

**TRAVELERS' WORKS AS AN IMPORTANT SOURCE  
IN STUDYING ARCHAEOLOGY  
IN LIGHT OF THE "HADJI 'ALI MOSQUE" OF ATHENS**

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**ABSTRACT<sup>ii</sup>:**

Travelers' works provide us with very wealthy data including maps, engravings, drawings, inscriptions, accounts, stories etc. These data answer many questions when studying historical buildings; esp. for those which destroyed completely or partially. In this context this paper aims to identify the *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque (the so-called *Küçük Cami*). It is located in the south-eastern part of the Roman Agora of the old City of Athens. This monument is almost completely absent in any historical-archaeological map of Athens and in the published studies of the Ottoman monuments of Athens as well. Moreover the surviving monuments of Ottoman architecture are in general little known and hardly studied. So this article also aims to clarify, as far as possible, the history and architecture of an Athenian mosque, the *Hadji 'Ali*, through the surviving traces of the building and with the help of the data provided by many accounts of travelers to Athens.

**INTRODUCTION:**

Travelers' works include texts and images handed; represent one of the most important resources for many sciences in general and for historical and archaeological studies in particular. Travelers here include others –who did the same process and documented their seeing and impressions through their journeys– as pilgrims, merchants, geographers, sailors, diplomats, and military campaign's members ...

Travelers' accounts of the cities and their buildings, matter of concern, evolved from mere citing their admiration or simple description in general in 11th – 16th centuries to detailed accounts including analysis and comparative studies esp. from the 17th century onwards. The latter has also the images handed which include graphic representations of space and buildings as topographical maps, panoramic views of cities and cartographic depictions of different subjects; which represent a precious source in archaeological and history of art studies.

As a case study, Travelers' works are very helpful in studying the ottoman monuments of Athens. There kept engravings for the monuments which disappeared like

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the *Kifissia*<sup>1</sup> Mosque (Before 1667) by Hansen in 1835 and Stilling in 1853, the Parthenon<sup>2</sup> Mosque (after 1687) and the *Yeni*<sup>3</sup> Mosque (1668-1670) by Dupré in 1809 (fig. 4). Also depicted those destroyed somewhat like the Mehmed Fakhri *Medrese*<sup>4</sup> (1720-21) by Du Moncel in 1843.

Moreover, travelers' works sometimes provide us with detailed accounts of some monuments as Evliyâ Çelebi's description of the Acropolis' Mosque<sup>5</sup>, and sometimes kept those inscriptions as Evliyâ did when mentioned the Hüseyin Efendi *tekke*<sup>6</sup> among the ottoman monuments of Athens.

In this context, this paper aims to identify the so called *Küçük Cami* in Athens and to clarify its historical background and its architectural features as well.

#### CONTEXT:

The *Küçük Cami* is located near the archaeological site of the Roman Agora in the centre of the old city of Athens (fig. 1-2). The mosque acquired its current name of *Küçük Cami* (Small Mosque) during the last years of the Ottoman Athens or just after the liberation of Athens in 1821, because of its small dimensions in comparison to the other two preserved mosques nearby.

The first reference to a mosque named Small Mosque (Gr. Μικρό Τζαμί) appears in a document roughly dating from 1824.<sup>7</sup> In this document, preserved in the Archive of the Philomousos Society of Athens (no. 8804), it is mentioned that the Small Mosque near the Roman Agora, among other Ottoman buildings and sites, should be reused according to the Greek governmental new needs.<sup>8</sup> So, according to this document, it was suggested that the Small Mosque -and the nearby *hamam* (hot bath)- should be reused as a printing establishment (fig. 1-2).

About forty years later, however, Mommsen mentioned that the Small Mosque was almost destroyed.<sup>9</sup> According to Kambouroglou the mosque still existed to a degree until 1920<sup>4</sup>. In 1929 the art historian Xyngopoulos mentioned the Small Mosque among the ruined Ottoman monuments of Athens (fig. 1).<sup>10</sup> In 1954 the Turkish scholar Eyice wrote that no remains of the so-called Small Mosque existed anymore.<sup>11</sup>

So, the Small Mosque -as well as other Ottoman monuments including the nearby *hamam* and *tekke* (dervish convent) - disappeared completely between 1920 and 1929. In 2003-2004, the name of the *Küçük Cami* appeared again in the context of the works of reorganizing the layout of the Mousaiou Square which were carried out by the First Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classic Antiquities of Athens.<sup>12</sup> These works aimed to preserve the rediscovered foundations of the Small Mosque and make them visible.<sup>13</sup>

As for the contemporary identification of the *Küçük Cami* with a mosque of the gypsies of Ottoman Athens<sup>14</sup>, we could find no historical source to support this hypothesis.

#### THE TRAVELERS' WORKS IDENTIFYING THE *KÜÇÜK CAMI*:

The founder's name, the date of construction, and the original form of the *Küçük Cami* are still questionable. By reading the travelers' works (texts and photos) this paper will try to answer some of these queries concerning the ruined mosque.

Let's start with the *Seyahatnâme* of Evliyâ Çelebi who visited Athens in the summer of 1068 (1668).<sup>15</sup> After his exceptionally detailed description of the Acropolis' Mosque (fig. 3), he noted:

*“... Within the space between the two gates –of the castle– there are big guns, and a small mosque, in which the soldiers who protect these gates say their prayers. At a distance of a hundred steps below the gate there is the great dervish convent (Asitâne) of Hüseyin Efendi, a follower of the Way of the Halvetiye Order. Above the gate (of the tekke) its date is recorded [by this chronogram]: “In this manner (the poet) Mahdumi said its date may this generous man (Hüseyin Efendi) be accepted by God. 1023” the year 1024 = 1615.*

[The numerical value of the chronogram gives the Hidjra date of 1028 = 1619 A.D.]

