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## Architecture as a Symbol of Power: Some Thoughts on the Ottoman Architectural Heritage of Plovdiv (Filibe)<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

Ever since the first sizable cities in Bithynia fell into the hands of the rulers of the emerging Ottoman dynasty in the early 1300s, the sultans, following an established Anatolian pattern, began redesigning urban centres by shifting or duplicating their cores outside the confines of the walled Byzantine cities. The descendents of Osman Gazi sought to “Ottomanize” urban space by commissioning certain types of building that embodied the symbols of ideology, power and legitimacy of the new ruling dynasty while also being intended as a statement of permanence. The “colonizers” of the areas beyond the old fortified Byzantine or Slavic parts in cities were the multifunctional buildings in the shape of a reversed “T” which were built by virtually all early Ottoman rulers.<sup>2</sup> The T-shaped buildings, variously referred to in the sources as *imaret* or *zaviye*, combined in a single structure an elevated oratory in an either vaulted or a domed open space (*eyvan*), a central hall and two to four side-rooms that were equipped with fire places.<sup>3</sup> As a rule these buildings did not originally have minarets<sup>4</sup>

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2 The second Ottoman ruler Orhan Gazi (r. 1324–1361) commissioned T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* along with other service buildings in post-conquest Nicaea (İznik) and Prousa (Bursa). He seems to have established a trend: all his descendants on the Ottoman throne, up until the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror (r. 1444–1446; 1451–1481), commissioned complexes of T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* in the capitals Bursa and Edirne (Adrianople).

3 Scholarship in the past used different terms when referring to these buildings: “T-type mosques”, “Bursa-type mosques”, “*eyvan* mosques”, “mosques with *zaviyes*”, etc. These are all equally inaccurate since the buildings in question were not initially mosques. In recent years the terms “multifunctional buildings” or simply “*imarets*” or “*zaviyes*”, as the building are referred to by the contemporary sources, have gained more popularity. For an up-to-date survey of the standing T-shaped buildings and a detailed discussion of the existing literature see Zeynep Oğuz, *Multi-functional Buildings of T-type in Ottoman Context: a Network of Identity and Territorialization*. Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara 2006.

4 The minarets were attached to the T-shaped multifunctional buildings in a later period when they began serving as communal mosques. There are still several examples of such

and were usually a focal point of larger complexes that often included a public bath, a kitchen for the poor, a primary school and often the mausoleum of the patron. The exact functions of the T-shaped buildings may still be debated, but one could fairly safely assert that they were meant to provide shelter for popular spiritual leaders and wandering dervishes, to accommodate important travelers and warriors of the faith and to offer a number of other social services.<sup>5</sup>

The T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes*, located at the outskirts of the cities became the key mechanism used by the Ottomans to encourage and facilitate the growth of the urban settlements in their domains. Extending the architectural presence of the dynasty to outlying areas, the rulers marked the confines of the new Ottoman town. Placed at strategically important points the T-shaped buildings and their complexes must have been meant to serve as a preview of the city for those approaching it. Because of this, they were in most cases lavishly decorated, imposing structures. Moreover, the earliest T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes*, built only a few hundred metres away from the walled towns, often quickly attracted public attention and became the nucleus of the central Muslim quarter.<sup>6</sup> Later rulers or high-ranking Ottoman dignitaries placed their own T-shaped buildings at significant undeveloped areas of what were at that time city outskirts, thus extending the natural boundaries of the settlement and manifesting the Ottoman presence even farther. Depending on a city's magnitude, one to several T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* placed at its entrances surrounded the urban core, where one or more multi-domed mosques and a number of commercial buildings such as *bedestens*, inns, or caravanserais etc. formed the central quarter (*çarşı*).

This model of urban transformation, a product of the frontier *milieu* of the early Ottoman state, followed the conquerors on their march into the Balkans. A very similar pattern of urban transformation was employed not only for the cities that were under the direct control of the central authority, but also for those in the hands

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structures, like Nilüfer Hatun in İznik or Elvan Bey in Geyve, which were never converted to communal mosques and thus did not receive a minaret.

5 Many extant endowment deeds and travel accounts by both Western and Ottoman authors clearly describe the services rendered by the *imaret/zaviyes* in Anatolia and the Balkans. For a recent contribution which discusses the functions and clients of the *imarets*, arguing that they differed according to the time period and region in the Ottoman Empire, see Heath Lowry, 'The "Soup Muslims" of the Balkans: Was There a "Western" and "Eastern" Ottoman Empire', In: Donald Quataert and Baki Tezcan, eds., *Beyond Dominant Paradigms in Ottoman and the Middle Eastern/North African Studies: A Tribute to Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj*. Special issue of *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 36 (2010), 97–133.

6 This fact is probably best observed in Bursa, where Orhan Gazi's complex became the nucleus of the Ottoman city (see Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque Brousse-Brusa*. Paris: E. de Boccard 1958) and in Skopje (Ott. Üsküb), where the complex of Pasha Yiğit Bey formed the new urban core below the medieval stronghold (see Grigor Boykov, *Reshaping Urban Space in the Ottoman Balkans: a Study on the Architectural Development of Edirne, Plovdiv, and Skopje (14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries)*. In: Maximilian Hartmuth, ed., *Centers and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture: Rediscovering a Balkan Heritage*. Sarajevo: Cultural Heritage Without Borders 2010, pp. 41–5.

of the semi-independent dynasties of frontier raider commanders (the *akıncı ucbeyis*). The privilege of building public buildings, aimed at manifesting a presence in and establishing control over the newly conquered territories, was not reserved for the ruling dynasty only. Members of several noble families of raider commanders in the Balkans (the Evrenosoğulları, Mihaloğulları, İshakoğulları, Malkoçoğulları, Turahanoğulları etc.), who ruled the areas under their control almost independently, imitated this pattern. Building in a predominantly Christian environment suggests the noblemen's aspiration to a permanent presence and their will to master the areas under their control.<sup>7</sup>

Lala Şahin Pasha: the conqueror and patron of the earliest Ottoman  
public buildings in Plovdiv (Filibe)

This paper aims to examine the urban development and modification of the principal city of today's Bulgarian Thrace, Plovdiv, in the course of the first two centuries of Ottoman power. Focusing on Plovdiv's architectural development and demographic changes, the study brings together evidence from Ottoman archival documentation, travellers' accounts, late nineteenth-century photographs of the Ottoman city and the earliest modern plans of post-Ottoman Plovdiv, drawn up in the 1890s.

Situated on the medieval highway through the Balkans, the Roman *Via Militaris*, the Byzantino-Bulgarian city of Philippopolis surrendered to the forces of Lala Şahin Pasha in the early 1360s<sup>8</sup> only a few years after the Ottomans took possession

7 See Heath Lowry, Recognizing 14<sup>th</sup>-Century Ottoman Realities. 'Oh By the Way, We Are Here to Stay': the Ottoman Pattern of Conquest. In: Thrace & Macedonia, unpublished forthcoming article; idem, *The Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350–1550*. Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publications 2008, on the buildings patronized by Gazi Evrenos' family and other noblemen along the *Via Egnatia*. The Mihaloğlu family had control over a sizable portion of modern Turkish Thrace and shaped the urban plan of some of the prominent towns there through the sponsorship of a number of public buildings, most of which are no longer extant (see Mariya Kiprovskaya, Pınarhisar's Development From the Late Fourteenth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century: The Mihaloğlu Family *Vakf* Possessions in the Area. unpublished forthcoming article). On the family of Turahan Bey see Machiel Kiel, Das türkische Thessalien: etabliertes Geschichtsbild versus osmanische Quellen. Ein Beitrag zur Entmythologisierung der Geschichte Griechenlands. In: Reinhard Lauer and Peter Schreiner, eds., *Die Kultur Griechenlands in Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Bericht über das Kolloquium der Südosteuropa-Kommission, 28.–31. Oktober 1992*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1996, pp. 109–96. General overview on the architectural heritage of the families of Balkan raider commanders is offered by Çetin Arslan, *Türk Akıncı Beyleri ve Balkanların İmarına Katkıları (1300–1451)*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı 2001. For a recent evaluation of existing literature on the architectural history of the Ottoman Balkans and the importance of the T-shaped buildings patronized by the frontier lords, see Maximilian Hartmuth, The History of Centre-periphery Relations as a History of Style in Ottoman Provincial Architecture, *Centers and Peripheries in Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 14–25.

