

# OBSERVATIONS ON THE HISTORY OF NORTHERN GREECE DURING THE TURKISH RULE

## HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKISH MONUMENTS OF KOMOTINI AND SERRES, THEIR PLACE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OTTOMAN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE, AND THEIR PRESENT CONDITION \*

The rich cultural history of the later middle ages and of the modern times of many cities of present-day Northern Greece, and the often imposing architectural monuments of this period, which survived the wars and destructions of our century, still remain for the greater part unknown and unstudied. This period, coinciding almost entirely with that of the Turkish rule of the Balkans, certainly deserves more attention. The area bordered by the snowy peaks of the Rhodope Mountains and the blue waters of the Aegean Sea constituted the oldest part of Turkish Europe, which remained in their hands without interruption since the days of its conquest in the third quarter of the 14th century, right up to 1912.

Maybe because of the fertility of its soil and its strategic importance as a place through which the Via Egnatia ran, special attention was given to this territory in the days when the Ottoman Empire was at its zenith. The history, as well as the preserved monuments of this period, clearly testify to this. Dydimotichon, the first Turkish residence on European soil, kept the Ottoman state treasury between its double circuit of walls.<sup>1</sup> A building which still reminds us of the time when it was an imperial residence, is the magnificent mosque on the central square of that place, built in 1420 at the order of Sultan Mehmed Celebi by the architect of the famous Green Mosque of the Anatolian Bursa,

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\* This article is the fruit of five journeys in northern Macedonia in the years 1966, 1967, 1969, 1970 and 1971. The three last ones were made possible by bursaries of the Netherlands Organisation for Pure Scientific Research, Z.W.O. and gifts from the Prince Bernhard Fund, Amsterdam for which I sincerely thank them.

1. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New edition, vol. II Leiden 1965, pp. 291-292, under "Dydimotoka."

Hadji Ivas, Pasha of Tokat.<sup>2</sup> Komotini was made into a great trading and craftsman centre, and the oldest Turkish monument preserved in Europe, the Ghazi Evrenos Imaret, is still to be seen there. The works of the Grand Vezir of Sultan Süleiman the Magnificent, Ibrahim Pasha (son of a Greek fisherman of Parga), enabled Kavalla to grow within a few years from a settlement of a few hundred inhabitants into a respectable town.<sup>3</sup> Serres was the residence of Ottoman Princesses and has produced a large number of poets and writers whose works enriched the immense treasurehouse of classical Ottoman poetry.<sup>4</sup>

The same can be said about the old Yenice Vardar – Yiannitsa – the town which under the protection of the powerful Emirs of the family of Evrenosoğlu produced so many writers and thinkers of renown and in which the remains of one of the most original works of Ottoman architecture are still to be seen.<sup>5</sup>

A description of the architectural wealth of Northern Greece in the field of Ottoman Turkish monuments would at least fill a monography. In the present paper a description can be given only of those works which are in imme-

2. A short study of this mosque exists in Turkish by Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, "Dimetoka 'da Çelebi Sultan Mehmed Cami'i," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi III*, Ankara 1956, pp. 13-16. The mosque is still in good condition but needs a better function, it being used at present as a store for grains. Dydimotichon was also a centre of Islamic learning. At least 3 colleges (medresses) are known to have existed there, the Oruç Pasha medresse, the Karagöz Pasha medresse and the Abdülvâsi medresse.

3. Paul Lemerle, *Philippe et la Macédoine orientale*, Paris 1945, p. 191. Pierre Belon du Mans, *Les observations des Plusieures Singularités et Choses*, etc. Paris 1588. Mentions the construction of the aquaduct, mosque, caravanseray, etc. and points out the rapid expansion of the town after water was conveyed to it (pp. 131-133). The size of the town before the aquaduct was built can be seen from the map in the study of Prof. Ö.L. Barkan, "Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman," in: *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Économiques de l'Université de Istanbul*, No 11, 1956. A hundred Christian families are indicated for the period of the first decades of the 16th century. Along with them lived 50 Moslem families.

4. The best work on this subject still remains E.J.W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1903 (5 vols.). This is not so much because it gives a complete history of the subject, but more particularly because of the sublime manner in which the writer initiates the reader into the spirit of Turkish literary life and the religious currents which influenced it. See also Alessio Bombaci, *Storia della Letteratura Turca*. The long list of writers and poets who were born or who lived in Serres, and the life and works of the great Sheih Bedreddin Mahmud, philosopher and revolutionary of the early 15th century, who died in Serres, must unfortunately be left out of discussion. They prove that this city was more than a trading and military centre, it having been one of the ten largest cities of Turkish Europe.

5. The author of these pages has prepared a special study on the literary life and the main architectural works of this city, which is now at the press.

diate danger of destruction and disappearance or which, for reasons of their great importance to the history of art, call for special attention. These are the mosques and other buildings in the cities of Komotini and Serres.

## KOMOTINI.

Komotini, in Turkish Gümülcine, is the largest and most important city of that part of Thrace which, as result of the wars and subsequent treaties of the first quarter of our century, became united to Greece. It does not belong to the oldest settlements in these areas. According to the researches of the much-regretted Stilpon Kyriakides<sup>6</sup> it was first mentioned in the first half of the 14th century as a *polisma*, or small fortified settlement. Its foundation goes back to an early byzantine fortress which was built by the Emperor Theodosios (379-395) to protect the road-junction of the Via Egnatia and the pass-road across the Rhodope to the Arda valley and Philippopolis (Plovdiv). When the Bulgarian Czar Kaloyan, during his campaign of 1207, destroyed the ancient city of Mosynopolis, the remaining inhabitants fled within the walls of this small but preserved fortress, thus forming the nucleus of the later city. During the civil wars and troubles of the 14th century the town was mentioned several times. From the fact that it was not a residence of a bishop, Kyriakides concluded that at that time it was still a very small settlement.

The conquest of Komotini by the Turks, which must have taken place in 1361 or 1362,<sup>7</sup> is closely related to the name of Ghazi Evrenos, the famous captain of the Early Ottoman period, who during his long life carried the banner of Islam deep into the Balkan Peninsula. He is mentioned as one of the commanders of the reinforcements sent by Orhan to support Cantacuzinos against John V Paleologos and took active part in all the great events of that stormy period.<sup>8</sup> Komotini became one of the centres of his extensive feudal possessions and the first establishments of Turkish cultural life go back to his activities in this field.

The Turkish victory near Cirmen in 1371 eliminated the power of the Serbs, who had held the Balkans under their sway during the previous decades.

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6. See the summary by G.I. Theocharides of the three lectures on "The history of the Thracians and the cities of Komotini and Xanthi" as given by Kyriakides, in: *Balkan Studies*, vol 2, Thessaloniki 1961, pp. 323-329. Kyriakides mentions an ancient inscription in brick on the walls of the castle, which has now disappeared.

7. See Kyriakides and *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, under "Ewrenos Bey."

8. For a survey of his deeds and a reliable frame of dates, see: *Encyclop. of Islam*, Ewrenos Bey, pp. 720-721.

At about the same time Kavalla was conquered and the Turkish positions in Thrace were secured. After the fall of Serres in 1383<sup>9</sup> the greater part of Macedonia also fell into Turkish hands. In the great plains of Thrace and Eastern Macedonia, which, as result of the terrible civil wars, Serbian invasion and plague, remained to a large extent without hands to till its fertile soil, the conquerors settled large masses of the surplus population of Asia Minor. In the cities the Greek element survived all trouble, whilst of all Thrace only the eastern shore of the Black Sea retained its original Greek rural population, a population which survived there right into our age but which was forced to leave its ancestral lands as a result of the Treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne.

The result of this large-scale repopulation can be seen on the surveyable map of Prof. Barkan<sup>10</sup> for the period around the beginning of the 16th century. According to that map, drawn up on the solid base of the Turkish census registers, the total population of the area between the rivers Maritsa, Arda, Nessos and the Aegean Sea with the towns of Pherrai, Dydimotichon and Komotini, counted 15,250 families. 12,500 families are registered as Moslems and only 2,750 as Christians. This makes 82% Moslems and 18% Christians. If we compare these numbers with those given by Andreadis<sup>11</sup> for the beginning of our century at once it becomes clear that no great changes have taken place in that area since the colonization of Thrace by the Turks. In the 15th and the greater part of the 16th century Komotini remained a small place. On Barkan's map it has about 250 Moslem families and 50 Christian families. The French traveller Pierre Belon<sup>12</sup> called it "petite bourgade Commercine" with the ruins of a small "castellet" in which there was a Greek church.

The period of expansion and growth must have begun somewhat later in the 16th century and especially in the 17th century. The most valuable information about the city is the long description of it in the great Seyahat Name, or Travel Book, of the Turkish globe-trotter and geographer Evliya Celebi. That part contains, besides a great deal of nonsense and exaggeration, an "enor-

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9. See for this: G. Ostrogorski, "La prise de Serres par les Turcs," in: *Byzantion XXXV* (1965), pp. 302-219.

10. See note 3 (Barkan, "Les deportations," etc.).

11. K.G. Andreadis, *The Moslem Minority in Western Thrace*, Thessaloniki 1956, p. 9. Gives the situation in 1951. The official minutes of the Lausanne Conference (First Series, Vol. I, pp. 30-33 and 49) give the number of the total population of Western Thrace for the years 1922-1923 as 161,199. 129,120 were Moslems and 33,910 Greeks, the remainder being Jews, Armenians and Bulgarians.

12. See note 3 (Pierre Belon, *Observations*, p. 136.)

mous amount of reliable information which is found nowhere else.<sup>13</sup> In his time, the second half of the 17th century, Komotini had grown into a large city of 4,000 houses of several storeys with gardens. The castle was in bad condition, it had no guns and there was no arsenal, because it was an inland fortress of no strategic importance. Within the castle walls there lived mainly Jews. There were also many gypsies, who lived as blacksmiths, musicians or as street-robbers. In his time there were 16 mosques in the city, which corresponds with the number of 16 town quarters which he mentions. He especially mentions the mosques of Eski Cami (Old Mosque) from the year H. 1017 = 1607 - 1608, the Yeni Cami with very remarkable furniture and calligraphy, the Mosques of Hadji Bitlisli, Culha and the Tekke Cami and Ghazi Evrenos Cami. For education and spiritual life there were five Dar ul Hadis, or schools in which the Islamic Tradition, the source of Sheriat Law, was taught, seven primary schools (Mekteb) which were covered with lead, and several Tekkes or Dervish Convents, that of Ghazi Evrenos being the most beautiful. In addition there were two Imares or houses where the poor could eat free of charge, one of which was built by Ghazi Evrenos, and two hamams, or public hot-baths. These were foundations of Evrenos and of the founder of the Yeni Cami, Ahmad. In the city there were 17 hans (karavanseray) for traders and 400 shops. The weekly market was held in the plain outside the city. Evliya especially notes that the population of this place was handsome and friendly.

In later times the city continued to flourish, because of the trade between the Aegean region and the rich plains of the upper Maritsa lowlands around Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and Tatar Bazarçik. This very old trade route, which is now unfortunately blocked, is still lined with beautiful mountain settlements

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13. The part concerning Athens and Attika was translated by K. Bires, *Ta Attika tou Evlia Tselebi*, Athina 1959. A translation of the districts around Thessaloniki has been made by Nicephoros Moschopoulos, "L'itinéraire d'Evliya Tschelebi," in: *Epetiris Etaireias Byzantinon Spoudon* XIV Athens 1938. The translator, who evidently had only a superficial knowledge of the methods of Evliya, concluded that he was an unreliable source. The parts concerning Thrace as a unit, disregarding the present frontiers, has been translated in a careful and systematic manner by H.J. Kissling, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens im 17e Jahrh." in: *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XXXII*, Wiesbaden 1957. I. Spatharis, "Hi Dytiki Thraki kata ton Evlia Tselebi, periigitin tou XVII aionos," (Western Thrace according to Evlia Tselebi, Traveller of the XVIIth century) *Thrakika* vol. 4 (1933) pp. 113-128, and vol. 5 (1934) pp. 179-217. For the isle of Crete see: Paul Hidioglou. *Das religiöse Leben auf Kreta nach Ewlija Celebi*, Leiden 1969. The parts concerning Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Jugoslavia and Rumania have been translated several times, recently and even half a century ago.

full of palace-like houses of the former wealthy merchants. This is especially the case on the Bulgarian side of the present-day frontier, where complete old settlements like Raikovo, Smoljan or Stoikite are preserved in their entirety and are placed under the care of the Department of Historical Monuments.

