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# SOME LITTLE-KNOWN MONUMENTS OF OTTOMAN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE IN THE MACEDONIAN PROVINCE*[1]

*Štip, Kumanova, Prilep, Strumitsa*

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Only a few cities that once belonged to the European provinces of the Ottoman empire preserve so many valuable works of Turkish Islamic architecture as the two great Macedonian centres Skopje and Bitola (Üsküb and Monastir). By means of various publications[2] the monumental mosques, baths, türbes, hans or covered markets etc., became known to a wider public. This is especially true about the magnificent buildings of Skopje after their praiseworthy reconstruction since the great earthquake of

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1 The materials for this article were collected during a journey on the Balkans in the summer of of 1969 which was made possible by a bursary of the Netherlands Organisation of Pure-Scientific Research, Z.W.O. The Hague and a grant of the Prince Bernhard Fund, Amsterdam. The material was given for publication in a slightly different form to the periodical Kuturno Nasledstvo in Skopje but never appeared.

2 Basically the various studies on inscriptions, history and vakifnâmes of the Skopje mosques by Gliša Elezović, in *Glasnik Skopskog Naućnog Društva* the number 1 till 10; Gliša Elezović, *Turski Spomenici*, in *Zbornik za Istonjačku Istoriju i Književnu Gradje*, Beograd 1940; Herbert Duda, *Balkantürkische Studien*, in: *Sitzungsberichte Österr. Akad. Wissensch. Phil-hist. Klasse* 226, Band 1, Wien 1949; with a usefull comments of Robert Anhegger, *Neues zur Balkantürkische Forschung*, in: *Zeitsch. Deutsche Morgenl. Gesellsch.* Band 103, Wiesbaden 1953; Lidija Bogojević, *Les Turbés de Skopje*, in: *Atti della Secondo Congresso Internationale di Arta Turca*, Napoli 1965, pp. 31-39; the best plans and sections of some of the most important buildings by: Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II sultan Murad Devri*, Istanbul 1972; also various reports with plans and photographs of the works of conservation and restoration after the earthquake of 1963 in: *Zbornik Zaštite Spomenika Kulture*, Beograd 1965, p.p. 157-164.

For Bitola see: Mehmed Tewfik, *Manastır Vilayeti Tarihçesi*, Manastır 1327 (1909), appeared also in Serbian translation in: Bratstvo 43, Beograd 1933; Krum Tomovski, *Djamii vo Bitola*, in: *Godišen Zbornik na Tehnickiot Fakultet, Universitet Skopje*, Skopje 1956/57, *Zbornik na Tehničkiot Fak.* III Skopje 1957/58, pp. 95-110, Bitola on p. 107). Hasan Kaleši, *Najstarije Vakufname u Jugoslaviji*, in: *Prilozi za Orientalni Filologiju* X-XI, Sarajevo 1960/61 pp. 55-73.

1963. In less important Macedonian towns, however, a number of monuments of importance are still preserved till our day but remain virtually unknown. In this modest contribution we will turn our attention to five of these buildings giving some primary information on their architecture, relationship and historical setting. We mean the towns of Štip (Iștip), Kumanova, Prilep (Pirlepe) and Strumica (Ustrumca) situated in the eastern half of the Yougoslav republic of Macedonia, that part of the historical old landscape which was most intensively colonised and resettled by the Turks[3] since the last decade of the 14th centure.

The developments in these areas since the empire lost them (1912) were of such a nature that the greater part of the Turkish population either fled or emigrated[4] to the Turkish republic in the course of time. Their buildings, left without a function and being regarded as symbol of an unbeloved past were demolished as soon as an occasion appeared or in the best case were left to fall into decay and ruin. Due to the great changes in the last three decades old views were largely modified and those Ottoman monuments which remained standing were often saved by careful restoration. However, the disappearance of works of Ottoman architecture in the towns mentioned is such that only one or two buildings remain preserved in each town.

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3 In her recent article *'Ishtib'* in *the Encycl. of Islam*, New Edition, vol IV, pp. 121/22 Bistra Čvetkova denies the importance of this colonisation stating that it was 'not very extensive' and mentions as example only 81 ocaks of Yürüks in the Ovce Polje west of Štip. in 1566. However, Ömer Lutfi Barkan (in his Essai *sur les données statistiques des registres de recencement dans l'empire Ottomane*, in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, I, Leiden 1958) mentions no less than 6.640 Muslim households in the Sancak of Kjüstend. On the map in his Deportations comme méthode etc. these Turkish settlers appear almost all in the area between the Vardar and Štip, the district we are dealing with. Detailed information on the ethnic structure of the area along the Vardar, south of Skopje, on the excellent map of Leonard Schultze-Jena, Makedonien, Landschafts und Kulturbilder, Jena 1927, there also lists of the various villages. Further the various studies of Jovan Trifunoski mentioned on note 4. For the Ottoman colonisation in general see: Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *Deportation comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation etc.* in: *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques*, Université d'Istanbul, II[e] année No. 1-4.

4 For the emigration of the Turkish inhabitants of the Štip - Vardar region see: Jovan Trifunoski, La structure ethnique et les proces ethnique dans le basin de Bregalnitza; Les villages depeüple du bąsin inferieur de Bregalnitza; Les villages d'aujourd'hui et la population dans le basin inferieure de Bregalnitza in: *Zbornik Štipskiot Naroden Muzej*, III, Štip 1962/63.

*ŠTIP.*

Štip is the Stipion of ancient time[5], built on a high and isolated hill on the confluence of the rivers Bregalnica and Otinja. On this site the oldest building of the town is preserved, the castle. The medieval town was largely situated within the walls of this fairly extensive castle[6]. An open suburb was situated east of the castle whereas some smaller suburbs, or clusters of houses must have been situated at the western and southern foot of the castle hill where three old churches, built in the Byzantino-Serbian style of the 14th century remain preserved[7]. Štip was in turn part of the Byzantine, Bulgarian and Serbian states of the medieval period. It was conquerred by the Ottomans in the last decades of the 14th century, alledgedly in 1388 under Murad I but more probably in 1395[8] after the Battle of Rovine in which the last Bulgaro-Serbian Lord of Eastern Macedonia, Konstantin Dejanović fell as vasal of Bayezid I. His land was converted into the sancak of Kjustendil - Kostadin-ili - the Land of Konstantin. Štip was part of this sancak and flourished particularly in the 16th and 17th century when it spread far and wide over the hills beyond the old town limits. Evliya Çelebi describes it as a city with 2.240 houses, 24 Muslim mahalle and 24 mosques[9]. One of them was the Fethiye Câmi'i, an old church (that is the church of the Archangel Michael which still stands today[10]. Besides these buildings our traveller mentions a number of mescids, two hamams, a medresse, seven hans and seven tekkes. Of the mosques those of Murad I and Husam Paşa were the most important.

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5 Enciklopedija Jugoslavije vol. VIII, p. 267; Nikolovski, Čornakov, Balabanov, *The Cultural Monuments of the Peoples Republic of Macedonia,* Skopje 1961, p. 101.

6 The church of the Archangel Mihael, built in 1334, the church of the Ascention, built by a certain duke Dimitar little before 1388 and the church of St. John the Baptist, built by the small landowner Jovan Probištip in 1350. For these churches see: *Cultural Mon. of Macedonia,* pp. 118/120 and the (restoration) reports in: *Zbornik Štipskiot Nar. Muzej* I and II, 1958/59 - 1960.

8 B. Čvetkova in: *Encycl. of Islam* New Edition IV, article *Ishtib* on pp. 121/22. The battle of Rovine (Argeş) took place in May 1395.

9 Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme,* VI, 118 vv. (Istanbul printed edition).

10 The old church of the Archangel Mihael is locally still known as 'Fitija' E. H. Ayverdi found a document from which can be seen that sultan Murad I founded a mosque in Štip which was known as Fethiye Câmi'i. This challenges the date of conquest of Štip in 1395 and speaks in favour of 1388.

According to the Salname of the Vilayet of Prizren[11], to which Štip belonged between 1868 and 1874 the town counted nine Friday Mosques, seven tekkes and 250 shops. On the eve of the Balkan Wars Stip was a thriving commercial town counting 20.900 inhabitants[12]. After the wars the number of inhabitants fell steeply to 11.200[12a] due to the mass emigration of the Muslim population. Today Štip[13] still retains much of its old oriental outlook but the number of historical buildings from Ottoman times is reduced to two, the great mosque of Husameddin Paşa and the Bedesten. The great stone bridge over the Bregalnica was destroyed during World War II, the other monuments of Ottoman architecture, hans hamams mosques etc. were all demolished in the course of time. Besides buildings mentioned Štip counts two magnificent big churches built in the style of the Macedonian National Revival during the time of Tanzimat reforms[14]. The monumental Bedesten of Štip was carefully restored and serves today as Museum. It will be left undiscussed here as it was the subject of a separate publication[15].

Štip, *Mosque of Husameddin Paşa.*

The great Bedesten of Štip was the commercial centre of the new open town along the river which developed in the first centuries of the Ottoman rule. The mosque of Husameddin was the nucleus of a new and large part of the town which sprang up simultaneously on the sloping grounds on

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11 The sole known copy of this Salnâme was found and published by Hasan Kalesi and Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf, *Das Wilajet Prizren im 19. Jahrhundert,* in: *Südost Forschungen XXVI,* München 1967, pp. 176-238.

12 Schultze-Jena, *Makedonien,* p. 130 gives 17.000 inhabitants for the period prior to 1912; *the Encikl. Jugosl.* VIII p. 267 gives 20.900 for the end of the last century. B. Cvetkova in *Encyclopedia of Islam* IV, 1972 pp. 121/22 gives for 1894 10.900 Bulgarians, 8.700 Turks, 800 Jew and 500 gypseys.

12a Schultze-Jena p. 130 gives 11.200 inhabitants for the period shortly after World War I, *the Encikl. Jugosl.* (p. 267) gives 12.000 for 1931.

13 Štip did not recover from the blows it received after 1912. In 1961 it still counted but 18.650 inhabitants *(Encikl. Jugosl.* VIII, p. 267).

14 The fact that the *Salnâme* gives only one church in Štip is due to the fact that the second one ise situated in the suburb of Novo Selo which then was still regarded as an independant community.

15 See: Krum Tomovski, *Bezistenot ve Štip,* in: *Zbornik Štipskiot Naroden Muzej,* No II, 1960/61, pp. 97-101 with plan, section photographs and French résumé (Le Bedesten de Štip).

the other side of the river. The mosque is a monumental building which deserves to become known as one of the most important Ottoman buildings preserved in present day Yugoslavia. It towers high above the houses of the picturesque town on the south bank of the Otinja and dominates, together with the old castle and the church of the Archangel Michael, the entire townscape. Balanced proportions, volume and fine workmanship further enhance the beauty of the building. Some repairs and maintenance have been carried out recently[16] by the Institute for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Macedonia, so that the buildings is in a fairly good state although looking shabby and without function. Unfortunately the minaret is sadly missing, as a result of which the former harmony between the solid body of mosque and the pronounced vertical element constituted by the minaret is now spoiled.

The plan of the mosque is remarkable, it is a square of 12.40 m with a gallery of sturdy but harmonious proportions in front and a kind of wide and shallow apse in which the mihrab niche is placed. This 'apse'is the most interesting element of the mosque and the result of a long development within Ottoman architecture. The placing of the mihrab in a kind of apse is often regarded as the result of the intensive mutual contact between early-Ottoman and late-Byzantine architecture which we see throughout the entire 14th century. The first mosque on which we find this element is, as is well known, that of Murad I in his capital Bursa. The element was used later on in Turkish architecture, completely integrated in the structure of the building. We may see it in very different form in the mosque of Beylerbey Yusuf Paşa[17] in Edirne from the year 1429, on the famous mental hospital of Bayezid II from 1485, also in Edirne, on the mosque of Davut Paşa in Istanbul, from 1485[18] or that of Mehmed Bey in the Macedonia city of Serres built in 1491[19]. It is very well possible that our mosque was inspired by

16 According to *the Cultural Mon. of Mac.*, (p. 125) the repairs were carried out in 1953. The dome was covered with cement to protect it from the effects of rain and snow, the lower windows were blocked to prevent intruders doing any harm or use the building as store.

17 For this building see now the most detailed plan and description by Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi: *Osmanli Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II sultan Murad devri*, pp. 377.

18 Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopols*, and recently E.H. Ayverdi, *Osmanli mimarisinde Fatih Devri*, Istanbul 1973, pp. 327-337.

