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THE SEVENTEEN-CENTURY OTTOMAN RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE OF BITOLA/MANASTIR

The Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, the author of the book “*Seyahâtnâme*” visited the town of Toli Manastir in 1661. His description is one of the most valuable documents concerning the Ottoman character and profile of Şehir Manastır:¹

...It is a part of the Province of Rumelia or Roman land (Rumeli Eyalet) and it constituted a Royal property (Hassa) belonging to The Bright Star Fatima, a daughter of Sultan Ahmed III, and was administered by the Governor (Voyvoda) for 20 bags of akçes. It has a Religious Jurisconsultant (Mufti, Şeyh-ül Islâm), and a regional Representative of the Prophet (Nakib-ül Eşraf). The town has a Chief Judicial Representative (Kadı) with 300 akçes salary. From the 360 villages the kadı obtains an annual income of fifteen bags of akçes.² The Government officials include a Sipahi Cavalry Steward (Sipah kethuda yeri), a Senior officer of Jannisaries (Yeniçeri Serdarı), the Prefect of the city (Şehir voyvoda), the Tax Collector (Ser haraç emini), a City Representative (Şehir kethuda), the Market Supervisor (Muh-tesib aga), and the Chief Architect (Mimar başı). There was not a Garrison Commander (Dizdar), since the fortress has been pulled down upon its capture by the order of Sultan Murad I Hüdavendigâr (1362-1389).

¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis II*, Svijetlost, Sarajevo, 1957, 57-59. Toli Manastir had the status of Şehir, which was equal to a large town or a city. The name of Toli Manastir was an amalgamation of the names of Bitola and Manastir. M. Ursinus, ‘Manastir’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VI, Leiden 1995, 371-372; C. Mostras, *Dictionnaire géographique de l’empire Ottoman*, St. Petersburg 1873, 170; S. Roman-ski, ‘Imenata na niakoi makedonski gradove’, *Makedon-ski pregled*, vol.4, Sofia 1929, 63-70; T. Tomoski, ‘Kako toponimot Manastir se naložil za vtor naziv na gradot Bitola’, *Makedonija niz vekovite*, Skopje 1999, 462-473.

² Actually the real number of villages was around 160 and they were officially listed in the district in the year 1641, *Tur-ski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, ser. I/III (1636-1639) Skopje 1969, 204-208, 281 sicil 6, p.72b-73b.

The town of Manastir is a large city situated on the lower slopes of a mountain, on the left and on the right sides of the river, which are connected by ten wooden or stone bridges.³ The town is full of greenery, adorned with a thousand huge trees from which it is hard to see it, until you reach it. The town is divided into twenty-one districts (mahalle) and its houses are built out of solid material and covered by tiles.⁴

The mosques. There were 70 Muslim places of worship (Mihrab). The most remarkable is the mosque of Ishak Çelebi near the Big Bridge... There is another mosque of Mahmud efendi with an inscription...

The Gazi Haydar mosque is an artistically splendid built place for worship. The mosque of Hacı Bey is located on the Turners (Çekrekçi) market. The Çavuş mosque that is close to the Bedesten has plenty of worshippers.⁵ The town has nine religious colleges (Medrese). The most impressive is the Dulbend Kadı medrese.⁶

³ Some names of the bridges are known: The Big Bridge, the Sungur Çavuş Bey Bridge, the Kara Köprü, the Flax Bridge and so on. M. Tefvik, ‘Kratka istorija bitoljskog vilajeta’, *Brastvo*, vol. XXVII, (transl. G. Elezović) Beograd 1933, 204; J. Hadži Vasiljević, ‘Grad Bitolj’, *iz dela Kroz staru Srbiju i Makedoniju 1897 godine*, *Brastvo*, vol. XIV, Beograd 1911, 41.

⁴ In 1661 the main Muslim quarters were as follows: Emir Bey or Ishak Çelebi, Softa Hoca, Yakub Bey, Sinan Bey, Karaca Bey, Azob Bey, Kara Oğlan, Kara Tabak, Bostanci, Oğul Paşa, Çavuş Ali, Hüseyin Subaşı, Bali Voyvoda, Dimiški Bey, Firuz Bey, Ine Bey, Kasim Çelebi, Türbe, Yeni mahalle, Hamza Bey, Kurd Çavuş, and Skenderbey. *Tur-ski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, ser. I/III (1636-1639) Skopje 1969, 204-205, 281 Sicil 6p. 72b-73b.

⁵ See: R. Mihajlovski, ‘The Sixteenth century mosques in Bitola/Toli Manastir’, *Patrimonium.MK*, vol. 7-8 (2010) 351-366; N. Çayırılı, ‘Osmanlı idaresinde Manastir (Bitola)’, *Türk Kültürü*, No, 458 (2001) 371-6.

⁶ Tefvik, op. cit., 214-215; E.H. Ayverdi, *Asimpada Osmanli mimari eserleri Yugoslaviya*, vol. III, Istanbul 1981,