*“On the northern and north-eastern side of the castle there is a beautiful city, which gives the impression of the garden of paradise, Athens the city of Irem<sup>16</sup> [i.e. the city of the incomparable buildings]. There are three Muslim neighbourhoods (mahalle). In addition to the aforementioned mosque of the castle, there are only three other Friday-mosques, and furthermore four shrines. In the first place<sup>17</sup> is-concerning the mosques-[...<sup>18</sup>] Bey Mosque, which is a light-filled mosque, built of stone, covered with domes, well-built and good-looking, then Hadji ‘Ali Mosque, and the Eski (Old) Mosque. The three mosques are built of stone, covered with domes and covered with ceramic tile roofs. There is no building in Athens that is covered with lead.”<sup>19</sup>*

*“There are also seven small-mosques (mesdjid) in the neighbourhoods, and one medrese (high school) for the learned, three primary schools (mektep) for children, two tekkes for dervishes and three baths (hamam): first of all<sup>20</sup> the bath of ... Bey, then the bath of Hadji Ali and the Âbid Efendi Bath. They are baths with a pleasant air.”*

Biris<sup>21</sup>, along with Travlos<sup>22</sup>, concluded in the light of the above quoted Evliyâ's text, that the *Küçük Cami* corresponds to the *Bey Mosque*.<sup>23</sup> They thought that Evliyâ mentioned the mosques in the order he saw them, according to his movement after he came down from the castle. However, it is noticed that the description of the three Friday mosques by Evliyâ is cut off from the itinerary of the other monuments of Athens, which ended at the *Tekke* of Hüseyin Efendi. The description of the mosques, as well as the description of the houses, came into the context of a brief commentary on the architectural sights of Athens. The text of Evliyâ itself proves this view clearly, since he mentioned the *Eski* (old) Mosque as the last Friday mosque—the Old Mosque being the nearest one to the *Küçük Cami* (fig. 1). We may thus conclude that Evliyâ followed no definite rule concerning the order he used to mention the mosques.

Furthermore, the *Bey Mosque* was definitely described by Evliyâ as a “*light-filled mosque, built of stone, and covered with domes, a solid and prosperous building*”,<sup>24</sup> such an image it is difficult to match with the *Küçük Cami*, because of the small dimensions of the latter. Moreover, if the *Küçük Cami* was a “*luminous mosque, covered with domes*” as Evliyâ described the *Bey Mosque*, it would not have escaped the interest of the other travelers who visited Athens.

So if the *Küçük Cami* was one of the mosques mentioned by Evliyâ, it must correspond to the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque*, since it is the only one which remained unidentified among the three Friday mosques of the city of Athens mentioned by Evliyâ.

On the other hand, the only mosque that corresponds to the *Bey Mosque*, as the third mosque of the city of Athens according to Evliyâ's description, is the so-called Mosque of the Column<sup>25</sup> which was located in Hadrian Street (fig. 1 [4]).

Evliyâ noted that there was a bath, among the three Baths of Athens, of the same founder *Hadji 'Ali*. Biris,<sup>26</sup> and Travlos,<sup>27</sup> suggested that the Bath which once stood within the Roman Agora<sup>28</sup> (fig. 1 [D]) should be *Hadji 'Ali's* bath. This bath is mentioned by Mommsen and was destroyed in 1890.<sup>29</sup> An Ottoman map from the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archive in Istanbul, dated 1826-27 (fig. 2),<sup>30</sup> depicts a bath situated southwest of the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* (*Küçük Cami*) towards the castle (fig. 2); this evidence suggests that the *hamam* in question is in fact the Bath of *Hadji 'Ali* mentioned by Evliyâ (fig.1 [D]). The other two baths noted by Evliyâ are identified; one was the Bath of the *Bey* near the mosque of the same founder (Mosque of the Column) (fig. 1 [B]), whilst the second one is still surviving today and bearing the same name mentioned by Evliyâ: *Âbid Efendi Hamam*. So the Bath of the Roman Agora suggests that there was a fourth Ottoman bath in Athens, which may have been erected after the visit of Evliyâ. It is therefore not surprising that Wheeler noted that Athens had “*three or four public bathes*”.<sup>31</sup>

Few years after Evliyâ Çelebi' visit (1668), the European travelers included the *Küçük Cami* in their engravings and plans. The 1670 map of Athens which was drawn by the French Capuchin and reproduced by Guillet (1675)<sup>32</sup> includes a mosque under the number 32, located almost in the site of the *Küçük Cami* with the indication "*Temple de Venus Uranie, Mosquée*".<sup>33</sup> Wheler examined the site of the mosque searching for any traces of the ancient Temple of Venus Uranie and concluded that there was no relation between the mosque and the mentioned temple;

*"We could by no means tell, why the French author of Old and New Athens, should dream, that this was the Temple of Vulcan: For we found nothing ancient to show it, nor any Tradition to confirm it, more than the Product of his Fancy: no more could we at the Mosque, some distance East from it, see any reason to make us call it The Temple of Venus Urania; although such a Temple might probably have been at the End of the Town..."*<sup>34</sup>

In 1675-76, Spon and Wheler visited Athens. They noted that Athens had five mosques: four in the city and the fifth in the Acropolis castle. Hence there was a new mosque – a fourth mosque of the lower city of Athens- constructed between the journey of Evliyâ Çelebi and the voyage of Spon to Athens i.e., the years 1668-1675. This fourth mosque was according to Spon the New Mosque of Beynas (*Mosquée neuve de Beynas*), which is included in Spon's map<sup>35</sup> of Athens (fig. 5), under the number 16. There are no traces of this New Mosque anymore, but it was fairly correctly drawn by Dupré in 1809<sup>36</sup> (fig. 4) and is known in the Greek literature as the *Yeni Mosque* or *Mosque of Rodakiou* (New Mosque, fig. 1 [5]).<sup>37</sup>

The map of Spon was reproduced and sometimes imitated by other travelers like Wheler (1682),<sup>38</sup> and Coronelli<sup>39</sup> (1686-87).

The four mosques of the city of Athens are clearly presented in the 1687 engravings of the engineer captain Verneda which were published by Fanelli<sup>40</sup> (fig. 7), Laborde<sup>41</sup> (fig. 8) and Omont<sup>42</sup> (figs. 6, 9). These engravings show four Ottoman mosques in Athens which during the brief interval of the Venetian domination by Morosini (1687-1688) were used as Roman Catholic churches or as stores. Three maps of Verneda render the mosques in a three-dimensional symbolic form (figs. 7-9), one of them shows the Acropolis and the four mosques of the city of Athens with the important sights around them (fig. 7). Verneda wrote that the two buildings (fig. 7 "N") in this drawing were Turkish mosques, and that the other two buildings were mosques but were used for other function; one served as a store (fig. 7 "U") and the second as a Protestant temple (fig. 7 "Y").<sup>43</sup> The *Küçük Cami* can be distinguished quite easily in this engraving (fig. 7 "N" towards the Acropolis).

The other two maps of Verneda offer two perspective plans of Athens showing the mosques within their neighborhoods (figs. 8-9). The *Küçük Cami* was identified according to these maps as a mosque with the notice that it functioned at that time as a store. The last plan is a simple one (fig. 6) and identified the *Küçük Cami* as a store as well.<sup>44</sup>

To summarize, the *Küçük Cami* was erected before 1668 when Evliyâ Çelebi visited Athens. The building corresponds only to the *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque which he mentioned as one among the three Friday-mosques of the Lower City.

