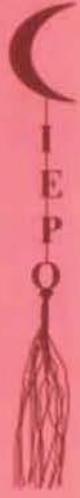


COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL DES ÉTUDES PRÉ - OTTOMANES ET OTTOMANES
ULUSLARARASI OSMANLI ÖNCESİ VE OSMANLI ÇALIŞMALARI KOMİTESİ

CIEPO-22

SYMPOSIUM

4 - 8 EKİM 2016
4 - 8 OCTOBER 2016
TRABZON / TÜRKİYE



BİLDİRİLER
KİTABI

2



TRABZON BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYESİ
KÜLTÜR YAYINLARI

CIÉPO 22

Uluslararası Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Çalışmaları
Komitesi

II

EDİTÖRLER

Kenan İNAN- Miraç TOSUN

Deniz ÇOLAK

Trabzon 2018

LAST CHURCH CONVERSIONS ON THE OTTOMAN FRONTIERS:
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
MOSQUES CONVERTED FROM CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN
EUROPE AND ORAN

*Muzaffer Özgüleş**

Abstract

Different from the fifteenth or sixteenth century church conversions, such as the conversion of numerous Orthodox churches in Istanbul into Ottoman mosques including Hagia Sophia, the last and rarely witnessed conversions of the seventeenth century had different peculiarities: These last conversions were usually realised by the commanders of the Ottoman army, not by the sovereign himself. They were named after Ottoman dignitaries and dynastic family, surprisingly including women – queen mothers and even a favourite. They were carrying the motivation of revenge and compensation of military loses, and always targeted to Catholic shrines. So much so that, even some Catholic churches were presented to local Orthodox communities to be converted into Orthodox churches. Unfortunately, since they were in the cities located at the edges of the Ottoman dominion that was lost in the subsequent decades while the territories of the Empire was rapidly shrinking, these hybrid buildings either converted back to churches, demolished or decayed in time. As a result, they lost their elements of Islamic liturgy, e.g. minarets or pulpits, and their architecture were long forgotten. Even names and locations of some became blurry as the cities housing these buildings lost their original form within centuries. Therefore this paper aims to survey the last conversions in Crete, Chios, Nové Zámky and Kamianets-Podilskyi in Europe in the seventeenth century and a final conversion in Oran in Africa in early eighteenth century, in order to investigate abovementioned novel aspects of these converted mosques. The paper also reveals the names, histories and architectural features of these long forgotten buildings with the help of archival documents and primary sources.

Keywords: Church-mosque conversions, seventeenth century, Ottoman-Catholic relations, Europe, Oran.

Özet

İstanbul'daki Aya Sofya gibi çok sayıda Ortodoks kilisesinin camiye çevrildiği on dördüncü ve on beşinci yüzyıllardaki kiliseden dönüştürmelerden farklı olarak, on yedinci yüzyıldaki en son ve nadiren rastlanan dönüştürmeler öncekilerden daha farklı özelliklere sahiptir: Bu son dönüşümler padişah tarafından değil, çoğunlukla şehri fetheden Osmanlı ordusunun kumandanı tarafından

* Gaziantep University, Faculty of Architecture, Asst. Prof., muzafferozgules@gmail.com

gerçekleştiriliyordu. Dönüştürülen yapılar Osmanlı ileri gelenlerinin, hanedan üyelerinin, hatta şaşırtıcı biçimde kadın sultanların (valide ve hasekiler) isimlerini alıyordu. Bu dönüştürmeler savaş kayıplarının telafisi ve intikam motivasyonunu taşıyor; hemen her zaman Katolik kiliselerini hedefine alıyordu. Öyle ki bazı Katolik kiliseleri, Ortodoks kiliselerine dönüştürülmek üzere yerel Ortodoks halkına sunuluyordu. Ne var ki bu yapılar, Osmanlı hakimiyetinin sınır şehirlerinde yer aldıkları ve takip eden yüzyıllarda imparatorluğun toprakları hızla küçülürken elden çıktıkları için ya yeniden kiliseye dönüştürüldüler, ya yıkıldılar ya da zaman içinde harap oldular. Sonuç olarak, minare veya minber gibi İslami öğelerini yitirdiler ve mimarileri hakkında bilinenler de unutuldu. Öyle ki, içinde buldukları şehirler yüzyıllar içinde özgünlüklerini kaybederken bu yapılardan bazılarının adları ve konumları dahi bulanıklaştı. Bu nedenle bu makale, on yedinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısında Avrupa'da Girit, Sakız, Uyvar ve Kamanıç'e de, on sekizinci yüzyılın başında Afrika'da Oran'da gerçekleşen son kiliseden çevirmeleri araştırmayı ve bu döneme ait söz konusu özgün uygulamaları irdelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu sayede bazılarının adları, tarihleri ve mimarileri uzun zamandır unutulmuş bu yapılar, arşiv belgeleri ve birincil kaynaklar yardımıyla gün yüzüne çıkarılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kiliseden camiye çevirmeler, on yedinci yüzyıl, Osmanlı-Katolik ilişkileri, Avrupa, Oran.

Introduction

Unlike the fifteenth or sixteenth century church conversions, such as the conversion of numerous Orthodox churches in Istanbul into Ottoman mosques including Hagia Sophia, the final and rarely witnessed conversions of the seventeenth century had different peculiarities: These last conversions were usually realized by the commanders of the Ottoman army, not by the sovereign himself. Some of the converted churches were named after Ottoman dignitaries and dynastic family, surprisingly including women –queen mothers and even a favourite. And they were carrying the motivation of revenge and compensation of military loses, and almost always targeted Catholic shrines.