8 The available sources disagree on the exact date of the Ottoman conquest of Plovdiv. The widely accepted date for the fall of the city, which surrendered after a short siege, is 1364. For details, see Grigor Boykov, *Demographic Features of Ottoman Upper Thrace: A Case*

of Adrianople (Edirne).<sup>9</sup> Archaeological evidence shows that when the Ottomans seized the city, which they renamed Filibe, its appearance was a mere shadow of the once magnificent Roman and early medieval city. Several waves of destructive invasions had reduced pre-Ottoman Philippopolis to the confines of its stronghold. Its outer walls, streets and housing lay for many years in total disrepair.<sup>10</sup> Ottoman archival material from the fifteenth century shows that the Christian population of post-conquest Filibe continued to reside in the walled town, while the first Muslim colonists must have settled in the area below the hills, just outside the walled Christian parts.<sup>11</sup>

The sources contain no particular information about either the character of these first Muslim colonists or their approximate number. The Ottoman narrative tradition, however, asserts that the conqueror Lala Şahin Pasha, who was the first *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia, i.e. the commander-in-chief and governor of all Ottoman possessions in Europe<sup>12</sup>, chose Filibe as his place of residence and had a large wooden

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*Study on Filibe, Tatar Pazarcık, and İstanımaka*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Bilkent University, Ankara 2004, 29–37.

9 Halil İnalçık, The conquest of Edirne (1361), *Archivum Ottomanicum*, 3 (1971), 185–210. For other opinions, arguing for a later date of the fall of Adrianople into Ottoman hands, see Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, La conquête d’Andrianople par les Turcs: La pénétration turque en Thrace et la valeur des chroniques ottomanes, *Travaux et Mémoires*, 1 (1965), 439–61; Elizabeth Zachariadou, The conquest of Adrianople by the Turks, *Studi Veneziani*, 22 (1970), 211–7.

10 For a recent overview of the existing bibliography and results from excavations of pre-Ottoman Philippopolis see Ani Dancheva-Vasileva, *Plodiv prez srednovekovieto (IV–XIV vek)*, Sofia: Akademichno izdatelstvo “Prof. Marin Drinov” 2009, pp. 143–90, 214–37.

11 Boykov, *Demographic Features*, 38–40; Grigor Boykov, Etno-religiozniyat oblik na osmanskiya grad Filibe – kraya na XV – nachaloto na XVI vek, In: Evgeniy Radušev, Stefka Fetvadžieva, eds., *Balkanski identičnosti*. 4 vols. Sofia: Institut za izsledvane na integratsiyata 2003, vol. 3, pp. 137–8; Machiel Kiel, Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: the Place of Turkish Architecture in the Process, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 4:2 (1989), 87–9. The fact that the Christians remained in the stronghold is not particularly surprising since it happened elsewhere too. Only the cities which offered strong resistance to the Ottomans, like Constantinople or Belgrade, had their Christian inhabitants enslaved or deported, while Muslim settlers were established in their place. See the “classical” work of Halil İnalçık, “Ottoman Methods of Conquest”, *Studia Islamica*, 2 (1954), 103–29, which although published more than half a century ago retains its value. On the Ottoman methods of repopulating depressed cities, see Halil İnalçık, The Policy of Mehmed II Toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 23–24 (1969/1970), 231–49; Heath Lowry, ‘From Lesser War to the Mightiest War: The Ottoman Conquest and Transformation of Byzantine Urban Centers in the Fifteenth Century, In: Anthony Bryer and Heath Lowry, eds., *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society: papers given at a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1982*, Birmingham – Washington, D.C.: The University of Birmingham Centre for Byzantine Studies and Dumbarton Oaks, 1986, pp. 323–38.

12 Halil İnalçık, Murad I. In: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 31, pp. 156–64; Victor Ménage, Beglerbegi. In: *Encyclopedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, CD ROM Edition.

bridge built over the river Maritsa (Meriç)<sup>13</sup> which allowed his retinues to raid areas to the west for booty on a regular basis.<sup>14</sup> This information strongly suggests that the military entourage of Lala Şahin and a number of servants and craftsmen must have been the first Muslim colonists in the city. Considering similar cases like Bursa and İznik, taken by sultan Orhan; Gümölcine (Komotini), conquered and controlled by Evrenos Bey; or Üsküb (Skopje), dominated by Pasha Yiğit Bey and his descendants, one can fairly safely assume that Lala Şahin and a tiny group of his closest companions installed themselves among the Christians in the walled town, while the greater part of the Muslim newcomers settled outside the walls of Filibe. Extending the analogy even farther, one would expect Lala Şahin, soon after the conquest, to have commissioned a T-shaped multifunctional building together with a public bath, located below the walls of the old city, this being a clearly observable trend common to the architectural development of many newly conquered Ottoman urban centres.

After the conquest of Bursa in 1326<sup>15</sup>, for instance, Orhan converted the Byzantine monastery of St. Elias, located inside the castle (today's Tophane), and laid his father's body in a baptistery there (later to become known as Gümüşlü Kümbet). He also built a royal residence, a mosque and a bath in the approximate vicinity.<sup>16</sup>

13 Cevdet Çulpan, *Türk Taş Köprüleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 96–7.

14 Hoca Sadeddin, whose account greatly differs from the mainstream Anonymous Chronicles-Aşıkpaşazade-Neşri historiographic tradition, provides the only detailed description of Lala Şahin's campaign against Philippopolis and the events after the conquest. According to Hoca Sadeddin the Christian governor abandoned the besieged city and fled to the Serbs (*vilâyet-i Sıf*) in 765 A.H. (1363–1364). Lala Şahin left a garrison in the castle and returned to Edirne. Murad I was most satisfied with the conquest and gave Filibe and its territories as *timar* to his tutor, ordering him to revive the city. Lala Şahin spent considerable resources in doing so and constructed a large bridge over the Maritsa River for the upkeep of which he set aside manpower from his own slaves and servants and established a pious foundation (*waqf*). Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, *Tac-üt-Tevârih*. 5 vols. [Istanbul]: Tabhane-yi Âmire, 1279/1862–1863, vol. 1, p. 76; 86 or the modern Turkish edition of İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, *Tac-üt-Tevârih*, İstanbul: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı Kültür Yayınları 1974, vol. 1, pp. 122, 137; İnalçık, Murad I, p. 156. There is also a local legend describing the conquest of the city which assigns a major role to a certain İsfendiyar Bey, whose soldiers supposedly cut the water supply pipeline, an act which made the defenders surrender. The legend is undoubtedly anachronistic as the person depicted must be İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey, who arrived in town in the 1460s.