### THE PLAN OF THE HADJI 'ALI (figs. 10-11)

The *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque owes its present aspect to the 2003-2004 restoration works of the remains of its foundations (figs. 10-15), as mentioned above.

In the present day one can see the foundations of the layout of the mosque's walls; their height varies from 0.10 to 0.90 m; the plan shows the *qibla* wall with the semi-circular recess of the *mihrab* in its middle; furthermore the windows flanking the *mihrab* (dimensions: 1.05 meter wide, roughly 0.75 meter deep) raise above the level of the mosque's floor at a height of 0.77 meter. In the western corner of the prayer hall, as is usual in the Ottoman mosques, survive the foundations of the base of the minaret with the first two steps of its staircase (figs. 10, 15).

In the light of these remains, the Small Mosque is a rather simple one; it consists in an almost square prayer hall measuring 8.59 by 8.68 meters, including the walls. The internal area measures roughly 50 m<sup>2</sup>, and the thickness of its walls is roughly 0.70 meter except the *qibla* wall which is 0.78 meter thick, while the part which corresponds to the *mihrab* protrusion is about 1 meter thick.

Parts of the mosque's floor, towards the *qibla* wall, were restored in the context of the 2004 restoration works. It was paved with irregular stone tiles with a height of almost 0.15 meter, set on a strong and thick layer of mortar with a height of almost 0.13 meter.

There are no architectural traces as far as it concerns the type of roof of the mosque evidences of the type of roofing. While the nearly square plan along with the rather small dimensions of the mosque refers to a domed-square prayer hall—a typical style of the Ottoman religious architecture of Greece in general and mosques in particular—, the 1826-27 Ottoman map of Athens, mentioned above, suggests a hipped (pyramidal) roof (fig. 2) for the mosque, like the houses of Athens. The engraving map of the engineer captain Verneda (1687) also shows a hipped roof on the Mosque (fig. 8).

About the three mosques of the (lower) city of Athens Evliyâ noted: “*These three are built of stone, with domes and covered with ceramic roof tiles. In this town are no lead-covered buildings at all.*” If this description is correct it may explain why that hipped roof was covering a kind of an inset wooden dome like those often used in smaller mosques in Bosnia. Or the old mosque was initially covered with a dome, which later (after an earthquake?) was replaced by a pyramidal roof as was often done in similar situations.

The above mentioned Ottoman map of Athens (1826-27) shows the plan of the *Hadji ‘Ali Mosque* including the minaret; it includes the minaret, but the portico in front of the prayer hall, which is a common feature of Ottoman mosques, is missing. The credibility of this map is supported by the fact that no remains of a portico have survived.

In this context the *Hadji ‘Ali Mosque* of Athens represents an important paradigm of the Ottoman mosques not only in Athens but in the whole Greece, as a rare case of a Friday-mosque without a portico in front of the prayer hall. This is unique in Athens as well as for the few examples of Greek mosques covered with a hipped roof.

#### **THE MINARET:**

The minaret of the *Hadji ‘Ali Mosque (Küçük Cami)* was a semi-independent one. It was engaged in the western wall of the prayer-hall, where the minaret's door was. Traces of its spiral stone staircase around a column of marble have survived.

While there are no faithful engravings of the old aspect of the Mosque, providentially its minaret has been drawn in many engravings. In a copper engraving dated 1674, in the plans of Wheeler<sup>45</sup> (1682) and in the perspective plans of Athens drawn by the engineer Verneda in 1687 (figs. 6-9) there are representations of the minaret.

Two important colored engravings (gravures) obviously represent the minaret of the *Hadji ‘Ali Mosque*. The first one is the portrait of an Athenian lady by Dupré in 1809.<sup>46</sup> In the architectural background, considering that the building behind the lady represents the Gate of the Roman Agora, the upper section of the minaret shown on the right must represent the minaret of the *Hadji ‘Ali Mosque* (fig. 16).

The second engraving, by Hobhouse-(1809-10), is an exceptional one depicting the city of Athens taken from the foot of the *Lykavittos (Lycabettus)* hill.<sup>47</sup> The six minarets of the mosques existing in Athens at that time (1809-10) are shown (fig. 17, with the same numbers as in fig. 1); the minaret of the *Hadji ‘Ali Mosque* is number three.

According to these engravings, the minaret of the *Hadji ‘Ali Mosque* was a typical Ottoman minaret; it has a cylindrical shaft with one balcony (*şerefe*) supported by

stalactite corbels, and topped with a conical (pencil point) hood covered with lead sheets bearing a crescent on its top (figs. 16-17).

## CONCLUSION:

This paper dealt with the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque (Küçük Cami)* of Athens historically and architecturally as well, basically through examining the texts and the engravings of the travelers, and concluded that:

The so-called *Küçük Cami* was erected before 1668, when Evliyâ Çelebi visited Athens. It corresponds only to the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque*, which is mentioned by Evliyâ as one of the three Friday-mosques of the Lower City of Athens, and not to the *Bey Mosque* -also mentioned by Evliyâ in 1668- suggested by previous studies.

The bath of *Hadji 'Ali*, was 1 south-west of the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* and is not the one which was located within the Roman agora of Athens as suggested by previous studies. Identifying the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* as the gypsies' mosque of Ottoman Athens, is incorrect.

The *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* of Athens was preserved completely until 1824, and partially until 1920. It disappeared between 1920 and 1929. In the years 2003-04 its foundations reappeared again during the works of restoration of the neighborhood of the mosque.

- The *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* was a square prayer hall, with common dimensions, covered with a hipped (pyramidal) roof, a rare type of the Ottoman mosques of Athens, and one of few examples in Greece .

The *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* might not have had a portico in front of the prayer hall, a rare feature in Ottoman mosques architecture.

The minaret of the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* was a typical Ottoman one with a cylindrical shaft with one balcony supported by stalactite corbels, and topped with a conical hood covered with lead sheets bearing a crescent on its top.

We should emphasize that the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* needs more works of cleaning of ungainly graffiti and writings that distort the monument, and has to find a place for it on the historical-archaeological map of Athens as a valuable trace of a lost past.



