

## NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF SOME TURKISH MONUMENTS IN THESSALONIKI AND THEIR FOUNDERS

The first centuries of Turkish rule over Thessaloniki certainly do not belong to the best-known period of its long history.

As regards the first period, before the battle of Ankara in 1402, the opinions of the historians are very contradictory.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the date of the definite occupation does not give any trouble. After this date, 1430, the development of the city followed an entirely different course, the conditions of which had been prepared in the fifty years before it.

The intention of these pages is to give, on the basis of the activities of a number of Turkish administrators and founders and the works left by them, an enrichment of the picture of the life of that city and also to give a different explanation of some difficult problems.

After the Turkish breakthrough in Macedonia in the eighties of the 14th century, which was made possible by the vacuum of power on the Balkan peninsula, the position of Thessaloniki became untenable. The fall of the key-fortress of Serres<sup>2</sup> was followed by that of the other Macedonian cities, Edessa, Kastoria, Verria, Bitola, Strumica and others. Surrounded by Turkish territory on every side, Thessaloniki capitulated only after a long siege. In accordance with their tried-out methods,<sup>3</sup> the Ottomans first set up a kind of provisional government in the conquered city which was a transitional form to the definite occupation.

Against this background we can explain the well-known privileges the Archbishops Isidorus and Gabriel received from the new overlord and their "generous and humane"<sup>4</sup> behaviour towards the citizens of the conquered

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1. See for this subject G.T. Dennis, "The Second Turkish Capture of Thessalonica, 1391-1394 or 1430?" *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964), pp. 53-61. and A. Bakalopoulos, "Zur Frage der zweiten Einnahme Thessalonikis durch die Türken, 1391-1392", *ibidem*, 61 (1968) 285-290.

2. For the role Serres played as key to Macedonia see: G. Ostrogorsky, "La prise de Serres par les Turcs," in: *Byzantion* XXXV (1965), pp. 302-319.

3. See for this subject the illuminating study by Halil Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," in: *Studia Islamica* II (Paris 1954), pp. 103-129.

4. Apostolos Vakalopoulos, in his general but very informative *History of Thessaloniki*, (Thessaloniki, 1963), p. 64.

town. This vouches for the careful policy of the Ottomans in these districts, where their position was still very vulnerable.

It must have been in this period before 1402 that Thessaloniki ceased to be a leading centre of Byzantine architecture and painting. In spite of the vehement political storms and trials of the 14th century, the civil wars, Hesychast controversy, social tension and the Serbian invasion, the city had remained a brilliant centre of culture of which many a monument reminds us. After the Turkish occupation no orders were given to build and decorate new churches. The unemployed artists and master builders left the city and went north, to the Serbian Despotate along the Morava river where they made an important contribution to the development of the last phase of the art of painting in Serbia, the so-called school of Morava.<sup>5</sup>

Thanks to its firm structure, the Ottoman Empire was able to survive the terrible crisis of 1402. Sultan Murad was more inclined towards a policy of restoration of his Empire and of careful balance of power than towards one of ruthless conquest, which had cost his grandfather Bayazid I both throne and life.<sup>6</sup>

The conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430 formed part of the restoration of the Empire. According to the Turkish conception of justice, founded on the Hanefi School of Islamic Law, the city was their property<sup>7</sup> and its transfer to Venice an unlawful act. It also needs no explanation that Murad could not tolerate a base of the strongest maritime power of that time in his flank. To take possession of Thessaloniki seemed easy, because of the strong pro-Turkish feeling of many of the city's inhabitants. Regarding the origins of these feelings we can only guess, but there are several things to indicate the direction in which we have to search. In almost all the Balkan countries there existed a pro-Turkish party<sup>8</sup> which expected political stability from Turkish rule and the

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5. For this see: V.J. Djurić, "Solunsko poreklo resavskog živopisa" in: *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*, 6, (Beograd, 1960), pp. 111-126, and also V.J. Djurić, "Freske crkvice sr. Besrebnika Despota Jovana Uglješe u Vatopedu i njihor značaj za ispitivanje Solunskog porekla resavskog živopisa" in the same *Zbornik*, 7 (Beograd, 1961), pp. 125-136.

6. The French nobleman Bertrandon de la Brocquière, who stayed at the court of Murad in the year 1433 called him a peace-loving monarch, *Voyages d'Outremer*, ed. Schefer (Paris, 1892), p. 181. Also Sphranzes qualified Murad as such.

7. Halil Inalcik, "Byzantium and the Origins of the Crisis of 1444 under the Light of Turkish Sources," *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, II (Beograd, 1964) 159-163.

8. This tendency was very strong in Bosnia, which had become Turkish without much resistance. The same can be said of the old Serbian capital Smederevo which surrendered voluntarily. Mahmud Pasha Angelović was Grand Vezir of the Ottoman Empire, while at

preservation of their own position and wealth.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Venice did not keep its promises of 1423 and "behaved in a haughty and despotic manner towards the townspeople. They were, in fact, tyrannical masters."<sup>10</sup> Last of all, the memory of the period between 1387 and 1402, which compared with the situation under Venice was none the worse, played a role.

In spite of the expected voluntary surrender, hoped by many,<sup>11</sup> the city did offer resistance, so that a brief siege and storming of the walls became necessary before the city definitely came into Turkish hands.

March 1430 was a new beginning for Thessaloniki. Its role as second city of the Byzantine Empire and centre of Christian civilisation was over. After a difficult rebirth it was to become "a little piece of Istanbul"<sup>12</sup> and a focus of Turkish-Islamic culture and Jewish spiritual life. It is to the first aspect that we shall turn our attention.

The Venetians had left a decayed and half-populated city.<sup>13</sup> The mass emigration from the completely isolated city was the object of constant trouble for the Republic of San Marco. Even in the year 1429 the Governor had to take action, whilst otherwise "the city should be deserted and fall into decay."<sup>14</sup> The number of inhabitants at the beginning of the rule of Venice over Thessaloniki has been given as 40,000, but at the end it had fallen to 7000 (by Zorzi Dolphin of Venice). Both numbers must be taken with caution, but they do at least give an idea what impression the city made on visitors of that time.

Murad's first care was to restore normal life to the city and to lay the foundations for a new period of prosperity. "Many distinguished people were set free by him and their former property given back. Then he gathered

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the same time his brother Michael Angelović was Prime Minister of the Serbian Despotate and leader of the Pro-Turkish party.

9. On this subject there is a very rich literature. For example, the small but instructive study of Branislav Djurdjev, "Hrišćani Spahije u Severnoj Srbiji u 15 v." in: *Godisnjak Istorijaskog Društva* IV (Sarajevo, 1952), pp. 165-169. Long before the fall of Smederevo in 1459 there was a pronounced Pro-Turkish sentiment in Northern Serbia about which Djurdjev gives much material.

10. Vakalopoulos, *History* (see note 4) p. 65.

11. idem, p.71.

12. "Selanik has produced many a famous man and is in reality a little piece of Istanbul" Hadschi Chalfa, *Rumili und Bosna*, translated by Joseph von Hammer (Wien, 1812), in his description of Thessaloniki. The well-known historian and geographer of the 17th century points here to the half-dozen poets who were born in this city and the great historians of the Ottoman Empire such as Selaniki Mustafa who, social-vehemently moved, severely criticized the abuses of the late 16th century.

13. Konstantin Jirecek, *Geschichte der Serben* II, p. 158.

14. Vakalopoulos, *History* p. 226.

the former citizens from all the points of the compass and restituted them for what they once had called their property.”<sup>15</sup>

He also settled a group of Turkish families of the nearby Yenice Vardar<sup>16</sup> in the city, which formed the core of the Moslem element of later ages. After the well-known elegy of Anagnostes on the sacking of the city, this “chronicler of the conquest” praised with remarkable objectivity the measures taken by the Sultan to restore order and security. He mentions especially his care for the trade to which the citizens owed their living.<sup>16a</sup>

The first reliable data concerning the number of the city’s inhabitants are given by the Turkish census lists. In 1478, half a century after the conquest Thessaloniki had 1119 houses<sup>17</sup> of non-military or administrative families. Of this total number 584 were houses of Moslems who are registered as craftsmen, weavers, smiths, tanners, saddlers, tailors etc. Strangely enough, not a single Jewish family was registered. It seems that the Thessalonican Jews had all left the city in the difficult years between 1423 and 1430. If we add to this number of inhabitants the garrison and the provincial administration (the city became the capital of a Sandjak) we can safely put the number of inhabitants between the 6000 and 7000.

A note in the enormous geographical work of Mehmed ben Ömer ben Bayazid from Trebizond,<sup>18</sup> who for several years lived and worked in Thes-

15. Ernst Werner, *Die Geburt einer Grossmacht, Die Osmanen* (Akad. Verlag Berlin, 1966), p. 226.

16. Regarding this forgotten Turkish centre in Macedonia, the writer of these pages has a special study in preparation.

16a. See Anagnostes cited by Werner, p. 225.

17. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Essais sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l’Empire Ottoman au XVe et XVIe siècles,” in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* I (Leiden, 1958), p. 36.

18. Cited by Babinger in his meritorious study: “Ein Türkischer Stiftungs-brief des Nerkis vom Jahre 1029, = 1620,” in: *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* II (München, 1966), p. 49-50. Babinger was mistaken, however, in the place of birth of the informant, which was Trebizond and not Thessaloniki (see Enzyklopaedie der Islam, under “Türken”, Literatur, by Fuad Köprülü and especially Franz Taeschner, “Die Geographische Literatur der Osmanen,” in: *Deutsche Zeitschrift Morgenländischen Gesellsch.* II. 1921, Neue Folge.) Strangely enough, Babinger gives the right place in his *Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und Ihre Werke*. Mehmed b. Ömer b. Bayazid, called Mehmed Ashik, was born in Trebizond on the Black Sea in the year 1555 as son of a professor of the well-known Hatuniye College of that city. He received an excellent education and devoted himself entirely to the study of the old literature. Still young, in 1575, he started his long journeys which, for a period of twenty-five years, were to bring him to many parts of the vast Ottoman dominions. He led a wandering life, at first seldom but later on never at home in his native Trebizond. He joined several military camp-

saloniki, also points to the scanty number of inhabitants in the first period of Turkish rule. This is in his description of the Hamza Bey Cami (see for this object further on in this article) which was built as a Mesdjid (small mosque in which no Friday sermon is given), but which later on had to be enlarged because "the city had increased considerably in wealth and prosperity."<sup>19</sup>

A powerful factor for the development of the city was the influx of large number of Jewish refugees from Spain, who settled in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Bayazid II (1481-1512). Thessaloniki was able to receive the majority of them.

