

OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA: A CRITICAL SURVEY OF KEY MONUMENTS FROM THE FIFTEENTH THROUGH NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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Located in what has been described as the core area of the Ottoman realm in Europe, a region once known as Rumelia or “Rûm-îli,”¹ the modern Republic of Macedonia is a country relatively privileged in its share of well-preserved monuments from the more than five centuries of Ottoman rule (ca. 1385-1912). Ottoman-Islamic culture being largely one of cities, it was in this period that a number of urban settlements were revived and incorporated into a regional network of administrative and economic centres. They were equipped with an infrastructure that included large and small houses of worship, educational institutions, water supply systems, public bathhouses, bridges, hostels and hospices for merchants, travellers, and dervishes, and sometimes also clock towers. The vast majority of these structures were not built by the Ottoman sultan or the state he represented but by military and civil administrators, theologians, affluent women, local strongmen, craftsmen, and merchants. They chose to invest in the construction of monuments and infrastructures for reasons that were – as far as we are able to reconstruct them – as varied as the group of patrons.

Both the limited research undertaken about these buildings thus far and the limited scope of this chapter permit that only a small selection of works is discussed in sufficient detail. I have still attempted to include in this survey monuments from all periods and in multiple locations: not only in Skopje and Bitola, which stand out for the large number of preserved monuments, but also in Ohrid, Tetovo, and Štip. Several remarkable buildings in these places, as we shall see, have not withstood the tests of time. The absence of buildings in other towns, such as Kumanovo, is certainly a shortcoming. Debatable is also the absence of Christian Ottoman-period buildings.

In spite of all these deficiencies, this survey aims to be a critical one. It seeks to contextualize formal phenomena with broader developments in Ottoman society and the architecture it produced. This survey also suggests a system of presentation along four broad periods, however uneven. It seeks to identify and analyse their characteristics and the position of individual monuments in them. Notwithstanding its incompleteness and the gravity of certain omissions, I hope that the resulting narrative is conclusive enough to bring forth a more nuanced understanding of this architectural heritage – not as a the quasi-automatic product of an essentialized ‘culture’ present in a given area at a given time, but as the consequence of a complex set of interactions between people and groups with different interests, agendas, and points of reference. It is the logic of their resolution to alter, through sponsoring architecture, Macedonian cities’ monumental topography that I shall seek to reconstruct.

¹ Literally, “the province of [Eastern] Rome,” i.e. Byzantium. The author would like to express his gratitude to Grigor Boykov, Zeynep Oğuz, and Suzanne Compagnon for their constructive comments on earlier versions of this paper.

I. THE EARLY OTTOMAN PERIOD: URBAN LIFE RECONSTITUTED

I.1. The Mosque of Murâd II in Skopje (1436/7)

Although the Macedonian region came under Ottoman sway in the last two decades of the fourteenth century, the available evidence suggests that it was not before the 1430s that truly significant architectural projects were undertaken. Prime among these, and a harbinger of the eventual developments, was the large congregational mosque Murâd II (r. 1421-44 and 1446-51) built there on a hill, possibly on the foundations of the derelict church of St George.² The mosque completed in 1436/7 has been altered so often as a result of natural or man-induced catastrophes that to ascertain its original appearance is no easy assignment: inscriptions report of no less than three major interventions (1539-42, 1711/2, and 1911).³ Most conspicuous is perhaps that this mosque, patronized by a sultan, is covered with a roof rather than a dome [ill. 1]. It is generally assumed that the building's original dome was replaced by the roof in the wake of the destruction caused by the Habsburgs' invasion of Skopje in 1689/90. More recently, it has also been suggested that the roof may reflect its original covering, for the walls of the mosque are too thin to be able to support a large dome.⁴

To this could be added that also the size required for a single dome to cover the space in question is roughly 24m diameter – a size attained in the period of Murâd II only by the Üç Şerefeli mosque in his capital Edirne, which was completed only in 1447/8, i.e., a decade after his mosque in Skopje. Considering moreover the strict geometry employed in (even early) Ottoman mosques, the fact that the window axes do not communicate with the arcade in the interior, which supports the flat ceiling and divides the space into three naves, makes it very unlikely that this was the original arrangement. More research is needed to bring forth a reconstruction that is anything more than speculative. It might also not be entirely implausible to suggest that the fifteenth-century building was covered with a pyramid roof with an internal wooden dome – much like the one the same patron sponsored, in the same decade, when the Great Mosque at Didymoteichon was renovated.⁵

Irrespective of the form, the fact that Murâd II committed to build a large congregational mosque in Skopje cannot be underestimated. It probably must be taken to equal a decision to upgrade its standing to a regional metropolis. At that time, comparable buildings were only found in the Thracian twin residences of Edirne and Didymoteichon.

I.2. The Marcher Lords' Contribution: *Zâviye* and *Hân* of İshâk Beğ

A similarly important impetus to the development of Skopje as an urban centre below the old fortress (*kale*) was given by the frontier lord İshâk Beğ (d. 1445) and, eventually, his son İsâ Beğ. The former sponsored, also in the 1430s, a cluster of buildings that included a *zâviye*-type hospice (dated to

² This is suggested in Machiel Kiel, "Un héritage non désiré: le patrimoine architectural islamique ottoman dans l'Europe du Sud-Est, 1370–1912," in: *Études balkaniques*, XII (2005), pp. 15-82, cit. p. 62. See also Mihailo Popović, "Die Topographie der mittelalterlichen Stadt Skopje zwischen byzantinischem und serbischem Reich (13.-14. Jh.)," in: *Inicijal: Časopis za srednjovekovne studije*, III (2015), pp. 35-55.

³ For these inscriptions, see Lidiya Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküp'te Osmanlı mimarî eserleri*. Istanbul: ENKA, 2008, pp. 44-51, which is the lavishly illustrated Turkish edition of a fundamental work originally published as Lidija Kumbaradžić-Bogojević, *Osmanliski spomenici vo Skopje*. Skopje: IZRM, 1998.

⁴ Kiel, "Un héritage non désiré," p. 63.

⁵ For a section drawing of this building closed to the public, see *Ottoman architecture in Greece*. Ed. Ersi Brouskari. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2008, pp. 330-332. The dating to 1420 is erroneous, however. For the most likely building chronology, see Machiel Kiel, "The quatrefoil plan in Ottoman architecture reconsidered in light of the 'Fethiye Mosque' of Athens," in: *Muqarnas*, XIX (2002), pp. 109-122, here p. 112, 120.

1438/9 by inscription), a *medrese* (not extant), a *hammâm* (not extant), and two *hâns*.⁶ Of the latter category survives the Sulu Hân, a utilitarian two-storied structure set around a courtyard [ill. 2]. Once serving merchants, it today houses a museum and an arts faculty.

İshâk Beğ's *zâviye* [ills. 3-4] lost its original function already during the Ottoman period: once intended to accommodate and feed travellers (including dervishes) and probably his institution's staff, it was converted into a congregational mosque before 1519.⁷ This conversion, possibly the result of sixteenth-century policies seeking to enforce the regular attendance of congregational prayer by populations believed to have had heterodox leanings,⁸ necessitated serious structural interventions to the building: two dividing walls were torn down to facilitate communal prayer by a larger congregation. Moreover, a minaret was built, and so may have been the portico. The traces of these interventions are still observable today, especially on the interior of the building, where they are evoked by the unbalanced location of the arches between the various spaces. To the interior was moreover added a pulpit (*minber*) from which the preacher (*hatîb*) addressed the congregation on Fridays.⁹

Initially not meant to serve a large congregation for communal prayer, İshâk Beğ's T-shaped *zâviye* was located not in the centre of the developing commercial district (today's "Čaršija"), where he had built his *hâns* and the *hammâm* (and the revenues from which were funding the *zâviye* and the *medrese*), but in its periphery. The fact alone that he chose to build a high-level educational institution in a town that was in the 1430s still on a warring frontier is interesting enough. His *vakfiye* reveals that the *medrese* students received somewhat inflated stipends for studying at this school.¹⁰ Quite evidently, İshâk Beğ was intent on developing 'his' Skopje, that is, the town in which his hegemony (and, eventually, the hegemony of his family) was acknowledged, into an urban centre of some repute. Unforgiving in the battlefield, at home he promoted commerce and culture.

1.3. The Marcher Lords' Contribution: İshâkoğlu İsa Beğ's Legacy

İshâk Beğ's policy was continued by his favourite son, İsa Beğ, whom he appointed not only the manager (*mütevelli*) of his endowments in Skopje – a prestigious as well as lucrative position – but who also became a frontier lord (*ucbeği*) in his own right. İsa Beğ expanded the Ottoman domain northward into Bosnia, where he became the founder of a new town later known as Sarajevo. He also sponsored a number of important buildings in Skopje.

A *zâviye* was built only posthumously, in 1475/6 (inscription)¹¹, in accordance with his stipulations. Like his father's, it was located outside the commercial centre of town and followed a T-shaped plan. The major difference is that İsa Beğ's building is characterized by two domed main units. This and other features remind of the contemporaneous Has Murâd Paşa Câmiî (1471/2) in Istanbul-

⁶ The *vakfiye* is published in Hasan Kaleši, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti u Jugoslaviji na arapskom jeziku*. Priština: Zajednica Naučnih Ustanova: Kosova 1972, pp. 89-109. The document, composed in February 1445, reveals that İshâk actually died before legalizing a *vakfiye* himself. Four Muslims, all converts to Islam, testified before the court that İshâk had willed his son İsa to become his *vakf*'s administrator after his death.

⁷ This is the date given in an inscription that refers to the building as a *câmi* – that is, as a full-fledged mosque in which Friday sermons are held. For these inscriptions and further information, see Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküp*, pp. 61-75.

⁸ On this point, see Gülru Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan: architectural culture in the Ottoman Empire*. London: Reaktion, 2005, p. 48f.

⁹ The *minber*, again, is a feature not found in prayer-houses (*mescids*) or *zâviyes*.

¹⁰ According to the *vakf* stipulations (cf. Kaleši, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti*, p. 108), the head teacher (*müderis*) received 12 *dirhems* (silver coins) daily and students received 8. Food and lodging were provided and no taxes had to be paid. The *vakf* moreover paid salaries to the *şeyh* of the *imâret* (5 *dirhem* per day), the *imâm* (4), the *mü'ezzin* (3), an accountant (2), a courier (1), a porter (1), and ten recitors connected to the *imâret* (1). Moreover, the *kadı* of Skopje was to receive 1 *dirhem* daily for keeping an eye on the proper management of the *vakf*.

¹¹ For this building and its inscriptions, see also Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküp*, pp. 90-101.

Aksaray. Perhaps the manager of the family's endowment requisitioned someone from the capital to plan this building and oversee its construction. Like İshâ's father's *zâviye*, this building, too, was converted into a mosque, possibly around the same time.