15 On the lengthy blockade and conquest of Bursa see Halil İnalçık, Osmanlı Beyliğini Kurucusu Osman Beg, *Bellekten*, 71: 261 (2007), 479–537; Idem, Osmanlı Sultanı Orhan (1324–1362): Avrupa'da Yerleşme, *Bellekten*, 73: 266 (2009), 77–107. Cf. Heath Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in travel accounts*. Bloomington, Indiana: University of Indiana: Ottoman & Modern Turkish Studies Publications 2003.

16 The standard reference works on Bursa's early Ottoman architecture are Albert Gabriel, *Une capitale turque Brousse-Bursa*. Paris: E. de Boccard 1958, pp. 23–51; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimârisinin ilk devri, 630–805 (1230–1402)*. İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, pp. 58–89. The mosque of Orhan is likely to have been replaced by Şehadet Cami, built by Murad I, above the entrance of which is Orhan's debated dedicatory inscription (see Heath Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 33–44 for bibliography and discussions to date).

Once settled within the stronghold of Bursa, Orhan commissioned a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* along with several other service buildings, fenced by a protective wall on empty, flat terrain only a few hundred metres to the east of the castle.<sup>17</sup> Contrary to Gabriel's argument that the growing Muslim population of Bursa must have caused the construction of Orhan's complex, it was rather the T-shaped multifunctional building that gathered settlers for a new Muslim urban core.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, when İznik fell into Ottoman hands in 1331<sup>19</sup>, apart from converting the church of St Sophia immediately after the conquest, Orhan ordered the construction of a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* outside the fortified Byzantine city, next to the Yenişehir Gate that is on the road toward Bursa.<sup>20</sup> According to the chronicler Aşıkpaşazade, when the *imaret* was completed, Orhan served the first meal with his own hands on the night of its opening.<sup>21</sup> Turning to the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans one could easily notice the same pattern. The leader of the Ottoman advance along the Aegean coast of Thrace and Macedonia, Hacı Evrenos Gazi, built in post-conquest Gümülcine a T-shaped multifunctional building which, according to recent studies, might also have served as his residence. The building of Evrenos Bey is not only the first Ottoman construction outside the old Byzantine town, but it is actually the oldest standing Ottoman monument in the Balkans.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, the first building in Ottoman Üsküb,

17 Apart from the T-shaped *zaviye*, Orhan's complex included a *medrese* demolished in the nineteenth century to create space for the city hall in Bursa, an *imaret*, which stood until the 1950s, the so-called Bey Hanı, and a *hamam* whose male section survived and is known today as Aynalı Çarşı. The complex was sacked by the Karamanid Emir Mehmed Beg in 1413 and repaired/rebuilt by Bayezid Pasha, the vizier of Mehmed I (r. 1413–1421), In: 1417. Sedat Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında çok-işlevli yapılar: kentsel kolonizasyon yapıları olarak zâviyeler*, vol. II *Orhan Gazi Dönemi Yapıları*. İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi 1994, pp. 18–50. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque*, p. 43.

18 Gabriel, *Une capitale turque*, p. 43.

19 Halil İnalçık, The struggle between Osman Gazi and the Byzantines for Nicaea. In: Işıl Akbaygil et al, eds., *İznik throughout history*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası 2003, pp. 59–83.

20 Aslanapa, who excavated the *imaret* and bath of Orhan in an olive-tree forest near Yenişehir Gate, claims that it was built prior to the conquest of İznik, Oktay Aslanapa, İznik'te Sultan Orhan İmâret Câmii Kazısı 1963–1964, *Sanat Tarihi Yılığ* (1964–1965), 16–31; idem, Turkish Architecture at İznik, *İznik throughout history*, pp. 223–6. It is hard to support this claim since the dedicatory inscription, found broken into pieces during the excavations, provides the most likely date of construction, 735 A.H. (1335). Cf. Ayverdi, *İlk devri*, 71; Abdülhamit Tüfekçioğlu, *Erken Dönem Osmanlı Mimarisinde Yazı*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı 2001, pp. 19–22; Emir, *Zaviyeler*, pp. 9–13.

21 Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevârih-i Âli Osman*, Ali Bey edition, İstanbul: Matba'a-i Amire, 1332/1916, pp. 42–3: "He [Orhan Gazi] established an imaret (soup kitchen) at the edge of the Yenişehir Gate [...] When the doors of the imaret were first opened and its first food prepared, it was distributed by the blessed hands of Orhan Gazi himself. He served as the imaret's apprentice on the opening evening." Translation quoted after Lowry, 'The "Soup Muslims"', pp. 102–4.

22 Machiel Kiel, The Oldest Monuments of Ottoman-Turkish Architecture in the Balkans: the Imaret and the Mosque of Ghazi Evrenos Bey in Gümülcine (Komotini) and the Evrenos Bey Khan in the Village of İlica/Loutra in Greek Thrace (1370–1390), *Sanat*

the capital of today's state of Macedonia, was commissioned by the conqueror and actual master of the city – Pasha Yiğit Bey.<sup>23</sup> As it happened, in Bursa his *imaret/zaviye* and several other service buildings, erected soon after the conquest, later turned into the focal point of the growing Muslim city.<sup>24</sup>

The above examples show that the conqueror and/or the person under whose control a newly captured city in Anatolia or the Balkans stood, was most often the patron of the first Muslim buildings there – a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, a public bath, an inn for the merchants etc., accompanied by the conversion of the main church into a communal mosque in those cities which had resisted the Ottoman forces. Returning to Filibe, which was not taken by assault but surrendered to the Ottoman forces, one can assume that none of the existing churches located within the stronghold was converted; while soon after the Ottomans took control of the city, the actual conqueror and governor, Lala Şahin, commissioned the first Muslim public buildings there. They had to respond to the immediate needs of the small Muslim community. Placing the new buildings outside the fortified hills, he also left a permanent imprint on the urban landscape. It is hard to provide firm evidence that unambiguously proves the existence of a complex patronized specifically by Lala Şahin. The uncertainty is due not only to the lack of any documentary evidence pointing to Lala Şahin as a patron, but also to the disappearance some time ago of the majority of the Ottoman buildings in modern Plovdiv. Their absence deprives researchers of the possibility for closer observation.

Nonetheless, there are some hints that, while they may not detail the patronage of Lala Şahin, clearly testify to the existence of Muslim public buildings outside the citadel of Filibe as early as the 1410s and thus allow such a hypothesis. The narrative of Constantine Kostenečki, also known as the Philosopher, describing the disruptive war for control over Filibe during the so-called interregnum period in the early 1400s, mentions a public bath (*hamam*) in the city, used by Emir Süleyman for one of his numerous feasts.<sup>25</sup> There are at least two important points that can be derived

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*Tarîhi Yıllığı* 12 (1983), 117–38, reprinted in idem, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, Hampshire: Variorum 1990. Compare Lowry, *Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, 41–7, who argues that the building was very probably used as a residence by Evrenos and that it was only after he moved westward to Serres that it began its service as *imaret/zaviye*.

23 Skopje fell in Ottoman hands in 1390s. See Dragi Gjorgiev, *Skopje od turskoto osvojuvanje do kerajot na XVIII vek*. Skopje: Institut za nacionalna istoriya 1997, pp. 18–9; Dušanka Bojanić-Lukač, Kako turcite so prezele Skopje (1393), *Zbornik na Muzej na grad Skopje*, 2–3 (1965–6), 5–18. On Pasha Yiğit Bey and his descendents, see Gliša Elezović, Skopski Ishakovići i Paša Jigit Beg, *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva*, 9 (1932), 159–68.