In present-day Komotini, which, as a result of the Lausanne Treaty, retained its Turkish population, more than 20 mosques are preserved; most of them still serving as house of prayer. Only three of them have real architectural value. These are the Eski Cami, the Yeni Cami and the Imaret of Evrenos Bey. Besides this, the huge Saat Kule, or Clock Tower, which still forms the centre of the picturesque old Bazaar, is a monument of architecture. It was a present to the city by Sultan Abdul Hamid II (one of his very rare good deeds) of the year 1884, as is stated in the inscription on its walls. In Latin transliteration and translation it reads as follows:<sup>14</sup> (Turkish, verse)

- (1) Sheh-in-shāh-i kerem-ver hazret-i ‘Abd-ül-Hamid Khāniñ  
‘Uluvv-i himmeti maşrūfdur dā’im meberrāte
- (2) Bu bālā qulle-yi yaptırdı sâ’at . . .(?) ve vaz’ etdi  
Qawiyan ihtiyāji vardi shehriñ böyle miqāte
- (3) Buni emr-etdi ‘Abd-ül-Qādir Kemāli Pashaya kim ya’nī  
Livāda hasan ijrā-yi hükümet eyleyan zāte
- (4) Sadā verdi bu sâ’at lutf-i sultāniden āfāqa  
Olur elbett delil āsār-i khayriye kemālāte
- (5) Bu tārīkh-i selim tāmmdir sâ’at gibi ‘irfān(?)  
Bu sâ’atden vatan ehli hep agāh oldi avqāte. 1302

- (1) The munificent shah of shahs, his Excellency ‘Abd-ül-Hamid Khān  
Spends many efforts on creating permanent public works.
- (2) This high tower he ordered to make, and he ....(?) and placed a clock;  
The town was in serious need of such a time- indicator.
- (3) Order for this he gave to ‘Abd-ül-Qādir Kemāli Pasha,  
The one who exercises a good rule in the *sanjak*.
- (4) This clock sounds, thanks to the goodness of the sultan, as far as the  
horizons;  
The creation of pious monuments is certainly a token of virtues.
- (5) This perfect chronogram is complete, .....(?):

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14. This and other translations of inscriptions I obtained through the kind help of Drs. F. Th. Dijkema of Leyden, for which I sincerely thank him. The photographs of them were taken by the author in the summer of 1970.

Through this clock the people of the land are wholly aware of the time.

1302

(21 october 1884 - 10 october 1885)

Of the Eski Cami, in the very centre of the city, not much can be said. It is a relatively small single-cell mosque of low and simple proportions and is covered by a dome which rests on a circular drum. The dome is tiled and the entire wall surface is covered by a thick layer of plaster. According to a notice in the official Ottoman Yearbook of the Vilayet of Edirne (Adrianople) of the year 1892/93 <sup>14a</sup> this mosque had been a church before the Turkish conquest. According to Evliya Celebi <sup>14b</sup> the Eski Cami was built in 1608/09. This would mean that the ancient church was demolished and the present building erected on its place. The name of the person who was responsible for this action is not recorded. The Salname further reports that the mosque was repaired in H. 1270 = 1853/54. This repair must have been responsible for the present appearance of the building, which was enlarged to such proportions that the part of 1608 became only its sanctuary. The slender minaret with the unusual twin balconies was also added at that time. These two balconies might indicate that the work on the mosque was carried out on order or at the expense of the reigning sultan (Abdülmeçid I, 1839-1861) as such minarets were an imperial prerogative. This is, however, only a supposition.

Of much greater importance is the Yeni Cami or New Mosque. It was likewise enlarged in the last century to hold the growing masses of True Believers of the quickly expanding city. It is only due to the sense of piety for things of the old time that both mosques were not demolished and rebuilt on a larger scale. The Yeni Cami was only enlarged in the northern and western directions, leaving free the two other sides. The old building, which is remarkably well preserved, is a small but richly adorned single-cell mosque of the size of a small city mosque. Its square prayer-hall measures 11,40 by 11,40 m. The minaret is on the western front side, as is usual. In order to obtain a larger and more impressive front, this part was widened by means of massive wings, one of which covers the minaret on the front side. In this way a gallery could be built in front of the prayer-hall which consisted of five domed squares, supported by six marble columns, instead of three domes on four columns. It is a solution often found in Ottoman architecture, which always aimed at the greatest possible monumentality of the exterior of a mosque. In the present form of the gallery,

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14a. Salname-i-Edirne, No 19 of the year 1310 H. = 1892/93, p. 417.

14b. Evliya by Kissling, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis Thrakiens* (see note 13) p. 90.

which after the enlargement of the last century served as part of the prayer-hall, the original form can be found without difficulty. In the interior of the old domed mosque the rich furniture and adornment of which Evliya Celebi spoke, remains almost untouched. In this little mosque we find examples of oriental decorative art which are unrivalled, even in the old Ottoman capitals and the cities of Asia Minor. These are the beautiful multi-coloured marble mihrab (prayer-niche indicating the direction of Mecca) and minbar (pulpit), and the women's gallery, the calligraphic inscriptions and the two fields of multi-coloured floral tiles of the decoration on both sides of the mihrab. They belong to the best work of the great tile production of the famous Iznik workshops, dating from the eighties or early nineties of the 16th century, when the Turkish ceramic industry was at the summit of its unsurpassable beauty. The tiles of the Yeni Cami of Komotini are the only example of a well preserved Turkish tile decoration outside present-day Turkey (those of the Selimiye Cami at Rogotica, Bosnia, and the Recep Pasha Cami in Rodos have been removed to museums) and certainly deserve to be known to a wider circle of people. The Yeni Cami of Komotini has more to offer than the above-mentioned objects. It is the ceiling of the women's gallery which constitutes the most priceless work of applied art of the Orient. The three compartments, or tavans, of this gallery are made of the most beautiful inlaid work of precious kinds of wood in geometrical patterns. This adornment is combined with ornamental painting on silk, which is stuck on wood and shows subtile geometrical and floral designs. These three little tavans are the last remaining examples of Classical Ottoman decorative art outside Turkey, which are unspoilt and almost untouched.<sup>15</sup> Altogether this small interior still gives an impression of the richness and refinement of an old Turkish interior, which is preserved hardly anywhere else in the Balkans.

Within the walls of the complex of buildings, which besides the mosque contains a domed and lead-covered library, study rooms, living-quarters, a graveyard, a fountain and a türbe (mausoleum), all grouped around an intimate courtyard, three inscriptions have been preserved. The oldest is that above the original entrance of the mosque. It contains the Islamic credo and is without historical interest. Of much later period is that on the humble, wood-covered türbe next to the Saat Kule which contains the grave of Fatma Hanim, wife of

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15. The technique in which they are adorned is called Edirne Kari Laka. As rare examples in Turkey may be cited those in the Sokollo Mehmed Mosque (1571) and the Rüstem Pasha Mosque, both in Istanbul. In the latter they are unfortunately covered by a layer of inferior work. I obtained this information from Mrs. Mualla Eyuboglu for which I sincerely thank her.

the Vezir Hasan Pasha, who was a native of the North Bulgarian city of Rouse (Turkish Roushouk) and died in Komotini where she was buried. The inscription is written in Turkish prose and reads as follows:

- (1) Fi l-asl Ruschuq sākinelerinden olub vezir-i
- (2) mūkerrem-i sherif Hasan Pasha hazretleriniñ taht-i
- (3) nikahinda iken bi-taqdir Allāh ta'ālā dar-i beqāya
- (4) rihlet eden merhume ve meghfure Fātma Khānim
- (5) rūh-ichün el-Fātiha. Sene 1195, yevm-i Sabat.

“Recite the Fatiha for the soul of Fatma Khanim, originally a resident of Ruschuq, married to the honorable Vezir, his Excellency Hasan Pasha, by order of God — may he be exalted — having moved to the Eternal Abode, may God have mercy with her and forgive her her sins. The year 1195, on Saturday (= A.D. 1781).”

Her husband was the Grand Vezir of the Ottoman Empire Roushouklu Serif Hasan Pasha who died in H. 1205 = 1790 and was buried in the courtyard of the Eski Cami of Shoumen in Northern Bulgaria, not far from Rouse. His finely adorned-grave stone still remains preserved on its original place.

The third inscription of Komotini mentions the building of a fountain in the yard of the mosque by a certain Hadji Mehmed in the year 1226 H. It is written in Turkish poetry:

- (1) Yeñi jāmī'de zehi cheshme-i nev-i bünyādiñ  
Oldi jereyāni ile zümre-i 'atshān irvā'
- (2) Yapdirub kân-i kerem Hājjī Mehmed qildi  
Ani ikhlās ile ruh-i Hasaneye ihdā'
- (3) Teshnegāne oqi nutqi dedi tārih-i tamām  
Hasaneyn 'ashqina bu cheshme-i nevden ich mā'

Sene 1226.

- (1) Through the streaming of this newly built cheshme in the New Mosque the thirsty are refreshed.
- (2) The mine of munificence Hājjī Mehmed had it made and he dedicated it with sincerity to the souls of the two Hasans (= Hasan and Hüseyin)
- (3) To the thirsty .....(?) spoke a perfect chronogram: Out of love for the two Hasans, drink water from this new cheshme. The year 1226 (between 26 January 1811 and 15 January 1812).

The year in which the mosque was built and the name of its founder are

difficult to establish. There is no founder's inscription and the otherwise detailed Evliya Celebi deserts us here. He only stated that the name of the founder was Ahmad and that, on a fountain next to the mosque the date of H. 1040 (1630/31) was written. This fountain does no longer exist. As the tiles in the mosque are from the period between 1580-1590 we now have a terminus post and ante quem. A further indication is given by the Salname, which states that the founder of the mosque was a certain Defterdar Ahmad. According to the Salname the date in which the mosque was built was unknown.<sup>15a</sup>

A man who could built at his own expence such a costly decorated mosque and who also founded, as we saw, a hamam and a imaret for the poor, could only be a member of the imperial government, a Pasha. An Ahmad Pasha who was Defterdar and possessed the wealth for construction on large scale in the period between our dates was Ekmekcioglu Ahmad Pasha, Defterdar or "Minister of Finances" of sultan Ahmad I and Osman II in the first decades of the 17th century. Precisely this fabulous rich man was very active in founding mosques and institutions for public welfare in all parts of Central and Western Thrace, the area in which Komotini is situated. From various sources his activities in this field can be traced.

The still existing Ekmekcioglu Han in Adrianople (Edirne) was according to its inscription built by him in H. 1018 = 1609. So was the bridge over the Tunca river in the same city, built in H. 1016 = 1607/08 (inscription) and the Havlucular Han, of which only a row of shops and a costly decorated fountain (sebil) with two inscriptions are preserved, built in 1010 = 1601/02. A medresse built by Ekmekcioglu Ahmad is preserved in Istanbul in the quarter of the city between the mosques of Beyazid and Sehzade. Besides this still existing buildings we find several others mentioned in the literature. The historian of the Ottoman Empire Joseph von Hammer wrote<sup>16</sup> that Ekmekcioglu Ahmad died in the first year of the reign of sultan Osman II, in 1618. Shortly before his death he had spend 6,000,000 silver pieces to have the important fortress of Oczakov on the frontier with Russia rebuilt and to found on the peninsulæ opposite it the new fortress of Kilburun. In addition to the above von Hammer mentioned the medresse in Istanbul and a han in Eregli on the Sea of Marmara. This building had disappeared without leaving traces, as we could observe during our visit to that place in 1971. The 17th century Turkish historian Naima also gives a list of buildings without mentioning Komotini or bringing new

15a. Salname-i-Edirne, No 19, p. 418.