In addition to the *zâviye*, two more remarkable structures built by this patron survive: the Kapan Hân, a fairly typical (if early) representative of this type, and the so-called Çifte Hammâm [ill. 2, 5a] ("double bathhouse," used by both males in females in separate sections), which is presently used as a museum gallery. Looking massive but ultimately utilitarian from the outside, the interior is of an almost palatial quality [ill. 6]. There are preserved large sections of elaborate and stylish stucco detailing. Later bathhouses usually display more reserved ornamentation,¹² and it is very fortunate that in Skopje the interiors of two stunning fifteenth-century bathhouses are preserved. Beyond hygiene, at the time they were built these *hammâms* must have played an important social function, and this seems to be echoed in the attention devoted to their embellishment.

The mausoleum (*türbe*) behind the İshâk Beğ İmâreti was probably built for İshâ Beğ's brother, Paşa Beğ (not to be confused with his İshâk Beğ's father, Paşa Yiğid Beğ).¹³ This hexagonal structure lacks an inscription, but a date in the second half of the fifteenth century seems reasonable on stylistic and other grounds. For the Balkans, this *türbe* [ill. 3] is unique: on the exterior are found blue and turquoise tiles, arranged as a geometrically patterned frieze around the dome's drum. Below the drum, on all of the structure's six sides, we find triangular tile pieces arranged in flower and star-like patterns. I am inclined to speculate that this *türbe* and İshâ Beğ's *zâviye* may date to the same time, the 1470s, and that men dispatched from Istanbul or Edirne are to be credited for both. This would better explain the unusual tiles and other 'eastern' motifs, which were available in Istanbul in a decade that also saw the construction of Mahmûd Paşa's tiled mausoleum and the so-called Tiled Kiosk (*Çinili Köşk*).

Between the 1430s and the 1490s, at which time a new class of patrons entered the stage, the development of Skopje was to a considerable extent due to three generations of the aforementioned family of frontier gentry. Skopje began to develop along, in broad terms, a North-South axis in the depression between the fortress and the Gazi Baba hill. This axis was emphasized by a number of important monuments aligned along a representative thoroughfare, which began at the stone bridge (ill. 7) over the river Vardar built by Murâd II or Mehmed II. After a while one passed by at least four buildings sponsored by Paşa Yiğid Beğ,¹⁴ his son İshâk Beğ, and his grandson İshâ Beğ: two *hân*s, a monumental double bathhouse, and two *zâviyes*, as well as a number of shops built to support the maintenance of the charitable institutions and other buildings known to have existed. This 'monumental axis' was reinforced in the last quarter of the century by the construction of the Dâvûd Paşa bathhouse [ill. 5b] (which, like that built by İshâ Beğ, is generously ornamented internally) and the Burmalı mosque (see below). These latter buildings also announce the end of Skopje as a 'frontier metropolis' and its integration into a developing Ottoman urban network, in which it was to become a major cultural, economic, and administrative centre.

¹² The key study on the architecture and ornamentation of type of buildings is Machiel Kiel, "The Ottoman hamam in the Balkans," in: *Art and archaeology research papers*, IX (1976), pp. 87-97.

¹³ For a brief discussion, see Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküp*, p. 74.

¹⁴ For the (not extant) buildings of Paşa Yiğid Beğ in Skopje, see Grigor Boykov, "Reshaping urban space in the Ottoman Balkans: a study on the architectural development of Edirne, Plovdiv, and Skopje (14th-15th centuries)," in: *Centres and peripheries in Ottoman architecture: rediscovering a Balkan heritage*. Ed. Maximilian Hartmuth. Sarajevo/Stockholm: Cultural Heritage without Borders, 2010, pp. 32-45, cit. pp. 41-5. For two more buildings built by Paşa Yiğid Beğ's sons, see Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküp*, pp. 84-9.

II. THE MIDDLE OTTOMAN PERIOD: TRIUMPH OF THE SINGLE-DOMED MOSQUE

In a relatively short period around the year 1500, the cities of Macedonia were equipped with a considerable number of large mosques. In Skopje, then a town of maybe 4-5,000 inhabitants, were built within a mere decade three new large mosques intended for congregational worship – all by military governors with the titles of *paşa* or *beğ*. Oddly, this came at a time of demographic stagnation in Skopje, even decrease.¹⁵ Rather than to demographic development, they seem to have owed their construction to the fact that a certain class of patrons had ascended and desired to have that represented through sponsoring a type of building whose patronage was previously restricted to sultans: the Friday mosque.

II.1. Domes on Pendentives: Mustafâ Paşa Câmii in Skopje and Forebears

Securely dated by inscription to 1492, when its construction on a slope below the fortress was completed, this building [ill. 2, 8] is one of the oldest and best-preserved Friday mosques built by Ottoman military governors anywhere. Like the Murâdiye, similarly towering over the bazaar district, it makes use of the area's topography so as to achieve a high degree of visibility.¹⁶ With its tall and slender minaret and three-bay portico fronting a large single-domed space, it is an early example of a type that came to be dominant thereafter.

Remarkable is the similarity with the nearby precedent of the mosque of Mehmed II in Prishtina. Dated by inscription to 1460/1,¹⁷ that building was entirely built of cut stone blocks. However, the Mustafâ Paşa mosque uses ashlar and marble for the portico, while the remainder is constructed of cloisonné masonry (i.e., stones framed with thin red bricks). The latter one may consider the traditional – and presumably less costly – building technique in the area. Otherwise the two buildings are remarkably similar; they also may be understood as more than formal relatives. Their entrance portals do not feature intricately carved stalactite/honeycomb ornamentation (which can be surveyed, for instance, at the Yahyâ Paşa mosque, discussed below). Instead, Mustafâ Paşa mosque's marble portal [ill. 9] impresses with elegantly simple forms: a multi-foil arch is set inside a pointed arch. The wooden door with geometric mouldings is one of the most remarkable in the region. The interior [ill. 10] moreover preserves a marble pulpit (*minber*) and prayer niche (*mihrâb*).

II.2. Domes on Squinches: The Mosques of Yahyâ Paşa (Skopje) and İshâk Çelebi (Bitola)

Dated by inscription to 1503/4, the lavishly ornamented mosque of Yahyâ Paşa in Skopje [ill. 11] lost what must once have been its principal attraction: a large dome, ca. 18m in diameter. This was a considerable feat, for even the domes of mosques built by the reigning sultan in Edirne and Istanbul (main dome of Bâyezîd mosque) were smaller. At the time of its building, at least for half a century,¹⁸ it appears to have been the largest Ottoman mosque dome in Europe outside Istanbul (Fâtih mosque)

¹⁵ According to data provided by Metodije Sokoloski ("Le développement de quelques villes dans le sud des Balkans au XVe et XVIe siècles," in: *Balkanica*, I [1970], pp. 81-106, cit. p. 83), Skopje's population can be estimated to ca. 4,900 in 1467/8, around two thirds of which were Muslims. In 1519 the population may have sunk to ca. 4,600, with a slightly higher Muslim percentage. The downward trend actually continues until 1528, when the population may have dropped to ca. 4,400, with now three quarters Muslims. All of these figures must be considered very approximate; they can only serve as an indicator for Skopje's actual population and are based on the assumption that the average Ottoman household had five members.

¹⁶ This was not always the case. None of the sixteenth-century domed mosques of Sarajevo, for instance, are in elevated locations.

¹⁷ Cf. Nimetullah Hafız & Mücahit Asim, "Priştine kitâbeleri," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XI (1977), pp. 205-15, cit. p. 206.

¹⁸ A half-century later, comparably sized domes were built at mosques in Trikkala and Sofia attributed to Mimâr Sinân. Cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 558-60.

and Edirne (Üç Şerefeli). Its minaret, exceeding 55 meters (including the spire),¹⁹ must have been the tallest in the Balkans outside Edirne. A further degree of monumentality was added by the fact that the mosque, exceptionally, was built not of cloisonné but of finely-cut ashlar.

The probably Albanian-born convert Yahyâ Paşa, who sponsored the building, was a successful military governor. He was also the son-in-law of Bâyezîd II, which may explain his confidently ambitious patronage. Passing away in Edirne in 1509, he had his body brought to Skopje in order to be buried next to his mosque.²⁰ Unfortunately, the monument lost its prominent dome as a result of the Habsburg invasion of 1689/90. It was consequently replaced with a rather unseemly, if architectonically remarkable, pyramidal roof. The mosque of Yahyâ Paşa remains an interesting monument for its ornamentation: in the portico are found some of the best examples of stalactite/honeycomb ornament (*mukarnas*) in the region and lavish epigraphs using calligraphy [ill. 12].

In Bitola, the so-called İshâkiye, sponsored by the *kadı* İshâk Efendi/Çelebi (d. 1512/3) in 1506/7,²¹ is traditionally seen as that city's most prominent Muslim house of worship. Here, the ambition of the İshâkiye's patron was not expressed in its ornamentation, which cannot rival contemporary buildings in Skopje, but in its large dome (14.5m in diameter at a height of 26m) and a minaret around 45m tall.²² While superseded by those of the Yahyâ Paşa mosque in Skopje, on whose original architecture it may have been modelled, the İshâkiye's minaret and dome, resting not on pendentives but on squinches, still belong to the most ambitious of their type in the Balkans.

The background to this remarkable enterprise in a town that had thus far largely lacked a monumental Islamic infrastructure is likely to be sought in Bitola's demographic growth in the previous decades. Both its population and its Muslim community double between 1467/8 and 1519, at which point tax registers indicate a figure of maybe around 4,500 inhabitants (72% Muslims).²³ This rapid development had actually made Bitola an equal to Skopje in terms of population;²⁴ yet virtually all of the area's truly remarkable monuments were built in the (demographically stagnating) city on the Vardar. The İshâkiye must have been built in recognition of Bitola's growth and the perceived necessity of a more iconic monument, confirming the town's rise to an Islamic centre of regional importance. While the *paşas* and *beğs* preferred to build in Skopje, which by 1500 had become an architectural showcase for the region, in the case of the Bitola İshâkiye a *kadı*, himself the son of a *kadı*, assumed responsibility to correct that discrepancy.²⁵

II.3. Prominent question marks: İmâret Câmii in Ohrid and Burmalı Câmî in Skopje

These two buildings also count among the earliest examples of Friday mosques in Macedonia built by non-sultanic patrons. Unfortunately, neither has survived the test of time. The former was built at

¹⁹ Cf. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı mimârî eserleri*, III. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1981, p. 270.

²⁰ For a detailed biography of Yahyâ Paşa, see Hedda Reindl, *Männer um Bâyezîd: eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bâyezîds II. (1481 - 1512)*. Berlin: Schwarz, 1983, pp. 336-45.

²¹ Mudžaid Asimov, "Bitolski arapski zapisi od XVI vek," in: *Bitola niz vekovite*, IV (2001), pp. 33-42, p. 36 for the tombstone inscription (which names him İshâk Çelebi, son of İshâ) and a minor inscription from 1843/4 on the mosque's minaret; p. 37 for the building inscription.

