Varosha	since 1957 houses the main collection of the history museum
Bedesten	bedesten	beg 16th c	Yambol	waqf of Grand Vizier Hadim Ali Pasha; has no equivalent on the Balkans; restored in 1972 despite having been abandoned for almost a century
Eski Cami	mosque	1375-85	Yambol	town conquered by Ottomans in 1370; stones in façade point to earlier buildings; mosque was expanded in 15th century. Immediately after 1878 was turned into a church but Prince Aleko Bogoridi ordered it returned to the Muslim community
Sofular Mosque	mosque	1481	Yambol	Built with a tekke and a minaret by Sufi scholar, had a huge library. Abandoned in 1878, locals used it as a source of building materials until it disappeared
	fortifications		Zistova, Svishtov	fort was damaged in wars against Russia in 1810-1 and rebuilt

Appendix B

Muradiye Mosque Inscriptions

Inscriptions<sup>250</sup> pointing to the history of the Muradiye Mosque

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<sup>250</sup> I am grateful to Ahmed Fares for his help in reading the inscriptions, transcribing them and pointing to the relevant passages of the Qur'an or Hadith. Where the inscriptions have been published by other sources, these will be referenced. All translations of verses from the Qur'an are from quran.com.

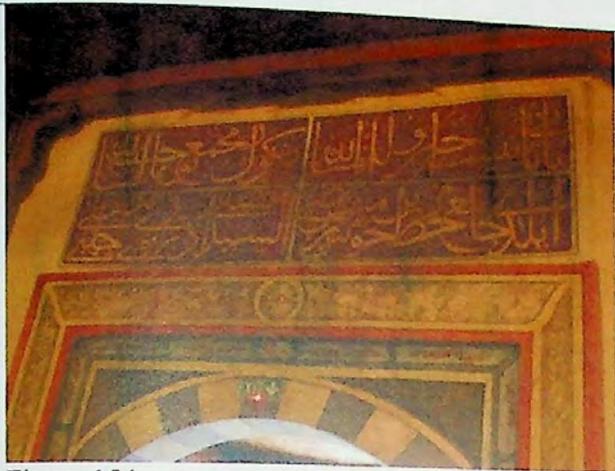


Figure 154

Inscription<sup>251</sup> above the entrance, facing the interior of the mosque

نا ني ثاني سنة حير اوله انشا الله  
 نه كوزل مجمع نو حسنه ما شاء الله  
 ايلدي جامع حط مدين خوش ير منقش صفي  
 السيد نقشى بندي ادرنوي مصطفى چلبي

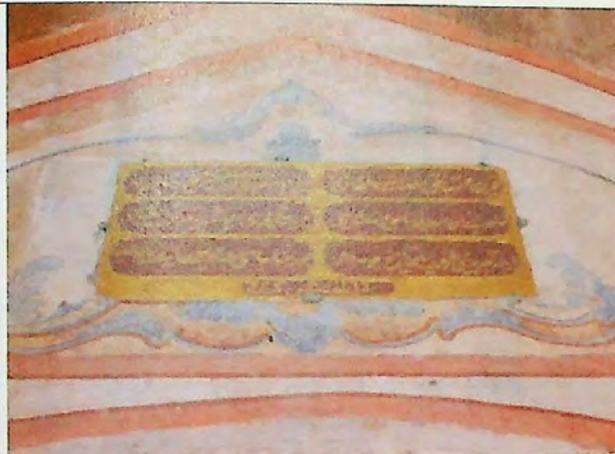


Figure 155

Inscription<sup>252</sup> regarding a repair in 1785, over the entrance in the middle of the northern entrance.



Figure 156

<sup>251</sup> *International Plovdiv Cuma Mosque Conference*, 63.  
<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*

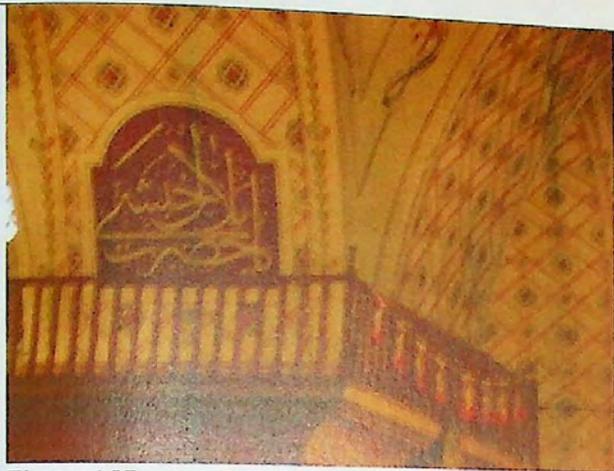


Figure 157

يا حضرت بلال حبشي 1328

An inscription in the interior of the mosque.



Figure 158

An inscription in the interior of the mosque.

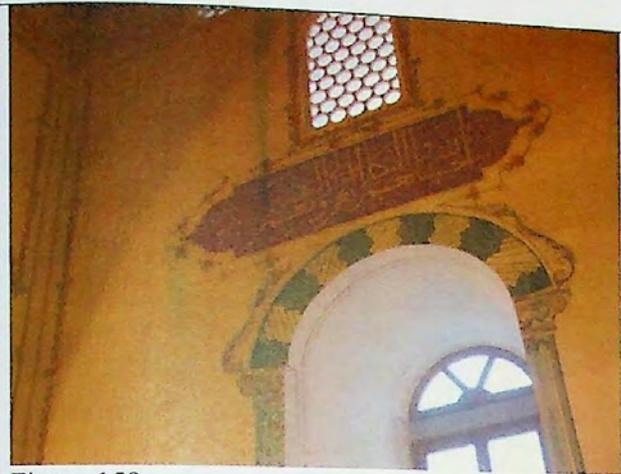


Figure 159



Figure 160

An inscription in the interior of the mosque: a supplication and a signature of the calligrapher.

(دعاء)

حسبنا اهخ ونعم الوكيل نعم المولى ونعم النصير

كتبه مدحمد سعيد نجل المرجوم مفتي الحاج محمود افندي نابوي 1264

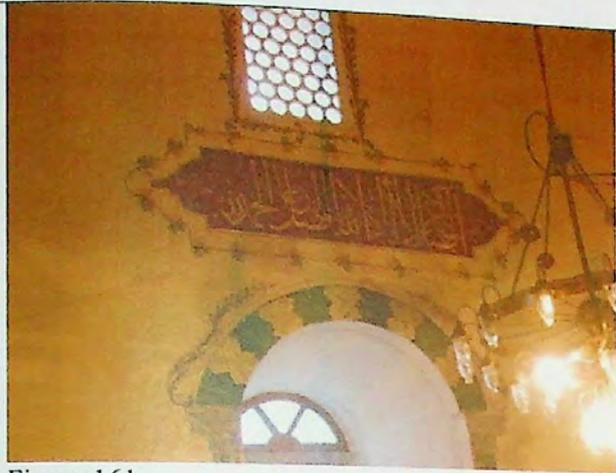


Figure 161

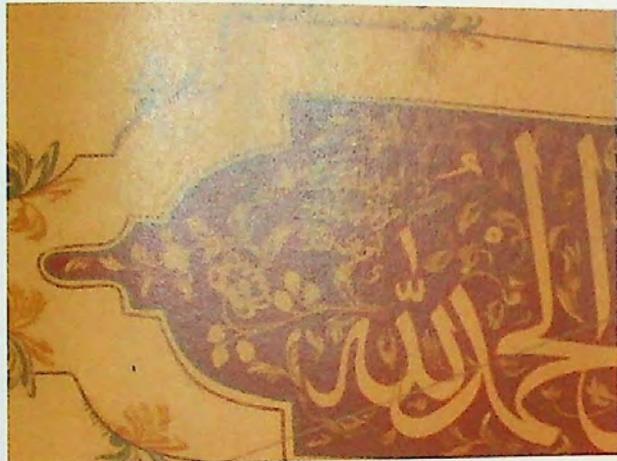


Figure 162

An inscription from the *Hadith* with a signature of the calligrapher. The wording is not accurate and there are mistakes, which could either indicate repairs or a craftsman who didn't know how to write with Arabic letters.