However, since they were in the cities located at the edges of the Ottoman dominion that was lost in the subsequent decades while the territories of the Empire was rapidly shrinking, these hybrid buildings either converted back to churches, demolished or decayed in time. As a result, they lost their elements of Islamic liturgy, e.g. minarets or pulpits, and their architecture were long forgotten. Even names and locations of some became blurry as the cities housing these buildings lost their original form within centuries. Therefore this paper surveys and investigates the less studied architectural histories of the last conversions in Crete, Chios, Nové Zámky, Kamianets-Podilskyi in the seventeenth century and a final conversion in Oran in early eighteenth century. (Figure 1)



Figure 1: Locations of the converted churches surveyed in this article (starting from top, in clockwise direction): Nové Zámky, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Chios, Crete (Heraklio, Rethymno, Chania), and Oran. (maps.google.com)

This study aims at revealing the names, histories and architectural features of some of those long forgotten buildings with the help of archival documents, engravings, travelogues and maps, both from European and Ottoman sources. However, it should be noted that this study, which covers a long and complicated period of Ottoman history, is an ongoing project. So far, on-site investigations were conducted in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Chios and Crete and the research about the conversions in Kamianets-Podilskyi, Chios and Oran is completed. However, further research and on-site investigations is planned in 2017 for Crete, Nové Zámky and Oran.

Crete (1645-1699)

In mid-seventeenth century, the Ottomans and the Venetians were locked in the long Cretan War, a conflict which had been ignited with the Ottoman conquest of Chania in 1645, followed by the capture of Rethymno the next year in the early part of the campaign, but which would last until 1669 when Heraklion finally fell.¹ Sieges of these three significant towns of the island were led by Yusuf Paşa, Deli Hüseyin Paşa and grand vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa, respectively, during the reigns of İbrahim and Mehmet IV, without the participation of the sultans. Nevertheless, upon the capture of these towns, not only the sultans but also their mothers as well as the commanders of the conquering armies lent their names to converted Catholic churches located inside these towns.

¹ For more insight about the Cretan War and the Ottoman conquest of the island, see: Ersin Gülsoy, "Girit'in Fethi ve Adada Osmanlı İdaresinin Tesisi: 1645-1670" (PhD thesis), Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1997; Cemal Tukin, "Girit", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DİA)*, 1989, 14, 87-88.

Following the conquest of Chania, the largest church, namely Santa Nicola, was converted into the mosque of the sultan as *Hünkar Camisi*, by adapting available liturgical elements inside the church as mihrab (prayer niche), minbar (pulpit) and muzezzin's platform, while two more churches within the castle were converted into mosques and named after the commanders Yusuf Pasha and Musa Pasha.² All of these were the most significant and richly embellished churches with pictures and sculptures, but those figurations were removed as well as the graves in the churchyards. As the anonymous chronicle of the Cretan campaign vaguely informs us, the church that Yusuf Pasha lent his name might have been the one dedicated to San Francesco.³

After the conquest of Rethymno in 1646, similar church-mosque conversions were put into practice, but this time with an increase in number. Evliya Çelebi, who visited the town some twenty years after its conquest, relates that there were six mosques converted from churches, and the one named after Sultan İbrahim was located in the inner castle.⁴ (Figure 2) All others were given the names of male dignitaries including Hüseyin Pasha,⁵ with a significant exception: one of the mosques converted from a church in Ortakapı was named after Kösem Sultan as Valide Sultan Mosque.⁶ This was the very first time that a member of Ottoman Harem was given this "honour".⁷

² Ayşe Pul, "Girit Savaşı ile ilgili Bir Türk Kaynağının Tahlili" (PhD thesis), Ankara University, 2004, p. 25.

³ Pul, "Girit Savaşı ile", p.13.

⁴ Ersin Gülsoy, "Resmo", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 1989, 34, p. 586.

⁵ The conqueror of the town later built another mosque that still stands in modern Rethymno, by the waterside: Pul, "Girit Savaşı ile", p. 88.

⁶ İsmail Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri* (İstanbul: İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2003), 100.

⁷ On the other hand, Kösem's successor Turhan Sultan built her own mosque as well as a primary school in the same town around 1659: Ersin Gülsoy, "Resmo", p. 586.

