



USING LANDSCAPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES IN THE LIGHT OF INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

KORIŠTENJE KRAJOLIKA U SREDNJEM VIJEKU U SVJETLU INTERDISCIPLINARNIH ISTRAŽIVANJA

Zagreb, 2021.



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UVODNA RIJEČ

U današnje vrijeme nemoguće je promatrati ljudsku prošlost bez promatranja suodnosa čovjeka i okoliša. S jedne strane, uočljiv je utjecaj okoliša pri izboru mjesta za formiranje naselja, u gospodarskoj djelatnosti koje neko naselje afirmira i razvija, kao i utjecaj o čovjeku neovisnih promjena (npr. klimatskih) koje su mogle uzrokovati i napuštanje nekih gospodarskih djelatnosti ili čak čitavih naselja. S druge strane, čovjek djeluje na modeliranje okoliša i krajolika jer su promjene u socijalnim strukturama, ekonomiji, proizvodnji, kulturnim i vjerskim izričajima svakako donosile promjene koje su uvelike sezale u prestrukturiranje i modificiranje izvornih krajolika. Za razumijevanje ovih promjena ključan je multidisciplinarni i interdisciplinarni pristup: korištenjem arheologije krajobraza i okoliša, geoarheologije, paleoekologije, paleoklimatologije i paleogeografije kako bi se rekonstruirali danas izgubljeni okolišni uvjeti te promatranjem novijeg krajobraza kao slojevite tvorevine povijesnih događanja korištenjem povijesnih izvora, bioarheoloških podataka itd. Tako se krajolik definira kroz međusoban odnos prirodnih procesa i ljudskih aktivnosti, a upravo je ovo bila tema šestog međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa srednjovjekovne arheologije održanog u Zagrebu 6. lipnja 2019. godine, pod nazivom *Korištenje krajolika u srednjem vijeku u svjetlu interdisciplinarnih istraživanja* u organizaciji Instituta za arheologiju. Tijekom skupa održano je 12 izlaganja i četiri poster prezentacije, a sudjelovalo je 37 znanstvenika, od kojih 16 iz Hrvatske te 21 iz Mađarske, Rumunjske, Rusije, Slovačke, Slovenije i Srbije. Cilj ovoga skupa bio je promatranje čovjeka u svom ekološkom, ekonomskom, kulturno-religijskom i povijesnom okruženju tijekom srednjega i novoga vijeka u svjetlu interdisciplinarnih istraživanja.

Dio predstavljenih radova obuhvaćen je ovim Zbornikom radova znanstvenog skupa. Radovi raznovrsno promatraju čovjekov krajolik: od rekonstrukcija okolišnih i ekoloških uvjeta, prostornih analiza naseļavanja, rekonstrukcija okoliša prema arheološkim kontekstima, do transformacije srednjovjekovnog grada, vodovoda kao dijela pomno planiranog gradskog krajolika te promišljanja kulturno-religijskih krajolika.

Prikupljanje radova ovoga Zbornika i priprema za tisak u vrijeme COVID-19 pandemije, potpunog zatvaranja svih djelatnosti, dva razorna potresa (onog zagrebačkog u nedjelju 22. ožujka 2020. godine u 6 sati i 24 minute te onog petrinjskog u utorak 29. prosinca 2020. godine u 12 sati i 19 minuta) te njihovih dalekosežnih posljedica koje su prisilile Institut na promjenu adrese, činili su se gotovo nemogućim zadatkom. Stoga smo posebno zahvalni autorima radova okupljenih u ovoj publikaciji koja izlazi u seriji *Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju / Serta Instituti Archaeologici* (Vol. 18) i Ministarstvu znanosti i obrazovanja Republike Hrvatske na financijskoj potpori za izdavanje ovoga Zbornika u vrijeme globalne financijske krize. Zahvaljujemo svim sudionicima skupa, kolegama iz Instituta za arheologiju za pomoć pri organizaciji i recenzentima ove publikacije. Nadamo se da će ovdje prikupljeni radovi biti poticaj i inspiracija kolegama arheolozima, stručnjacima drugih znanstvenih područja, kao i generacijama koje dolaze, za promatranje i proučavanje različitih aspekata prostornog identiteta nekog područja. Tako bismo u konačnici bolje razumjeli prošlost te iz novog kuta sagledali okruženje u kojem živimo, a koje u svojoj srži baštini svu slojevitost međuodnosa čovjeka i prirodnih procesa.