24 Boykov, *Reshaping Urban Space*, pp. 41–4. On the building of Pasha Yiğit, also known as Meddah Baba Camii, and his nearby bath and other service buildings, none of which remain standing today, see Lidiya Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküip'te Osmanlı mimarî eserleri*, İstanbul: ENKA 2008, pp. 168–71; Mustafa Özer, *Üsküip'te Türk mimarisi (XIV.–XIX. yüzyıl)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 2006, pp. 187–8; Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomenici u Skoplju*. Beograd: Rodoljub 1927, pp. 4–9.

25 Konstantin Kostenečki, *Lebensbeschreibung des Despoten Stefan Lazarević*. Translated and edited by Maximilian Braun, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1956, pp. 39–40; for these par-

from the account of Constantine: firstly, it clearly implies the extramural location of the *hamam* used by Süleyman; secondly, it is very likely that the *hamam* in question did not stand alone, but was part of a larger complex. Looking for an analogy in the cities mentioned above, it seems plausible to suggest that the bath mentioned by Constantine was in fact part of a complex centred on a T-shaped multifunctional *imaret/zaviye* commissioned by Lala Şahin soon after he took control over the city. The fact that the bath and the rest of the buildings were located outside the walled town, as was the case in all other examples examined in this contribution, greatly supports this argument. It is therefore logical to assume that the conqueror and first governor of Filibe, Lala Şahin, a man who had indisputable authority and considerable resources at his disposal, was the person who commissioned the first Ottoman public buildings providing for the basic needs of the Muslims in the city. Were these buildings indeed commissioned by Lala Şahin, it must have been in the period between the mid-1360s, when the city was conquered, and mid-1380s, which witnessed the probable death of Lala Şahin.<sup>26</sup> We know nothing more of these buildings, but there is a distinct chance that they did not survive the first decade of the fifteenth century, falling victim to the struggle between the two pretenders for the Ottoman throne, in the course of which Filibe changed hands several times and which was accompanied by severe devastation on both sides.

#### The core of Muslim Filibe – Murad II's mosque

The Burgundian knight Bertrandon de la Broquière, who arrived in town some twenty years later in 1433, found all of Filibe's fortifications in ruins.<sup>27</sup> This suggests that, given the damage to the citadel walls caused by the warfare, the buildings mentioned by Constantine Kostenečki, which were located below the stronghold and in all probability built by Lala Şahin, were either levelled or badly damaged. In any case, no other narrative source mentions them, but documentary evidence from later period suggests that Şihabeddin Pasha, who held the post of *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia in the mid-fifteenth century, might have rebuilt these early buildings in the process of shaping the new Muslim city at that time, a hypothesis which will be examined below.

The account by de la Broquière leaves the impression that, as a result of the warfare of the interregnum period, Filibe looked like a rundown place of lesser

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ticular events and the struggle for control over Filibe between Süleyman and Musa see Dimitris Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–13*. Leiden: Brill 2007, pp. 152–3.

<sup>26</sup> The exact date of Lala Şahin's death is unknown, but it must be prior to 1384, when Timurtaş Pasha appears in the sources as his successor as *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli. İnalcık, Murad I, p. 159. A brick-made baldachin in today's town of Kazanlık (Central Bulgaria) is believed to be the burial place of Lala Şahin's intestines, while his body was transported to Anatolia and buried in a mausoleum in the town of Mustafakemalpaşa.

<sup>27</sup> Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*, Ch. Schefer, ed. Paris: Ernst Leroux 1842, p. 200.



importance that badly needed repair. He did not spot any noteworthy Ottoman building, which must mean no such building existed by 1433, otherwise a careful observer like the Burgundian would have noted it.<sup>28</sup> These notes by de la Broquière contribute to establishing a more precise chronology of the construction of the oldest standing Ottoman monument in modern Plovdiv: the large Muradiye mosque (known locally as Džumaya džamiya). The mosque does not bear an original dedicatory inscription (*kitabe*), which has given rise to discussion about the exact date of its construction. Its architectural features, however, suggest a construction date in the fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Because the Burgundian does not mention it one can assume that in 1433 the mosque was not yet standing. The Muradiye is a massive, imposing structure which still dominates the urban landscape of modern Plovdiv; had it been present in 1433 it would undoubtedly have attracted de la Broquière's attention from a distance. Moreover, as he was taken to the citadel and shown around by locals, he must have passed the mosque on the way up to the hills of the citadel. Thus, the chance that Muradiye could have remained unspotted by the Burgundian is virtually non-existent.

Assuming that in 1433 the Muradiye did not yet exist, it must have been built in the following couple of years. Archival evidence shows that the largest communal mosque in Ottoman Filibe did not have a pious foundation providing for its maintenance and the salaries of the staff, as was the usual practice in the Ottoman Empire. Instead, the mosque in Filibe was supported by the large *waqf* established by Sultan Murad II on behalf of the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye* (also known as Muradiye mosque) which he built on the northeastern edge of Edirne.<sup>30</sup> Muradiye in Edirne,

28 It is known that de la Broquière was not solely a pilgrim, but was also charged with observing the Ottoman provinces in detail with regard to a possible military action. In modern times he would certainly be labelled a spy.

29 The eighteenth-century repair inscription, which is placed above its main gate, is published by Ibrahim Tatarla, *Turski kultovi sgradi i nadpisi v Bălgariya*, *Annuaire de l' Université de Sofia, Faculté de Lettres*, 60 (1966), 605–8. The inscription commemorates a repair done by Sultan Abdulhamid I (r. 1774–1789) on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1784 (27 Şaban 1199 A.H.). Until recently, although in use, the building was in a dreadful state of neglect. A team of restorers from Istanbul have fixed the numerous cracks and fissures covering most of the domes, vaults and walls of Muradiye, stabilized the structure and redesigned the internal space, uncovering three layers of mural paintings in a two-year-long restoration (2006–2008). The end of the project was marked by a symposium, the proceedings of which were later published by the municipality of Istanbul. The volume, Celaleddin Küçük and N. Mine Yar, eds., *Filibe (Plovdiv) Cuma Camii Konferansı Bildirileri/Filibe (Plovdiv) Cuma Mosque Conference Papers*. İstanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, n.d., which has never appeared on the market, contains several valuable articles describing the process of restoration of the mosque. It is a real surprise, however, that all papers in the volume, with only one notable exception, regard Muradiye as a fourteenth-century building, attributing its construction to Murad I (r. 1362–1389), some even adding that it was established as a complex together with a bath, caravanserai and a bedesten. There is no textual or architectural evidence in support of such claims.