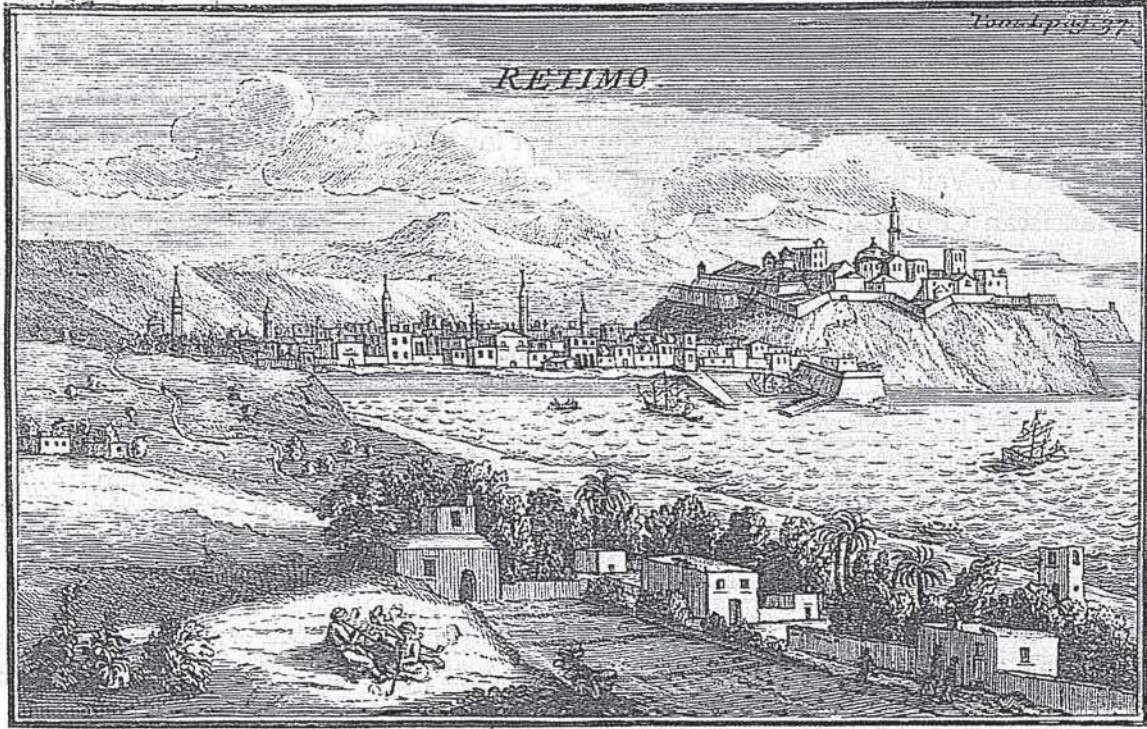


Figure 2: View of Rethymno in 1717 by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (Source: <http://eng.travelogues.gr>)

Finally in 1669, Heraklio, or in Ottoman terms Kandiye, was captured after a long siege, and this time even more churches, twelve in total, were converted into shrines of Islam, probably as a revenge of long lasting Cretan War with Venetians. Again, one of the largest churches, which was dedicated to San Francesco, was converted into *Hünkâr Camisi*, the mosque of reigning sultan Mehmed IV, with the installation of a mihrab and minbar, and the first Friday prayer was performed here.⁸ On the other hand, the church of San Salvador Monastery, which used to be the centre of the papacy in Crete, was converted into the Mosque of Valide Turhan Sultan.⁹ In addition to that, mosques converted from other churches were named after high ranking Ottoman officials including, Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa, Defterdar Ahmed Paşa, Defterdar Mehmed Paşa, Sadâret Kethüdâsı Mahmud Ağa, Ankebût Ahmed Paşa, Reisülküttâb Hüseyin Efendi, Zülfikar Ağa, Şişman İbrahim Paşa, Abdurrahman Ağa, Kaplan Mustafa Paşa, and interestingly, the name of the deceased Sultan İbrahim, father of Mehmed IV and husband of Turhan Valide, was lent to another church.¹⁰ Yet another church was converted into a bath in the name of *Valide Turhan Sultan*.¹¹

⁸ Anonymous chronicler of the conquest cited in Pul, "Girit Savaşı ile", p. 231-232.

⁹ Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kadın Baniler: Hadice Turhan Sultan*, (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), p. 355.

¹⁰ Ersin Gülsoy, "Kandiye", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 1997, 24, 304.

¹¹ Bıçakçı, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri*, p. 109.

Uyvar (Nové Zámky) (1663)

During the reign of Mehmed IV, grand vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha captured Uyvar—today's Nové Zámky in Slovakia—in 1663.¹² As Evliya Çelebi relates, the Hungarian Parish Church, the largest and the oldest church of the town, was converted into the mosque of Mehmed IV. Valide Turhan Sultan lent her name to the second largest church, which was the Franciscan Church, while a dervish lodge and numerous cells for religious purposes were added to the mosque. The third largest shrine, the Calvinist Church, was not converted into a mosque; instead, soldiers used it as a storehouse.¹³ However, other sources suggest that the third building was the Franciscan Church and it was given to dervishes of the Halveti sect.¹⁴

Even though further research and hitherto unseen archival documents would possibly decipher the identity of those conversions, it could be safely argued that all holy images visible in these churches and bells on their towers must have been removed, as well as the Christian corpses buried in the crypt at the first instance.¹⁵ A *mihrab* (prayer niche) and *minbar* (pulpit) must have been installed, and the already-existing bell towers of each church were probably used as a minaret, with an additional cone and crescent added on top. However, lives of these buildings as mosques lasted only 22 years, and after the unsuccessful Siege of Vienna, Habsburgs regained the control of Uyvar in 1685,¹⁶ and they were in all likelihood converted back to Catholic churches.

Kamianets-Podilskyi (1672)

The capture of Kamianets-Podilskyi (Kamaniçe) by the Turkish army under the command of sultan Mehmed IV on 28 August 1672, initiated a 27-year long period of Ottoman rule in Podolia¹⁷. It had particularly affected sacral buildings of Kamaniçe, very few of which had remained in Christian hands. Following the Turkish conquest, seven of the most important churches of Kamaniçe were transformed into mosques of the notables of the Ottoman court and this decision was formally implemented on the day of the sultan's entry into the city as given in

Table 1.

¹² Vojtech Kopcan, "Uyvar", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 1997, 42, 253.

¹³ Muhammed Fatih Çalışır, "War and Peace in the Frontier: Ottoman Rule in the Uyvar Province, 1663-1685" (master's thesis), Bilkent University, 2004, p. 44. See also Joseph von Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi* (İstanbul: İkra Okusan Yayınları, 1990), 6: 108.

¹⁴ Kopcan, "Uyvar", p. 253-254.

¹⁵ For a similar practice in Kamaniçe, see Hacı Ali Efendi, *Fetihnâme-i Kamaniçe*, Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, fol. 90b.

¹⁶ Kopcan, "Uyvar", p. 253-254.

¹⁷ Marc David Baer, *Honored by the Glory of Islam. Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 164-165; Mehmet İnbaşı, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar. Kamaniçe Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2004), p. 18.