16. J. Von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pesth 1827-18 35, in the part concerning the reign of Osman II, Band IV, p. 510.

materials. He finishes his list with the words "... besides several other buildings for benevolent purpose."<sup>16a</sup> Some of these "several other buildings" are mentioned by Evliya Celebi in his description of the cities of Thrace.<sup>16b</sup> A large Derwish Tekke and türbe for Nefes Baba on a hill near Ferae,<sup>16c</sup> five small hans in Kinekli on the road between Tekirdag and Silivri, on the Sea of Marmara, and a large han and a hamam in Ferae. Of these buildings only the hamam in Ferae remains standing, be it in ruinous state. The last buildings of Ahmad Pasha in Thrace, as mentioned by Evliya are a fine lead-covered mosque with a gallery with marble columns in front of it, a medresse (college) a mekteb (primary school) and a large caravanseray, all in the little town of Yenice Karasu, south-east of Xanthi and only 35 km from Komotini. According to Evliya the caravanseray was built in H. 1020 = 1611/12.<sup>16d</sup> Other works of Ekmekcioglu are to be found in the literature. He added an imaret, two schools, 40 derwish cells, a fountain and a minaret to the "head monastery" of the Halvetiye derwishes at Koca Mustafa in Istanbul.<sup>16e</sup> Another Derwish Tekke, built for Murteza Celebi at Sazli Dere near Edirne is mentioned by Gökbilgin.<sup>16f</sup> Most of the buildings in Istanbul still remain to be seen whereas the Tekke of Sazli Dere has disappeared completely, as we could see during our visit of this place in 1971. Older villagers still remembered the place were it once stood.

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16a. Naima, *Annals of the Turkish Empire, 1591-1659*, translated by Charles Fraser, London, Royal Asiatic Translation Fund - 1832-1836 p. 464.

16b. By Kissling, Beiträge (note 13).

16c. That Ekmekcioglu was the founder of the Nefes Baba Tekke is also mentioned by Abdurrahman Hibri Efendi of Edirne, who visited this place in 1628. (See: "Tayyib Gökbilgin, Edirne hakkında yazılmış tarihler," p. 100, in: *Edirne'nin 600 Fethi Yıldönümü Armağan Kitabı*, Ankara 1965. Hibri was a historian of renown, he was kadi of Serres for some years and was buried there in the now destroyed graveyard of Hisarardi, "Behind the castle.")

16d. While visiting this place, now called Genisea in 1971 I found that all the buildings had disappeared. The inscription of the han, a beautifully calligraphed work, remains preserved in the mosque of Mustafa Pasha in Yenice. Its date is indeed 1020 H. 1611/12. So Evliya was correct. Both the mosque and the inscription shall be published on another occasion.

16e. See: H.J. Kissling, "Aus der Geschichte der Chalwetijje Ordens," in: *Zeitschr. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, 1953, pp. 233-289.

16f. See: Gökbilgin, *Edirne hakkında* (see note 16c) p. 101. Characteristic for all the works of Ekmekcioglu Ahmad is the high quality of them. It seems that the founder always took the best artists and craftsmen of his time in his service, being it poets, calligraphers, painters, stone carvers or else. This is one more argument to attribute the mosque of Komotini to this man for hardly anyone else could pay or obtain such a costly tile decoration as that of Komotini. For the information on Edirne I am highly indebted to Drs. F. Th. Dijkema, who prepares a monograph on the interesting epigraphy of Edirne, which is scheduled to appear in 1972.

All these buildings, as listed in the above, were built in Thrace between 1600 and 1618 by Ahmad Pasha. They surround Komotini on every side. It is therefore almost certain that we have to attribute the remarkable mosque of Komotini to this man. It must have been constructed between the above-mentioned years, together with the other works, as part and parcel of the activities of this generous man to spread the culture of Islam along the old Via Egnatia.

The last building in Komotini we would like to discuss here is the Imaret of Ghazi Evrenos. It is situated in the very centre of the city between blocks of shops, very near the Eski Cami. The name of the founder of this building immediately brings us back to the earliest period of Turkish rule in the Balkans and tells us that we are here confronted with one of the oldest existing Turkish monuments in Europe! It must have been built shortly after Komotini became Turkish or rather after the battle of Cirmen had consolidated their positions. It is known that almost immediately after Serres had become Turkish, the leader of the conquest,<sup>17</sup> Grand Vezir Halil Candarli, had a mosque built there. Serres capitulated after a long siege<sup>17</sup> and saved itself thereby from plunder and confiscation of churches. What exactly happened during the conquest of Komotini I do not know, but judging by the fact that Belon,<sup>18</sup> nearly a hundred and fifty years after the conquest, still found many Greeks living within the castle who were still in possession of a church, and taking notice of the fact that all Turkish buildings are outside the old walled city, as the Turkish settlement grew mainly on the east side of it, we may well conclude that the conquest did not alter basically the existing conditions. We saw that at least one church was transformed into a mosque, the Eski Cami, the oldest of the city. Other buildings for the Islamic way of life had to be built by the conquerors themselves. Komotini was seat of the Udj (march) of Ghazi Evrenos from 1362 till 1383, when the seat was transferred to Serres<sup>18a</sup> and to Yenice Vardar shortly after-

17. See note 9 (Ostrogorski).

18. See note 3 (Belon, Observations).

18a. *Chronicle of Ashikpashazade*, translated by R. Kreutel, "Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte," Graz 1959, p. 92, "Evrenos had made Gümülcine his march and had settled there." J. von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches I*, Pest 1827, pp. 166-167, when writing about the conquest of Komotini mentions that Ghazi Evrenos was not only a conqueror but left his name as founder of richly bestowed kitchens for the poor (imaret) and karavanserais in this and other places.

There is no doubt that he and not one of his sons was the founder. This is handed down in the local tradition as preserved among the Turkish inhabitants of the city. The same tradition was written down by 17th century Turkish geographers and travelers as Hadschi Chalfa (Katib Çelebi) and Evliya Çelebi.

wards, which place was destined to become the family seat of the Evrenos clan for the centuries to come. It is known that in Serres at least three buildings for the Islamic religion were erected within the first five years after the Turkish conquest of that place (see further on in this article). It would appear the most logic that Evrenos erected a building so important as an imaret in his residence not too long after the conquest of the city and after the Turkish positions in Thrace were sure. That would mean about 1375-1385, but not much later. The building which survived, the Imaret, had more than one function. It was a refuge and meeting place for the members of the Islamic brotherhoods who formed the backbone of the Islamic society in newly conquered territories, it served as mosque and as kitchen where food was distributed to the poor of all creeds. Unfortunately it does not serve its ancient purpose today and is not even an ordinary mosque. For many years it has served as electric power station of the city and for that purpose it was enlarged by addition of ugly-looking machinery halls. A short time ago it was put out of action. It is recognised as a historical monument now and is protected by law.

The building is a typical example of an Ottoman building of the earliest period. It can be grouped in the category of early T-plan mosques<sup>19</sup> but is of a plan and set-up of which there are no other examples. The building, which is neglected but nevertheless in a good state of preservation, consists of three different units. The main central room is 10.74m. long and 7.44m. wide and is covered by a dome and a barrel vault over the remaining part, which is slightly narrower and doubtless served as sanctuary or prayer-room proper. On both sides of the central hall there are square, domed rooms of smaller dimensions which are connected to the main body by gates. These side-rooms, which are the main feature of the T-plan, are slightly lower than the dome over the central section. On the street side the barrel vault is finished with a tympanon gable. The intersection between the domes and the square rooms is obtained by means

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19. Regarding this interesting group of buildings there exists a varied literature. See, for example, Semavi Eyice, "La Zaviye et la mosquée à Zaviye," (Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli-Camiler) in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 21, Istanbul 1961, pp. 1-79. Aptullah Kuran, "Basic space and form concept in early Ottoman mosque architecture," in: *Atti del secondo Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca*, Venezia 1963, pp. 181-187. Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in Early Ottoman architecture*, Chicago 1968. Robert Anhegger, "Zur Frage der T-Planmoscheen," in: *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, Band 17, 1967, Tübingen 1969, pp. 324-330, and further literature given in these works.

For the developments of Early Ottoman mosque architecture in general, see: Aptullah Kuran, "İlk devir osmanlı mimarisinde cami," *Mimarlık Fakültesi Yayın I*, Ankara 1964, and Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* etc.

of a kind of pendentives, formed from the so-called Turkish triangles. This way of intersection is characteristic of Turkish architecture as a whole and is not found outside it. The front of the building measures 24.20 m. That is wide enough for a gallery of five domed units, as these galleries vary normally between 23 and 30 m. in width. Every trace of it disappeared when the Imaret was made into power station. The gallery on the groundplan is a hypothetic reconstruction. Several workmen still remembered one or more domes in front of the remainder of the Imaret, but were not sure about their shape. The original form can only be reconstructed with certainty if the present concrete and iron additions are removed and thorough investigations are made. No trace of a minaret could be found but this is normal for a building of this kind.

A second possible form of outer gallery might be one of three or five units, covered by domes or flat cross-vaults. This solution is found in two other works of Early Ottoman architecture, in the great Nilufer Imaret of Iznik (Nicaea), built in 1387 by sultan Murad I and the likewise 14th century Imaret of Geyve, also in North-Western Anatolia. The groundplan of the little-known Imaret of Geyve is close to that of Komotini. Even stronger is the similarity between it and the Yakub Celebi Imaretin Iznik, built shortly before 1389, the year in which the founder died. After it comes the mosque of Ghazi Mihal near the bridge of the same name, over the Tunca in Edirne, built in 1422. This building, however, is architectonically far more developed, only its groundplan, with the typical Eyvan over the prayer area, an archaic feature for the time in which it was built, reminds us of Komotini.

As to the origins of the Early Ottoman T-plan mosques, I put some remarks in my "Notes on some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki" in the preceding issue of *Balkan Studies* 11, 1 Thessaloniki 1970 (pp. 135 136); many more details are given by Eyice, Anhegger, Erdmann and Kuran.<sup>20</sup> It remains clearly recognizable that the Imaret of Evrenos is one of the most original creations of this interesting type of architecture. Its simple outlines, heavy proportions and the primitive "cloisonné work" of the walls doubtless place it in the period of formation of Early Ottoman architecture,<sup>21</sup> a period which culminated in the magnificent Green Mosque of Bursa dating from 1420. At the same time it is the oldest Ottoman building preserved in Europe as already stated. The oldest mosques of Adrianople are those of Yilderim Bayazid from 1398

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20. See preceding note.

21. Judging on my materials about this building the Turkish specialist Mrs. Mualla Eyuboglu, for many years chief restorer of the Topkapi Saray Palace at Istanbul, likewise placed it in the last quarter of the 14th century.

and the Eski Cami, begun after 1402. The oldest mosque of Bulgaria is the imposing Hamza Bey Cami in Stara Zagora dating from the year 1398. The Eski Cami of Serres, the work of the first Ottoman Grand Vezir Kara Halil Candarli from the year 1385, was demolished after the First World War. The mosque of the same person in Gallipoli was rebuilt from its foundations in the last century, as was the mosque of Ghazi Süleiman Pasha in Malkara. In the same Gallipoli there remains an old Turbe, or mausoleum, now called Mansur Hallac Turbesi after the great mystic of the 10th century of that name, who was crucified in Baghdad. It is an undated monument which might go back to the last decades of the 14th century.

With this short list the number of Ottoman buildings of the 14th century in Europe is exhausted, which means that the Imaret of Komotini holds the first place in order of seniority. For this reason and because of its extraordinary value in the chain of development of Early Ottoman Architecture, this building deserves a better fate.

## SERRES.

The problem of restoration presents itself immediately when we consider the three great and important mosques which are preserved in this old Macedonian city. Whilst the monuments of Komotini escaped the attention of the scholars as by an incomprehensible marvel, something has been written about the Turkish monuments of Serres. We have the works of Orlandos and Anhegger about them. Orlandos<sup>22</sup> wrote long ago about the restoration of the great Bedesten, or covered market, on the main square of that city, while Anhegger<sup>23</sup> wrote a hurried description of the three mosques without being able to give the plans of them or information about their founders. He also left some interesting details out of discussion and even made some minor mistakes in describing the buildings. This remains almost inescapable if we bear in mind the short time he had at his disposal and the difficult conditions under which he had to work.

Much better is our information about the byzantine and other mediaeval monuments of the city through the works of Orlandos and Xyngopoulos,<sup>24</sup>

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22. A. Orlandos, "Ergasiai Anastyloseos Mesaionikon Mnimeion," in: *Archeion Byzantion Mnimeion tis Ellados*, tomos E, 1939-40, pp. 206-211.

23. Robert Anhegger, "Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte" III, Moscheen in Saloniki und Serre, in: *Istanbul Mitteilungen* 17, 1967, pp. 312-324.

