The Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, the author of the book “Seyahatname” visited the town of Toli Manastır in 1661. His description is one of the most valuable documents concerning the Ottoman character and profile of Şeher 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 (Kadi) with 300 akçes salary. From the 360 villages the kadi 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 (Şeher voyvoda), the Tax Collector (Ser haraç emini), a City Representative (Şeher kethuda), the Market Supervisor (Muhettesib 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 Hüdavendigar (1362-1389).

The town of Manastır 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 (Çekerçe) 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 Dubbend Kadi medrese.6


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

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, ‘Kratura istoriija bitoljskij vialjeta’, *Brasto*, vol. XXVII, (transl. G. Elezović) Beograd 1933, 204; J. Hadži Vasiljević, ‘Grad Bitolj’, *iz dela Kroz staru Srbiju i Makedoniju* 1897 godine, *Brasto*, vol. XIV, Beograd 1911, 41.

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


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. Manastır was a famous place for production of flax, which was finer than that of Egypt. 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/ Manastır, early twentieth century)

The seventeen-century urban structure and organization of the town Toli-Manastır followed the patterns 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 endowed 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 ‘Debo’ hamam and the Yeni hamam, which were sixteen-seventeen century buildings. 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 Flea market, the Butter market. The Arasta or covered streets contained different markets for spices, wine, flax, candles, jam, and craftsmen. 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 Manastır was Hacı Mahmud Efendi. Known as Kule-96-97, 107. The names of the nine religious colleges (medrese) in Manastır 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 Tevfikiye or Üç Şeyhler medrese. Čelebi, op. cit., 59; A. Vacalopoulos, History of Macedonia 1354-1833, Thessaloniki 1972, 264.

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

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 Kulesı’, 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 was erected.11 The seventeen-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 nineteen-century Muslim refugees were settled in this area and it was known as the Muhacir mahallesı (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 Manastır, renovated it in 1883.13 The history of the mosque is based on the local legend of Hasan Baba Keşi 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

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11 Tomovski, op. cit., 58; Ayverdi, op. cit., 98; Tevfik, op. cit., 219-220.
14 Ayverdi, op. cit., 97.
15 Tevfik, 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.
modest tomb of Hasan Baba, a simple mausoleum, a dervish tekke and a mosque were built. Fazli Paşa renovated the mosque in 1883. 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. 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 in side, 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. The entire simplicity of the mosque building with the minaret, the mausoleum and the graveyard, which are surrounded with a stone-wall. There is another Bektaşi’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 Kurudere stream and the tower of Zandan kulesi. This mosque may date to the sixteenth 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. 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 zaviye in Edirne, which became the center of the Halveti dervish order that arrived in Europe under Sultan Bayezit II (1481-1512).
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. The year ‘1798’ written in red paint was still visible on the southern side of the mosque’s drum. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. A flat-topped roof covers the apse and there are
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. 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 Paša mosque in Štip, the Sinan Paša mosque in Prizren, the Alaca mosque in Skopje, the Hüsrev Bey mosque in Sarajevo of 1531, the Ferhadiyye in Banja Luka of 1531 and so on. 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. 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 (Kirik 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’ (Lenski 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. The comparatively recent name of ‘The Broken mosque’ is connected with the ruined minaret, which suffered heavy damage from artillery in

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the First World War. 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.

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.

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

The Eğrikaş 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 Eğrikaş Efendi mosque) This simple mosque building belongs to the period between the sixteen and the seventeenth-century. The Eğrikaş 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 of one shop for the mosque. It was registered in the Land Survey Cadastral archives of 1203 AH/ 1788. A hipped roof and old terracotta tiles covered the rec-
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 Kadi 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 Paftali 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.

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 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.

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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 Oğlan, between the Sungur Çavuş mosque and the Haydar Kadi mosque, opposite the Deboy 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 Oğlan.

**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 mütevelli was Ömer Çelebi, son of Emir Şah.39

**The Hacı Kethüda Mescid.** Around the year 1610 Hacı Hüseyn, 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 Kücük Sinan Mescid.** In 1639 Ahmed Çelebi the Imam of the Kücük Sinan mescid, went on pilgrimage. This mescid was located in the quarter of Oğul 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 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

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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., 1607-1623) Skopje 1963, 7 sicil 1, page 17b-19a; Ayverdi, op. cit., 95.


45 Hasluck, op. cit., 360.

46 Kumbaradži-Bogojević, op. cit., 124.
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. When it was visited and drawn by Edward Lear in 1848 a marble cenotaph was still visible under the türbe, but later it disappeared. 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.

Closely connected to the Kızlar Bey türbe are some open mausolea in Skopje, such as Kral K’zi, Hatunciklar, Alti Ayak, dated 1690, and Ali Paşa of Dagestan, dated 1774. There are similar turbes in Sarajevo at the Alifikakov cemetery and in Foča. The hexagonal base of the Deliktaş minaret of Bursa, which served as Şadırvan, resembled Bitola’s Kızlar Bey türbe.