FOREWORD

At present, it is impossible to observe the human past without observing the relationship between man and the environment. On the one hand, the influence of the environment is noticeable on the choice of places to form settlements, on the economic activity that affirms and develops a settlement, as well as the non-human influenced changes (e.g. climate) that could have caused the abandonment of some economic activities or even entire settlements. On the other hand, man influences modelling of the environment and the landscape, because changes in social structures, economics, production, cultural and religious expressions have certainly brought about changes that have largely restructured and modified the original landscapes. A multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach is vital to understand these changes: using landscape and environmental archaeology, geoarchaeology, paleoecology, paleoclimatology and paleogeography to reconstruct today's lost environmental conditions and observing the recent landscape as a layered formation of historical events using historical sources, bioarchaeological data, etc. Thus, the landscape is defined through the mutual relationship between natural processes and human activities, and this was precisely the topic of the 6th International Scientific Conference on Mediaeval Archaeology held in Zagreb on 6th of June 2019, entitled *Using landscape in the Middle Ages in the light of interdisciplinary research*, organized by the Institute of Archaeology. During the conference, 12 presentations and four poster presentations were held, and 37 scientists participated, 16 of them from Croatia and 21 from Hungary, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia and Serbia. The aim of this conference was to observe man in his ecological, economic, cultural-religious and historical environment during the Middle and Modern Ages in the light of interdisciplinary research.

Part of the presented papers is included in this Proceedings of the scientific conference volume. The papers observe the human landscape in a variety of ways: from reconstructions of environmental and ecological conditions, spatial analyses of settlements, reconstructions of the environment according to the archaeological contexts, to the transformation of the medieval town, water supply as part of a carefully planned urban landscape, and reflections on cultural and religious landscapes.

Collecting the papers for this Proceedings volume and preparing them for printing at the time of the COVID-19 pandemic, complete lockdown, two devastating earthquakes (the one in Zagreb on Sunday, 22nd of March 2020 at 6.24 AM and the one in Petrinja on Tuesday, 29th of December 2020 at 12.19 AM) and their far-reaching consequences that forced the Institute to change its address, seemed an almost impossible task. Therefore, we are especially grateful to the authors of the papers collected in this publication, which is published in the series *Zbornik Instituta za arheologiju / Serta Instituti Archaeologici* (Vol. 18), and the Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia for the financial support of this Proceedings volume during the global financial crisis. We would like to thank all conference participants, colleagues from the Institute of Archeology for their help with the organization and reviewers of this publication. We hope that the papers collected here will be an encouragement and inspiration to fellow archaeologists and experts from other scientific fields, as well as future generations, to observe and study different aspects of the spatial identity of a region. In this way, we would ultimately better understand the past and see from a new angle the environment in which we live today, which at its core inherits all the layers of the interrelationships between man and natural processes.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE MEDIEVAL URBAN LANDSCAPE: FROM THE SERBIAN RAS TO THE OTTOMAN NOVI PAZAR

The expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans during the second half of the 14th and in the 15th century led to the disappearance of medieval Christian states and the establishment of a new political regime with Islam as the ruling religion. This resulted in numerous cultural, social, economic and demographic changes. Some of them were drastic and arose immediately upon the arrival of the conquerors, while others were less pronounced or at least initially absent. The least noticeable, especially in the first centuries of Ottoman rule, were changes in the cultural landscape. The exceptions were important urban centres in which certain visual changes were obvious already after the conquest. Namely, cities would, usually immediately after falling into Ottoman hands, gain at least one mosque, with which the conqueror would “mark” the newly acquired land. This most expressive symbol of the new ideology would most often be created by converting the largest city's church, that is, the church whose position dominated the urban landscape. This would be followed by the construction of other buildings with the aim of adapting the conquered city to the needs of Muslims and the Ottoman vision of ideally organised urban space. The process of adaptation and transformation of existing urban settlements, especially those with rich layers of Byzantine-Slavic heritage, as well as its scope, occurred at different rates depending on local circumstances and the needs of the Ottoman state itself. Thus, some cities underwent minimal changes in spatial organization, while others were completely transformed. Bearing in mind that each city is a case for itself, we decided to analyse in more detail the transformation of medieval Ras into the Ottoman city of Ras, which in the process received another, later the only, name – Novi Pazar.

KEY WORDS: RAS, NOVI PAZAR, OTTOMANIZATION, CULTURAL LANDSCAPE, ISA BEY IŠHAKOĞLU

As we learn from written sources, the capital of medieval Serbia, which included the place where state assemblies (Sr. *sabor*) were held, the episcopal church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and the fortress, was located in the *župa* (territorial unit) of Ras (Калић 2013). Later, during the 13th and 14th centuries, frequent shifts of the

border to the south and east led to relocation of the state central place. The lack of written and material sources about the open settlement of Ras, and above all the fact that it has been continuously covered with new urban layers since the middle of the 15th century, have resulted in the history of this important centre of Serbian state-