Hadith

افضل الذي كي لانه لا اله الا الله وافضل الدعاء الحمد لله

Maybe repairs because it's not accurate wording

ا محمد طلعت عن كتابة  
من تلاميذ الحاج  
النوري فندي

## Mihrab

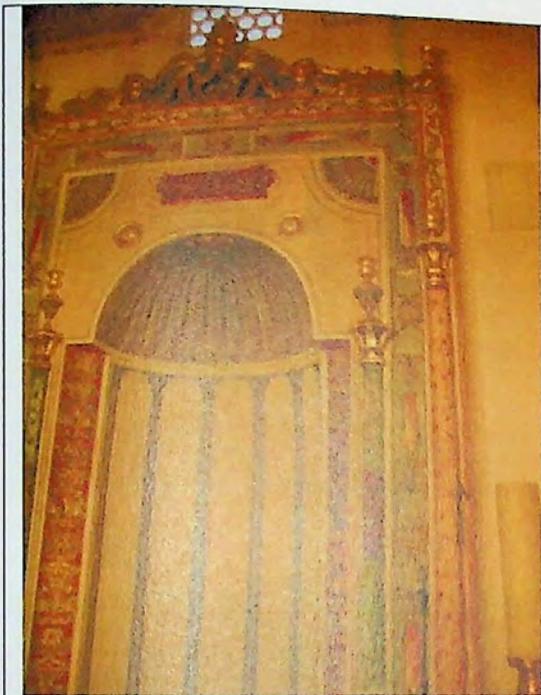


Figure 163

The inscription above the *mihrab* is from "Al-Imran" (3:37).

من سورة آل عمران  
فَتَقَبَّلَهَا رَبُّهَا بِقَبُولٍ حَسَنٍ وَأَنْبَتَهَا نَبَاتًا حَسَنًا وَكَفَّلَهَا زَكَرِيَّا كُلَّمَا دَخَلَ  
عَلَيْهَا زَكَرِيَّا الْمِحْرَابَ وَجَدَ عِنْدَهَا رِزْقًا قَالَ يَا مَرْيَمُ أَنَّى لَكِ هَذَا  
قَالَتْ هُوَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَرْزُقُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ بِغَيْرِ حِسَابٍ

So her Lord accepted her with good acceptance and caused her to grow in a good manner and put her in the care of Zechariah. Every time Zechariah entered upon her in the prayer chamber, he found with her provision. He said, "O Mary, from where is this [coming] to you?" She said, "It is from Allah . Indeed, Allah provides for whom He wills without account."

Bay ceiling inscription medallions

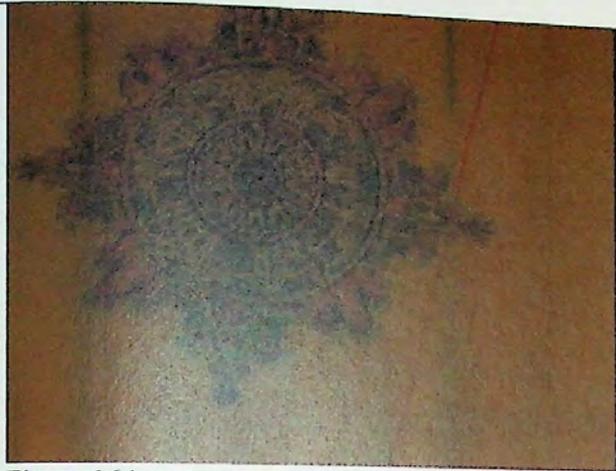


Figure 164

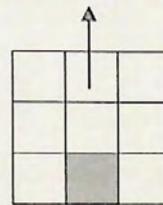


Figure 165

Entry bay roundel from the chapter of "The Night Journey," 17:1:

سُبْحَانَ الَّذِي أَسْرَى بِعَبْدِهِ لَيْلًا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ إِلَى الْمَسْجِدِ الْأَقْصَى الَّذِي  
بَارَكْنَا حَوْلَهُ لِنُرِيَهُ مِنْ آيَاتِنَا إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْبَصِيرُ

Exalted is He who took His Servant by night from al-Masjid al-Haram to al-Masjid al-Aqsa, whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him of Our signs. Indeed, He is the Hearing, the Seeing.



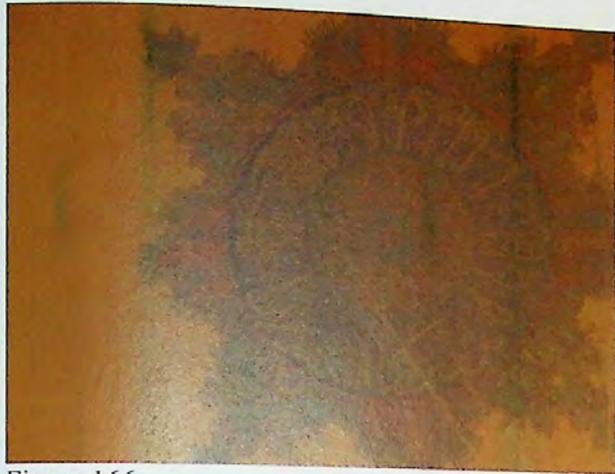


Figure 166

An inscription in the central bay roundel from the sayings of the Prophet:

أشرف أمتي حملة القرآن

تركها فقد الصلاة عماد الدين من أقامها فقد أقام الدين، ومن الدين هدم

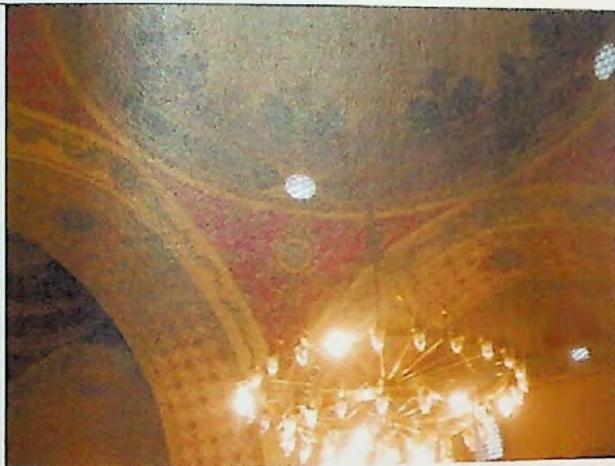
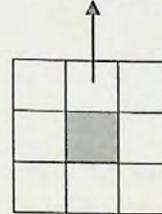


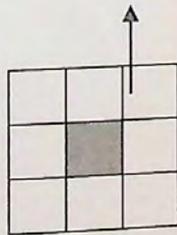
Figure 167

Inscription around the base of the dome of the central bay, set against alternating background of crimson and green from "The Cow" (2:286).

سورة البقرة

لا يُكَلِّفُ اللهُ نَفْسًا إِلَّا وُسْعَهَا لَهَا مَا كَسَبَتْ وَعَلَيْهَا مَا اكْتَسَبَتْ رَبَّنَا لَا تُؤَاخِذْنَا إِنْ نَسِينَا أَوْ أَخْطَأْنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تَحْمِلْ عَلَيْنَا إصْرًا كَمَا حَمَلْتَهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِنَا رَبَّنَا وَلَا تُحَمِّلْنَا مَا لَا طَاقَةَ لَنَا بِهِ وَاعْفُ عَنَّا وَارْحَمْنَا أَنْتَ مَوْلَانَا فَانصُرْنَا عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ

Allah does not charge a soul except [with that within] its capacity. It will have [the consequence of] what [good] it has gained, and it will bear [the consequence of] what [evil] it has earned. "Our Lord, do not impose blame upon us if we have forgotten or erred. Our Lord, and lay not upon us a burden like that which You laid upon those before us. Our Lord, and burden us not with that which we have no ability to bear. And pardon us; and forgive us; and have mercy upon us. You are our protector, so give us victory over the disbelieving people."