IV. Mehmed Camisi (Cami-i Hüdavendigâr)	Roman-Catholic cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul
Valide Hadice Turhan Sultan Camisi	In all likelihood the Franciscan Church of Dormition of Virgin Mary
Haseki Rabia Gülnuş Sultan Camisi	Dominican Church of St. Nicholas
Sadrazam Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha Camisi	Orthodox Church of St. John
İkinci Vezir Musahib Mustafa Pasha Camisi	Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity
Üçüncü Vezir Kara Mustafa Pasha Camisi	Armenian Church of St. Nicholas
Vaiz Vani Mehmed Efendi Camisi	Carmelite Church

Table 1: Church-mosque conversions in Kamianets-Podilskyi after 1672. (Source: Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681) - Defter-i Mufassal-i Eyalet-i Kamaniçe*, Cambridge: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2004, p. 53)

As expected, the Roman-Catholic Cathedral was converted into the mosque of the Sultan while another church in the castle was converted into the Mosque of *Valide* Turhan Sultan. Sultan's preacher Vani Mehmed Efendi as well as viziers lent their names to other churches.¹⁸ Rather surprisingly, one of the major churches in the citadel was converted into the mosque of *Haseki* Gülnuş Sultan. This was the very first (and also the last) instance that a favourite wife was "honoured" with such a conversion, possibly due to her unusual participation in the Kamaniçe campaign.¹⁹

Among the preserved monuments which are being associated with the period of Turkish rule in Kamianets-Podilskyi, there is above all a minaret, which was erected probably towards the end of the 1670s upon the base provided by the Renaissance chapel in the north-western corner of St. Peter and Paul's Cathedral that was converted into sultan's mosque. (Figure 3) According to the archival sources it is understood that two minarets were meant to be added to this mosque. The other minaret was to have been erected above the chapel adjoining the northern wall of its choir, yet it was never completed. Mother Queen Hadice Turhan's mosque also acquired another minaret.²⁰ However, Kamianets-Podilskyi

¹⁸ Kolodziejczyk, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia*, p. 53.

¹⁹ For more information about this conversion, architectural history of the building and surviving pulpit inside it, see: Rafal Quirini-Poplavski and Muzaffer Özgüleş, "Haseki Gülnuş Sultan Camisi that is on the History of the Dominican Church in Kamianets Podilsky in the Years 1672-1699," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Vol. LXXV, No. 3, (2013), p. 375-403.

²⁰ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler (MAD) 709 and MAD 4559, p.5 cited in Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, "Kamieniec Podolski pod panowaniem tureckim", *Mówią Wieki*, No. 10 (1993), p. 27-28.

was left to the Poles according to the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699.²¹ Accordingly, all mosques were abandoned and gradually converted back to churches.²²



Figure 3: The minaret added to Mehmed IV's Mosque, which was converted from the Cathedral of Kamianets-Podilskyi, still stands today. (author's photograph)

To have a deeper insight about the architectural means of a conversion, Haseki Sultan's mosque converted from Dominican Church could be taken as an example. First of all, the interior of the church – the Gothic choir, nave and flanking chapels as well as Renaissance style chapels – must have been used as the prayer hall of the mosque, with all pews removed and all of the floors covered with carpets or matting. The mihrab of the mosque, which must have been facing towards Mecca, was probably opened on the southern

21 Rifa'at A. Abou-El-Haj, "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep. 1969), p. 170, footnote 19.

22 Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Polonya ve Osmanlı Devleti Arasında Tarih Boyunca Siyasi ve Diplomatik İlişkiler," *Savaş ve Barış- 15.-19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı-Lehistan İlişkileri*, (Istanbul, 1999), p. 30. In the year 1680, there were three sultan's mosques in other cities in Podolia: one of them operated around that time in Medzhybizh (it may have been converted from a parish church or a castle chapel), while new mosques were being erected at that time in Bar and Yazlovets (Polish: Jazłowiec). See Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672-1699*, (Poznań, 1994) p. 192-193.

wall of the choir. The present door on this wall, which leads to the monastery courtyard, may well have been partly covered and used as the niche of the prayer leader.²³ The minbar, which still survives in today's church, must have been attached to the same wall.²⁴

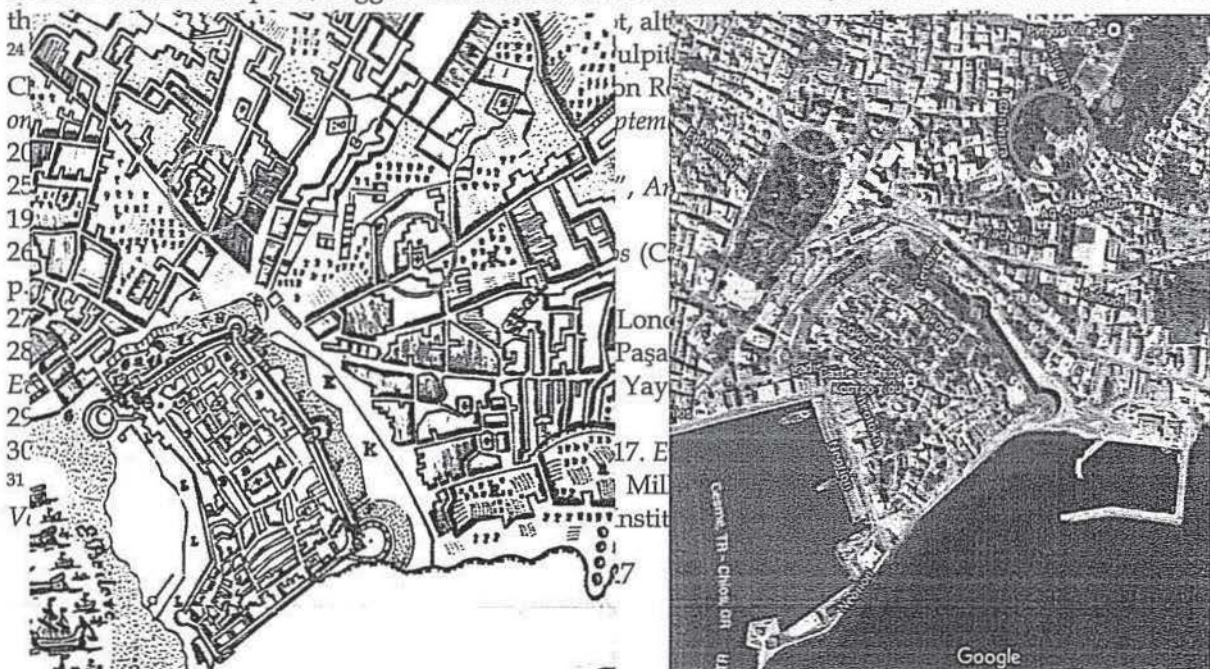
Chios (1695)