hood remaining less known. However, in the years and decades behind us, research of the area of medieval Ras, despite numerous digressions and disagreements, has yielded significant knowledge (Новаковић 1877; Динић 1970; Калић 1990; 1994; 2013; Поповић 1999). A particular contribution to this was the publication of Turkish-Ottoman censuses from the 15th century (Šabanović 1964; Aličić 2008), which removed any dilemma that the site of today's Novi Pazar was previously the open medieval settlement of Ras with a central market (Šabanović 1982; Чар Дрнда 1984; Калић 1994; 2013). As reliably stated in the census from 1468/1469, after falling into Ottoman hands, Ras, as a formed urban space with a long administrative and church tradition, continued to function as an episcopal and administrative centre (Tur. *nefs*) of the *župa* – *nahiye* Ras (Катић, Војводић 2020). Over time, however, with the conversion of existing and construction of new urban buildings and markets (Tur. *bazar*, *pazar*), it was transformed to such an extent that by the end of the 15th century it became widely known by another name, *Yeni* (New) *Bazar*, i.e. Novi Pazar. In the meantime, as the above-mentioned source testifies, both names were used (Aličić 2008: 8).

The name *Yeni Bazar* has led some researchers to the assumption that the city was built after the arrival of the Ottomans on completely empty ground (Мушовић 1985; 1995; Hartmuth 2012: 20).¹ However, the situation in Ras was different. As J. Kalić concluded based on analysis of the data from 1468/1469 census, Evliya Celebi's travelogue and modern archeological excavations, the old centre of Novi Pazar was actually the main marketplace of medieval Ras, the so-called *Žitni trg*. The dominant point in the landscape of the medieval city was the main church, which the conquerors converted into a mosque – the Gazi Isa Bey Mosque (Калић 2013: 436). The medieval *Tsarigradski drum* (Constantinople Road) ran through the *Žitni trg*, leading to the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul (Peter's Church), the seat of the Eparchy of Raška, and continued to the north, while to the south, through Kosovo and Skopje, it led to *Tsarigrad* (Constantinople) (Fig. 1). So far, several attempts have been made to describe the creation of Novi Pazar based on Ottoman sources, but unfortunately without significant reference to its rich medieval heritage (Зиројевић 1977; Чар Дрнда 1984; Мушовић

1985; 1995). In addition, the mentioned works, given that they were written several decades ago, are inaccurate both in the interpretation of some basic concepts, such as the urban *mahalle* and its structure, and in the interpretation of specific defter data. For that reason, it seems necessary to revisit the topic of the transformation of the medieval Serbian Ras into the Ottoman Novi Pazar on the basis of already used sources, but also some new Ottoman documents.

The data provided by the available written sources does not allow a precise ascertainment of the years during which the Ras region fell under Ottoman rule. However, it is important to point out that from March 1396, a Turkish *kadı* resided in the nearby Gluhavica mine, and that in 1399, Turkish units held Zvečan and nearby Jeleč (Динић 1978: 172–174). While the representatives of the Ottoman authorities were continuously present in the aforementioned places, the question is whether they were present in Ras at the end of the 14th century. Previously, the settlement had belonged to the land of Vuk Branković, which, unlike the areas ruled by Stefan Lazarević, was under Ottoman control (Динић 1978: 175–176). The Ottoman borderland troops were constantly present in the Branković's land, from where they carried out invasions of Bosnia or took part in clashes between the Branković's and Lazarević's. Their commander Paša Yiğit Bey independently managed the territory entrusted to him from his headquarters in Skopje. Dubrovnik documents testify that from the end of the first decade of the 15th century he was involved in mining operations in Trepča, and that he held customs on the Lim, somewhere near Brskovo, as well as in Vučitrn and Dobrijevo (Динић 1978: 173). Under the leadership of his son and heir to the position, Ishak Bey (1414–1439), Turks increasingly settled in the areas north of Skopje, while representatives of the Ottoman government settled permanently in urban centres.² It can be assumed that during this period, the Ottomans stayed more often in Ras itself. However, the first reliable news about their settlement comes from the time of Isa Bey, who took over leadership of the borderland – *krajište* in 1439, at the time of the first fall of the Serbian Despotate under Ottoman rule. It seems that for this reason, the beginning of the transformation of the Serbian Ras into the Ottoman Novi Pazar, with a certain amount of caution, could be chronologically placed precisely in the time after 1440.

¹ — An example of this is Yenice-i Karasu (today's Genisea) in Thrace mentioned in 1432 by Bertrand de la Broquière, calling it Yeni Bazar (Ameen 2018: 90).

² — In 1423, there was a Turkish court and customs in Priština (Динић 1978: 174).