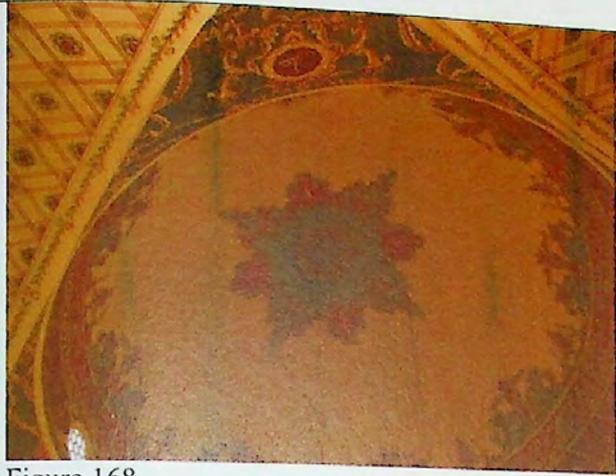


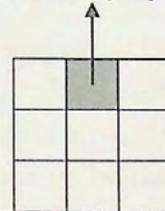
Figure 168

An Inscription of the *mihrab* bay of "Ihlas."

112

سورة الإخلاص  
 قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ  
 اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ  
 لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ  
 وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ

Say, "He is Allah , [who is] One,  
 Allah , the Eternal Refuge.  
 He neither begets nor is born,  
 Nor is there to Him any equivalent."



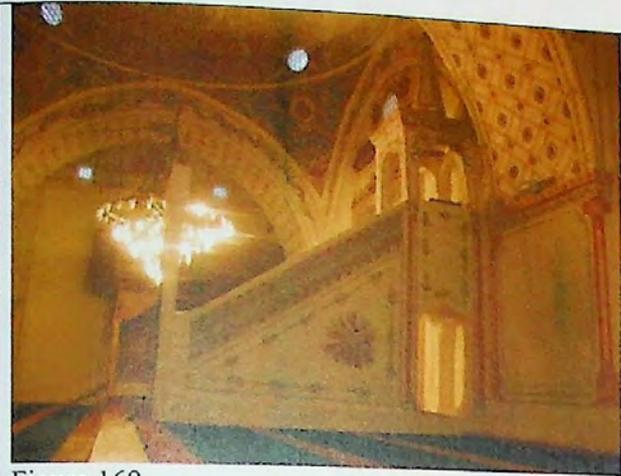


Figure 169

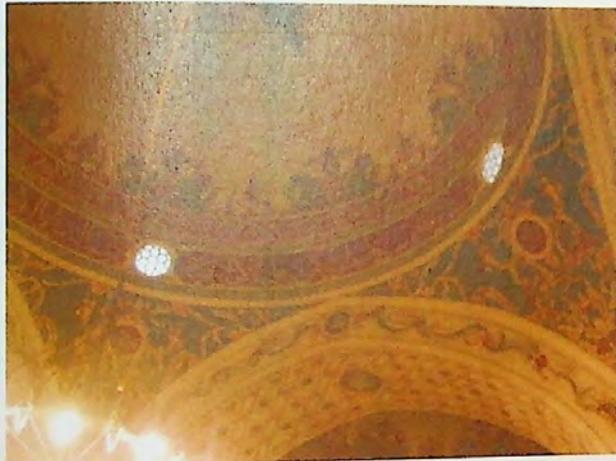
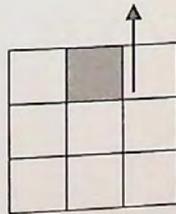


Figure 170



عمر  
علي

محمد  
الله

لا إله إلا الله و محمد رسول الله

From the chapter of "The Cow," 2:255:

من سورة البقرة  
 اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ سِنَّةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي  
 السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ مَا  
 بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ  
 وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ  
 الْعَظِيمُ

Allah - there is no deity except Him, the Ever-Living, the Sustainer of [all] existence. Neither drowsiness overtakes Him nor sleep. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. Who is it that can intercede with Him except by His permission? He knows what is [presently] before them and what will be after them, and they encompass not a thing of His knowledge except for what He wills. His Kursi extends over the heavens and the earth, and their preservation tires Him not. And He is the Most High, the Most Great.

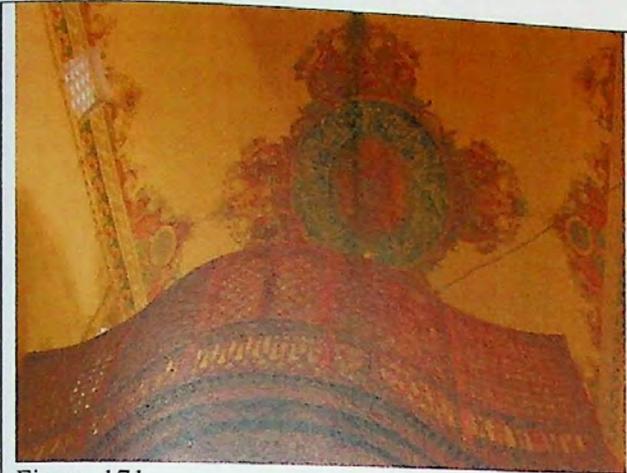


Figure 171

From the chapter of "The Friday [Congregation],"  
62:9:

سورة الجمعة  
يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِذَا نُودِيَ لِلصَّلَاةِ مِنْ يَوْمِ الْجُمُعَةِ فَاسْعَوْا إِلَىٰ ذِكْرِ  
اللَّهِ وَذَرُوا الْبَيْعَ ذَلِكُمْ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ

O you who have believed, when [the adhan] is called for the prayer on the day of Jumu'ah [Friday], then proceed to the remembrance of Allah and leave trade. That is better for you, if you only knew.

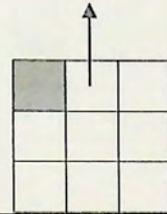




Figure 172



Figure 173

From "The Friday [Congregation]," 62:10

سورة الجمعة  
 فَإِذَا قُضِيَتِ الصَّلَاةُ فَانْتَشِرُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ وَابْتَغُوا مِنْ فَضْلِ اللَّهِ  
 وَاذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ

And when the prayer has been concluded, disperse within the land and seek from the bounty of Allah, and remember Allah often that you may succeed.

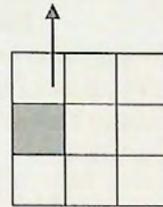




Figure 174

The entire chapter of "Mankind," 114:

سورة الناس  
 قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ النَّاسِ  
 مَلِكِ النَّاسِ  
 إِلَهِ النَّاسِ  
 مِنْ شَرِّ الْوَسْوَاسِ الْخَنَّاسِ  
 الَّذِي يُوَسْوِسُ فِي صُدُورِ النَّاسِ  
 مِنَ الْجِنَّةِ وَالنَّاسِ

Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of mankind,  
 The Sovereign of mankind,  
 The God of mankind,  
 From the evil of the retreating whisperer -  
 Who whispers [evil] into the breasts of mankind -  
 From among the jinn and mankind.

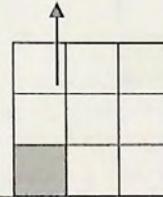
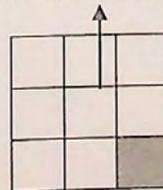


Figure 175

The entire chapter of "Daybreak," 113:

سورة الفلق  
 قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الْفَلَقِ  
 مِنْ شَرِّ مَا خَلَقَ  
 وَمِنْ شَرِّ غَاسِقٍ إِذَا وَقَبَ  
 وَمِنْ شَرِّ النَّفَّاثَاتِ فِي الْعُقَدِ  
 وَمِنْ شَرِّ حَاسِدٍ إِذَا حَسَدَ

Say, "I seek refuge in the Lord of daybreak  
 From the evil of that which He created  
 And from the evil of darkness when it settles  
 And from the evil of the blowers in knots  
 And from the evil of an envier when he envies."