19 For this great building see two articles, completing each other: Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Osmanische Baugeschichte, Moscheen in Saloniki und Serre*, in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 17, 1967 pp. 312-330.

that of the nearby Serres. The latter city constituted one of the ten largest Turkish cities in Europe, was a centre of Ottoman Turkish literature, culture and architecture as well as an economic centre of a wide area[20]. Ottoman architecture was deeply rooted there and it is far from being improbable to suppose that the masters of the smaller Macedonian places went to this place to find inspiration or skilled workers. Skopje played much the same role but there single domed mosques with an apse of the kind as in Serres and Stip are not found any more and not known from the past. As regards plan, proportion of the various elements and similar form of mihrab apse the Štip building is close to Serres but there is a basical difference. The Serres mosque is a last offshoot from the Zaviye-of Tabhaneli-mosque[21] and had, like its little older predecessor in Istanbul (Davut Paşa) separate rooms on both lateral sides. These rooms make a wider gallery necessary which has five units instead of three in Štip. The latter building does not show the slightest trace of tabhanes or associated rooms but is simply a monumental single-unit mosque enriched by a large apse. It may be noticed that the apse is well integrated in the general concept and in this field closely follows the Serres building which shows an equally succesful blend. A large and well integrated mihrab apse is also to be seen at the great mosque of Sofu Sinan Paşa in Prizren in the Kossovo - Metohije district a building from the first decades of the 17th century[22]. The latter building, close to Štip in general concept, is a work characteristic for the late classical period of Ottoman architecture. Erdmann[23] already noticed the main characteristic of the works of the post-Sinan period which tend to the enormous, impressing only by

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M. Kiel, *Observations on the history of Northern Greece during the Turkish Rule*, In *Balkan Studies* 12[2] (Thessaloniki 1971), pp. 415-462.

20 For the economical importance of Serres see first of all Schultze-Jena and the literature mentioned there.

21 For the Zaviya - and Tabhaneli Mosque see i.a.: Semavi Eyice, *Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuasi* 23 (Istanbul, Ekim 1962 - Şubat 1963), p. 3-80; Semavi Eyice, *Trakya'da Inecik'de Tabhâneli Câmi, in: Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* No 1 (Istanbul 1970), pp. 173-196; Anhegger, see note 19; Aptullah Kuran, *The mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago 1968, etc.

22 Briefly described by Hüsref Redzić, *Pet Osmanlijskig gradjevina na Kosovu i Metohiji*, in: *Starine Kosova i Metohije I*, Priština 1961, pp. 95-112 plan by: Ivan Zdravković, *Izbor gradje ... Islamske Arhitektura*, Beograd 1964, pp. 53-55. On the date of this building see: K. Özergin, H. Kaleši, I. Eren, *Prizrem Kitabeleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi* VII (1968), pp. 82-83.

23 Kurt Erdmann, *Beobachtungen auf einer Reise in Zentralanatolien*, in: *Archeologische Anzeiger des Deutschen Arch. Inst.* 1954, p. 194.

sheer size and overwhelming massiveness. as opposed to the late Seljuk works which lost itself in a baroque profusion of decorative elements. The Prizren building is typical for the late classical style mentioned and is moreover dated by an inscription whereas the Stip mosque is anepigraph. On the Balkans another outspoken example of the colossale style is the mosque of Ibrahim Pasha at Razgrad, dated by its inscription in numbers and chronogram from the year 1025 (1616)[24]. The mosque of Husameddin Paşa in Stip shares in this trend towards the colossal as the proportions do not show the 'raffinesse' of the classical period but tend to be rather ponderous. Not the stern elegance is noticeable here but impressing volumes, obtained by the interrelation between blank spaces, cornices and size of windows. On the other hand the mosque does have some more archaic features which could also point to an earlier date. There is first of all the gallery, the 'son cemaat yeri' This gallery is built in pure and simple forms resambling those from the early 16th century. The gallery is carried by four columns of polished marble which bear the three domes, each nearly four metre square. In several ways the architect has tried to emphasize the importance of the entrance. This is, as usual, situated in the middle of the north wall and is crowned by a powerful arch of alternating red and yellow stone. The two central columns of the gallery, those flanking the entrance, are of green marble instead of the white marble that was used for those standing at the sides. Furthermore the capitals of the central columns are adorned with rich stalactites whereas the others only have pointed folds, the so-called 'Turkish triangles'. The central arch of the gallery repeats the pattern of alternating red and yellow stone of the portal. The overall impression is early or mid 16th century, but the stalactites of the capitals point to a later date. The masonry of the mosque does not give an indication about the date. The lower part of the building is erected from large blocks of perfectly cut and polished brownish yellow stone from the nearby Žegligovo district. This stone is very resistant to the actions of the weather and therefore well preserved. The upper part of the mosque is built of the local greenish sandstone from the Štip area which is less resistant and has eroded on several places. Resuming it should be said that the mosque of Husameddin Paşa is most probably a work of the late classical phase of Ottoman architecture from the first decades of the 17th century, the reign of Ahmed I, Genç Osman or

24 A photograph of this mosque and a improvised transcription of the inscription was given by Osman Keskinoğlu in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VIII (Istanbul 1969), p. 320.

Mustafa I. A date in the 17th century was also that at which the authors of "Cultural Monuments of the Peoples Republic of Macedonia" arrived, devoting a few lines to this building[25]. Evliya Çelebi visited Štip in 1072 (1661/62) which affords a safe terminus post quem as he mentions and describes the mosque in an unmistakeable manner.

According to the 'Cultural Monuments' Husameddin Paşa was also the founder of a hamam[26] in Štip of which some traces of walls were preserved. Evliya mentions a dar ul-kurra belonging to the mosque of Husameddin. Near the mosque the saints Sheih Muhieddin Rumi, Ali-ud-din Rumi and the Mevlevi Sheih Mustafa Efendi were buried[27]. About the personality of Husameddin Pasha we were unable to find anything[28].

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25 *Cultural Monuments,* p. 125 where they oddly enough called the mosque 'Husa Medin Paša'.

26 The same p. 125. Evliya Çelebi mentions two hamams of which one was built by Emir Efendi. The second one was probably that of Husameddin.

27 Immedietely besides the mosque still stands the humble octagonal türbe of Sheih Muhieddin. According to Galaba Palikruševa, *Derviskiot red Halveti vo Makedonija, (Zbornik Štipskiot Naroden Muzej* No 1, 1959 p. 117), this Muhieddin was the propagator of the Halveti branch of Bayrami. The mosque of Husâmeddin Pasha is popularly known as Muhieddin Babina Câmi'i. The grave of this saint is still venerated but his Halveti branch has disappeared. Today there are in Štip only followers o the Hayati branch founded in the 18th century by Mehmed Hayati of Ohrid (for a description of the chief Hayati Tekke in last mentioned town see: Semavi Eyice, *Ohri'nin Türk devrine ait eserleri,* in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* VI, (Istanbul 1965), pp. 141 and photo 13-14.

Štip appears to have been a religious and cultural centre of some importance. Besides the religious leaders mentioned by Evliya we know of Abdülkerim Efendi, also known as Iştipli Emir Efendi, who died in 1015 (1606/07) in Istanbul. He is probably identical with the Emir Sultan, or Küçük Emir Sultan mentioned by Evliya as founder of number of public and religious buildings in Štip.

Iştipli Emir Efendi was buried at the tekke of the mosque of Mehmed Sokolli at Kadirga - Istanbul See: Bursali Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanli Müellifleri,* edition A. Fikri Yavuz - Ismail Özen, Istanbul 1971, vol I, p. 40.

From Štip came also the Sümbüliye - Halvetiye Sheih Adli Hasan Efendi who died as Sheih of the Sümbüliye Dergah of Istanbul in 1026 (1617/18) *(Osmanli Müellifleri* II p. 50 edition Yavuz and Özen).

The mystic leader and poet of the last century, Salih Rifat Efendi (died in 1326, 1908/09) also came from Štip *(Osmanli Müellifleri* edit. Yavuz and Özen, vol I, p. 200).

28 Not in Hammer, G.O.R., not in *Sicill-i Osmani,* edition or in Peçevi.

*KUMANOVA.*

Kumanova, a town of minor importance situated in the plains north east of Skopje appears to be a urban settlement of more recent origin, probably emerged as town in the course of the 16th century. Evliya Çelebi mentions[29] it in 1071 (1660/61) as a kasaba in the sancak of Üsküb - Skopje - counting 600 houses with a beautiful mosque in the Çarşı[30]. Besides mentioned buildings there was a han, a hamam, a medrese and a sufficient number of shops. From this description we get the impression that Kumanovo was a minor, chiefly Islamic, township, rised to the rank of kasaba by the erecting of a large mosque and some other buildings for the spread and maintenance of the Islamic way of life. More information on Kumanovo is known from the last century. Von Hahn[31] describes in 1861 a fastly growing town with an extensive and lively Bazar which according to him, pointed to an important commercial and craft activity. Kumanovo then had 650 houses of which 300 were inhabited by Muslims and 350 by Bulgarians. Hahn adds that Kumanovo was for thirty years ago (thus 1830) still a village with 40 houses, half Christian, half Muslim. The town had two mosque and a great clock tower. A new large church was under construction[32]. This note makes it very probable that the town had suffered heavily during the Austrian invasion at the end of the 17th century and like Skopje only recovered more than a century later[33]. According to the Salname of the Prizren Vilayet of 1291[34] (1874/75) Kumanovo counted two mosques, two

29 *Evlija Čelebija Putopis,* Hazim Šabanović, vol. II pp. 98 - 104 (Serbian translation from the Istanbul edition vol. VI).

30 This mosque must be ours, described in the following pages.

31 J. G. von Hahn, *Reise von Belgrad nach Saloniki,* Wien 1861, p. 56.

32 the same p. 56.

33 *The Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* vol V, Zagreb p. 449, Kumanovo, states that the number of inhabitants fell after the Karpoš Uprising in 1689 (connected with the Austrian invasion of that year) of which the town was the centre. According to the same source Kumanovo was not more than a village in the 18th and 19th centuries with only 300 houses. Ami Boue, *Le Turquie d'Europe,* gives in 1836 3.000 inhabitants, Hahn, who travelled in 1858 gives 3.500 inhabitants. Further details on Kumanovo see: A. Urošsević, *Kumanovo,* in: *Zbornik na Filoz. Fak. vo Skopje, Prirodno matematički oddel,* Skopje 1949 (not consulted here).

34 see note 11 (Kornrumpf-Kalesi p. 218.

tekkes and a clock tower. Like Hahn the Salname mentions the fabrication of woollen textiles, carpets, blankets etc. and a very important market on Thursday. The population of the administrative district of Kumanovo was, according to the same Salname composed of 9.116 Muslims and 15.244 Christians[35]. According to the Kamus ül A'lam of Şemseddin Sami[36] Kumanovo counted at the beginning of our century 4.500 inhabitants and had two mosques, two tekkes[37] and one medrese. The Battle of Kumanovo which decided the fate of the Ottoman rule over the Balkans was fought near the town in 23/24 October 1912. In our time Kumanovo developed into an industrial town of over 30.000 inhabitants[38] among whom a large minority of Albanian speaking Muslims. A mosque and a hamam are preserved from the uneventfull Ottoman past.

Kumanovo, *TATAR SINAN BEY MOSQUE.*

In the older southern part of the town on the old road to Skopje rises a small though imposing and well built mosque which is locally known as Tatar Sinan Bey Câmi'i. The mosque is still in daily use and in excellent state of preservation although it has suffered from artless additions and repairs. Outside the enclosure of the mosque stands a hamam, half buried in the ground and in terrible state of decay. The latter building is probably the hamam mentioned by Evliya Çelebi and could have been part of the foundations of Tatar Sinan Bey together with the other mentioned objects of which today all traces have disappeared. Unfortunately we were unable to study this certainly interesting bath at a close distance. Hence no definite conclusions about its type and date can be given.

As in Štip the Kumanovo mosque is an undated work, which is even more difficult to date with more or less certainty than the former building. The plan is not very remarkable, a square of 1030 m. surmounted by a dome, and a gallery of three units as in many other smaller mosques. The way, however, in which this plan is conceived is exeptional and not found elsewhere. The tambour which supports and partly mantles the dome has

35 Kornrumpf-Kalesi, table on p. 202.

36 *Kamus ül A'lam*, V, 3768.

37 One of this tekkes belonged to the Karabaşiye branch of the Halvetiye order see: *Galaba Palikruševa Derviškiot red* (cited in note 27), p. 113.