The Turkish census of the twenties of the 16th century gives a clear picture of the fast development of the town and the increase of population. In these years the city consisted of 4863 houses of civil and non-administrative families.<sup>20</sup> These were divided into three distinct groups, viz. 2645 Jewish houses, 1229 Moslem houses and 989 houses of Christian families. If we count, as is usual, 5 inhabitants per house and also some for the garrison and administration, we arrive at a number of 27,000 - 30,000 inhabitants. Thessaloniki ranked among the largest cities of the Balkan peninsula in the early years of the reign of Sultan Süleiman the Magnificent, the third city after Istanbul and Adrianople. This number continued to rise to 70,000 - 80,000 inhabitants in the 17th century and, after a period of stagnation, to far over 100,000 at the beginning of our century.

Concerning the conversion of churches into mosques, there are several contradictory statements. According to Tafrali<sup>21</sup> in the 14th century there were 53 churches and 19 monasteries in the city. In the authoritative Encyclopaedia of Islam, part IV, Selanik, p. 220, J.H. Kramers states that in the beginning only the church of the Holy Virgin was transformed into a mosque.

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aigins and worked in many towns as clerk to the Court of Law and also some years in the Vakif office of Thessaloniki. He worked so often in Turkish Europe precisely because this was new land for Islam, and in the old literature hardly any reliable information was to be found about it. These were study journeys to collect the materials for his book. Later he withdrew from public life and settled in Damascus to write his great cosmography *Menazir ül Avalim* (The View of the World), which was started in 1596. He died also in Damascus, prematurely, in H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-1601). Mehmed Ashik's work is an enormous compendium of the whole geographic literature of the Moslim Middle Ages. Everything was checked with painstaking accuracy and completed until his time with an astonishing exactness which strongly reminds us of modern science. Unfortunately the work is by far not used in the way it should be.

19. Mehmed Ashik cit ed by Babinger in his study cited on note 18, p. 50.

20. Barkan, *Essay...* (see note 17) table no 7 on page 35.

21. O. Tafrali, *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris, 1913). p. 149f.

On the other hand, Ernst Werner asserts that Murad had transformed all the churches into mosques or for profane use with the exception of St. Demetrius.<sup>22</sup> Franz Babinger<sup>23</sup> mentions that after 1430 the Christians kept only four churches, which later were also transformed into mosques, one after the other. He does not give the names of them.

Several historians think that the Turks not only took over a number of churches but also seized them for civil uses or to use the materials of them for their own constructions.<sup>24</sup> It seems nearer to the truth to say that the small Christian community maintained throughout the whole period half the former number of their houses of prayer. This included for the first 150 years also the largest churches of the city.

In the year 1572 the Archbishop of the city declared to the well-known German clergyman Stefan Gerlach that the Christian community had 20 churches and monasteries in which Holy Mass was celebrated daily and 10 others which were used for special services only. Evliya Çelebi mentions about 1660 likewise 30 churches, as does the Russian pilgrim Barski more than half a century after him.<sup>24a</sup> Tafrali mentions 13 churches on the site of older ones<sup>25</sup> and 21 more or less preserved old ones.

It is certain that Murad turned the church of St. Paraskevi into a mosque immediately after the conquest. Besides the fact that this church is very suitable for holding Islamic prayer, the name Holy Friday, to which it was consecrated, must also have played a role in this choice. The Turkish name Eski Cuma(Djouma) - Old Friday, points to the same direction. The name was interpreted as a sign that the church was destined to become a mosque.<sup>26</sup>

Of the other big churches, St. Demetrius, St. George (Rotonda) and St. Sophia, it is known that they remained in the hands of the Christians long after the conquest. It is also certain that the churches of St. Katharina, St. Panteleimon, the monastery of Vlatadon and that of Nicolaos Orfanos and the

22. Werner, *Die Geburt...* (see note 15) p. 226.

23. Babinger, *Aufsätze* II (see note 18) p. 50 note 1.

24. Enzyklopaedie der Islam, Selanik, p. 220 and Vakalopoulos, *History* p.76, in which he mentions the churches which remained in Christian hands.

24a. Translation of the chapter dealing with Thessaloniki in: *Balkan Studies* II (Thessaloniki, 1961), pp. 293-298.

25. A. Orlandos, "L'Architecture religieuse en Grèce pendant la domination turque," in: *Le Cinq-centième anniversaire de la prise de Constantinople*, (Athens, 1953), Fascicule hors le serie of: *L'Hellénisme contemporain*, gives the names of several three-aisled basilicas built in Turkish times, St. Athanasius, Panagouda, Panaghia Dexia and others (p. 186).

26. See about this phenomenon in detail F. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929).

chapel of the Sotir remained a long time or even entirely in the hands of the Christians. That is twice as much as the number given above (for the dates of the transformation of the different churches see further in this article).

Not only the installation of the first Moslem house of prayer, but also the great hot bath on the square in the middle of the modern city, reminds us of Sultan Murad II. It is a Çifte Hamam or double bath with separate sections for men and women. It is the greatest and most monumental example of a Turkish bath in present-day Greece (Pl. I). The bath, which still operates, preserves up to the present its beautifully carved Arabic inscription that mentions the name of its royal founder and the date of its construction.<sup>27</sup> In transcription and translation it reads as follows (Pl. II):<sup>28</sup>

1. Buniya wa-cumira hādhā 'l-binā 'l-mubārak li-rasm imām al-muslimin sultān al-guzāt wa-'l-mudjāhidin sultān Murād khān bn sultān
2. Mehmed bn Bāyezid khān khallada 'Llāh mulkahu wa-abbada dawlatahu fi zamānihi wa-'ahdihi bi-amrihi, al-nāfidh, al-maymun, anfadhahu 'Llāh ilā yawmi yub'athn.<sup>28a</sup>
3. wa tamma fi 'l-shahr al-mubārak Djumādā 'l-ULā min sana thamān wa-arba'in wa-thamāni-mi'a hidjriya nabawiya hilāliya.

(1. This blessed building was built on order of the Leader of the Moslems, the Sultan of the warriors of Islam, Sultan Murad, son of Sultan

2. Mehmed, son of Bayezid—may God continue his rule to the end of his period, the one who is helped and favoured by God, may God accompany him on the Day of Resurrection—

3. and finished in the blessed month Djumada I of the eight-hundred-forty-eight lunar year since the Hidjra of the Prophet.)  
[That is 15 September of the year 1444.]

Another name that is inseparably connected with the first years of Turkish rule is that of Sungur Çauş Bey, the first Turkish governor of the city. This Çauş Bey was an important army commander in the time of Murad II whose name is connected with several other places on the Balkan peninsula.

27. J.H. Kramers writes wrongly 1439 (*Enzykl. Islam* - Selanik - p. 220).

28. This and the other translations of inscriptions I obtained through the kind help of Dr. F. Th. Dijkema of Leiden for which I sincerely thank him. The photographs were taken by the author in the summer of 1969.

28a. "ila yawmi yub'athun" is an expression which is used several times in the Koran.

The oldest written note about him is on a long Arabic inscription on the main tower of the former Yedi Kule citadel. It dates from Hidjra 834=a.d. 1430 and mentions the repair of the city walls, which took place under his leadership.<sup>29</sup> His name is also mentioned in connection with the Çauş Manastir, the Vlatadon Monastery which obtained a special privileged statute in a way which is not fully explained, as far as I know, and regarding which several legends are in circulation.<sup>30</sup> As to the career and work of this first Turkish commander of the city, little is known. After Murad's expedition to Albania Çauş Bey must have settled in Monastir (Bitola) in North Macedonia. In H. 838 (A.D. 1433 - 1434) he built there a great mosque which existed into our times. It was an interesting example of early Ottoman architecture on the Balkans, a square room surmounted by a low dome on a round tambour. The outer gallery rested on four heavy piers, also a characteristic of the oldest phase of this art.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately it was demolished in 1956<sup>32</sup> without reason or, as it was stated, for reason of better town planning. Further foundations of Çauş Bey in Monastir were a Medresse (college) and a Zaviye or Derwish convent. Both buildings disappeared long ago. The preserved Vakifname (foundations charter) dating from April 1435, the oldest preserved document in the Arabic language in Yugoslavia,<sup>33</sup> tells us that he also founded a Mesdjid in Vidin, Danubian Bulgaria, which also disappeared long ago.<sup>34</sup> Besides the inscription in Thessaloniki the only object of Çauş Bey's foundations now preserved is the great domed mosque in Adrianople. The inscription above the gate was published by Gökbilgin.<sup>35</sup> It gives the date of the construction and name of the founder, H. 847 (A.D. 1443) nearly ten years after his foundations in Mon-

29. Tafrali (see note 21) gives a approximate translation of this inscription. Because of the fact that the citadel at present serves as a prison and is therefore difficult to approach, no photographs of it could be made.

30. Franz Babinger published in *Oriens* III 2 (Leiden, 1950) a facsimile of a document in favour of the Vlatadon Monastery from the year 1446 (Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath* pp. 229-265).

31. The Eski Cami of Adrianople has likewise round tambours.

32. For a description of this mosque, with pictures, ground-plan and section see: Kroum Tomovski, *Camija vo Bitola, Godišen Zbornik na Tehničkiot Fakultetot Universitet Skopje*, No 1957-1958, pp. 29-30.

33. This document was published and translated into Serbian, by Dr. Hasan Kalesi, "Najstarija Vakufname u Jugoslaviji," in: *Prilozi za Orientalnu Filologiju* etc. X-XI, (Sarajevo, 1960-1961), pp. 55-73.

34. Personal observation after repeated visits. Vidin has nothing Turkish older than the 18th century.

35. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Edirne Şehrin Kurucuları," in: *Edirne 600. Fethi Yılönümü Armağan Kitabı* (Ankara T.T.K., 1965), p. 175.



astir. "Çauş Bey Mahalle" is the name which is still used for the quarter of the town in which the mosque lies. It is situated outside the old fortress quadrangle of Adrianople, on the north side of the latter.