Fig. 1 — Map of Ras – Novi Pazar during the second half of 15th and first decades of 16th century (made by: T. Katić and U. Vojvodić)
Sl. 1 — Karta Rasa – Novog Pazara tijekom druge polovice 15. i prvih desetljeća 16. stoljeća (izradili: T. Katić i U. Vojvodić)

Earlier research has shown that after the Ottoman conquest of Balkan cities, a gradual redesign – Ottomanization of the existing urban core took place. Along with that process, a new, Ottoman centre would be established outside the borders of the medieval city (Boykov 2016; Ameen 2018). According to this model, Isa Bey, most likely in the first years of his administration, began the transformation of the Serbian medieval Ras into the Ottoman Novi Pazar as a part of his efforts to expand the territory of the *krajište* in the direction of Bosnia. The first act in this regard was the conversion of the main city church on

Žitni trg into a mosque (Čelebi 1979: 266).³ It was followed by the thought-out construction of a new city centre on the other side of the river Raška. The key elements of the newly founded part of the city were the dervish lodge (*zaviye*), public soup kitchen (*imaret*), caravanserai, hammam and 56 trade and craft shops (TD 24: 118). Some researchers have argued that a fortification with palisade walls was erected as part of this building endeavour (Andrejević 1969: 210; Зиројевић 1977: 112; Мушовић 1985: 69). However, such a claim is not supported by either written sources⁴ or archaeological material (Премовић-

3 — Isa Bey's mosque was destroyed in 1936 due to deterioration, and two years later the Islamic community building was erected in its place (Premović-Aleksić 2013: 47). During its demolition, the existence of the medieval church from which it developed was determined, and a marble slab with the ktetor's inscription in the Old Slavonic language was discovered (Мушовић 1985: 70).

4 — French travel writers who passed through Novi Pazar on the way to Constantinople during the mid 16th and during the first half of the 17th century, state that the city was not surrounded by walls (Самарџић 1961: 112, 114, 164, 174), while Evliya Čelebi, who visited the city in 1660, does not mention the existence of a fortification either (Čelebi 1979: 265–268). The construction of Novi Pazar's stronghold in the *palanka* style did not begin until after June 1695, when the first imperial order about it was issued (Тричковић 2013: 131, 296).

Алексић, Вујовић 1999: 148; Премовић-Алексић 2008: 234).⁵

Zaviye-imarets in the Balkans, as well as in Anatolia, played a significant role in the concept of planned Ottomanization of urban space (Boykov 2016). These multifunctional buildings, so-called T-shaped structures, traced the direction of the new Ottoman urban centre outside the existing medieval one.⁶ Following this concept, Paşa Yiğit Bey, Ishak Bey, as well as Isa Bey himself, erected *zaviye-imarets* in Skopje, along with a hammam, caravanserai and madrasa, the other elements of the city's new urban core (Boykov 2011: 41–44). The objective behind their building effort was to maintain social tranquillity by meeting the needs of those with minimal resources and providing some of the social, economic and cultural infrastructure required by such a settlement (Howard 1991).

Of all the buildings erected by Isa Bey in Ras, only the hammam has been preserved. It is located on the right bank of the Raška, near the Constantinople Road. The *imaret*, *zaviye* and caravanserai must have been in the vicinity, forming the urban core of the new part of

the city. The position of the *imaret-zaviye* can be determined based on the data provided by historical sources and the orientation of the street in which the bazaar was located. The census of 1488/1489 reports that the construction of new waqf shops would be conducted on the empty land that extends from the beginning of the bridge (meaning the bridge over the river Raška), namely from the *tekke(zaviye)*, to the river (here referring to the river Jošanica) (TD 24: 119). Based on this remark, it can be concluded that the *zaviye-imaret* was located next to the bridge on the Raška, on the right side of the river. Its traditional orientation towards the qibla could trace the direction of today's 7th July Street in which the shops were built. Despite the fact that we are not familiar with its appearance, it can be assumed that all Isa Bey's endowments were most likely built in the same manner as his hammam in Novi Pazar, thus forming a single architectural ensemble. The *zaviye-imarets* erected by Isa Bey and his father in Skopje could certainly provide an architectural analogy (Fig. 2).

