

# ΑΝΤΑΠΟΔΟΣΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ  
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ΑΘΗΝΑ 2010

# **ΑΝΤΑΠΟΔΟΣΗ**

**Μελέτες βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής  
αρχαιολογίας και τέχνης προς τιμήν  
της καθηγήτριας Ελένης Δεληγιάννη-Δωρή**

# **ANTAPODOSI**

**Studies in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine  
Archaeology and Art in Honour of  
Professor Helen Deliyianni-Doris**

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## Συντομογραφίες

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AAA: Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν  
ABME: Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
ΑΔ: Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον  
ΑΕ: Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς  
ΑΕΜΘ: Το Αρχαιολογικό Ἔργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη  
AARP: Art and Archaeology Research Papers  
AJA: American Journal of Archaeology  
AnSt: Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Ankara  
ArtB: The Art Bulletin  
BalkSt: Balkan Studies  
BEFAR: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome  
BCH: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique  
BHG: F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, Βρυξέλλες 1957<sup>3</sup>  
BMAH: Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire  
BMGS: Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies  
BNJ: Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher  
BollGrott: Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata  
BSA: Annual of the British School of Athens  
BSI: Byzantinoslavica  
BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies  
Byz: Byzantion  
ByzArch: Byzantisches Archiv  
ByzF: Byzantinische Forschungen  
ByzSym: Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα  
ByzVindo: Byzantina Vindobonensia  
BZ: Byzantinische Zeitschrift  
CahArch: Cahiers Archéologiques  
CahBalk: Cahiers Balkaniques  
CahCM: Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles  
CFHB: Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae  
CSHB: Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae



- DACL: F. Cabrol- H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vols. 15, Παρίσι 1908-1953
- ΔΙΕΕ: Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος
- ΔΚΜικρασΣ: Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικῶν Σπουδῶν
- ΔΧΑΕ: Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας
- DOP: Dumbarton Oaks Papers
- DOS: Dumbarton Oaks Studies
- EChR: Eastern Churches Review
- EO: Echos d' Orient
- ΕΕΒΣ: Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
- ΕΕΘΣΠΘ: Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης
- ΕΕΚρΣ: Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Κρητικῶν Σπουδῶν
- ΕΕΠΣΑΠΘ: Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχολῆς Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης
- ΕΕΣΜ: Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν
- ΕΙ<sup>2</sup>: Encyclopaedia of Islam, δεύτερη ἐκδοση, Leiden–Λονδίνο 1960 –
- EJOS: Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies
- FMSt: Frühmittelalterliche Studien
- GRBS: Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
- HilZb: Hilendarski Zbornik
- ΗπειρΧρ: Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικὰ
- ΘΗ: Θεσσαλικό Ημερολόγιο
- ΘΗΕ: Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία
- IRAIK: Izvestija Russkago Archeologicheskago Instituta v Konstantinople
- IstMitt: Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul
- JbAC: Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
- JÖB: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
- JÖBG: Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft
- JSAH: Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
- JWarb: Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute
- ΚρητΕστ: Κρητικὴ Ἐστία
- ΚρητΧρον: Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ
- ΛακΣπ: Λακωνικὰ Σπουδαὶ
- Lampe: G.W.H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Οξφόρδη 1961–1968
- LChrI: E. Kirschbaum κ.ά. (εκδ.), *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, τ. 1-8, Freiburg im Breisgau u.a. 1968–1976
- MBM: Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
- MMED: The Medieval Mediterranean
- MspätAByz: Mitteilungen zur Spätantiken Archäologie und Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte
- NC: The Numismatic Chronicle
- Νέος Ελλ.: Νέος Ἑλληνομνίμων
- ΝομΧρ: Νομισματικὰ Χρονικὰ

- OC: Oriens Christianus  
OCA: Orientalia Christiana Analecta  
ODB: A. Kazhdan κ.ά. (εκδ.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Νέα Υόρκη –Οξφόρδη 1991  
ΠΑΕ: Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας  
ΠΑΑ: Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν  
Πάπυρος: Γ.Α. Πουρνάρας (εκδ.), *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Πάπυρος - Λαρούς - Μηριάνγκα*, Αθήνα 1981–1996.  
PG: J.–P. Migne (εκδ.), *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, Παρίσι 1857– 1866  
PLP: Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit  
PTS: Patristische Texte und Studien  
RA: Revue archéologique  
RAC: Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum  
RbK: Kl. Wessel (εκδ.), *Reallexicon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, Στουτγκάρδη 1963 κ.ε.  
REB: Revue des Études Byzantines  
RDAC: Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus  
RHM: Römische Historische Mitteilungen  
RivAC: Rivista di archeologia cristiana  
RQ: Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte  
SC: Sources Chrésiennes  
SemKond: Seminarium Kondakoviarum  
Synaxarium EC: H. Delehaye (εκδ.), *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi adiectis synaxariis selectis*, Propylaeum ad Acte Sanctorum Novembris, Βρυξέλλες 1902  
TM: Travaux et Mémoires  
TOEM: Tarih-i Osmani Encumeni Mecmuasi  
ΦθιωτΧρ: Φθιωτικά Χρονικά  
VTIB: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini  
VizVrem: Vizantijskij Vremennik  
WBS: Wiener Byzantinistische Studien  
ZLU: Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti  
ZRVI: Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta

# Περιεχόμενα

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1. Ameen M. Ahmed, Byzantine Influences of the Ottoman Architecture of Greece: the case of the Mosques at Nafpaktos.....	23
Ameen M. Ahmed, Βυζαντινές επιδράσεις στην Οθωμανική Αρχιτεκτονική της Ελλάδας: η περίπτωση των τζαμιών της Ναυπάκτου .....	46
2. Αρβανίτη Ι. Σμαράγδη, Ο μεταβυζαντινός ναός του Αγίου Γεωργίου στον Άγιο Ιωάννη Κυνουρίας: συνοπτική παρουσίαση του μνημείου και του εικονογραφικού του προγράμματος .....	47
Arvaniti I. Smaragdi, The Post-Byzantine Church of Saint George at the Village of Saint John, Arcadia, Peloponnese; Preliminary Presentation of the Monument and its Iconographical Program .....	85
3. Βάσση Όλγα, Ο δεύτερος κτήτορας της Παναγίας Κρήνας στη Χίο: παρατηρήσεις με αφορμή μια ανασκαφική έρευνα .....	87
Vassi Olga, The Second Donor (“Ktetor”) of Panaghia Krena, Chios .....	106
4. Βαφειάδης Μ. Κωνσταντίνος, Ο ζωγράφος Τζώρτζης και οι τοιχογραφίες του νέου καθολικού του Μεγάλου Μετεώρου (1552) .....	107
Vaphiadis M. Konstantinos, Le peintre Zorzis et la décoration murale du nouveau Katholikon au monastère du Grand Météore (1552) .....	127
5. Διαμαντή Π. Καλλιόπη, Η παράσταση του δωρητή στο ναό του Σωτήρα στη Γαρδενίτσα της Μέσα Μάνης .....	129
Diamanti P. Kalliopi, La représentation du donateur dans l’église du Sauveur à Gardenitsa en Magni occidental .....	140
6. Επιτροπάκης Ι. Περίανδρος, Μονόχωρες καμαροσκέπαστες βασιλικές με προεξέχον χαμηλό εγκάρσιο κλίτος: ιδιόρρυθμοι «σταυρεπίστεγοι» της πρώιμης Ενετοκρατίας στην Κρήτη.....	141

Epitropakis I. Periandros, Aisleless Cross Shaped Vaulted Basilicas with Lower Roofed Transept. An Unusual Early Venetian Architectural Type of Churches in the Island of Crete .....	152
7. Θεοχαροπούλου Ειρήνη, Ὁ τοιχογραφικός διάκοσμος τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰωάννη Προδρόμου στὴν Ἐπισκοπὴ Πεδιάδας .....	153
Théocharopoulou Irène, Les peintures murales de l'église de Saint-Jean le Précurseur à Episkopi de la province Pédiada, à Héракlion, Crète .....	184
8. Καλαφάτη Καλλιόπη-Φαίδρα, Ἡ παράσταση τῆς Βρεφοκτονίας στους μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους με ἀφορμὴ μιᾶ εἰκόνα τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ καὶ Χριστιανικοῦ Μουσείου .....	185
Kalafati Kalliopi-Phaidra, The Representation of the Massacre of the Innocents in the Post-Byzantine Period on the Occasion of an Icon in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens .....	198
9. Κοντογιάννης Δ. Νίκος, Το Νιόκαστρο Πύλου μέσα ἀπὸ τὰ σχέδια τῶν στρατιωτικῶν μηχανικῶν τοῦ 17ου-19ου αἰῶνα .....	199
Kontogiannis D. Nikos, The Fortress of Pylos (Niokastro) based on Military Architectural Plans of the 17th-19th Centuries .....	224
10. Μπαρμπαρίτσα Ελένη, Θυμιατήρια τῆς Ἰστερης Βυζαντινῆς περιόδου (13ος-15ος αἰῶνας) .....	225
Barmparitsa Eleni, The Censers of the Late Byzantine Period (13th-15th c.) .....	245
11. Μπούζα Νιόβη, Παρατηρήσεις στο ναό τοῦ Ἁγίου Πέτρου στὴν Καστάνια τῆς Μεσσηνιακῆς Μάνης .....	247
Mrouza Niovi, Observations on the Church of St. Peter at Kastania in Messenian Mani.....	266
12. Μπρούσκαρη Ἐρση, Σφραγίδα ἄρτου παλαιοχριστιανικῶν χρόνων ἀπὸ τὴν Κω .....	267
Brouskari Ersi, Early Christian Breadstamp from Kos .....	279
13. Οικονόμου Μαρριάννα, Ἡ παραγωγή οἴνου καὶ ελαίου στὴ μονὴ Ἁγίων Πάντων Ἀχαΐας (1728) .....	281
Oikonomou Marianna, Wine and Olive Oil Processing in the Monastery of Agioi Pantes (1728), Achaia.....	296
14. Πάλλης Γιώργος, Μνημεῖα οθωμανικῆς ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς στο νομὸ Φθιώτιδας: μιᾶ τοπογραφικὴ ἐπισκόπηση .....	297