30 The accounting register (*muhasebe defteri*) of the *waqf* of Muradiye in Edirne, which leaves little doubt that the mosque in Filibe was also supported by the foundation, was pub-

which served as a *mevlevihane*<sup>31</sup>, was built, according to the date encrypted in its original dedicatory inscription *in situ*, in 839 A.H. (1435–1436).<sup>32</sup> Thus, the endowment deed, of which there is no known extant copy, was most likely drawn up in 1435 or 1436. The fact that the Muradiye mosque in Filibe was included in the foundation established by Murad II for the support of his complex in Edirne leaves little doubt that it must have been built around the same time and in any case prior to 1436. The notes by de la Broquière and the documentary evidence therefore allow us to settle on the period 1433–1436 as the construction date of the Muradiye mosque in Filibe. The short remark by Hibri Efendi, an early seventeenth-century historian of Edirne, which explicitly attributes the old mosque in Filibe to the buildings patronized by Murad II, adds strength to this argument.<sup>33</sup> As there is no doubt that Murad II commissioned the mosque in Filibe, one may take a further step in establishing a *post quem* date for its construction. In any case, Murad did not build the Filibe mosque prior to 1425 because he was preoccupied by a costly and dangerous struggle to secure his throne.<sup>34</sup> In the second half of the 1420s Murad expended vast resources on building his complex in Bursa (Muradiye complex built between 1426 and 1428), so it was only in the 1430s that he began commissioning buildings in Rumelia. The

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lished by Ömer Barkan. Edirne ve Civarındaki Bazı İmâret Tesislerinin Yıllık Muhasebe Bilânçoları, *Belgeler* 1:1–2 (1964), 372, but remained overlooked by the historians until recently. See Machiel Kiel, The Incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire, 1353–1453. In: Kate Fleet, ed., *The Cambridge History of Turkey. Volume I: Byzantium to Turkey, 1071–1453*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP 2009, p. 176. Kiel first pointed to this fact. The document published by Barkan dates from 1633 and lists 24 individuals who received salaries from the *waqf* as employees in the great mosque in Filibe. The part of the documentary collection of Topkapı Palace which was recently made available in the Başbakanlık Arşivi contains many earlier and later *muhasebe* registers of Muradiye which confirm the information in the document published by Barkan. For example: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (= BOA) TSMA 3687 0014 (dating from July 14, 1589); BOA TSMA 1572 (dating from 1600–1601) or BOA TSMA 1681 (dating from 1670–1671) etc.

31 Suheyl Ünver, Edirne Mevlevihanesi Tarihine Giriş. In: Emin Nedret İşli and M. Sabri Koz, eds., *Edirne: Serhattaki Paytaht*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 1998, pp. 623–7; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimârisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 806–855 (1403–1451)*. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti 1989<sup>2</sup>, pp. 405–15.

32 The date 839 is recorded as a chronogram in the bottom left line of the inscription. See Fokke T. Dijkema, *The Ottoman Historical Monumental Inscriptions in Edirne*. Leiden: E. J. Brill 1977, pp. 23–4; Tüfekçioğlu, *Erken Dönem Yazı*, pp. 224–5.

33 Abdurrahman Hibri, *Enisül-müsâmirîn – Edirne Taribi, 1360–1650*, Ratip Kazancıgil, ed. Edine: Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği 1996, p. 67. Another seventeenth-century Ottoman author, the famous traveller Evliya Çelebi, wrote that Muradiye mosque in Filibe was built by “the conqueror of Edirne, gazi hüdavendigâr sultan Murad I”. Evliya Çelebi b. Derviş Mehmed Zilli, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı, eds. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları 1999, vol. 3, p. 217. This short and undoubtedly incorrect remark has made a number of authors regard the mosque as founded by Murad I.

34 On the events of Murad II’s accession and the subsequent power struggle see Halil İnalçık. Murad II. In: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 31, pp. 164–72; Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1481*. İstanbul: Isis Press 1990, pp. 91–7.

Muradiye mosque in Filibe must be regarded as part of Murad's general programme of constructing large imperial mosques in the capital Edirne and also in provincial centres such as Filibe and Üsküb.<sup>35</sup> Therefore Muradiye mosque in Filibe must have been built in the mid-1430s, shortly before the endowment deed of Muradiye in Edirne was drawn up (1436), but after the visit of de la Broquière (1433).

Muradiye mosque in Filibe, a typical example of the so-called *ulu cami* (great mosque), is a massive rectangle (40 x 30 metres) with three large domes over the central nave, supported by four massive pillars, and two lateral spaces covered by three vaults on each side.<sup>36</sup> The building had a five-domed portico which collapsed and was replaced, probably during the eighteenth-century restoration, by a penthouse resting on wall extensions from the sides and four stone columns which can be seen on photograph from 1880. In the 1900s the portico was removed and replaced by a lower wooden structure which still occupies the front space .

The construction of the Muradiye in 1433–36 is a clear sign of Murad's ambition to restore the distressed city and redesign its space, a process that must have begun shortly after de la Broquière's visit. The great mosque was built on an empty site below the Christian neighbourhoods, enclosed within the ruined citadel, thus marking the new commercial core of the Muslim city. It took more than seventy years after the conquest for the Ottomans to erect the first large congregational mosque in Filibe, thus displaying their intention of a permanent lordship over the area. However, what at a first glance may seem rather a long time appears to be roughly the usual period that elapsed before the Ottomans built a large mosque, thereby forming a new commercial core in an old Byzantine urban centre. In this respect, Bursa could once more provide an excellent illustration. The city was captured in 1326 but it was only after Bayezid's victory at the battle of Nicopolis in 1396 that he commissioned the first *ulu cami* in Bursa.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, the first multi-domed communal mosque (later to become known as Eski Cami) in Edirne was only completed fifty-three years after the conquest of the city.<sup>38</sup>

35 The list of the buildings commissioned by Murad II in Rumelia include Darü'l-hadis mosque (1434–35), Muradiye (1435–36), Üç Şerefeli mosque (1438–47) and several baths and schools in Edirne; the Muradiye (Džumaya) mosque in Filibe (1433–36); Hünkâr (Muradiye) mosque in Skopje (1436); the complex and the long bridge over Ergene in Uzunköprü (1443–44).

36 Architecturally the closest predecessor of Filibe mosque is Ulu Camii in Bergama, built by Bayezid I in 1398–1399. See Bozkurt Ersoy, Bergama Ulu Camii, *Arkeoloji Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 4 (1988), 57–66.

37 Bursa's *ulu cami* was not the first establishment initiated by Bayezid in Bursa. In 1390–1395 he commissioned and built, on the outskirts of the city, a complex of buildings of which a T-shaped multifunctional building, a medrese, bath, and hospital are still extant. The mausoleum of Bayezid I, which is also part of this complex, was built by his son Emir Süleyman in 1406 (see Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1968, pp. 110–3).

38 Eski Cami in Edirne was began by Emir Süleyman in 1402 and completed in 1413 by his brother Mehmed I, who added a bedesten replica of the one in Bursa (see Kuran, *The*

Şihabeddin Pasha's architectural patronage:  
developing the core and marking the edge of Ottoman Filibe

While the Muradiye mosque was the focus of the new commercial core of Filibe, it was the complex of Şihabeddin Pasha, completed a few years later in 1444, that marked the edge of the Muslim town.<sup>39</sup> The complex consisted of a T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, today known locally as “Imaret džamiya”, a public bath, a *medrese* and a mausoleum of the patron. The complex was built on the banks of the Maritsa River, occupying both sides of the road which crossed the bridge of Lala Şahin and ran to the south towards Muradiye and the central part of the town. Undoubtedly, the choice of location was not fortuitous, but was rather meant to mark the end of the Ottoman town on the one hand and to serve as a foretaste of it for those coming in on the other. A traveller on the *Via Militaris* coming from the west would have inevitably been confronted by the main T-shaped building, which faced the bridge, thus displaying the Ottoman supremacy at a distance.