²² Cf. Krum Tomovski, "Džamii vo Bitola," in: *Godišen zbornik na Tehničkiot Fakultet* 1956/7 (1957), pp. 29-60, cit. p. 38.

²³ Sokolowski, "Développement," p. 89.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 83.

²⁵ Unlike the other three mosques of Bitola discussed in this paper, the İshâkiye continues to serve the city's Muslim community. The closed and roofed porch we see today is due to a later intervention. Initially, the building had a semi-open three-bay portico, as most other mosques of this type. The *vakfiye* of İshâk Çelebi is published in Kaleşi, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti*, pp. 89-110.

some point in the late fifteenth century on the site of a large medieval church previously converted to function as a mosque.²⁶ Its portico, still visible in the nineteenth century, when the so-called *İmâret Câmii* (a.k.a. *Hünkâr Câmii*)²⁷ was already ruined, made use of spoliated columns and capitals, perhaps originating from the former church on site.²⁸ According to the Ottoman traveller Evliyâ Çelebi, who visited Ohrid in 1670, shortly before the town was hit by a devastating earthquake, a plate over the portal's lintel featured a calligraphic inscription of the Islamic profession of faith, or *şehâdet* ("there is no god but God and Muhammad is his messenger"). He moreover specified the inscription to be in the (large-lettered) *celî* style of calligraphy.²⁹ This traveller also related that the *İmâret Câmii* had another attraction: as the mosque's elevated location must have indeed made problematic water supply – a requisite for the mandatory ablution before prayers – an engineer had been hired to bore a channel through the rocks and, using water wheels, bring up water from the lake.³⁰ The well-preserved ruins of this mosque, which had once featured a dome on pendentives, were demolished as recently as 2001. Harshly criticized by international commentators,³¹ the mosque's ruins had to make place for the speculative reconstruction of the medieval church of St Panteleimon, on whose site the mosque had been built.

Unfortunately, little conclusive research has been conducted on the so-called *Burmali Câmi*, once located just behind Skopje's landmark stone bridge [ill. 7]. It was demolished in 1925 in order to make place for the Officers' Club and the 'King Peter Square (the later 'Macedonia Square', or *Plošad Makedonija*). Built in cloisonné masonry, its Arabic inscription yielded the date 1495 and credited its construction to a certain Mehmed Beğ.³² Though not stated on the inscription, he appears to have belonged to the then influential *Karlı-zâde* (formerly Tocco) family.³³ Aside from the typical five-bayed portico, old photographs show a curious architecture: three lead-covered tunnel vaults appear to have divided the interior into naves of the same height. This unprecedented form most likely reflected a rebuilding in the wake of the 1689 catastrophe, not its fifteenth-century appearance. The original

²⁶ As whitewash detected over the excavated remains of the medieval frescoes seem to prove, that church was first converted into a mosque and then demolished in order to be replaced by a mosque built *ex novo*. See Dimče Kočo, "Clement's monastery 'Sv. Pantelejmon' and the excavations at 'Imaret' in Ohrid," in: *Climent of Ohrid*. Ed. Ljube Isaiev. Skopje: Makedonska Knjiga, 1968, pp. 63-97, cit. p. 80. The circumstances under which the church was converted and eventually demolished are not entirely clear. For a mosque, the exposed and isolated site far from the Muslim quarters of town, which (at least at some point) tended to be located outside the walls in the lower town, is somewhat unusual.

²⁷ The mosque is traditionally connected to a certain Yûsuf/Sinân Çelebi, who was buried in 1493 next to the mosque. However, his 1491 *vakfiye* (published in Kaleši, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti*, pp. 111-41) does not actually mention a mosque. It is likely that the mosque acquired its name from the soup kitchen (*imâret* in late Ottoman Turkish) which he had built next to it. Its other name might refer to a sultanic sponsorship of its conversion or rebuilding as an Ottoman structure.

²⁸ Johann Georg von Hahn, *Reise durch die Gebiete des Drin und Wardar, im Auftrage der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften unternommen im Jahre 1863*. Vienna: Kaiserlich-Königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1867, p. 121.

²⁹ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VIII. Eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, and Robert Dankoff. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003, p. 328. The same formula carved onto a marble plate found on a contemporary mosque in the Macedonian town of Serres, the Mehmed Beğ Câmi (1492). For this mosque and the inscription, see Heath Lowry, *The shaping of the Ottoman Balkans: 1350-1500; the conquest, settlement & infrastructural development of Northern Greece*. Istanbul: Bahçeşehir Univ., 2010, p. 158.

³⁰ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VIII, p. 330.

³¹ See Gianclaudio Macchiarella et al. *Cultural Heritage in South-East Europe: Macedonia (Former Yugoslav Republic of): mission report, 14-23 November 2004*. Venice: UNESCO, 2005, p. 43: "The building is the result of an almost total and arbitrary reconstruction of St. Clement's Byzantine church ... The intervention, understandable under the patriotic fervour of Macedonian nationalism and devotion to St. Clement's thaumaturgical figure, cannot be justified either from a scientific point of view or in relation to international standards - clearly defined by international restoration charts."

³² For this inscription, cf. Gliša Elezović, "Turski Spomenici u Skoplju [II]," in: *Glasnik skopskog naučnog društva*, II (1929), pp. 243-61, cit. p. 252.

³³ On this family see also note 39.

building is probably best imagined as a mosque with a single dome on pendentives – much like the Mustafâ Paşa Câmiî. The mosque's epithet *burmalı* referred to its trademark: a spiralled minaret.

III. THE HIGH OTTOMAN PERIOD: PINNACLE OF EMPIRE

A third wave of remarkable monuments on Macedonian soil dates from the second half of the sixteenth century. After such important conquests as Buda and Baghdad, the Ottoman Empire failed to push its limits significantly further. Now began a period characterized by introspection and consolidation – in administration and religion as well as the arts.³⁴ For Skopje, far from the battlefields, the middle decades of the sixteenth century witnessed a demographic explosion. From 1529 to 1569 its population grew from what may have been around 4,000 inhabitants to possibly more than 10,000, around 80% of which were Muslim.³⁵ Nevertheless, the monuments dating from this period cannot compare with the large and iconic structures from the period of Bâyezîd II. Instead, places like Bitola, Štip, and Ohrid caught up.

III.1. A Pious Entrepreneur's Legacy: Kurşumlu Hân and Dükkâncık Mosque in Skopje

Interesting are certainly three edifices built in the late 1540s under the patronage of Muslihiddîn bin Abdülganî (a.k.a. Mü'ezzin Hoca "al-Ma'dinî"). Curiously, this man appears to have been both a *medrese*-trained scholar and an entrepreneur. The connection between his Arabic sobriquet ("the miner") and his also having built a mosque in a village in the area of the mining centre of Trepçë/Trepča cannot be incidental.³⁶ His patronymic may imply that he was a convert to Islam.³⁷ The volume of his patronage indicates that he must have been very affluent, perhaps as the result of his involvement with the mining industry – certainly not as a physical labourer but perhaps as a leaseholder or superintendent.

Like the mosques he built in Trepçë/Trepča and in Novi Pazar (Altın Alem Câmiî), the so-called Dükkâncık mosque he sponsored in Skopje has the rather unusual feature of a portico that consists of two rather than three or five bays, as was the standard. The twin-bayed portico seems to have been Muslihiddîn's signature aberration, so to say. His patronage was concentrated in a relative small area in the western Balkans.

Far more impressive is another edifice built by him the Skopje, the Kurşumlu (a.k.a. Kurşunlu) Hân [ill. 13-14]. It was probably called "lead-covered inn" because unlike Skopje's other *hân*s its roof was covered not with roof tiles, as today, but with (costly) lead. This is a massive two-storey structure set around an arcaded courtyard, as is typical for this type of buildings. The central entrance part of

³⁴ These developments are masterfully described in Gülru Necipoğlu, "A kanun for the state, a canon for the arts: the classical synthesis in Ottoman art and architecture during the Age of Süleyman," in: *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*. Ed. Gilles Veinstein. Paris: La Documentation Française, 1992, pp. 195-216.

³⁵ For these numbers, cf. Mehmet İnbaşı, "Osmanlı idaresinde Üsküb kazâsı (1455-1569)," Ph.D. dissertation, Atatürk Üniversitesi (Erzurum), 1995, p. 63. The population of Skopje in the last quarter of the sixteenth century thus roughly matched that of European towns like Dresden, Leipzig, or Bamberg. Cf. Jan De Vries, *European urbanization, 1500-1800*. London: Methuen & Co., 1984, pp. 272-3 (app. 1). In the Ottoman context, Skopje in the 1570s was still larger than Sofia, perhaps almost twice the size of Bitola, but already half that of Sarajevo, and three times smaller than the old Ottoman capital Edirne. For these numbers, cf. Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'Empire ottoman aux XVe et XVIe siècles," in: *Journal of the economic and social history of the Orient*, I/1 (1957), pp. 9-36, cit. p. 27.

³⁶ For these mines under Ottoman rule, see Robert Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im Osmanischen Reich*, I. Istanbul: Marmara Basımevi, 1943, pp. 151-2.

³⁷ This is at least suggested in Kaleši, *Najstariji vakufski dokumenti*, p. 222.

the fortress-like structure projects from its main body. This *hân* is one of the most impressive and best-preserved example of premodern secular architecture in the Balkans.³⁸

III.2. Mosque of Hüseyin Şâh Beğ and Mausoleum of Alî Beğ in Saraj

Another interesting monument, built a few years later, is the mosque of Hüseyin Şâh Beğ (1553/4, by inscription), located not in Skopje proper but in the village of Saraj on the Vardar along the road to Tetovo. Its nobly descended patron appears to have been the offspring of the Ottoman princess Hümâ Şâh Sultân and, on the father's side, a member of the Karli-zâde family (mentioned above).³⁹ The village later known as Saraj seems to have been founded by him. Hüseyin Şâh Beğ built there not only a mosque, but also a *medrese*, a bridge over the Vardar, and a mill, and had himself buried there in 1566/7. The very name of the village also suggests that there had once been located his palace, or *sarây*. Also Hüseyin Şâh's son Alî Beğ was buried in the mosque's cemetery in 1583, which may suggest that the family, or a branch of it, was to some extent based here in the vicinity of Skopje, the son probably installed as the manager (*mütevelli*) of his father's endowment (*vakf*).⁴⁰

The mosque is fairly typical single-domed mosque with flattened corners on the exterior underneath the dome, marking the location of the squinches in the interior. What is atypical is the size of the domed hexagonal mausoleum, which almost rivals the mosque, and, overall, the relative monumentality of both buildings in an essentially peripheral setting. The mosque is largely devoid of ornament, possibly the result of the events of 1689/90. *Mihrâb* and *minber* are modern fittings; some large but restrained *mukarnas*-type ornament is found below the dome and, in a smaller-scale and more intricate manner, under the minaret balcony.