Another subject that until now had not had the attention it deserves is the two great mosques which the Turks built in Thessaloniki<sup>36a</sup> and which are among the largest and most original examples of Turkish architecture in S.E. Europe. We mean that of Hamza Bey from 1468 and that of Grand Vezir İnegöllü İshak Pasha from 1485.

The Hamza Bey Cami on the main street of the city, opposite the building of the Dimarchia, is the largest mosque on Greek soil (Pl. III). Except for a few remarks of Tafrali<sup>37</sup> and Babinger,<sup>38</sup> this important building has remained unstudied. The only man who wrote anything about its architecture in Turkish, was Semavi Eyice.<sup>38a</sup>

Together with the great court, the mosque covers an area of 30 by 40 m. The centre of the building is a large square room of 14 by 14 m. surmounted by a dome. This was the original prayer hall. The further development of the building became clear after Babinger had published a fragment of a foundation charter on this mosque and some other materials.<sup>39</sup> Together with the two preserved inscriptions<sup>39a</sup> and an investigation of the building itself, we are now able to reconstruct the history of this important work of Islamic architecture in Greece.<sup>39b</sup>

It was founded in the year of the Hidjra 872 (2.8. 1467-21.7. 1468) by Hafsa, the daughter of Hamza Bey. This man must have been Şarabdar Hamza Bey who, under Murad II, was military commander and became in 1460, in

36. For the upkeep of his foundations Çauş Bey destined the revenue of the village Polzenli near Lerin (Florina), the yearly rent of a caravanseray, 25 shops, two estates, 7 water-mills and a vineyard near Bitola. For the mosque in Adrianople 11 shops and 17 rooms in that city and for Vidin 20 shops and one watermill. In a list from the year 1481 the yearly revenue of the entire foundation was 10,360 silver pieces (akçe) which was divided over the three places, 3000 akçe for Adrianople, 1000 for Vidin and the remaining for the head foundation in Bitola. (See further Kalesi's study cited in note 33).

36a. J.H. Kramers in *E.I. Selanik*, p. 221 stated that the Turks never built any great mosque in Thessaloniki.

37. See note 21.

38. See the study of Babinger mentioned in note 18 where for the first time important material about this mosque is brought together.

38a. "Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri," in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XI, 1954.

39. See note 18, Nerkisi.

39a. About these inscriptions no older literature could be found.

39b. This research was made possible by a bursary of the Netherlands Organisation for the Advancement of Pure Scientific Research, Z.W.O. The Hague.

the reign of Mehmed Fatih, Beylerbey of Anatolia Sivas-Tokat region. He had his feudal goods in the surroundings of Uzun Köprü in present-day Turkish Thrace and is known for the derwish convent, Zaviye,<sup>40</sup> he had built in the quarter of Kiyik in Adrianople.<sup>41</sup>

The mosque of Hafsa Khanım in Thessaloniki is a large low block of 14,10 by 14,10m. surmounted by a dome on an octagonal tambour (Pl. III). At an unknown date, probably in the second half of the 16th century, when the city had witnessed a considerable increase in population, it had been enlarged and made a Cami. This enlargement was made before the year 1592, the time that Mehmed b. Ömer wrote, and was carried out in a manner not found anywhere else in the vast dominions of Turkish architecture. The old gallery of Hafsa Khanım was demolished and the prayer hall was surrounded on two sides with lateral buildings of rectangular shape. Each part was covered with four narrow cross-vaults of the type common in Ottoman art. In front of the thus widened mosque a spacious open courtyard was built of a highly irregular shape, which rested on 18 marble columns (Pl. IV). The brick cross-vaults rest on pointed arches of remarkably weak form. Here and there use has been made of capitals which are clearly Byzantine in origin. Tafrali thought that they came from the old church of the Virgin which once stood near the church of St. Menas.<sup>43</sup> It was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Hamza Bey Mosque and it is not impossible.

As early as Mehmed b. Ömer's time, the mosque was no longer called Hafsa bint i Hamza Bey Cami but, as is natural, Hamza Bey Cami.<sup>44</sup> Between the years 1592 and 1620 this enlarged mosque was destroyed by fire or earthquake and was in such a bad state that a thorough repair became necessary. Relating to this is a design for a new Vakifname for the mosque, of the year 1620, that Babinger published in transcription and German translation.<sup>45</sup>

40. Gökbilgin, p. 172 in his study mentioned on note 35. The historian Abdurrahman Hibri Efendi from Adrianople (buried in Serres behind the castle) mentions that this Zaviye became a centre of the Halveti derwish order, who came over to Europe under Bayazid.

41. A Hamza Bey built a large size mesdjid in Bursa which was later on transformed into a mosque. Several daughters of his are buried in the nearby turbe. This Hamza Bey was an important army commander under Murad II and Mehmed II and might be the same man as Şarabdar Hamza.

42. It may be doubted whether Mehmed Ashik's supposition is right, that the mosque had been a mesdjid before. A mesdjid with a dome of 14 m. is much too big to serve such a humble purpose.

43. See Tafrali, *Topographie*, p. 191.

44. See the study mentioned on note 18.

45. op. cit.

The original is preserved in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin and it is the work of one of the most refined stylists of Ottoman literature, Mehmed Nerkisi Efendi of Sarajevo, the son of Kadi (Judge) Nerkes Ahmad Efendi. After his studies in the Ottoman capital this man performed several functions as teacher and later also as Kadi.<sup>46</sup> He worked in the cities of his native land Bosnia, in Gabela, Banja Luka, Mostar and Novi Pazar. Later on he also worked in Macedonia and, as we have seen, in Thessaloniki. He accompanied Sultan Murad IV in 1634 as Imperial Chronicler on his campaign against Erivan and the Persians but died, still young, after an unlucky fall from his horse near Gebse on the Gulf of Izmit, a day's journey from the capital. From Nerkisi's unfinished design of the new Vakifname we do know that the man who rebuilt the badly damaged mosque in Thessaloniki was Kapuci Mehmed Bey, the son of Seyid Ghazi. It was not possible for me to find anything concerning this person. This Gatekeeper Mehmed Bey did not rebuild the mosque from its foundations as the preserved inscription may suggest. On the mihrab wall there remains a seam to be seen on both sides between the original work of Hafsa Khanim and the later work. These parts have no structural connection with each other. The work of 1620 must have been responsible for the general reconstruction of the upper parts of the building and especially for the weak and flabby forms in which it was carried out and which is in such a strong contrast to the bold lines of classical Ottoman architecture of the 16th century. We thus see three phases in the building, of which that of Kapuci Mehmed Bey is the last and it is restricted only to the rebuilding of the arches of the gallery, some parts of the walls and the roofing. During this repair the old inscription was replaced in a corner of the gallery, high above ground level and a new one was placed above the entrance. The original 15th century inscription reads as follows (Pl. V, 1-2):

Wa-'inna 'l-masadjid li-'Llah fa-la tad 'u ma's 'Llah ahadan<sup>46a</sup>  
Bina' hadhihi 'l-masdjid al-mubarak Hafsa bint Hamza Beg ta-r-a-  
ha-b

Rahima 'Llah li-man nazara fihi wa-da's li-sahibiba. Tarikh sana  
ithna wa-sab'in wa-thamani-mi'a.

(Mosques belong to God. Therefore call nobody beside God.

This blessed mosque was built by Hafsa, the daughter of Hamza Beg;  
May God have mercy with his servants and bless the foundress. Date:  
the year eight-hundred-seventy-two [1467-1468])

46. More about Nerkisi by Dr. Safvet-Bey "Bašagić, Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u islamskoj Književnosti," in *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja* XXIV (1912) pp. 59-72.

46a. The first line of this inscription is a Koran quotation, Sura 72-18.

The main inscription is charmingly distributed over the four fields of the marble slab and gives the date of (re)construction and the names of the builder as well as of the poet who composed the inscription (Pl. V, 3):

Qad bāna 'l-bawwab hadha 'l-djami  
 Khalisan li-'Llah dhi '-fadl li-wadud  
 Qala ta'rikhan lahu Abd al-Hamid  
 Udkhulu bi-'l-birr ya ahl as-sudjud  
 sana 1028.

(This Djami was built by the Gatekeeper,  
 as a gift to God who benefits those who love Him,  
 Abd al-Hamid made this chronogram:  
 'enter in piety, ye people of prayer'  
 year 1028 [A.D. 1620])

(Bewwab is the Turkish version of the Arabic Bawāb and is synonymous with Qapudji (Kapici). The letters of the chronogram together give the year 1028.)

The highly irregular form of the courtyard of the mosque must have been due to the presence of an important building in the north-west corner of the mosque at the time it was built and which could not be demolished. This place had always been the very centre of the city where building ground was most expensive. This is still the case in our own times. That is the reason why the axis of the courtyard has been shifted so much from the middle. Thus the dome over the main entrance of the yard has been placed nearly outside the flight of the walls of the old building, whereas it should have been directly opposite the latter. However strange the columned courtyard of the Hamza Bey Mosque may be, it is the only known example of such an element outside the old Ottoman capitals Istanbul and Adrianople and the only one not built by a Sultan.<sup>47</sup>

The building certainly deserves closer examination, which is only possible during a general de-plastering and restoration. Owing to its present situation

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47. It was an unwritten privilege of the Ottoman Sultans to have domed courtyards in front of their mosques. The first example of a Turkish mosque with a large peristyle is that of Isa Bey Aydinoglu in Ephesus from the year 1375, which was built on inspiration of the great Ommayad Mosque of Damascus. The first Ottoman mosque with a spacious domed courtyard is the Uç Şerefeli Cami, built between 1435-1445 by Sultan Murad II in his residence Adrianople. The large Vezir's mosques of Istanbul, as those of Kara Ahmad Pasha near Top Kapu or of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, or that of princess Mihrimah, all from the 16th century, have a kind of yard, but this has the purpose of gallery of the adjoining medresse, built in front of them. In this manner a kind of peristyle was created without impairing the Imperial privilege.

and the extensive use made of it, <sup>48</sup> this work will not be easy.