Pallis Georgios, Monuments of Ottoman Architecture in the Prefecture of Pthiotis .....	317
15. Παπαγεωργίου Τζούλια, Η απεικόνιση του αγίου Ιωάννη του Προδρόμου στο ναό της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής στο κάστρο Γερακίου Λακωνίας: η εξέλιξη της εικονογραφίας της μορφής στην παλαιολόγεια και πρόιμη μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική.....	319
Papageorgiou Julia, The Representation of Saint John the Baptist in the Church of Virgin Zoodochos Pege in the Medieval Fortress of Geraki in Laconia and the Development of the Iconography of the Saint in the Painting of the Palaiologan and the Early Post-Byzantine Period .....	338
16. Παρανή Γ. Μαρία, Το αρχιτεκτονικό βάθος στο έργο του ζωγράφου Φίλιππου Γουλ: μερικές σκέψεις .....	341
Parani G. Maria, Some Thoughts on the Architectural Backgrounds in the Work of the Painter Philippos Goul.....	367
17. Περάκης Μ. Ίωάννης, Συγκριτικές εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις στά έργα του Θεοφάνη και του εργαστηρίου του Τζιώρατζη, σε παραστάσεις του Χριστολογικού κύκλου .....	369
Perrakis M. Ioannis, Comparative Iconographic Remarks on Theophanes's Works of Giorgé's Workshop, on Scenes of the Christological Cycle .....	392
18. Προεστάκη Ξανθή, Η παλαιά μονή των Ταξιαρχών στο Στεφάνι Κορινθίας .....	393
Proestaki Xanthi, The Old Monastery of Taxiarches at Stefani, Korinthia .....	430
19. Σακελλάκου Χρυσάνθη, Συλλογή Π. Ιωαννίδη από τη Ρόδο: τα πινάκια τύπου Iznik.....	431
Sakellakou Chrisanthi, The Ioannides Collection from Rhodes: the Iznik Plates .....	452
20. Σκώπη Τερψιχόρη-Πατρίτσια, Η <i>Όρασις του προφήτου Δανιήλ</i> (Δν. ζ',1-14) στη βυζαντινή τέχνη .....	453
Skotti Terpsichori-Patricia, The Vision of the Prophet Daniel (Dan. VII) in Byzantine Art.....	470
21. Τσάκα Κατερίνα, Παρατηρήσεις στις απεικονίσεις του δράκοντος σε παραστάσεις της μεσοβυζαντινής τέχνης .....	473
Tsaka Katerina, Notes on Dragon Representations in Middle Byzantine Art .....	494
22. Τσέλιγκα-Αντουράκη Αγορίτσα, Ο κύκλος του βιβλίου της Γένεσης στη μονή Αγίων Τεσσαράκοντα Λακωνίας, έργο του Γεωργίου Μόσχου .....	495

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Tseliga-Andouraki Agoritsa, The Genesis Iconographic Cycle in the Katholikon of the Monastery of Agioi Tessarakonda in Lakonia, a Creation Signed by Georgios Moschos.....	518
23. Τσιμπούκης Δ. Γεώργιος, Αφιερωτικές επιγραφές και υπογραφές ζωγράφων σε φορητές εικόνες του 18ου και 19ου αιώνα από το Εκκλησιαστικό Μουσείο της Ιεράς Μητροπόλεως Λήμνου .....	519
Tsimpoukis D. Georgios, Dedicatory Inscriptions and Painters' Signatures on Portable Icons of the 18th and 19th Century from the Ecclesiastic Museum of the Holy Metropolis of Lemnos .....	535
24. Χρηστίδου Άννα, Ερευνώντας την ιστορία μέσα από άγνωστα βυζαντινά αυτοκρατορικά πορτρέτα σε εκκλησίες της Αλβανίας.....	537
Christidou Anna, Rediscovering History through Unexplored Byzantine Imperial Portraits in South Albania .....	561
Ευρετήριο τόπων και μνημείων .....	565
Ευρετήριο προσώπων.....	578
Ευρετήριο αντικειμένων.....	584
Ευρετήριο εικονογραφικό .....	589

# Byzantine Influences of the Ottoman Architecture of Greece: the case of the Mosques at Nafpaktos

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Ahmed M. Ameen

## Introduction

*'No civilization that comes in contact with other civilizations can claim immunity from outside influences. The Ottoman Turks were no exception'<sup>1</sup>.*

The clear impact of the Byzantine tradition on the Ottoman architecture of Greece, especially during its early phase, has been long established. As is also the fact that the most direct and visible influences on Ottoman architecture of Greece derive from the architectural tradition of the Helladic School. In so far that architecture constitutes a continuum the effect of both the Byzantine and Seljuk production on Ottoman architecture is expected. One cannot talk about Gothic architecture without making reference to the preceding Romanesque, or appreciate the architecture of Renaissance without considering that of the Roman period<sup>2</sup>. In addition to architecture and art, the amalgamation of Ottoman and Byzantine cultures is evident in diverse aspects of the early phase of the Ottoman presence in Greece, including philology, literature, administrative practices (tax system, use of weights and measurements) etc.

A most revealing example of this fusion is provided by an Ottoman inscription originating from a fourteenth century tomb. The inscription informs of a Christian mason and refers to the religion and profession of the deceased<sup>3</sup>. Whilst it is written in Ottoman<sup>4</sup>, it features Greek letters on the sides.

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1. A. Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago 1968, 3.

2. Z. Mercangöz, "New Approaches to Byzantine Influence on Some Ottoman Architectural Details. Byzantine Elements in the Decoration of a Building in Izmir", *EJOS IV* (2001) [= M. Kiel – N. Landman – H. Theunissen (eds), *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art*, Utrecht, The Netherlands, August 23-28, 1999], 1.

3. For the inscription of the turbe of Malkoçoğlu Mehmed Bey, dated to 787 A.H. /1385 A.D. see: Mercangöz, op.cit., 2; H. Edhem, "Gebze'de 787 tarihli Bir Osmanlı Kitabesi", *TOEM 7*, Sene (No. 40, Istanbul 1332/1917), 228-235, esp. 229.

4. The photograph of the inscription was not published. I was not able to find the reference book of H. Edhem.



1. Jacob Spon (1647-1685), *View of Nafpaktos*, 1678 [*Voyage d' Italie*], Gennadius Library, Athens (Ιστορία του Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, Ἀθήνα 1974, v. I, fig. on p. 314)



2. Coronelli Vincenzo (1650-1718), *Map of Nafpaktos, view from the gulf side*, 1688 [*Memorie istoriografiche*], copper engraving, 12.5 x 17 cm, Gennadius Library, Athens, (Τόπος καί εἰκόνα, pl. 184)

In this light, this paper aims to study the two preserved Ottoman mosques of Nafpaktos that bear witness to Byzantine influence.

## Nafpaktos

Nafpaktos<sup>5</sup> is the second largest city in the prefecture of *Aitolioakarnania*, Greece and is situated on a bay on the north side of the Lepanto straits (Greek: *Ναύπακτος*, rarely *Ἐναχτος*; Latin: *Naupactus* or *Naupactos*; Turkish: *Inebahti*<sup>6</sup>; Italian<sup>7</sup>, Spanish and Portuguese: *Lepanto*). The city was included in the territory of the Ottoman *Beylik* from 1499 onwards<sup>8</sup>. Constructions undertaken following this date are integrated into the urban landscape while displaying similarities with the already existing Byzantine architecture.

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She mentions that the inscription was written in Ottoman, that is in Turkish with Arabic alphabet but I believe that in this early period the language used in inscriptions was Arabic.

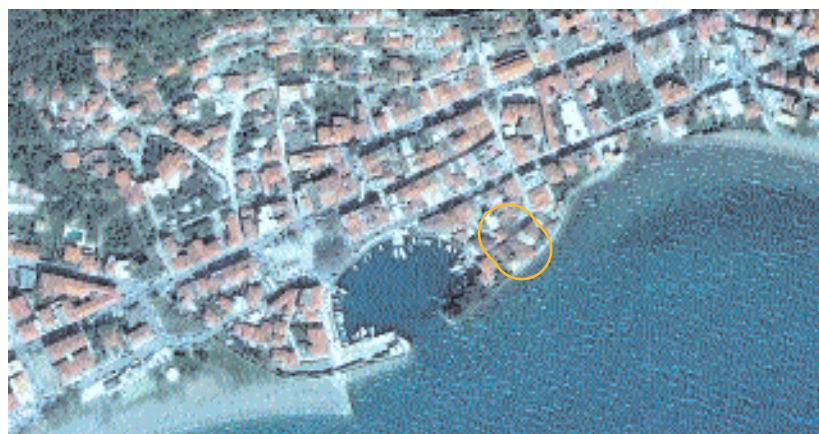
5. The origin of the name Naupactus comes from the Greek words “ναύς” (naus; ship, boat) and “πηγνύειν” (pêgnuein; to fasten together, build). The distance from Patras is about 15 km (NE) and from Athens about 215 km (NW), via the Rio-Antirio Bridge. See: Αρ. Πετρονότης, «Οθωμανικά αρχιτεκτονήματα Ναυπάκτου (*Inebahti*)», *Ναυπακτικὰ* 6 (1992-1993), 221-222; Β. Σφυρόερας, «Ναύπακτος», *Πάνυρος*, v. 44, 384-386; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Naupactus>.