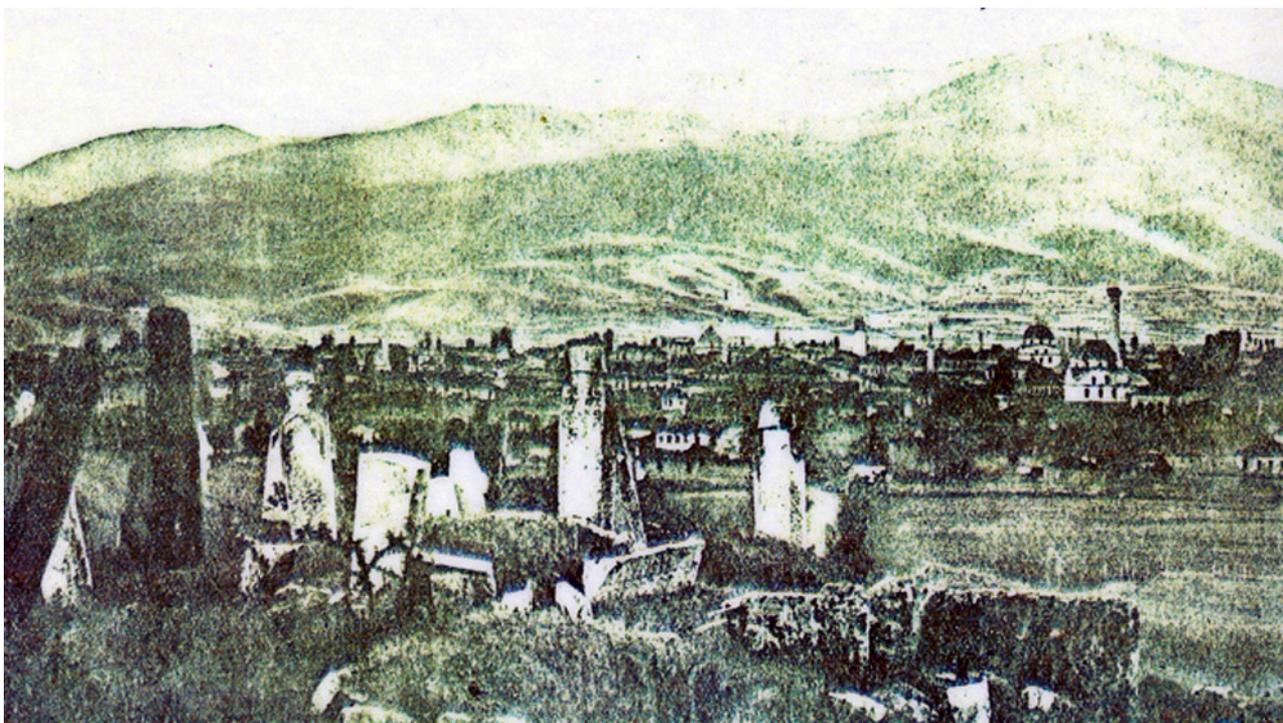


Fig. 1. A photo of Bitola/ Manastir, early twentieth century

From the nine hundred business establishments in the city those of turners and tailors were particularly outstanding. There are forty coffee shops. The most impressive building is the Covered market (Bedesten) with domes and iron gates – in fact it looked much like a fortress. The merchants in the Bedesten were rich. Manastir was a famous place for production of flax, which was finer than that of Egypt.⁷

Evliya Çelebi describes the outskirts of the town as abundant with greenery and water, picnic places, deliciously grilled lambs and kebabs, music from different instruments and birds, some couples in love, who enjoyed the beauties of the landscape and the environment. The town itself was well known for its numerous and excellent rhetoricians and orators. The local religious students (Softa) with their disheveled turbans, like birds' nests, lived as outlaws (Eskiya). The city had many wealthy merchants and pilgrims, who were inclined towards erecting charitable foundations as memorials. The town possessed forty-seven buildings covered by blue lead and a stoutly built covered market. (Fig. 1, A photo of Bitola/ Manastir, early twentieth century)

The seventeen-century urban structure and organization of the town Toli-Manastir followed the pat-

terns of developed Ottoman cities. Certain parts or districts, mainly in the center where business quarters were located, had secular markets and public buildings around the places of worship. Among the popular and important features in everyday life were the public hamams. All of them were Vakıf endowments and consisted of twin baths for men and women. The better-known baths were close to the main mosques, as they were in Bitola, for example the Eski Çifte hamam of the fifteenth century, and the 'De-boy' hamam and the Yeni hamam, which were sixteen-seventeen century buildings.⁸ There were three kinds of markets: the Covered market-Bedesten and the open market-Bazaar Çarşı dealing with food and everyday necessities. The town area was composed of many different markets, such as the Horse market, the Sheep market, the Wheat market, the Wood market, the Flea market, the Butter market. The Arasta or covered streets contained different markets for spices, wine, flax, candles, jam, and craftsmen.⁹ The different types of khans and caravansaries that served as hotels and wholesales offices were close to the markets.

In the first half of the seventeen-century, the Mufti of Manastir was Hacı Mahmud Efendi. Known as Kule-

96-97, 107. The names of the nine religious colleges (medrese) in Manastir were as follows: Dulbend Kadi medrese, Sungur Çavuş Bey medrese, Isa Fakih medrese, Ishak Celebi medrese, Koca Kadi medrese, Türkler (Hacı Bey) medrese, Yeni mosque medrese, Haydar Kadi medrese, and Tefikiye or Üç Şeyhler medrese.

⁷ Çelebija, op. cit., 59; A. Vacalopoulos, *History of Macedonia 1354-1833*, Thessaloniki 1972, 264.

⁸ K. Tomovski, 'Amamot Deboj vo Bitola', *Zbornik na Arheološkiot muzej*, vol. VI-VII, Skopje 1975, 263-370;

⁹ See: Hadži Vasiljević, op. cit., 24-30; R. Momidić-Petkova, 'Razvitok na bitolskata čaršija (do II svetska vojna)', *Zbornik na trudovi*, vol. 4-5, Zavod za zaštita na spomenicite na kulturata, muzej i galerija, Bitola 1983/84, 127-147.

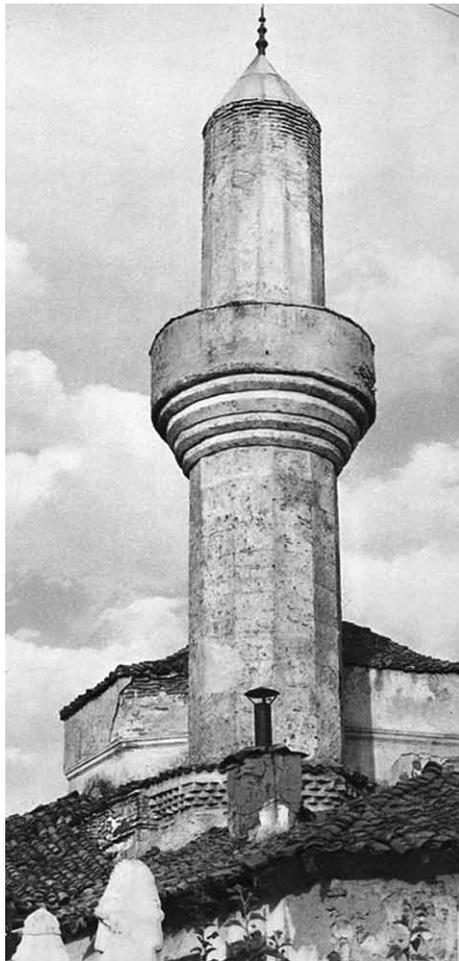


Fig. 2. Hasan Baba mosque

li Müfti Şeyk, (Hırka Baba) he was a spiritual leader of the branch of Nakşbendi order. At the outskirts of the town he built a stone tower 'Zandan Kulesi', which was 6.30 by 5.35 m. at the base and 10.95 m. in high. There he had a large collection of religious books and manuscripts. After his death in 1628 the tower became a place of pilgrimage and the water in which his mantle (Hırka) was dipped had healing powers.¹⁰ Another local mystic and martyr was Hasan Baba Keşfi Efendi, a Nakşbendi derviş. He suffered a violent death and the place where he was buried became a place of pilgrimage. Between 1628 and 1640 a small mosque, a tekke, and a mausoleum known as Hasan Baba–Başı kesik tekye cami were erected. During the nineteenth century the whole complex became a Nakşbendi place of devotion.¹¹ On the southwest outskirts of the town was the center of the Halveti Hayatı dervishes consisting of tekke, medrese, mausoleum and the mosque of the Three Sheiks (Üç

¹⁰ Tefvik, op. cit., 223; F. W., Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols, Oxford 1929, 358-359; Ayverdi, op. cit., 109; R. Mihajlovski, 'Several Ottoman monuments from Bitola (Manastir)', *Cultural Heritage*, vol. 26-27/2000-2001 (2001) 70-72.

¹¹ Tomovski, op. cit., 58; Ayverdi, op. cit., 98; Tefvik, op. cit., 219-220.