24. Andreas Xyngopoulos, *Erevnai eis ta Byzantina Mnimeia ton Serrou*, Thessalonik i

but also of Soloviev,<sup>25</sup> Deroko<sup>26</sup> and the Bulgarian Stefan Bobčev.<sup>27</sup> This might only be a reflection of the importance of Serres in the middle ages, when it either served as a byzantine or bulgarian frontier fortress and even witnessed the period of several decades of being a serbian princely residence.<sup>28</sup> The name of the serbian Emperor Stefan Dušan (Stefanu Vasileos) still remains written in a brick inscription on the Orestes tower of the old castle.

It is a pity that not so much attention has been paid to the monuments of the period following. If this had been the case the present article would not have been necessary.

Serres was conquered by the Turks under Ghazi Evrenos and Kara Halil Candarli on the 19th September of the year 1383<sup>29</sup> and remained uninterruptedly in their hands until 1912, when it was conquered by the Bulgarians in the First Balkan War. In the spring of 1913 it was taken by the Greek army, and remained Greek after that date, with two interruptions during the two World Wars.

Serres must have been a sizable town in the 14th century, with several thousand inhabitants. From the outset the Turks intended to make it a Moslem centre of importance, maybe because of its strategic position and economic value, commanding a rich agricultural district. In the neighbourhood they settled important groups of Turkish nomads, who were akin to the conqueror, Evrenos Bey, to whose care the wide surroundings were entrusted. They also settled Turkish farmers<sup>30</sup> in the plain of Serres, who brought irrigation and rice culture with them. It appears that the oldest part of the Turkish population of Serres came from central and eastern Anatolia. In a document of 1388,<sup>31</sup>

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1965. A. Orlandos, "I Mitropolis ton Serron," in: *Archeion Byz. Mnim. tis Ellados*, tomos 5, 1939-1940.

25. Aleksandar Soloviev cited by Xyngopoulos p. 15.

26. Aleksandar Deroko, "Neki spomenici iz Srpskog vremena u Serezu i okolini." in: *Spomenik Srbska Akademia Nauka CVI, otdeljenje Društvenih Nauka N.S.* 8, Beograd 1956, p. 61 vv.

27. Stefan Bobčev, "Dva Starinni Čarkvi vā okolnostta na Grad Ser," in: *Izvestija na Balg. Arheol. Institut.* VII, Sofia 1919-1920, pp. 38-57.

28. For this period see in detail: G. Ostrogorski, "Srpska Oblast posle Dušanove smrta," *Posebna Izdanja Vizantinološkog Instituta IX*, Beograd 1965.

29. See note 9 (Ostrogorski, La prise de Serres).

30. For the entire problem of Turkish colonisation of the Balkans see Barkan's fundamental study, mentioned in note 3 (Barkan, Les Deportations comme méthode, etc.).

31. Published by Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livasi, Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar.* İstanbul 1952, pp. 221-225 (second part).

which, as far as I can see, is the oldest Turkish document concerning this city, mention is made of the foundation of a *Zaviye*, or dervish convent, by Bahâeddin Pasha, the son of Sheih Hizir, of Tokat. As witnesses to this deed of foundation (10 shops and 7 houses, beside some gardens outside the city were donated to it) several persons are mentioned, inhabitants of Serres, who nearly all came from that part of Anatolia. So we find Hadji Ivaş bin (son of) Hadji Iliyas, of Amasia, Hadji Ivaş bin Hadji Selim of Amasia, Usta Hadji of Kirşehir, the secretary Ahmad bin Mehmed of Iznik and several other persons from Kaiseri, Niksar and Ankara. We also find the name of a certain Hasan bin Ishak, who was Imam (pastor) of the *medjid* (small mosque in which no Friday prayers were said) of Subaşi Özbek. Besides valuable information about the origin of at least a part of the Turkish population of Serres, this document gives the names of two religious foundations in the very first years of Turkish rule. From other sources we know that the Grand Vezir Kara Halil Candarli had a Friday mosque built there, or rather finished it only two years after the conquest. This was the *Eski Cami*. Its history is given by Taeschner and Wittek more than thirty years ago.<sup>32</sup> The content of its inscription remains preserved in the works of Evliya Celebi,<sup>33</sup> it is dated H. 787 (begins 12th February 1385) and mentions the name of the Vezir, "the one who needs his Creator, Halil bin Ali al Candarli. The founder should stand soon enough before his Creator." Hayreddin Candarli Kara Halil, the first Grand Vezir of the young Ottoman state, died in Serres only two years after the completion of his mosque there. His body was brought to the residence of his family, Iznik (Nicaea) where it was buried in a simple mausoleum outside the Lefke Gate. "Hayreddin Pasha in the year 789, in the city of Serres, travelled from the world of transitoriness to the world of constancy" is written on his gravestone, which still stands in its original place. He was the founder of a family which, until the end of the 16th century, held an important place in the administration and government of the Empire, as Grand Vezir, (three generations in succession) as *Beylerbey* of East Anatolia or Syria, or as *Defterdar*, *Kadi* or *Nisanci* (chief secretary) of a important province. The family still exists today and retains the memories of its great past.<sup>34</sup>

The mosque of Kara Halil, the *Eski Cami*, was destroyed in the great fire of 1719 and the original inscription disappeared during its reconstruction. It

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32. F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, "Die Vezirfamilie der Gandarlizade (14e und 15e Jahrh.) und ihre Denkmäler," in: *Der Islam* XVIII, 1928, pp. 60-115.

33. For further details see the above-mentioned study of Taeschner and Wittek.

34. *Idem.*

was damaged by fire for a second time in 1836 and restored at the order of Sultan Mahmud II. Papageorgiou<sup>35</sup> mentions that the mosque was situated outside the old fortified city, to the south-west of it. The venerable Old Mosque remained intact until after the First World War, when it was demolished.<sup>36</sup>

At the end of the 15th century Serres was the residence of an Ottoman princess, Selçuka Hatun, a daughter of Bayazid II. She was first married to the Sandjak Bey Ferhad, a native of Trebinje in Hercegovina, by whom she had a son called Husref. This man later became the famous Governor Ghazi Husref Bey of Bosnia, who resided in Sarajevo between 1521 and 1541 and laid the foundations of the great expansion of that city by the erection of a large number of buildings and institutions for Islamic life and popular benefit. Husref Bey was born in Serres. To the memory of his mother Selçuka he built the great Selçukiya Medresse of Sarajevo, which still stands today. After the premature death of Ferhat Bey, Princess Selçuka married the son of the (Grand) Vezir Ahmad Pasha,<sup>37</sup> Mehmed Bey. This Mehmed Bey is the founder of the magnificent mosque in Serres which, in spite of half a century of neglect, remains preserved there. Selçuka Hatun herself also founded several buildings for common use in Serres. In a Vakifname of the year 914 H.<sup>38</sup> (beginning 26th Oct. 1508) she donated the revenue of several villages in the environs of Serres and Zihne to her foundations. These foundations consisted of a large Medresse, or institution for higher learning, a dervish Zaviye, a guest-house (Tabhane) and a medjid. Provision was made for daily payment of the personnel of these institutions, for their food and for pocket money for the students of the college. Twenty-two years later, in 1530, the daughter of Selçuka and Mehmed Bey, Neslişah Sultan, in cooperation with her half-brother Ghazi Husref Bey of Sarajevo, added several other assets to the foundation donated by their mother.<sup>39</sup>

Of all the buildings of Selçuka Hatun nothing remains. They have all vanished in course of time as did the Medresse, Mekteb and bridge of her husband Mehmed Bey. As this couple seems to have been the greatest founders of Serres, we may attribute two other buildings to them. They are the remains

35. In his article on Serres in *Byzant. Zeitschr.* III, 1894, pp. 292-294.

36. This need not surprise us, as at the same time a valuable large church of the 11th century was needlessly demolished. (See the work of Xyngopoulos, mentioned in note 24).

37. Must have been Gedik Ahmad Pasha, or else Dukagin Ahmad P. The first seems the most likely as he was grand Vezier for some years. Dukagin Ahmad appears to have been too young to have a grown up son in 1492.

38. Published by Tayyib Gökbilgin (see note 31) pp. 185-193.

39. Gökbilgin, in the appendix of the same document.

of a hamam near the mosque of Mehmed Bey in the eastern part of the city (see photograph of it in this article) and the great bedesten on the central square of Serres, which latter, after the restoration of Orlandos, remains in a perfect state of preservation. As I do not know the Vakifname of Mehmed Bey's foundations this cannot be stated with certainty but remains the most logical assumption. The architectural form of the Bedesten belongs to the late 15th century. To attribute it to the founder of the Zincirli Cami, the other great Turkish building of Serres, would be wrong, as this monument certainly belongs to the last part of the 16th century.

Thanks to the activity of the above-mentioned and other persons, Serres had by the beginning of the 16th century grown into a respectable city with a predominant Moslem outlook and population. It had spread far over the narrow boundaries of the ancient walled city and was extending mainly in western direction. The old city occupied a territory of 500-550m. in the 17th century it spread for five kilometres along the foot of the mountains. At that time it was surrounded by beautiful gardens and was well known for its textile industry, the manufacture of bathing wraps and towels which were even exported to Arabia and Persia. Serres counted dozens of mosques, covered markets, beautiful caravanserais and no less than eight hamams. To the south of the city there were extensive irrigated rice-fields.<sup>40</sup>

For the time shortly after Selçuka Hatun resided in Serres, the beginning of the 16th century, we have reliable information about the number of the two different groups of the population, the Moslem and the Christian communities of the city. According to the Ottoman censuses<sup>40a</sup> taken between 1520 and 1530, the city had a Moslem community of 671 families. The Christian community counted 357 families and the Jewish 65 families. With the Government officials and their families and retinue and the military men, this makes a total population of 6,000 inhabitants. That is a considerable number for that time in South-Eastern Europe. In the surrounding plain of Serres there also lived an important group of Moslems, but they were not in the majority, as in the city. For the region between Serres, Zihne and Sidero-Kastro, but not counting the inhabitants of these towns, we find 6,000 Christian families as against 2,250 Moslem families. That means 28% Moslems and 72% Christians.<sup>41</sup>

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40. See Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, translated by Joseph von Hammer, Wien 1812.

40a. See Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire Ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles," in: *Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient*, I Leiden 1958, pp. 9-36.

41. Sidero-Kastro counted about 250 Christian and 250 Moslem families, Zihne 500 Chris-

Up to the second half of the last century Serres remained a prosperous city living on an important trade in iron, cotton and the famous Saffian leather. Every year caravans brought 30,000 bales of its cotton to Austria and Germany and took cloth and other industrial products as return freight. This overland trade in cloth even exceeded the French importation via Thessaloniki. After the opening of the Suez Canal Thessaloniki became a chain in world trade. Cheap Indian cotton and English iron conquered the market and took Serres' main trading articles out of their hands. The national awakening and the abandonment of the Çiftlik villages diminished the cotton production considerably. The free farmers could not compete with the cheap imported cotton and changed their production to more profitable crops. As a result the great cotton market of Serres of the olden days became a thing of the past.<sup>42</sup>

The long centuries of Turkish rule over Serres came to a violent end with the devastations of the two Balkan Wars. The Bulgarian Army, unable to keep the city in their hands, bombarded it on fire before retreating for the advancing Greeks. After World War I a large-scale rebuilding campaign set in, which was carried out ruthlessly, ancient historical mosques and churches alike being demolished.<sup>43</sup> In this way Serres became a city with only a very few historical monuments of its rich past, monuments which we can count on our fingers. The ruins of the castle, two Byzantine churches, the Bedesten, a ruin of a Hamam and three large and important mosques. It is to these three last-mentioned buildings, unfortunately all in a bad state of preservation, that we will now turn our attention.

The largest and at the same time the oldest of the three mosques of Serres is that of Mehmed Bey, husband of Princess Selçuka Hatun, which mosque was built in the year 898 H. = 1492 - 1493 A.D. (beginning 23rd Oct. 1492). It is one of the largest Turkish buildings on the Balkans, outside the old Ottoman capital cities of Adrianople (Edirne) and Istanbul and measures about 30 - 31 metres. It consists of a spacious prayer-hall, covered by one large dome of 14.58m.

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tian and 100 Moslem families. The total percentage of Moslem inhabitants of the district, including the towns, was 31%. (Based on Barkan's map in *Déportation comme méthode*, etc).