6. F. Babinger, “Aynabakhtī”, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, 790; Πετρονότης, *op.cit.*, 223.

7. Γ.Χ. Μαρίνου, «Η αρχιτεκτονική της Ναυπάκτου κατά την Ενετοκρατία και την Τουρκοκρατία», *ΗμερΧρ* 27 (1986), 127-131.

8. E.H. Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri*. IV. *Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavudluk*, Istanbul 1982, 248. For the conquest of Nafpaktos and pertinent views by historians and travelers see: Πετρονότης, *op.cit.*, 229-234.





3. Satellite view for the harbor of Nafpaktos, shows the site of Fethiye mosque (Google maps, May 2008)



4. Satellite view for the harbor of Nafpaktos, a detail shows the site of Fethiye mosque and the street pattern

## The Mosques of Nafpaktos

Evliya Çelebi (1668-1670)<sup>9</sup> records eight *Jāmi'* (in Turkish: *Câmiî* = Grand Mosque or Friday Mosque) in Nafpaktos, in addition to eleven *masjid*<sup>10</sup> (= small Mosque). Three more *Jāmi'* (or mosques) were built during the second Ottoman rule (1701-1829). In addition to these structures<sup>11</sup> (figs. 2-3) one mosque, the Fethiye mosque, is preserved almost in its

9. Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, [10 books], Istanbul 1896–1938, book n. 8, 317; I.Γ. Γιαννόπουλος, *Ἡ περιήγησις τοῦ Ἐβλιά Τσελεμπί ἀνά τὴν Στερεὰν Ἑλλάδα*, v. Β', Athens 1969–1970, 175-176; Ν. Χειλαδάκης (έρευνα καὶ λογοτεχνικὴ ἀπόδοσις), *Ἐβλιά Τσελεμπί (Evliya Çelebi). Ταξίδι στὴν Ἑλλάδα*, Athens 1991, 203.

10. A mosque, in Arabic *masjid* (Arabic: مسجد) is a place of worship for Muslims. It indicates a place of prostration (*Sujud*), which in Islam holds a quintessential position in the five obligatory daily ritual prayers. The word 'mosque' in English refers to all types of buildings intended for Islamic worship, although in Arabic there is a distinction between the smaller, private mosques and the larger, 'collective' mosques (Arabic: جامع, *masjid jāmi'*), that have more communal and social amenities. The *masjid* was a district mosque (architecturally known later as a mosque without a minaret) for the five obligatory daily ritual prayers, while the "*masjid jāmi'*", was additionally intended for adjacent districts in order to collect the Muslims in the Friday prayer (architecturally, it is bigger than the *masjid* and has a minaret). Some *masajid* were extended into *masajid jāmi'a* in order to meet the needs of the growing population of a district, such as Hamza Bey Mosque (Alkazar) at Thessaloniki (1467-8) and the Mosque of Mustafa Bey at Serres (1519). The *masjid* was known in Byzantine sources as "maesidon" (Greek: "μαγίσδιον", means "ἠοῦχασιτήριον" i.e. hermitage or a place of worship). The Greek word derived from the pronunciation of the Arabic *masjid*, also known in Greek as "προσκυνητάρι" which means small mosque or shrine. See: Χ.Α. Νομικός, «Τὸ πρῶτο τζαμί τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως», *ΕΕΒΣ Α'* (1924), 201, n. 4. The mosque serves as a place where Muslims can gather for *salat* (prayer). It also acts as centre of information, education and dispute settlement, thereby constituting a central location for the daily life of Muslim communities. See: O. Grabar, "Architecture and Art", in J.R. Hayes (ed.), *The Genius of Arab Civilization*, New York 1975, 77–120 [= in *Abqarīyat al-ḥadārah al-Arabīyah*, (Arabic translation: *Salāh Jalāl*), Cambridge 1978, 23]; G. Le Bon, *La civilization des Arabes*, Paris 1884 [= *Ḥadārah al-Arab* (Arabic translation), Cairo 1956<sup>3</sup>, 425]; T. El-Walī, *Al-masājid fi al-Islām* [= *The Mosques in Islam*], Beirut 1988, 158-159.

11. For the location and history of these mosques as revealed by maps of travelers and textual sources see: Μαρτίου, *op.cit.* (n. 7), 135-137; Πετρονότης, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 256-267, pl. 5, 7, 9; J. Spon, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, v. 1, Lyon 1678, 26, fig. opposite 25; *Τόπος καὶ εἰκόνα: χαρακτηριστικά ξένων περιηγητῶν γιὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα*, v. 1, *Ἀπὸ τὸν 15ο ἕως τὸν 17ο αἰῶνα*, Athens 1978, pl. 184.



5. *Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, panoramic view of the mosque within the harbor from the East*

entirety while ruins from three other mosques remain including the bases of minarets and sections of the perimetric walls. This study will focus on the Fethiye mosque and the best preserved remains of the other three mosques.

#### *Fethiye mosque (1499-1500)*

**Variant Names:** Fethiye mosque, Bayezid Waly (Vali) mosque, harbour<sup>12</sup> mosque

**Location & Street Address:** Nafpaktos, harbour & 4 Formionos street

**Founder:** Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512)

**Date:** 1499-1500

**Style & Building Type:** Ottoman & religious

**Present state of preservation:** good

**Function of Monument:** mosque, salt depository, storehouse, archaeological site, exhibitions' hall

**Site, Date and Founder:** *Fethiye* mosque is adjacent to the east part of the port of Nafpaktos and located within the old walls of the city (figs. 5-6). The name *Fethiye*, which translates into 'the mosque of the conqueror', was usually given to the first mosque built in newly-conquered cities. It derives from the Arabic word *Al-Fath* (The Victory). Evliya Çelebi mentions that the Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos was built by the Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512), the so-called Bayezid Waly (Vali)<sup>13</sup>. The information is confirmed by the archives of Istanbul<sup>14</sup>. It is reasonable to assume that the mosque's name (Fethiye) is associated with the conquest of Nafpaktos by Bayezid II in 1499.

12. For the Mosque of the port (in Greek: "Τζαμί λιμανιού") see: Δ. Κωνσταντίος, «Τζαμί λιμανιού», *ΑΔ* 37 (1982) Β'2, Χρονικά, 277.

13. Εβλιά Τσελεμπί, *op.cit.* (n. 9), 203.

14. Ayverdi, *op.cit.* (n. 8), 248, n. 1818; Πετρονότης, *op.cit.* (n. 5), 254.



6. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, panoramic view of the mosque within the old walls, SW side



7. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, view from the citadel show the mosque's roofing (E: entrance, M: minaret, D: dome)

General description: in its current state (figs. 7, 28), Fethiye mosque consists of two main parts. The first constitutes a small prayer hall that forms a regular square measuring 82.72 m<sup>2</sup> and dates from the initial construction of the mosque. The second part is a subsequent construction (fig. 8). It is located on the NW side of the prayer hall and replaced the previously existing portico. It has approximately the same dimensions as the prayer hall. It is of trapezoidal shape due to the positioning of its NW wall, which was set askew in order to follow the existing street pattern (figs. 3-4). It is covered with a gabled roof (figs. 7-8) while the thickness of the walls measures  $\pm 0.85$  m. The minaret is located on the west corner of the prayer hall but only its base survives today.

Exterior: The NW side constitutes the main façade of the mosque and stands where the portico (the *rewaq*) used to be. The walls, the drum and the arches of the original mosque are built with rubble masonry mixed randomly with thin bricks (figs. 9-10, 12). The corners and arches are built relatively more carefully with rather sizeable but hewn stones (fig. 10) reminiscent of a typical provincial Byzantine pattern. The dome is made of brick, covered with a strong reddish-pink mortar (fig. 11). The walls and the drum of the dome of the original mosque end in a stone dogtooth cornice (figs. 12-14). This pattern constitutes a common practice of Byzantine brick decoration, here transferred into stone. The minaret is semi independent (fig. 15). It is today located in the garden of the dwelling of the Artinopoulo's family<sup>15</sup>. Alluding to the tradition of the Byzantine Helladic School, the base of the minaret is worked in cloisonné masonry (fig. 16) while ending in a stone cornice. The use of cloisonné led Evliya Çelebi to describe it as "built according to an old fashion"<sup>16</sup>.

Each of the two original side walls of the mosque bears a set of three windows. Two of them are rectangular and crowned with pointed arches while protected with iron grating. Between them, at the level of their arches, is located the third window which is of similar

15. Ibid., 257.

16. Εβλιά Τσελεμπί, op.cit. (n. 9), 203.





8. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, the main present (NW) façade

shape but smaller in size. All the windows are today walled up (fig. 17). The octagonal drum of the mosque's dome is perforated by four axial, symmetrical windows (figs. 9, 11) the latter being a typical Byzantine pattern as regards the distribution of windows. The four windows are set at the vertical axe of the four walls of the prayer hall while their arches are pointed. The SW and SE windows were later reworked in a rectangular shape.

Interior: The level of the mosque and that of the street were originally at 1.20 m lower than the current level (fig. 18). Today the prayer hall of the mosque is reached through a subsequent forecourt featuring an arcade of three semicircular arches (fig. 19), supported by two columns and two side piers (fig. 20). The span of the central arch opposite the *mihrab* niche is larger than those on the flanks. The prayer hall is covered by a hemispherical dome ( $\pm 8.65$  m in diameter) (fig. 21) that rests on an octagonal drum, supported by four squinches<sup>17</sup> (figs. 8, 22-23) at the corners. The squinches alternate with four blind

semicircular arches (fig. 22). The interior of the building received painted decoration, large parts of which are still visible on the dome (fig. 24). The key of the dome is decorated with a rosette<sup>18</sup>.