Şeyhler). The mosque has a protruded apse where the mihrab was placed, which was an exceptional architectural design among Bitola's mosques.¹²

The seventeenth-century religious buildings were evenly spread on the right side of the Dragor rivulet and on the left upper sides of the city. It will follow a more detailed description and analysis of each of them in a form of comprehensive catalogue of Ottoman monumental religious architecture heritage.

The Hasan Baba Cami or Hasan Baba-Başı kesik tekiye cami. The Hasan Baba mosque is located in the Upper western outskirts of the town, on the right side of the river Dragor. (Fig. 2, Hasan Baba mosque) During the nineteenth-century Muslim refugees were settled in this area and it was known as the Muhacir mahallesi (Madžar maale).

The mosque was erected in 1037-1049 AH/ 1628-1640, in the times of Sultan Murad IV (1623-1640). Fazli Paşa, a commander of the Third Army in Manastir, renovated it in 1883.¹³

The history of the mosque is based on the local legend of Hasan Baba Keşfi Efendi or Hasan Baba Decapitated (Hasan Baba-Başı kesik).¹⁴ According to this legend, Hasan Baba was a pupil of the local dervish named Ciger Baba, and he was beheaded as a martyr, instead of his master. Carrying his head he arrived at the spot where much later were built his mausoleum with a cenotaph, and a mosque with a Nakşbendi tekke.¹⁵ A similar popular legend was attached popular to the Christian St John Vladimir in Elbasan from the eleventh century.¹⁶

Between the years 1623 and 1640, by the order of Sultan Murad IV on the place where once stood a

¹² Tomovski, op. cit., 54; Ayverdi, op. cit., 97; R. Momidić-Petkova, 'Hamza beg Uč Šeihler džamija vo Bitola', *Zbornik na trudovi*, vol. 9, Zavod za zaštita na spomenicite na kulturata, zavod i muzej (1988-89) 95-109.

¹³ Tefvik, op. cit., 219-220; Tomovski, op. cit., 1957, 58.

¹⁴ Ayverdi, op. cit., 97.

¹⁵ Tefvik, op. cit., 220.

¹⁶ The hagiography of St John Vladimir was published in "Akoluthia of St John Vladimir" in Moschopolis and Venice in 1741. It narrates that Bulgarian Tsar, John Vladislav killed and beheaded the Montenegrin prince John Vladimir on the road from Ohrid to Bitola, at the place called Derven. The body of St Vladimir, also called Shin Gyon (St John) had remained in Kraina at Skadar Lake until 1215, and after it was removed to the monastery near Elbasan, where the remains are still kept and honored by the Christians and by the Muslims. S. Antoljak, Samuel and his state, Skopje 1985, 118-119, n. 951, 952, 954; R. Matthews, *Sons of Eagle, wanderings in Albania*, London 1937, 25; H. Roeder, *Saints and their attributes*, London, New York, Toronto 1995, 187. Similar legends are connected with St Miniato al Monte of Florence and St Albanos of Mainz. It is an ancient form of the Christian martyr represented as a kefaloforos.



Fig. 3, The türbe of Hasan Baba

modest tomb of Hasan Baba, a simple mausoleum, a dervish tekke and a mosque were built. Fazli Paşa renovated the mosque in 1883.¹⁷ The mosque courtyard had a cemetery with artistically decorated nineteenth century tombstones. The mosque was recently renovated. The small, sturdy mosque has harmonious proportions. It has a single portico, which was added later. An octagonal dome covered by terracotta roof tiles sits on an octagonal drum without windows. The base of the prayer room is 6 x 6 m, and the thickness of the walls is 0.90m.¹⁸ The masonry is a coarse stone with mortar. Two arched windows and one smaller window at the top open in each side-wall. The façade is whitewashed, simply decorated with three rows of saw-tooth cornices. The simplicity is visible inside, with plaster-profiled squinches and mihrab niche. The most remarkable feature of the building is a sturdy polygonal minaret in Selcuk style, whose entrance is accessible through the porch. A similar model of a mosque can be found in the much earlier mosque of Hoca Yadigar in İnönü (Turkey) from the year 776 AH/ 1374.¹⁹ The entire simplicity of the

¹⁷ Tefik, op. cit., 219; Hasluck, op. cit., 356-360. The Hasan Baba mosque was visited by Hasluck and he noted: The Nakshbendi tekke is on the outskirts of the town, containing the tomb of Hasan Baba, which is famous for its miracles. The saint is said to have fallen under the displeasure of a Sultan who sent men to hang him. Fleeing from them, the saint had turbes at many places through which he passed, in order to deceive the sultan into believing him dead. Consequently, cenotaphs of Hasan Baba exist in various parts, as at Kosovo, Üsküb, Adrianople, Constantinople (in Divan Yölu), Anatolia and Egypt.

¹⁸ Ayverdi, op. cit., 98.

¹⁹ A. Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman architecture*, Chicago and London 1968, 70.

Hasan Baba mosque denotes that it is a Nakşbendi place of devotion. The türbe mausoleum is a simple and elegant, rectangular building covered by a hipped roof and adorned by a marble alem (Fig. 3, The türbe of Hasan Baba) Inside there is a wooden Tabut covered by a silk fabric with Koranic verse, where the body of Hasan Baba was buried.²⁰ On the northwestern side of the mosque there is a variety of graves and tombstones, decorated in the nineteenth century Ottoman Baroque style. It might be that the tekke was originally in the porch or in the mosque itself. A few years ago the Islamic community started the renovation of

the mosque building with the minaret, the mausoleum and the graveyard, which are surrounded with a stone-wall. There is another Bektaşî's tekke in the vicinity.

Üç Şeyhler or Hamza Bey Cami. The mosque of Three Sheyks is in the western town district named after Hamza Bey, between the Kuruderesi stream and the tower of Zandan kulesi. This mosque may date to the sixteen century or before the year 1634. (Fig. 4, The mosque of Three Sheyks) The only records are the date of 1798 painted on the drum of the dome and a marble inscription that says the building was renovated in 1273 AH/ 1857-58.²¹ The Üç Şeyhler or Hamza Bey mosque does not have an inscription plaque of foundation and no archive records are available to determine its date of construction. There is a possible connection with the Hamza Bey mosque in Salonica, built in 1468 by his daughter Hafsa and reconstructed in 1619. Hamza Bey was an important commander under the sultans Murad II (1421-1444, 1446-1451) and Mehmed II (1444-1446, 1451-1481). He had his feudal goods in Thrace, and he built a za-viye in Edirne, which became the center of the Halveti dervish order that arrived in Europe under Sultan Bayezit II (1481-1512).²²

²⁰ H.W. Lowry, *In the footsteps of the Ottomans, A search for sacred space & architecture monuments in Northern Greece*, Istanbul 2009, 28-30.