The focus of the complex, the T-shaped *imaret/zaviye*, has two lateral rooms accessed through the main hall and an open-domed prayer space (*eyvan*) elevated eight steps from the ground.<sup>40</sup> This building, that must have accommodated visitors in the second half of the fifteenth century, may well have begun serving as a communal mosque in the early sixteenth century, because the documentary sources of that time refer to it specifically as a mosque.<sup>41</sup> Immediately next to it were the kitchens (*aşevi*), which distributed food on a daily basis until the end of the Ottoman period. The enormous, tower-like chimney of the kitchens is visible on the photograph taken in 1878 by the local Greek photographer Dimitris Kavra. Further to the north, on the riverside, was the *medrese*, a massive rectangular building with a large domed *eyvan* that opened to the west and six domed cells, equipped with fireplaces, on each side. The building stood until the 1920s, when it was photographed by Otto Rudloff in a pitiful state of decay.<sup>42</sup> Across the road, parallel to the main building, was a large

*Mosque*, pp. 154–8; Aptullah Kuran, A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 114–31.

39 Hacı Şihabeddin Pasha, son of Abdullah (i.e. a convert to Islam), *beylerbeyi* of Rumili in the mid-fifteenth century, was also the patron of a single-domed mosque (Kirazlı Camii, built in 1436) and a stone bridge (Saraçhane köprüsü, built in 1451) in Edirne (see Sedat Bayrakal, *Edirne'deki tek kubbeli camileri*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı 2001, pp. 31–6; Çulpan, *Taş Köprüleri*, pp. 107–10. His bath, another small mosque and mansion in Edirne are no longer extant.

40 The original dedicatory inscription, removed today, was first published by Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomeništi*. Beograd: Zora 1940, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 1112–1138. See also Tatarlı, *Turski kultovi sgradi i nadpisi*, 593–600. The inscription refers to the building as “*imaret*” and gives the date of construction in a form of a chronogram – 848 A.H./1444–1445.

41 BOA, Tapu Tahrir Defterleri (=TD) 77, f. 635, dating from 1516.

42 Gertrude Rudloff-Hille and Otto Rudloff, Grad Plovdiv i negovite sgradi, *Izvestiya na bălgarskiya arheologicheski institut*, 8 (1934), 379–425. According to an accounting register covering the period A.H. 7.1046–6.1047 / 11.1636–10.1637, the *medrese* had nine students

public bath, which for some reason is known locally as the *Hünkâr hamamı* (Sultan's bathhouse).<sup>43</sup> The bath functioned throughout the Ottoman period and was the site of the meetings of the assembly of autonomous Eastern Roumelia after October 1879. After Eastern Rumelia united with the Bulgarian Principality, the bath was used for some time as a depot for archival documents of the local administration. Gradually having fallen into disrepair, it was demolished in 1923.<sup>44</sup> The Muradiye mosque and Şihabeddin's complex, built by the river, set the boundaries of the city and laid the foundations of the new Muslim Filibe. The great mosque was the focal point of the area that was to turn into a commercial center, accessed by a long paved street stretching to the north up to the bridge over the Maritsa and the complex of Şihabeddin Pasha.

Based on late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century photographs and evidence from Ottoman archival documents one could define the exact location and approximate date of construction of several other fifteenth-century buildings (no longer extant) which formed the main commercial area soon after Muradiye was built. The accounting records of Şihabeddin's foundation show that the same person financed the construction of a massive bath in the urban core, the so-called Tahtakale<sup>45</sup> hamamı, seen on photographs up until the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>46</sup> The bath was located in the heart of the *çarşı*, only a few metres away from Muradiye; thus it was undoubtedly meant to serve its congregation. Architecturally, Tahtakale bath bears considerable resemblance to the bath near the bridge but was probably slightly smaller in size.<sup>47</sup>

The close proximity of Muradiye mosque and the fact that this bath served its congregation suggests that the Tahtakale bath must have been built either simultane-

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with a daily stipend of 1 *akçe*; the *müdürris* received an annual salary of 21 600 *akçe*s, BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver (=MAD) 749, f. 124. This document is a compilation of multiple accounting registers of different *waqfs*, bound together without any specific order.

43 Despite its name, there is little doubt that the bath was indeed part of Şihabeddin's complex. The accounting registers of his foundation refer to it as *hamam-i cısr* (the bath at the bridge). For example, a register from A.H. 1050–51/1640–41 testifies that the *waqf* collected an annual revenue of 10 000 *akçe*s from this bath, tax-farmed by a certain Mustafa. Moreover, in the same year the foundation expended 2 681 *akçe*s for repair work on the same *hamam*, BOA, MAD 15134, f. 3; 7.

44 The German Archeological Institute in Istanbul (DAI) possesses two photos taken by Rudloff in the course of the demolition of the building – call no. DAI R 14.753 and DAI R 14.754.

45 “Tahtakale” is a local colloquial version of the Arabic “tahtü'l-ka'lâ”, i.e. below the castle.

46 A register of the incomes and expenditures of the *waqf* for the period 7.1041–6.1042 A.H./1–12.1632 testifies that the foundation, not only retrieved revenues, but also spent a large amount of money (12 000 *akçe*s) for repair of the bath, BOA, MAD 749, f. 222.

47 If the incomes can be indicative for the size, the Tahtakale bath brought to the *waqf* about 1/3 less than Hünkâr hamamı. For example in the period 7.1049–6.1050 A.H./10.1639–9.1640 the annual income from Tahtakale bath was 7 000 *akçe*s, while the bath next to the bridge, which was part of the complex, brought 12 000 *akçe*s, Bulgarian National Library, Oriental Department (=Sofia), document call no. Pd 17/12, f. 2a.

ously with the mosque or shortly afterward. The patron Şihabeddin Pasha was appointed to the post of Rumelian *beylerbeyi*, and therefore resided in Filibe, at the end of the 1430s or in the very early 1440s, so his Tahtakale bath in the city should have been erected around that time, offering an important and valuable addition to the sultanic mosque. Although at first glance it may seem strange that a sultanic mosque was constructed without the benefit of a public bath in its approximate vicinity, the mosque in Filibe is not the only edifice commissioned by Murad II in this way. The large Hünkâr (Muradiye) mosque in Skopje, built by him around that time (1436–37), follows the same pattern.

The foundation of Şihabeddin also seemed to own the land of the part of the town known as “Tahtakale”, from which it collected annual rent.<sup>48</sup> This is the most probable location of the first Muslim neighborhood in Filibe and also the spot where the buildings commissioned by Lala Şahin once stood. Examining the early photographs of post-Ottoman Plovdiv one notices a mosque in this area, which was built right at the foot of the hills, i.e. exactly below the castle. Unsurprisingly, the mosque was known by the locals as Tahtakale mosque; and judging from its architectural features (as observed on the photos), it seems to have dated from the fifteenth century. Given that Şihabeddin inherited the post of Lala Şahin and that he managed to establish private possession over land in the area where the buildings of Lala Şahin used to be located, one can suggest that the Tahatakale mosque may actually have been a repaired, or rather rebuilt, version of Lala Şahin’s earlier *imaret/zaviye* which Şihabeddin built sometime in the mid-fifteenth century when he also commissioned several other buildings.