17. Some scholars refer to them erroneously as pendentives [F. Kefallonitou, "Fethiye (or harbor) Mosque", in E. Brouskari (ed.), *Ottoman Architecture in Greece* (translation: E. Key Fowden), Athens 2008, 109]. The main difference between pendentives and squinches is that the latter is distinguished by a three-dimensional form, as explained by D. Jones and G. Michell: "As defined, the *squinch* is distinguished from the *pendentive* (or prototypical spherical triangular form) as being 'three dimensional'" and as transferring load "to the two intersecting walls or arches which it bridges diagonally and loads continuously" rather than "to one point satiated at the intersection of two supporting arches or walls", see: R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Middlesex 1965 [= Greek translation: Φ. Μαλλούχου-Tufano, Athens 1998<sup>2</sup>, 536-537]. See also: D. Jones - G. Michell, "Squinches and Pendentives: Comments on Problems of Definition", *AARP* 1 (1972), 9-25; R. J. Mainstone, "Squinches and Pendentives: Comments on Problems of Definition", *AARP* 4 (1973), 131-132 [= *Structure in Architecture: History, Design and Innovation*, Variorum Collected Studies, London 1999, XIV]. Squinches are found in earlier examples of Islamic architecture, such as as the Great Mosques in Kairwan and Cordoba but in Ottoman architecture they allude to the Iranian and central Asian architecture more than the early Islamic one, see: G. Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London 1971, 18. The history of squinches goes back many centuries since they are found in the Persian fire-temples, dating from the third century A.D., see: G. Fehérvári, «Review. Reviewed Work: The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture by Aptullah Kuran», *BSOAS* 34:3 (1971), 607-608.

18. Κωνστάντιος, op.cit. (n. 12), 277.





*9. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, the exterior gradual form; square, octagon and dome*



*10. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, a detail of the walls' construction*



*11. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, a detail of the exterior roof*



*12. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, a detail of the walls' construction with their cornices and the windowed drum*



*13. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, a detail of the walls' stone cornice*



*14. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, a detail of the walls' stone cornice*



15. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, the minaret

The *mihrab* niche is raised on a stone podium and occupies the centre of the SE wall (fig. 22). It is a simple semicircular *mihrab* niche (0.70 m depth, 1.10 m width, 3.50 m height) opening to the prayer hall with a semicircular arch (fig. 25). On the west corner of the prayer hall is the minaret, the door of which opens into the interior with a semicircular arch (fig. 26). This door leads to the stone spiral staircase (fig. 27) of the minaret.

Plan: The prayer hall with its three-arched arcade and the base of the minaret date from the initial construction phase in 1499. The trapezoidal forecourt which is built in front of the original prayer hall (fig. 28) is possibly associated with a Venetian restoration that may have taken place during the time that the monument was used as a salt depository. Its function as such continued until the 20th century<sup>19</sup>. The original shape of the current forecourt was possibly rectangular (fig. 30) and dictated by the space that was available at the time. As will be explained

in the course of this paper, some architectural details indicate that the forecourt was divided into two porticos. It appears that an inner portico or gallery opened into the prayer hall through the preserved three-arched arcade (fig. 29). This was probably not covered by the dome of the prayer hall and had a separate roof that is however destroyed today. That the prayer hall opens directly into the exterior through a three-arched arcade is not a common feature of Ottoman architecture. Therefore, it is unlikely that the three-arched arcade in the prayer hall is identified with an exterior *rewaq*. As the ground plan indicates, the side of the minaret's door and the corners of the walls with the side piers of this three-arched arcade are parts of the original mosque (figs. 29-30). The second portico, the *rewaq* (fig. 30), is identified with the external portico that is typically found in Ottoman mosques. The *rewaq* may assume various forms depending on the details of the roofing system and decoration. The assumption that the existing three-arched arcade in the prayer hall of the Fethiye mosque is not an exterior *rewaq* is supported by the example of Yeşil or Green mosque<sup>20</sup> (1378-1392) (figs. 32-33) at Iznik. The latter was built by the architect Hacı bin Musa upon the commission of Hayreddin Pasha (Çandarlı Kara Halil) and includes both an inner- and an exterior portico

19. Πετρονάκης, op.cit. (n. 5), 257.

20. Kuran, op.cit. (n. 1), 61-62, figs. 53-57; Goodwin, op.cit. (n. 17), 20-21, figs. 9-10.





16. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, a detail of the minaret's building technique "cloisonné"



17. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, a detail of the SW façade, shows the walls' construction and the walled up windows

(*rewaq*). Moreover, the roofing of the Yeşil or Green mosque provides the closest example to the Fethiye mosque since the inner portico is individually roofed and not covered by the dome of the prayer hall. Other examples featuring two porticos and minarets opening into the interior are provided by the mosque of Mahmud Pasha in Istanbul<sup>21</sup> – the best known mosque of the Grand Vizier, Mehmed the Conqueror (1462) (fig. 34), the Yeni mosque in Komotini, dated to the 16th century (fig. 35) and the Aslan Pasha mosque (1618) in Ioannina, Greece<sup>22</sup>. It is worth underlining however that in the last two cases the inner portico is not separately roofed and is covered by the dome of the prayer hall.

The history of the monument and its current state: As already mentioned, the Fethiye mosque was converted into a salt depository for a long time resulting in the distortion of its architectural and morphological features<sup>23</sup>. The current condition of the mosque is good due to the restoration that was undertaken in 1999-2001 as a part of the 2nd Communal Support Framework<sup>24</sup>. It is currently used as hall for exhibitions and cultural events but the actual plan is for it to house the Museum for the Byzantine Collection of Nafpaktos.

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21. Kuran, *op.cit.* (n. 1), 142, figs. 154-155; Goodwin, *op.cit.* (n. 17), 112, figs. 103-104.

22. Α. Ευγγόπουλος, «Μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Ἰωαννίνων», *Ηπειρος* 1 (1926), 297-298; Στ. Μαυράκης, *Ο προσανατολισμός των μουσουλμανικών τεμένων Φετιγιέ και Ασλάν Πασά στα Ιωάννινα* (Diploma Project, National Technical University), Athens 2004.

23. Kefallonitou, *op.cit.* (n. 17), 109-110.

24. *Ibid.*



18. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, from the prayer hall toward the more recent forecourt



19. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, from the more recent forecourt toward the prayer hall

*Vizir mosque (= The minaret) (16th century, 1701-1702)*

**Variant Names:** mosque of the Wells, Pigadiye (Πηγάδια) mosque, Vezir mosque, mosque of Amcazade complex, Hüseyin Pasha mosque

**Location & Street Address:** near the citadel of Nafpaktos

**Founder:** Grand Vezir Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha (d. 1702)

**Date:** 16th century and 1701-1702

**Style & Building Type:** Ottoman & religious

**Present state of preservation:** only the minaret's base of the mosque is preserved in poor condition.

**Function of Monument:** Formerly a mosque, in ruins today

Site, Date and Founder: The mosque is located between the harbour and the upper section of the fort, the citadel of Nafpaktos. It is adjacent to the eastern walls and above the clock-tower. The same area features the mosque of the Wells, mentioned by Evliya Çelebi as the third Friday-mosque out of the altogether eight mosques of Nafpaktos<sup>25</sup>. Therefore it dates from the first Ottoman rule of Nafpaktos (1499-1687), possibly to the sixteenth century. During the Venetian rule (1687-1701) Ottoman monuments were reused, damaged or demolished, resulting in partial or total destruction of some. As soon as the Ottomans recaptured the city of Nafpaktos in 1701, they undertook reconstructions supported by the Sultan Mustafa II (1695-1703) himself and his Grand Vizier Köprülü (Amcazade) Hüseyin Pasha<sup>26</sup> (1697–1702). In the framework of the reconstruction works in the first two years of the eighteenth century, the mosque of the Wells was renovated or reconstructed and was

25. Εβλιά Τοελεμί, op.cit. (n. 9), 203.

26. M. Kiel, "The Külliye of Amca-zâde Hüseyin Pasha in Lepanto. A little-known work of Late-Classical Ottoman Architecture in Central Greece", *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Turkish Art, Ankara, 23-27 September 1991*, v. II, Ankara 1995, 379-387.





20. *Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, the western corner of the prayer hall, also shows the minaret's door*