Church conversions were not new to Chios island, since the first Ottoman conquest in 1566 led by Grand Admiral Piyale Paşa. Following the capture of the island from the Genoese, Hagios Georgios Church the oldest and the largest church of the town located in the *Castro*, was named after Süleyman the Magnificent as a mosque.²⁵ Yet another church, the Franciscan Church of Santa Maria della Grazie was converted in the name of the conqueror of the island, Piyale Paşa, the same year.²⁶ Later, following the Florentine attack in 1599, most Catholics were exiled from the island,²⁷ and one of the Catholic churches in the *Castro* was converted into a mosque named after Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Paşa.²⁸ In 1613, another naval defeat offshore Chios gave way to a further conversion,²⁹ as the defeated Grand Admiral Öküz Mehmed Paşa took revenge by converting the last Catholic Church in the castle.³⁰

The island of Chios had fallen under Venetian control in 1694 for approximately six months, and after its recapture in February 1695, the Ottomans were ready to take vengeance for this unlooked-for occupation. Three Catholic churches in the capital of the island were requisitioned and transformed into mosques named after the sultan, the queen mother and the commander of the conquering army Mısrırlızaade İbrahim Paşa. However, other churches were less fortunate and were destroyed and their parishioners oppressed mercilessly.³¹

The churches converted into mosques in the names of Mustafa II and Gülnuş Sultan must have been two prominent Latin Churches, i.e. the Cathedral of La Travenna and the Dominican Church of San Sebastiano, respectively, according to the Ottoman custom in the

23 O. Alojzy Kosobudzki, the father of St. Nicholas Church in Kamanice, conveyed during the interview on 28 July 2012 that a niche on the southeastern wall of the apse was found during the restoration work in 2001. However, photographs taken by K. Jurków and J. Smaza from inside and outside at the same point, suggest that it could not be a mihrab. Still, it should be taken into account



conquered cities giving the cathedral to the Sultan.³² (Figure 4) However, the conversion of a third church mentioned by chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Ağa seems not to have happened according to Western sources. Instead, the mosque of Mısırlızade İbrahim Paşa in Chios, the name of which could be traced in Ottoman archival documents,³³ might have replaced one of the above mentioned demolished churches, possibly Jesuit Church of San Antonio. Alternatively, since the available data does not permit a true identification of the church or its place, it is also possible that the mosque of Mısırlızade İbrahim Paşa might have been converted from a minor church which was not the subject of researched sources.

Nevertheless, the lives of those buildings as well as many others in Chios came to an ambiguous end in the early nineteenth century. Massacre of Chios in 1822 most probably caused the destruction of these mosques, since two-third of the city was burnt down and the religious buildings were destroyed by the opponent groups.³⁴ This is also evident from the archival sources: Although documents issued before 1822 mentions the name of the mosques, later documents only mention other properties of the waqf.³⁵ Therefore, it could be concluded that, these two sultanate mosques in Chios most probably disappeared in 1822 and the only source for revealing the architectural features of these long gone buildings could be contemporary visual and written depictions, such as engravings and the accounts of travelling clergy.³⁶

Oran (1708)

Although the Ottomans had previously tried to capture Oran in the sixteenth century while they were claiming supremacy in the Mediterranean Sea, they could not

Figure 4: Detail from anonymous Venetian Chios map of 1694 (Dell Aquisto e del ritito de Venetia dell isola di Scio nell'ano 1694) and approximate locations of Latin Cathedral (circled in blue) and Dominican Church (circled in red) on today's satellite map of Chios. (maps.google.com)

³² For more insight about the identification and architecture of these buildings, see Muzaffer Özgüleş, "Two Lost Churches, Two Lost Mosques: Conversion of Last Latin Churches in Chios in 1695", *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Turkish Art, Naples, Italy, 16-18 September 2015* (forthcoming in 2017).

³³ BOA İbnülemin Vakıf (İE EV) 38 4342; BOA Ali Emiri Ahmed III (AE.SAMD.III) 85 8521; BOA Cevdet Evkaf (C. EV.) 362 18372.

³⁴ Philip P. Argenti, *The Massacres of Chios: Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports* (Oxford: John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., 1932), p. 38. Mehmet Emin Vahit Paşa's *Tarih-i vaka-yi cezire-yi Sakız sene 1237* gives the details of the same event from Ottoman Empire's point of view while another archival document (BOA Hatt-ı Hümayun [HAT] 932 40382) also mentions that the suburb of Chios was burnt down. While the Turks had largely destroyed the churches, the mosques and the leads on their roofs were demolished by the Greek: Philip P. Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios (1577-1841)*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 1: 425.