Key of numbers		Key of colors & letters	
The Acropolis' Mosque (d. 15 <sup>th</sup> c.)	1	<b>Survived monument</b>	<b>Black</b>
The Acropolis' Mosque (ottoman structure, end of the 17 <sup>th</sup> c.)	1a	<b>Monument survived partially or as foundations</b>	<b>Red</b>
Eski Mosque (an old byzantine church)	2	<b>Ruined monument</b>	<b>Dark Grey</b>
Fethiye Mosque (or Staropzar Mosque, d. end of the 17 <sup>th</sup> c.)	2a	<b>Ottoman reuse of an ancient monument</b>	<b>Yellow</b>
küçük Cami or Haj Ali Mosque (before 1667)	3	Haj 'Ali Bath	A
The Mosque of the column or Ulu Bey Mosque (before 1667)	4	Ulu Bey Bath	B
Yeni Cami or New Mosque of Beynas (1667-1675)	5	'Ebeid Efendi Bath	C
Softa Mosque or Upper Fountain Mosque (18 <sup>th</sup> c.)	6	Unknown Bath	D
Tzisdaraki Mosque or Lower Fountain Mosque (1763-64)	7	Medrese (high School)	M
		Tower of the Winds	T

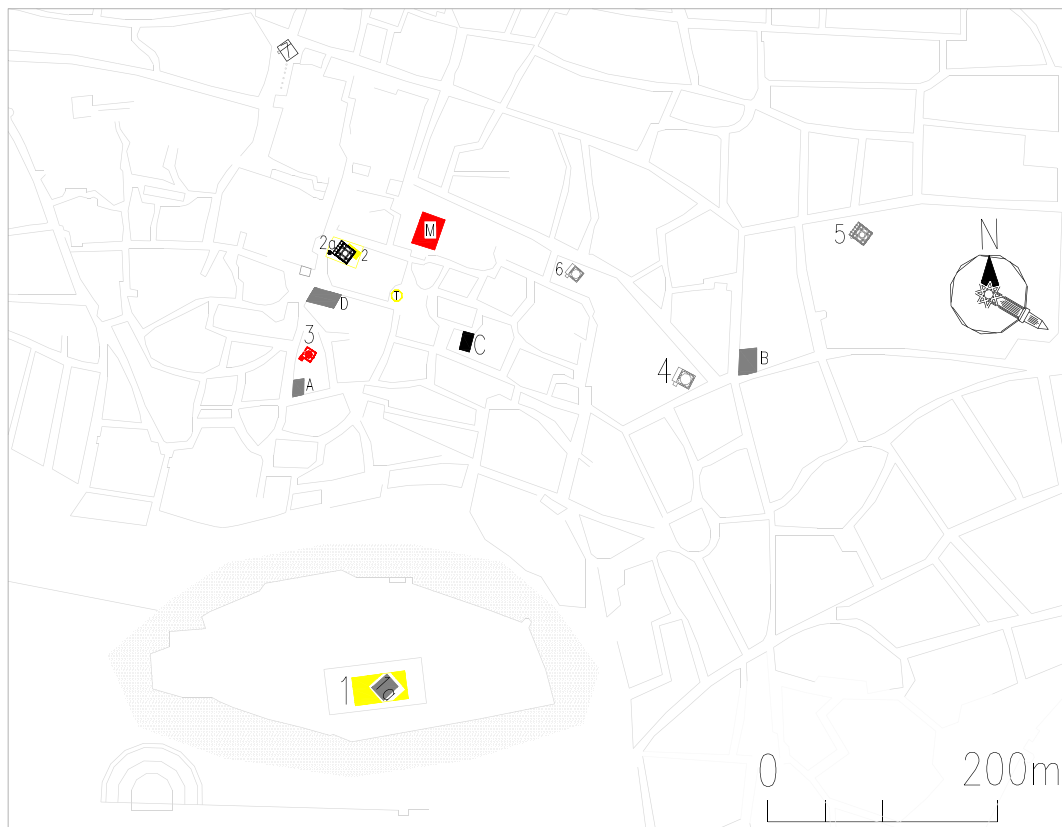
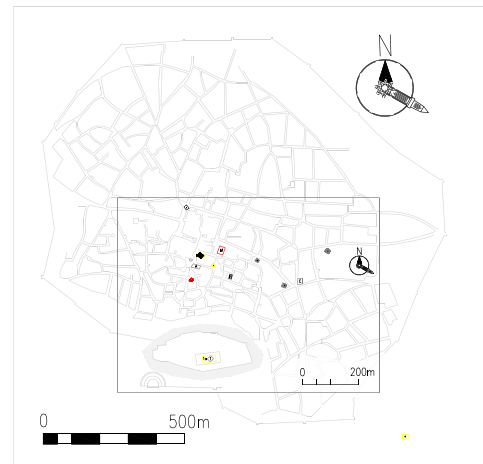


Fig. (1) Map of Athens of 1821 shows the ottoman mosques and some sights of Athens (Above), Detail of the map (Down), by A. Ameen (After Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*)