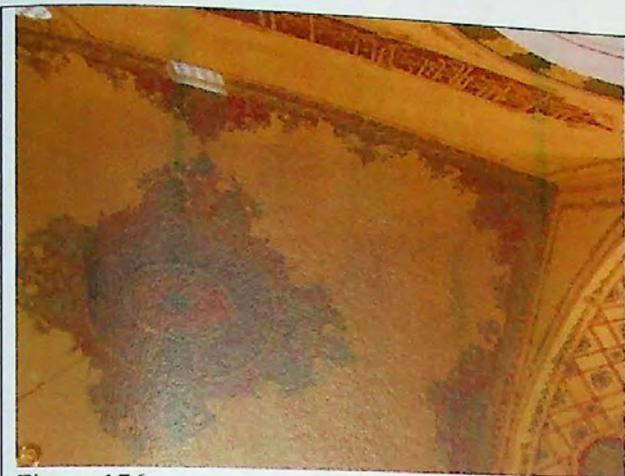


Figure 176

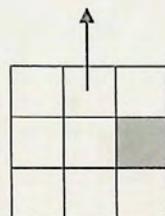


Figure 177

From "The Friday [Congregation]," 62:11

سورة الجمعة  
وَإِذَا رَأَوْا تِجَارَةً أَوْ لَهْوًا انفَضُّوا إِلَيْهَا وَتَرَكُوكَ قَائِمًا قُلْ مَا عِنْدَ اللَّهِ  
خَيْرٌ مِّنَ اللَّهْوِ وَمِنَ التِّجَارَةِ وَاللَّهُ خَيْرُ الرَّازِقِينَ

But when they saw a transaction or a diversion, [O Muhammad], they rushed to it and left you standing. Say, "What is with Allah is better than diversion and than a transaction, and Allah is the best of providers."



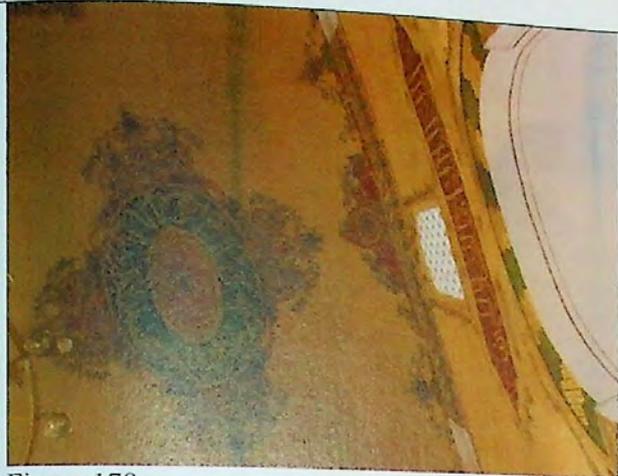


Figure 178

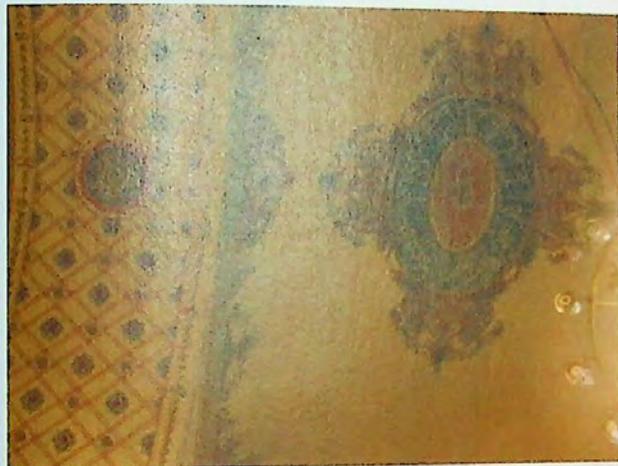


Figure 179

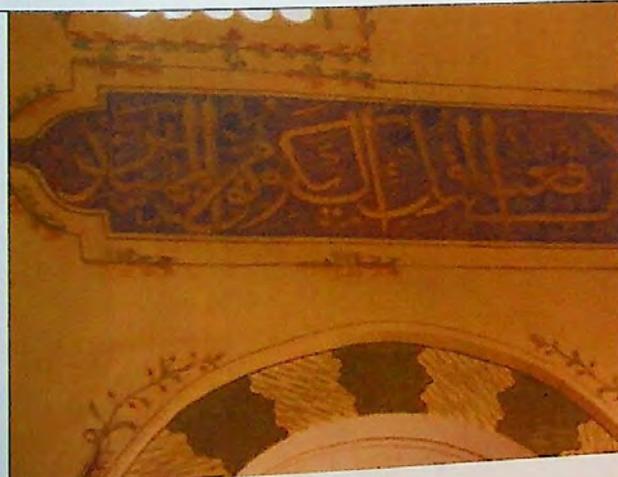
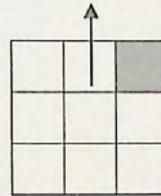


Figure 180

From "The Friday [Congregation]," 62:8

سورة الجمعة  
 قُلْ إِنَّ الْمَوْتَ الَّذِي تَفِرُّونَ مِنْهُ فَإِنَّهُ مُلَاقِيكُمْ ثُمَّ تُرَدُّونَ إِلَىٰ  
 عَالِمِ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ فَيُنَبِّئُكُمْ بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ

Say, "Indeed, the death from which you flee - indeed, it will meet you. Then you will be returned to the Knower of the unseen and the witnessed, and He will inform you about what you used to do."



From the chapter of "Repentance," 9:18:

من سورة التوبة  
 إِنَّمَا يُعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ  
 وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أُولَٰئِكَ أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِنَ  
 الْمُهْتَدِينَ

The mosques of Allah are only to be maintained by those who believe in Allah and the Last Day and establish prayer and give zakah and do not fear except Allah, for it is expected that those will be of the [rightly] guided.



Figure 181



Figure 182

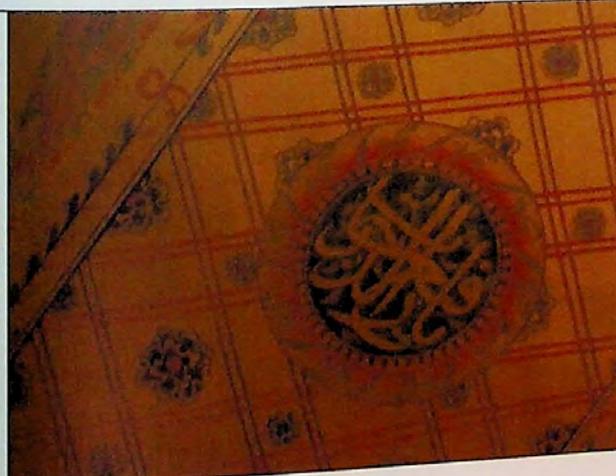


Figure 183

یا رافع لدرجات

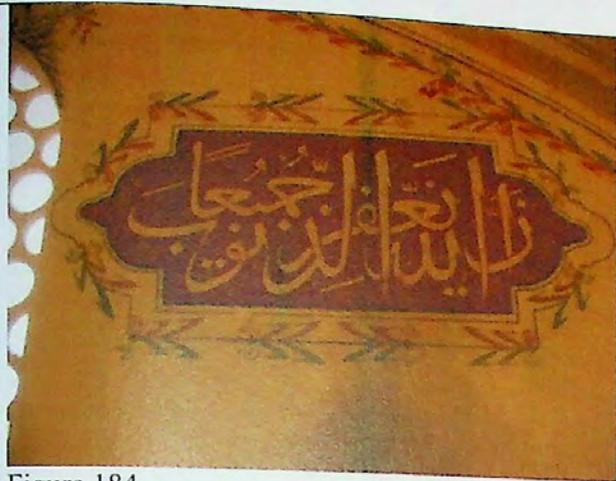


Figure 184

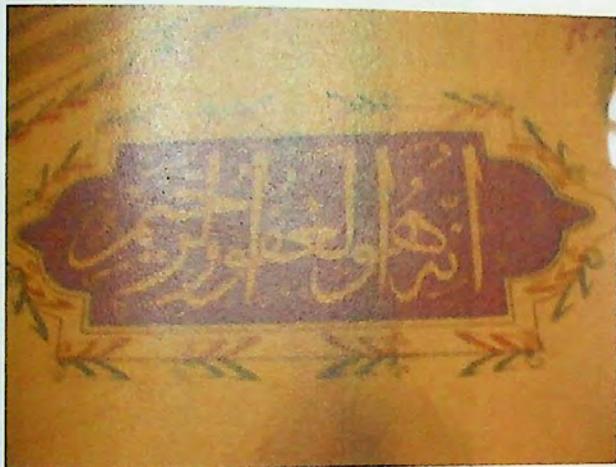


Figure 185

From the chapter of "The Crows," 39:53:

سورة الزمر  
 قُلْ يَا عِبَادِيَ الَّذِينَ أَسْرَفُوا عَلَىٰ أَنفُسِهِمْ لَا تَقْنَطُوا مِن رَّحْمَةِ  
 اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَغْفِرُ الذُّنُوبَ جَمِيعًا إِنَّهُ هُوَ الْغَفُورُ الرَّحِيمُ

Say, "O My servants who have transgressed against themselves [by sinning], do not despair of the mercy of Allah . Indeed, Allah forgives all sins. Indeed, it is He who is the Forgiving, the Merciful."