38 *Encikl. Jugosl.* V. p. 449.

not the normal polygonal shape but forms a extraordinary tall circular drum. The same unusually high circular drum is used to cover the central compartment of the 'son cemaat yeri' The two remaining sections of this gallery on both sides of the drum, are covered by flat, ribless cross-vaults. As the sections of the gallery have been given a rectangular form of 2.30 wide and 3.62 m deep it was necessary, before placing a dome over the central section, first to make a square by means of arches. The dome over the gallery is not a plain one but was given a highly decorative form by constructing it with numerous ribs thereby producing a melon form. This great difference between the central and the lateral sections of the gallery manifests the same tendency to stress the importance of the entrance, as was done in Štip but achieved in a different manner. The element of a smaller central section of a portico, crowned with a tall dome, is much older than the Kumanovo mosque. The Yeşil Câmi'i of Iznik[39] from the last decades of the 14th century may be cited as a very early example. A monument which has the same idea expressed in a different manner is the mosque of the sultan Murad II, now called Fethiye or Fatih Câmi'i, in the city of Kjustendil[40] just across the Bulgarian frontier. Kjustendil was the capital of the homonymous sancak within which frontiers the district of Žegligovo was situated. Kumanovo is the chief place in this landscape[41]. The Kjustendil mosque is from about 1430 and might very well have influenced the mosque of Tatar Sinan in this respect. Other remarkable features on the mosque of Kumanovo is the way in which the windows are adorned. Each façade has a double row of windows. The lower row has two windows which are set in shallow, recessed fields having a simple but decorative profile of convex - concave forms.

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39 For this building see: K. Otto-Dorn, *Das Islamische Iznik*, Berlin 1941, pp. 20-33, and Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, *Osmanli Mimarisinin Ilk Devri*, Istanbul 1966, pp. 309-319.

40 On this building and its right date see: Jordan Ivanov, *Severna Makedonija*, Sofia 1906 and H. Minetti, *Osmanische Provinziale Baukunst auf dem Balkan*, Hannover 1923. In the 1953 edition of his *Fatih Devri Mimarisi* Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi attributed this mosque tc the period of Fatih which is an impossible anachronism.

41 In the 16th century the village of Nagoričane with the famous monastery of the Serbian king Milutin was the seat of the local administration of the nahiye Nevgerić of the Sancak of Kjustendil. As such it is also mentioned in the last quarter of the 15th century. By the mid 16th century Nagoričane became a nahiye in the kadilik of Kratovo in the same Sancak. (See: M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Ajalet Rumelija*, in: *Prilozi za Orientalni Filologiju* XVI-XVII, Sarajevo 1966/67, p. note 100 on pp. 325/26. The article is a Serbo-Kroat translation of Turkish study of Gökbilgin which appeared in *Belleten* T.T.K. XX, 78, Ankara 1956.

The windows are crowned with pointed arches which continue the same profiles as those around the recessed fields. The windows of the upper zone are smaller and plainly rectangular, covered with a lintel consisting of one large piece of stone. In order to protect the lintel from the pressure of the wall above, a pointed relieving arch is placed over it. The springs rest both extremities of the lintel. These relieving arches are richly adorned with geometrical figures in low relief. The fields between the relieving arches and the lintels are filled with slabs of white marble which are likewise richly sculptured with geometrical figures but of a different pattern to those on the arches. The low cube of the mosque as well as the tambour is finished by a strongly profilated cornice which is at several places replaced by a saw tooth frieze of bricks, which is a later repair.

The mosque is built of neatly cut and polished large blocks of yellow brown stone of the Žegligovo district, the same material as used at the mosque of Husâmeddin Paşa at Štip. In the last century the building was considerably enlarged in order to meet the growing need for space to accomodate ever more faithful. This enlargement was carried out with cheap materials, brick, plaster and tiles and stands in the greatest possible contrast with the fine work of the old building. The enlargement envelops the old gallery completely and continues along the eastern lateral wall thus more than doubling the floor space. If a restoration of this valuable and original mosque will ever be carried out then a new place of prayer has to be made as the mosque today can hardly accomodate the number of faithful during the prayers. It is also necessary to clear out the overcrowded garden of the mosque and cut down some of the trees and shrubs which today mask the building almost completely.

About the founder of the mosque again nothing could be found. Edirne ve Paşa Livası of Gökbilgin mentions a great number of Sinan Beys but no one seems to have had any contacts with the Macedonian town. Detailed research may identify him, as possibly the person of Husâmeddin of Štip. As to the date we may suppose the later half of the 15th century or the four first decades of the 16th century, before Mimar Sinan became active. Round tambours are occacionally met with in Ottoman architecture, on the Eski Câmi'i of Edirne from the second decade of the 15th century, on the Mosque of Çauş Bey in Bitola - Monastir - from 1434[42] and in the first half of the

42 See Krum Tomovski, *Djamii vo Bitola* (cited in note 2).

16th century on the Ahmed Bey Mosque in the Bulgarian Razgrad[43]. The tambour of Kumanovo is exceedingly high, an element which would place the building in the 15th century. The form of the gallery with its narrow central section also points to the 15th century, as do the square pillars of the gallery instead of round marble columns, popular since the works of the time of Fatih and a well established canon in the time of his son Bayezid II.

The masonry and stone used as well as the use of sculpture around the windows may give more ground to date this building. In the Žegligovo district a number of churches were built in the first half of the 16th century as well as in the beginning of the 17th century. In two previous studies[44] we pointed to the interrelationship of these churches with each other and with the great sultans mosques in Istanbul trying to show that the group of churches was built by Christian master builders trained at the building sheds of the Ottoman capital[44a] but being themselves members of an Armenian community which was settled in the the Žegligovo area in the 11th century and is known from documents as late as the 14th century. These churches show exactly the same workmanship as the Kumanovo mosque and the geometrical decoration appears to be identical. The churches are built with a blend of Ottoman and Armenian architectural and decorative details. The major work of this group of buildings is the large church of Mlado Nagoričane, which in our opinion is built in the first half of the 16th century. On the mosque of Kumanovo the Ottoman element dominates, at the churches the post-Byzantine - Armenian. We would not go very far astray if

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43 Locally the date of 1442/43 is accepted. A carefull examination at the spot brought us to a date in the second quarter of the 16th century. The result of above-mentioned work will be published at another occasion.

44 M. Kiel, *A contribution to the history of art of the Armenian diaspora,* in: *Revue des Études Arméniennes,* nouvelle série tome VIII, Paris 1971, pp. 267-282 and, M. Kiel, *Armenian and Ottoman influences on a group of Village Churches in the Kumanovo District,* in: *Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti* 7, Novi Sad 1971, pp. 247-255.

44a Fundamental for the understanding of Ottoman architectural influences on Post-Byzantine Christian architecture in the Balkans remain the pay books, of the construction of the Süleymaniye, published in extract by Ö. L. Barkan, *Türk Yapı ve Yapı Malzemesi Tarihi İçin Kaynaklar,* in: *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası,* 17, İstanbul 1956. The phenomenen was studied from a different starting point by Andrej Andrejević, *Prilog proučavanja Islamski Utičaja na Umetnost XVI i XVII veka u Sarajevo i Bosni,* in: *Prilozi za Proučavanje Istorije Sarajeva,* Knj. 1 Sarajevo 1963, pp. 51-71 and Andrej Andrejević, *Manastir Mostanica kod Kozarom,* in: Starinar 13-14, Beograd 1962/63, pp. 163-175.

we attribute the mosque to this group of masters and their successors. The Żegligovo group is clearly distinct from the Ottoman works of Skopje or Bitola which shows the purest possible Ottoman forms, in touch with the latest developments in the Ottoman capital. The Żegligovo group is a little provincial to which fact might be attributed certain strange features on the mosque, the proportions and balance of the mass which they not completely mastered. The same minor shortcomings can be discerned at the mosque of Štip which must be a late work of the Żegligovo group. The group remained active till the first quarter the 17th century which is proved by the date on the fresco paintings of the church of Strezovce in the heart of the district, built and painted according the inscription in 6114 of the creation of the world (= 1606 A.D.)[45]. The archaic features of the mosque gallery might be explained by the mentioned provincialism, the building itself can fairly certainly be dated in the first decades of the reign of sultan Süleiman but documentary evidence from the Ottoman archive material remains necessary to be absolutely certain.

*PRILEP*, Pirlepe.

Prilep, at present one of the larger urban centres of Macedonia, is thought to have developed around a Roman road station along the Heraclea - Stobi road[46]. The settlement survived the Slave invasions and flourished to a considerable degree in the 13th and 14th century protected by a mighty castle on the unassailable rocks which rise above the place[47]. It was part of the Serbian empire of Tsar Dushan and later seat of a minor feudal kingdom of King Vukaşin, the prince who died in 1371 in the Battle on the Maritsa against the Ottomans. Lastly Prilep was the seat of the legendary king Marko who fell together with Konstantin Dejanović of Kjustendil in the Battle of Rovine in 1395 as vasal of the Ottomans. After last mentioned date Prilep was incorporated in the Ottoman state and in Turkish hands till 1912. From the time of the Slave states the ruins of the castle remain

45 For the Strezovce inscription see: Kiel, *Contribution Armenian diaspora* (cited on note 44) p. 227 note 32 and photo LXX. The near by monastery of Karpino appears to belong to the same group of buildings. For this building see: *Cultural Monuments of the Peoples Republic of Macedonia*, p. 86/87.

46 *Cultural Monuments*, p. 157.

47 The settlement is known under the name of Prilep since 1018 (See: *Encikl. Jugos.* vol. VI, p. 616).

standing[48] as well as some five churches from the 13th and 14th century, decorated with some of the best fresco painting of Yougoslav Macedonia[49].

In the course of the 15th century the town of Prilep shifted from its old site on the hill below the castle to the plain below where the main road passed. In this time the protection of the castle was not longer necessary as safety prevailed. The new site was better situated for the development of a commercial and trading centre than the old place which declined slowly in the course of time but remained inhabited till out time, known as Prilep - Varoș. The new town is about three km south, built on both sides of a small river. An important date for the transfer of Prilep to the new site is that on the inscription of the Çarşi Câmii which gives 881 (1476/77). The new place witnessed a slow development in the 16th and 17th centuries but grew into a leading trading centre of Macedonia with a important yearly fair in the 18th and 19th century. Evliya Çelebi describes Prilep in 1071 (1660/61)[50] as a town of ten mahalles and thousand houses. The town had the mosques of Alay Bey and Arslan Paşa besides a number of mescids. There were 200 shops, a pleasant hamam, a han and some medreses, mektebs and tekkes. Evliya adds that most of the public buildings of Prilep were the work of Koca Arslan Paşa. From the use of language may be concluded that this Arslan Paşa was Evliyas contemporary and still alive.

From this description we may imagine a relatively small town, a local centre of some importance. The great age of Prilep was the 18th and 19th centuries. In 1273 (1856/57)[51] a great fire destroyed the Çarşı which was taken rebuilt it along a well conceived regular plan which still characterises the town centre of today. In 1861 Von Hahn[52] calls the Marked of Prilep 'a richly stored new built bazaar'. The Kamus al A'lam[53], reflecting the situation for the beginning of our century, describes Prilep as a town with 18.000 inhabitants, ten mosques, five medreses, three tekkes and 2 hamams.

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48 For this castle see: *Cultural Monuments,* p. 169-171. More details, plans and photographs by A. Deroko, *Markovi Kuli - Grad Prilep, in: Starinar V-VI Beograd* 1954-55.

49 For a brief description of these churches see: *Cultural Monuments* pp. 158-169, for the paintings also R. Hamann-Mac Lean und H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien von 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert,* Giessen 1963.

50 Šabanović, *Evlija Čelebija Putopis,* II, pp. 55-57.

51 See the inscription of the Clock Tower given in the following pages.

52 *Reise von Belgrad nach Saloniki* (op. cit.) p. 110.

53 *Kamus al A'lam* II, 1500.

Shortly before the Balkan Wars Prilep counted 21.500 inhabitants[54] whose number droped till 18.200[55] after the wars as result of the emigration of a part of the Muslim community. Today Prilep has 37.486 inhabitants[55a] among whom a very small Muslim Turkish minority which still possess one large mosque, the Çarşı Câmi'i from 1476. Schulze-Jena mentions in 1927 still a large han[56], known as Kurşunlu Han. Today only one wall is preserved from this important building which forms, together with the mosque and a clock tower the only preserved Ottoman works of the modernised town of Prilep.

*Prilep, Mosque of Haci Hüseyin ben Abdallah* or Çarşī Câmi'i.