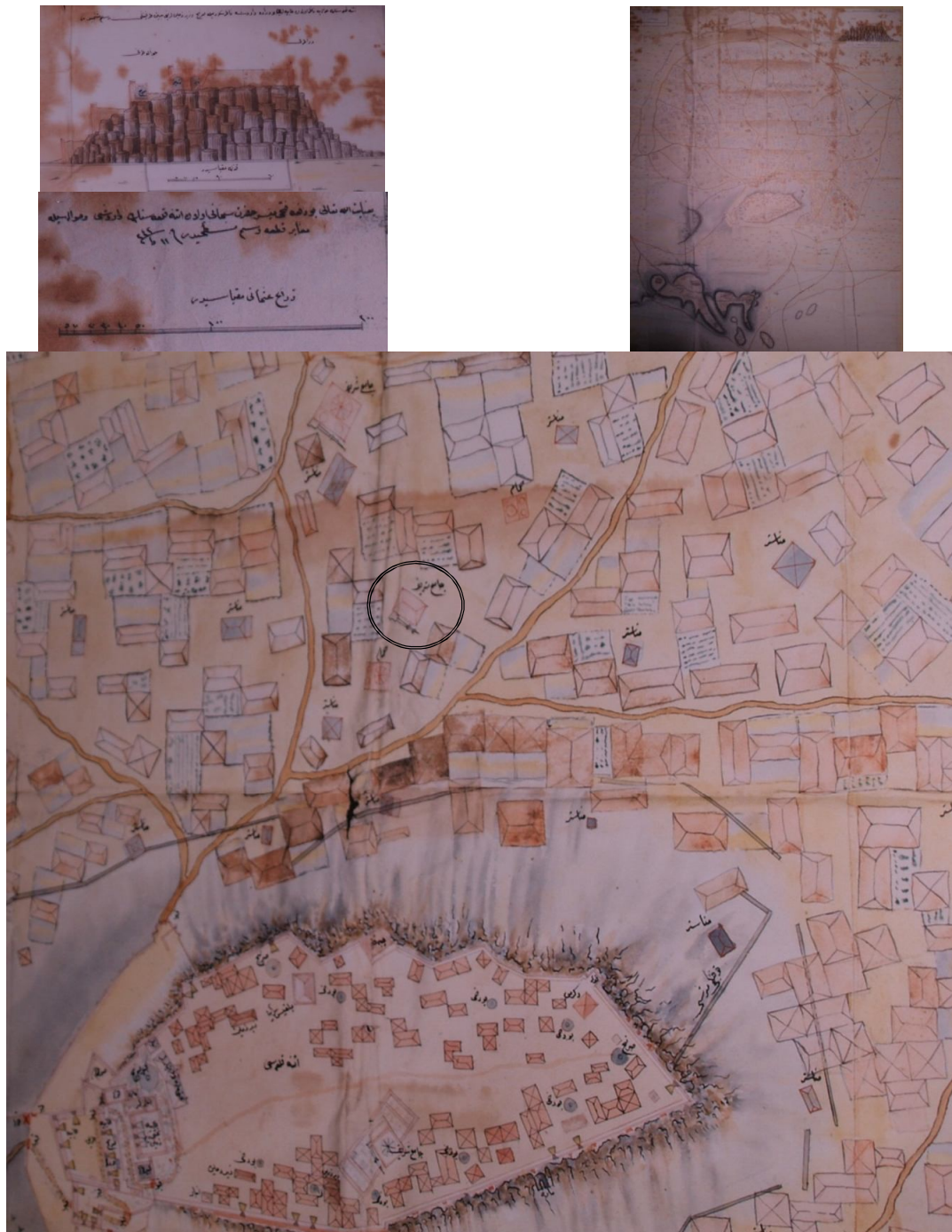


Fig. (2) Map of Athens of 1826-27, shows the ottoman mosques and some sights of Athens (Above Right),Details of the map's scale and data (Above Left) ; Detail of the castle and the center of the city (Down), A copy of a map from Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul.

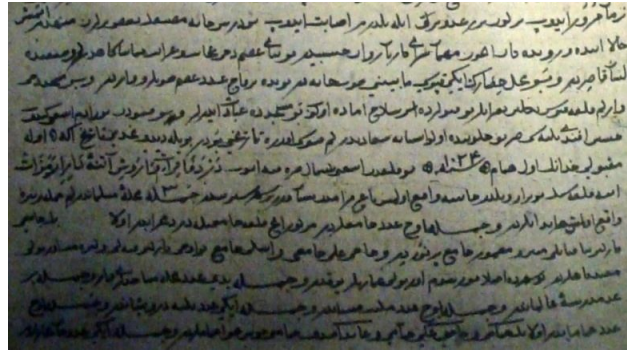
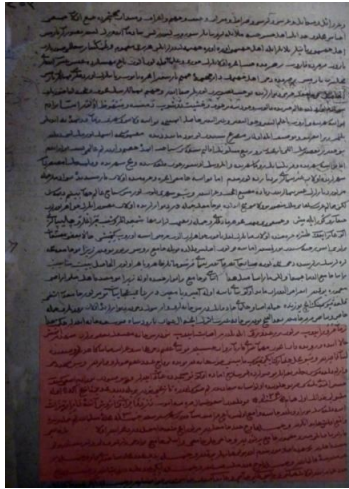


Fig. (3) Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, Book 8, 253, left sheet (Left) and detail of the selected text (Right).  
Photo by A. Ameen

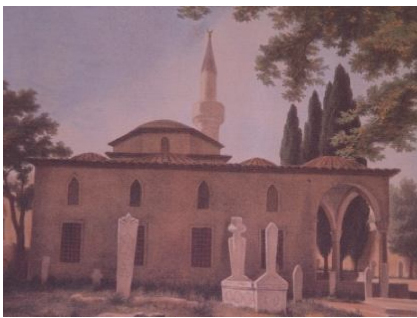


Fig. (4) A mosque, (Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes*, pl. XXIX)

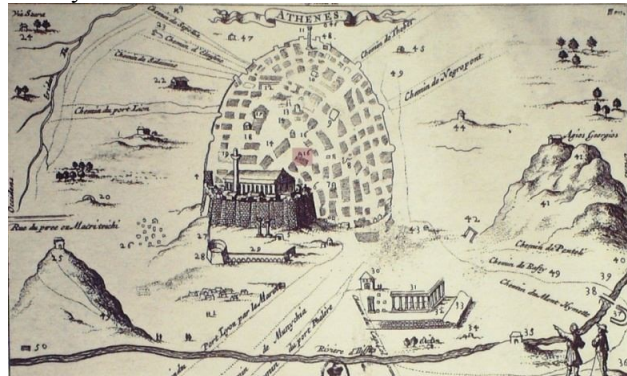


Fig. (5) Map of Athens in 1675-1676, (Spon, *Voyage d'Italie*)

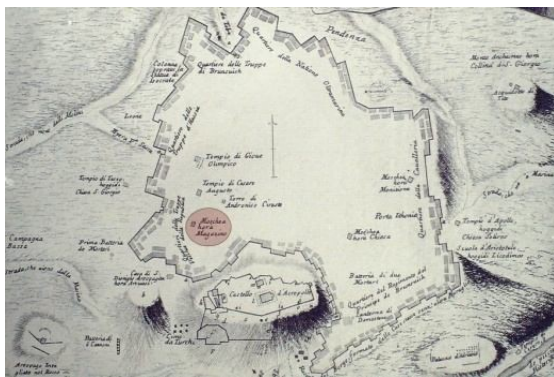


Fig. (6) Map of Athens (detail), by the engineer captain Verneda in 1687 (Omont, *Athènes*, 17, pl. XLV)

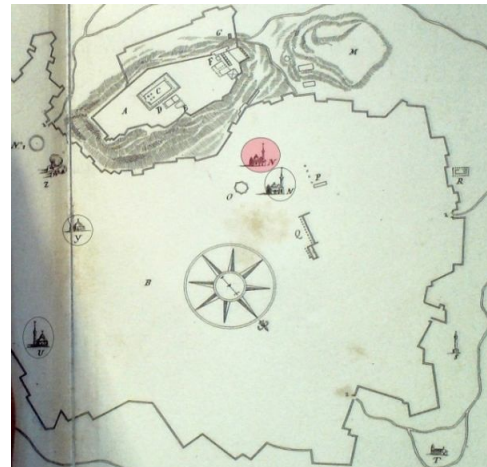


Fig. (7) Map of Athens showing the four Mosques of the city of Athens, by the engineer captain Verneda in 1687, (Fanelli, *Atene Attica*, 317)