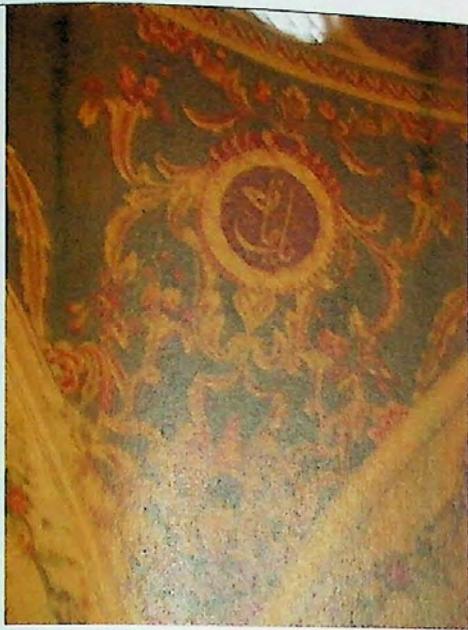


Figure 186

Oh Preventer of Harm

يا مانع

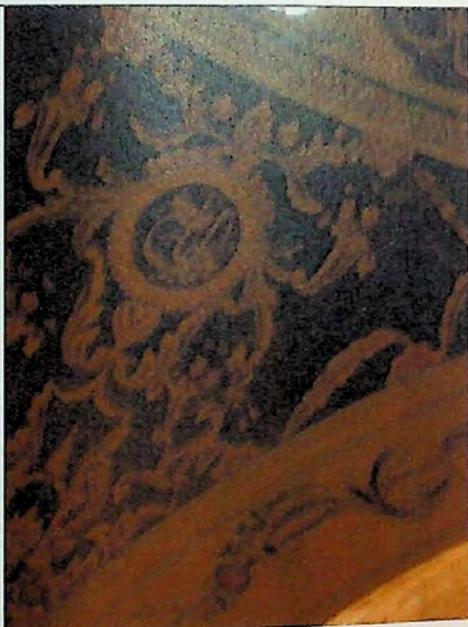


Figure 187

Oh Gatherer

يا جامع

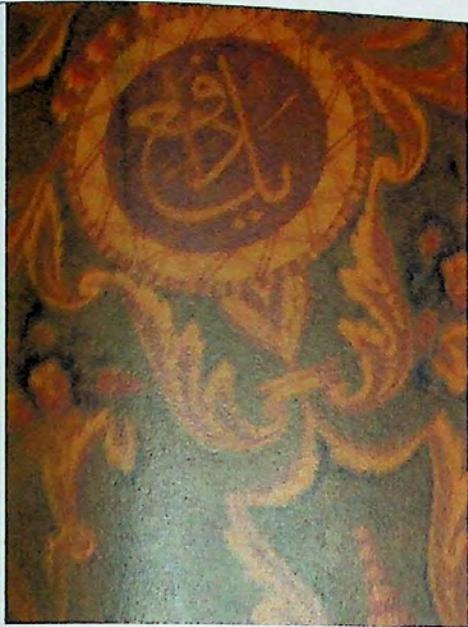


Figure 188

Oh Exalter

یا رافع

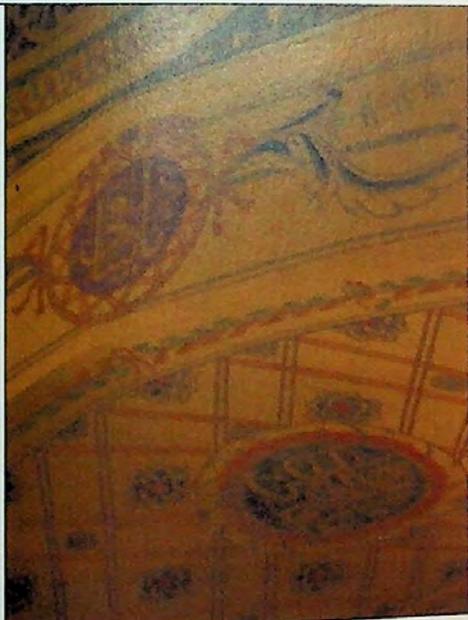


Figure 189

Oh Healer

یا شافی

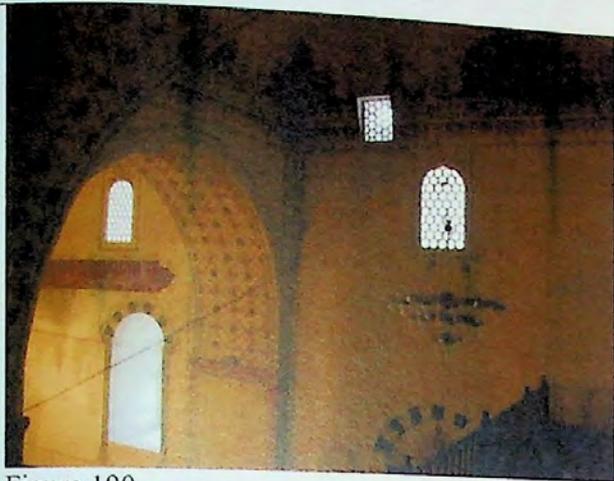


Figure 190

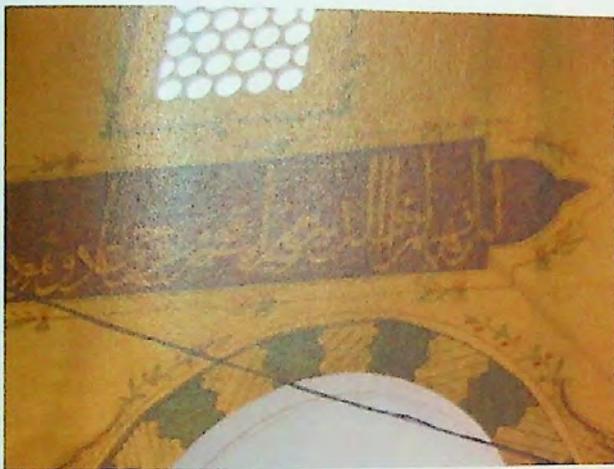


Figure 191



Figure 192

From the chapter of "The Repentance," 9:70:

سورة التوبة  
 أَلَمْ يَأْتِيَهُمْ نَبَأُ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ قَوْمُ نُوحٍ وَعَادُ وَثَمُودَ وَقَوْمِ  
 إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَأَصْحَابِ مَدْيَنَ وَالْمُؤْتَفِكَاتِ أَتَتْهُمْ رُسُلُهُمْ بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ ۗ  
 فَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيَظْلِمَهُمْ وَلَكِنْ كَانُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ يَظْلِمُونَ

Has there not reached them the news of those before them - the people of Noah and [the tribes of] 'Aad and Thamud and the people of Abraham and the companions of Madyan and the towns overturned? Their messengers came to them with clear proofs. And Allah would never have wronged them, but they were wronging themselves.