The mosque, in excellent state of preservation and still in daily use, is situated at the centre of the Prilep Çarşı as rebuilt after the fire of 1856/57. Today the mosque consists of two distinct parts, the original 15th century part and the enlarging from after mentioned fire. The latter part envelops the northern part of the old building to a large extent but leaves free more than three quarter of the lateral walls of the old building as well as its original mihrab wall. The new part of the mosque, occupying a space almost equal to the old building, has the rigid symmetrical forms of the Turkish Classisisism of the later half of the 19th century, its length being exactly twice its width. The same is true for the number of windows, four in the short walls, eight in the long façade. The façades are divided in equal parts by means of wooden pilasters, the whole is finished by a wooden cornice above which the gently sloping tiled roof begins. The building materials are wood, brick and plasterwork. The new building contains a spacious vestibule flanked by two rooms one both sides, used for various purposes in religious and educational fields.

The old part of the building is a large room of 18.17 - 9.50 metres which is covered by a flat wooden 'Tavan' and a gently sloping roof of old tiles. The tavan is plain, without elaborate carvings or other adorment, probably a product of the 19th century repairs. The type of building is provincial and practical, destined to hold a large community. If the mosque as it appeared before the great repair was representative of the group of

54 Schultze-Jena, *Makedonien*, table on p. 130. *The Encikl. Jugosl.* VI p. 616 mentions 24.540 inhabitants in 1900 of which 16.700 Macedonians.

55 Schulze-Jena, table.

55a *Encikl. Jugosl.* VI p. 616.

56 Schulze-Jena, *Makedonien*, p. 159.

buildings with a wooden roof resting on wooden posts and cantilevers cannot longer be said. A three aisled inner disposition, with two rows of posts is theoretically possible but far from certain as the space is comparatively narrow. One row in the centre is somewhat unusual but is in fact found in some 14th and 15th century wood-covered mescids in Ankara[57].

The mosque is built of fairly good cloisonné work, mostly of regularly cut blocks of grey granite, sometimes also coarse blocks or boulders, all fashioned in casements formed by layers of two horizontally placed bricks and layers of two or three vertically placed bricks. The walls are finished by a cornice of saw-tooths. The overall impression of the masonry is simple but extremely colourful and in strange harmony with the wood and plasterwork of the 19th century enlargment.

Above the entrance of the old building, now the prayer room proper, sits the original inscription in Arabic relating to the construction of the mosque in 1476/77. As far as we can see this inscription was not published before[58]. The inscription is clearly written and cut in a slab of marble with white letters against a blue background. It reads as follows :

1) Amara bi-binā hādhā 'l-masdjid al-sharīf Hādjdjī
2) Hüseyn ibn 'Abd-Allāh. Sana wa thamānīn wa thamānimi'a.

1) The construction of this noble mosque was ordered by Hadjdji
2) Hüseyin son of 'Abd-Allāh. The year eighthundred and eighty-one.

(881 = 26.4.1476 - 14.4.1477).

Thus the mosque is a work of the time of Fatih, most probably founded by a devshirme lord or recent convert to Islam from the local merchant class

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57 Examples of wood-covered mosques and mescids by Gönül Öney, *Ankara'da Türk Devri Yapıları*, Ankara 1971, K. Otto-Dorn, *Seldschukische Holzsäulenmoscheen in Kleinasien*, in: *Aus der Welt der Islamische Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel* Berlin 1959, pp. 59-88, or Yılmaz Önge, *Anadolu'da XIII-XIV. Yüzyılın nakışlı ahşap camilerinden bir örnek: Köşk Köy Mescidi*, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi No.* IX (Istanbul 1971), pp. 291-296, Little-known wooden mosques also in: *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler*, Ankara 1972.

58 Mosque and inscription do also not appear in the 1953 edition of Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, Fatih Devri Mimarisi. His second, revised edition, also omits these works. In the Jugoslav literaure at my disposal no mention is made of this and the following inscription in Prilep.

as no Bey title is given[59]. The mosque appears to be the earliest Islamic building in the new lower town of Prilep whose emergence is most probably connected with the construction of this mosque.

A strong vertical element is given by the tall minaret with two balconies. The greater part of the structure appears to belong to the last century repair. Being an imperial prerogative this minaret possibly tells un that the reconstruction and enlargment of the mosque was carried out at the expense or under the auspition of the then ruling sultan, in this case Abdülmecid.

*The Clock Tower.*

In front of the mosque just described, situated on a small square, rises a high octagonal tower, the old Clock Tower of Prilep. The tower is built in the sturdy but nevertheless elegant Neoclassistic style of the Macedonian Revival Period of the 19th century and belongs to that circle of architecture rather than to late Ottoman art. The tower is of great importance for the urbanism of Prilep and constitutes, together with the high minaret of the mosque, the architectural dominant of the old town centre. The reason why it should be included here is the inscription in Turkish which is situated on this tower and mentions the date of its construction as well as the date of the great fire. It runs as follows[60] :

1) ya hüve.
2) sā'atıñ çaldığı evḳātı değildir her gāh
3) müddet-i 'ömri geçüb gitdigine eyler āh
4a) (right) ḥarīḳıñ vuḳū'ı sene 1273
4b) (left) sā'atıñ tecdıdi sene 1275
4c) (right below) ḥarrarahu Aḥmed Sırrı
4d) (left below) bu taşıñ vaż'ı sene 1280.

1) O He (i.a. God)

2) Not every place has a clock to strike the hours
3) It says «Ah» to the passing of the time of life

59 Evliya mentions two Friday mosques in Prilep of which one was built by Arslan Pasha and one by Alay Bey. This would mean that the mosque of Hacı Hüseyin is the second one and thus built by a man who had a military rank, possible a Sancak Bey.

60 Not published at far as we are able to see.

4a) The fire took place in the year 1273 (1856/57)
b) Renewal of the clock : the year 1275 (1858/59)
c) Written by Ahmed Sırrı
d) The placing of this stone : the year 1280 (1863/64).

The lines 2 and 3 are written in verse, metrum *remel.*

The next example of Ottoman Turkish architecture in Prilep, the Kurşunli Han still mentioned by Schulze-Jena[61] in the twenties of our century, has not come down to us in good state. Of the once spacious and imposing building only one of the short façades remains standing together with the two short stretches of both long walls. However, enough remains to enable us to reconstruct the building. The remaining wall is 19.10 m long and 0.95 m thick. It is built of red and grey granite blocks with giantic size cornerstones. At a height of about three metres above groundlevel the first row of four windows begins. On the inside these windows are rectangular, covered by brick arches with a round or slightly pointed form. At a little distance above the first row is a second row of windows of the same form, also four. Above these is a row of three windows which are placed between the lower, following the inward lines of the façade. The top of the façade is missing but we will not go far astray to reconstruct it with a fourth row of windows, this time only two. On the outside of the wall the windows are circular. A single square or rectangular slab of white marble has been fitted in each windown opening, a slab which is pierced by a round opening filled with a fretted geometrical pattern (see photograph). A wall like this is undeniably part of a sizeable single kervanseray. Enough is known about the typology of this kind of Ottoman utilitarian architecture to tell us that the Prilep building was a rectangle of roughly 20 - 40 metre. covered by a large wooden roof resting on three slender stone pillars placed in one line in the central axis of the building[62] andadditional wooden supports placed in two lines at a distance of the low lateral walls. Stone benches for the travellers usually ran around the entire building, preceded by troughs for the packanimals[63]. Examples of this kind of travellers' hostel, a simplifica-

61 Schultze-Jena p. 159.

62 Two rows of stone pillars, very unusual for this type of building, are excluded in Prilep as the hole for the horizontal beam which rested on top of the pillar as well as the console supporting it are preserved and visible on our photograph.

63 The entrance must have been in the now disappeared shorth façade.

tion of the great hans of Seljuk times, are known as early as the 15th century[64] and continued to be built throughout the 16th[65], 17th[66] and 18th centuries[67]. In the Balkan lands this kind of building has become extremely scarce. In fact we only know the ruined kervanseray of Ram in Serbia[68] and similar, ruins, even less preserved, in the Bosnian townlet of Praca[69]. The Kurşunli Han of Prilep stood completely intact till about 15 years ago when it was demolished on order of a shortsighted citycouncil who intended to make a park on the spot. What remains of the building was saved by the intervention of the Institute for the Protection of Ancient Monuments in Macedonia. So the ruin still stands, imparting an highly original note to the modern centre of Prilep.

The character of the masonry but first of all the form and decoration of the windows point to the 17th century. From Evliya Çelebi we know that the great founder of building for the public well being in prilep was Koca Arslan Pasha as no other great building of this kind is known locally or from the literature we are certainly entitled to attribute this kervanseray to the above-mentioned provincial grandee. As such, the kervanseray was only a part of the building activities of Arslan Pasha which included, as mentioned by Evliya, a great mosque, a medresse, a mekteb, hamam and

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64 An early example of a wood-covered kervansaray was published by Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi in his *Fatih Devri*, Istanbul 1973, pp. 191/93, Yakub Bey Han. The building is dated by a inscription 868 (1463/64).

65 Büyük Çekmece from the sixties of the 16th century, published by Erdem Yücel, *Büyük Çekmece'de Türk Eserleri*, in: *Vakıflar Dergisi* IX (1971), pp. 95-108. From the last quarter of the 16th century was the now demolished double kervanseray of Harmanli, Bulgaria, built by Grand Vizir Siyavuş Pasha. For a old design of this large building see: Todor Zlatev, *Bâlgarskiat Grad Prez Epohata Na Vâzrazdaneto*, Sofia 1955, p. 78.

66 Ekmekcioğlu Han in Edirne from the first decade of the 17th century, a plan of this work was published by Feridun Akozan, *Türk Han ve Kervansarayları*, in: *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri* I, Istanbul 1963, p. 141. The Vezir Han in the village of Vezirhan near Bilecik in from the second half of the 17th century, a very spacious double kervansaray, now a consolidated roofless ruin.

67 The great Han of Shoumen in Bulgaria is from the second half of the 18th century. A plan of is was apparently never published. The building was later transformed to Covered Market and is now in use as a tobacco store.

68 A plan of the ruin of this building was not published untill now.

69 Mentioned by Derviš Tafro, *Spasavalački radovi na Turbetu u Prači i Malkočevom Turbetu u Donjem Kopčiću*, in: *Naše Starine II*, Sarajevo 1954, p. 221.

possibly a tekke also. It was apparently through the erection of these buildings, of which besides the described ruin nothing remains unfortunately, that the the new lower town of Prilep received the impetus to develop into one of the most important urban centres of Macedonia.

*STRUMICA,* Ustrumca.

The little town of Strumica in the extreme south of Jougoslav Macedonia, just north of the present Greek frontier, still preserves one monument of Ottoman Turkish architecture which deserves to become known.

The town is the Astracum of antiquity and is indentified with the Tiberiopolis of Roman times[70]. In the Early Christian period it was centre of the cult of the Forty Martiers of Tiberiopolis. In later times Strumica was a ecclesiastical and military centre of the Macedono-Bulgarian state of Tsar Samuil and of the restored Byzantine state of the 11th century. Of this period the ruins of a large cathedral from the 10th and 11th centuries have been preserved in Vodoca just outside Strumitsa as well as the monastery of Our Lady at Veljusa[71], built by the bishop of Strumica Manuel in 1080. Hundred metres above the town of Strumica on a steep, isolated hill still rise the ruin of a castle locally known as Tsarevi Kuli, the Towers of the Tsar[72]. In the 13th and 14th century Strumica was alternatively in Bulgarian, Byzantine and Serbian hands, following the great events of the particularly movementated medieval history of Macedonia. After the disintegration of the Serbian empire it was included in the state of Konstantin Dejanović and fell after the latter's death (1395) in Turkish hands together with Štip and Prilep. Little is known about Strumica in the first centuries of Ottoman rule. The area appears to have been controlled by the lords from the Evrenos family[73]. One of these Evrenosoğlu, Mesih Bey, is ap-

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70 *Encikl. Jugosl.* VIII, pp. 199-200; Miodrag Jovanović, *Dve Srednovekovni Tvrdini vo Istoča Makedonija, Štip i Strumica, Zbornik Štipskiot Naroden Muzej* II, Štip 1960/61, p. 106.

71 For these churches see i.a. Miodrag Jovanović, *O Vodoci i Veljusi posle Konservatorskig raboti,* with eight plans and 24 photographs, in: *Zbornik Štipskiot Nar. Muz.* 1 1958/59, further: V.J. Djurić, *Fresques du Monastère de Veljusa,* in: *Akten XI. Byzant. Kongresses* München 1958, pp. 113-122.