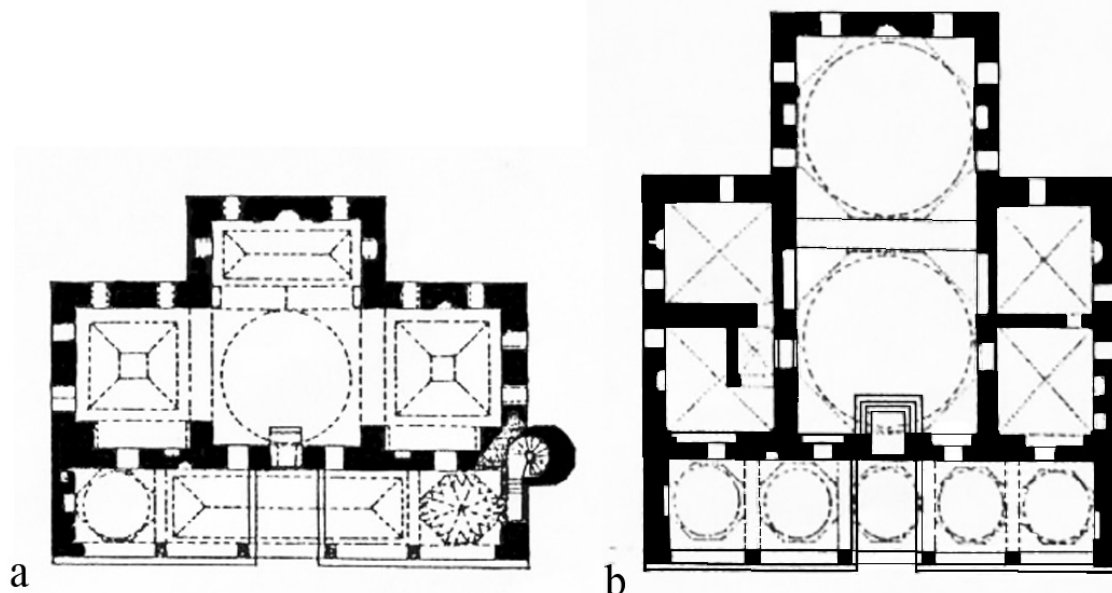


Fig. 2 — Ground plan of (a) Ishak Bey and (b) Isa Bey imarets in Skopje (after: Oguz 2006: 65, 83, Fig. 30; 44)

Sl. 2 — Tlocrti (a) Ishak Bey i (b) Isa Bey pučkih kuhinja u Skopju (prema: Oguz 2006: 65, 83, Fig. 30; 44)

⁵ — Although it is obvious that the city was not fortified until the end of the 17th century (Поповић 1985: 122; Премовић-Алексић, Вујовић 1999), a more precise chronological determination of the time of its creation will be enabled by archaeological research conducted in the past two years (Vidosavljević, Bačićanin 2019; 2020).

⁶ — The building, which had a floor plan of a reversed "T", consisted of a central hall under a dome which extended into an elevated, vaulted or domed open space for prayer (*eyvan*) and two to four lateral rooms – *tabhanes* with fireplaces, which were intended for the accommodation of guests and preparation of food (for more details, see Boykov 2015: 247–248).

The common Ottoman practice of forming a new city centre on an uninhabited space near the conquered city suggests that the southern border of medieval Ras was most likely delineated by the river Raška, at least in some parts. The other side of the river, before the construction of Isa Bey's endowments, was mostly vacant and suitable for the establishment of the marketplace. The Constantinople Road, which extended further south from the mentioned bridge over the Raška, was the decisive factor in the construction of the *zaviye-imaret*, hammam, caravanserai and trade and craft shops on this precise location. All the above-mentioned buildings would be built within the following few years and would represent the new Turkish market (*trg, pazar*). The name *Novi trg*, i.e. *Novi Pazar* logically arose from the need to distinguish the new Ottoman from the existing old, medieval Serbian market on the left side of the river.

Simultaneously with Isa Bey's construction of the new bazaar in Ras, which was most likely initiated in the early 1440s, the process of the settlement of Ottoman raiders took place in and around the city, which in turn contributed to the "Ottomanization" of medieval Ras. Cadastral censuses testify that some raider commanders and deserving soldiers were granted deserted estates in the vicinity of the city in private ownership (*çiftlik*), while others were given land tenure (*timar*) as a reward for their service.⁷ A certain Ali from Menteşe, with his son Mehmedi, was given ownership of a *mezraa*, i.e. an abandoned hamlet called Suh(ov)i Potok because both he and his son had "fought under Ishak Bey and destroyed infidels" (Aličić 2008: 22). This distinguished warrior, originally from the Beylik of Menteşe in southwestern Anatolia, who had undoubtedly fought under Isa Bey too, chose not the *çiftlik* of Suhi Potok but the town of Ras as his place of permanent residence. As a famous warrior, whose other sons had also fought under the command of Isa Bey, Menteşeli Ali followed the example of his commander and founded a *mescid* in the city. The newly settled Muslim community that formed around it was named after him.⁸ Menteşeli Ali's *mescid*, given that it had no waqf from which it would support itself, later became known as that of Debbağ

Ishak b. Abdullah, a convert who bequeathed his estates to the *mescid* in the first decades of the 16th century (TD 164: 13, 389; TD 211: 663).⁹ This place of worship, reconstructed and renovated several times, still exists today and is located on the right bank of the Raška, below the Jaz canal, in the Lug area of Novi Pazar.

Another Ottoman commander who contributed to the transformation of Ras was a certain Iskender *Subaşı* who also established a *mescid* around which a *mahalle* was formed (TD 56: 9; TD 164: 389). Although it is not possible to determine the exact position of the *mescid*, it seems that it was on the right bank of the river Raška, near the new city centre. His patron can be identified as Iskender, the personal servant (*gulam*) of Isa Bey, who appointed him as the *subaşı* of Jeleč and gave him six villages in the vicinity of Ras as a *timar* (Šabanović 1964: 36). In one of them, in Vražogrnci, Iskender also had his *çiftlik* (Aličić 2008: 20).