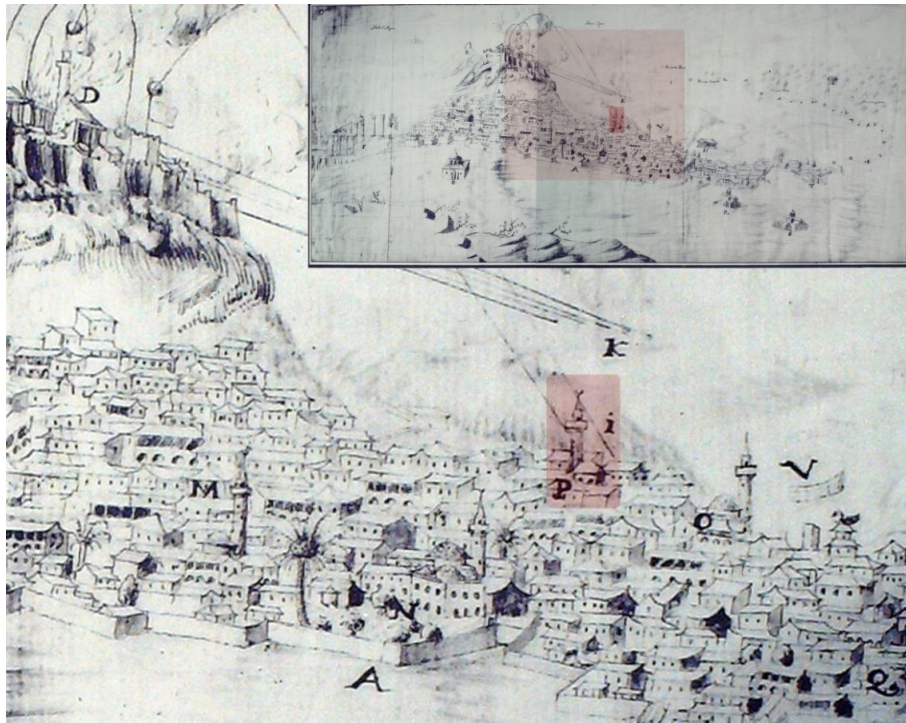


Fig. (8) Map of Athens (a detail, with the entire map), by the engineer captain Verneda in 1687 (Laborde, *Athènes*, vol. II 172-173)

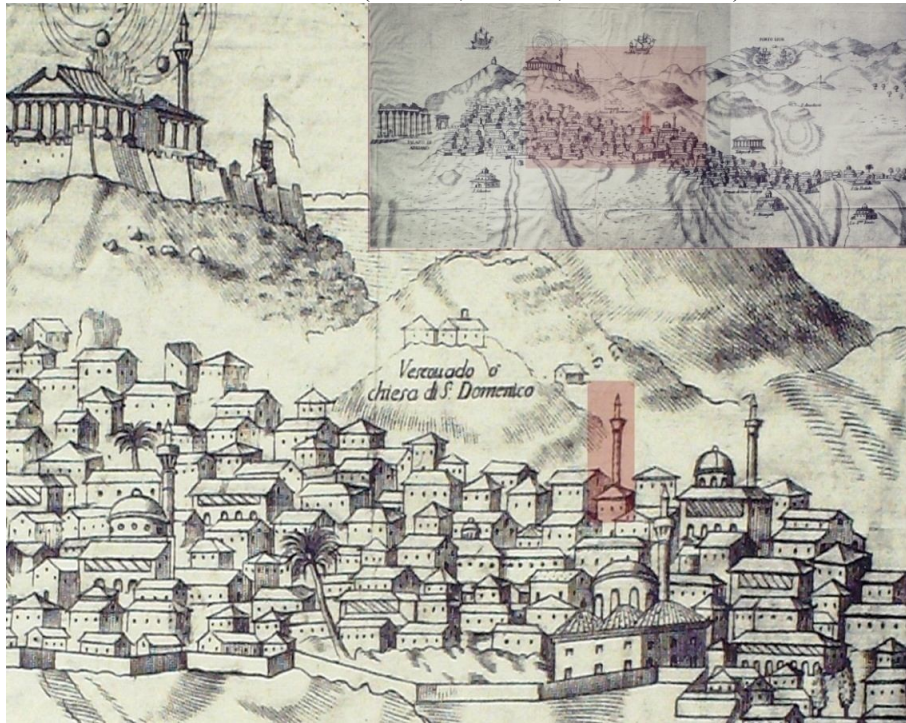


Fig. (9) Map of Athens (a detail, with the entire map), by the engineer captain Verneda in 1687 (Omont, *Athènes*, 17, pl. XXXV)

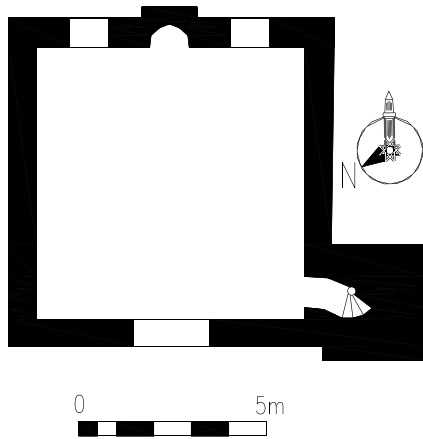


Fig. (10) Plan of the *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque of Athens, the present state (A. Ameen)

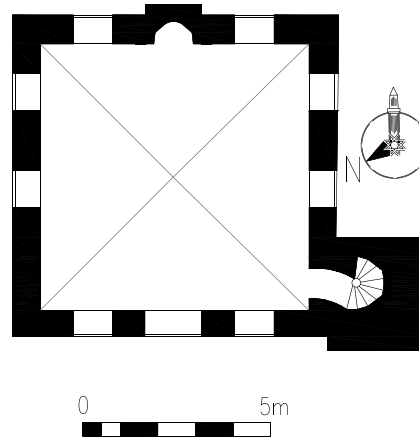


Fig. (11) Plan of the *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque of Athens, A presumptive reconstruction with the addition of the prayer hall with the hipped roof, windows of the non qibla walls (A. Ameen)



Fig. (12) The *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque of Athens, a general view (A. Ameen)



Fig. (13) The *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque of Athens, from the entrance towards the mihrab (A. Ameen)



Fig. (14) The *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque of Athens, from the western corner where the base of the minaret (A. Ameen)



Fig. (15) The *Hadji 'Ali* Mosque of Athens, from the eastern corner where the qibla wall (A. Ameen)



Fig. (16)  
A portray of an Athenian lady (1809) showing the minaret of the *Hadji 'Ali Mosque* of Athens (Right), with detail (Left), (Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes*, pl. XXVI)



Fig. (17) A view of the city of Athens (1809-1810) the entire view (Above Right), and a detail showing the minarets of the ottoman mosques (the numbers are the same of the fig. 1) Hobhouse, *A journey through Albania*, pl. after page 292.