42. See for this subject: L. Schultze - *Jena, Makedonien - Landschafts- und Kulturbilder*, Jena 1927 (pp. 195 et seq.).

43. Besides the above-mentioned churches and mosques, the Turbe (mausoleum) of Sheih Bedreddin, from 1416-1417, was demolished. The German scholar F. Babinger, who studied the life of this famous man, saw the Turbe in good condition several years after the First World War.

diameter, which is flanked on both sides by low side-rooms each covered by two small domes. The mihrab of the mosque is situated in a special kind of apse, which protrudes several metres outside the rear wall of the building.<sup>43a</sup> On the front side there is a wide and spacious gallery of five units. Four of them are covered by flat cross-vaults, whilst the central one was slightly elevated and covered with a dome to emphasize the entrance of the building, which is situated in the middle, underneath this dome. The entire roofing was lead-covered. The mosque is built of large blocks of yellow-ochre stone, cut and laid in a manner showing the utmost mastery. On the inside the walls are made of rough-cut blocks; the arches and vaults are of brick, as is often the case in Ottoman architecture. In the interior the building was entirely plastered over. Of this plaster-work, with scanty remains of an ornamental painting, only a small part remains, the rest having fallen away. The columns and capitals of the gallery are all of spotless white marble, adorned with stalactite motives cut with great grace and elegance. Over the entrance an inscription, cut in a large marble slab with gilded letters, mentions the name of the founder and the date of its construction. It has been published twice<sup>44</sup> but never with the transliteration and a picture of the original. It is written in Arabic poetry and reads as follows:

- (1) Jāmi' hādhā Mehmed Bey banā  
Hasbatan li-Llāh dār as-sājīdin
  - (2) Ibn Ahmed Pasha sultān al-ghuzāt  
Asaf al-Islām nasr al-'ābidin
  - (3) Qul li-khatmi mulhaman ta'rikhuhu  
Jāmi' al-abrār dār al-hāmidin
- (1) This mosque has been built by Mehmed Bey  
Out of trust to God, a house for those who pray,
  - (2) Son of Ahmad Pasha, the sultan of the *ghazis*,  
The Asaph of Islam, the help of the worshippers.
  - (3) Speak at the completion with inspiration: its chronogram is:  
The mosque of the pious, the house of the glorifiers.<sup>44a</sup>

The mosque of Mehmed Bey is an interesting offshoot of the well-known T-plan or Zaviye-Mosque, one of the earliest examples is the Evrenos Imaret

43a. On the plan of this mosque as given by Anhegger this "apse" is designed much too deep, probably due to unexact measurements.

44. By Papageorgiou and Anhegger, see notes 35 and 23.

44a. The chronogram gives the date 898 5 1492. The way in which Anhegger translates al-abrār is incorrect.

of Komotini. By the last quarter of the 15th century the development in Ottoman architecture went on at a much faster pace. Besides buildings which still continued the old idea of the Zaviye-Mosque, others were erected in a different style, to obtain greater unity of space. The function of mosque gained ascendancy over that of Zaviye, and corresponding with this development the room occupied by the mosque proper grew in size and importance. One type of the old T-plan paved the road for the classical Ottoman architecture of the 16th century, whilst the one to which the Mehmed Bey Mosque belongs followed a different trend. In this type an impressive prayer-hall with one large dome was built, a prayer-hall which was still flanked with lateral rooms with which it had no spatial relation and was connected with them only by gates. These small side-rooms still continued the old function they had in the Zaviye-Mosque.

At first glance the Mehmed Bey Mosque seems to be a replica of the mosque of Grand Vezir Davut Pasha in Istanbul from the year 1484. Both have almost the same ground plan with a large dome, a mihrab in the apse, side rooms and a gallery of five units. On closer observation it becomes clear that the Mehmed Bey Mosque is far more developed than that of Davut Pasha. On the outside the side-rooms hardly enter into account. The large dome is much higher and shades off into the dodecagonal tambour and high square of the walls in a harmonious way. Because of the greater height of the domed square the five-sided apse fits better into the whole interior and exterior of the building. Furthermore, the outer gallery is covered by four flat cross-vaults and one central dome instead of five domes as the Davut Pasha Mosque originally had.

Closely connected with the Mehmed Bey Mosque is the so-called Imaret Cami of Inecik in Turkish Thrace. It was built in 1498-1499 and is a further development of that of Mehmed Bey. Here again we find an impressively high prayer-hall, but flanked only by side-rooms with one dome and with the mihrab apse omitted. Here the side rooms are completely shut off from the prayer-hall and have gates only on the side of the gallery and in the rear.<sup>45</sup>

One of the last examples of this type of mosques is that of Piri Pasha in Silivri (Selymbria), likewise in European Turkey. It was built in 1530 and is a late development of the type to which the Mehmed Bey Mosque in Serres be-

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45. This mosque had been a delapidated ruin for many years as result of the Balkan Wars. It is to be reconstructed in the coming years. For the problems of date of construction, its founder and its place in history of architecture see the fine study of Prof. Semavi Eyice of the Istanbul University: "Trakya'da Inecik'de bir Tabhâneli Câmi," in: *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* I, Istanbul 1970, pp. 171-196, with 28 illustrations.

longs. The building in Silivri has the mihrab placed in an apse, as in the older buildings, but it is treated in such a way as to obtain greater spatial unity, thus keeping pace with the contemporaneous developments of the architecture in the capital. In other respects it has the same features as the preceding buildings, a large domed prayer-hall, side-rooms with one dome and a gallery with five domes.<sup>46</sup>

Unfortunately the great Mehmed Bey Mosque of Serres is in a very bad state of disrepair. After the lead of the roof was stripped off all kinds of plants and even trees began to grow on the roof and thrust their roots deeply into the unprotected masonry. The mosque had been built on a low-laying garden district in the immediate vicinity of a small stream. Long ago the little dike, which kept the water out during the floods of spring, broke and masses of alluvial material was deposited in the former mosque-yard and in the building itself. After a lapse of years a layer of one and a half metres or more of mud and sand from the stream was borne into the mosque. A wild garden sprang up around the building, which stands now "knee-deep" in the ground! The humidity and roots of vegetation have done their destructive work. The entire building is full of dangerous cracks in both vaults and walls. When I first visited Serres, now five years ago, one of the capitals of the gallery was split and half of it had come down. This was caused by oxidation of the iron brace which ran through it. Everyone could foresee that the gallery would collapse in the course of the next year or two, as one of its vital points of support was in danger. In 1967 the gallery still remained standing, but when I returned in 1970 the dreaded disaster had occurred and more than half the gallery, together with the dome in its centre and the beautifully carved and gilded inscription on the outside bearing the Islamic credo, had completely collapsed.

This is still more grievous when we read in *Archaiologikon Deltion* of 1967 (No 22, B<sup>2</sup>, p. 423) that a plan was made to study the three mosques of Serres and a proposal had been submitted to respect these buildings in the new ground plan of the city.

Fortunately the position with the other two mosques of Serres is not so bad. The Zincirli Cami is used as a store-room of Public Works of the city of Serres, whilst the Mustafa Bey Mosque on the western outskirts of the city serves at present as small timber-work shop. This Mustafa Bey Cami is the second oldest of the three mosques. According to the well-preserved inscription it

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46. This fine old monument has recently been restored together with its original painted interior of great beauty.

was built at the order of Mustafā Bey in the year 1519. The inscription is written in Arabic poetry and runs as follows:

- (1) Jalī al-qadr ya'nī Mustafā Bey  
Banā li-Llāh binā lis-salāh
- (2) Munādin fihi hattā matla' al-fajr  
Yunādi bis-salāh wa-l-falāh
- (3) Wa-fi ta'rikhihi qāla l-mu'arrikh  
Bada'a dār as-salāt wa-l-falāh

- (1) Of notorious rank, namely Mustafa Bey  
Built for God a building for goodness.
- (2) In it the crier-to-prayer cries even at day-break  
With goodness and happiness.
- (3) And the chronogramist made for it this chronogram:  
The house of prayer and happiness has begun to exist. <sup>46a</sup>

In its present form the mosque is a rectangle of 17,75 by 13,62 metres. Its cubic prayer-hall is flanked by side rooms, both covered by two domes which are half the diameter of the central one. In this way a long rectangle is obtained in front of which a domed gallery is situated. This is covered by four domes of equal size and height, instead of five which would be normal. <sup>47</sup> The masonry of the mosque is of rather poor quality, made up from broken stone, mixed with boulders and bricks. It is doubtless the work of local, provincial masters. The entire building was plastered over on the outside to give the rough surface of the masonry a smooth finish.

The mosque is the product of two different construction periods. The first was a medium-sized suburb mosque, a tall cube of 9,10-9,10m. with a dome resting on an octagonal tambour. This part of the mosque shows the simple and stern proportions of the architecture of the late 15th century. It might well have been originally a medjid on the border of the city. As Serres was expanding fast, it became necessary to enlarge the building and make it a Cami, or Friday mosque. The inscription of 1519 has been replaced at an unknown date. During the conversion from mosque to timber-workshop the original façade and entrance was ruined to such an extent that it became impossible to

46a. The chronogram gives H. 925 (begins 3. 1. 1519). The way in which Anhegger reads verse two is partially incorrect.

47. Anhegger erroneously gives five domes and also did not notice the fact that the mosque is the product of two construction periods; unavoidable errors when we consider the short time he had at his disposal.

find its original place. During the enlargement from medjid to cami the former side-windows were enlarged and further served as passage between the old part and the new siderooms.

These were exactly half the size of the old building both covered by two small domes. In front of the thus widened prayer-hall a new gallery of four domes on five marble columns was built. The reason why four domed units were taken instead of the usual and much more balanced and harmonious five domes was the narrowness of the front. There was simply not sufficient room for five domes, whilst for three the gallery was too wide and the domes would have had to become too big for a well-proportioned gallery.

By being enlarged into a multi-unit building the small medjid acquired a form approaching that of the well-known Üç Şerefeli Cami which Sultan Murad II had built between 1435 and 1445 in his capital Adrianople (Edirne). This great building, which paved the way for a fruitful further development in the later 15th century and especially in the 16th century, was influenced by works of Turkish architecture of the preceding period, the time of the Anatolian petty states of the Beyliks. We mean the splendid mosque of Isa Bey Aidinoğlu in Ephesus dating from 1375 and the Great Mosque of Saruhanoğlu Ishak Çelebi in Manisa from 1376.<sup>48</sup> A more simplified form of the sultan's mosque in Adrianople is the mosque of Güzelce Hasan Bey in Hayrabolu, Turkish Thrace, built in the last decade of the 15th century.<sup>49</sup> This mosque long unknown and in a bad state, but fully restored in recent times, still has a domed courtyard, as in Adrianople. The next step in the evolution of this type into a simpler and more popular form is the Hatuniye Cami of Manisa, built at the order of Hüsnüşah Hatun, mother of Prince Şahinşah, in 1490.<sup>50</sup> This is the type to which the Mustafa Bey Mosque of Serres, in its definite form, belongs. The only difference is the gallery, which in Manisa has five domes, and the better

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48. For these buildings see: R. Riefstahl, *Turkish architecture in South - Western Anatolia*, Cambridge 1931, and K. Otto-Dorn, "Die Isa Bey Moschee in Ephesos," *Istanbululer Forschungen* 17, 1950. For the entire problem of the relations and development of this type see the study of R. Anhegger, "Die Üç Şerefeli Cami in Edirne und die Ulu Cami in Manisa," in: *Istanbululer Mitteilungen* 8, 1958, pp. 40-51.

49. Aptullah Kuran in his fine work *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago Univ. Press 1969 dated this building in the early 15th century, preceding that of Murad II in Edirne (pp. 182-183). From a document of the last quarter of the century, published by Gök-bilgin (*Edirne ve Paşa Livası* p. 416), it can be seen, however, that this important building belongs to the time of Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512).

50. For this buildings see: Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture* etc. and R. Anhegger, "Beiträge zur Frühosmanische Baugeschichte," in: *Zeki Velidi Togan'a Armağan*, Istanbul 1950-55, pp. 301-347.

communication between the side rooms and the central space. Both are due to the fact that this mosque was built all at one time and was not, as in Serres, the result of an enlargement.