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 terracotta tiles was situated on the hill ‘Tumbeki’ above the military garrison. This türbe where layed the body of legendary local dervish, Ciger Baba, was described by Hasluck and Tevfik.

Zandan Kulesı (Öçak). 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 Kaygusiz, near the mosques Üç Şeyhler and Zandancık or Derviş Cami.

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.

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.
52 Redžić, op. cit., 81.
55 Ayverdi, op. cit., 109. The name Zandan kule means that the tower was temporary used as a prison. The second name, ‘Öçak’ denotes tower as a center for spiritual activities. D. Dimitrovski, Elaborat za kulturno-istoriskiot 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 name and another one close to the Eski Çifte Hamam. Momidić-Petkova, op. cit., 1988, 95-107; K. Balabanov, A. Nikolovski, D. Ćornakov, Spomenici na kulturnata na Makedonija, (ed. B. Pavlovski) Skopje 1980, 200.
from which he got his nickname, Kuleli. 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.’ He left his Dervish cap (Tac) and a Pouch (Çemer) that were kept with the Khirka in a chest in the upper story of the tower as relics. ‘The water in which the khirka 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.’

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.’ 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. 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.

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 decoratively 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.

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.

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

The Ottoman settlement transformed the mediaeval Bitola into the city of Toli Manastır. 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 eighteenth-century the architectural activity was stagnant and mainly it was influenced by eclecticism of the styles from the capital city.
Османскиот патеписец Евлија Челебија, авторот на патеписната книга ‘Сеjахатнаме’ 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 представници на верските и цивилните власти, со статус на шехер, како еден поголем град во империјата. Градот имал јавна полица, медреси, безистен, девет стотини дуќани, како и имарети покриени со олово.

Шехер Толи Манастир 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 градителското подем во шеснаесетиот век, во седумнаесетиот 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 градот, во некогашно маало Хамза Беј. Оваа џамија може да биде датирана на пред 1634 година, а подоцна во 1857 година е реконструкирана. Во Солун има џамија посветена на Хамза Беј, кој бил воен командант во времето на султан Мехмед II. Битолската џамија наследила некогаш имал гробишта, сибјан мектеб, медреса позната како ‘Тефикије’, потоа едно Халвети теке и турбе со гробови на другата страна на улицата. Имињата на трите шеици биле Ибрахим, Абул Керим и Ахмед и тие биле припадници на дервишкот ред Халвети, циј центар беше во Охрид. Џамијата е со димензии од 8.90 х 10.21 м., и е од типот на ‘Завије џамија’ со една правоаголна апсида каде е сместен михраб. 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 Уїкік 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 година не го потврдија тоа. Моитовниот простор на џамијата беше со скромни димензии од 7.93х7.93 м., со полу-бочвест свод. Оваа џамија му припаѓа на провинционалниот архитектонски конзерваторски стил од крајот на седумнаесеттиот век и почетокот на следувачкиот период. (Фиг.5).

Егрикаш ефенди џамија се наоѓа во близина на дервишкот гроб на Тез верен Баба. Имае изобилно имиње ‘Џамија на господинот со крива веѓа’, и беше обновена од гос-
Поѓата Ајше Хатун во османсетти век. Зградата беше едноставна, покриена со керамиден покрив и имаше масивно зидано минаре со шерефе балкон. Стилски му припаѓа на седумнаесеттиот век и имаше сличности со Коца кади џамијата 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 коњска опрема. Некогаш во комплектот имаше еден мектеб и гробишта, како и една молитвена просторија изградена подоцна во деветнаесетти век. Главната молитвена просторија е со димензии од 5, 80 х 5, 80 м. и е покриена со осмоаголна купола која стои на пандантифи. Главната молитвена просторија е со димензии од 5, 80 х 5, 80 м. и е покриена со осмоаголна купола која стои на пандантифи. Минарето е од делкан бигор и преку него се влегува во џамијата. Има аналогии со ‘Скршена џамија’ и е примерок на раширен класичен османски стил. (Фиг. 7)

Сабун 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 наоѓа во турските гробишта на североисточното предградие, во некогашното маало К’злар беј. Слично турбе има во Скопје, познато како Краал к’зи каде според легендата е погребана на керката на последниот босански краљ Стефан Томашевиќ. Димензииите на битолското турбе се 5, 16 x 5,31 м., со висина од 7, 76 м. Техниката на градењето е комбинирана на делкан камен со три реда од тули и со покрив од керамиди. Уште едно слично турбе посветено на Џигер Баба, учителот на Хасан Баба некогаш беше лоцирано на јужните падини на ридот Тумбе кафе. Слични турбини 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 Накшбендиското дервишки ред, а около 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 реликви 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 магацини за храна. Била употребувана и како засолниште во воено време, но и како привремен затвор, поради што 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 тремози за пари. (Фиг.10)