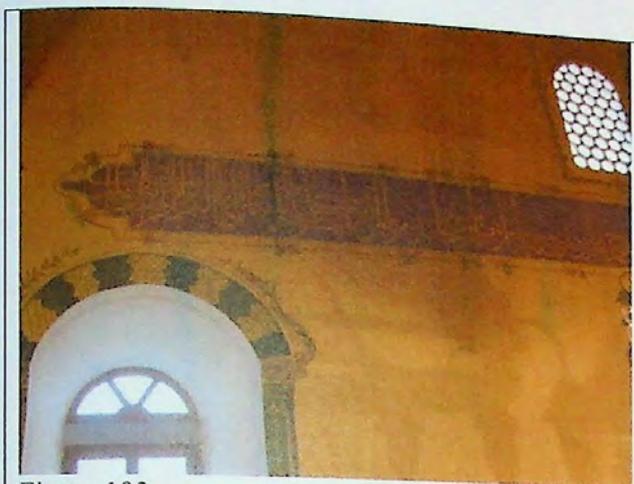


Figure 193

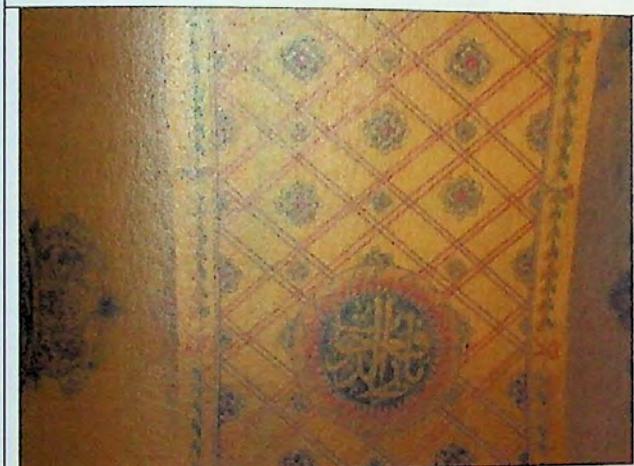


Figure 194

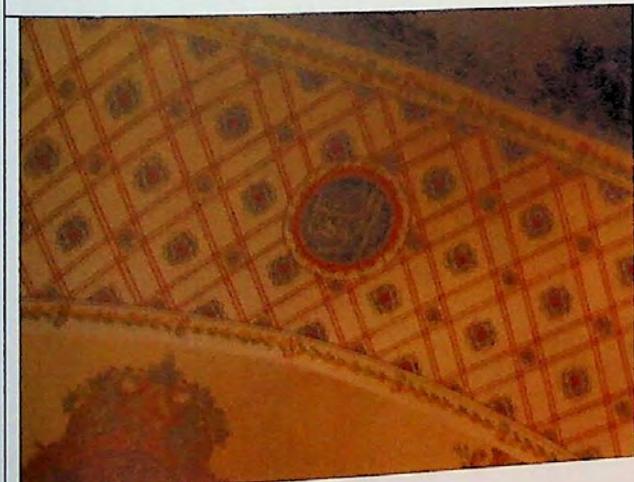


Figure 195

يا رافع لدرجات

الوهاب

The Giver of All

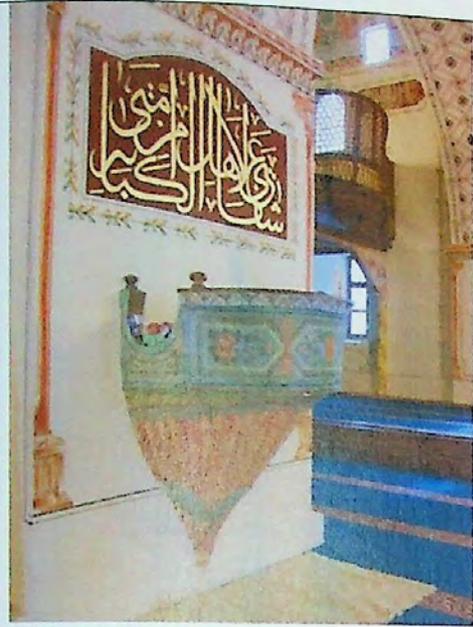


Figure 196

شفاعتي لأهل الكبائر من أمّتي

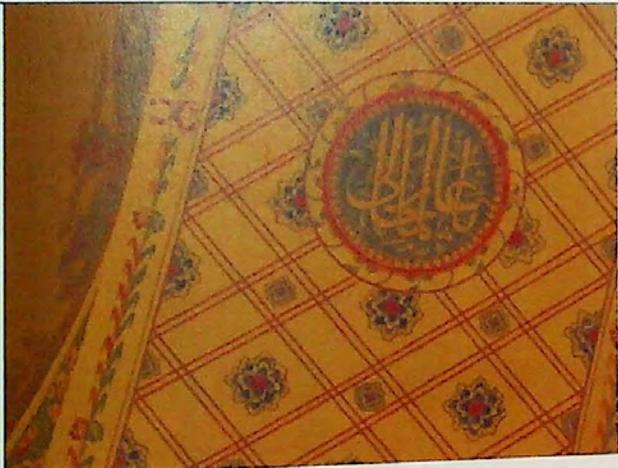


Figure 197

يا عالماً بحالي

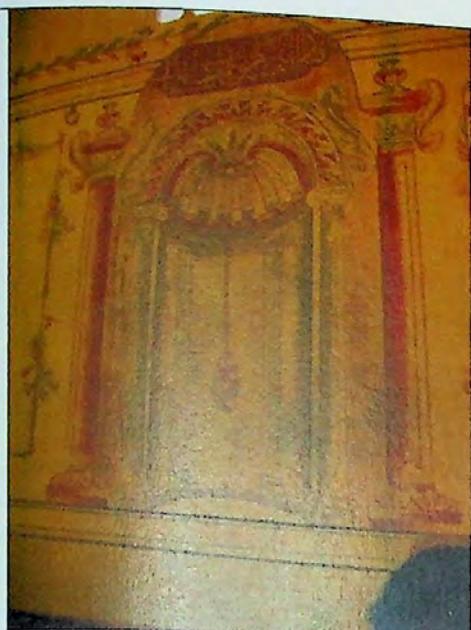


Figure 198

From the chapter of "Al Imran," 3:39:

سورة آل عمران  
فَنَادَتْهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ وَهُوَ قَائِمٌ يُصَلِّي فِي الْمِحْرَابِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يُبَشِّرُكَ  
بِخَيْرٍ مُّصَدِّقًا بِكَلِمَةٍ مِّنَ اللَّهِ وَسَيِّدًا وَحَصُورًا وَنَبِيًّا مِّنَ  
الصَّالِحِينَ

So the angels called him while he was standing in prayer in the chamber, "Indeed, Allah gives you good tidings of John, confirming a word from Allah and [who will be] honorable, abstaining [from women], and a prophet from among the righteous."

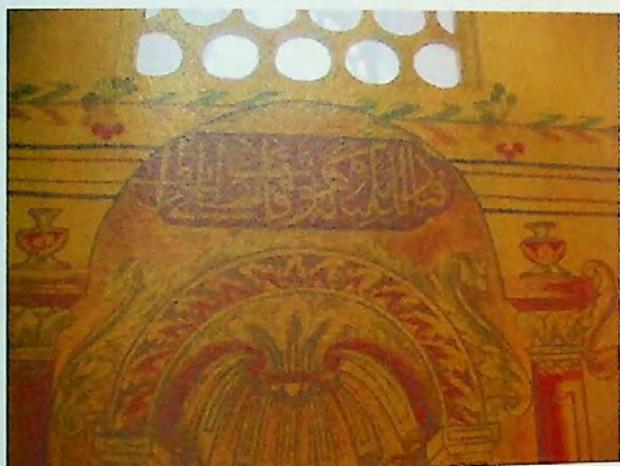


Figure 199

From the chapter of "The Women," 4:59:

سورة النساء  
يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ  
مِنْكُمْ فَإِن تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِن كُنتُمْ  
تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًا

O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best in result.