²¹ Tefik, op. cit., 214, 222; M. Cohen, 'Villes macédoniennes. Florina-Nevoljani', *La Géographie*, vol. 34, Paris 1920, 97-114. In the neighboring town of Hlerin/Florina, a former quarter was called Hamza Bey, also known as Kourshoumli or Imaret, and had two mosques: one was Hamza Bey or Kourshoumli, and the second one was Yeni Cami. Tomovski, op. cit., 1957, 54; Ayverdi, op. cit., 97; Momidić-Petkova, op. cit., 1988-89, 99.

²² M. Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*, Aldershot, Brookfield 1990, I/131-134.

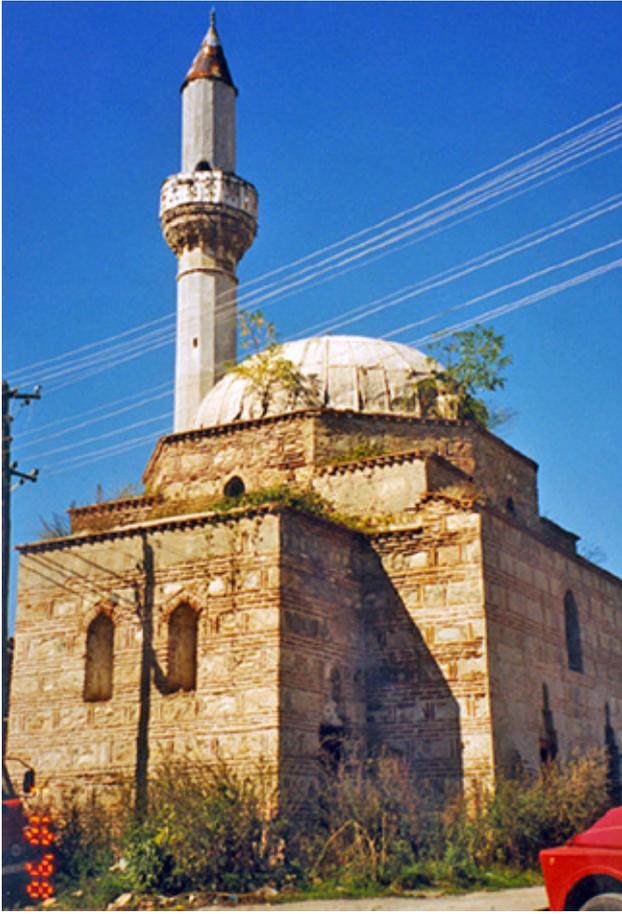


Fig. 4, The mosque of Three Sheyks



Fig. 4a, The mosque of Three Sheyks

Bitola's mosque of Three Sheyks was a center of the Halveti Sufi order's activities in the town. The vakıf of this mosque was mentioned for the first time in 1633 and the building was recorded in 1634 as an endowment of Hamza Bey. These dates come from the court record preserved in Manastır.²³ In the second

²³ Momidić-Petkova, op. cit., 98; *Turski dokumenti za is-*

part of the eighteenth century the year '1798' written in red paint was still visible on the southern side of the mosque's drum.²⁴ It might be that that was the year of renovation. According to the preserved marble plaque inscription from 1857-58, another renovation was completed. A simple portico was added at that time. Some donors contributed to the mosque complex: Defterdar Ali in 1853 and Emir Paşa in 1864. That was one of the reasons this mosque was known under the names Defterdar Ali and Emir Paşa in the 19th century.²⁵ At its zenith the whole mosque complex consisted of a mosque, a Sibyan mekteb from 1716, a medrese 'Tevfikiye', a Halveti tekke with a mausoleum on the opposite side of the street and a dervish cemetery within the walled courtyard.

The three şeyks, Ibrahim, Abdul Kerim and Ahmed, were the spiritual leaders of the branch of Halveti dervishes at the end of the eighteenth-century and they were followers of Halveti şeyk Mehmed Hayati.²⁶ He was a Sufi leader from the second half of the 18th century and he was a founder of Astahane-yi Hayatiyye in the neighboring town of Ohri/Ohrid. His central tekke had subsidiary branches through Macedonia (in Kesrye/Kastoria) and Albania.²⁷ He settled in Ohrid where he adapted an old medrese into the first tekke of the Halveti Hayati order. For Bitola/Manastır the major center of the Halveti order was the zaviye at the mosque of Üç Şeyhler. One part of the branch

was also present in the nearby town of Hlerin/Filurina.²⁸

The plan of the mosque is a rectangular base measuring 8.90 x 10.21m, a sort of simplified 'Zaviye mosque', with a protruding rectangular apse, measuring 5.50 x 2.60 m. The mihrab is placed in the apsidal niche, creating a division of the central place in two parts.²⁹ A flat-topped roof covers the apse and there are

torijata na makedonskiot narod, (ed. V. Boškov), Ser.I, vol.2, (1607-1699), Skopje 1966, sicil 3/p. 33 a-I.

²⁴ Tomovski, op. cit., 1957, 54.

²⁵ Momidić-Petkova, op. cit., 1988, 98, 99; Tevfik, op. cit., 222.

²⁶ Tevfik, op. cit., 234.

²⁷ F.de Yong, 'Khalwatiyya', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (ed. E.van Donzel et alli), vol. IV, Leiden 1978, 991.

²⁸ Cohen, op. cit., 112.

²⁹ G. Goodwin, 'The Dervish Architecture in Anatolia', *The Dervish lodge*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1992,



Fig. 5, 'The Broken mosque'

two elegant arched windows in the southern Qible wall. The unusual design of the apse is a result of the mutual influence of Byzantine and Early Ottoman architecture, which has its beginnings in the fourteenth century.³⁰ This architectural element was introduced at the mosque of Murad I in Bursa, the mosque of Yusuf Paşa of 1429 and the mental hospital of Bayezit II built in 1485 in Edirne, the Mehmed Bey mosque in Siroz built in 1491, the Hussamedin Paşa mosque in Štip, the Sinan Paşa mosque in Prizren, the Alaca mosque in Skopje, the Hüsrev Bey mosque in Sara-

57-69. The Zaviye mosque combined the traditional prayer settings with one or more adjacent spaces for secular use. Similarities are seen at the Bayezit Paşa mosque in Amasya and in Hudavendiġar mosque in Çekirce, near Bursa.

³⁰ Kuran, op. cit., 1968, 121. The idea of placing the mihrab in the apsidal niche goes back to the fourteenth century. Two nearby examples of this are the mosques of Murat Hudavendiġar in Bursa of 1385-86, and Davud Paşa in Istanbul of 1485. Because of this unusual discrepancy, the apsidal niche is seldom seen in single-unit mosques during the early Ottoman period. Then, many of the Sinan mosques dating from the 1580's have an apsidal niche. In his formative years Sinan used the apsidal niche only for a special purpose.

jevo of 1531, the Ferhadiyye in Banja Luka of 1531 and so on.³¹ This type of mosque construction shows the strong connections between local Balkan and Byzantine traditions combined with Ottoman architecture.