It remains difficult to identify the Mustafa Bey mentioned in the inscription of 1519 and to establish for which part of the mosque he is responsible. It appears to have been more or less a habit to omit the name of an earlier founder in the case a mosque was rebuilt or greatly enlarged by an important person. The well known Eski Cami of Adrianople was founded by the Ottoman Emir Süleiman after 1402, continued under Emir Musa and finished by their brother, sultan Mehmed I. However only the latter prince is mentioned in the inscription as builder of this important mosque. The Hamza Bey mosque of Thessaloniki was founded by Hafsa Khanim bint-i Hamza Bey in 1468 and largely rebuilt by Kapuci Mehmed Bey in 1619, as I have demonstrated in my above mentioned article "Some Turkish Monuments in Thessaloniki," *Balkan Studies* 11, 1 Thessaloniki, 1970. In this case also the last name is mentioned on the inscription which definitely states that Mehmed Bey was its builder (p. 134). More examples may be given. It seems logic therefore that the Mustafa Bey of Serres claimed the entire structure as his, after the important rebuilding and transformation carried out at his orders. If the later parts were added after 1519 there would certainly have been another inscription. A solution for this problem may be found while considering the identity of Mustafa Bey.

Evliya Çelebi called him Mustafa Pasha, as he similarly called the Mehmed Bey mosque Mehmed Pasha mosque. In both cases the inscription definitely mentions a Bey as founder. This may be accounted for a change of name in the popular speech, which preferred a Pasha as founder of their mosques rather than a Bey, who was much lower in rank. Other examples of this phenomenon are found in the Balkans. Of the multitude of Mustafa Bey's and Pasha's in the earlier history of the Ottoman empire the one who chronologically comes the nearest to the one in Serres is Davutpaşaoğlu Mustafa Bey, the son of the Grand Vezier Davut Pasha<sup>51</sup> we mentioned while discussing the Mehmed Bey mosque

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51. Koca Mustafa Pasha, Grand Vezier of Bayazid II, was executed in 1512, Çoban Mustafa Pasha was made Beylerbey in 1517 with the rank of Pasha. He is not mentioned in connection with Serres. Plak Mustafa was Admiral of the Ottoman fleet for the period of 14 years since H. 922 = 1516. Another Mustafa Pasha, who according to Eyice was called Kuzgunsuz Mustafa (Eyice, "Svilengrad'da Mustafa Pasha Köprüsü," *Bellekten T. T. K.* 28, 1964, pp. 728-756) who was the founder of the splendid mosque in Skopje, bearing his name, died in 1518 as is written on the inscription on his türbe next to the mosque. A detailed study on the identity of these various Mustafa's was made by Gliša Elezović from which some of the above mentioned data. (G. Elezović, "Turski Spomenici," in: *Zbornik istočnjačku istoriju i književnu*

of Serres. Davut Pasha, who according to Truhelka,<sup>52</sup> was a Dalmatian by birth, from the family of Bogojević, had many contacts with Macedonia. He is the builder of the great hamam in Skopje, named after him, which now serves as Art Gallery. He also built the extensive covered market of Bitola which is still in use and, what is of greater importance, had his feudal possessions in the environs of Serres! These estates, including several villages, were acquired by his son Mustafa after his father's death, in H. 906 = 1560-1501.<sup>53</sup> Mustafa Bey's eventful life does not concern us further. He eventually attained the rank of Pasha but seems to have lost it at an unknown occasion. At a likewise unknown date, but before April 1516, he was Sandjak Bey of Kustendil and after that date Sandjak Bey of Bosnia and may be of Hercegovina after it.<sup>54</sup> Before his term in Kustendil, Mustafa was Sandjak Bey of Serres. He died, according to the Venetian Marino Sanudo, in 22 February 1519.<sup>55</sup> It appears the most logic to reconstruct his actions in Serres as follows. The first single-domed building was erected by him after he inherited his father's estates near Serres, or during his term as Sandjak Bey of that city. After this building proved to be too small he had it enlarged, at which occasion the old inscription was replaced by the present one. The year as given in the chronogram is H. 925, which runs between 3 January 1519 and 22 December 1519. Mustafa must have died shortly after his mosque was finished. The words "of notorious rank" in the first line of the inscription might be an allusion to his former dignity as Pasha. The discovery of the Vakufname of this mosque may confirm our hypothesis but as long as this is not found no absolute certainty can be given. Mustafa Bey, son of Davut Pasha, is also known to have had an estate near Skopje, hence his name Skopljak Mustafa. During his term as Sandjak Bey of Hercegovina he built a fine stone bridge over the river Bregava near Počitelj<sup>56</sup> in 1518, which is preserved to our days. Another, and better, identification of the builder of the Mustafa Bey Cami of Serres can be given on the base of some Turkish documents, published or used by Tayyib Gökbilgin. According to these doc-

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*gradja, serija I knjiga 1*, Beograd 1940 pp. 654-667).

A Mustafa Bey is mentioned in 1519 as lord of the Albanian Bihlište (see Gökbilgin "Kanuni Sultan Süleiman devri başlarında Rumili Eyaleti livalari etc." in: *Belleten T. T. K.* 20, No 78, 1956, note 42. He was the son of the Albanian nobleman Pavlo Kurtik.

52. Mentioned by Elezović p. 660.

53. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Pasha Livasi*, Istanbul 1952, p. 143-144.

54. Details by Elezović, p. 660. See also Hazim Sabanović, *Evljia Çelebija Putopis*, Sarajevo 1957, II, p. 235.

55. Elezović, *Turske Spomenici*, p. 660.

56. Şabanović, *Putopis*, p. 237. The author of these pages inspected the bridge in 1969.

uments Plak Mustafa Pasha owned the revenue of the town of Ipsala in a period between 1526 and 1528.<sup>57</sup> The same Plak Mustafa acquired after 1519 (H. 925) an estate near Ipsala which formerly belonged to Ismael Bey and his descendants, one of them, the lady Ayse Hatun sold it to Mustafa who made it to wakf property for the mosque and imaret he had built in Serres.<sup>58</sup> Mustafa was still bey in 1519 and later rose to the rank of Pasha. This explains why Evliya Çelebi speaks about the mosque of Mustafa Pasha, and not Bey. To the mosque belonged a medresse, imaret, school and tekke, hence the name of the quarter of the city, "Mahalle-i Mustafa Pasha Tekkesi."<sup>59</sup> According to Shemseddin Sami, *Kamus-ül alem*, Plak Mustafa Pasha died in H. 940 (1533/34) and was buried in the Stambuler suburb Eyyüb, near the tomb of the saint Eyyüb-i Ansari.<sup>60</sup>

In the townlet of Ipsala, now in European Turkey, a small but very fine domed mosque of Mustafa Pasha perpetuated the name of this important man. As to the two different parts of the mosque of Mustafa Pasha in Serres we might conclude that the enlarging was carried out under Plak Mustafa, to adapt the small mosque to form the dominant building of the newly founded complex.

The mosque of Mustafa Bey is in a mutilated state but has remained architecturally in fairly good condition. When it was transformed into a timber-workshop some of the windows and the openings between the three sections of the mosque were widened by simply breaking away the stone frames. A wider entrance was cut into the walls, but the old inscription was spared. If some consolidations and minor restorations were carried out the mosque could easily be used as coffee-house or otherwise, as it is situated almost next to the main road leading out of the city towards the the Bulgarian frontier post and to Thessaloniki.

The last of the great mosques of Serres we shall discuss is the so-called Zircirli Cami, or Mosque with the Chain. Unfortunately no trace of the in-

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57. T. Gökbilgin, "Ajalet Rumelija", in: *Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju*, XVI-XVII, 1966-1967, Sarajevo 1970, p. 314.

58. Gökbilgin, Ajalet Rumelija, p. 314, note 28, and Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Pasa Livâsi, Vakıflar, Mülkler-Mukatalar*, Istanbul 1952, p. 198.

59. Evliya Celebi, cited by Robert Anhegger, "Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte" III, in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 17, 1967, p. 320, note 19.

60. Gliša Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, in: *Zbornik za Istočnjačku istorisku i književnu gradju*, KJ. I, Beograd 1940, p. 666-667. According to the 16th century historian Pečevi, cited by Elezović, p. 666-667, Plak Mustafa was a Bosnian by birth.

scription remains, and nobody in the city remembered the name of the founder or any other name for the building. It will therefore be impossible to ascertain the personage who undertook the foundation of this monumental mosque.

The date of the building can only be found by comparison with other monuments of the same group.

The ground plan is rather complicated for a middle-sized Ottoman mosque (25m. long and 11,50m. wide). The prayer-hall proper, which measures 10,82m. square, is surrounded on three sides by two-story galleries covered by flat cross-vaults. The mihrab is situated in a separate rectangular compartment which, as a strange kind of apse, protrudes several metres outside the main body. The central dome rests on eight points, six of which are the columns of the inner gallery, whilst the remaining two are the points at which the mihrab room meets the main room. The bay opposite the mihrab room and the two middle bays of the side galleries are made in approximately the same size as that of the mihrab room, their vaults being open to the main room, thus creating a cross-axial interior space. As the galleries are separated only by light pillars from the main room under the dome, the idea of spacial unity is created, which is highly characteristic of this building and renders it unique in Greece. In front of the mosque there is a spacious open gallery of five units, covered by four rectangular flat cross-vaults and a much larger dome over the centre to emphasize the main entrance of the mosque. This gallery is made of faultlessly cut and polished white marble and breathes the air of simple and stern monumentality, now so badly spoilt by recent ugly additions and its use as a timber-workshop. The main body of the mosque is made of carefully executed cloisonné work, with two bricks standing and two lying around large blocks of stone. The heavy octagonal tambour is again faced with neatly cut blocks of stone.

In contrast with the unusually heavy and even provincial forms and proportions of the exterior of this mosque, its interior is surprisingly light and harmonious. Indeed, this mosque has one of the most matured and refined interior spaces of all Ottoman monuments still standing in Greece. It doubtless belongs to a group of mosques having a dome on an octagonal base, as was found in the architecture of the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, in the last quarter of the 16th century.<sup>61</sup> It is a work which belongs to the school of the great Mimar Sinan, or rather of one of his pupils. We mean the group of Stambuler mosques which began with the famous Rüstem Pasha Mosque of 1561 and

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61. Anhegger thought it dated not later than the middle of the 16th century, being misled by the archaic exterior of the mosque (Anhegger p. 319, of his study mentioned on note 23).

continued with works such as the Azapkapi Mosque of 1577, the Mesih Pasha Mosque of 1585 and the Nişancı Mehmed Pasha Mosque of 1588 along with others of the 17th and 18th centuries.<sup>62</sup> In regard to plan and interior solution of space, the Zincirli Mosque of Serres may be placed between that of Azapkapi and Mesih Pasha, i.e. between 1577 and 1585. The rather archaic features on the outside of the mosque, the disharmony between the high galleries and the comparatively low dome, must be due to the provincial milieu in which the building arose and possibly to the inability of the architect to bring all elements into harmony with each other.

In spite of these slight shortcomings the Zincirli Cami remains a priceless work of architecture which certainly deserves a better fate than to be used as a factory and as a store. As this building is the best preserved of the three, a little cleaning and consolidation works would be sufficient to free it from its humble use, remove the modern additions and to provide a good cover for the roof to take the place of the removed lead-covering.

These monuments, when properly restored, will be another interest for visitors in Serres which possesses byzantine churches, the castle, and the monastery of Johannes Prodromos nearby, for they constitute a remarkable example of oriental art on the classical soil of Greece.

Wormerveer - Holland

M. KIEL

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62. Plans and photographs of these buildings by C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopols*, Berlin 1912, 3 vols. A special study on this group of mosques is given by "Selçuk Batur, Osmanlı Camilerinde sekizgen ayak sisteminin gelişmesi üzerine," in: *Anadolu Sanati Arastirmalari I* Mimarlık Fakültesi, Istanbul, 1968, pp. 139-166.



*Plate 1. Komotini, the old Bazaar with Saat Kule and Yeni Cami.*



Plate II. Komotini, inscription on the Saat Kule, H. 1302 = A.D. 18.

Plate III



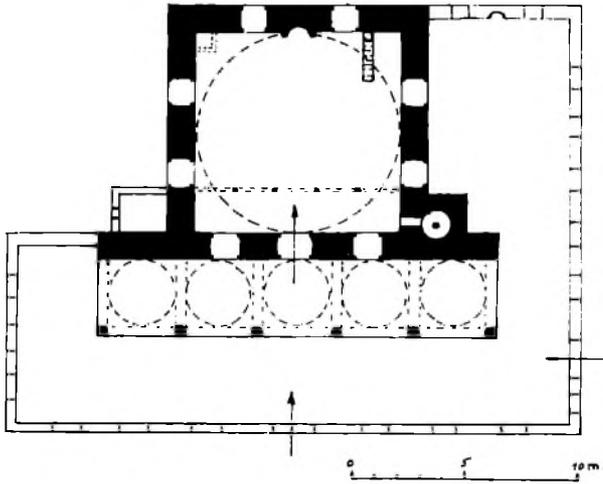
1. Komotini, courtyard of Yeni Cami, funeral inscription of Fatma Khanin of Rouschoug  
H. 1195 (17..)