Figure 200

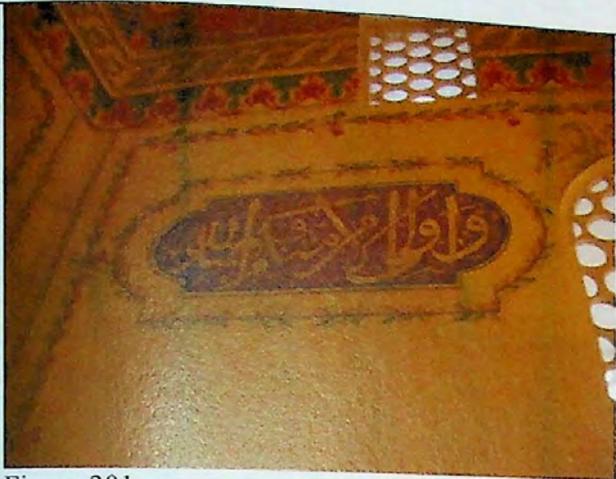


Figure 201

Note: the last two-three words on inscription not included in this aya

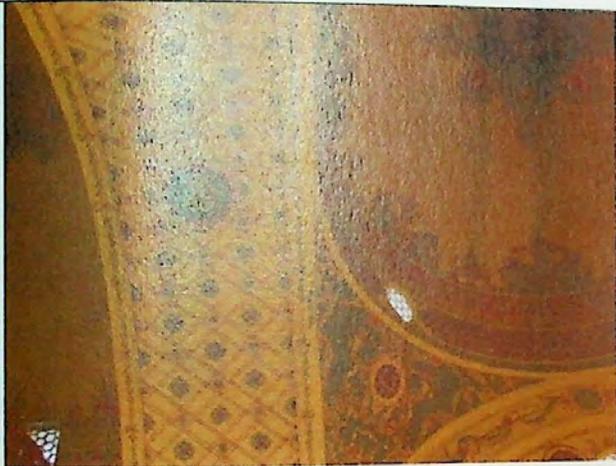


Figure 202

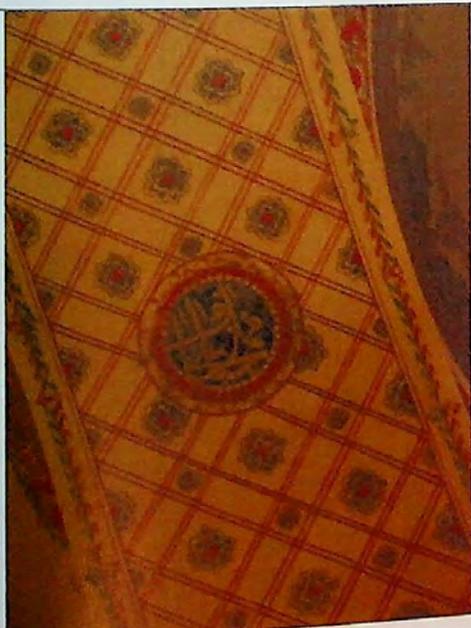


Figure 203

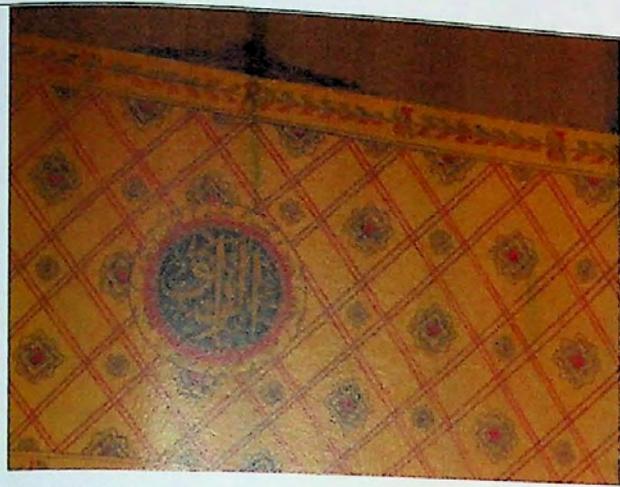


Figure 204

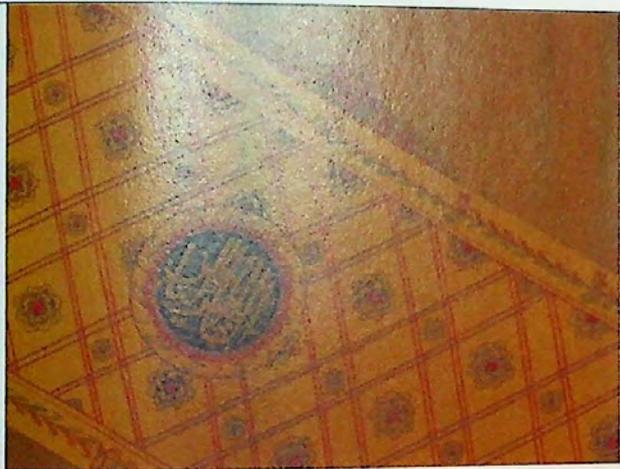


Figure 205

الرزق

The Sustainer

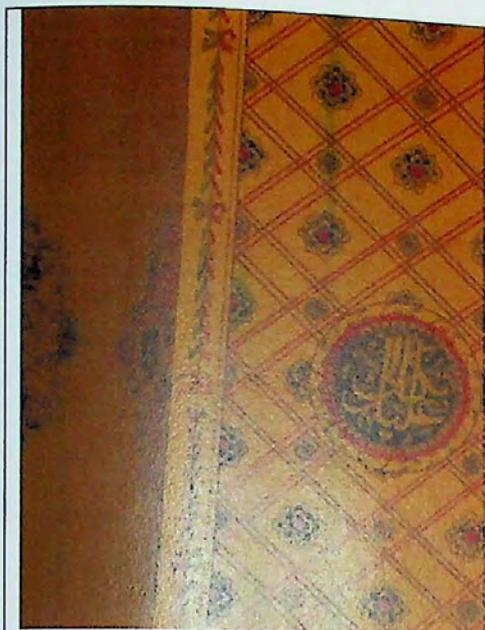


Figure 206

تكالي عليك



Figure 207

مالك الملك



Figure 208

الوهاب

The Giver of All

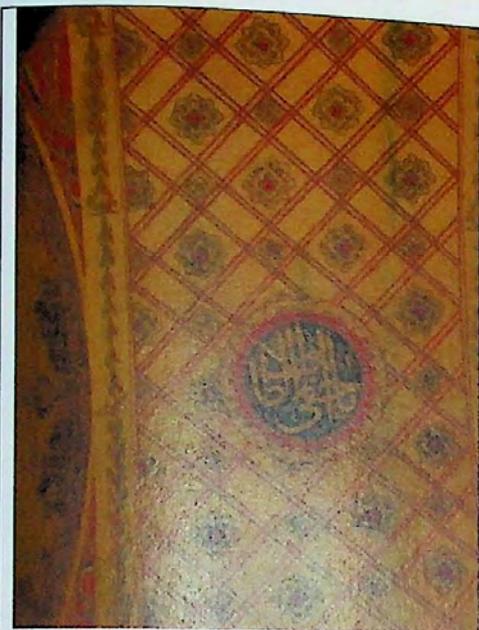


Figure 209

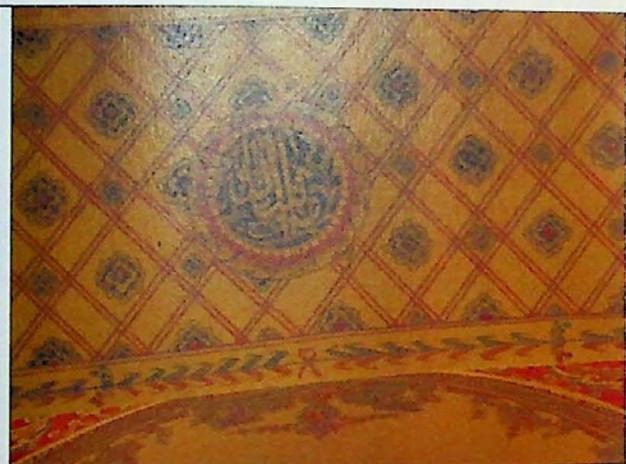


Figure 210

ماشا الله



Figure 211



Figure 212

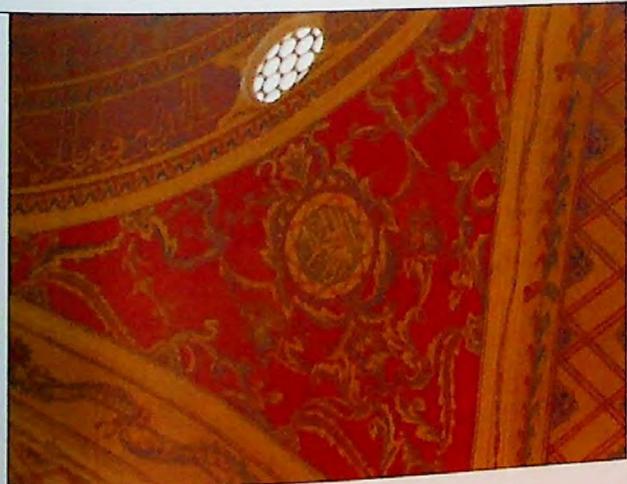


Figure 213

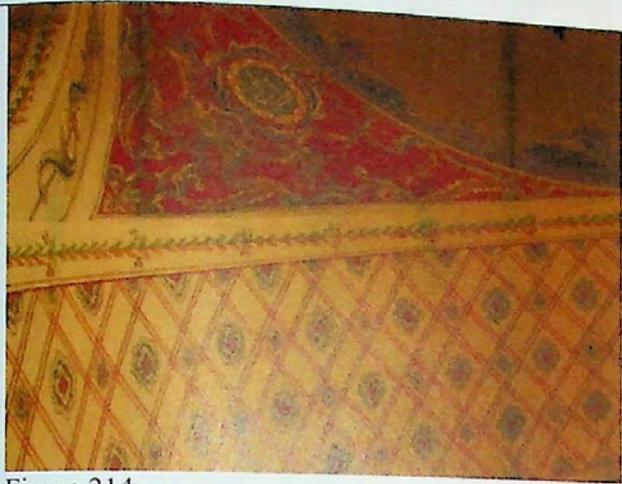


Figure 214

The Pure One

القدوس

Appendix C

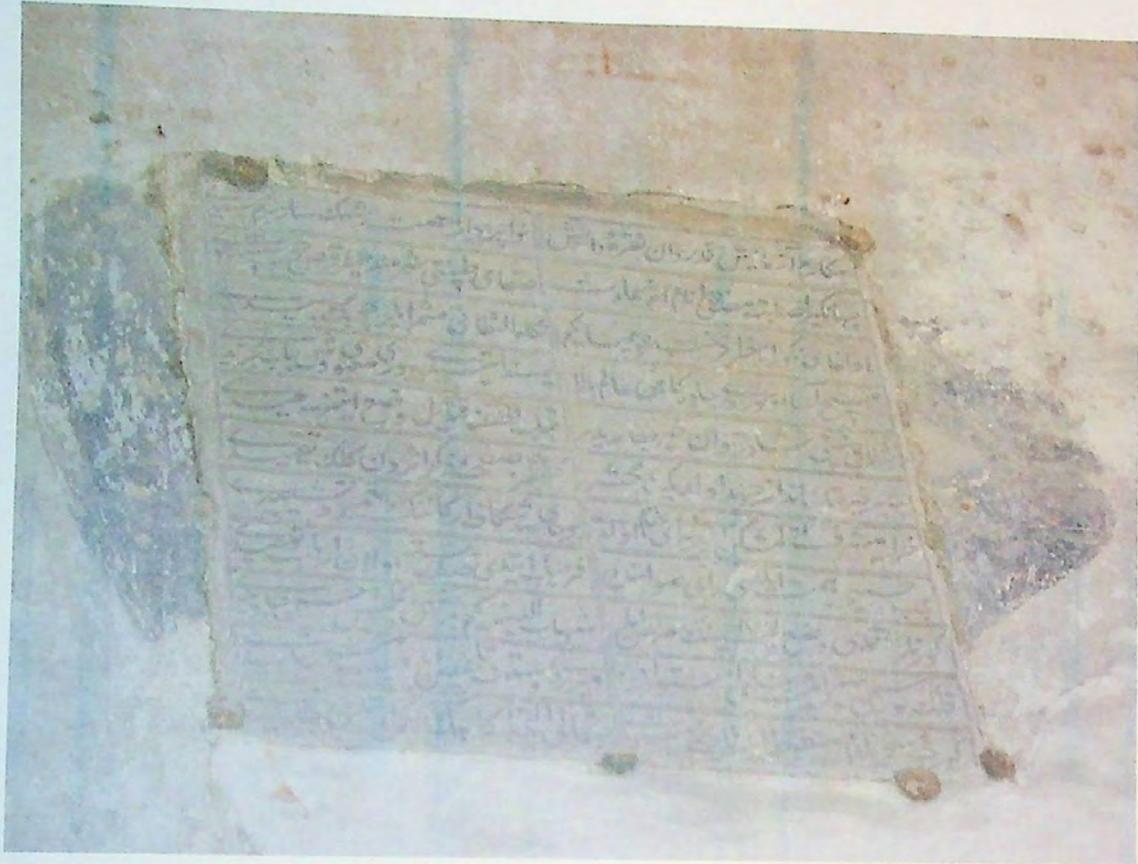
نوا پرداز ممت رشک ساز بزم جمشید  
صفای طیتی شرمندہ ایلم قرص خورشید  
نگاہ التفاتی مشتم ایلم چوبک پید  
پسند ایتسیدی صوری معنوی ووش باب بحرید  
قاب لطفہ قدیل وضع ایتمزہ عید  
کیسینر صفحہ ذکر اژردن کلک تصید  
بوجای صدشکاف ارکانک تعمیر و تشید  
فرجیاب ایتدی نسیبہ اولان ارباب توجید  
شہاب الینیہ کیم برشی یکلموش حسن جاوید  
ویرردی دستہ تمیص ایدوب نشور تاپید  
بو عالی التجاگاہت مکمل بتدی تجدید

مکارم آزمایش قدر دان نقرہ دانش  
جہانگیر اصابت مضی انام اثر عادت  
او افای نکورا ناظر فرخندہ پیماکیم  
مسح آسا اولوردی جلوہ گاہی عالم بالا  
زالال نیتی شادردان خیرہ جاریدر  
ینہ پرخیرہ تاب انداز جہد اولدیکہ تا محشر  
خراہ مشرف المومکن ہزرای ختام اولدی  
عجب حسیبہ ممت ایلدی رأی صوابندہ  
کوزلر شمدی وضع و نسیمک اعتراض ایلم  
فلک بورسی سیرایت بنای استوارندہ  
کوزنجہ سویلدم منقووط ایلمہ تیارنجی مرمت

Mükârm âzmâyiş kadar-dân nükre-yi dâniş  
Cihângir isâbet mazhî anâm eser 'âdet  
O Ağa-yi nikûrâ nâzir-i fârhünde paymâ kim?  
Mesih âsâ oluvdu celve gâhî âlem-i bâlâ  
Zülûl niti şâd revân hayre caridâr  
Yine pür hayre tâb endâz ceht olduka ta mahşer  
Harûbe muşerrefolmuşnun pezirâ-yi bâtam oldu  
Aceb hasbîje himmet ildi nâ-i sevâbın  