21. *Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, the main dome*

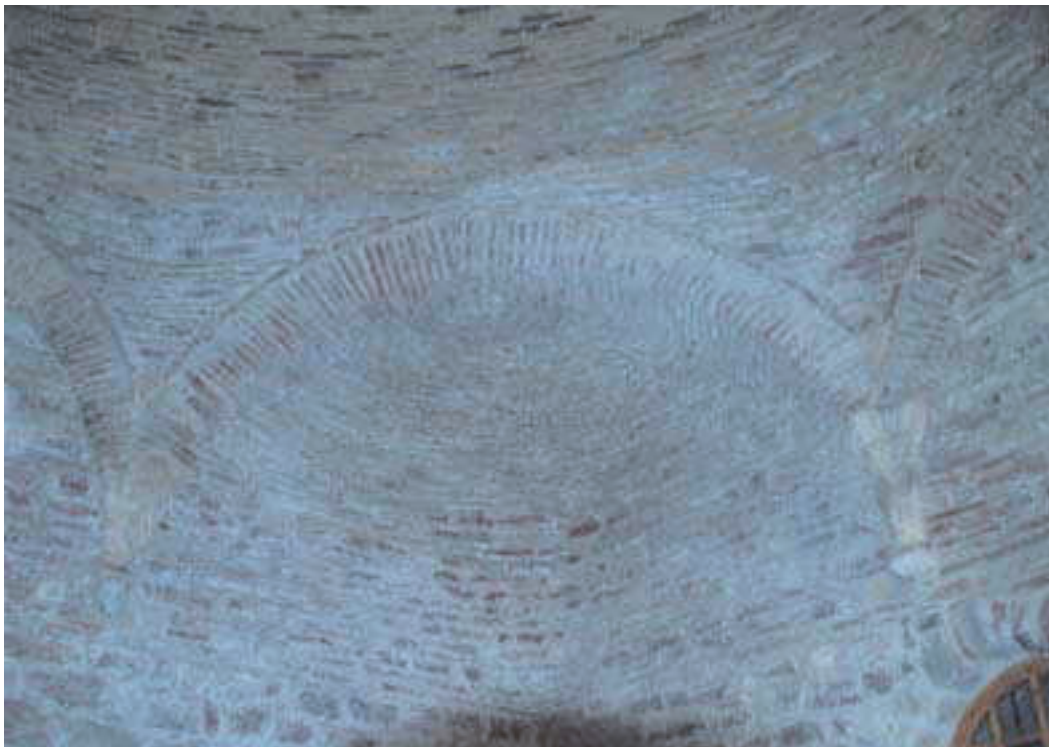
named after his new founder as “the Vizir” mosque. It formed part of a new architectural complex including a fountain, bath, and medrese. It was built by Amcazade Hüseyin Pasha, a Grand Vizier in 1697-1702 and a descendant of the well-known Ottoman noble family of Köprülü. The family originated from Albania and provided six Ottoman Grand Viziers as well as several other high-ranking officers.

Description: Only the base of the minaret and parts of the mosque’s perimeter walls remain today from the Vizir Mosque (or the Mosque of the Wells).

The base of the minaret was worked in cloisonné (fig. 36) masonry system, following the tradition of the Byzantine Helladic School (figs. 37-39). It is a 3.5 m square and 5.30 m high construction. The minaret was semi-independent. It was attached to the west corner of the mosque’s western wall, precisely where the minaret’s door was as is the case in Ottoman mosques. The western and north sides of the minaret are partially destroyed (fig. 27). The thickness of the minaret’s walls ranges from  $\pm 1$  m to 1.40 m. A spiral stone staircase is still visible in the central body of the minaret (fig. 27). The thick walls of the minaret’s body are filled with rubble connected with strong mortar. There are several openings in the thickness of the walls indicating where the wooden tie-beams were put. The walls are worked in excellent cloisonné masonry, the best sample of which is visible on the western side of the minaret (fig. 27). The cloisonné pattern is formed with hewn stone blocks measuring  $\pm 45$  cm long and  $\pm 13$  cm wide. They are framed with red bricks measuring  $\pm 15$  cm long and  $\pm 3$  cm wide that are connected with a layer of reddish mortar, of approximately the same thickness as the bricks.



*22. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, the SE (qibla) wall, in its center is the mihrab niche, also shows in the eastern corner the original floor level of the prayer hall*



*23. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, one of the four squinches which transfer the square into an octagon*

### **The Byzantine influence on the Ottoman Mosques of Nafpaktos**

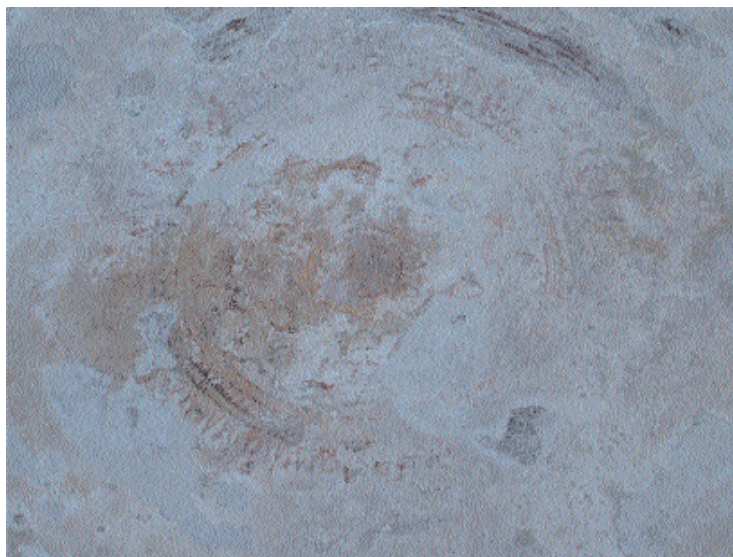
It is evident that the architectural and decorative details of Ottoman buildings in each region vary according to the prevailing ethnic composition<sup>27</sup>.

#### *Materials*

The building techniques applied in the region are largely conditioned upon the available materials. The climate as well as the prevailing social and economic circumstances has a decisive bearing on approaches taken upon a construction and the architectural practices selected for it. The materials used in Nafpaktos, and elsewhere in Greece for that matter, are the following:

Brick: the Ottoman buildings were probably constructed with local materials since there is no information regarding the import of construction materials from elsewhere. Byzantine bricks are the same as those used in Ottoman buildings, a fact that indicates continuation of the local brick workshops. The bricks used are approximately 20 cm square and 3-5 cm thick (Vizir Mosque minaret, fig. 36). Brick is the main material for building arches, vaults and domes as it has many advantages. Firstly, brick is easier to work with than stone because it produces a homogeneous curved shape. Furthermore, brick does not require special carving while at the same time it is light enough to be easily hoisted to its final destination without the need of special equipment<sup>28</sup>.

Mortar: it represents the connecting material used to link stones and bricks together. The type that is predominantly used for this purpose is lime mortar, which is the product of the calcination of limestone.



24. *Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, traces of the dome's decoration*

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27. Id., "Provincial and Local Trends in the Art of the Ottoman Balkans", in J.M. Scarce (ed.), *Islam in the Balkans: Persian Art and Culture of the 18th and 19th Centuries. Papers arising from a Symposium held to celebrate the World of Islam Festival at the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, 28th-30th July 1976*, Edinburgh 1979, 19-28 [= "Some Reflections on the Origins of Provincial Tendencies in the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans", in *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, Variorum Collected Studies, London 1990, 221-227]; R. Ousterhout, "Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture", *Muqarnas* XII (1995), 48-62; Mercangöz, op.cit. (n. 2), 1-22; E.F. Alioğlu, "Similarities between Early Ottoman Architecture and Local Architecture or Byzantine Architecture in Iznik" *International Millenium Congress More Than Two Thousand Years in the History of Architecture*, Selected Papers, v. 1, Session 2, Historic Towns (Bethlehem, 20-25 January 2000), 1-8.

28. R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton University Press 1999, 207-208.





25. *Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, the minaret's arched door*



26. *Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, interior, the minaret's spiral staircase*

While used in construction lime is mixed with different additional materials in order to form mortar. Depending on the added materials and the impurities of the limestone, the mortar varies in colour, quality and appearance. The mortar used in the Ottoman buildings under discussion varies from grey (Fethiye mosque) to pink (Vizir mosque minaret and the dome of Fethiye mosque in the exterior), with the latter potentially ranging from sand to crushed brick. The use of crushed brick and brick powder was rather common and rendered a pinkish colour to the mortar as is the case in the minaret of the Vizir mosque. This practice dates back to Roman times and was recommended by Vitruvius<sup>29</sup>.

The strength of the mortar was affected by the proportions of the ingredients involved. The mortar used in the Ottoman buildings under discussion is hard while it calls to mind the mortar used in the Early Byzantine period. The mortar beds are thick, which was also the norm in Byzantine architecture, reaching almost the thickness of the bricks - about 2 to 3 cm for the mortar bed and 3 - 4 cm for the brick. Each brick is set between two beds of mortar (Vizir mosque minaret) (fig. 36). Between the courses of stone or rubble, the mortar bed is about 1.5 to 2.5 cm thick (Fethiye mosque). Any irregularities were concealed through the application of mortar.

Stone: the most commonly used was limestone or sand stone. They both range in colour

29. C.A. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, London 1986, 12; Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, op.cit. (n. 28), 134.



from cream or buff to a silvery grey. The category of “Ashlar”<sup>30</sup> (or cut stone masonry) is not found in Ottoman monuments of Nafpaktos. However, there are examples of the cloisonné masonry where regular stone blocks are used, the better quality of which were employed for the structural points, namely frames, corners, lintels etc.

Columns: the availability of columns did not have such a direct impact on building design in Ottoman architecture as it did in Byzantine architecture<sup>31</sup>. The two columns of Fethiye mosque (figs. 18-19), as well as most of the columns used in Early Ottoman architecture, were spolia<sup>32</sup>. This fact rendered them quite dissimilar to each other. The reuse of materials or the use of spolia was a common feature in all periods including the Early Ottoman period.