2. Komotini, courtyard of Yeni Cami, fountain inscription of Hadji Mehmed, H. 1226 (18.. )

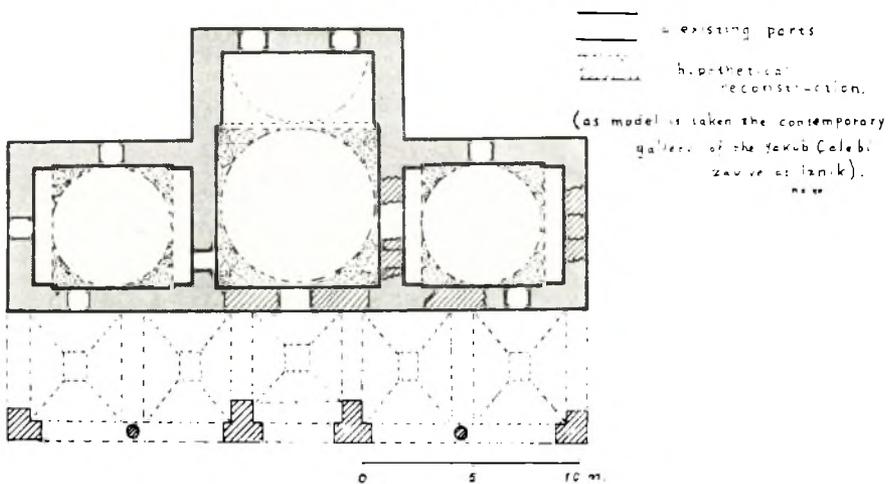
## Plate IV

Komotini, Yeni Cami.



1. Komotini, Yeni Cami.

Ghazi Evrenos Imaret Komotini

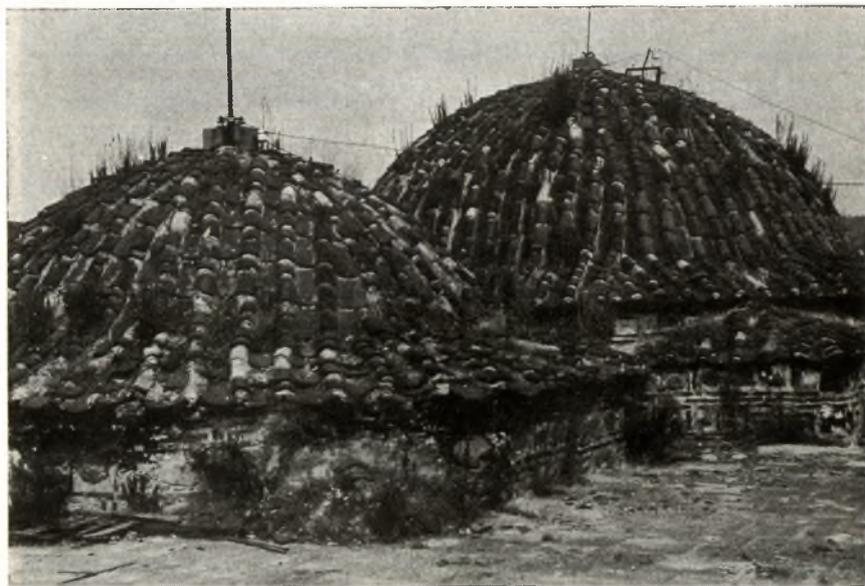


2. Komotini, Ghazi Evrenos Imaret.

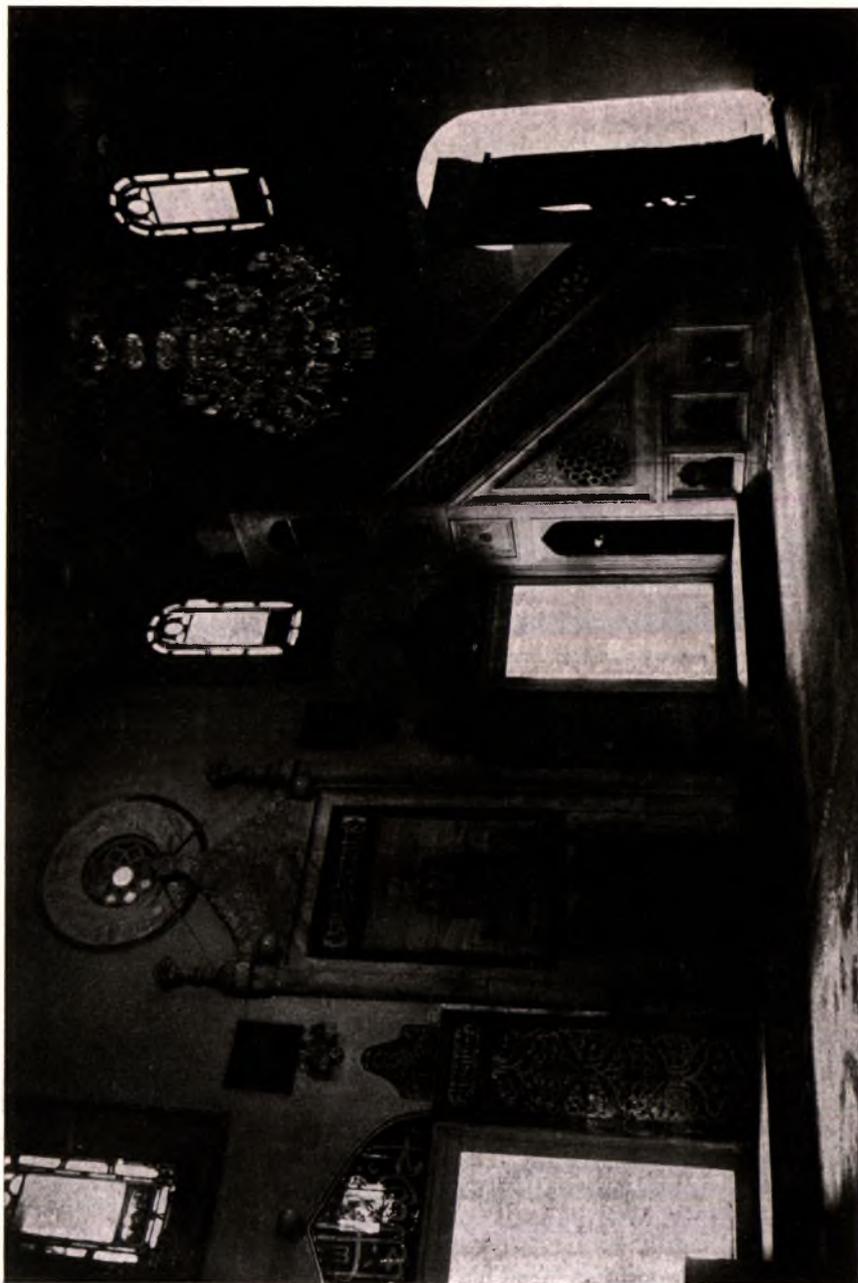
*Plate V*



1. *Komotini, Ghazi Evrenos Imaret, built-in between shops.*



2. *Komotini, Ghazi Evrenos Imaret, (1362-1375) detail from the central and lateral domes.*



*Plate VI. Komotini, Yeni Cami, interior view.*

Plate VII.



*Komotini, Yeni Cami interior. Panel executed in Edirne Kâre Laka technique.*

## Plate VIII



1. Serres, Bedesten or covered market. Last part of 15th cent.



2 Serres, remains of the central section of a hamam. Last quarter of 15th cent.



Plate IX. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque. Inscription over main entrance, H. 898 = A. D. 1492.

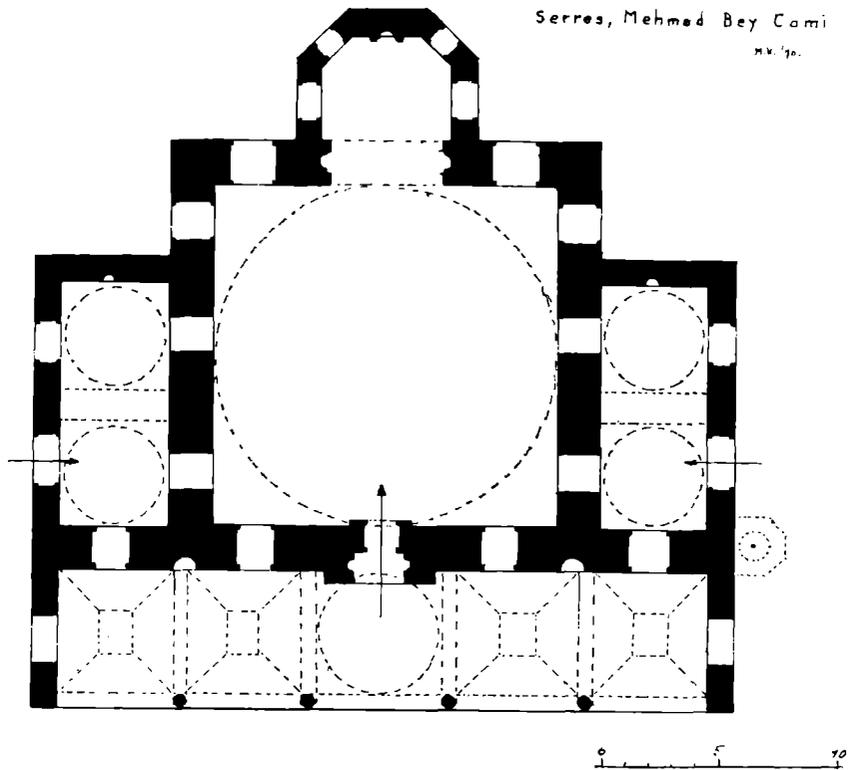
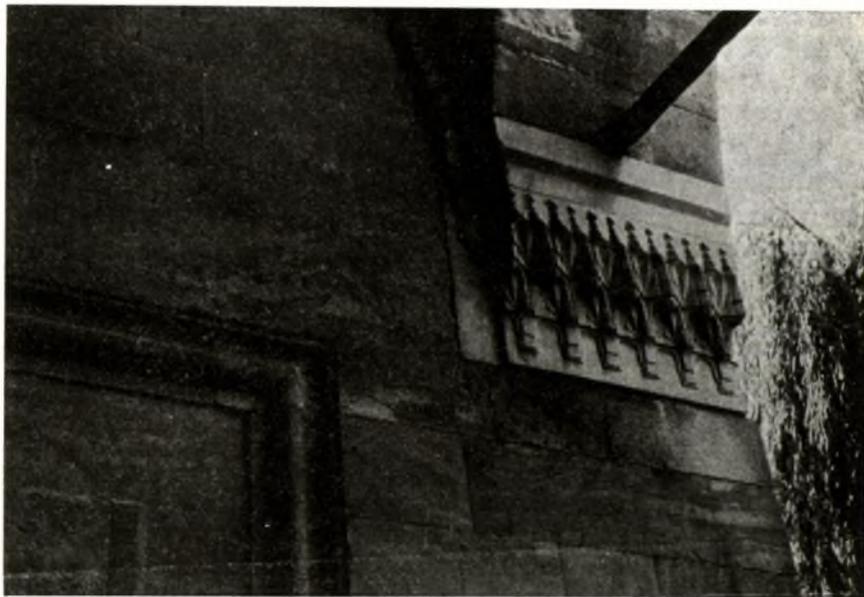


Plate X. Mehmed Bey Mosque.