## NOTES:

<sup>1</sup> Παπανικολάου-Κρίστου (Αριστέα), *Αθήνα 1818-1853, Έργα Δανών καλλιτεχνών*, Αθήνα 1985, p. 111, pl. 139 ; Bendtsen (Margaret), *Sketches and Measuring, Danish Architects in Greece, 1818-1862*, Copenhagen 1993, p. 137, pl. 111 ; Πάλλης (Γιώργος), «Τα οθωμανικά μνημεία της Κηφισιάς», *AAA* 39 (2006) [Αθήνα 2007], 229-240.

<sup>2</sup> Peytier (Eugène), *Liberated Greece and the Morea Scientific Expedition. The Peytier Album in the Stephen Vagliano Collection*, Athens, National Bank of Greece, 1971.

<sup>3</sup> Dupré (Louis), *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople, Facsimile de l'édition originale avec une introd. de E.J. Finopoulos et Christine Peltre*, Athènes, Porto Leone, 1993, pl. XXIX. This drawing was wrongly identified by Καμπούρογλου as the Fethiye Mosque, see: Καμπούρογλου (Δημήτριος Γρ.), «Η ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΤΟΥΡΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ (1456-1821)», *Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, τομ. Β', Αθήνα, Εκδοτικού τμήματος της Α. Ε. Β. Ε. Π. Γ. Μακρής & Σ<sup>1Α</sup>, 1927, pp. 105-122.

<sup>4</sup> Du Moncel (Théodore), *Vues pittoresques des monuments d'Athènes : Collection composée de quatorze grandes planches lithographiées, d'un panorama de la ville, et d'un texte explicatif avec gravures sur bois, Paris, 1845*.

<sup>5</sup> Evliyâ # 1: Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme*, Book 8, Autograph copy, Bagdat Kōşkū, folios 252a-253b, p. 303.

<sup>6</sup> Evliyâ # 1, folio 253b.

<sup>7</sup> Καμπούρογλου (Δημήτριος Γρ.), *Αι Παλαιαί Αθήναι*, Αθήνα, Γεώργιος Ι. Βασιλείου, 1922, p. 401.

<sup>8</sup> The Philomousos Society of Athens was founded on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1813. Its constitution consisted of 10 articles and it was signed by 101 founding members. Half of them were Greeks (52 out of 101). The Society played a considerable role in the protection of antiquities. see: Καμπούρογλου (Δημήτριος Γρ.), «Φιλόμουσος 'Εταιρεία», *Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, τομ. ΚΔ', Αθήνα, ΠΥΡΣΟΣ, 1928-1929, p. 20 ; Arnaoutoglou (Ilias), «'διά δόξαν εκείνων και κλέος τοῦ ἔθνους'. The Philomousos Society of Athens and Antiquities», in Björn (Forsén), Salmeri (Giovanni) eds., *The Province Strikes Back - Imperial Dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Helsinki, Suomen Ateenan-Instituutin Säätiö, 2008, p. 201-214.

<sup>9</sup> Mommsen (August), *Athenae Christianae*, Chicago, 1977, Reprint of the 1868 ed. published by B.G. Teubner, Leipzig, 1868, p. 82-83, no. 94.

<sup>10</sup> Ξυγγόπουλος (Ανδρέας), «Τα Βυζαντινά και Τουρκικά μνημεία των Αθηνών», *Ευρετήριο Μεσαιωνικών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος*, τχ. Β', Εν Αθήναι, Δημοσίευμα του Αρχαιολογικού Τμήματος του Υπουργείου Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων Ελλάδος, 1929, p. 121. For both the ruined and the preserved Ottoman monuments of Athens, in addition to the mentioned bibliography here, see: Καμπούρογλου (Δημήτριος Γρ.), *Ιστορία των Αθηναίων: Τουρκοκρατία: περίοδος πρώτη 1458-1687*, 3 vols., Εν Αθήναις, Κουσουλίνος Σπυρίδων, (1889-1896), vol. 1 (1889) p. 181-182; vol. 2 (1890), p. 35-37 ; vol. 3 (1896), p. 122-133 ; Βέλμη (Νικόλαου), *Παλιά Αθήνα. Η Αθήνα όπως ήταν επί Τουρκοκρατίας μέχρι Ανεξαρτησίας*, επιμ. Στρατή Δούκα, συνδρομή Δημητρίου Καμπούρογλου, Αθήνα, Ασυλο Τέχνης, 1931, p. 226-227, 232 ; *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, E. Brouskari ed., E. Fowden tr., Athens, Hellenic Ministry of Culture-Directorate of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Antiquities, 2008, p. 70-82.

<sup>11</sup> Eyice (Semavi), «Yunanistan'da Türk Mimari Eserleri», *Türkiyat Mecmuası* XI, 1954, p. 157-182, 163 ; Eyice (Semavi), «Atina'da Türk Mimari Eserleri», in: *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, IV, İstanbul, 1991, p. 76-79. Later Turkish scholars do not mention the mosque anymore, see: Ayverdi (Ekrem Hakkı), *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri IV: Bulgaristan, Yunanistan, Arnavutluk*, İstanbul, İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1982, p. 200 ; Arafat (Karim W.), «Ottoman Athens», *Arts and the Islamic World* 4, 1987-88, p. 21-25 ; Bıçakçı (İsmail), *Yunanistan'da Türk mimari eserleri*, önsöz: Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, İstanbul, IRCICA, 2003, p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> For the current state of the Hadji 'Ali Mosque (Küçük Çami) dues to these works see: Κνιθάκης (Γ.), Τηγινάγκα (Ι.), «2003-2004 Άλλες εργασίες διαμόρφωσης-αποκατάστασης», *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, Τομος 56-59, 2001-2004, Χρονικά Β'1 Αττική, Αθήνα, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού και Τουρισμού, 2010, p. 190, pl. 82, Γ.

<sup>13</sup> Κνιθάκης, Τηγινάγκα, «2003-2004 Άλλες εργασίες», p. 190.

<sup>14</sup> <http://theotheracropolis.com/2008/03/26/venus-cami-ii/>, [Access date, 15 Oct. 2014].

<sup>15</sup> Evliyâ # 1, folio 253b.

<sup>16</sup> About Irem, see: Watt (W. Montgomery), “IRAM”, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. III, Leiden, Brill, New ed. 1986, p. 1270.