III.3. Three Later Single-Domed Mosques in Bitola

In Bitola were built in this period two more large domed mosques: the Yeni Câmi (New Mosque) of 1553/4 by Mahmûd Efendi, and the Haydar Kadi mosque of 1561/2.⁴¹ Curiously, both mosques were again built by *kadis*, as Bitola's earliest preserved mosque, discussed above.⁴² Most interesting about the Yeni Câmi is perhaps how closely it follows plan and design of the earlier İshâkiye on the other side of the Dragor river; it is practically a downsized replica. Like at the İshâkiye the originally three-bayed porch was enlarged and closed in later centuries. Recent excavations on the site of the mosque have revealed that it was built on the site of a medieval church as well as an earlier mosque.⁴³ Unique in the Balkan context, Bitola's Yeni Câmi features a portal framed by faiences with cobalt blue and turquoise decorative patterns on white ground. Their arrangement framing the portal is absolutely unusual; the question over their date and provenance remains to be solved. While the walls of the Yeni Câmi are

³⁸ Like the stone bridge and the aqueduct, this building was once wrongly believed to be a pre-Ottoman work, though both the architecture and the sources leave no doubt about these structures' Ottoman provenance.

³⁹ This family was founded by a convert from the Tocco family (in the generation of Carlo II Tocco, hence "son of Carlo," Karli-zâde) which, originally from southern Italy, had come to rule western parts of Greece (the "despotate" of Epirus) in the fifteenth century. The historical data is far from conclusive. For the discussion so far, see Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküp*, pp. 138-42; Elezović, "Turski spomenici u Skoplju [II]," and Franz Babinger, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, I. Munich: Südosteuropa-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1962, pp. 370-7.

⁴⁰ For these inscriptions, see the sections in the works by Elezović and Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič cited in the preceding footnote.

⁴¹ Asimov, "Bitolski arapski zapisi od XVI vek," p. 39f.

⁴² The interesting anomaly of Bitola's major monuments having been built by *kadis* is stressed in Machiel Kiel, "Die Rolle des Kadi und der Ulema als Förderer der Baukunst in den Provinzzentren des Osmanischen Reiches," in: *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte: Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich*, II. Ed. Sabine Prätör & Christoph K. Neumann. Istanbul: Simurg, 2002, pp. 569-601.

⁴³ Robert Mihajlovski, "Bitolskata Jeni džamija vo svetlinata na najnovite arheološki otkritija," in: *Patrimonium*, II/3-6 (2009), pp. 183-8.

again built employing the cloisonné technique, as did its model the Ishâkiye, the smaller Haydar Kadı mosque is built of bands of brick and stone. We again see the flattened corners, a three-bay portico, and a single dome.

Occasionally noted is the similarity between the Haydar Kadı mosque and the probably slightly later mosque of Hüsâmeddîn Paşa in Štip.⁴⁴ The latter was built on an exposed hilltop location at an unspecified date, probably at the end of the 1560s; it lacks an inscription. While at first sight, Štip's only domed mosque appears like a typical Ottoman mosque of the period (if without its minaret, which has been truncated), it is in fact unusually colourful. The patron had his mosque built of yellowish stone quarried in northeast Macedonia; the portico's arches, the central one slightly raised in order to accentuate the entrance section, feature alternating stones in red and pale. Of the four columns supporting the porch, it is noteworthy that three are of white and one is of green marble – a material then much prized due its increased scarcity. The central columns' capitals feature flat 'honeycomb' ornament and the other ones chevrons. Apparently some thought went into these arrangements. Of an unusual shape is also the semi-decagonal *mihirâb* projection on the south-eastern wall (facing Mecca).

The location of the mosque on an exposed hilltop across the river from the then centre of Štip, sprawling in the plain below the abandoned fortress, marks the city's southward expansion. It became the nucleus of a new quarter in this part of town after Štip had experienced a considerable increase of its Muslim population, which by mid-century had become the settlement's majority.⁴⁵ Deliberate also seems to have been its location next to the mausoleum of the dervish saint Muhyiddîn Baba, after whom also the mosque is sometimes locally called.⁴⁶

III.4. The Caravanserai at Štip and Related Buildings

While little of note was built in Skopje and Bitola after ca. 1575, much was still in store for Štip and, to a lesser extent, Ohrid. After the completion of the stately mosque just discussed, Štip received a sudden boost of development in the 1580s due to the collaborative effort of the Štip-born Abdülkerîm Efendi (d. 1605/6, a.k.a. [Küçük] Emîr Sultân and/or simply İstibî, i.e. "of Štip") and the fabulously wealthy Ottoman military governor Koca Sinân Paşa (d. 1595) – an Albanian born in a village halfway between Skopje and Prishtina.⁴⁷ Şeyh Abdülkerîm Efendi had made a steep career in Istanbul, where he was a popular preacher (*vâiz*) at the exalted Süleymâniye mosque – a very prestigious and influential post.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ The fundamental study of the mosque at Štip is Machiel Kiel, "Some little-known monuments of Ottoman Turkish architecture in the Macedonian province: Štip, Kumanovo, Prilep, Strumitsa," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, IV/V (1976), pp. 153-96, reprinted as art. 8 in his more widely available *Studies on the Ottoman architecture of the Balkans*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1990.

⁴⁵ The data provided by Sokoloski ("Développement," pp. 98-9) suggests a population of just over ca 2,300 (35% Muslim) in 1530 and a population of just below 4,000 (59%) in 1573. The number of Muslims in Štip tripled in this period.

⁴⁶ According to legend, the mosque was built on the site of the church of St Elijah (Sv. Ilija). It is visited by Štip's Christians annually on August 2, the day of St Elijah. See Elizabeta Koneska, *Zaедnični svetilišta = Shared shrines*. Skopje: Makedonski Centar za Fotografija, 2009, n. p.

⁴⁷ The Ottoman traveller Âşık Mehmed (cf. his *Menâzırü'l-avâlim*. Ed. Mahmut Ak. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, p. 1004) saw in Štip in 1590 a building he refers to as a "ribât-ı 'âlî," which in all probability was the *kervansarây* built by Abdülkerîm Efendi and Sinân Paşa (see below), in which case it would have been built prior to this date. Evliyâ Çelebi at least reports no comparably exalted building in Štip serving the needs of travellers.

⁴⁸ For the increased popularity of preachers in Istanbul around 1600, and Abdülkerîm Efendi specifically, see Baki Tezcan, *The second Ottoman Empire: political and social transformation in the early modern world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 121-5.

In his name, though with (probably considerable) contributions by Sinân Paşa, was built in Štip a vast caravanserai, a bathhouse, a *bezzâzistân* (or *bedesten*), a dervish convent (*tekke*), one or two bridges, and a soup kitchen providing free food for gentleman and pauper alike. Of these buildings only the *bezzâzistân* has survived. It is a bulky three-spaced building presently serving as an exhibition space.

However, most remarkable must have been the caravanserai: it was described by Evliyâ Çelebi in 1662 as a fortress-like two-storied structure covered with lead. Fifty cells for travellers staying overnight (free of charge) were located on both floors. They were set around a courtyard large enough for “1000 camels, horses, or mules” – certainly an exaggeration. In the centre of the courtyard were located a pool and a *mescid*. The caravanserai, the reported shape of which actually reminds more of a *hân*, was located outside the bazaar, from which it was separated by a large square (*meydân*). In the centre of this cobble-stoned square (which must have been located in the eastern part of town, north of the river) was a fountain pool with running water, serving man and animal alike.⁴⁹

III.5. The *Medrese* of Siyâvuş Paşa in Ohrid

Probably roughly around the same time, that is, around 1590, was built in Ohrid, around then a town of ca. 2,500-3000, equally divided between non-Muslims and Muslims,⁵⁰ a *medrese* under the patronage of the three-time grand vizier Siyâvuş Paşa (d. 1601/2).⁵¹ The colophons of two manuscripts in the collection of National and University Library at Skopje, which were produced at that *medrese* in the 1640s suggest that the institution had an active scriptorium.⁵²

A rather detailed description of the *medrese*'s architecture is provided once more by Evliyâ Çelebi, who saw it in 1670 and found it remarkable. The building was located on the lakeshore, opposite the Hacı Kâsım mosque (not extant).⁵³ It was evidently dominating enough to have the whole quarter around it named after it. The building itself, surrounded by pleasant gardens, was an enclosed

⁴⁹ It has not been established when the caravanserai and the other Ottoman buildings of Štip were demolished, but it may have happened as early as during the invasion by the ‘Holy League’ in 1689.

⁵⁰ Machiel Kiel, “Okhri,” in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [2], VIII. Leiden: Brill, 1995, pp. 164-8, cit. p. 165.

⁵¹ For the career of this man, a native of Hungary or Croatia, as well as for a refutation of the hypothesis that this building may never have existed (cf. Kiel, “Okhri,” p. 166), see Maksimilijan Hartmut [Maximilian Hartmuth], “Otomanskata arhitektura vo Makedonija: kritički osvrt kon najvažnite spomenici od periodot meĝu XV i XIX vek,” in: *Makedonija, mileniumski kulturno-istoriski fakti*, IV. Eds. Srgjan Kerim & Jovan Donev. Skopje: Media Print Makedonija, 2013, pp. 2051-2092, here p. 2088f. The *medrese* is not mentioned in the *defter* of 1583 (cf. Kiel, “Okhri,” p. 166), which might suggest that it was built after that date.

⁵² These manuscripts (interestingly, on philological rather than theological subjects) are mentioned in Marijana Kavčić, “Arabic manuscripts of the National and University Library ‘St. Kliment Ohridski’, Skopje, Republic of Macedonia,” in: *From codicology to technology: Islamic manuscripts and their place in scholarship*. Eds. Stefanie Brinkmann & Beate Wiesmüller. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2009, pp. 175-95, cit. p. 183. Fehim Bajraktarević (“Turski spomenici u Ohridu,” in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, VI-VII [1957], pp. 111-35, cit. p. 128) found an “ulica Kodža Sijavuš-pašine medrese” in a register of streets in Ohrid. The 1640s date of the manuscripts also proves that its patron was indeed the mentioned Siyâvuş Paşa, not a later namesake (cf. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i ‘Osmânî*. Ed. Nuri Akbayan & Ali Kahraman. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1996, p. 1517f.).