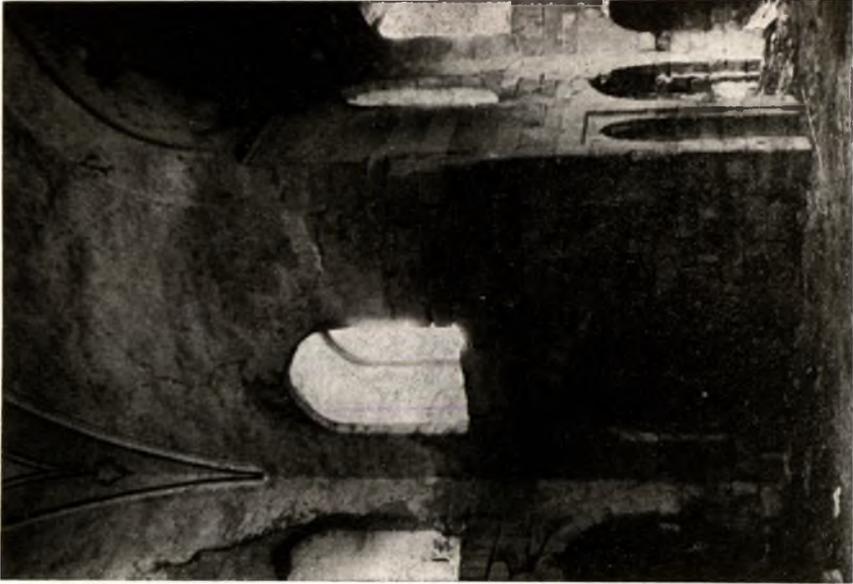
*Plate XI*



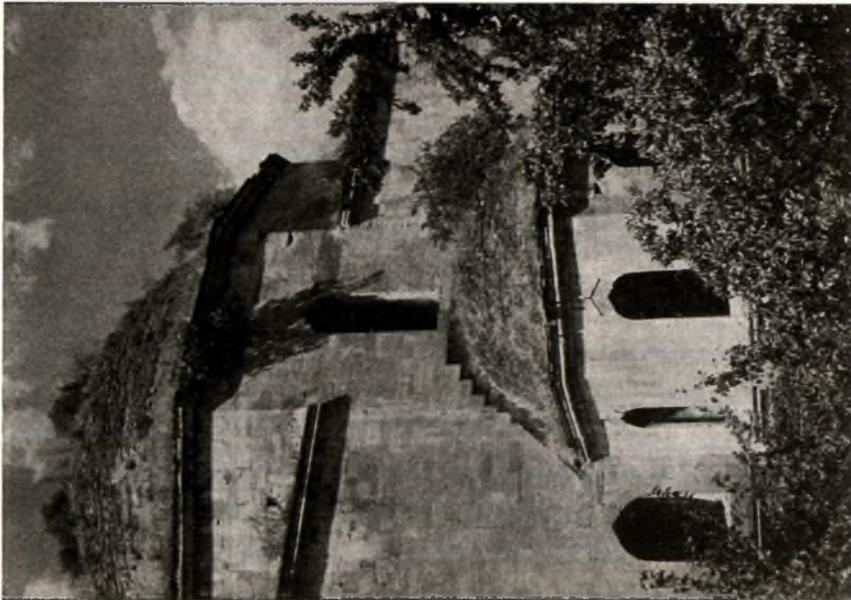
1. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque, (1492). The open gallery has collapsed in recent years.



2. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque, stone masonry and marble sculpture of the front gallery.

*Plate XII*

2. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque, looking toward the mihrab niche.



1. Serres, Mehmed Bey Mosque. Rear view with mihrab niche. Notice the magnificent proportions.

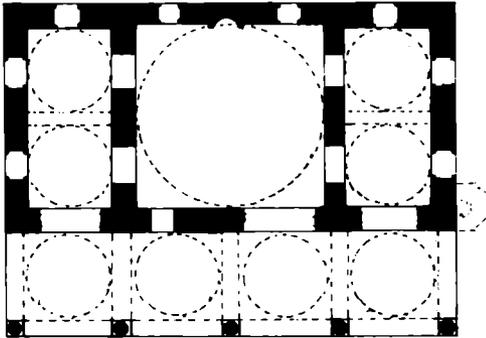


*Plate XIII. Serres, Mustafa Bey Mosque, inscription, H. 925, A.D. 1519.*

## Plate XIV

Serres, Mustafa Bey Cami.

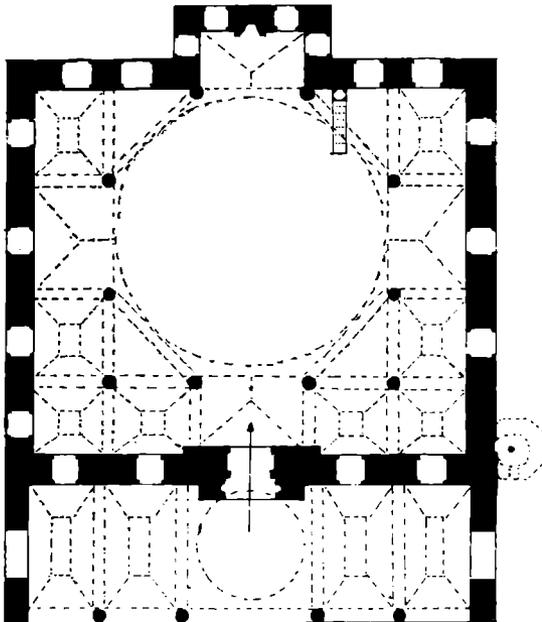
n.k. 70.



1. Serres, Mustafa Bey Cami.

Serres, Zincirli Cami

n.k. 70.

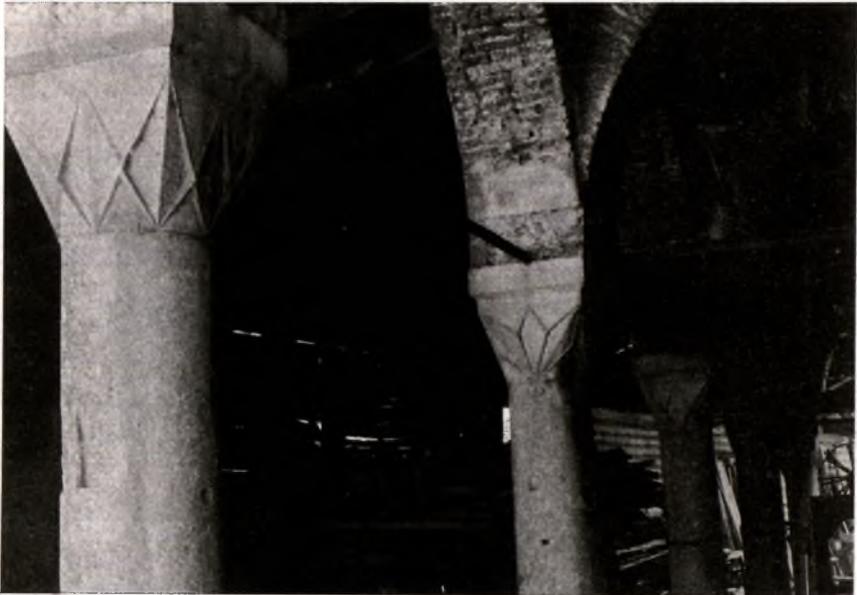


2. Serres, Zincirli Cami.

*Plate XV*



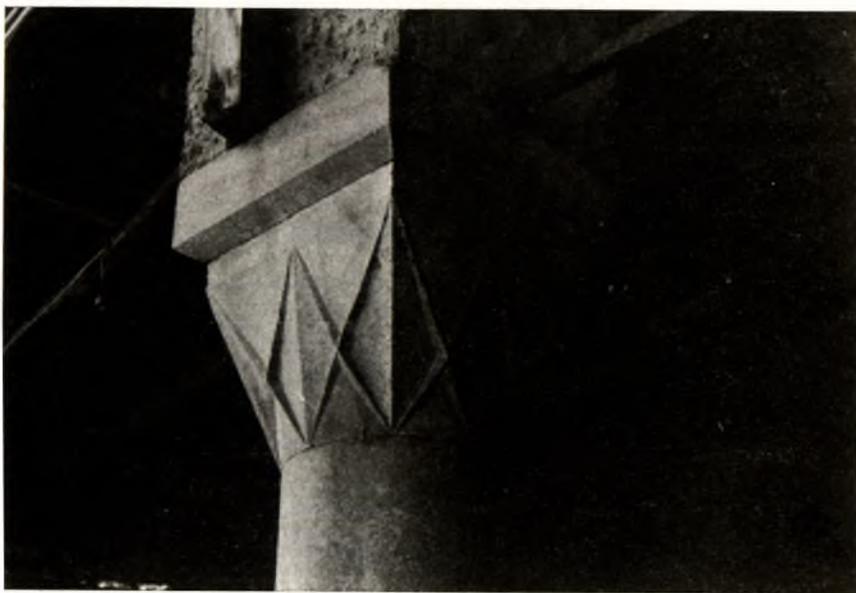
*1. Serres, Mustafa Bey Mosque, 1519 viewed from the rear.*



*2. Serres, Mustafa Bey Mosque, 1519 front gallery with four domes and five columns.*

*Plate XVI*

1. Serres, Mustafa Bey Mosque masonry of rear wall. Notice the seam between the two parts of the building.



2. Serres, Mustafa Bey mosque typical Turkish capital of front gallery.

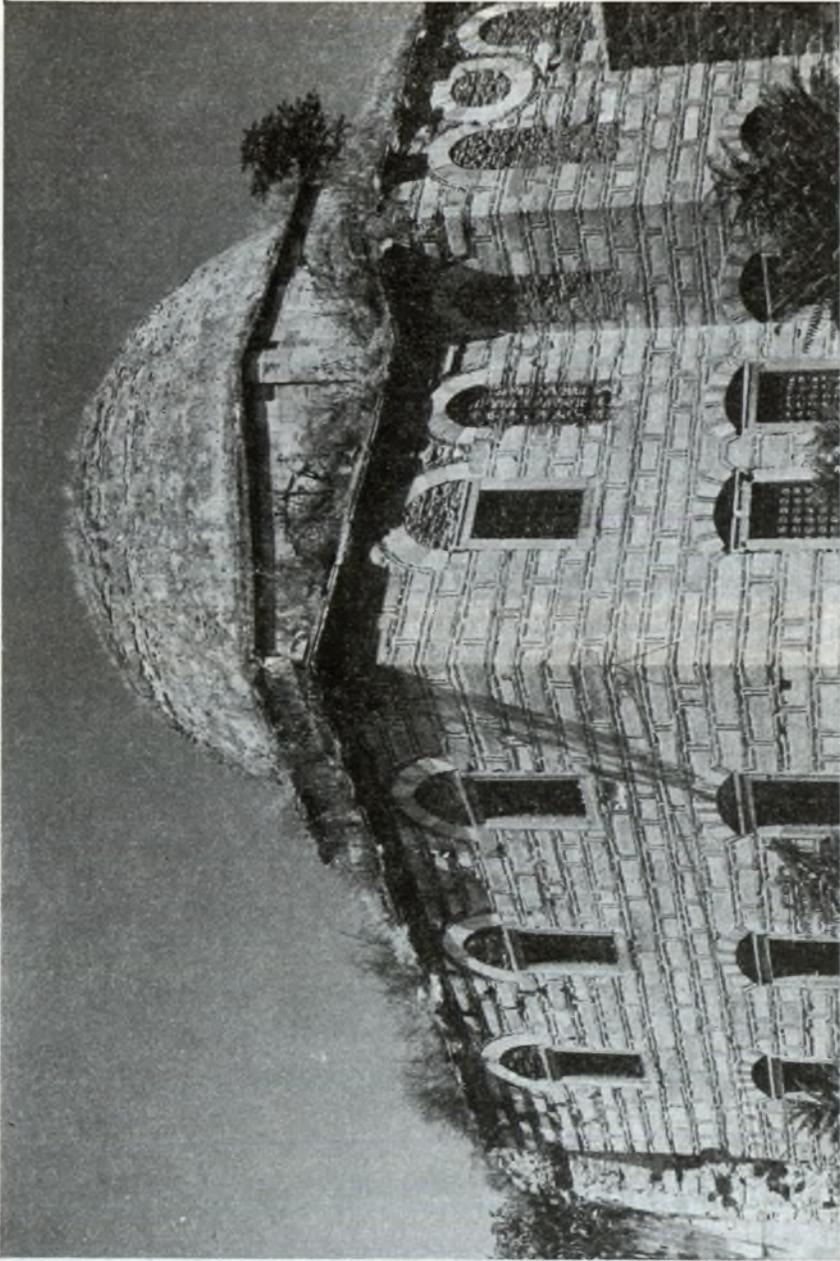
*Plate XVII*



1. Serres, Zircirli Cami (Mosque with the chain) last quarter of 16th cent., general view.



2. Serres, Zircirli Cami, detail view of gallery and side wall.



*Plate XVIII. Serres, Zincirli Cami, rear wall as seen from South-west. Notice the fine cloisonné work and the protruding mihrab - section.*