A dome that is set on an octagonal drum by squinches between the inter-sides of pointed arches covers the interior space of the mosque Üc Şeyhler. Remnants of colored ornament and rosettes in stucco decoration are still visible in layers on the walls. The masonry of the walls is composed of bands of three to five rows of brick and worked blocks of stone, with a final upper cornice of saw-tooth in brick. There are eight windows in the lower level of the walls, crowned by simple stalactite niches and above these lateral windows there are for arched windows.

The well-preserved polygonal minaret built of stone and brick is 23.40 m. in high. It has a şerefe decorated with stalactites and a balcony with a marble parapet. One enters the mosque building through an added porch measuring 5m. x 10.25 m, with a sloping roof.³² The walled entrance gate was once adorned with a marble plaque, 35 cm. x 35 cm, that mentioned the renovation of the building in 1273 AH/1857-58.

The tekke and the mausoleum of Three Sheiks were ruined already in 1911, but the final blow was during the First World War, when the town suffered heavy artillery bombardment. These days the portico is used as a dwelling and the mosque building is in disrepair. Some tombstones are still visible on the western side of the mosque.

The Yıkık Cami (Kırık Cami), 'The Broken mosque'. This small mosque, popularly known as 'Skršena džamija' was situated in the southern parts of the town, at a distance from the market and on the street, which headed towards 'The Flax Bridge' (Len-ski most). (Fig. 5, 'The Broken mosque')

According to the local oral Christian tradition, 'The Broken mosque' was originally the church Saint Nicholas, which was converted after the Ottoman conquest.³³ The comparatively recent name of 'The Broken mosque' is connected with the ruined minaret, which suffered heavy damage from artillery in

³¹ Goodwin, op. cit., 1971, 41, 382-386, 388-391; Kiel, op. cit., 1990, III/443, VIII/158; A. Andrejević, *Islamska monumentalna umetnost XVI veka u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd 1984, 30, 31, 40, 41; L. Kumbaradži-Bogojević, *Osman-liski spomenici vo Skopje*, Skopje 1998, 32-33; H. Redžić, *Islamska umjetnost*, Beograd, Zagreb, Mostar 1982, 71-77.

³² Ayverdi, op. cit., 97; Tomovski, op. cit., 1957, 54; R. Momidić-Petkova, 'Hamza beg Uč Šeihler džamija vo Bitola', *Zbornik na trudovi*, vol. 9, Zavod za zaštita na spomenicite na kulturata, zavod i muzej (1988-89) 98-99.

³³ Hadži Vasiljević, op. cit., 20; M. Cepenkov, Predanija, vol.7, Skopje 1972, 222.

the First World War.³⁴ The mosque was visited by Muslims and by Christians, who lit their candles on the eastern wall, a sort of religious syncretism not uncommon in the town. The archaeological excavations executed in 1974 did not reveal any previous foundations under the mosque. On the southwestern side a well (0.50 x 1.50 m.) was discovered, with some fragments of marble and human bones. The building was in bad condition and it was demolished in 1974.³⁵



Fig. 6. The Eđrikaš Efendi mosque

The Broken mosque was a modest building, with a prayer hall measuring 7.93 x 7.93 m, surmounted by a shallow dome (6m. in span) resting on pendentives. The drum was simplified by using the corners of the upper part of the pendentives. It was an ancient and simplified transitional type of early mosque. From the square body, via the pendentives, the upper part was transformed into a hemispherical shallow dome. The masonry of the walls was a sequence of courses of stone and four layers of brick, with a wall thickness of one meter. The upper parts of the building were built of coarse stone and covered by terracotta tiles. The minaret had a base built by stone and brick, but the shaft and şerefe balcony were entirely constructed of brick. On the northern side a portico of 3.72 x 7.93 m. with a barrel vault existed before the First World War.³⁶

It is possible that the mosque was built in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, as a product of provincial architectural conservatism.

The Eđrikaš Efendi Cami or Ayşe Hatun Cami.

This mosque was located on the eastern side of the Upper Wood market, close to the dervishes' tombs of Tez Veren Baba and Yeni hamam. (Fig. 6. The Eđrikaš Efendi mosque) This simple mosque building belongs to the period between the sixteen and the seventeen-century. The Eđrikaš Efendi, 'The Gentleman with the crooked eyebrow', was the old name of the building, probably connected with the founder. The second name of the mosque was Ayşe Hatun after a lady who renovated and donated a pious endowment



Fig. 7. Paftali mosque

of one shop for the mosque. It was registered in the Land Survey Cadastral archives of 1203 AH/ 1788.³⁷ A hipped roof and old terracotta tiles covered the rec-

³⁴ Tomovski, op. cit., 1957, 33, 34, 39; Ayverdi, op. cit., 107.

³⁵ D. Ćornakov, *Izveštaj od arheološkite iskopivanja na lokalitetot Skršena džamija* Bitola, fevruari 1974, (unpublished).

³⁶ Ibid. A section and ground plan were made in 1974.

³⁷ Ayverdi, op. cit. 96; I am very grateful to Mr. Sulejman Ali from Bitola for the information concerning the Eđrikaš mosque history.

tangular prayer hall of the building. The type of building was provincial and practical with a façade built in a combination of stone and brick. The mosque had a particularly high minaret built of stone; the polygonal shaft had a şerefe balcony, and a conical cap covered with lead. The form of the minaret and the balcony were characteristic of numerous late sixteen and seventeen century buildings. There were some parallels in Bitola, especially with the Koca Kadı Cami, which is located in the vicinity.

The Paftalı Cami. The mosque is situated in the northern part of the town, on the slopes of the hill Bayır, close to the old fountain called 'Soğuk çeşme.' (Fig. 7, Paftali mosque) That was one of the oldest parts of the Ottoman town, since the conquest, and it was known as the district 'Bayır mahalle.'

There are no data, nor any inscriptions preserved about the Paftalı mosque. According to Ayverdi the name 'Paftalı' is unusual for a mosque. In the past a small graveyard used to exist and a Mekteb school was part of the mosque. At the end of the 19th century an additional rectangular prayer hall was built on the southern side. The mosque was covered by sheet lead, which disappeared a long time ago.³⁸

The modest, but harmonious mosque has a square base measuring 5.80 m. x 5.80 m. The interior space is topped by a octagonal drum with dome on four deep-sitting pendentives, which are visible from outside. On the southern façade, there are two rectangular windows each in a marble frame crowned by a decoratively executed relieving arch of bricks. The mosque is built of fairly good Cloisonné work, mostly of coarse blocks of stone with three courses of brick and worked blocks of porous ashlar at the corners. A long time ago the entrance was from the



Fig. 8. An unknown mosque



Fig. 9. Kızlar Bey Türbe

eastern side, but now it is through the minaret base. The minaret built on the western side is unusually attached to the prayer hall and to the dome, and its entrance is from the street. The masonry of the base and the polygonal shaft are of fine worked ashlar stone, but the balcony is built of brick. The mosque and the minaret are provincial representatives of Early Classical Ottoman architecture. There are similarities with the architecture of the Broken mosque (Kırık Cami) which was situated on the southern side of town, over the river Dragor. There is a tomb inside the prayer hall of unknown origin. This type of mosque has some features of a mausoleum building.