Entirely different in scope, form and history is the other great mosque of Thessaloniki, the Alaca Imaret or Ishak Pasha Mosque (Pl. VI, VII). This building is situated a few hundred metres above the church of St. Demetrius, between the Sophocles and St. Nicolaos Street and belongs to the characteristic group of Early Ottoman T-plan mosques, or rather Zaviye-mosques. We can divide the building into several components. First we have a large, rectangular prayer-hall, surmounted by two domes with a span of 11 m. This is the most important part of the building, which is clearly distinguished from the other parts by its greater height. On both sides of this hall there are several smaller rooms, also domed. These must have been the service-rooms for the Imaret. The front of the building is a mighty open gallery with five domes, supported by six slender marble columns. This type of mosque has a multitude of variations and is the product of an interesting evolution within Turkish architecture and one of its most original creations.

The roots go back to the architecture of the art-loving Sultanate of the Selçuks of Konya. There, in the 13th century, was the old Arab type of Medresse with the open courtyard transformed into a type better suited to the harsh climate of the Anatolian Highlands. The Arabic-Persian type consisted of separate cells for students and teachers grouped around a open yard with a fountain in the middle. Opposite the entrance was a large hall covered by a dome or barrel vault which served as mosque proper or as a room in which lessons were given. We find here several functions united in one building, that of religious service being only one of them. The Anatolian architects of the 13th century made this type more compact; they made the courtyard smaller and covered it with a big dome. In the centre of this dome they provided, by means of an oculus, for contact with the open air. They paved the floor with marble and placed a water basin, with a fountain in the middle, underneath the oculus. This type of domed Medresse was adopted by the Early Ottoman architects of Bursa and Adrianople and its forms were further elaborated to the well known Zaviye Mosque with the T-plan: a multi-function building, with the place reserved for religious services in a rather small room placed in the back of the building and separated from the rest by a considerable heightening of the floor. The other rooms are reserved for meetings, residence and retirement of the members of the religious brotherhoods <sup>49</sup> or for giving lessons.

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48. The building is used, inter alia as cinema, gambling-den, boot-shop and store-room.

49. See about this subject the fundamental study of Semavi Eyice, "Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 21, (Istanbul, 1961) pp. 1-79.

In the first phase, only the former courtyard has been covered by a dome; later on, about 1400, also the small rooms in some Sultan's buildings<sup>50</sup> were domed, but in the smaller mosques the barrel vault remained for some decades in use.<sup>51</sup> After the middle of the 15th century the function of Zaviye decayed more and more and that of mosque gained the ascendancy. In that time the marble floor was covered with carpets and the inner fountain was removed to obtain more room for the prayers. For this purpose the floors were made on one level and the unity of the building was further enhanced by giving new-built mosques domes of the same size.

We see this clearly in the mosque founded by the Governor Isa Bey<sup>52</sup> in Skopje from the year 1457 and by those of Hass Murad Pasha, an offshoot of the Palaeologian family,<sup>53</sup> in Aksaray-Istanbul from 1465. Closely connected with this variant<sup>54</sup> of the T-plan is the Alaca Cami of the ex-Grand Vezir Inegöllü Ishak Pasha, who was pensioned with the calm position of Governor of Thessaloniki. He had this mosque built between 1486 and 1487. It is the second great foundation of this old statesman.

Ten years earlier, in H. 881 (A.D. 1476) he had founded in his native city Inegöl in Asia Minor, near Bursa, a great mosque with an İmaret (an institution in which the poor could eat free of charge), a large Medresse or college and a mausoleum (Turbe) for himself.

It would seem likely that the two foundations of the Vezir, built shortly

50. The Yilderim Bayazid Cami and the magnificent Yesil Cami in Bursa.

51. The Ghazi Mihal Cami in Adrianople from 1422 and the Alaca Cami in Skopje from 1445.

52. Isa Bey, the son of Ishak Pasha, was one of the most important persons of the 15th century. He was a descendant of an old Turkish family that had settled in Skopje in 1392. Isa Bey founded the cities of Novi Pazar and Sarajevo, where several buildings still remind us of him. His mosque in Skopje and that one of his father Ishak in the same town rank among the most important and largest Islamic monuments of Yugoslavia, and were finely restored after the damage they sustained during the recent earthquake. The mosque and turbe of the ancestor of the family, Pasha Yigit Bey, was destroyed during the Second World War. His tomb still exists, but was in 1969 in a terrible state of decay.

53. Concerning him see Franz Babinger, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* I (München, 1962), p. 348.

54. This type was one of the most fertile of Ottoman architecture. In the eighties of the 15th century a special variant of it was developed in which one enormous domed room was flanked by very small side rooms and the mihrab was placed in a sort of triangular apse. At the same time emerged in the capital a type in which the second dome was replaced by a half-dome, from which it is only a short distance to the classical mosque of the 16th century. In this development the vaulting system of the thousand years older Hagia Sophia must have played a rôle.

after each other and of the same size, would also be of the same architectural concept. Nothing of this is true, however. In comparing the two Vezir's mosques we see reflected two marked trends in Early Ottoman Architecture.

Inegöl lies in the old centre of the Ottoman Empire, soaked in the traditions of Selçuk art and those of the first rulers of the house of Osman. In Ishak Pasha's great mosque there is a sturdy creation of the richly ornamented but conservative school of Bursa. The gallery in front of the mosque has five domes supported by six heavy, square pillars, whilst the walls are abundantly decorated with zig-zag bands and hexagonal tiles. The Medresse has on the court side the same but slightly simpler ornamentation. The body of the mosque gives a low, massive and closed impression, whilst the domes rest on very high tambours, all being characteristic of early Ottoman architecture. There is a striking difference in the treatment of the domes that cover the main body. The one over the room containing the mihrab-niche is lower and has a different transition between the dome and the square room. Furthermore, this transition, a band of Turkish triangles<sup>55</sup> or folds, is richer and of a different form than that on the other dome. The first dome, over the central section of the mosque, is higher and still has the oculus and the lantern above it which reminds us of its ancient function as court. The type would suggest the former presence of a water basin and fountain, but without a thorough examination, which is possible only in case of restoration, this cannot be proved.

Judging by the characteristics given here, the building could easily date 30 or 40 years before it was actually built.<sup>56</sup>

In striking contrast with this is our mosque in Thessaloniki. In the European half of the Empire the strength of the old traditions was not felt so much and the development of architecture went on in a faster way. The mosque in Thessaloniki follows the conception that had first been expressed on the mosque of Hass Murad Pasha from 1465 and that of Isa Bey of 1471. That is: a high rectangular prayerhall surmounted by two domes of equal size and shape, additional rooms that played a very subordinate role, a high and light gallery with five domes which are all visible and not hidden under a long roof, and supported not by heavy piers but by slender marble columns. Last of all there is a marked difference in the workmanship of the walls; they are no longer

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55. This manner of solving the problem of transition between square and circle can only be found in Turkish architecture and is thought to originate in the wood architecture of the earliest phase in the ancestral Turkestan.

56. Since the Imaret Cami of Plovdiv, from 1444, or the Turbe of Mahmud Pasha in Istanbul, from 1463, this kind of adornment was not longer used in European Turkey, whereas it was still used in 1500 in Bursa (on the great Koca Han on the old Market street).

covered with a rich ornamentation, but are made of correct cloisonnée work.<sup>57</sup>

The mosque of Ishak Pasha in Thessaloniki is the only example of this type that has remained preserved in Greece. The monumental Mehmed Bey Mosque of Serres<sup>58</sup> from 1491 shows some resemblance but belongs to a group that has developed in a different way. Of the huge mosque of Evrenosoglu Ahmad Pasha in Yiannitsa (the old Yenice Vardar), only a badly mutilated carcass remains. In its initial form it was a highly original offshoot of the T-plan and shows a certain resemblance to some of the mosques built in Istanbul around the year 1500. Except in the former capital cities of Istanbul and Adrianople, mosques of the T-plan are only found in some Balkan towns, in Skopje and in the Bulgarian Plovdiv and Ihtiman. It is praiseworthy that the Greek Service for the Protection of Ancient Monuments undertook important works of consolidation and repair on the Thessalonican mosque, especially on the front gallery.

Regarding the life and activities for the promotion of Islamic culture of the founder of the mosque, interesting data have been preserved. Ishak Pasha, the son of Ibrahim Aga, had a moving career in active service of the state behind him when, in Thessaloniki, he ended his days as a pensioned statesman. He had served under three Sultans and had attained the highest functions of the Empire. Under Murad II (1420-1451) he had been army commander, Mehmed Fatih (1451-1481) made him Grand Vezir and also Bayazid II (1481-1512) retained him in one of the most important functions of the Empire. He was married to the Turkish princess Tadjun-Nisa, the daughter of the lord of the Isfediya principality of Kastamonu, and had several sons by her. After Ishak had died his body was brought from Thessaloniki to the place of his birth Inegöl and buried in the mausoleum behind his mosque there, beside his wife.<sup>60</sup>

Ishak Pasha had spent a considerable part of his fortune on the erection of buildings for public benefit. In Istanbul he had built two small mosques and a hot bath (hamam), in Adrianople a fountain for drinking water (çeşme)

57. Concerning this building, see the richly illustrated study of Ali Saim Ülgen, "Inegöl'de Ishak Paşa Mimari Manzumesi," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* IV (Ankara, 1958), p. 192 v.v. with 17 views, section and ground-plans.

58. About the three great mosques of Serres from the 15th and 16th centuries the writer of these pages has a separate study in preparation.

59. Whether further restorations are planned, is not known.

60. See the study mentioned on note 62 where Vehbi Tamer, on pp. 107-109, has brought together some data on Ishak's life.



in Kütahia (Asia Minor) a derwish zaviye, in Inegöl the already mentioned mosque, imaret, turbe and medresse and lastly, his foundations in Thessaloniki. The famous Kadin Most over the Struma in Bulgaria is a work of his. According to the preserved inscription on the bridge it was built in 1471 by the Grand Vezir Ishak.<sup>61</sup> That was the year of his Grand Vezirate under Mehmed Fatih. In the second half of that year he was deposed.