⁵³ It is unclear when this mosque, which vanished at some point in the twentieth century, was built, but it was already mentioned in the 1583 *defter* (cf. Kiel, “Okhri,” p. 166), thus providing this project’s *terminus ante quem*. Bajraktarević still saw it in 1934 (cf. his “Turski spomenici,” p. 114) and called it “allegedly the oldest of Ohrid’s preserved mosques,” which means that it would predate the İmâret Câmii. Old photographs (cf. Zoran Pavlov, “Makedonya'da tek kubbeli camiler,” Ph.D. dissertation, Gazi University (Ankara), 2001, plates CI, CII) show a single-domed mosque that initially had a three-bay portico. The architecture may well date from the time of Bâyezîd II (r. 1481-1512), but is improbable to be earlier. The unusually high and many-sided drum reminds one of the Alî Paşa mosque, similarly in Ohrid, and may point to a major intervention during the nineteenth century.

courtyard around which were located the cells of the students.⁵⁴ The resolve to erect in Ohrid a *medrese*, as opposed to any other type of building must be taken as a reflection of trends at the end of the sixteenth century. The focus of monumental patronage was shifting from complexes centred on Friday mosques to *medrese*-centred ones, often with prominent water dispensers and mausoleums.⁵⁵

IV. THE LATER OTTOMAN CENTURIES

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constitute a gap in Ottoman Macedonia's architectural history. The period 1645 and 1739 was marred by violent conflicts between the Ottomans, the Habsburgs, and Venice. The invasion of Macedonia by the 'Holy League' in 1689/90 saw Skopje and Štip set ablaze.⁵⁶ Building in this period often meant rebuilding.⁵⁷ In Skopje, monumental structures were staggeringly reconstructed, often in simplified forms. There, the most interesting preserved new building of the eighteenth century seems to be a hexagonal domed mausoleum (*türbe*) of the 'open' type. It was commissioned by an Ottoman bureaucrat for his wife and daughter, who must have died in Skopje in 1774/5 as a result of an accident or disease, probably while in transit.⁵⁸ For this representative of the central government, it must have seemed fitting to attach this *türbe* to Skopje's only mosque built by a sultan. Some low-relief ornament on the structure, of which there may have been more once, shows the flowery 'Baroque' style of Istanbul in that period.

The construction of more remarkable edifices eventually resumes in the nineteenth century. It was then that a number of regional leaders who acted in compact areas of power without much interference engaged in the mediation of their power position through architectural projects.⁵⁹ This was due to a number of factors that helped these individuals establish local power-bases: economic potency (made possible through a transformation of the traditional land regime), the successful crafting of alliances, and the ability to efficiently curb crime and collect taxes.

IV.1. Harabâtî Baba Tekyesi and Alaca Câmi at Tetovo

Hıfzı Paşa of Skopje and his brother Abdurrahman Paşa of Tetovo were members of a family that appears to have come to Macedonia from neighbouring northern Albania. Under (Koca) Receb Paşa, the father of the aforementioned siblings, this family managed to establish itself as the most powerful in Tetovo in the second half of the eighteenth century. In Tetovo and Skopje there are preserved three remarkable monuments built under this family's patronage. Probably at the end of the eighteenth century (with interventions during the first half of the following century), Receb Paşa built in Tetovo a large *tekye* (or *tekke*) complex dedicated to the (*bektâşî*) dervish saint Sersem Alî Baba, though it later became known as the Harabâtî Baba Tekyesi [ill. 15]. The complex, perhaps the most interesting in the region, is surrounded by high walls of stone. In the garden-like interior is preserved a large number of mostly timber-built structures that have served the functions of this institution: cells for the dervishes,

⁵⁴ *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VIII, p. 329.

⁵⁵ Siyâvuş Paşa's major foundation was a grand caravanserai (plus mosque) from the 1580s in the Bulgarian town of Harmanlı. In 1590 he commissioned a *medrese* to be erected in Istanbul in commemoration of his recently deceased royal wife Fâtîma Sultân from the royal head architect Dâvûd Ağa, whom Siyâvuş Paşa had installed in this post after Mi'mâr Sinân's death in 1588 (see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 506-7, 556.) It is probable that Siyâvuş also had Dâvûd Ağa plan his *medrese* at Ohrid.

⁵⁶ On this campaign, see most recently Nebojša Đokić, "Ratne operacije u južnoj i staroj Srbiji i Mačedoniji 1689-1690. godine," in: *Leskovački zbornik*, 48 (2008), pp. 49-78.

⁵⁷ For a few documented interventions to older buildings, see Hartmuth, "Otomanskata arhitektura," p. 2072f.

⁵⁸ Kumbaracı-Bogoyeviç, *Üsküp*, p. 56f.; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i 'Osmânî*, p. 275f.

⁵⁹ For structural and typological shifts in architectural patronage in the Ottoman Balkans in general, see Maximilian Hartmuth, "The history of centre-periphery relations as a history of style in Ottoman provincial architecture," in: *Centres and peripheries in Ottoman architecture* (cf. note 15), pp. 14-25.

guestrooms, ritual spaces, a refectory, etc. Several buildings' façades and interiors are embellished with decorative painting and woodcarving in the period style. The (undated) inscription on the fountain makes clear that all this was possible thanks to the munificence of Receb Paşa, who is also buried within the complex.⁶⁰

His son Abdurrahman Paşa bequeathed to Tetovo another unique structure, widely known beyond this region as Alaca Câmi or "coloured mosque" [ill. 16]. A lengthy inscription at the entrance dates its completion to 1833/4. Like no other building it illustrates the individualism of this period on one hand, the increased weight now given to the gaudy decoration of exteriors on the other. On the interior, which is entirely covered with murals, we find, among other things, colourful representations of cities and monuments. Interestingly, this mosque, which appears to have re-used remains of an older structure on site (such as the stone minaret), has a wooden dome on the interior concealed by a roof on the outside. As otherwise no expenses seem to have been spared, this must have been a deliberate choice.⁶¹ The patron may have thought that building a mosque with a dome were too 'provocative' in light of his standing.

IV.2. The Bardovci 'Manor' in the Outskirts of Skopje

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, Abdurrahman Paşa's brothers Hıfzı and Hasan Paşa finally managed to extend their family's influence over the entire northern half of the present-day Republic of Macedonia and adjacent territories. This also included the city of Skopje, where Hıfzı Paşa managed to establish himself between at least 1814/5⁶² and 1845, when he was murdered.

Of his buildings in Skopje have survived the remains of a residential complex in the suburb of Bardovci, known as the *konak* or *çiftlik* of Hıfzı Paşa [ill. 17]. The preservation of such complexes is very rare, whereby it represents a prime historical artefact.⁶³ Like no other building it enlightens us about the lifestyle and 'cosmos' of a provincial elite family. Surrounded by stone walls with eight towers, this complex is more than a mere *konak*. Hıfzı Paşa was evidently not only willing to display his wealth but also to defend it. The enceinte is composed of three courtyard spaces, one of which contains the stables. The central courtyard is entered through the main entrance. It houses the *selâmlık*, in which Hıfzı would have received visitors, as well as a forge, a hearth, and spaces for the guards and a gatekeeper at the entrance. The third space contains another residential structure (the 'private' *haremlık*), a kitchen, a well, places for the servants, and a garden. *Selâmlık* and *haremlık* are connected through a tower (*kulle*), which served as the complex's treasury and armoury. Channels, spanned by wooden bridges, led water through the *haremlık* courtyard from the gardens outside the walls.

The architecture of the residential structures, well-documented in drawings by an enthusiastic architect from Belgrade half a century ago, betrays an acquaintance with contemporary trends in Istanbul.⁶⁴ They are symmetrical along a central axis, feature curved oriels on the first of the two floors, and have an oval room in the centre. This was a very popular layout in mid-nineteenth century

⁶⁰ On this complex, see e.g. Mehmet İbrahimgil, "Kalkandelen'deki Harabâtî Baba (Sersem Ali Baba) Bektâşî Tekkesi," in: *Millî Kültür*, XLIX (1985), pp. 55-60.

⁶¹ The most detailed study of this building is Mehmet İbrahimgil, "Kalkandelen (Tetovo) Alaca-Paşa Camii," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XXVI (1997), pp. 249-66.

⁶² This is the date given by Salih Asim (*Istorija na Skopje i negovata okolina* [1932]. Tr. Dragi Ćorgiev. Skopje: Muzej na grad Skopje, 2005, p. 19) for an intervention to Skopje's clock tower, which according to this author happened "during the time of Alî Hıfzı Paşa."

⁶³ The only comparable example I am aware of is the complex known as "Aguševi konaci" in the village of Mogilica near Smoljan in the Bulgarian Rhodopes. The "kula" of Hüseyin Paşa of Gradačac (northern Bosnia) falls into the same category.

⁶⁴ Branislav Kojić, "Konaci i çiftlik Avzi-paše u Bardovcu kod Skoplja," in: *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture*, IV (1955), pp. 223-42.

Istanbul, from where it was also exported to vibrant Balkan locales like Plovdiv. The decoration of surfaces and the fittings of Hıfzı Paşa's twin *konaks* follow the Baroque-influenced elite style of the period, shared across the confessional divide. It is also known that wooden interiors were commissioned from a celebrated wood-carver of the period, Petre Filipović (a.k.a. 'Garkata') from Gari near Debar, whose speciality were iconostases.⁶⁵

IV.3. Ohrid under Celâlüddîn Beğ

In Ohrid, the 'man in charge' from the early nineteenth century till 1830, when he was exiled and his properties confiscated, was Celâlüddîn Beğ. Like his brother Mustafa Paşa (who, conveniently, controlled nearby Shkodër), Celâlüddîn was the great grandson of Gâzî Mehmed Paşa (d. 1779/80), who had established the hegemony of his family, the Buşatlı, over northern Albania. Celâlüddîn seems to have taken control over Ohrid from his father, Âsaf Ahmed Paşa, who had begun a career at the palace in Istanbul but was eventually appointed administrator (*mutasârrıf*) of Ohrid, probably upon his request.⁶⁶

Unfortunately for Ohrid, Celâlüddîn did not bequeath to this town an iconic monument of the scope of his ancestor Mehmed Paşa's Kurşumlu Câmiî of (1773/4) in Shkodër;⁶⁷ he did engage in some construction activity, however. Ohrid's fortifications were strengthened, apparently by use of forced labour.⁶⁸ As a good deed, duly commemorated on a lengthy and poetic fountain inscription that seems to have disappeared in recent years, he renovated the town's water supply and restored a number of dysfunctional fountains (*çeşme*), thus solving a problem that had plagued the city since at least the seventeenth century.⁶⁹ Celâlüddîn commissioned the Istanbul-born poet Süleymân Fehîm to compose a poetic inscription for the fountain (1821/2) on Ohrid's square with the plane tree (*çınar*), probably making sure that the poet made clear in the inscription (which even invoked Alexander the Great) that he, "Mîr Celâlüddîn," was the son of a *vezîr*.⁷⁰

In 1810 he also began building a new palace,⁷¹ probably the building still standing fifty years later, when an interesting description of the complex then inhabited by Celâlüddîn's youngest of formerly three wives was provided by an Austrian consul. Most curiously, according to this account, antique female statues' heads were set on either side of the entrance portal. In the courtyard was moreover placed a marble block, possibly the base of an altar, with tunica-wearing female figures joining hands.⁷² Unfortunately, this testimony to Celâlüddîn's appropriation of Ohrid's Antique heritage has not survived. More than an expression of antiquarianism, the female heads at the entrance may have functioned as apotropaic device, that is to say, they continued a medieval Christian

⁶⁵ Kumbaracı-Bogoyeviç, *Üsküp*, p. 424f.; Dimitar Ćornakov, *Petre Garkata*. Skopje: Ćurgă, 1998, p. 16; Kojić, "Konaci."