Roofing materials: still preserved, the dome of Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos is built with

30. *Ashlar* buildings richly adorned with sculpture characterised Seljuk architecture and continued side by side with the new construction style of cloisonné, a Byzantine pattern, in early Ottoman architecture. Both masonry styles are found in Greece mainland, as well as the Balkans, where *ashlar* masonry signifies only the Early Ottoman period, with the best examples being the Bayezid Mosque at Didymoteichon (1420-1421) and the Mosque of Mohamed Bey at Serres (1492-1493). For the *Ashlar* buildings in both Seljuk and Ottoman architecture the Balkans see: E.H. Ayverdi, *Fâtih devri mîmârî eserleri*, Istanbul 1953; B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic Architecture. Seljuk to Ottoman*, London 1970; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London 1971, 65-70, 98-200. For the Bayezid Mosque at Didymoteichon see: Kuran, op.cit. (n. 1), 196; Aslanapa, op.cit., 200; Ayverdi, op.cit., 326-333; F.C. Yenisehirlioglu, *Türkiye Disindaki Osmanli Mimari Yapitlari (Ottoman Architectural Works Outside Turkey)*, Ankara 1989, 217-244; A. Γουριδής, *Το Ιστορικό Διδυμότειχο. Συμβολή στην ιστορία την τοπογραφία της πόλεως του Διδυμοτείχου*, Didymoteicho 1999, 162-66; İ. Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan da Türk mimari eserleri, önsöz: Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu*, Istanbul 2003, 122-181; Χρ. Κηπουρός, “Ο δεύτερος εξώστης του μιναρέ στο Βαγιαζήτ τζαμί”, Expo.gr.[http://www.explo.gr/qu\\_article/040610002/darticle](http://www.explo.gr/qu_article/040610002/darticle) [Accessed Date October 26, 2004]; id., “Το Μεγάλο τζαμί”, Ota. gr. <http://www.ota.gr/didimoteixo/tzami.tml> [Accessed Date October 28, 2004]. For the Mosque of Mohamed Bey at Serres see: N. Μοσχόπουλος, «Ἡ Ἑλλάς κατὰ τὸν Ἑβλίᾳ Τσελεμπή: μιὰ τουρκικὴ περιγραφὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὸν ΙΖ΄ αἰῶνα. Κριτικὴ ἀνάλυσις, μετάφρασις καὶ ἔλεγχος τοῦ “Ὀδοιπορικοῦ” (σεγιαχατναμέ) τοῦ Τούρκου περιηγητοῦ», *ΕΕΒΣ ΙΕ΄* (1939), 145-181· Π.Θ. Πέννας, *Ἱστορία τῶν Σερρῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων μέχρι τῆς ἀπελευθερώσεως τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων (1383-1913)*, Athens 1966, 509-512; M. Kiel, “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”, *BalkSt* 12 (1971), 426-456; R. Anhegger, “Beitrage zur Osmanische Baugeschichte. III: Moscheen in Saloniki und Serres; Zur Frage der Planmoscheen”, *IstMitt* 17 (1967), 318-320; Ayverdi, op.cit., 279-280; E. Balta, *Les vakifs des Serrès et de sa région*, Athens 1995. This wall construction technique characterises the Early Ottoman monuments of Iznik as seen at Yakup Çelebi Mosque (c. 1380), Nilüfer Hatun Soup Kitchen (1388), Mahmud Çelebi Mosque (1422) and other examples. This contrast between red brick and stone –which varies in color from cream or buff to a silvery grey or greenish as is the case in this monument– provides an attractive appearance. It is considered as a common feature in Islamic architecture but applied with different materials. *Ashlar* masonry and brick with rubble are also evident in Byzantine constructions. The former is characteristic of Syria-Palestine, most part of Asia Minor, as well as the border regions of Armenia and Georgia. The latter constitutes a central tradition of Byzantine architecture and is typical of Constantinople, the western coast of Asia Minor, the Balkans and Italy. See: Mango, op.cit. (n. 29), 11.

31. The availability of columns played an important role in the design of the Byzantine building, such as in the cross-in-square plan. The latter required four columns of similar size corresponding to the intended building. For more see: Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, op.cit. (n. 28), 145-146.

32. About the use of spolia in Byzantine architecture see: *ibid.*, 140-145.



27. *Vizir mosque of Nafpaktos, minaret's base, its door, a ruined spiral staircase*

brick. Its exterior is covered with strong, pinkish mortar, which is an uncommon practice. The tile roof follows the common Byzantine type<sup>33</sup>, mostly used in the Ottoman domestic architecture of Nafpaktos according to Evliya Çelebi's description of the city's dwellings "...they are well-built and have tiled roofs"<sup>34</sup> (fig. 1).

*The construction of the walls (or facades)*

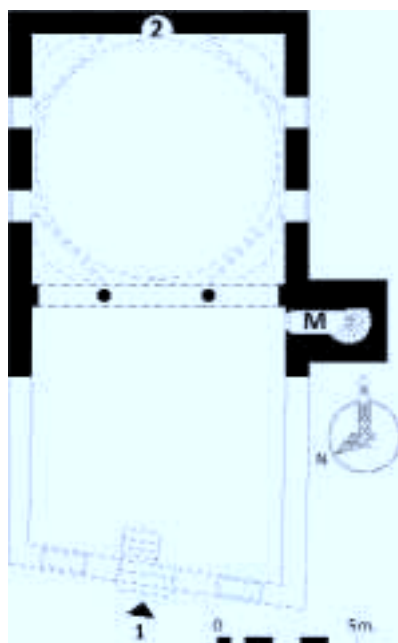
The most characteristic Byzantine influence on Ottoman architecture in Greece is the construction of the walls. Byzantine churches in mainland Greece present a local system of wall construction<sup>35</sup>. It uses brick and stone but in a way that is rather different from that attested at Constantinople, that is, from the so-called "Constantinopolitan" wall construction<sup>36</sup>. In the cloisonné system of masonry - the term is borrowed from the enamel work - each stone is framed by brick on all four sides. One of the best applications of this technique in Ottoman religious architecture in Greece is attested in the minaret of the Vizir mosque in Nafpaktos (figs. 36-39).

33. There are three main types of roofs in the Byzantine architecture. The first was a tiled roof, the simplest and cheapest system of roofing. The second was a stone tiled roof or slate roof. And the third one was the lead sheets roof, the most expensive and enduring form of roofing. The three types of roofing were used in Ottoman architecture with the third type being the most popular.

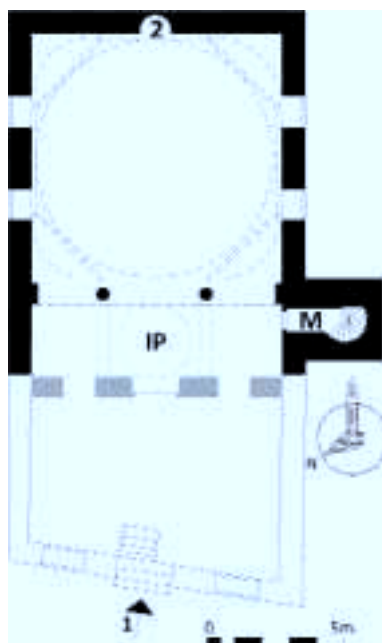
34. Εβλιά Τσελεμπί, *op.cit.* (n. 9), 205.

35. Ch. Delvoye, *Βυζαντινή τέχνη*, Athens 2003, 321. The use of the cloisonné system (in Greek "Plinthoperiklisto" or "Plinthoperivlito") in Greece emerged during the second half of the 10th century. See: G. Millet, *L'École grecque dans l'architecture byzantine*, London 1974, 225-226; Krautheimer, *op.cit.* (n. 17), 402-403; Γ. Βελένης, *Έρμηνεία του έξωτερικού διακόσμου στή βυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική*, Thessaloniki 1984.

36. The most characteristic wall construction in Byzantine buildings was formed by alternating bands of brick and stone, following the example of late Roman opus mixtura. Squared stone faced both the inner and outer surfaces of the wall while mortared rubble filled the space between the faces. The brick would normally form a leveling course, extending through the thickness of the wall and binding the two faces together. In a standard pattern of repetition there are three to five courses of stone, with a total height of two-thirds of a meter or less and three to five courses of brick, with a height of about one-third of a meter or slightly more. In standard practice, both the inner and the outer surfaces of a wall correspond: where a brick course appears on the exterior, the same will appear on the interior. The interior and exterior cornices also correspond while arcading on the exterior normally coincides with the springing of arches and vaults on the interior. The wall was regarded as a solid element, not simply as facings on a rubble core. See: Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, *op.cit.* (n. 28), 170-172.



28. Plan of Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos; the present state (May 2008)



29. Plan of Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos; a presumptive reconstruction with an addition of an inner portico (in grey) in front of the prayer hall including the minaret's door (May 2008)



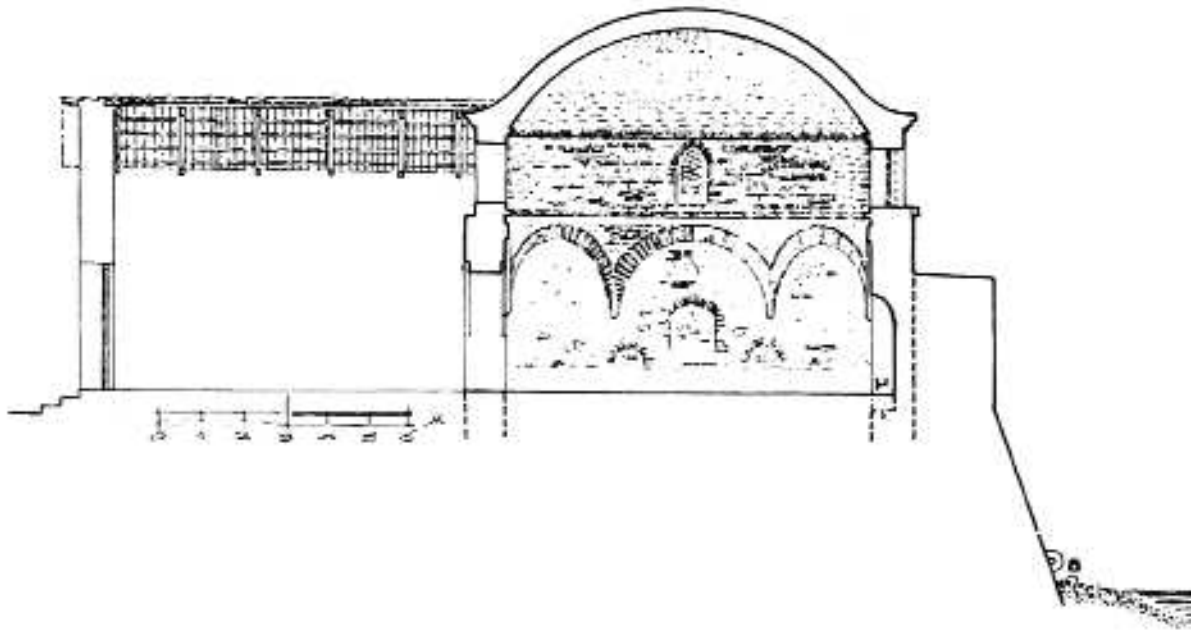
30. Plan of Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos; a presumptive reconstruction with an addition of an inner portico in front of the prayer hall including the minaret's door plus an external portico "Riwaq" (May 2008)

Rubble masonry represents a second wall construction method of Byzantine influence that is used in Ottoman architecture in Greece. It is attested in the Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos. Its use was compelled by economic circumstances as bricks were no longer available<sup>37</sup>. In such cases, the walls were built in rubble masonry whereas the structural points of the building, such as corners, lintels and arches, were built relatively more carefully using rather sizeable but hewn stones (figs. 9, 12, 22). The rubble construction technique was employed in order to take maximum advantage of reused materials<sup>38</sup>. When these were in good condition they could be employed for exterior façades while damaged materials could be used as fillers as the case is in the Fethiye mosque at Nafpaktos.