His foundation in Thessaloniki was mosque and imaret together. For the payment of the staff and to cover the expenditure of food for the poor, he donated the yearly rent and taxes of a large landed estate for "eternity" to it. This property was situated east of the city, near Kalamaria, with the village of Galatista in it. He also donated to it the yearly rent of a hamam and a caravan seray in the silver-mine town of Sidero Kapsa on the Chalkidiki peninsula. According to the regulations of the Vakifname, which has been published<sup>62</sup> in facsimile and modern Turkish translation, 23 men were appointed to the whole foundation. The amount of the salaries and the sum of money which could be spent on food has been written down in detail. Besides a preacher for the Friday sermon and a leader of the prayers (imam) and müezzin, there was a secretary, 2 cooks, 2 bakers, a caretaker and 2 carpenter-masons to keep the buildings of the foundation in Thessaloniki and Sidero Kapsa in good condition. Besides this there was a porter, a cleaner and a dish washer.<sup>63</sup>

To give an idea what was done to feed the poor in the old Ottoman Empire and what was spent yearly on food in an imaret of middle-size, it should be interesting to give some more details:<sup>64</sup>

For meat 20 silver pieces a day, for bread 100 kg of wheat a day, for boiled food (mostly soup) 37.5 kg of wheat and 37.5 kg of rice. For firewood

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61. Ishak was Grand Vezir between 1468 and 1471, this according to a statement of Halil Inalcik in *Speculum* 35, (1960), p.415, which is more reliable than Babinger's older in: *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit* (München, 1953). Peter Mijatev published the inscription of the bridge, "Les Monuments Osmanlis en Bulgarie," in: *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* XXIII (Warszawa, 1959), pp. 8-56. The bridge was completed in the month Rebi ul Evvel of the year 876. That was between 18th August and 16th September 1471, the last month of Ishak's Grand Vezirate. After his failure against the Karamanoğlu Kasim Bey in the autumn of that year he was deposed.

62. Vehbi Tamer, "Fatih Devri Ricalinden Ishak Paşanın Vakfiyeleri ve Vakıfları," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* IV (Ankara, 1958), pp. 107-124.

63. This document was used thanks to the kind help of Mr. A. Wijnbergen of the Leyden University.

64. A good survey of the Imaret system was given by Omer Lütfi Barkan in his extensive study, "Imaret Sitelerin Kurulus ve Isleyisi," in: *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 21 (Istanbul, 1961).

5 silver pieces could be spent and for salt 1. To replace broken dishes and other articles 2 silver pieces a day. Beside this, banquets were to be held on the religious holidays (the nights of Ramadan and the two Bayrams as well as the celebrations of the Imperial Court) for which extra rice and oil and honey had to be given, for which 10 silver pieces (akçe) could be spent. The money that was necessary for such items as vegetables and ingredients for Zerde pilav or Saffron rice or white rice for the meals on holidays was given at the discretion of the Imaret-supervisor.

The name of Alaca Imaret, or Coloured Imaret, found its origin in the multicoloured minaret which once stood beside it.<sup>64a</sup> It was richly ornamented with stones of different colour set in diamond-shaped figures. Minarets which were adorned according to this system are rarely found in Ottoman architecture. We know only one more example in Greece, that of the mosque of Çelebi Sinan Bey in Verria from H. 896 (A.D. 1490).<sup>65</sup> In Istanbul the mosque of the well known Kadi-Asker (Army Judge) and protector of literature Hadji Hasanazade has a minaret of the same type. With these decorative forms ended the great tradition of the sumptuous, coloured tiles-adorned art of minaret building, which since the 10th century had spread from Turkestan and North Persia to all directions.<sup>66</sup>

Another mosque, which has often been confused with that of Ishak Pasha and regarding whose founder nothing was known exactly, is the Ishakiye Cami, the old church of St. Panteleimon, in the eastern part of the town near the Arch of Galerius. It is also the work of an Ishak but not of Ishak Pasha. His name is clearly written in the great inscription above the entrance of his Alaca Imaret: "Ishak ben Ibrahim."<sup>67</sup>

64a. A photograph on which this minaret is to be seen was published by G. Sotiriou in his study about the church of St. Demetrius, in: *Archaiologikon Deltion*, IV (1918), photo 6.

65. A short description of the Turkish monuments of Verria was given by Semavi Eyice, "Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri II," in: *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XII (Istanbul, 1955).

66. This was used very often in Selçuk architecture of the 13th century. Splendid examples of it are the minaret of Ince Minare of Konya or the minaret of the Yakutiye Medresse of Erzerum. The most characteristic example by the Ottomans is the Yeşil Cami of Iznik-Nicaea from 1378. Inspired by this, but much simpler are the minarets of the Fatih Cami of Kustendil from 1420-1430 or the Djoumaya Cami of Plovdiv, built by Murad II (1421-1451), both in Bulgaria. The examples of Thessaloniki, Verria and Istanbul are a last weak echo of this rich type of the 13th century.

66a. Babinger thought that the Ishakiye was the same as that of Ishak Pasha: "Ein Freibrief Mehmed II des Eroberers für das Kloster Hagia Sophia zu Saloniki," in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 44 (1951), p.11, note 3.

67. As no good photographs of this inscription could be taken, a complete translation

The founder of the Ishakiye Cami, or rather, the man who transformed the old church of St. Panteleimon into a mosque, was Kadi Ishak Çelebi ibn Hasan, Judge of Thessaloniki about the year 1500. After his term of office there he was appointed to the Chair of Monastir (Bitola), and it was there that he built the great mosque of that city which still bears his name. That was in the Year of the Hidjra 914 (A.D. 1508-1509). His mosque is also called Ishakiye or Ishak Cami. Ishak Çelebi was a very rich man and his mosque in Monastir gives a clear picture of this. It was to remain permanently the head mosque of Monastir and still dominates the centre of this city. It stands on the north bank of the Dragor brook in a small park, its square prayer-hall being surmounted by a dome 26 m. high. In front of it is a closed double gallery, covered with six domes, a feature rarely to be found. The minaret with its 45 m. is one of the highest in Yugoslavia.<sup>69</sup> Of Ishak's term in Thessaloniki nothing could be found beyond the fact that he has been Kadi there. The mosque of Ishakiye was restored to its original purpose as church many years ago.

The transformation of churches took place only in cities which had been taken from the Christians after a siege. They were regarded as part of the lawful booty and possession of the Moslem conquerors. In cities that had surrendered by treaty or that had capitulated voluntarily, they remained in Christian hands as is shown by many examples in Mistra, Athens or Janina, or Berat in Albania and Prilep in Yugoslav Macedonia. Sometimes, in conquered cities, the churches were left to the Christians but could be taken at any time. In Thessaloniki and also in Istanbul this took place in several phases, one at the end of the 15th century and one at the end of the 16th century. Besides a manifest need for more houses of prayer for the rapidly growing Moslem element, which, as we have seen, begun in the last part of the 15th century, there were also reasons of diverse nature which accelerated this transformation.

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is not possible. In the second half of the first line the name of the builder, Ishak bn Ibrahim, is given. The second half of the fourth and last line forms the chronogram:

Acmalu bi- Izuhd fi-ha, ni'ma adjr al-'amilin.

"Work with self-denying in this (building), how excellent is the reward for those who perform good works." This gives the date 889. The second half of the chronogram, after the comma, is a passage used several times in the Koran.

68. Mehmed Tewfik, *Short History of the Vilayet Monastir* (Monastir, 1912), (in Turkish). The writer is the well-known literary man of the beginning of this century who was a Major in the Turkish army and Director of the Military Gymnasium of Monastir. Cited by Tomovski in his study mentioned in note 32.

69. Ground-plan, section and several photographs by Tomovski (see note 32, on pp. 48 - 49).

In his magnificent work "Christianity and Islam under the Sultans", Hasluck went deeply into this and other phenomena and tried to find their background. The first wave must have been the result of the conquest of Granada in 1492 by the Spaniards and the destruction of the last Islamic Kingdom on Spanish soil. A wave of Arab refugees overran the Moslem world after that date and with them emigrated tens of thousands of Jews before the aggressive Spanish Catholicism. Everywhere in the Turkish Empire these refugees found a new home, but at the same time transferred some of their deep-rooted hatred against everything Christian to their fellow Moslems. In the ten or twelve years that followed the fall of Granada at least three big churches were taken from the Christians of Thessaloniki, the St. Demetrius, the greatest in the town, and these of St. Panteleimon and St. Katharina. The persons who took care of these confiscated buildings and provided them with goods for their maintenance will be discussed further on. The next phase of transformation occurred at the end of the 16th century and it is connected with the general fear for the end of the world in the Moslem year 1000 (A.D. 1592).<sup>70</sup> In my opinion this should be the period in which the church of St. Sophia was taken over, and not in the twenties of the same century as Babinger suggested.<sup>71</sup> Not for nothing the St. George Rotonda was transformed into a mosque precisely in the year 999 of the Hidjra.

The famous church of St. Demetrius must have been the first victim of the reaction to world events. The Arabic inscription on a slab of marble that until the conflagration of 1917 remained in situ above the entrance of the church,<sup>72</sup> gives us the date of this happening, viz. H. 898 (A.D. 1491) and mentions the name of the then reigning Sultan Bayazid II:

1. Dār ahyaytu, Khayr li-'Llāh Rabb al-Alamīn,  
Khān sultān Bayezīd, ihyā li-adjl al-muslimīn.
2. Unzurū yā ma shar al-ubbād ilā ta'rikhihā  
U budū bi-l-ilm haqqan ni ma adjr al-abidin.

(1. A dwelling I have put back in service, a good work for God, the Lord of the Worlds, Sultan Bayazid Khan, a creation for the benefit of the Moslems.

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70. The same fear for the nearing end of the world in the Christian year 1000 was known in Western Europe.

71. Babinger in the study mentioned on note 66a, pp. 18-19.

72. G. Sotiriou (see note 64a) photo 3.

2. See ye host of servants (of the Lord) to this chronogram:  
 Serve [God] with knowledge. Truly, how beautiful is the reward for  
 those who serve [(the Lord). 898].)

Attention has been drawn to the presence of the funeral monument of Lukas Spantunis, from the year 1481, by many others. This monument shows that the church was in the hands of the Christians at that time.