⁶⁶ Cf. the (sometimes contradictory, but not inconsolable) data presented by Theodor A. Ippen, *Skutari und die nordalbanische Küstenebene*. Sarajevo: Kajan, 1907, p. 25f.; Bajraktarević, "Turski spomenici," p. 112, 126; Michael Ursinus, "In search of the *homo ottomanicus*: the cases of Nikola Pop Stefanoff and Sheykh Shemsuddin from Ottoman Macedonia (ca. 1780-1840)," in: *Figures anonymes, figures d'élite: pour une anatomie de l'homo ottomanicus*. Eds. Meropi Anastassiadou & Bernard Heyberger. Istanbul: ISIS, 1999, pp. 21-34, cit. p. 26f.; Halil İnalçık, "Arnawutluk [6.- History]," in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I. Leiden: Brill, 1986, pp. 653-8); Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i 'Osmânî*, p. 325, 926, 1050, 1592, the latter unfortunately without an entry on Celâlüddîn Beğ.

⁶⁷ For this remarkable monument, see Machiel Kiel, *Ottoman architecture in Albania, 1385-1912*. Istanbul: IRCICA, 1990, pp. 231-3.

⁶⁸ Kiel, "Okhri," p. 167.

⁶⁹ Evliyâ Çelebi (*Seyâhatnâme*, VIII, p. 329) noted that most of Ohrid's fountains were not functioning.

⁷⁰ Semavi Eyice, "Ohri'nin Türk devrine ait eserleri," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VI (1956), 137-45, cit. p. 144 (transcription).

⁷¹ Cf. Ursinus, "In search of the *Homo Ottomanicus*," p. 27.

⁷² Hahn, *Reise*, p. 116.

superstition according to which the figural representations left from pagan Antiquity helped avert calamities.⁷³

IV.4. Later Ottoman Bitola: Outpost of Empire

The story of Bitola in this period was somewhat different. While also here some administrative functions were 'outsourced' to local power-holders, the central authority was much more present. In the eighteenth century Bitola was the occasional residence of the *vâlî* of Rumelia, that is, the highest administrative representative of the capital in the European provinces. There was also a local official named *kaymakâm* to locally represent the interests of the Rumelian *vâlî*, whose official seat was Sofia. By 1800 it had become an increasingly important function of the *vâlî* to control the often hardly dependable regional power-holders, like the famous Alî Paşa of İōannina or some of the aforementioned.

Around 1830 it was from Bitola that the Rumelian *vâlî* and concomitant grand vizier Reşîd Paşa launched the campaigns to subdue the disloyal lords of Shkodër, Ohrid, and even Bosnia. As a sign of goodwill toward the local Christians, he then also permitted the construction of a large church that year; he even donated some money toward its construction, possibly from the booty he had amassed subduing the provincial strongmen (including the aforementioned Celâlüddîn Beğ of Ohrid). In 1836 Bitola was finally promoted to being the official administrative capital of Rumelia, which resulted in many investments in its infrastructure: the town's sewage system was improved, some streets were cobbled, and military hospitals, barracks, and a prison were built. A new residential-administrative complex for the *vâlî* had already been completed in 1831, after an old one from 1814 had burned down.⁷⁴

These developments laid the foundation for Bitola's becoming a 'city of consuls' around the turn of the century. Its increasingly Europeanized architectural fabric was exemplified by the former Hamîdiye Street, the present Širok Sokak, a European type High Street lined with elegant buildings.

IV.5. Late Ottoman Skopje: A Metropolis Regenerated

In 1839 began a period of modernization known as the *Tanzîmât* ("reordering"). Men like Hıfzı Paşa of Skopje, Abdurrahman Paşa and Receb Paşa of Tetovo, or Celâlüddîn Beğ of Ohrid had no place in this reinvigorated, centralist empire. Starting from the 1860s, Skopje began to benefit from an updated infrastructure of education, administration, and communication, with functions modelled on European examples.⁷⁵ Highly significant for Skopje was also its incorporation into a rapidly developing railway network, which greatly helped it reassume its role as a major regional centre. While in 1873 trains began only to commute between Skopje and Thessaloniki, in 1888 was made the connection with the Serbian railway network. This facilitated fast and uninterrupted travel between Macedonia and Central Europe via Serbia. Probably not coincidentally, it was in the same year that Skopje was

⁷³ See Cyril Mango, "Antique statuary and the Byzantine beholder," in: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVII (1963), pp. 53-75; see also Oya Pancaroğlu, "The itinerant dragon-slayer: forging paths of image and identity in Medieval Anatolia," in: *Gesta*, XLIII/2 (2004), pp. 151-164.

⁷⁴ Michael Ursinus, *Regionale Reformen im Osmanischen Reich am Vorabend der Tanzimat: Reformen der rumelischen Provinzialgouverneure im Gerichtssprengel von Manastir (Bitola) zur Zeit der Herrschaft Sultan Mahmuds II. (1808-39)*. Berlin: Schwarz, 1982, pp. 138-152; Gergana Georgieva, "Administrative structure and government of Rumelia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the functions and activities of the *vali* of Rumelia," in: *Ottoman rule and the Balkans, 1760-1850: conflict, transformation, adaptation*. Eds. Antonis Anastasopoulos & Elias Kolovos. Rethymno: University of Crete, 2007, pp. 3-19, esp. pp. 12-5. Bernard Lory, "The vizier's dream: 'seeing St. Dimitar' in Ottoman Bitola," in: *History and Anthropology*, XX/3 (2009), pp. 309-16.

⁷⁵ For examples of such buildings, see Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküp*, pp. 408-16.

upgraded to become the administrative capital of the Kosovo province (*vilâyet*), in which it already was the biggest town.⁷⁶

The fact that Skopje's railway station was built across the river from the city's traditional centre helped develop that part of town, which houses the modern-day centre. The present Makedonska Street connected the railway station with the old centre across the bridge. Muslim refugees that had come to Macedonia from 'liberated' Serbia and Bosnia were another factor in the city's growth and expansion south of the river. In 1880 their number amounted to around 8,000 in the district (*kazâ*) of Skopje, or more than 10% of that administrative unit's population.⁷⁷ Just south of the river Vardar was built a neighbourhood to accommodate these refugees: it is still known as "Madžir Maalo," a corruption of the Turkish *muhacir/macir mahallesi* (refugees' quarter). The fact that this state-planned neighbourhood was built on an orthogonal grid exemplifies the extent to which European ideals had permeated Ottoman administrative thinking by that time.

The new quarter also received a new mosque, sponsored by the *mutasarrıf* of the Skopje *sâncak*, Fâik Paşa. Damaged in the 1963 earthquake and eventually demolished in 1989, the mosque followed the conventional plan of a cubic structure with a hemispherical dome and a portico, flanked by a slender minaret; only now the traditional pointed arches are replaced by semicircular ones.⁷⁸ On the whole, however, the construction of mosques, let alone monumental ones, had become rare. The face of urban late Ottoman Macedonia was characterized by state-sponsored multi-storey infrastructural buildings and representative mixed-use buildings in the international style of the turn-of-the-century.

New were also the clock-towers rising in many a Macedonian town following the lifting of the restrictions on church construction. This new demand, accelerated by newly wealthy Christian elites, gave rise to a new type of builder up to this task. In the Western Balkans this type was represented by the Macedonian-born Andreja Damjanov and his *tayfa* (team). Their buildings were wildly eclectic, mixing the Byzantine with the Baroque and other occidental stimuli. The monastery church of Sveti Joakim Osogovski, completed in 1851 near Kriva Palanka, with its arcaded porch with bays surmounted by lead-covered cupolas on octagonal drums shows that he was also no foreigner to the country's Ottoman tradition.

CONCLUSION

Considering the numerous structural changes occurring throughout this long period, it is hardly warranted to continue to treat these five centuries as one monolith ('the Ottoman period'). This is not least exemplified by the different contexts of architectural production throughout this period, which gave rise to buildings very different in form and function.

The foundations of an Ottoman architectural tradition were laid in the 1430s, when the Ottoman state was still different from what it became decades later. This is maybe best demonstrated by the fifteenth-century development of Skopje, which was to a considerable extent engineered by several generations of a single family operating in the Western Balkans. The functions of the buildings they sponsored were indicative of their situation as an outpost of culture and trade on the warring frontier.

⁷⁶ See Fikret Adanır, "Skopje: Eine Balkan-Hauptstadt," in: *Hauptstädte in Südosteuropa: Geschichte - Funktion - Nationale Symbolkraft*. Ed. Harald Heppner. Vienna: Böhlau, 1994, pp. 149-70, cit. p. 167.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Osmanlı arşiv belgelerinde Kosova vilayeti = Vilajeti i Kosovës në dukumentet arkivore Osmane*. Ed. H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu. İstanbul: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2007, p. 333.

⁷⁸ For this building, see Kumbaracı-Bogoyevič, *Üsküp*, pp. 210-3.

The monuments from around 1500 – chiefly the congregational mosques built by non-sultanic patrons – are very different already. They are examples of the art of Istanbul, the capital of an increasingly centralized empire rather than a polycentric late medieval principality, and the place where these patrons had received their formation (even if they hailed, as they often did, from the Balkans). Both in terms of these monuments' architecture and their ornamentation, high levels of sophistication were achieved. These trends continue throughout the sixteenth century, at the end of which the monumental infrastructural development of Macedonian cities reached a peak not to be surpassed until the nineteenth century.

The two following centuries were characterized by stagnation, however, which was largely due to the effects of warfare with Venice and the Habsburg Empire. This bore heavy not only on the physical condition of the architectural monuments, many of which were damaged or even lost in this period, but also on the coffers of the state and its representatives.

In the first half of the nineteenth century we then see a number of interesting structures built under the patronage of strongmen of a provincial background. To the extent that these have survived or are sufficiently documented, it is perhaps their relative individualism that qualifies their inclusion in a survey.

The final decades of Ottoman rule, at last, witnessed a structural change on many levels. The now reform-minded imperial state became a major investor in the infrastructure of education, communication, and administration of Macedonian cities, its European orientation expressed in the form and function of the new buildings.⁷⁹ It is perhaps better discussed in tandem with the architecture of the first half of the twentieth century than with the Ottoman architecture of the sixteenth century, with which it has little in common.

⁷⁹ On this point, see also Alexandra Yerolympos, *Urban transformations in the Balkans (1820-1920): aspects of Balkan town planning and the remaking of Thessaloniki*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1996.