72 Published with plans and photographs by Jovanović, *Dve Srednovekovi Tvrdini.*

73 Hypothesis but very well possible, founded on the materials collected by F. Babinger, *(Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malqoč-oglu's,* in: most conveniently in: *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen* I, München 1965, p. 366 note 5.

parently the person buried in the well preserved türbe in the village of, Banjani seven km south-east of the town in the same Strumica Plain. This türbe is from the late 15th or early 16th century[74]. More old Ottoman building activity is known in the immediate vicinity of the town, the Kaplica of Bansko, already mentioned by Katib Çelebi or the monumental village mosque of Banica[75]. In the town itself the castle appears to have been rebuilt and accomodated to meet the effects of gunfire. This must have taken place in the late 15th century[76].

In the 17th century Strumica is known as a Kadilik in the Sancak of Kjustendil[77]. Katib Çelebi mentions a great and important yearly fair in August. The most detailed description of Ottoman Strumica is from Evliya Çelebi[78], who visited the town in 1081 (1670/71) on his way back from Albania to Istanbul. He describes the castle as totally ruined, a work with a circumference of 2.300 paces having three gates. The open settlement was situated on a slope and counted a 1.000 houses among gardens. The town consisted of 14 mahalles one of which was inhabited by Jews, Evliya noted one medrese, six mektebs, seven hans, and 500 shops. No particulars on mosques are given. Most probably their number was not very impressive. If Evliya's number of houses approaches the 17th century reality that the town must have remained stagnant in the greater part of the 18th and 19th century. In the last century the town began to spread over the plain at the foot of the castle hill. At the beginning of our century Strumica had about

74 A photograph of this türbe was published by Babinger, *Beiträge* ... A short description of the türbe and a photograph was given by Krum Tomovski in his *Pregled na Poznačajnite Turbinja,* cited in note 2.

16th century Strumica appears to have been a very small place; in a defter from the beginning of that century, used by Gökbilgin, *Ajalet Rumelija* (see note 41) p. 327 note 106, the town is registered with a civil population of 10 Muslim households, 5 Christian households as well as cemaat Akincis.

75 A short note on this mosque accompanied by a photograph was published by Krum Tomovski, *Za nekoj spomenici od Jugoistočna Makedonija, Djamija vo Selo Banica,* in: *Kulturno Nasledstvo V,* Skopje 1959.

76 See: Miodrag Jovanović, *Dve Srednovekovni Tvrdini,* p. 106/07.

77 *Encikl. Jugosl.* VIII, pp. 199-200. Gökbilgin found in a defter from 1487 that Strumica was already a kadilik then (Gökbilgin, *Ajalet Rumilija,* p. 325 note 100).

78 *Seyahatnâme,* VIII, pp. 758/60.

8.000 inhabitants[79]. The town was divided in 12 mahalles, 5 Turkish, 6 Christian and one Jewish. The Christians formed half the population. They spoke Bulgarian but had strong Greek sympathies. The Bulgarians took the town in 1912. When Strumitsa in 1913 was officially incorporated in the Bulgarian state a large number of the pro-Greek Bulgarians emigrated to Greece[80]. The Turks left between the two World Wars, when the town was incorporated in the newly formed Yugoslavia, others in the fifties. Today Strumica has largely recovered and counted in 1961 already 15.978 inhabitants among which only a handful of Turkish families[81]. The newer parts of the town, in the plain, have been rebuilt according the principles of modern town planning, the Ottoman open town on the slope of the castle hill, the Orta Şehir, still preserves much of its old outlook. It is there that we find the only Ottoman building still preserved in Strumica, the Orta Câmi'i.

*Strumica, Orta Câmi'i.*

The Mosque of the Middle doubtless bears this name because it is situated in the middle part of the town, between the castle and the lower quarters. Both castle and lower quarter must have had their own mosques. That in the castle has disappeared centuries ago, those in the lower town only in the last decades. The Orta Câmi'i is a simple and provincial representative of the single-domed type. The prayerhall measures 11.80 - 11.80 m square. The interior space, a little less then ten metres square, is covered by a dome on four deep sitting pendentives. On the outside these pendentives have been made visible by the disposition of the windows which follow the inward curve of the dome-bearing elements. There are three windows in the lower register of the lateral walls, rectangular windows in a stone frame and crowned by a decoratively executed relieving arch of brick which is placed in a recessed rectangular field. Above these three windows is a register of three, considerably smaller, windows which end in a pointed arch. On top is a third row of only two windows. In the mihrab wall the central windows of the lower and the second register are omitted as their place is occupied by the mihrab. The solid square body of the mosque is finished by

79 See: St. Papadopoulos, *Écoles et associations Grèques dans la Macedoine du Nord durant la dernier siècle de la domination Turque, in: Balkan Studies,* vol. III (Thessaloniki 1962), p. 429.

80 idem p. 429.

81 According to the statement of the Hoca of Strumica only 14 Turkish families.

a pronounced cornice of saw-tooths above which the octagonal tambour rises. The latter element is comparatively low and also finished by a cornice of saw tooths. The dome, originally tiled with concavo-convex tiles is now covered by ugly machine-made roof tiles which spoil the original outline of the building. The masonry of the mosque is not the cloisonné or ashlar work of the classical phase of Ottoman architecture but a provincial product, composed of boulders and little worked blocks of granite, here and there intersected with courses of brick and only well worked large blocks of porous ashlar, known as 'bigor' at the corners. This rather coarse work was not covered with a coat of plaster but only partically 'souched' so that a lively and colourful effect is obtained. This masonry is related to that which is used on the small churches of the Struma area, built in Ottoman time in the 16th and 17th century[82]. The Struma district is not far from Strumica and can easily be reached through the vale of the Strumica River, a tributary of the Struma. In our opinion it is quite possible that our mosque was built by a group of builders of the Struma area as masters from the pure Turkish centres in Macedonia, as Skopje or Serres produced different works. Although these Bulgarian masters were well acquainted with Ottoman architecture they never fully mastered the pure Ottoman aesthetics in architecture. A feature which is also noticeable at many Islamic buildings in Bosnia, erected in Ottoman style but by Dalmatian builders. The true sense of harmony between the various parts of the work is missing there as well as in the Strumica mosque. Purely Ottoman, and of considerable quality however are the carved stucco mihrab niches in the gallery.

Originally the Orta Cāmi'i had a wooden gallery, a son cemaat yeri. There are no traces whatsoever of arched and domes. During our visit in 1969 half of the wooden gallery was still standing, the other half had collapsed but the holes for the rafters were clearly noticeable in the masonry. Originally this gallery continued along the left side wall of the mosque, a part now changed to a house.

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82 This group of churches, about two dozens in number, were the subject of a special study of the author of this pages which shall be published at another occasion. Notes on some of these churches were published in: *Ekspedicii v Zapadna Bâlgarija, Bâlgarska Akad. na Naukite,* Sofia 1961, the study of Georgi Stojkov, *Kultovi i Obstestveni sgradi iz Trânsko, Brezniško i Kjustendilsko,* pp. 79-178; and Asen Vasiliev, *Hudozestveni Pametnici i Majstori Obrazopisci iz njakoj selista na Kjustendilsko, Trânsko i Brezniško,* pp. 179-267.

Unfortunately the mosque has come down to us in a much altered state. The silhouette of the dome was spoiled when the new tiles were laid on an underground which had been changed to a flat eight-sided cone. A new minaret was erected on the site of the old one, showing little understanding for beauty. The whole building was fenced with iron railings between masonry post thus spoiling the old garden around the mosque. On the eastern side of the prayer hall a large house was built which forms one unit with the now half collapsed gallery. The house, that of the Hoca, is most probably built in the last decades of Ottoman rule, the minaret, new roof and fence from the thirties of our century.

The so typically provincial building, erected in a time that Ottoman architecture had already entered its state of slow decline, is safely dated by the original inscription in Turkish above the gate. It is written in ten half-verses divided over ten equal fields. The date is given as chronogram and is written in small characters underneath the latter. It has remained unpublished as far as we can see. Because of the difficulties of the style of writing and the language used we give it here in Arabic characters as well as in transcription and propose the following translation[83].

1 — اللم یا مفتح الابواب — افتح لنا خیرالباب
2 — صاحب الخیرات اولان کاتب طوراق — خیر ایله یاد اولمغه بالاتفاق
3 — سعی ایدوب بر جامع آباد ایلدی — اولیه نامین بی حقدن ایراق
4 — راه عدنه ایله یارب حبرنی — روز محشرده صراط اوزره براق
5 — حق بو کیم دنیلسه تاریخی — جامعك جنت اولا سکا طوراق

١٠٢٢

1 — Allahümme ya mefetteḥ-ul ebvāb
Eftāḥ lenā ḫayr-ul bāb
2 — Ṣāhib-ul ḫayrāt olan Katip Ṭuraḳ
Ḫayr ile yad olmağa bil-ittifaḳ
3 — Sa'y idüp bir cāmi' abad eyledi
Olmıya namın bî ḫaḳtan ıraḳ

83 For the transcription and translation of the Ottoman inscriptions given in this article I received the invaluable help of Mr. F. Th. Dijkema of Leiden, Mr. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi of Istanbul, Mr. Abdurrahim Dede, Istanbul and Mrs. Aliye de Groot of Leiden. For their unceasing help and suggestions I wish to thank them most cordially.

4 — Rah'ı adne ile ya Rab hayrını
Ruz-u maḥşerde ṣıraṭ üzre buraḳ

5 — Ḥaḳ bu kim denilse tarīḫinī
Cāmi'iñ cennet ola saña Ṭuraḳ

*Strumica, Orta Cami'i* (English translation of inscription for article of M. Kiel).

1) O my Lord, the opener of doors
make open the door of prosperity for us!

2) The scribe Turak who is the master of (this) pious foundation
Is entitled to be remembered with blessing by all.

3) Making an effort he had a mosque built
May it not be distant from God as your name is.

4) Send his blessing on the path to paradise O Lord!
Let him stand on the bridge of Sirat on the Day of Resurrection.

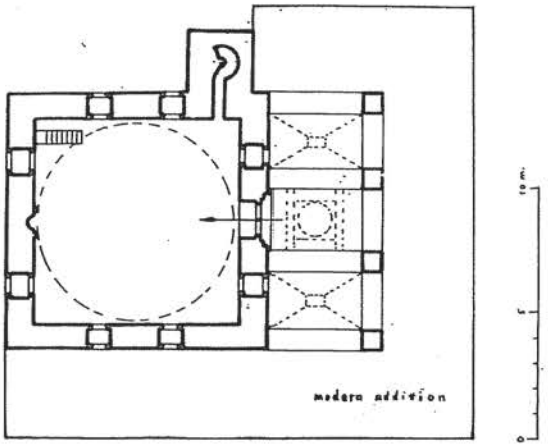
5) It is the truth that it is worthy of a chronogram:
«May your mosque be a Paradise for you Turak.»

1022 (21.2.1613 - 10.2.1614)

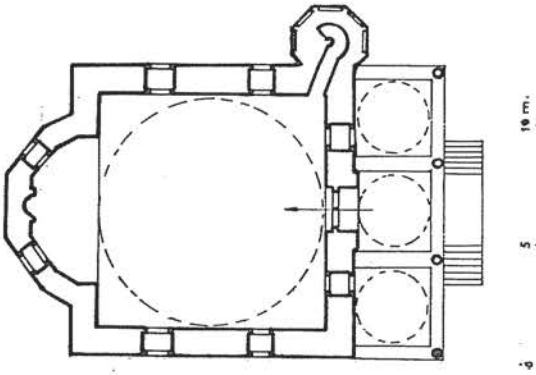
As the building is structurally in a good state only a little reconstruction work would give back the town of Strumica a historical monument of importance.

In these pages we have discussed half a dozen buildings of the provincial style of Ottoman architecture, buildings erected in the same uniform style and on a simple groundplan but in spite of this, not a single object is a copy of the other, and in each building the problem of vaulting or roofing is solved in a different manner, giving it a distinct character of its own. This proves, in our opinion not only how deeply Ottoman form had taken root in the Balkan countryside but also testifies to the creative power of the provincial masters, weather Christian or Turk, to use the multitude of architectural forms of classical Ottoman art, with which they were steeped, each for his own solution.