According to popular Islamic beliefs, Demetrius and Kasim are identical as are other great saints of the two religions, Georgius and Hidr Ilias, the popular moslem saint. It was on this account that the church of St. Demetrius was renamed Kasimiye to which the first line of the inscription also alludes. From this we also see that the transformation of a church into a mosque was regarded as a lawful act without the slightest trace of injustice. That the Christians felt this otherwise is only natural. There is yet another reason which might have influenced the choice of the name. It is because of the name of the man who adapted the ex-church into a mosque.

This man must have been Ceseri Kasim Pasha.<sup>72a</sup> The other important Kasim Pasha was the Grand Vezir of Sultan Bayazid, Evliya Kasim Pasha, known for his beautiful mosque on the banks of the river Tundja in Adrianople and his schools in Tirnovo, Bulgaria. He died in 1485 and cannot be our man.<sup>73</sup> Ceseri Kasim Pasha is mentioned as Governor of Thessaloniki in the year 894 in a document on the repair of the mosque of Eski Cuma of Murad II, the old church of Acheiropoietos on which repairs were carried out for the sum of 30,000 silver pieces.<sup>74</sup>

This Kasim Pasha was one of the most remarkable figures of the old Ottoman Empire. He had started his career as slave of the Egyptian scholar Mevlana Djeseri (Ceseri), who later came into Ottoman service. Djeseri's son Mehmed Çelebi who worked as secretary in a government office directed the attention of Sultan Mehmed Fatih towards the promising slave of his father. The Sultan had him set free from his old master who had given his slave an excellent education. He was made Defterdar (book-keeper) in the central Government. Under later Sultans, Bayazid II and Selim, he became Sandjak Bey (inter alia, of Silistra in Northern Bulgaria) and finally Vezir.<sup>75</sup> In the

72a. Hadschi Chalfa, Rumili und Bosna, founded on Mehmed Askik, mentions beside the Kasimiye a separate mosque and Minaret of Kasim Pasha in Thessaloniki.

73. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Edirne Şehrinin Kurucuları," in: *Edirne'nin 600. Fethi Yıldönümü Armagan Kitabı*, p. 175.

74. Gökbilgin in his standard work *Edirne ve Paşa Livasi*, (Istanbul, 1952), pp. 222 and 589, supposes that the person mentioned is Ceseri Kasim, without being certain.

75. Gökbilgin, *Paşa Livasi*, p. 433.

first year of Süleiman the Magnificent (1520-'66) he was liberated from active service and pensioned, as other statesmen before him, with the calm governorship of Thessaloniki,<sup>76</sup> where he died. Ceseri Kasim Pasha was not only statesman, but also gained some reputation as a poet. Under the pseudonym Safi (the Pure) he wrote graceful poems in the style of Ahmad Pasha, the founder of classical Ottoman poetry and colleague of Kasim in state service; precisely because of his activity as a poet Kasim Pasha found his way into the works of biographers of Ottoman poets<sup>77</sup> who started their work in the 16th century (Sehi Bey and Latifi).

From the works of these writers we know that Kasim also founded an imaret for the poor in Thessaloniki, but whether this imaret was united with the Kasimiye mosque or stood separate, cannot be ascertained.

Another Poet-General who was pensioned with the governorship of Thessaloniki and transformed one of the old churches into a place of Islamic worship, was the old fire-eater Yakub Pasha. Yakub was Bosnian by birth and was brought up at the court of Mehmed Fatih. When Prince Bayazid was made Governor of Amasia in Central Anatolia, his father gave him Yakub as his Kapu Aga (steward). When Bayazid ascended the throne of the Ottoman Empire in 1481, Yakub was promoted to the post of Sandjak Bey and later made tutor of Prince Ahmad. Still later he became Sandjak Bey of his native Bosnia, of Aydin near Smyrna, Lord Chamberlain of Prince Alem Shah, Beylerbey and finally Grand Vezir of the mighty Empire.<sup>78</sup> He reaped his greatest laurels in the grim frontier war in Croatia against the Austrians and Hungarians, especially in his great victory on the field of Krbavi in S.W. Croatia, 1493.<sup>79</sup> In Sarajevo we are reminded of the time when he was Sandjak Bey of Bosnia (1491-'93) by the mesdjid of Yakub Pasha which he had built in the just founded Bosnian capital in 897 H (A.D. 1491-'92),<sup>80</sup> which existed until 1936.

Some years before, his college (medresse) in Adrianople<sup>81</sup> had been completed and in the last years of his life he made the Yakub Pasha Cami in Thessa-

76. *op. cit.* p. 434.

77. In this we again find the statement that Kasim Pasha built the mosque and Imaret.

78. J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanische Dichtkunst* (Pesth, 1832), pp. 320 - 321.

79. More details on him by A. Olesnički, "Bošnjak Hadim Jakub-Paša, Pobjednik na Krbavske Polju 1493," in: *Rad Jugoslovenskih Akademija*, Knj. 264, (Zagreb, 1938), pp. 23-160.

80. For this see: Mehmed Müjezinović, "Nekoliko Nevjerodostojnih Turskih nadpisa u Sarajevu," *Naše Starine* II (Sarajevo, 1954), pp. 217 - 220.

81. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livası*, p. 458.

loniki.<sup>82</sup> For this purpose the old church of St. Katharina was transformed, which must have taken place in 1510.<sup>83</sup>

Yakub must have gathered a great deal of his experience in matters of poetry during his long stay at the princely court in Amasia, where Bayazid II had assembled around him an illustrious circle of poets and writers. His poems all breathe the air of a proud manliness in which his long life as a soldier is reflected and which shows a marked contrast to the sweet loveliness of roses and nightingales, so dear to classical Ottoman poetry.<sup>84</sup>

Last of all we will add some remarks on the last two great churches which were taken from the Christians and transformed into mosques. We mean the St. Sophia and the Rotonda of St. George. As stated above, the transformation of the church of the Divine Wisdom into a mosque of the same name must have been part of the anti-Christian sentiments of large groups of the Moslem folk, because of the approach of the fatal year 1000 which was accompanied by numerous bad omens.

It could not have been the Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha, who in the twenties of the 16th century was at the summit of his glory. The enormous popularity and building activity and particularly the tragic end of this son of a fisherman from Parga, must have been the reason why many a work of his less famous namesakes were attributed to him by the people. The mosque of Ibrahim Pasha in Kavala and the mighty aquaduct there are foundations of the famous Ibrahim,<sup>85</sup> but the enormous caravanseray-complex in the Bulgarian Tatar Pazarcik, which is also attributed to him, is the work of another man. This was Ibrahim Pasha, the Grand Vezir of Sultan Murad III, who in the last decade of the 16th century led the great campaign against the impregnable Hungarian fortress of Eger. Babinger's supposition<sup>86</sup> originates from a mistake of his in regarding Mehmed b. Ömer as a native of Thessaloniki instead of Trebizond. In reality this man worked only a few years in the city and his description of Thessaloniki contains several errors which make the things told by him about St. Sophia less creditable. Thus, he made an error in determining on which of the three sides the old mosque of Hafsa bint-i Hamza Bey was

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82. idem p. 459.

83. Semavi Eyice, "Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri I," in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XI, p. 157-182.

84. An example of his work is to be found in Hammer, G.O.D. I, pp. 32-321.

85. Undeniably so, by Pierre Belon du Mans, *Observations de plusieurs singularités...* (Paris, 1588) pp. 131-134.

86. In his study in B.Z. mentioned on note 66a, p. 19 and 20, note 5.

enlarged and also gives a wrong date <sup>87</sup> about the year in which the church of St. George was transformed into the mosque of Sinan Pasha (1004 instead of the true date of 999). Another point that speaks in favour of a later date than Babinger suggested is the statement of the Italian traveller Lorenzo Bernardo who, in the year 1591, still saw the picture of a Pantocrator (Padre Dio) in the dome of the church. <sup>88</sup>

The last figure we shall discuss here is the already mentioned Sinan Pasha. This Kodja Sinan Pasha was born about the year 1500 in the Topoyani district in Middle Albania. By way of the Devshirme system he came into Turkish service and, after a long career, worked his way up to the most important function of the Empire. Five times in succession he was invested with the post of Grand Vezir in the difficult time of financial crisis and military defeat at the end of the 16th century. Sinan Pasha had a harsh character combined with an iron will. He was not well disposed towards the Christians and an outrage towards them by which his name lived on for many generations was the destruction of the holy relics of Saint Sava, the Patron Saint of Serbia for punishment of the rebellious attitude of this people against the Turks. Also by his fellow Moslems the embittered man was not loved.

Another side of his character was the great responsibility he felt for the public well-being, to which he devoted the greatest part of his fortune. In the great Islamic centres of that time, in Istanbul, Bursa, Belgrade, Cairo and Damascus, in the old princely town of Karaman and in the faraway Hasan Kale on the Persian frontier, but also in Bulgaria and Macedonia, he founded countless institutions for public welfare, mosques, schools, caravanserays, bridges, fountains, eating-houses for the poor, baths, etc. <sup>89</sup>

On the dangerous pass between Skopje and the plain of Kossovo he founded the little town of Kačanik. With the construction of a large mosque, a caravanseray for travellers, a bath, fountains and a number of shops he gave the just founded place a solid basis for further development. The ruin of the caravanseray and the well preserved mosque still dominate the silhouette

87. This last in Hadschi Chalfa's information, based on Mehmed Ashik's work (see note 72a).

88. A.M. Schneider, "Die Kuppelmosaiken der Hagia Sofia zu Konstantinople," in: *Nachrichten der Akad. der Wissens. Phil-Hist. Klasse* (Göttingen, 1949).

89. Semavi Eyice, "Türk Sanat Tarihi ile İlgili Yugoslav Yayınları," in: *Belleten, Türk Tarih Kurumu* XXIX-114 (Ankara, 1965), p. 378.