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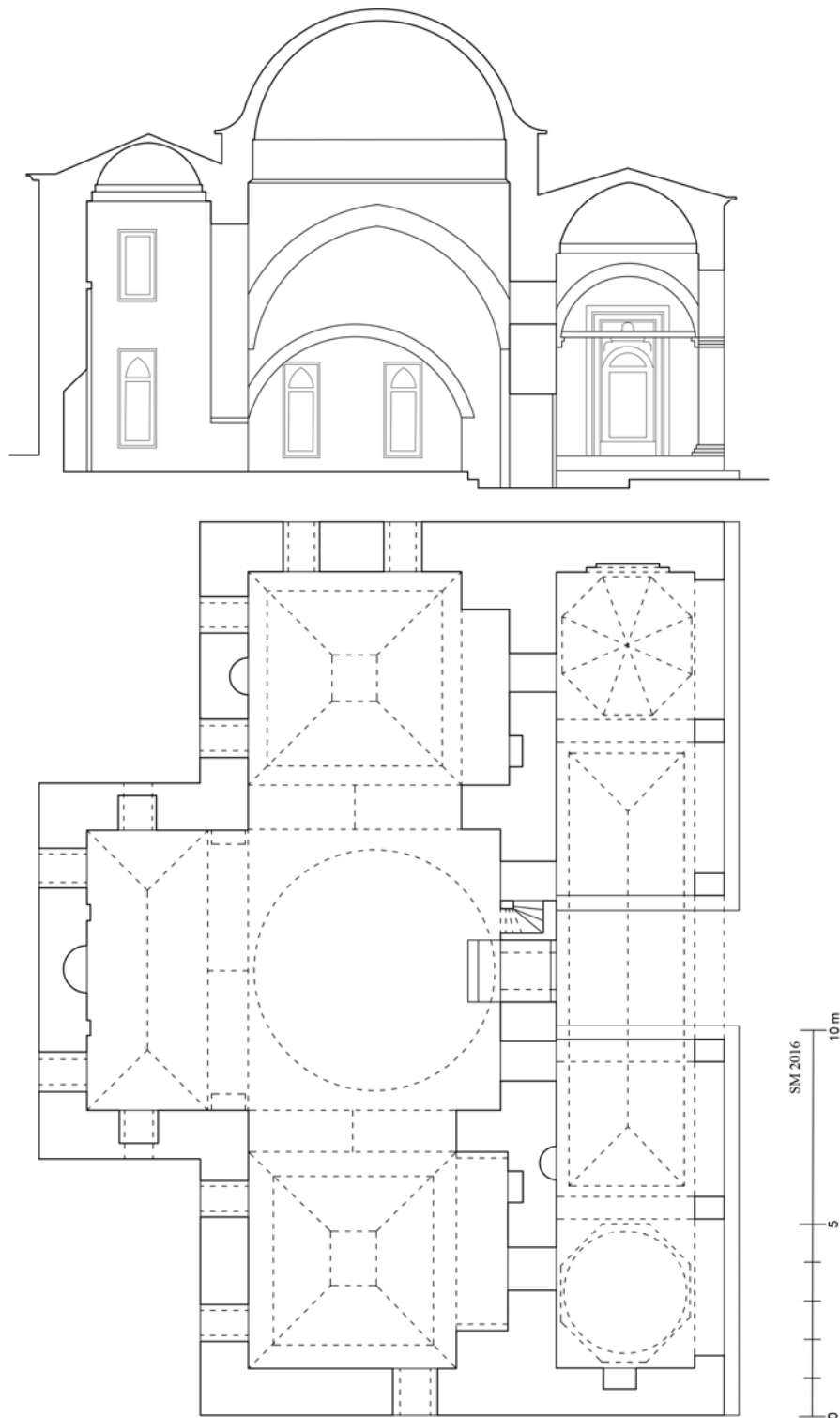
III. 1. Skopje, Friday mosque of Murâd II, 1436/7, with interventions in 1539-42, 1711/2, and 1911.



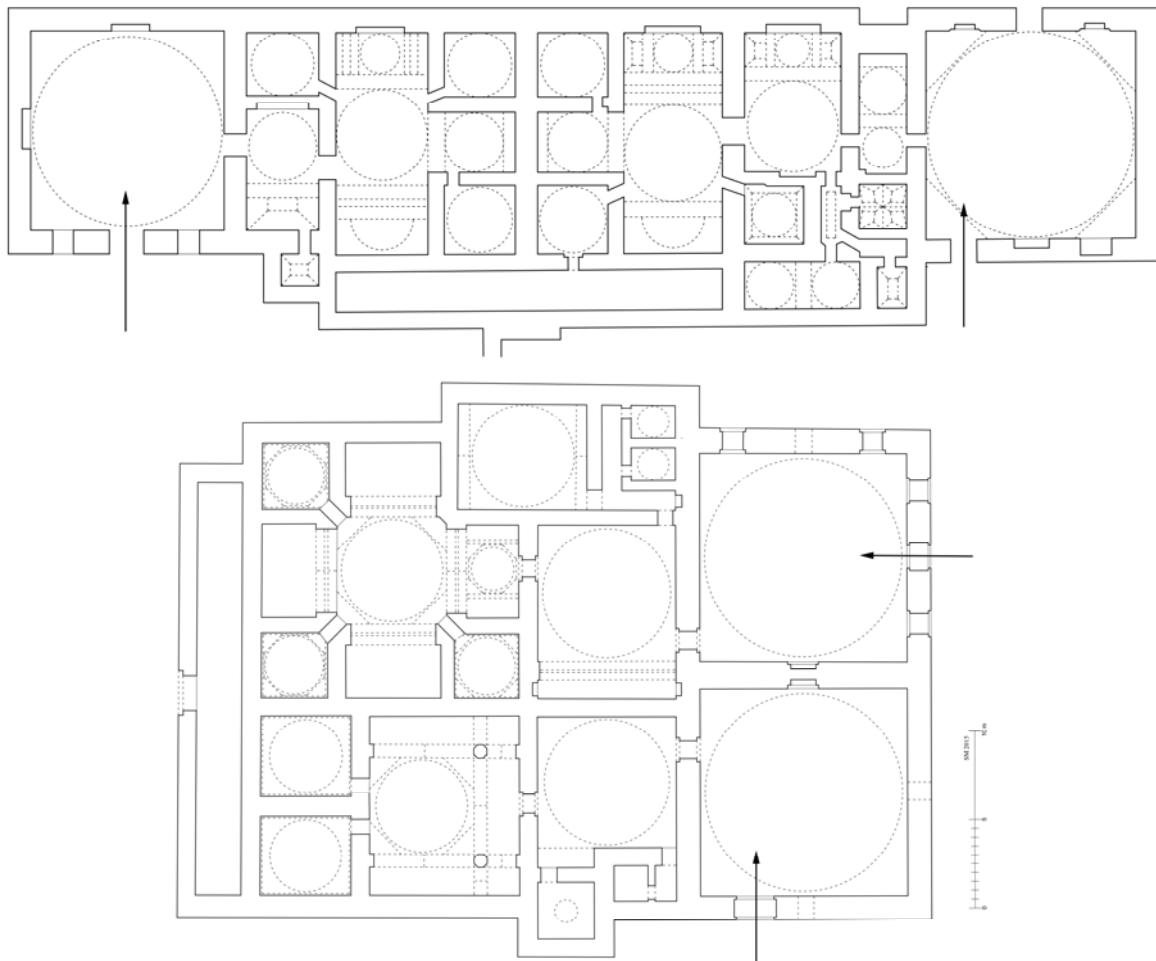
III. 2. Skopje, panorama with 1430s Sulu Hân, Çifte Hammâm (1460s-70s?) and Mustafâ Paşa Mosque (1492).



III. 3. Skopje, former *zâviye* of İshâk Beğ, 1438/9 (converted to mosque before 1519), and *türbe* attributed to Paşa Beğ (1470s?).



III. 4. Skopje, former *zâviye* of İshâk Beğ, 1438/9, section and ground plan (Mahmoudian after Ayverdi), lacking the (later added) minaret.



III. 5. Skopje, ground plans of [a] Çifte Hammâm and [b] *hammâm* of Davûd Pasha, 1460s-90s (?), illustrating difference in plan types (Mahmoudian after Özer and Ayverdi).



III. 6. Skopje, Çifte Hammâm, stucco detailing in interior, 2nd half 15th ct.



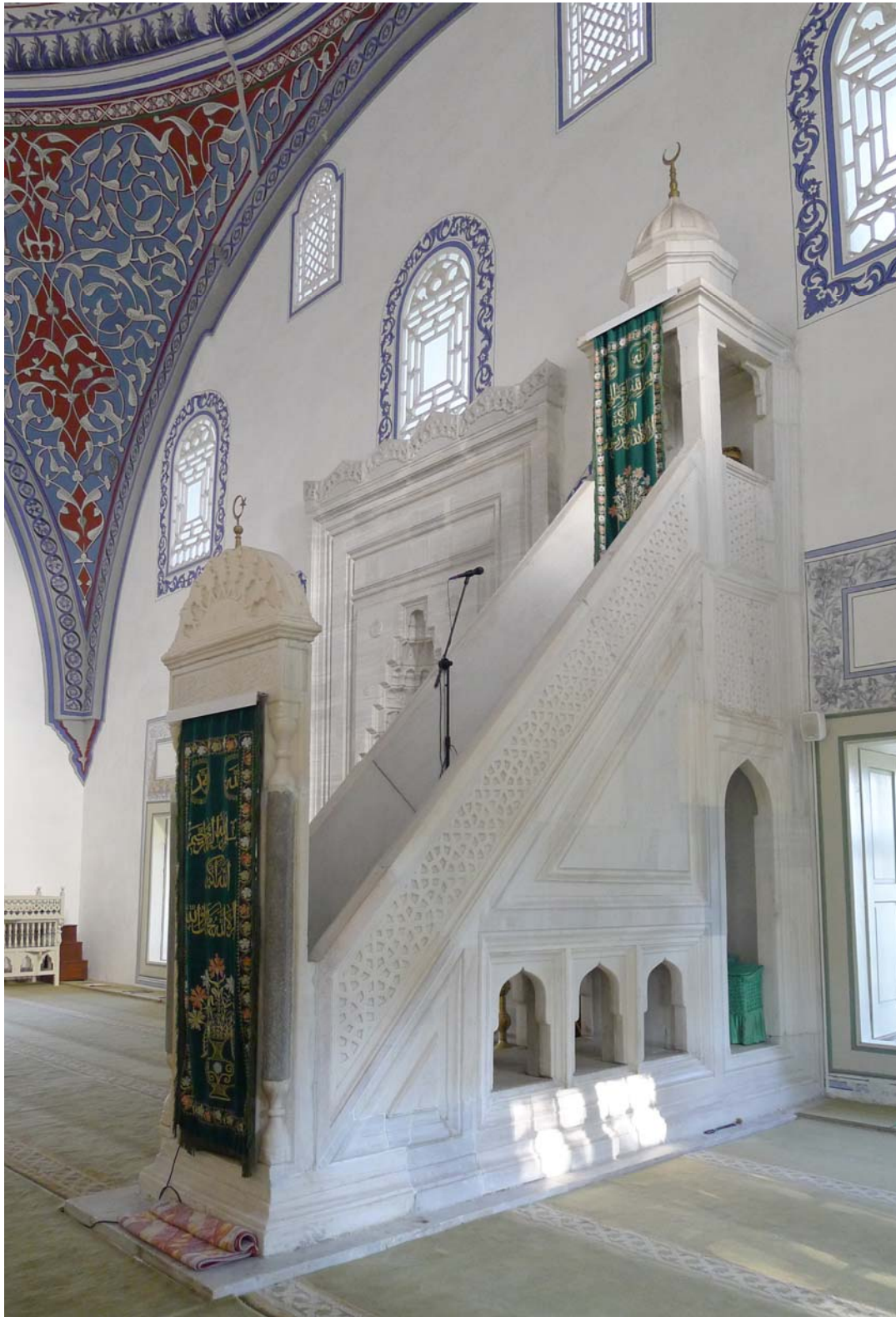
III. 7. Skopje, Stone Bridge, 15th and 16th cts.