³⁵ For the case of Gülnuş Sultan's mosque, see BOA (İbnülemin Maliye) İE. ML. 121 11448, BOA HAT 872 38761/A, BOA HAT 872 38761/B, BOA HAT 544 26896.

³⁶ Bishop Pietro Demarchis, who visited the island in 1623 and Venier, the bishop of Tinos, who visited the island in 1679 give the most comprehensive descriptions: Hofmann, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia - Chios*, p. 15-23. For an architectural description of those buildings in the light of those sources, see Özgüleş, "Two Lost Churches, Two Lost Mosques," (forthcoming in 2017).

succeed in doing so. However, Algerian Dey Mehmet Bektaş, succeeded to capture Oran in early 1708 after a siege of several months from land and sea.³⁷ After the conquest, conventional procedures similar to those in abovementioned conversions were put into practice, as contemporary chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Ağa relates:

The castle of Oran contained three large churches and the interiors of those churches were decorated with sculptures artfully made of colourful marble. All of those were removed and the largest church was converted into a mosque in the name of the sultan. Crescents were put on top of its finials; mihrabs, minbars and galleries were installed in appropriate places. Then, the first Friday prayer was performed by the warriors and blessings were made for the perpetuity of the sultan's power and state. The second church was converted into a mosque in the name of Valide Sultan, the third church in the name of Grand Vizier Ali Paşa, and their waqfs were organized for their maintenance.³⁸

After the conquest, the keys of the Castle of Oran were presented to Ahmed III³⁹, and in return, he wrote a decree to the Dey of Algiers, bestowing on him and his warriors several gifts and sending a ship loaded ammunition to provide security for the coastal city.⁴⁰ However, this decree of Ahmed III dates to May 1709, almost one year after the conquest, and this implies that the news of the conquest must have arrived Istanbul late. It can be deduced that, the maintenance of the converted mosques must have been supplied from the newly established waqfs with the available local incomes after the conquest, since neither Ahmed III nor Gülnuş Valide Sultan had endowed properties for their brand new mosques. Indeed, no endowment deeds for those buildings exist. In point of fact, they had neither demanded the conversion of those churches nor played a role in the conquest of Oran; instead, it was Dey's own initiative.

Ottoman dominion in Oran thus started in 1708, but lasted for only 24 years. When Oran was recaptured by Spain in 1732⁴¹, those mosques were apparently reconverted into churches, just as had happened in Kamianets-Podilskyi. This is attested to in contemporary maps of Oran, which, after 1732, give the names of the same four pre-1708 churches: Iglesia Mayor, St. Domingo, St. Francisco and La Merced.⁴² (Figure9).

³⁷ Aziz Samih, *Şimalî Afrika'da Türkler* (Istanbul: Vakıf Matbaası, 1936), 2, p.36.

³⁸ Silahdar, *Nusretname*, 2: 242. In fact, Silahdar is the only Ottoman chronicler that informs us about these conversions in Oran. Another contemporary Ottoman historian Raşid gives details about the conquest of Oran but he does not mention these conversions. Raşid Mehmed Efendi, Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, 3, (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2013), 2: 800-801.

³⁹ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, p. 130.

⁴⁰ BOA Cevdet Hariciye (C. HR) 88 4371.

⁴¹ Samih, *Şimalî Afrika'da Türkler*, p. 36.

⁴² Gregorio Sanchez Donces, *Presencia de España en Orán (1509-1792)* (Toledo: Estudio Teológico de San Ildefonso, 1991), 531-537. Those churches were mentioned in the church inventories in Toledo dating from the seventeenth century: Dalila Senhadji, "Las Iglesias Españolas de Orán, 1509-1708", *Las Campanas de Orán, 1509-2009*, Ismet Terki-Hassaine, Emilio Sola Castaño, Alejandro R. Diez Torre y Manuel Casado Arboniés (eds.), (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012), 241, 250-251.

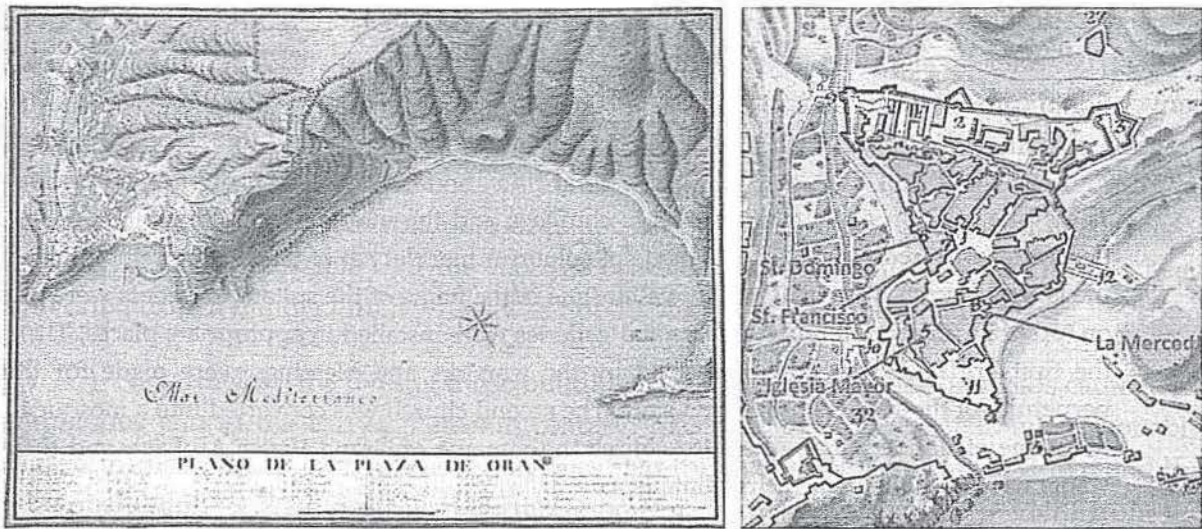


Figure 5: An eighteenth century map of Oran and its environs and detail of the Oran Castle with labelled churches from the same map. ("Plano de la plaza de Oran", courtesy of Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico)