³⁸ *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, (ed. M.Sokoloski), Ser.I, vol 3, (1636-1639), Skopje 1969, 174, sicil 6, page 1-b/III; Tefvik, op. cit., 221. I am indebted to my friend and colleague, professor Mudzaid Asimov for the information and help.

The single-domed building of the Paftalı mosque is in a bad state of disrepair. The 19th century prayer hall on the southern side is now used as a carpenter's workshop.

The Sabuni Cami or Sapuncu Cami. This mosque was mentioned in 1639 when the muezzin Ümer was appointed for service. The mosque was located in the quarter of Kara Ođlan, between the Sungur Çavuş mosque and the Haydar Kadı mosque, opposite the Debboy hamam. Blacksmith's shops surrounded it. Tevfik wrote a short biography about the local holy man, Sapunci Zade, who was one of descendants of the Sapuncu family. He was buried in the quarter of Kara Ođlan.

Mescids. A number of mescids are known from historical documents.

The Şeyh Hızır Bali Mescid The mescid of Hızır Bali was included in the Vakıf of the Vizier Ahmed Paşa. In 1606 the vakıf had a fund of 60,000 akçe with an interest of 9,000 akçe. The mütevellı was Ömer Çelebi, son of Emir Şah.³⁹

The Hacı Kethüda Mescid. Around the year 1610 Hacı Hüseyin, the Imam of the Hacı Kethüda mescid and the muezzin Halil ibn Derviş were guarantors for the Vakıf of Ahmed Paşa. Kurd Çavuş was the administrator of the vakıf.⁴⁰

The Ahmed Efendi Mescid. Hızır Çelebi was the muezzin of this mescid in 1610. In Ayverdi's list of mosques, a mosque of Ahmed Efendi cami was registered in the Cadastral defter number 93 of the year 1087 AH/ 1673-4.⁴¹

The Mahmud Aga Mescid. In 1610 Şaban Halife was the Imam of the mescid.⁴²

The Küçük Sinan Mescid. In 1639 Ahmed Çelebi the Imam of the Küçük Sinan mescid, went on pilgrimage. This mescid was located in the quarter of Ođul Paşa.⁴³ (Fig. 8, An unknown mosque)

Kızlar Bey Türbe, 'The Open Türbe'. An open mausoleum known as Kızlar Bey Türbe was located at the Turkish cemetery on the northeastern outskirts



Fig. 9a. Kızlar Bey Türbe

of the town. (Fig. 9, Kızlar Bey Türbe) It was situated in the sixteenth-century town quarter of 'Kızlar Bey' surrounded by vineyards. The türbe was built on the top of the hill at the beginning of the sixteenth century or later.⁴⁴

According to the local legend published by Hasluck, the open mausoleum was the spot, where the Muslim hoça was buried and '...someone dreamt that the grave contained a body of a girl, and on examination it was found that the body of a Christian king's daughter had been miraculously substituted for that of the khoja.⁴⁵ A similar story existed about the türbe of Kral K'zi in Skopje where the body of Catherine Tomašević, the daughter of the last Bosnian king, Stephen Tomašević, was buried at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ Similar legends can be found around the

³⁹ *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, op. cit., 1963, 1 sicil 1, list 1b-8a; Ayverdi, op. cit., 96; Tevfik, op. cit., 227, It might be that the Hızır Bali mescid was connected with the Halveti Sheyh Hızır Bali who died in Bitola around 971 AH/ 1563-1564.

⁴⁰ *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, op. cit., 1963, 7, sicil 1, page 17b-19a.

⁴¹ *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, (ed. M. Sokoloski, A. Starova, V. Boškov and F. Ishak), Ser. I, vol.1, (1607-1623) Skopje 1963, 7 sicil 1, page 17b-19a; Ayverdi, op. cit., 95.

⁴² *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, op. cit., 1963, 7, sicil 1, page 17b-19a.

⁴³ *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod* (ed. M. Sokoloski), Ser. I, vol 3, (1636-1639), Skopje 1969, 262, sicil 6, page 18-b/I.

⁴⁴ *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na makedonskiot narod*, op. cit., 1969, 52; Mihajlovski, op. cit., 2001, 69-70.

⁴⁵ Hasluck, op. cit., 360.

⁴⁶ Kubaradži-Bogojević, op. cit., 124.



Fig. 10. Zandan Kulesi (Öcak)

Mediterranean region; at Mecca, Nablus, Egypt and Algiers.⁴⁷ In Hasluck's opinion women commonly built open türbes for their own shelter and retreat and for other women mourning their dead.⁴⁸

The Kızlar Bey türbe had a square base with dimensions of 5.16 x 5.31 m. and a height of 7.76 m. The mausoleum had an octagonal dome 3.10 m. in span, on pendentives, carried by four huge corner piers measuring 1.03 x 1.03 m. The building material was dressed stone, which alternated with three courses of brick. There was meander decoration on the façade made out of brick (a shallow and a developed type). Saw-tooth cornices topped the decorative friezes. Terracotta tiles with a marble alem on the top covered the upper part of the dome.⁴⁹ When it was visited and drawn by Edward Lear in 1848 a marble cenotaph was still visible under the türbe, but later it disap-

⁴⁷ Hasluck, op. cit., 448.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, 73, 350. The Kızlar Bey mausoleum in Bitola was at an open türbe where local people used to pray in times of drought. Contrary to the Muslim custom in ordinary prayers the hands of the supplicants taking part in the appeal for rain extended their palms downwards or, it was believed the prayer had no effect.

⁴⁹ K. Tomovski, 'Pregled na poznačajnite turbinja vo Makedonija,' *Godišnik na Tehničkiot fakultet 1957/58*, Skopje 1957/1958, 107.

peared.⁵⁰ The mausoleum was ruined in 1995 by an earthquake, but in 1996 the Islamic community and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage started a project for the reconstruction and restoration of the Open türbe in Bitola.⁵¹

Closely connected to the Kızlar Bey türbe are some open mausolea in Skopje, such as Kral K'zi, Hatunciklar, Altı Ayak, dated 1690, and Ali Paşa of Dag-estan, dated 1774. There are similar türbes in Sarajevo at the Alifakovac cemetery and in Foča.⁵² The hexagonal base of the Deliktaş minaret of Bursa, which served as Şadırvan, resembled Bitola's Kızlar Bey türbe.⁵³

Through my recent field research I have discovered an old photo in the Museum of Bitola collection. A türbe with similar architectural design, covered by terra cotta tiles was situated on the hill 'Tumbeki' above the military garrison. This türbe where lied the body of legendary local dervish, Ciger Baba, was described by Hasluck and Tefvik.⁵⁴

Zandan Kulesi (Öcak). Another Ottoman monument in the town was connected with the Sufi order's activities. It is a well-preserved stone tower, which stands in the schoolyard on the western side of the town. (Fig. 10) At the beginning of the last century the tower was in a private property surrounded by a 3 m. high wall. It was situated in the area among the town quarters of Hamza Bey, Sinan Bey and Kaygusuz, near the mosques Üç Şeyhler and Zandancik or Derviş Cami.⁵⁵

The founder and the spiritual father of Zandan kule was Hacı Mahmud efendi, also known as Kuleli Müfti Şeyh Mahmud efendi or Hırka Baba. Around 1038 AH/ 1628 he was Müfti of Manastır. After a few years he retreated and became 'a learned Nakşbendi divine' and a Şeyk of a branch of Nakşbendi dervishes. He built a stone tower (Kulah) on his property

⁵⁰ E. Lear, *Journals of a Landscape Painter in Greece and Albania*, London, Melbourne, Auckland, Johannesburg 1988, 79.