The gradual process of converting the medieval Serbian Ras into the Ottoman Novi Pazar was followed by an increase of the Muslim population, with 175 households registered in the census of 1468/1469. In that period, Christians were still the majority population, with a total of 194 families, 7 widowed and 28 single households (Aličić 2008: 8). Most probably as a result of this fact, the mentioned Ottoman censuses consistently used the Serbian name, Ras, together with the Turkish Novi (*Yeni*) Pazar (Aličić 2008: 8, 19–22). The number of Christians in Ras decreased significantly in the following period, during the 1470s and '80s (TD 18: 19).

From 1463 to 1469, Isa Bey held the position of *sancak-beyi* of Bosnia and was more dedicated to building his endowments in Sarajevo. Still, he had a direct insight into the events in Ras because part of the *nahiye* of Ras was managed by his son Mehmed Bey (Aličić 2008: 10). Even twenty years later, members of Isa Bey's family remained attached to this area. In 1485/1486, Isa Bey's second son, Ahmed Bey, took possession of some villages of the Ras *nahiye* grouped into a larger estate (*zeamet*) under the name of *Yenice Pazar* (TD 18: 169). At this time, two more *mescids* were established in Ras. Their founders are named Ahmed

7 — On the other hand, some raiders were forcibly colonized.

8 — This community (*mahalle*) is one of the oldest in the city and can be traced in several Ottoman censuses (TD 18: 19; TD 24: 116; TD 56: 10; TD 164: 13).

9 — The estates of Debbağ Ishak, houses with yards and barns, as well as gardens were located in the *mahalles* of Ak (Čirak) Ilyas, Menteşeli and Paralovo, which leads to the conclusion that these were neighboring *mahalles*.

– the first being a certain Ahmed Bey and the second a certain Ahmed Voyvoda.¹⁰ While the first patron could be recognized as Isa Bey's son, he is nevertheless another figure – Silahdar Ahmed Bey, mentioned in the 1489 census as the owner of several estates in the villages of Janča and Korutane in the Ras *nahiye*.¹¹ His *mescid*, known today as the Leylek mosque (Мушовић 1985: 71), was built in the Bursa style, characteristic of the 15th century, in a part of the city called Ćukovac, about 200 meters northeast of the *Žitni trg*, on Constantinople Road. Ćukovac was undoubtedly within the borders of medieval Ras, since it was located in the immediate vicinity of the former main city church (later Isa Bey's mosque).¹² During the second half of the 15th century, its inhabitants, Christians, formed the community (*mahalle*) Ćukovac, which was one of the smallest Christian *mahalles* in the city, with 10 to 15 households (TD 18: 19; TD 24: 117–118). The small size of the mentioned community also indicates that it was an old one. Seemingly, it became exposed to gradual Islamization early on. The conversion of the local population to Islam led, it seems, to another city church being replaced by a *mescid*. Namely, the Leylek mosque was built on the site of a medieval church. During the 1960s, the external surface of an altar was still visible on the east side of the building (Петровић 1968: 90).¹³

The Muslim population of Ćukovac, served by the imam of Ahmed Bey's endowment, formed the *mahalle* of the *mescid* of Ahmed Bey (TD 56: 9), while the Christian population, as already mentioned, formed the *mahalle* of Ćukovac. Both communities lived in the same part of the city in religiously heterogeneous city quarters – *mahalles*, i.e. distinct urban, socio-administrative entities that held together a number of coreligionists obligated to jointly pay certain taxes (*avariz*) and maintain public order and peace.¹⁴

The second *mescid* – the *mescid* of Ahmed Voyvoda, was also built on the Constantinople Road, but on the opposite side of the city, on the right bank of the Raška. Despite the fact that we are not familiar with the figure of Ahmed Voyvoda, he seems to have been a wealthy and influential person in the Skopje-Bosnia borderland. As we find out from Ottoman defters, during the 1480s his fields and vineyards in the villages of the *Vrača nahiye*, watermills in the village of Supnje where the Raška flows into the Ibar, as well as fields which previously belonged to the monastery Đurđevi Stupovi, was exempted from taxes by the sultan's order (TD 24: 670, 699, 723, 746). Ahmed Voyvoda also had watermills in the village of Kućane near Supnje, as well as 22 shops in Novi Pazar itself, whose income he used to support his *mescid* (TD 211: 789). Today, the Ahmed Voyvoda's *mescid* is known as the Small or Koračka mosque (Мушовић 1985: 74).