89a) This mosque bears an inscription of which a photograph and translation is in the writer's possession; H. 1003 = A.D. 1594-1595.



of Kačanik. Sinan's son Kačanikli Mehmed Pasha followed his father's tracks in this matter.<sup>90</sup> His foundations were found in North-Western Macedonia.<sup>91</sup>

Sinan Pasha's foundation in Thessaloniki is only a small part of his activity, which extended over three continents. At the instigation of the Derwish Sheikh Hortaci in that city the old church of St. George was taken away from the Christians. Sinan Pasha provided the goods for the Vakif and attended to the building work necessary to make it a mosque; he added the slender minaret in the form of those which had shortly before been built on the St. Sophia of Istanbul by Selim II. With the open gallery in front and the remains of a large turbe in the back of the building, they are today the only objects reminiscent of Sinan Pasha. His name had long ago been replaced by that of Sheikh Hortaci, so that it is largely known as Hortaci Cami.

An inscription of four lines, which has remained preserved above the gate, mentions the name of Sheikh Hortaci and gives the date on which the building was made a mosque (Pl. VIII):

...sa y we himmet itdi Seyh Hortaci  
 ...Tekkiye...ehl-i-Islam ma bedi oldi  
 tarik-i-Hakkda avz-i-Hadi ile muhda iken  
 ...bu ma bedde imam... oldi<sup>92</sup>  
 Sene 999

(Through the effort and the care of Sheikh Hortaci  
 This ancient convent incontestably has become a place for prayer of the  
 People of Islam.  
 Seeking refuge from the Guide he was led on the way of the True-one  
 And completed it and became minister in this place of prayer.  
 The year 999 [A.D. 1591])

In the history of the Mausoleum of the Emperor Galerius, which during

90. His military career was not successful. He died shortly after 1600 and was buried behind his mosque in Skopje on whose inscription of 1602 he only bears the title of Ağa.

91. A mosque in Skopje, a caravanseray, bridge and fountain in Kačanik, a school, mosque and Hamam in Gostivar, in Tetovo a clock-tower, in Kičevo a Hamam and in Debar a caravanseray, zaviye, medjid, bridge and school.

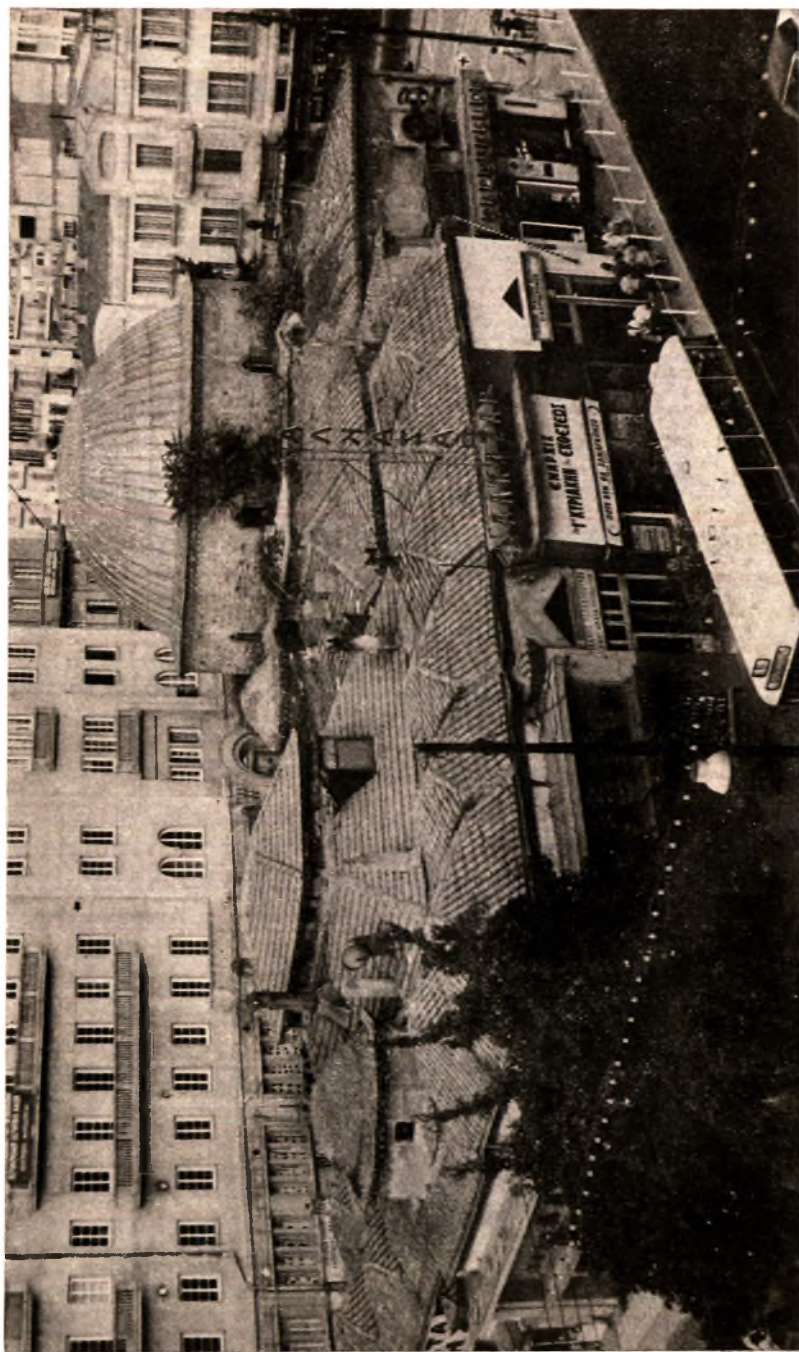
More about him and his foundations by Hasan Kalesi and Mehmed Mehmedovski, *Trj Vakufnami na Kačanikli Mehmed, Paša*, Skopje 1958, with facsimiles of the documents and a résumé in French.

92. The exact spelling of the Turkish text could not be ascertained. Therefore the translation given here is more or less a reproduction.

its long existence has served as temple, church, mosque, again church, and now as museum, we see reflected the turbulent history of this city, a history of which only a few details have been discussed here.

Wormerreer, Holland

M. KIEL



*Plate 1. Hamam Bey Mosque, general view from the South-west.*



*Plate II. Inscription above entrance of Great Hamam of Sultan Murad II.*

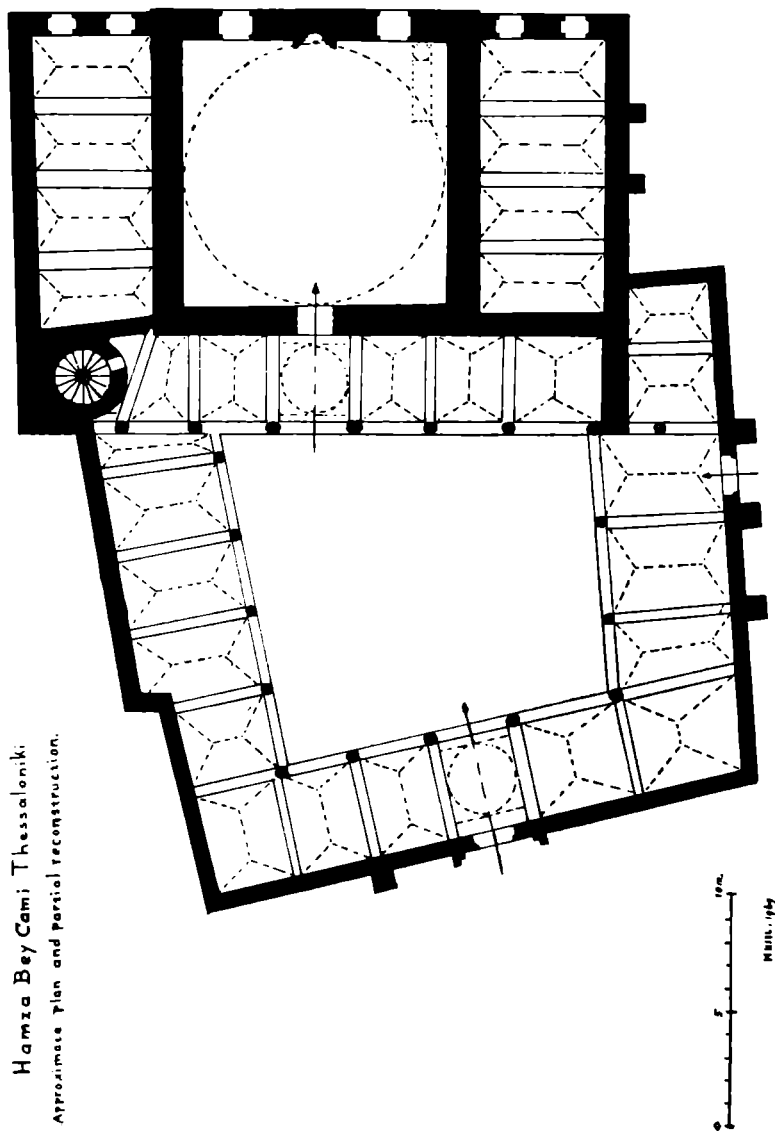
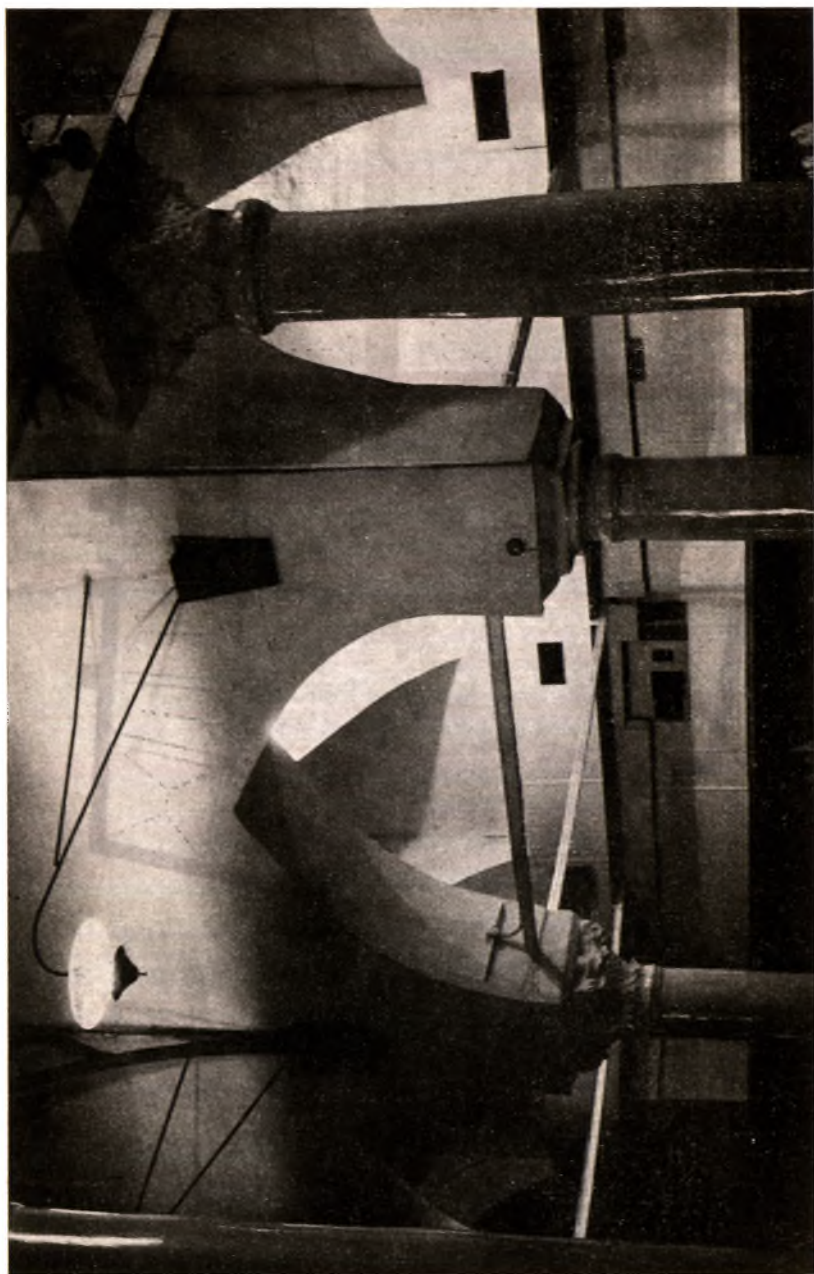