Local tradition also attributes to Şihabeddin the construction of two other important fifteenth-century public buildings in the commercial core of Filibe – a massive six-domed *bedesten* and a large two-storied caravanserai, built in front of the Muradiye.<sup>49</sup> Although this assumption seems likely, the available documentary evidence does not corroborate it. Be that as it may, imitating the development of the capitals Bursa and Edirne, these two commercial buildings gave a complete look to the central part of Filibe, providing the merchants with an infrastructure for trade, thus making the city, according to Ottoman understanding, an important provincial centre. Both buildings offered services throughout the Ottoman period and functioned until the first decades of the twentieth century, when in accordance with an unfortunate decision by the municipality they were knocked down in order to create space for the “modernization” of the city.

Even if Şihabeddin was not the actual patron of the main commercial buildings in Filibe, he spent considerable resources in providing some of its most important public buildings. His architectural patronage not only contributed to the development of Filibe’s commercial core, but also stretched its boundaries to the north, thus

48 BOA, MAD 749, ff. 122; 134; 273.

49 Hristo Peev, Golemiyat bezisten v Plovdiv, *Godišnik na narodniya arheologičeski muzej Plovdiv*, 1 (1948), 204–7.

allowing enough room for the further enlargement of the town. It is apparent that the efforts expended on this development aimed to encourage migration or, more accurately, coincided with the arrival of a sizable Muslim Turkish population in Filibe. The earliest population and taxation records at our disposal, dating from the 1470s and 1480s, show that by that time the Muslims already were in an overwhelming majority in the city. In 1472 there were 25 Muslim quarters (*mahalle*) compared to only four Christian ones, located on the hills, where the walled town used to be.<sup>50</sup> Five hundred and forty-nine Muslim households were recorded in the document, in contrast to only 122 Christian households. It is indeed a remarkable change for a place which less than 40 years earlier, according to de la Broquière, was “inhabited predominantly by Bulgarians who confessed the Greek faith”, i.e. Orthodox Christianity.<sup>51</sup> The next available register, dating from 1489, shows that the Muslims continued to expand at the cost of the shrinking Christian community.<sup>52</sup> There were 791 Muslim households and 107 bachelors, distributed in 26 quarters, as opposed to four Christian *maballes* in which were recorded 80 Christian households, five bachelors, and twelve widows, to whom can be added a small gypsy community consisting of 36 Muslim and Christian households.

Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Filibe continued to expand in the open plain, while its Muslim residents constantly maintained a sizable majority.<sup>53</sup> The growing Muslim population of Filibe must have quickly filled the gap between Muradiye and Şihabeddin’s complex to the north, forming a number of new neighbourhoods. Moreover, the city seems also to have stretched to the south of Muradiye and redirected the path of the old Roman road, which used to shift to the east immediately after crossing the Maritsa, thus passing to the north of the fortified hills. Most of the new Muslim quarters must have been gathered around small mosques (*mesids*), built by different individuals, which provided the community with a place of worship.

#### İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey’s architectural and infrastructural legacy in Filibe

In the 1460s Filibe received a second boost to its development thanks to the presence and sponsorship of another important figure in the city – the *emir* of Sinop and Kastamonu, İsfendiyaroğlu İsmail Bey, who was a brother-in-law of Mehmed the Conqueror.<sup>54</sup> He arrived in Filibe, probably in 1462, after he was deposed by

50 Sofia, Pd 17/27, ff. 1b–7a.

51 “...et est peuplée ceste dicte ville [Philippopolis] en grande partie de Vulgaires qui tiennent la loy greguesque”, Broquière, *Voyage d’Outremer*, p. 200.

52 BOA, TD 26, ff. 64–82.

53 Boykov, *Demographic features of Upper Thrace*, pp. 38–75.

54 İsmail Bey descended from the dynasty of the Candaroğulları, who ruled a principality in central north Anatolia and exercised control over cities on the trade routes such as Kastamonu and Taşköprü, but most notably the important Black Sea port of Sinop. On Candaroğulları see Yaşar Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri Hakkında Araştırmalar*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 1991<sup>2</sup>, vol. 1; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akköyünlü, Karaköyünlü devletleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 1937, pp. 121–47.

Mehmed II in 1461 and was offered property in Thrace in exchange for his peaceful surrender of Sinop.<sup>55</sup> İsmail Bey was a known patron of literature, art and architecture in his native Kastamonu, so it is hardly surprising that he commissioned and built several buildings in his new place of residence.<sup>56</sup> He is known to have built in Filibe the so-called İsmail Bey mosque (or Bey mosque), which was located on the main street (*uzun çarşı*) a few hundred metres north of Muradiye.<sup>57</sup> It was a small, single-domed mosque, which attracted settlers for a neighbourhood of the same name.<sup>58</sup> The mosque can be seen standing in fairly good condition on the panoramic photograph taken by Dimitris Kavra in 1878. It had a small cemetery yard, clearly visible on Kavra's photograph, where the body of the patron İsmail Bey was buried after his death in 1479.<sup>59</sup> It must have disappeared in the 1930s, because the mosque was badly damaged by the powerful earthquake of 1928 and never saw a restoration.

Certainly the mosque was supported by the revenues collected from the village of Markovo, where İsmail Bey's family mansion used to stand, which he donated to a pious foundation established in 1467.<sup>60</sup> It seems that a few years after its establishment the foundation was abrogated by Mehmed II and its properties confiscated and distributed to timariots. Later Bayezid II restored it and confirmed the right of İsmail Bey's descendents to manage the foundation on a hereditary basis.<sup>61</sup> Five years

55 İsmail Bey was initially offered Yarhisar and İnegöl, near Bursa, in fief, but later Mehmed assigned him the governorship of Filibe and gave him full proprietorship (*mülk*) of the nearby village of Markovo. On Mehmed II's campaign, which dethroned İsmail Bey, see Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*. New Jersey: Princeton UP 1978, pp. 191–2; Halil İnalcık, Mehmed the Conqueror (1432–1481) and His Time, *Speculum* 35:3 (1960), 422; Selâhattin Tansel, *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Siyasî ve Askerî Faaliyeti*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu 1953, pp. 253–9.

56 In 1440s and 1450s İsmail Bey built a complex in Kastamonu which included a T-shaped *imaret/zaaviye*, *medrese*, bath and a mausoleum for himself in which were laid his mother and other relatives. The endowment deed of this complex dates from 1457. Additionally he has built two *hans* in Kastamonu – the so called Deve Hanı and İsmail Bey Hanı. In several of the dedicatory inscriptions over his buildings in Kastamonu İsmail Bey used the title “sultan” or even “great sultan (*sultanü'l-mu'azzez*)” for himself, which gives a reasonably good idea of the magnitude and available financial resources of the person who governed Filibe in the 1460s and 1470s. See Yücel, *Anadolu Beylikleri*, pp. 173–7 for İsmail Bey's dedicatory inscriptions in Kastamonu.

57 The mosque was located at the corner of today's Rayko Daskalov and Kniyaz Bogoridi streets. Nikola Alvdžiev, *Plovdivska hronika*. Plovdiv: Hristo G. Danov 1971, p. 27.

58 Sofia, Pd 17/27, f. 6<sup>a</sup>. The *maballe* must have changed its name, because it disappears from later registers.

59 Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, p. 192.

60 There are two extant copies of this endowment deed drawn up on 2.1.872 A.H./3.8.1467 and its addition (*ze'iy*) from 1477 – one housed in Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi in Ankara (=VGMA), defter no. 630, s. 975, sıra no. 585, published in facsimile by Tayyib Gökbilgin. XV–XVI. *Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı. Vakaiflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, İstanbul: Üçler Basımevi 1952, pp. 269–71; and another copy, made in 1867, housed in Başbakanlık Arşivi E.VKF, dosya 1, gömlek 49.