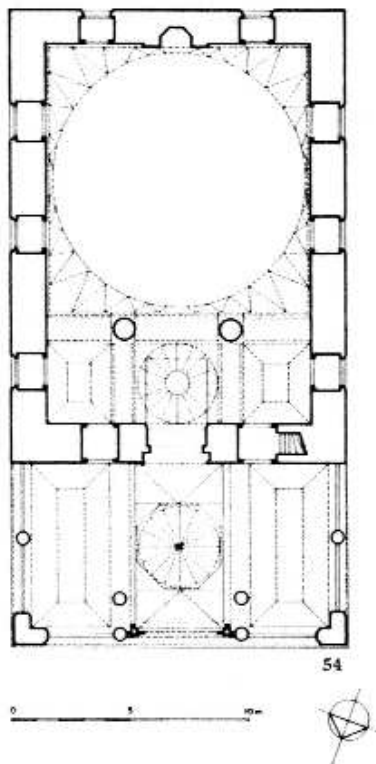
In Byzantine architecture, walls end upwards in a decorative dogtooth band made of bricks. The bricks are set at a 45-degree angle rendering depth and shadow to the surface. The particular pattern is transferred into the Ottoman architecture while it is sometimes also applied to stone as in the case of the Fethiye mosque at Nafpaktos (figs. 13-14).

37. Mango, op.cit. (n. 29), 12.

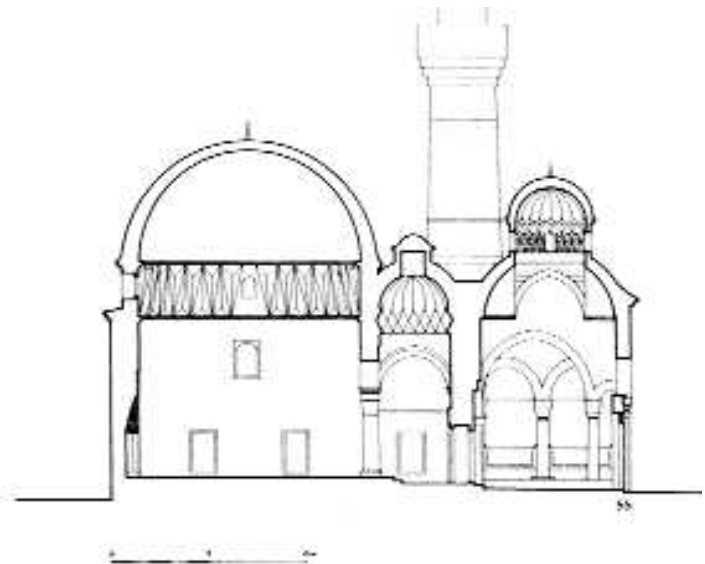
38. Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, op.cit. (n. 28), 176.