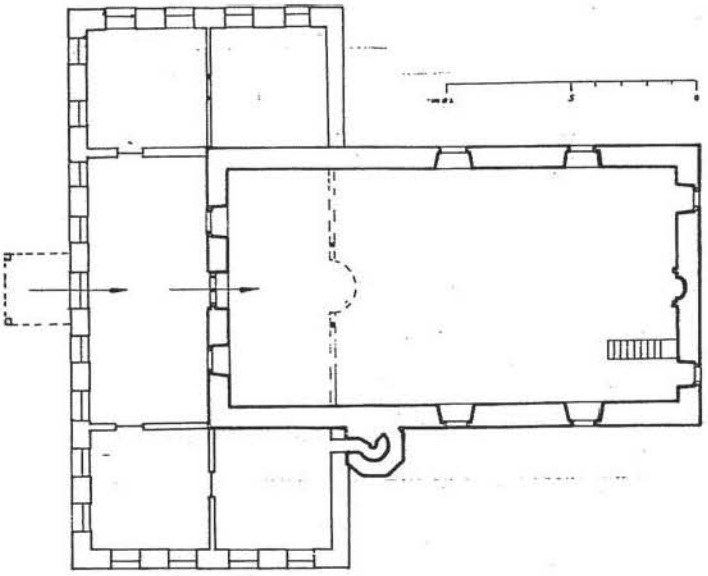
*Castricum - HOLLAND.*



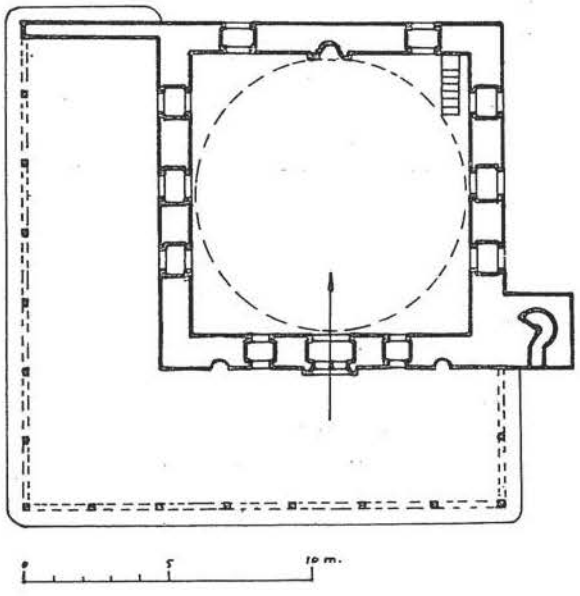

Kumanova, Tatar Sinan Bey Mosque



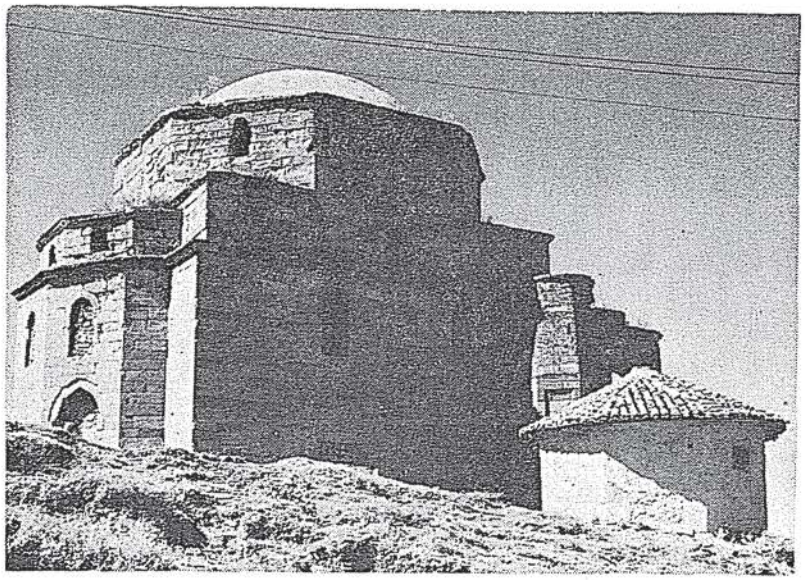

Štip, Mosque of Husâmeddin Pasha



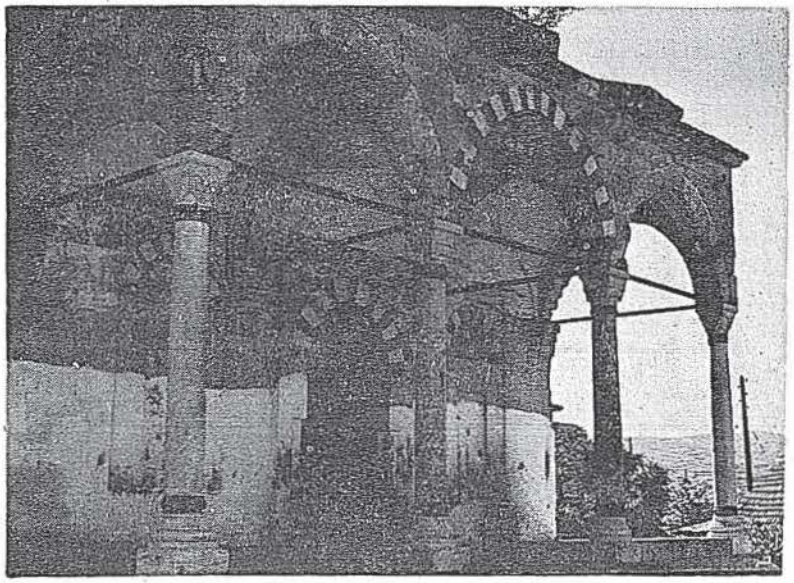
Prilep, Çarşı Câmi'i.



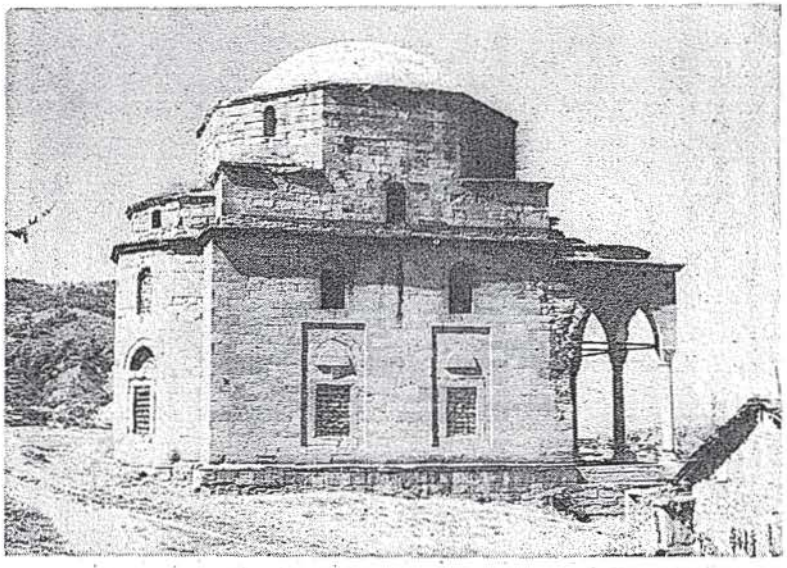

Strumica, Orta Câmi'i
(With reconstructed gallery)



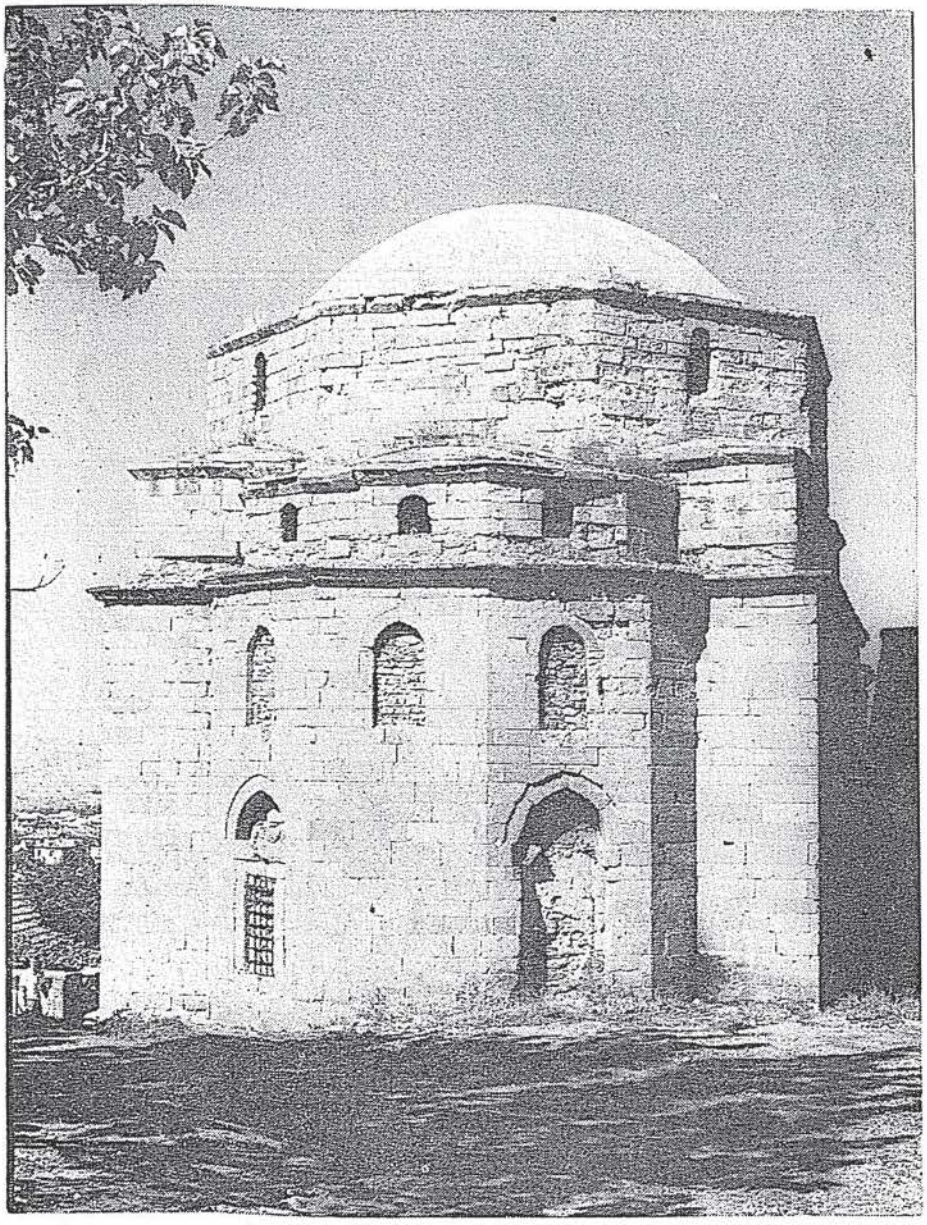
1 — Štip, Mosque of Husâmeddin Pasha, general view



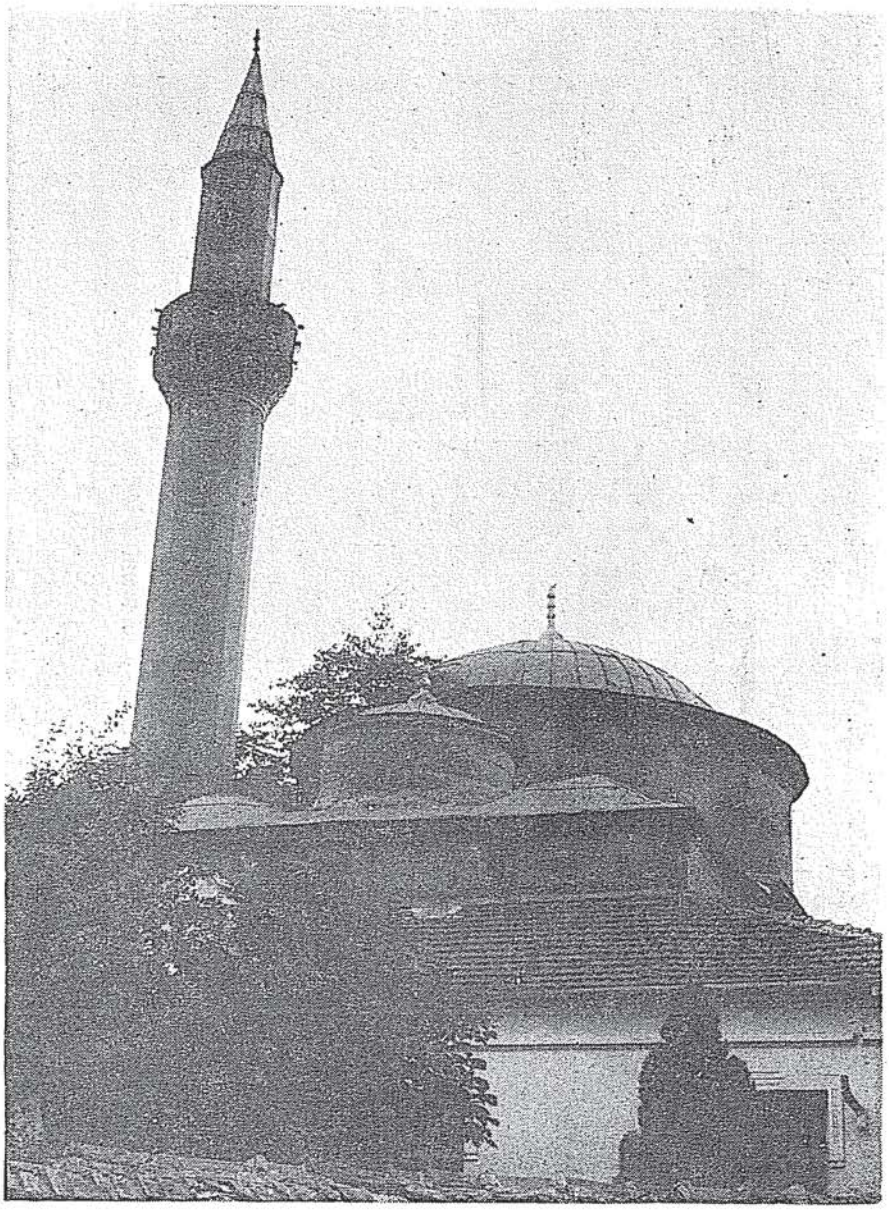
2 — Štip, Mosque of Husâmeddin Pasha, gallery