On the other hand, those buildings were most probably destroyed during the devastating earthquake of 1790, since there is no mention of them after this date.⁴³ Similarly, maps drawn in the nineteenth century during the French occupation do not include any of them.⁴⁴ Rather, after the second Ottoman conquest, the Bey Othmane Mosque was constructed on the site of St. François in the late eighteenth century;⁴⁵ after French occupation, the St. Louis Church was built on the site of La Merced⁴⁶ and the Hopital Boudens was constructed on the site of Iglesia Mayor.⁴⁷ All these buildings still exist in today's Oran.

Consequently, the only means for the identification of those buildings are the Spanish sources, which give a glimpse of the history and architecture of those buildings before 1708 and after 1732.⁴⁸ Keeping in mind the established Ottoman custom to convert the cathedral of the conquered city into the mosque of the sultan and remembering the quotation of Silahdar, one can easily deduce that Iglesia Mayor was converted into the mosque of Ahmed III. On the other hand, the documents show that La Merced, which was built on the

43 G. Marçais, B. Semmoud, "Wahran", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 12 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 11: 50-51; Mehmet Tütüncü, "Ottoman Heritage in Oran (Wahran)- Inscriptions and Architecture", *Las Campanas de Orán, 1509-2009*, Ismet Terki-Hassaine, Emilio Sola Castaño, Alejandro R. Diez Torre y Manuel Casado Arboniés (eds.), (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012), p. 216-220.

44 See, for instance "Plan d'Oran" c. 1890 at gallica.bnf.fr.

45 Georges Marçais, *Algérie Médiévale: Monuments et Paysages Historiques* (Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1957), p. 108.

46 Henri Leon Fey, *Histoire d'Oran, Avant, Pendant et Après la Domination Espagnole* (Oran: Typographie Adolphe Perrier, 1858), p. 231.

47 René Lespès, *Oran, Étude de géographie et d'histoire urbaines* (Paris: Alcan, 1939), p. 143.

48 For the identification and architectural descriptions of those buildings, see Muzaffer Özgüleş and Dalila Senhadji "Three Ottoman Mosques in Africa: Church Conversions in Oran in 1708" (forthcoming).

site of a former synagogue in the seventeenth century, had been in active use as a synagogue between 1708 and 1732.⁴⁹ Therefore, the church that was converted into Gülnuş Sultan's mosque could only be either San Francisco or Santa Domingo el Real, which were sitting next to each other, and that of Grand Vizier Çorlulu Ali Paşa must have been the other one.

Conclusion

When all of these church-mosque conversions are reconsidered, it is seen that they were targeting Catholic buildings mainly, as a natural result of wars against Catholic countries, though some of the Orthodox churches in Crete and Kamañiçe became mosques. The seventeenth century being one of the most turbulent periods in Ottoman history, has gave way to conversions both as a revenge and as a demonstration of supremacy. The immense number of conversions in Heraklion after the long Cretan War, or the demolition of several churches following the recapture of Chios could be explained in this sense.

After each conquest, the most important church in the conquered city, usually the cathedral, was reserved for the Sultan to be converted into *Hünkar Camisi*, as this was the Ottoman custom since the fourteenth century. The commanders of the conquering army, grand viziers, viziers or grand admirals, also acquired their "share", with an exception observed in Uyvar. In fact, it was also their duty to populate these frontier cities with Muslims by establishing new waqf foundations, and they continued this process long after the conquest.

While talking about the Ottomanization of Crete, Irene Bierman states that "the Sultan's former ability to dispense extraordinary philanthropies had been curtailed in the seventeenth century by a changed composition and configuration of the ruling elite" and the placement of Sultan's mosque in the cities and their single minarets reflect the recession of sultan's power.⁵⁰ Indeed, except the case of Kamianets-Podilskyi where Mehmed IV himself led the conquest, they had neither demanded the conversion of those churches nor played a role in the conquests. Instead, they realized that their names were given to converted churches only when the news of the conquest reached to their palace.

In the same century, other notables including *Valide Sultans* and favourites lent their names to converted churches. Kösem Sultan was the first Ottoman royal woman whose name was given to a converted religious building in a conquered city, namely Rethymno. Valide Turhan Sultan continued this tradition in Heraklion, Uyvar and Kamañiçe while her daughter-in-law, Haseki Gülnuş Sultan joined her in Kamañiçe. When Gülnuş became queen mother, she perpetuated this custom in Chios and Oran. It was the so called "sultanate of women" and women did take part in representing state in remote corners of the Empire, no

⁴⁹ Fey, *Histoire d'Oran*, p. 230.

⁵⁰ Irene A. Bierman, "The Ottomanization of Crete," in *The Ottoman City and its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, edited by Irene A. Bierman, Rifaat A. Abou-El-Haj, Donald Preziosi (New Rochelle, NY: A.D.Caratzas, 1991), p. 62-63.

different than men. And it was the long seventeenth century that witnessed all of those discrepancies in the Ottoman custom of church conversions in conquered cities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Archive Resources

BOA AE.SAMD.III 85 8521.

BOA C. EV. 362 18372.

BOA C. HR 88 4371.

BOA HAT 544 26896.

BOA HAT 872 38761/A

BOA HAT 872 38761/B

BOA HAT 932 40382

BOA İE EV 38 4342.

BOA İE. ML. 121 11448

B. Books, Articles and Other Sources

Abou-El-Haj, Rifa'at A. "The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 89, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep. 1969).