31. Fethiye mosque of Nafpaktos, section (Πετρονώτης, «Οθωμανικά αρχιτεκτονήματα», fig. 18β)

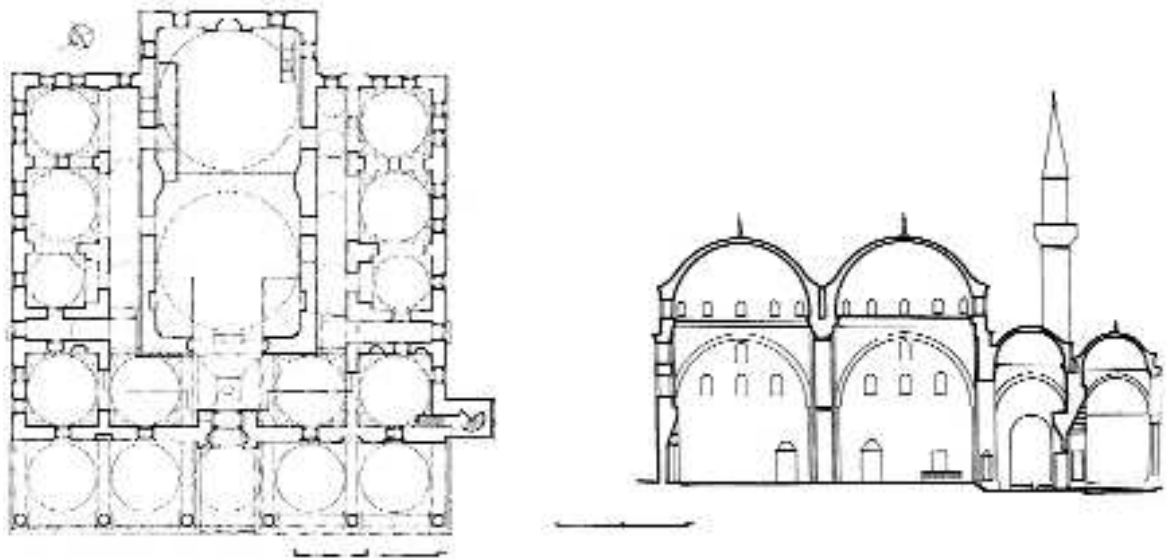


32. Yeşil or Green mosque (1378-1392) in Iznik, plan (Kuran, *The Mosque*, fig. 54)

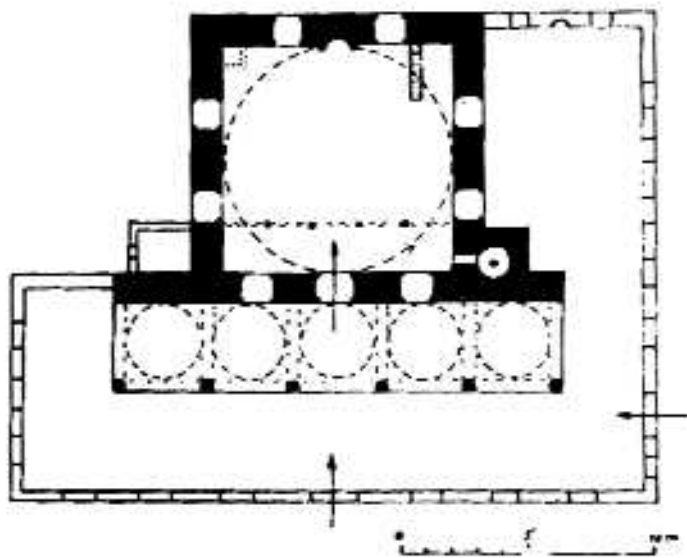


33. Yeşil or Green mosque (1378-1392) in Iznik, section (Kuran, *The Mosque*, fig. 55)

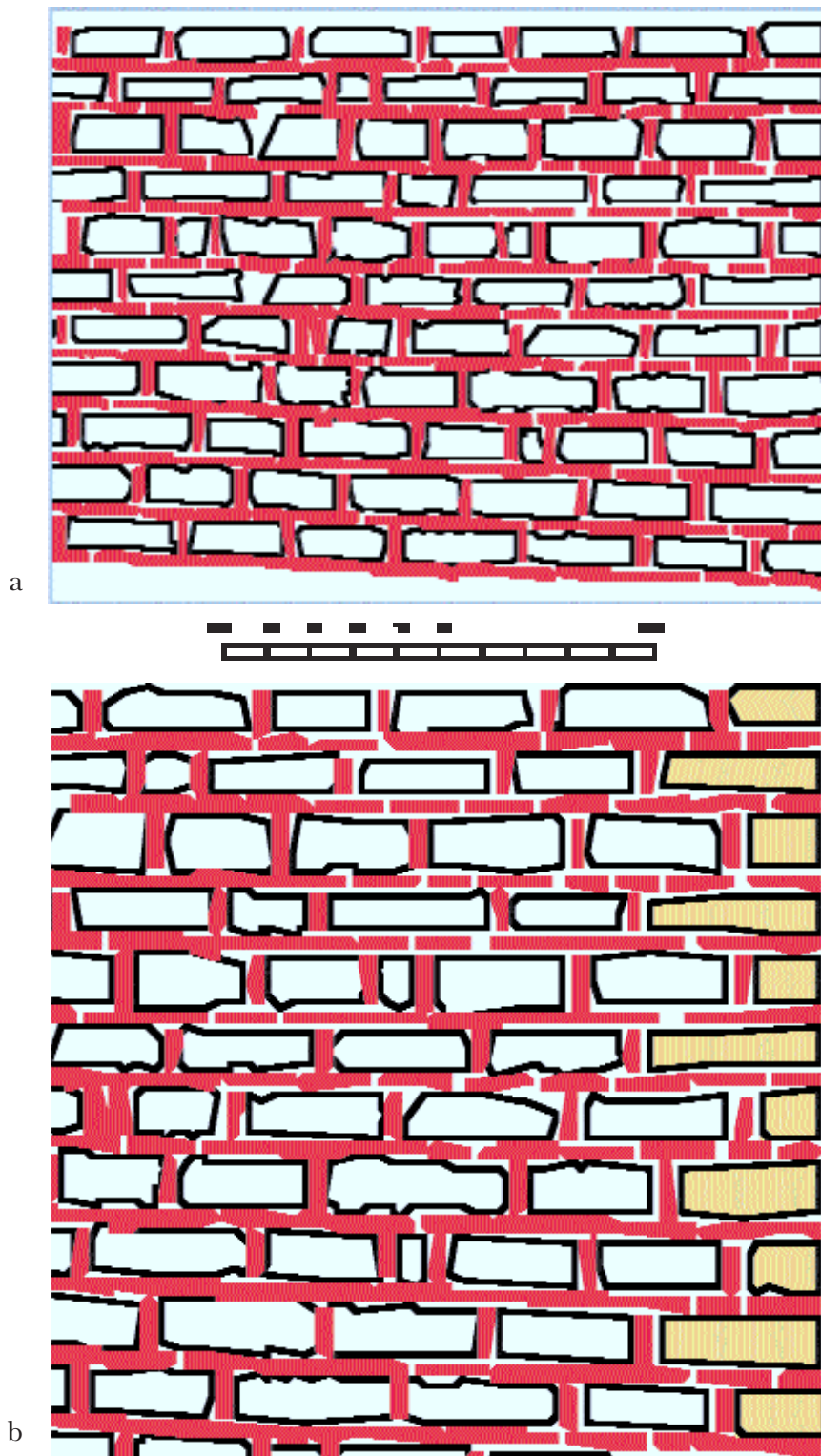




34. Mahmud pasha mosque (1462) in Istanbul, plan and section  
(Kuran, *The Mosque*, figs. 154-155)



35. Yeni mosque of Komotini (16th c.), plan (Kiel, "Observations on the  
*History of Northern Greece*", pl. IV:1)



36. a) Nafpaktos; the minaret of the Vizir mosque, the western side of the base, detail of the cloisonné masonry, built according to the Byzantine Helladic School (above)  
b) Detail from the previous figure (below)



37. *Vizir mosque of Nafpaktos, minaret's base, cloisonné masonry*



38. *Vizir mosque of Nafpaktos, minaret's base, a detail of its walls' construction*

### *Arches*

In Byzantine architecture, arches were generally constructed entirely of brick (figs. 22-23) while a band of brick decorates the outer frame of the arch<sup>39</sup>. In the Ottoman monuments of Nafpaktos brick arches are selected for the interior of the building while stone arches are used for framing the exterior windows. A single row of bricks - a typical Byzantine decorative pattern - frames the pointed arch of the exterior windows.

Ottoman architecture features pointed arches while Byzantine architecture is distinguished by semicircular arches<sup>40</sup>. The arches of Fethiye mosque at Nafpaktos (figs. 19, 22-23) are semicircular, a typical Byzantine pattern. The arched openings are all identical in size thus suggesting that the construction was simplified by repeating the same wooden formwork for all the arches.

### *Wooden reinforcement*

At structurally sensitive points, walls were often reinforced with pilasters that articulated the structural system<sup>41</sup>. Wooden beams were inserted at various levels along the wall in order to stabilise the construction until the mortar set hard. Nailed or toggled to one another, the wooden beams formed a series of tension rings that protected the building from distortion, thus allowing construction to proceed at a rapid rate. The system of wooden ties was applied on the walls and continued at vaulting level where it took the form of wooden beams that

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39. Mango, *op.cit.* (n. 29), 13; Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, *op.cit.* (n. 28), 207.

40. *Ibid.*, 208.

41. *Ibid.*, 211.



39. *Vizir mosque of Nafpaktos, minaret's base, the western side; a detail that shows its cloisonné masonry according to the Byzantine Helladic School*

extend across the springing of the arches and barrel vaults (figs. 18-20, 25). The wooden reinforcement<sup>42</sup> –a common feature in Byzantine architecture– ringed the entire building and was visible at same level in the window openings. These beams formed a connecting link whilst also serving as anchors for the tie beams that extended across the vaults. Moreover, they added to the stability of the columns and the internal supports by connecting them with the outer walls (figs. 18-20, 25). At the point where tie beams extended across an arch (or a vault), they intersected another beam set within the thickness of the wall<sup>43</sup>. This system, clearly a Byzantine influence, is encountered in the Fethiye mosque at Nafpaktos (figs. 18-20, 25).

#### *Transition zones (pendentives) and domes*

Whereas Byzantine domes were usually raised on windowed drums, domes attested in Early Ottoman architecture were blind. The similarity between the octagonal dome of the Fethiye mosque (at Nafpaktos) and the dome of the octagonal Byzantine churches in Greece,

42. *Ibid.*, 214.

43. *Ibid.*



known as the island category<sup>44</sup>, is quite evident. The similarity is accentuated by the windowed drum as well as the eight semicircular arches and four squinches that are placed at the corners (figs. 22-23) assisting in the transition of the square into an octagon.

As a result, the Ottoman mosques in Nafpaktos, although limited in number, bear witness to an overall impact by the Byzantine architecture, from which they borrowed distinctive elements in terms of materials, construction techniques and architectural features.

It can be concluded that the study of the Ottoman monuments of Nafpaktos indicates the continuation of the Byzantine traditions through master builders. The use of Byzantine architectural features goes hand-in-hand with the introduction of new architectural and artistic concepts.

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44. Octagonal churches in Byzantine architecture in Greece are classified in two main types. The first is the mainland octagon with forefront examples Hosios Loukas and Daphni. The second is the island octagon church plan as mentioned above. See: Χ.Θ. Μπούρας, *Ἡ Νέα Μονή τῆς Χίου. Ἱστορία καί Ἀρχιτεκτονική*, Athens 1981; Delvoye, op.cit. (n. 35), 324; Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, op.cit. (n. 28), 98 and figs. 65-69. The so-called island octagon church plan was introduced in Greece from Constantinople. The katholikon of the Nea Moni in Chios, attributed to the patronage of Constantine IX Monomachos in the 1040s, is the forefront and the best example of this plan. In addition to the Nea Moni and Panagia Krina, the plan is also attested on the islands of Crete and Cyprus as well as the mainland. According to Ousterhout, the original design of the katholikon of the Nea Moni was cross-in-square, indicated by the low proportions of its walls but it was either altered during the construction or the new design was imposed on a partially constructed building. He also suggests an Islamic (Arabic) inspiration source for the vaulting of the katholikon of Nea Moni. The latter view should not belittle the creativity of the solution. See: R.M. Ousterhout, "Originality in Byzantine Architecture: The Case of Nea Moni", *JSAH* 51:1 (1992), 55-59.

## **Βυζαντινές επιδράσεις στην Οθωμανική Αρχιτεκτονική της Ελλάδας: η περίπτωση των τζαμιών της Ναύπακτου**

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Η ύπαρξη ισχυρών βυζαντινών επιδράσεων στην οθωμανική αρχιτεκτονική της Ελλάδας, κυρίως κατά την πρώιμη της περίοδο, είναι αναμφισβήτητη. Η εργασία επικεντρώνεται σε δύο Οθωμανικά τζαμιά της Ναυπάκτου και τις βυζαντινές επιδράσεις τους.

Τα δύο υπό συζήτηση τζαμιά είναι: 1) το Fethiye τζαμί (1499-1500), το μοναδικό που διατηρείται ακέραιο και 2) το Vizir τζαμί του 16ου αιώνα (1701-1702), από το οποίο έχει διατηρηθεί μόνο ο μιναρές.

Η μελέτη του Fethiye τζαμιού (1499-1500) περιλαμβάνει ένα νέο στόχο, την ανασυγκρότηση του αρχικού σχεδίου του, με βάση τα αρχαιολογικά στοιχεία καθώς και τη σύγκριση με σύγχρονά του μνημεία. Με βάση τα δεδομένα, επιβεβαιώνεται η παλαιότερη ύπαρξη δύο στοών (gewaq, εσωτερική και εξωτερική), αντί του παρόντος τραπεζοειδούς προαύλιου χώρου μπροστά από την αρχική αίθουσα της προσευχής.

Η έρευνα εντοπίζει έντονες βυζαντινές επιρροές στα υπό μελέτη τζαμιά της Ναυπάκτου. Αυτές οι επιρροές αφορούν στα υλικά (πέτρα, πλίνθο και κονίαμα), σε αρχιτεκτονικά στοιχεία [κίονες, τόξα, ζώνες μετάβασης (σφαιρικά τρίγωνα), θόλους και στέγες], στην τεχνική κατασκευής των τοίχων, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της ξύλινης ενίσχυσης και της τοιχοποιίας (αργολιθοδομή και πλινθοπερίκλειστο).

Με βάση τα παραπάνω, γίνεται φανερό ότι τα οθωμανικά τζαμιά της Ναυπάκτου, μολονότι περιορισμένα σε αριθμό, έχουν επηρεαστεί στο σύνολο της αρχιτεκτονικής μορφής τους και η επίδραση αυτή φέρει έντονα τα σημάδια της βυζαντινής αρχιτεκτονικής.

Τελικά, η μελέτη αναφέρεται στη συνέχιση των βυζαντινών οικοδομικών παραδόσεων μέσω των πρωτομαστόρων, παράλληλα με τις εισερχόμενες ισλαμικές αρχιτεκτονικές και καλλιτεχνικές ιδέες.