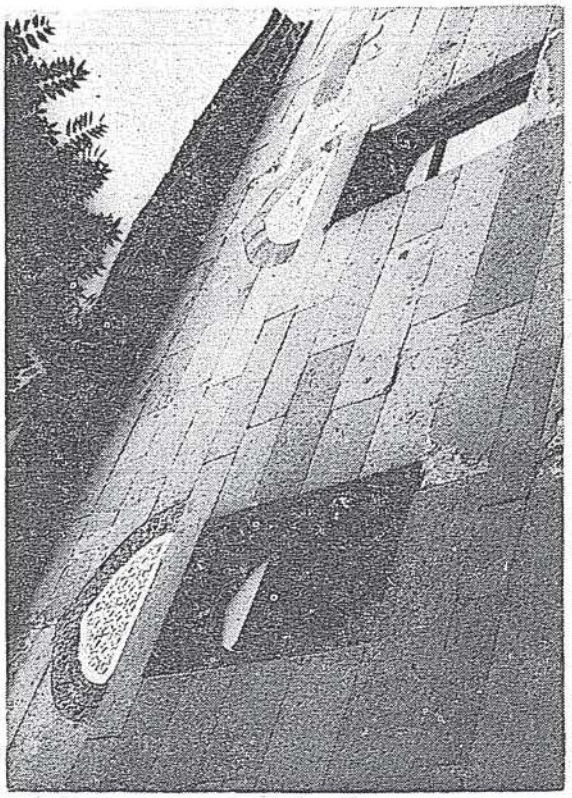
3 — Štip, Mosque of Husâmeddin Pasha, eastern façade



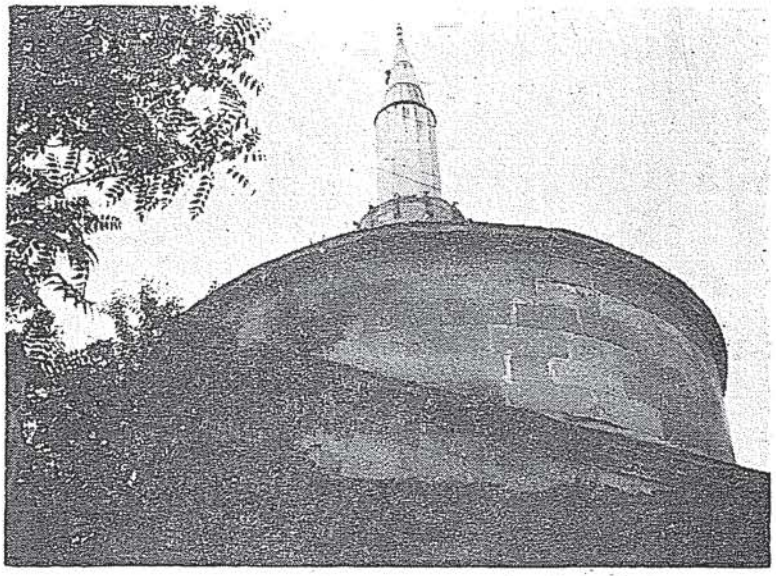
4 — Štip, Mosque of Husâmeddin Pasha, rear view



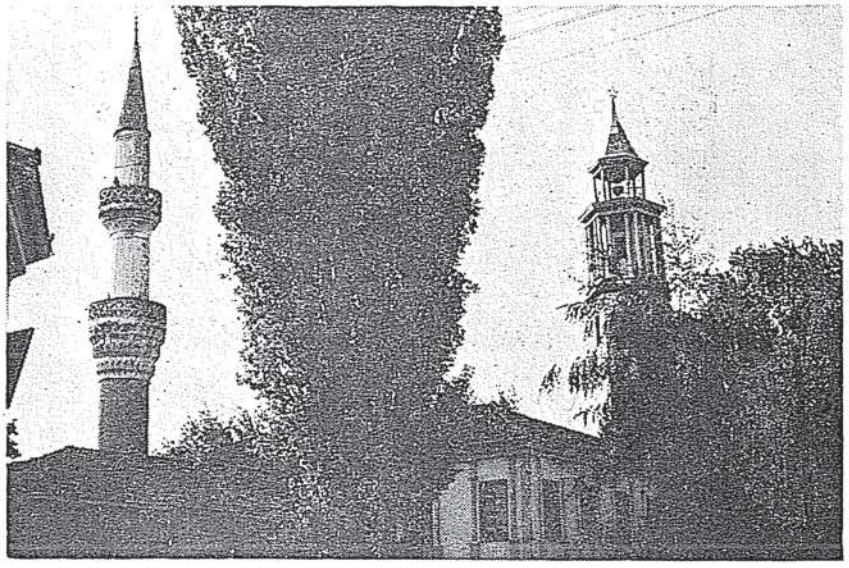
5 — Kumanovo, Mosque of Tatar Sinan Bey, general view,



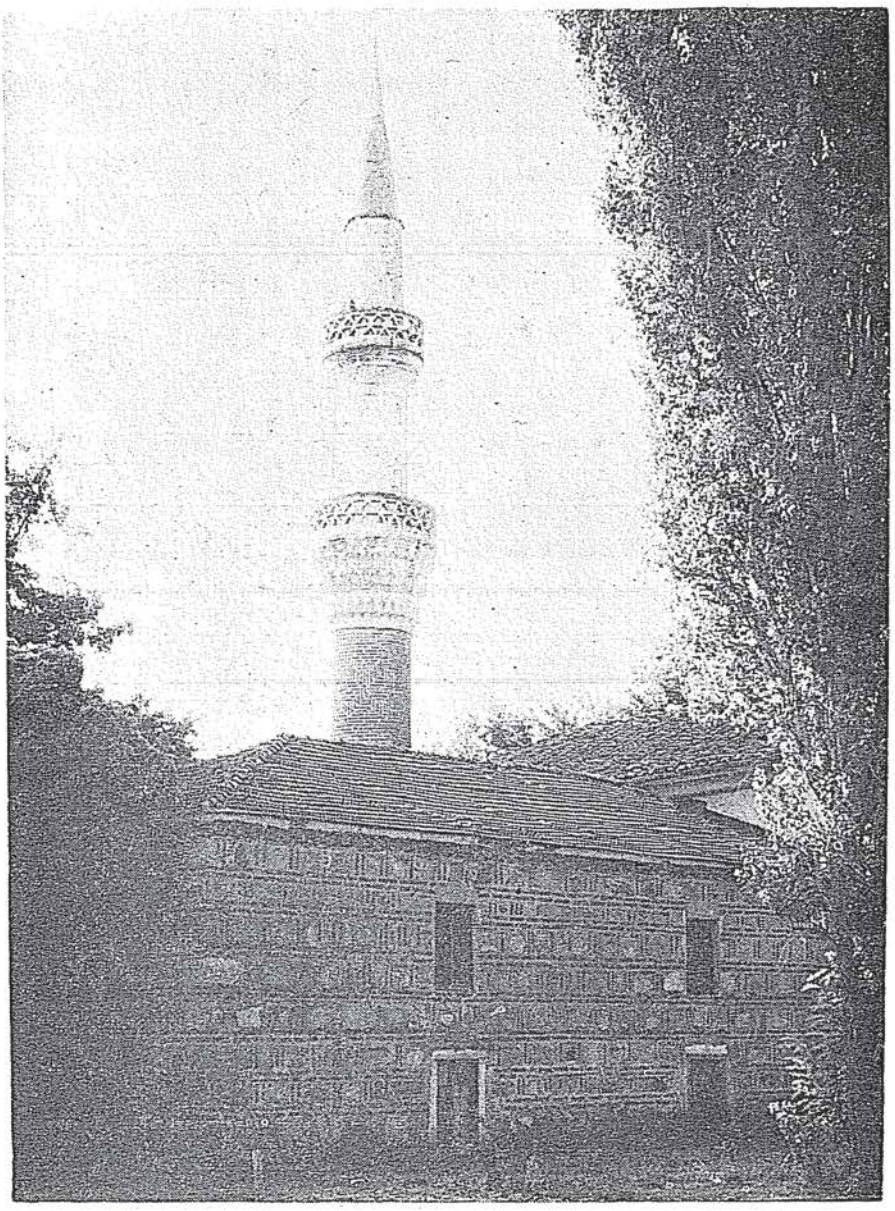
6 — Kumanovo, Mosque of Tatar Sinan Bey, detail of masonry and win dows.



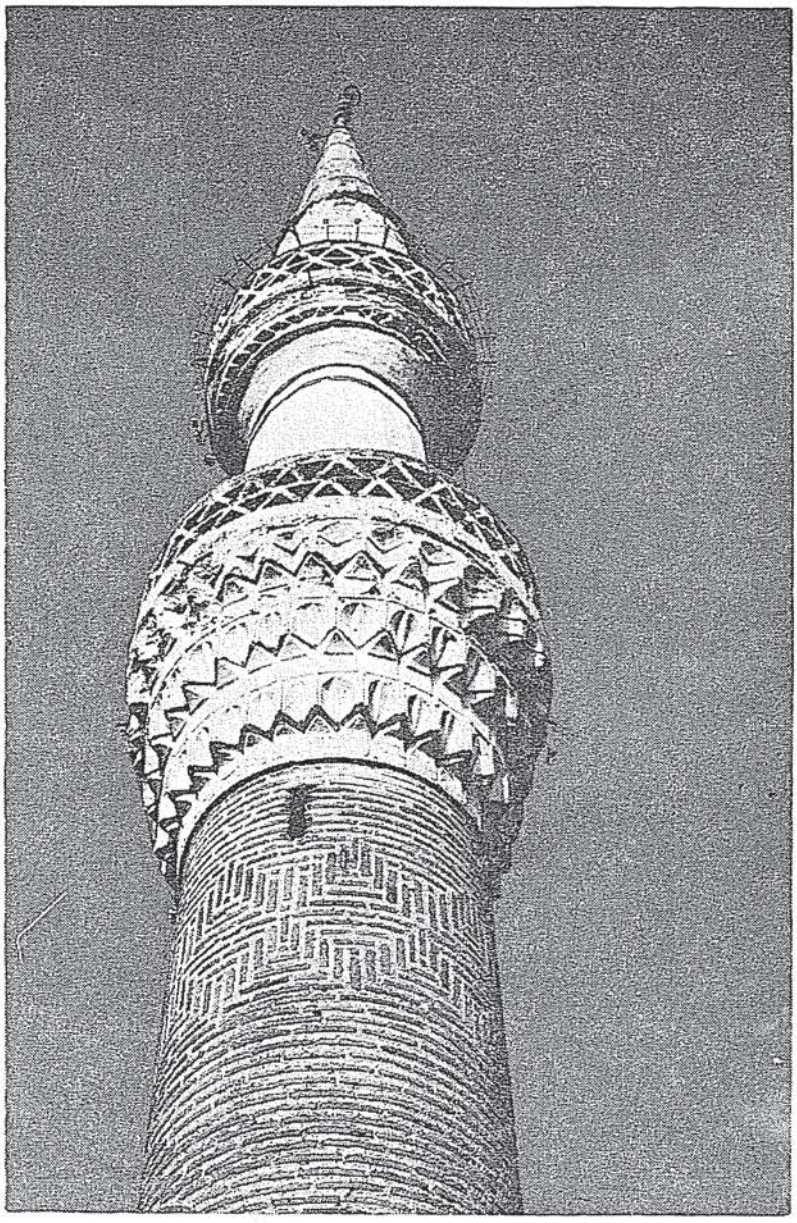
6 a — Kumanovo, Mosque of Tatar Sinan Bey, detail tambour.