⁵¹ Mihajlovski, op. cit., 2001, 70.

⁵² Redžić, op. cit., 81.

⁵³ Goodwin, op. cit., 1971, 65.

⁵⁴ Tefvik, op. cit. 217-218; Hasluck, op. cit., 358-359.

⁵⁵ Ayverdi, op. cit., 109. The name Zandan kule means that the tower was temporary used as a prison. The second name, 'Oçak' denotes tower as a center for spiritual activities. D. Dimitrovski, *Elaborat za kulturno-istorijskiot spomenik 'Zandan kule' vo Bitola*, Bitola 1966, 1-5. According to the local Imam Mr. Necip Ahmed the Turkish name for prison was Hapsane. In the past there were only two prisons in Bitola: Çingel Karakol in the eastern parts of the town and another one close to the Eski Çifte Hammam. Momidić-Petkova, op. cit., 1988, 95-107; K. Balabanov, A. Nikolovski, D. Čornakov, *Spomenici na kulturata na Makedonija*, (ed. B. Pavlovski) Skopje 1980, 200.

from which he got his nickname, Kuleli.⁵⁶ It was the residence of his family and a spot where he lived a secluded spiritual life. According to legend, ‘one day the şeyk disappeared mysteriously and none knew where he died or was buried; the clothes he was wearing, including the Habit (Hırka) were found in the garden, the spot being marked by an enclosure resembling a tomb on which candles are lit.’⁵⁷ He left his Dervish cap (Tac) and a Pouch (Çemer) that were kept with the Hırka in a chest in the upper story of the tower as relics. ‘The water in which the hırka has been dipped has the virtue of killing or curing sufferers from chronic diseases; it is said sometimes to be administered without the knowledge of the patient by his sympathetic (or impatient) relatives.’⁵⁸ The spouse of Hırka Baba also disappeared in a similar way, leaving behind her belt, which is ‘shown and is worn by childless women in the hope of its removing their sorrow.’⁵⁹ Hasluck met the old guardian (Türbedar) aged 90 years, who was of the sixth generation of descendants of Hırka Baba. In the tower was kept another relic: a hair of the Prophet’s beard, which was sent in a bottle to the şeyk and taken three days before Ramazan Bayram, on Leylet-ül Kadr in a procession to the large Ishakkiye mosque, where the faithful kiss it.⁶⁰ In the upper floor was kept a collection of religious books and manuscripts from the time of Kuleli Mahmud Efendi, but the Governor (Vali) Huseyn Paşa confiscated them in 1280 AH/1863, when they vanished.⁶¹

The Zandan kule tower has a rectangular base of 6.50 x 5.35 m. The wall thickness is between 1.08 and 1.22 m and on the upper parts it narrows to 0.98 m. The masonry is coarse stone and mortar with a four-row saw-tooth cornice on the top. The height of the tower is 10.95 m. and a hipped roof in a combination of terracotta and slate tiles covers it. The entrance is on the southwestern side at a height of 2.30 m., and is accessible only by a wooden ladder. On the upper façades are pointed arch windows crowned by deco-

ratively executed arches of brick. The interior of the tower formed a three-storied building that comprised a ground floor with a well; a mezzanine floor of 0.90 m, which served as a storage space, and in the upper floor a dwelling, which was equipped with different niches containing a lavatory, a hearth, a washing place, a loophole and so on. It was a residential place for the şeyk and his family to stay for a long period.⁶² At the time of the Ilinden insurrection in 1903, the tower was temporarily in use for imprisonment and that is how it was named ‘Zandan kule’ (The Dark tower). During the heavy artillery bombardment in the First World War the turbedar family members also used it for shelter.⁶³

This type of tower was commonly built in the western Balkans during the Middle Ages for different purposes. The Muslim Beys in Macedonia and Epirus built them for personal protection as was the case for those towers that are preserved in Skopje, Kočani and Albania. In the mining town of Kratovo such towers were commonly used to deposit monies or precious goods and metals.⁶⁴

The Ottoman settlement transformed the mediaeval Bitola into the city of Toli Manastir. Successive patrons embellished the town with mosques and other public buildings. Amid these Muslim buildings there were still churches and synagogues in the Christian and Jewish quarters. The ‘Golden period’ of monumental sixteen-century architecture was already gone, and throughout the city was rarely built new mosques. At the beginning of the eighteen-century the architectural activity was stagnant and mainly it was influenced by eclecticism of the styles from the capital city.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ Tefvik, op. cit., 223.

⁵⁷ Hasluck, op. cit., 358; H.B. Tanman ‘Settings for the veneration of saints’, *The Dervish lodge*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford 1992, 135, 169. The tomb of Hırka Baba was believed to possess thaumaturgic powers that had the sacred gifts of healing (şifa). The tradition of pilgrimage to the relics was strong in the East. Such was the relic Hırka-ı Şerif (The Mantle of the Prophet) in the Fatih mosque. Hence pilgrimage to the relics of the saint occurred on certain Holy days and nights, when not only the members of the same order, but also the local congregation visited ‘The saint’s tomb’ in their local lodge.

⁵⁸ Hasluck, op. cit., 359.

⁵⁹ Idem, 359.

⁶⁰ Mihajlovski, op. cit., 2001, 71; Hasluck, op. cit., 359.

⁶¹ Tefvik, op. cit., 223.

⁶² Dimitrovski, op. cit., 6-9.

⁶³ Konstantinovi Brothers, *Bitola*, Bitola 1964, 91-93; D. Dimitrovski, op. cit., 4.

⁶⁴ K. Tomovski, R. Volinec, M. Tokarev, E. Hadžievskaleksievska, *Kratovo*, Skopje 1980, 43-48; Kumbardžić-Bogojević op. cit., 217; I. R. Lawless, ‘Berat and Gjirokaster: two museums in Albania’, *Islam in the Balkans*, Edinburgh 1979, 9-17; *People of Turkey: twenty years’ residence among Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians, Turks and Armenians*. By a consul’s daughter and wife, (ed. Lane Poole), London 1878, 229.

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Роберт МИХАЈЛОВСКИ

ОСМАНСКА РЕЛИГИОЗНА АРХИТЕКТУРА ВО БИТОЛА/МОНАСТИР ВО СЕДУМНАЕСЕТТИОТ ВЕК

Резиме

Османскиот патеписец Евлија Челебија, авторот на патеписната книга 'Сејахатнаме' ја посети Битола во 1661. Евлија пишува дека Битола е во областа Румелија, како Хас на Фатима, ќерката на султанот Ахмед III. Со градот управувал војвода, а имало предстваници на верските и цивилните власти, со статус на шехер, како еден поголем град во империјата. Градот имал убави џамии, медреси, безистен, девет стотини дуќани, како и имарети покриени со олово.