Plate III





*Plate IV. Hamza Bey Mosque, interior, Courtyard.*

Plate V



1. Hamza Bey Mosque, oldest inscription replaced (1468).

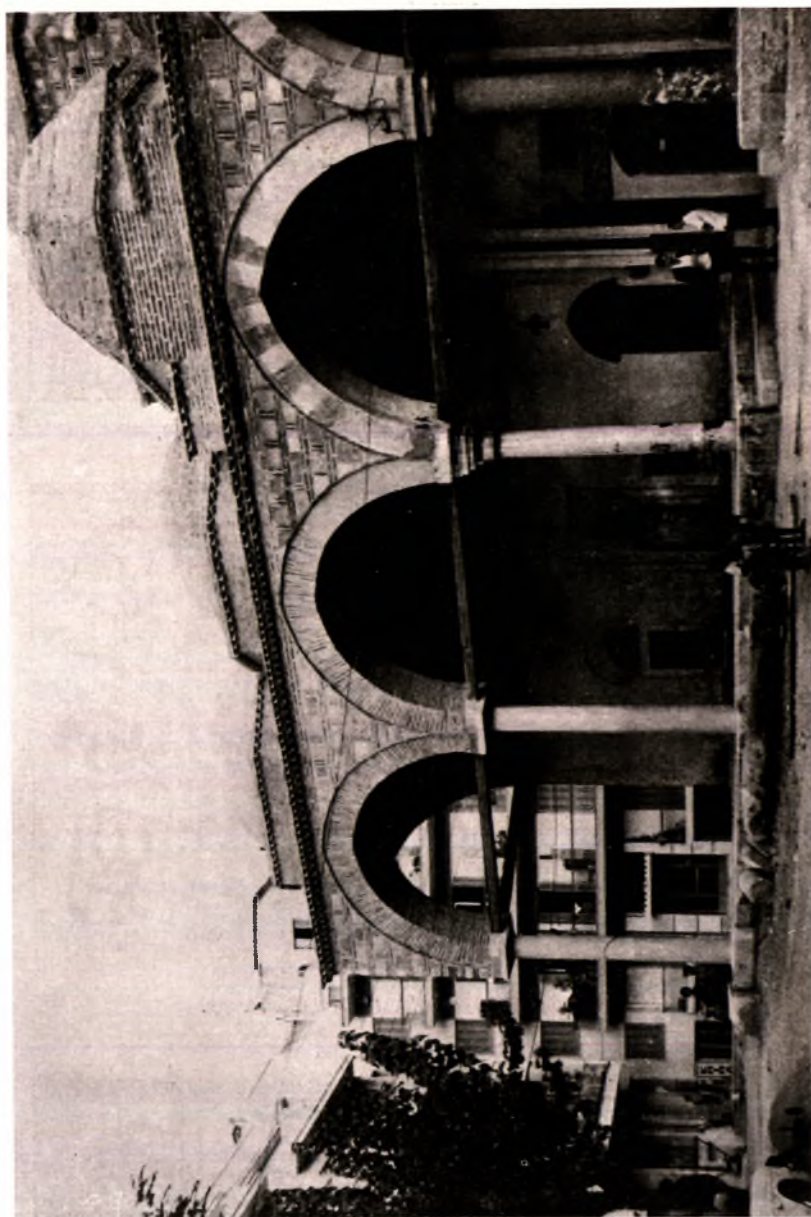


2. Hamza Bey Mosque, oldest inscription, copy.



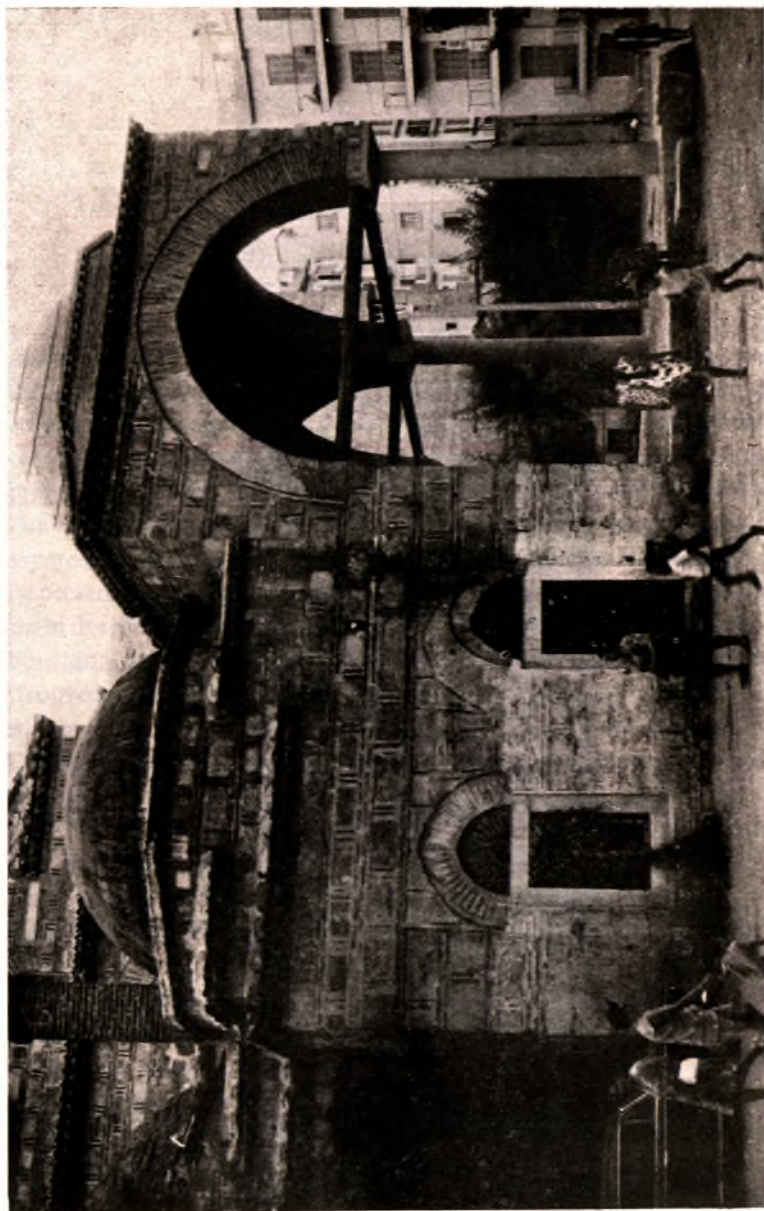
3. Hamza Bey Mosque, inscription above former main entrance (1620).



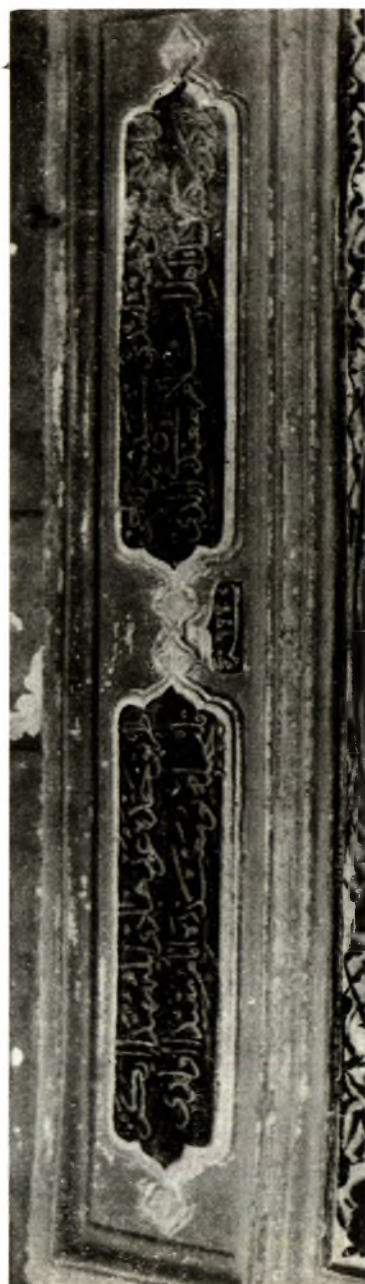


*Plate VI. Mosque of Ishak Pasha, western gallery.*





*Plate VII. Mosque of Ishak Pasha, north side, gallery and side rooms.*



*Plate VIII. Sinan Pasha Hortaci Cami, inscription above main entrance (1591).*