7 — Prilep, Çarşı Cami'i and Clock Tower.



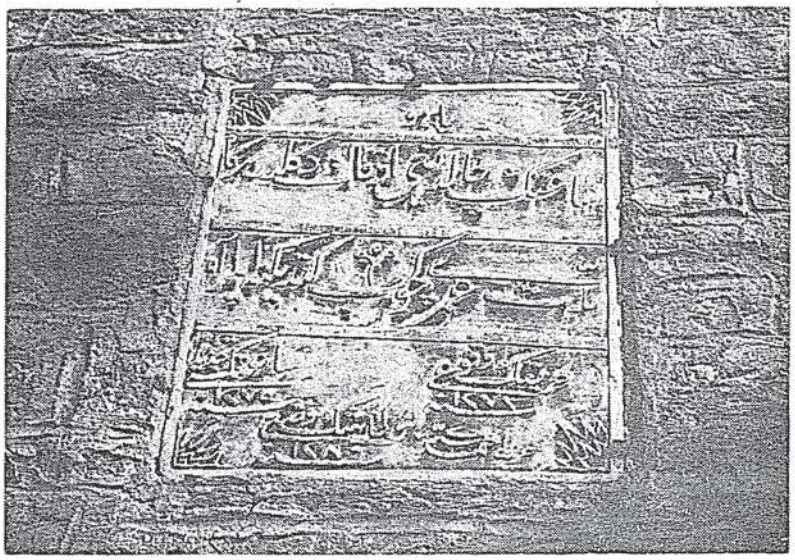
8 — Prilep, Çarşı cami'i, general of original part.



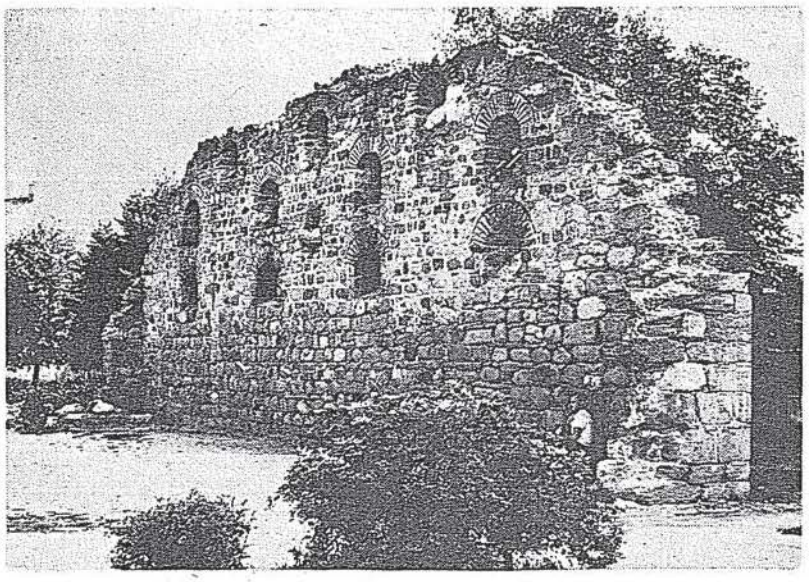
9 — Prilep, Çarşı cami'i, minaret.

10 — Prilep, Çarşı camii'i, detail of 15 th century masonry.

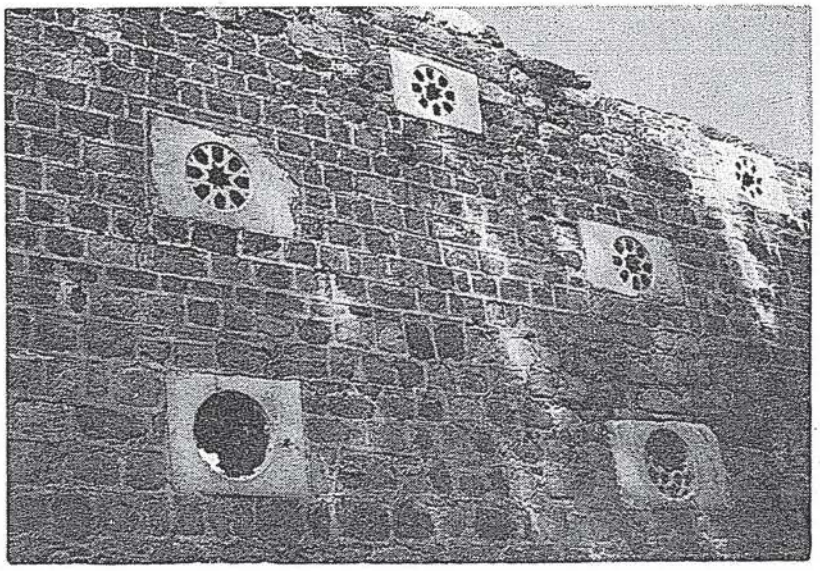
11 — Prilep, Çarşı cami'i, original inscription.



12 — Prilep, Inscription of Clock Tower.

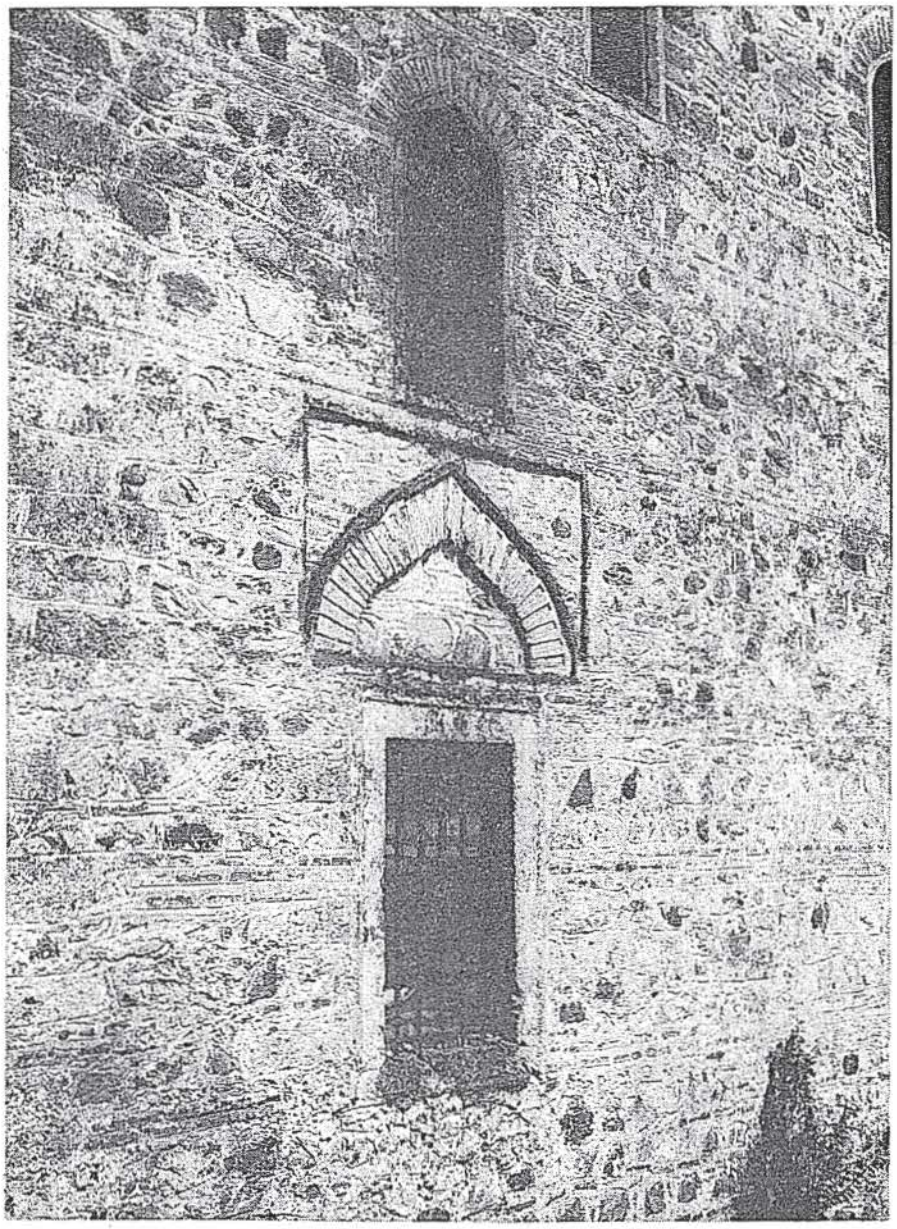


13 — Prilep, ruin of kervanseray, inside.

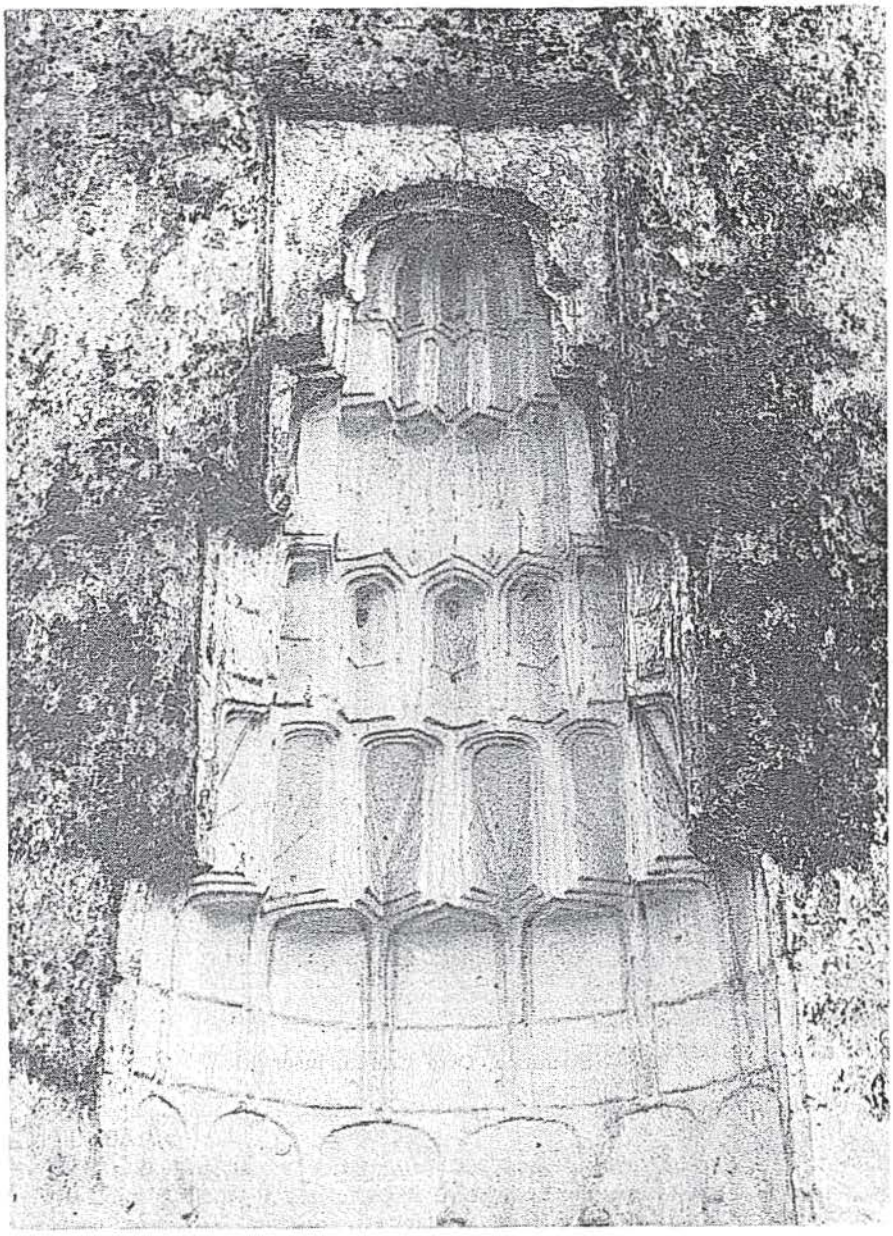


14 — Prilep, ruin of kervanseray, detail windows.

15 — Strumica, Orta Cami'i general view,



16 — Strumica, Orta Cami'i detail masonry and Windows.



17 — Strumica, Orta Cami'i, detail of «son cemaat yeri», mihrab.

18 — Strumica, Orta Cami'i, inseription.