Шехер Толи Манаст'р поседувал јавни градби и бањи кои беа делови од вакафите. Разновидните пазари ја правеа битолската чаршија, безистенот и арастата познати во овој дел на империјата. Но, за разлика од градителскиот подем во шеснаесеттиот век, во седумнаесеттиот век не се градеа толку монументални џамии. Тие беа изградени на десната страна од реката како и во горните делови од левиот брег. (Фиг.1)

Во понатамошниот текст авторот прави една подробна анализа и опис на религиозното османско градителско наследство од овој период.

Хасан баба џамија се наоѓа во западниот дел на десната страна од реката во Маџир маало. Изградена е помеѓу 1628 и 1640 при султанот Мурат IV, а обновена во 1883 од командантот на Третата армија во Битола, Фазли Паша. Според локалната легенда Хасан Баба е маченик кој се жртвувал за својот духовен учител Цигер Баба и поради тоа му била отсечена главата, но тој ја однел главата на местото каде подоцна е изградена џамијата со турбето. Оваа легенда има аналогија со христијанскиот маченик свети Јован Владимир кој бил егзекутиран во близината на Битола во единаесети век. Џамијата е со димензии од 6 x 6 метри и е градена е од камен со малтер, а минарето е подигнато во селџучки стил. Турбето со гробот е на западната страна и е обиколено со гробишта и надгробни споменици. (Фиг. 2), (Фиг.3).

Уч Шеихлер или Хамза Беј џамија. Се наоѓа на западниот дел на градот, во некогашното маало Хамза Беј. Оваа џамија може да биде датирана пред 1634 година, а подоцна во 1857 година е реновирана. И во Солун има џамија посветена на Хамза Беј, кој бил воен командант во времето на султан Мехмед II. Битолскиот џамиски комплекс некогаш имал џамија со гробишта, сибјан мектеб, медреса позната како 'Тефикије', потоа едно Халвети теке и турбе со гробови на другата страна на улицата. Имињата на трите шеика биле Ибрахим, Абдул Керим и Ахмед и тие биле припадници на дервишкот ред Халвети, чиј центар беше во Охрид. Џамијата е со димензии од 8.90 x 10.21 м, и е од типот на 'Завије џамии' со една правоаголна апсида каде е сместен михработ. Овој архитектонски елемент со византиско влијание може да се најде низ џамиите во Едрене, Призрен, Штип, Скопје, Сараево и Бања Лука. (Фиг. 4), (Фиг.4а).

Скршена џамија или Уќик самі. Се наоѓа во јужните делови на градот, во близина на главниот пазар и Ленски мост. Беше тешко оштетена во Првата светска војна, но беше посетувана и од муслиманите и христијаните во градот. Се веруваше дека оваа џамија беше изградена на темели од црква 'Свети Никола', но археолошките истражувања во 1974 години не го потврдија тоа. Молитвениот простор на џамијата беше со скромни димензии од 7.93x7.93 м., кој преку пандантиви беше засведен со плитка купола. Третомот на северната страна со димензии од 3.72 x 7.93 м., беше покриен со полу бочвест свод. Оваа џамија му припаѓаше на провинционалниот архитектонски конзервативен стил од крајот на шеснаесетти век и почетокот на седумнаесетти век. (Фиг.5).

Егрикаш ефенди џамија. Се наоѓаше на 'Дрвен пазар' во близината на дервишкиот гроб на Тез верен Баба. Имасе необично име 'Џамија на господиот со крива веѓа', и беше обновена од гос-

поѓата Ајше Хатун во осумнаесетти век. Зградата беше едноставна, покриена со керамиден покрив и имаше масивно зидано минаре со шерефе балкон. Стилски му припаѓаше на седумнаесеттиот век и имаше сличности со Коџа кади џамија која беше во близината. (Фиг.6)

Пафтал џамија. Се наоѓа во повисоките делови на ридот 'Баир' од северната страна, близу до 'Соук чешма'. Според Ајверди името на џамијата 'Пафтал' е невообичаено и е поврзано со коњската опрема. Некогаш во комплексот имаше еден мектеб и гробишта, како и една молитвена просторија изградена подоцна во деветнаесетти век. Главната молитвена просторија е со димензии од 5, 80 x 5, 80 м. и е покриена со осмоаголна купола која стои на пандантифи. Минаретото е од делкан бигор и преку него се влегува во џамијата. Има аналогии со 'Скршена џамија' и е примерок на раниот класичен османски стил. (Фиг. 7)

Сабуни џамија се споменува во 1639 година во маалото Кара Олан, помеѓу џамиите Сунгур Чауш Беј и Хајдар кади, отспротива на Дебој амамот. (Фиг.8)

Месциди. Има и неколку месциди од овој период: Шејх Х'з'р Бали, Хаџи Кетуда, Ахмед ефенди, Махмуд ага и Кјучук Синан месцид.

Турбето на К'злар Беј или отвореното турбе. Се наоѓаше во турските гробишта на северо-источното предградие, во некогашното маало К'злар беј. Слично турбе има во Скопје, познато како Крал к'зи каде според легендата е погребана

на ќерката на последниот босански крал Стефан Томашевиќ. Димензиите на битолското турбе се 5, 16 x 5,31 м., со висина од 7, 76 м. Техниката на градење е комбинација на делкан камен со три реда од тули и со покрив од керамида. Уште едно слично турбе посветено на Цигер Баба, учителот на Хасан Баба некогаш беше лоцирано на јужните падини на ридот Тумбе кафе. Слични турбиња има во Скопје, Сараево и Фоча. (Фиг.9), (Фиг.9а) И на крајот еден невообичаен османски споменик е кулата позната како 'Зандан куле'. Се наоѓа во дворот на училиштето 'Стив Наумов', во близината на џамијата Хамза Беј. Кулата е изградена од Хаџи Махмуд ефенди, или Кулели Х'рка Баба, кој бил шејх од Накшбендискиот дервишки ред, а околу 1628 година бил и битолски муфтија. Според легендата тој исчезнал оставајќи ја својата мантија која потопена во вода имала лековити дејства. Се чувала во еден ковчег во кулата од еден турбедар, заедно со други реликвии и ретки книги. Кулата била изградена од камен со основа од 6, 50 ч 5, 35 метри и висина од 10, 95 метри. Оваа три-катна кула била опремена за независно живеење, имала бунар, голема одаја, санитарни простории и магацин за храна. Била употребувана и како засолниште во воено време, но и како привремен затвор, поради што и го добила когноменот 'Зандан куле'. Слични кули има во Скопје, Кратово, Кочани и Албанија и во главно биле употребувани за заштита на семејствата или како трезори за пари. (Фиг.10)