During the last decade of the 15th or perhaps at the beginning of the 16th century, in the predominantly Muslim city of Novi Pazar, three more *mescids* were built on important city roads. The *mescid* of *kapıcıbaşı* Hamza Voyvoda (a person we were not able to identify in the sources) was located west of the *mescid* of Ahmed Bey, approximately 300 meters away. It was established on the "King's Road" (later known as Old King's Road) (Калић 1984) which approached the city from the northwest and led to the centre of the medieval settlement of Ras where it merged with the Constantinople Road in the vicinity of the main city church (Fig. 1).¹⁵ Southwest of it, in the Parice area, about 500 meters northwest of the *Žitni trg*, a certain Hayruddin built a *mescid* on the route that led to Ras through the Ljudska river valley from the direction of Sjenica. Muslims who settled in Parice and local converts formed a community called Bayramlı, also known

10 — Both *mescids* are registered in the censuses some time later, even though they were created in the 1480s. *Mahalles* named after the *mescids* around which they were formed are first found in the census of 1516 (TD 56: 9) (see also Zlatar 1974).

11 — The same census mentions Isa Bey's son Ahmed Ćelebi (TD 24: 687, 693). The *mescid* of Ahmed Bey, i.e. Silahdar Ahmed Bey (TD 211: 788; TD 462: 54; TD 742: 699) was also called the Havale Ahmed Bey's *mescid* in the 18th century (Мушовић 1985: 71).

12 — Some authors have suggested that Ćukovac was a village that later merged with Novi Pazar (Чар Дрнда 1984: 86–87), and which was previously registered independently (Мушовић 1985: 71). However, as Zirojević (Зиројевић 1977: 112) has determined, a village of this name is neither mentioned in medieval sources nor in Ottoman censuses. The confusion may have been caused by the village of Kukovac/Kukovac in the Ras *nahiye*, northwest of Novi Pazar, regularly listed in defters from 1455 onwards (TD 18: 169; TD 24: 702 and others) (Šabanović 1964: 36).

13 — According to tradition, which cannot be corroborated by evidence, Silahdar Ahmed Bey was a convert, who, after accepting Islam, converted the church into a mosque and continued to pray to God according to Muhammadan rites (Петровић 1968: 90).

14 — For the example of Prizren, in which certain Muslim and Christian *mahalles* had the same names (see Катих 2018: 113–114).

15 — Since 1530 it has been listed in the censuses as a mosque (TD 157: 111; TD 164: 392). In the 19th century, it was also known as the Kolo Mosque; it was destroyed in the 1944 bombing, only to be completely demolished a few years after the end of the war. It was located on the corner of the streets Šaban Koč and 28. November (Мушовић 1985: 76).

as Hayruddin's *mescid*, while Christians formed the *mahalle* of Parice (TD 56: 10; TD 157: 112, 117). Hayruddin's *mescid* still exists today and is known as the Parička mosque. The third *mescid*, around which a separate *mahalle* was formed, was built by a certain Ak Ilyas on the right bank of the Raška (TD 56: 10; TD 157: 114). Its exact position cannot be determined because it has not been preserved under its name. However, on the basis of one defter remark, it seems that it was located in the vicinity of Debbağ Ishak's *mescid*, i.e. in the vicinity of the previously mentioned Menteşeli *mahalle* as well as the Christian *mahalle* of Paralovo,¹⁶ also located on the right bank of the Raška, on the route to the medieval village of Paralovo.¹⁷ Based on the written sources, Ak Ilyas bequeathed, in addition to eight shops, a watermill with two millstones to his *mescid* (TD 164: 390). It appears that his *mahalle* was located along the Raška river.

The aforementioned concludes the overview of the most important Ottoman sacral and communal buildings, erected in the period from around 1440 to the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, which drastically changed the landscape of the medieval town of Ras. If we exclude the area of the new Ottoman marketplace, defined by the construction of the *zaviye-imaret*, hammam, caravanserai and numerous shops, the planned "occupation" of the town's main medieval square (*trg*) and the Christian neighbourhoods around it is rather conspicuous. The first *mescids* were undoubtedly intentionally placed at key urban positions, regardless of whether this purpose was achieved by the construction of new buildings or by the conversion of existing churches at these sites. All seven of the oldest *mescids* were built on the peripheries of the existing urban area, along the main access roads, at the entrances to the town thus "surrounding" the existing medieval urban space, on the left bank of the river, and the newly built Isa-bey's endowments.¹⁸ This first phase lasted for several decades and ended at the close of the 15th, or possibly in the first decade of the 16th century. Nevertheless, the town's urban landscape did not change significantly up until the end of the 1520s and beginning of the 1530s, when due to more intensive economic de-

velopment, primarily silver mining on the nearby Rogozna mountain, a new wave of construction followed. During this period, several more *mescids*/mosques were established within the border marked by the first *mescids*, but these lie beyond the scope of this paper. They are the Muezzin Hoca *mescid*, today the Altun-alem mosque, the Iskender Çelebi *mescid* (Melajska mosque), the *mescid* of Sinan *madenci* (later the Ejup Bey mosque),¹⁹ the Hasan Bey mosque, as well as the imaret, caravanserai, hammam, madrasa, mekteb and *mescid* of Sinan Bey.