Argenti, Philip P., *Diplomatic Archive of Chios (1577-1841)*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.

Argenti, Philip P., *The Massacres of Chios: Described in Contemporary Diplomatic Reports*, Oxford: John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., 1932. p. 38.

Argenti, Philip P., *The Religious Minorities of Chios*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Baer, Marc David, *Honored by the Glory of Islam. Conversion and Conquest in Ottoman Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Bıçakçı, İsmail, *Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri*, İstanbul: İSAR Vakfı Yayınları, 2003, 100.

Bierman, Irene A., "The Ottomanization of Crete," in *The Ottoman City and its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*, edited by Irene A. Bierman, Rifaat A. Abou-El-Haj, Donald Preziosi, New Rochelle, NY: A.D.Caratzas, (1991): 53-75.

Çalışır, Muhammed Fatih, *War and Peace in the Frontier: Ottoman Rule in the Uyvar Province, 1663-1685* master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2004.

Evlıya Çelebi, *Evlıya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 10 vols., İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005.

Fey, Henri Leon, *Histoire d'Oran, Avant, Pendant et Après la Domination Espagnole*, Oran: Typographie Adolphe Perrier, 1858.

Gülsoy, Ersin, "Kandiye", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 24, 304.

Gülsoy, Ersin, "Resmo", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 34, 586.

Gülsoy, Ersin, *Girit'in Fethi ve Adada Osmanlı İdaresinin Tesisi: 1645-1670*, PhD thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 1997.

Hacı Ali Efendi, *Fetihnâme-i Kamaniçe*, İstanbul Süleymaniye Library.

- Hammer, Joseph von, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi İstanbul: İkra Okusan Yayınları*, 1990.
- Hasluck, F. W., "The Latin Monuments of Chios", *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVI, (1909-1910): 137-184.
- Hofmann, Georg, *Vescovadi Cattolici della Grecia – Chios*, Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1934.
- İnbaşı, Mehmet, *Ukrayna'da Osmanlılar. Kamanıçe Seferi ve Organizasyonu (1672)*, İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2004.
- Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz, "Kamieniec Podolski pod panowaniem tureckim", *Mówią Wieki*, , No. 10, (1993): 27-28.
- Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz, "Polonya ve Osmanlı Devleti Arasında Tarih Boyunca Siyasi ve Diplomatik İlişkiler", *Savaş ve Barış- 15.-19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı-Lehistan İlişkileri*, İstanbul, 1999.
- Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672-1699*, (Polczek, 1994).
- Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz, *The Ottoman Survey Register of Podolia (ca. 1681) - Defter-i Mufassal-i Eyalet-i Kamanıçe*, Cambridge: Distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2004.
- Kopcan, Wojtech, "Uyvar", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 42, 253.
- Lespès, René, *Oran, Étude de géographie et d'histoire urbaines*, Paris: Alcan, 1939.
- Marçais, G. and Semmoud, B., "Wahran", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 12 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Marçais, Georges, *Algérie Médiévale: Monuments et Paysages Historiques*, Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1957.
- Mehmet Emin Vahit Paşa, *Tarih-i vaka-yi cezire-yi Sakız sene 1237*, İstanbul Atatürk Library.
- Özgüleş, Muzaffer and Senhadji, Dalila "Three Ottoman Mosques in Africa: Church Conversions in Oran in 1708" (forthcoming).
- Özgüleş, Muzaffer, "Two Lost Churches, Two Lost Mosques: Conversion of Last Latin Churches in Chios in 1695", *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Turkish Art, Naples, Italy, 16-18 September 2015* (forthcoming in 2017).
- Pul, Ayşe, "Girit Savaşı ile ilgili Bir Türk Kaynağının Tahlili", PhD thesis, Ankara University, 2004.
- Quirini-Poplavski, Rafal and Özgüleş, Muzaffer, "Haseki Gülnuş Sultan Camisi that is on the History of the Dominican Church in Kamianets Podilsky in the Years 1672-1699," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Vol. LXXV, No. 3, (2013): 375-403.
- Raşid Mehmed Efendi, Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, *Tarih-i Raşid ve Zeyli*, 3 vols. İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2013.
- Samih, Aziz, *Şimalî Afrika'da Türkler*, İstanbul: Vakıf Matbaası, 1936.
- Sanchez Donces, Gregorio, *Presencia de España en Orán (1509-1792)* Toledo: Estudio Teológico de San Ildefonso, 1991.

Senhadji, Dalila, "Las Iglesias Españolas de Orán, 1509-1708", *Las Campanas de Orán, 1509-2009*, Ismet Terki-Hassaine, Emilio Sola Castaño, Alejandro R. Diez Torre y Manuel Casado Arboniés (eds.), Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012.

Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, *Nusretname*, Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1962.

Smaza, Janusz, "17th-century Islamic Pulpit (Pulpit) in St. Nicholas the Bishop Roman-Catholic Church in Kamieniec Podolski, Ukraine - Restoration Research and Issues", *11th International Congress on Deterioration and Conservation of Stone. 15-20 September 2008, Toruń, Poland: proceedings*, vol. 2, Toruń 2008.

Thys-Şenocak, Lucienne, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Kadın Baniler: Hadice Turhan Sultan*, Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009.

Tukin, Cemal, "Girit", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol:14.

Tütüncü, Mehmet, "Ottoman Heritage in Oran (Wahran)- Inscriptions and Architecture", *Las Campanas de Orán, 1509-2009*, Ismet Terki-Hassaine, Emilio Sola Castaño, Alejandro R. Diez Torre y Manuel Casado Arboniés (eds.), Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, 2012.

Vlasto, Alexander, *A History of the Island of Chios*, London: J. Davy and Sons, 1913.