<sup>17</sup> Here the word (ب) in Evliyâ's autograph means firstly and is not a family name as translated in Greek literature as Ola or Olou. In the autograph the word “firstly” (ب) is followed by a blank then by “. . . Bey Mosque,” since Evliyâ did not remember the name anymore and hoped to fill it in later. He did this often. In the case of the baths the autograph shows the same lacunas; the word “Bey bath” is preceded with the same word “firstly” (ب), which is translated too as a name in Greek literature. So I will refer to this mosque along with this bath as the Bey Mosque and the Bey Bath as opposed to the wrong translations “Ulou Bey Mosque” and “Ulou Bey Bath” which we find in Greek literature. I am greatly thankful to Prof. Machiel Kiel for his corrections of my translation of Evliyâ's text and for providing me with the related text of the latest publication of Evliyâ Çelebi work, published in 2003 as mentioned here as [Evliyâ # 3], See: Evliyâ # 1, 253 ; Evliyâ # 2: Evliyâ Çelebi, *Seyahatnâmesi*, İstanbul, Orhaniye Matbaası, 1928, vol. 8, 259 ; Evliyâ # 3: Evliyâ Çelebi (bin Derviş Mehmed Zilli): *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* VIII. Kitap, [Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu – Dizini], Edited by Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, Robert Dankoff, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003, p. 117 ; Μπίρη (Κώστα Η), *Τα Αττικά του Εβλιά Τσελεμπί: αι Αθήναι και τα περίχωρά των κατά τον 17ον αι.*, Αθήναι, χ.ό, 1959, p. 43-44, footnote 63 ; Τραυλού (Ιωάννης Ν.), *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών: από των προϊστορικών χρόνων μέχρι των αρχών του 19ου αιώνος*, 3η έκδοσις, Αθήνα, Καπόν, 2005, p. 184.

<sup>18</sup> A void (empty space) in the autograph.

<sup>19</sup> Here is the first translation of this part of Evliyâ's work in English. See : Evliyâ # 1, p. 253b ; in the 1928<sup>th</sup> printed edition of *Seyahatnâme* the phrase “and the Eski Mosque”, in the 4<sup>th</sup> line from below, is missing, see Evliyâ # 2, p. 259. The Greek translations followed the last text of 1928, see: Μπίρη, *Τα Αττικά του Εβλιά Τσελεμπί*, p. 44 ; Τσελεμπί (Εβλιά), *Ταξίδι στην Ελλάδα*, Έρευνα- Λογοτεχνική απόδοσις: Νίκος Χειλαδάκης, Αθήνα, Εκάτη, 1991, p. 179.

<sup>20</sup> See footnote no. 17.

<sup>21</sup> Μπίρη, *Τα Αττικά του Εβλιά Τσελεμπί*, p. 43-44, footnote no. 63.

<sup>22</sup> Τραυλού, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών*, p. 184.

<sup>23</sup> It is mentioned in Greek literature as Ulou (or Ola) Bey Mosque, see footnote no. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Travlos wrongly attributed this description to the Fethiye Mosque, which at that time was not erected yet. See: Τραυλού, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών*, p. 184.

<sup>25</sup> It was destroyed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, about this mosque see: Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, p. 73-74, no. 77 ; Καμπούρογλου, *Αι Παλαιαί Αθήναι*, p. 384 ; Καμπούρογλου, *Ιστορία των Αθηναίων: Τουρκοκρατία*, vol. III, p. 124 ; Ξυγγούπουλος, “Τα Βυζαντινά και Τουρκικά μνημεία”, p. 121.

<sup>26</sup> Μπίρη, *Τα Αττικά του Εβλιά Τσελεμπί*, p. 43-44, footnote no. 63.

<sup>27</sup> Τραυλού, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών*, p. 184.

<sup>28</sup> Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, p. 83, no 95 ; Τραυλού, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών*, p. 184.

<sup>29</sup> ΠΑΕ (Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας του Έτους 1890), ΑΘΗΝΗΣΙΝ, εκ του τυπογραφείου των Αδελφών Πέρρη, 1893,12 ; Τραυλού, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών*, p. 184.

<sup>30</sup> A photograph was taken by the author from a digital reproduction in the original size of a map from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul, displayed in the exhibition entitled *Ottoman Athens, 1458-1833*, February 10-June 30, 2015, presented by The Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

<sup>31</sup> Wheler (George, Sir), *A journey into Greece*, London, W. Cademan, 1682, p. 352.

<sup>32</sup> Laborde (Alexandre, comte de), *Athènes aux XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 2 vols, Paris, J. Renouard et Cie, 1854, vol. II, 78, p. 128-129.

<sup>33</sup> Omont (Henri Auguste), *Athènes au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle : dessins des sculptures du Parthénon, attribués à J. Carrey, et conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale, accompagnés de vues et plans d'Athènes et de l'Acropole*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1898, 14, pls. XXXIX, XL.

<sup>34</sup> Wheler, *A journey into Greece*, p. 351.

<sup>35</sup> Spon (Jacob), *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant : fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, Lyon, Antoine Cellier, 1678, 3 vols, vol. II, map at the end of the volume.

<sup>36</sup> Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes*, pl. XXIX. This drawing was wrongly identified by Καμπούρογλου as the Fethiye Mosque, see: Καμπούρογλου, “Η ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΤΟΥΡΚΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ”, p. 105-122, 117.

<sup>37</sup> Καμπούρογλου, *Αι Παλαιαί Αθήναι*, p. 384.



<sup>38</sup> Wheler, *A journey into Greece*, p. 338, 340.

<sup>39</sup> Coronelli (Vincenzo), *An historical and geographical account of the Morea, Negropont, and the maritime places, as far as Thessalonica*, Englished by R. W. Gent, London, Printed for Matth. Gillyflower and W. Canning, 1687, plan of Athens, p. 196.

<sup>40</sup> Fanelli (Francesco), *Atene Attica: Descritta da suoi Principii Fino all'Acquisto Fatto dell' Armi Veneti nel 1687*, Venice, Antonio Bortoli, 1707, p. 317.

<sup>41</sup> Laborde, *Athènes*, vol. II, p. 172-173.

<sup>42</sup> Omont, *Athènes*, pl. XLV.

<sup>43</sup> Laborde, *Athènes*, vol. II, 183.

<sup>44</sup> Omont, *Athènes*, p. 12, 18.

<sup>45</sup> Wheler, *A journey into Greece*, p. 338, 340.

<sup>46</sup> Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes*, pl. XXVI.

<sup>47</sup> Hobhouse describes the site from which this drawing was done as follows: “The view was taken from the foot of a craggy hill, once called Anchesmus... NE from the Acropolis ‘and he said praising this drawing:’ which is exceedingly correct in every particular”, see: Hobhouse (Broughton, John Cam, Baron), *A journey through Albania, and other provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809-1810*, London, printed for J. Cawthorn, 1813, p. 292.