The process of transforming the Serbian medieval settlement of Ras into the Ottoman Novi Pazar was gradual and lasted from the middle of the 15th to the beginning of the 16th century, long enough for the new name to have already become customary by that time. The establishment of a new city centre made a remarkable influence on the cultural landscape of Ras. However, it seems that this change did not greatly affect the degree of urbanization of the settlement, considering that European travel writers even at the end of the 16th and first half of the 17th century described Novi Pazar as a small market-town or even a big village (Самарџић 1961: 138). However, it is obvious that before the Ottoman conquest of medieval Serbia, Ras was not a *tabula rasa* (Hartmuth 2012: 20), but a *tabula Rasa*. Present-day Novi Pazar is situated at the medieval settlement of Ras, with a market and the cathedral church in the centre, while the main communications, the Constantinople Road and the "King's Road", traced the direction of the city's development.

After the arrival of the Ottomans, the area of the medieval settlement did not remain mostly inhabited by the Orthodox Christian population for long. Instead, mixing with Muslim colonists and converts occurred early on. Despite the conversion of certain Christian places of worship and the construction of several new mosques, the Christian community in Novi Pazar was still numerous in the 17th century. Based on Evliya Çelebi's travelogue, in 1660/1661, in addition to 23 mosques, he saw seven Christian churches in Novi Pazar (Çelebi 1979: 265–268). These were certainly not churches built after the Ottoman conquest, as the construction of new Christian places of worship

16 — See footnote 9.

17 — The later Novi Pazar *mahalle* of Jeleč, which was located by the Constantinople Road on route to the Jeleč Fortress, was named according to the same principle.

18 — The same model of surrounding the city was applied in the case of Prizren (Катић 2018).

19 — The Ejup Bey mosque does not exist today. It was located on the site of the present-day Cultural Centre of Novi Pazar (Мушовић 1985: 77).

in the Ottoman Empire, especially in urban areas, was prohibited by law.

The transformation of medieval Ras into the Ottoman Novi Pazar was a deliberate action of the government. The need to redefine the identity of the conquered area led to the demolition or adaptation of sacral monuments that had previously played a significant role in its shaping. In this regard, it is very important to emphasize the effect of the gradual conversion of the local population to Islam, initially in urban areas, in the wider territory of the Balkans. As numerous examples show, the end result of this process was a change in the urban landscape itself in order to adapt to the new socio-economic relations and socio-political identities that had emerged or had been modified in the meantime (Papantoniou, Vionis 2017). In addition to the conversion of the central church buildings, the name of the settlement also changed over time, which, as time would tell, was a significant turning point in the transformation of the existing centuries-old Christian Byzantine-Serbian cultural landscape in Ras and the establishment of a new Ottoman one.

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SAŽETAK

Transformacija srednjovjekovnog urbanog krajolika: Od srpskog Rasa do osman- skog Novog Pazara

**KLJUČNE RIJEČI: RAS, NOVI PAZAR, OSMANIZACIJA, KULTURNI KRAJOLIK, ISA BEY
İSHAKOĞLU**

Ekspanzija Osmanskog Carstva na Balkanu tijekom druge polovice 14. i u 15. stoljeću dovela je do nestanka srednjovjekovnih kršćanskih država i uspostavljanja novog političkog režima s islamom kao vladajućom religijom. To je rezultiralo brojnim kulturnim, društvenim, gospodarskim i demografskim promjenama. Neke od njih bile su drastičnije i započele su odmah po dolasku osvajača, dok su druge bile slabije izražene ili su barem u početku izostale. Najmanje uočljive, osobito u prvim stoljećima osmanske vladavine, bile su promjene kulturnog krajolika. Iznimka su bila važna urbana središta u kojima su određene vizualne promjene bile očite već nakon osvajanja. Naime, gradovi bi, obično odmah nakon pada u osmanske ruke, dobili barem jednu džamiju, kojom bi osvajač "obilježio" novostečeno zemljište. Taj najizrazitiji simbol nove ideologije najčešće bi nastao prenamjenom najveće gradske crkve, odnosno crkve čiji je položaj dominirao urbanim krajolikom. Slijedila bi izgradnja drugih objekata s ciljem prilagodbe osvojenog grada potrebama muslimana i osmanskoj viziji idealno organiziranog urbanog prostora. Proces prilagodbe i transformacije postojećih gradskih naselja, posebice onih s bogatim slojevima bizantsko-slavenskog naslijeđa, kao i njegov opseg, odvijao se različitom brzinom ovisno o lokalnim prilikama i potrebama same osmanske države. Tako su neki gradovi doživjeli minimalne promjene u prostornoj organizaciji, dok su drugi potpuno transformirani. Imajući u vidu da je svaki grad slučaj za sebe, odlučili smo detaljnije analizirati transformaciju srednjovjekovnog Rasa u osmanski grad Ras, koji je u tom procesu dobio još jedno, kasnije jedino ime – Novi Pazar.