Görünler şimdi vaz'-i dilnîşinin i'tirâz eler  
Felek bu resmi sarayât binâ-yi üstüvârında  
Görünce sevildim menkût eyle târihini marınmat?

Nevâ perdâz himmet-i reşk-sâz bezm-i Cemşidi  
Safâ-yi tinti şermende eyler kurs-i hüryidi  
Nigâh ettafâki müsmir eler şibek biyedi  
Pesend etsidi sîvî manevî veş bâb-i tecridi  
Kibâb-i lütfane kendil vaz' etmezme 'ayeli  
Kesilmez sefhe-yi zikir eserden kilik-i takyidi  
Bu ca-yi sad şikâf erkânın tâmir ve teşyidi  
Ferahyâb etti safsbeste olan erbâb-i tevhidi  
Şehâbettiniye kim bir şey dikelmîş hüsnü cevîdi  
Ve yarardı dostane telhîsiyle edip menşûr-i tâbîdi  
Bu âli ilticâgâhın mükemmel bitti? teçdidî

The noble test of the esteemed silvery love; the ambitious singer inspires jealousy by Jamshid's feast  
Cihangir ["world-seizer"] loss of the names of a usual sign; the pure dance(?) of the bashful ones of the sphere of the sun.  
Who is that good gentleman (who brings) the auspicious message; a sudden glance at his fruits, his staff in hand  
No storm shall be a detraction from a year and anon; spiritual walls have favoured the shape the door of the cloistered  
Crystal-gazing an abundance of overflowing happiness; the pleasing chandeliered domes without pretense  
Again goodly, strength-giving efforts were spent on the assembly; books of pages of memory, works of an attentive pen  
The ruin of the honourable has concluded; the pillars of this place of a hundred cracks are repaired and reconstructed  
My wondrous beloved zealously expressed an appropriate view of the joyous pure melodious Lords of Unity  
Eyes then exclaimed the enjoyable condition of the Shihabettiniye whatever good thing comes shall endure  
The firmament of this official palace building, in its establishment and the advantage of friendship eternally proclaimed  
I loved seeing the dotted the date it was restored? "The renovation of this entire lofty refuge is complete."



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