61 Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, p. 328.



after İsmail Bey created his first foundation, he established a new one in 1472, this time endowing the mosque that he had built in the very village of Markovo.<sup>62</sup> The charter of this foundation is of particular importance because it clearly indicates that İsmail Bey not only restored the existing water-supply system of Filibe, but also arranged, in the stipulations of his endowment deed, that the surplus must be spent on the maintenance of the aqueduct. Thus, instead of cutting the water-supply line, a role attributed to him by a popular local legend, İsmail Bey had actually provided Filibe with fresh running water coming from a spring at the foot of the Rodope mountains near his domain, the village of Markovo.<sup>63</sup>

Apart from restoring the aqueduct, it is likely that İsmail Bey built several public fountains and a large *hamam*, located northeast of his mosque.<sup>64</sup> The double bath (locally known as *Çifte hamamı*) is the largest, and probably most beautiful, Ottoman public bath preserved in Bulgaria. It had a male and female section as nowadays only the former remains. This building testifies to the rapid expansion of the city to the northeast and to its growing Muslim population, only a few decades after Murad II and Şihabeddin Pasha laid the foundations of its Muslim part.

62 İsmail Bey's descendants added a bath to the mosque in Markovo which stood until the early twentieth century. This *vakfiye*, drawn up in March 1472, also exists in two later copies – VGMA, defter no. 628, s. 449, sıra no. 233, published in facsimile by Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Lîvâsı*, (271)–(277); and BOA, Ali Emiri, Fatih 57. Likewise it has an addition, dating from January 1478, which stipulates the conditions for additional resources which the *waqf* had to receive. The revenues came from two water mills and two rice mills which were built on the stream of Kırk Pınar, near the village of Kara Reis (to the east of Filibe). This village and the area around it, not far from İsmail Bey's domain, belonged to the *waqf* of Muradiye in Edirne (which also supported the mosque in Filibe) and was among the chief suppliers of rice for the needs of the *imaret*. It is rather surprising that İsmail Bey managed to place these four buildings, bringing revenues to his foundation, on territory held by another *waqf*. It is also an interesting coincidence that his nephew, Bayezid Çelebi, son of Mahmud Bey, became the administrator (*mütevelli*) of Muradiye's foundation in 1487–1488, i.e. five years after İsmail Bey had his buildings constructed on the territory of the *waqf* of Murad II. See Barkan, *Edirne ve Civarındaki*, 301.

63 A version of the local legend is published by Kosmas Mirtilos Apostolidis. *Prevzem-aneto na Plovdiv ot turtsite*, *Plovdivski obshtinski vestnik*, 22 (18.XI.1929), 3–5 and Vasil K. Peev, *Grad Plovdiv, minalo i nastoyashte. Chast I – Plovdiv v minaloto*. Plovdiv: Plovdivsko arheologičesko družestvo 1941, 95–6. For additional information on the *waqf* of İsmail Bey, see Damyan Borisov, *Vakıfskata institutsiya v Rodopite prez XV–XVII vek*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Plovdiv University “Paisiy Hilendarski”, 2008, pp. 183–8; Hasan Telli, *Osmanlı Döneminde Bazı Filibe Vakıfları*, Unpublished MA Thesis, Ankara University 2002, pp. 104–17.

64 Machiel Kiel, Filibe. In: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 13, pp. 79–82. Kiel also attributes to İsmail Bey the construction of two more small mosques (*mesciids*) and a mausoleum in Filibe.

Identifiable Ottoman monuments from the fifteenth century  
that are no longer extant

There were two more mosques dating from the fifteenth century which marked the city's extension to the south of Muradiye. The available documents contain no particular information about their patrons, but the names of the mosques and their exact locations can be identified thanks to the first city plans of post-Ottoman Plovdiv and the old photographs. On the main street, only a few hundred metres to the south of Muradiye, was the mosque of a certain Hacı Abdullah. A massive single-domed mosque, as it appears on the photos, it was among the first victims of Plovdiv's "modernization" and was pulled down by the municipality in the late 1870s in an attempt to straighten and widen the main street. Further to the south stood the so-called Alaca mosque, which survived in a later reconstruction until the early twentieth century, when it was levelled due to the construction of the new municipality building and the square in front of it. The Muslim neighbourhoods also soon spread to the east of the Christian hills, where at the turn of the fifteenth century a certain Hacı Hasan, most likely the *kadıasker* of Rumili Hacı Hasanzade Mustafa, commissioned and built a small mosque and a *hamam*, thus marking the eastern edge of the city.<sup>65</sup> The mosque and the bath stood in the old gypsy neighbourhood of Plovdiv until the 1970s, when they were demolished.

### Conclusion

The development of Filibe is one of many examples pointing to an existing model of carefully planned urban growth in the Ottoman domain. When comparing Filibe's planning to that of the first Ottoman capitals, Bursa and Edirne, one can see a common pattern repeated on a smaller scale. The T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* became the key mechanisms used by sultans in order to encourage the growth of a given urban settlement. This was not restricted to members of the ruling dynasty only, but also included the *ucbeyis*, who attracted the periphery forces of the time, adopted the style of the first sultans and employed it in the cities under their control. Moreover, the dichotomy by which a city was perceived as an entity in which, on the one hand, there was a central part with a communal mosque and surrounding commercial buildings and, on the other, a complex of a multifunctional T-shaped building in the suburbs, furnished the very basis of the concept for establishing new Ottoman towns. In the course of time most of the T-shaped *imaret/zaviyes* were integrated into the central parts of the growing Ottoman cities, while the changing conditions in the Empire, leading to a gradual "Sunnification", were reflected in dramatic change in which the buildings in question lost their original functions and were converted to communal mosques.

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<sup>65</sup> The patron of this building is identified by Machiel Kiel in an unpublished work on Ottoman monuments in Bulgaria.

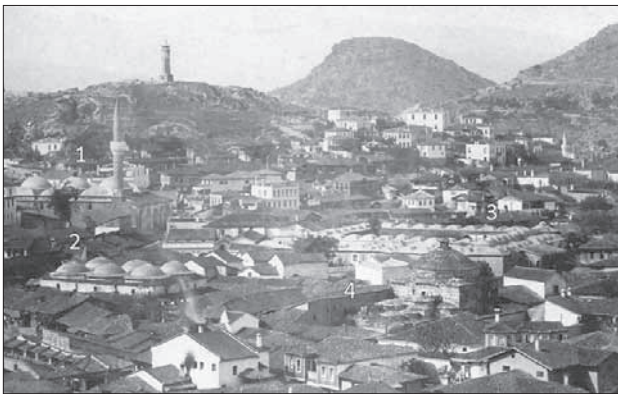


Fig. 1. The commercial core of Filibe: 1. Muradiye mosque; 2. Bedesten; 3. Caravanserai; Tahtakale bath (ptoto: Dimitris Kavra, 1880).  
State Archive Plovdiv.



Fig. 2. The complex of Şihabedin Pasha by the river Maritsa: 1.T-shaped *imaret/ zaviye*; 2. *Medrese*; 3. Hünkâr bath; 4. Panayır han; 5. Mausoleum (*türbe*); 6. Kitchens (*aşevi*). (ptoto: Dimitris Kavra, 1880). State Archive Plovdiv.

# Power and Influence in South-Eastern Europe

16<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> century

edited by

Maria Baramova, Plamen Mitev,  
Ivan Parvev and Vania Racheva

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