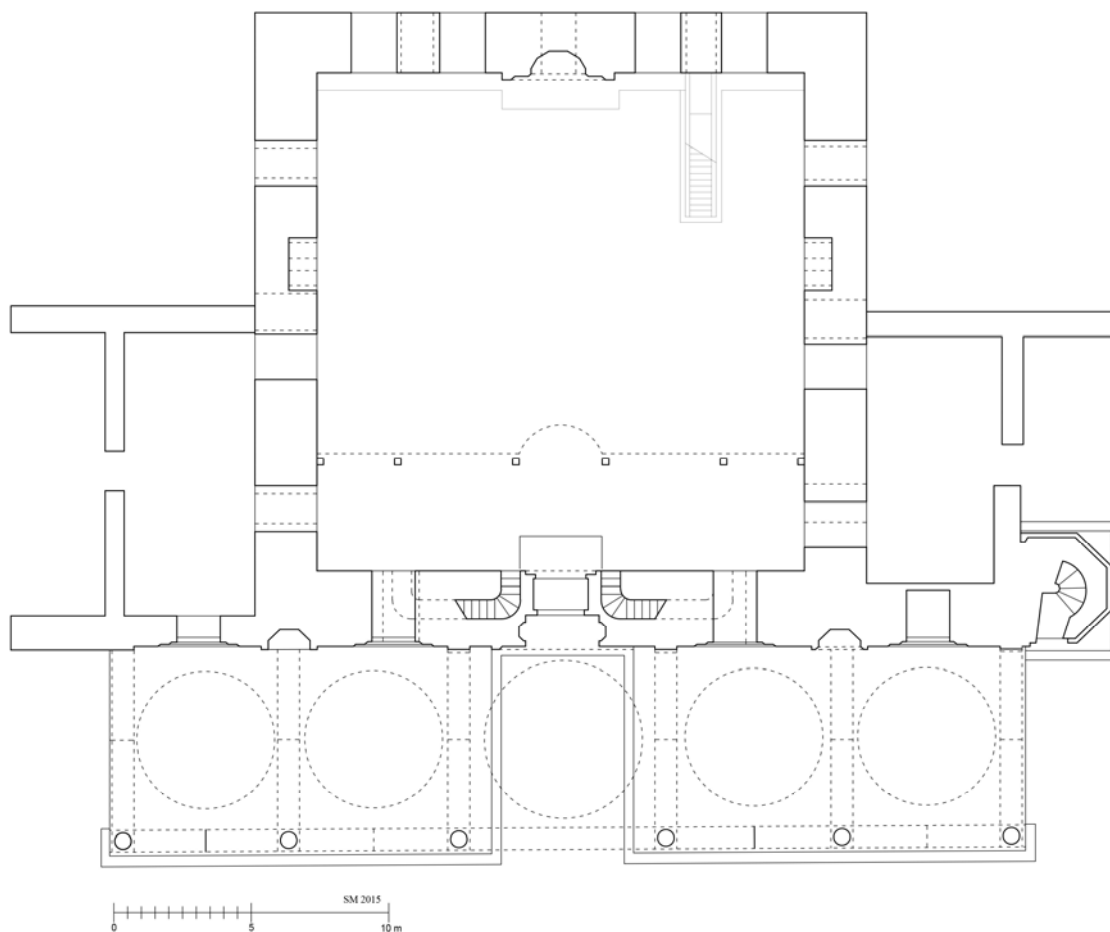
Ill. 8. Skopje, Mustafâ Paşa Câmiî, 1492, view from the northwest.



III. 9. Skopje, Mustafâ Paşa Câmiî, 1492, view of portico with marble portal.



III. 10. Skopje, Mustafâ Paşa Câmii, 1492, interior view with pulpit, prayer niche, and domical pendentive.



Il. 11. Skopje, Yahyâ Paşa Câmii, 1503/4, ground plan (Mahmoudian after Ayverdi).



III. 12. Skopje, Yahyâ Paşa Câmii, 1503/4, portal with ornament and calligraphic epitaphs.



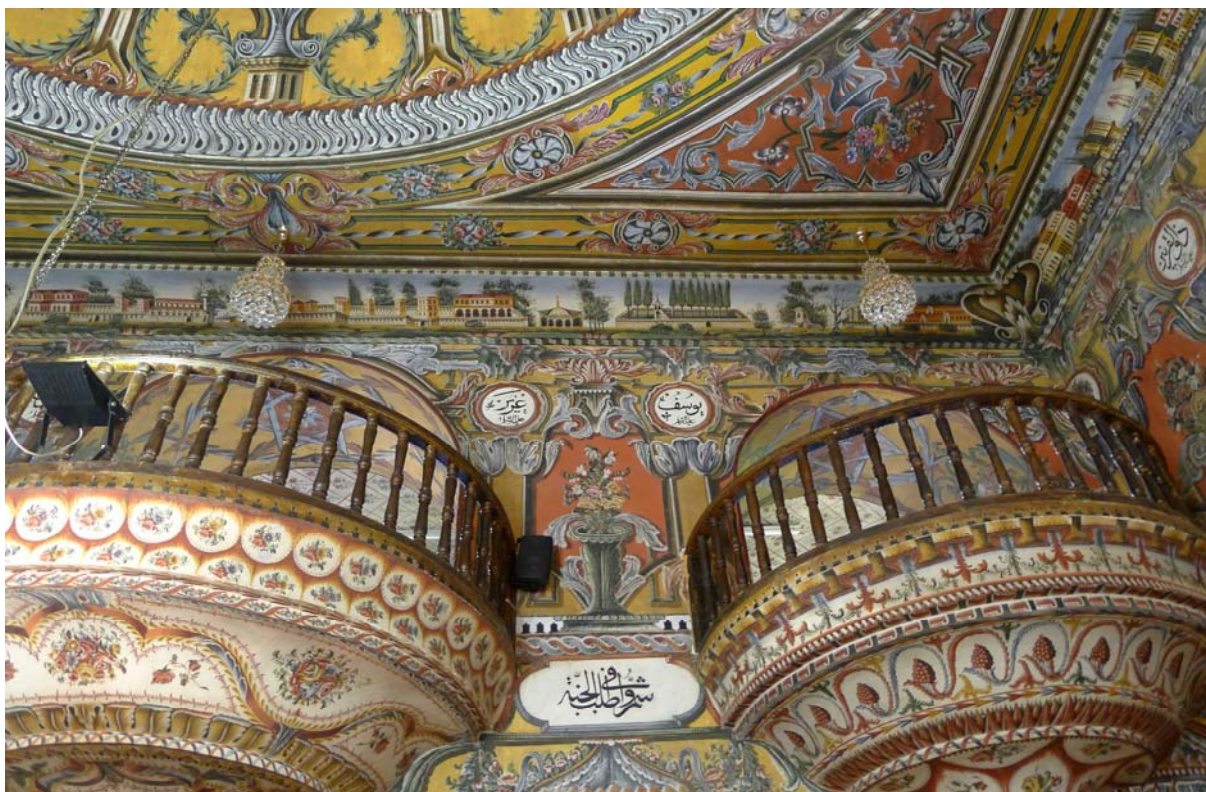
III. 13. Skopje, Kurşumlu (or Kurşunlu) Hân, 1540s, panoramic view.



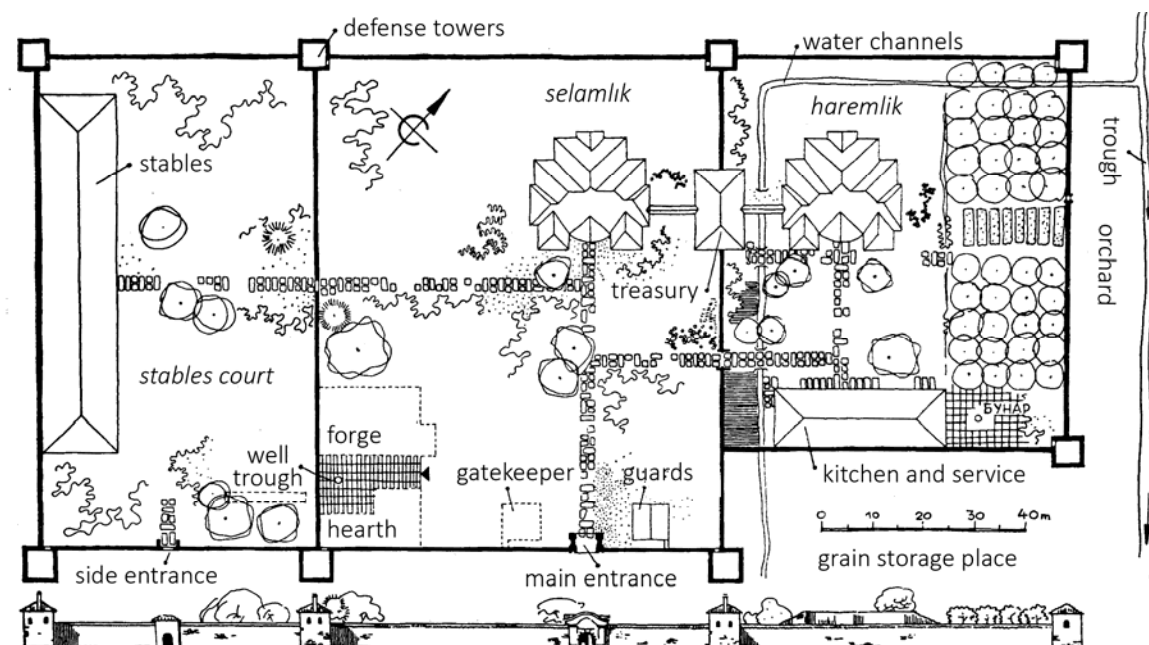
III. 14. Skopje, Kurşumlu (or Kurşunlu) Hân, 1540s, view toward courtyard.



Ill. 15. Tetovo, Harabâtî Baba Tekyesi, mostly 1st half 19th ct, fountain pavilion.



Ill. 16. Tetovo, Alaca Câmi, 1833/4, painted interior with balconies and 'blind' dome.



Ill. 17. Bardovci, so-called *konak/çiftlik* of Hıfzı Paşa, 1st half 19th ct., plan and elevation (Kojić, translations Hartmuth).