



# Unfortunate Fate, A Lost History: The Complex of Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Paşa in Isparta

## Makus Talih, Kaybolan Bir Tarih: Isparta'da Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa Külliyesi

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### ABSTRACT

Halil Hamid Pasha was an important political figure who lived in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and is remembered for his support for reform movements. Halil Hamid Pasha's term as Grand Vizier, which lasted just over two years, came to a tragic end in Bozcaada, where he was beheaded by Sultan Abdülhamid I on the grounds that he supported Selim III. His body is buried in the mosque opposite the pier in Bozcaada, and his head is buried in Karacaahmed Cemetery in Istanbul. This study is about the complex that Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Pasha built in his hometown Isparta in 1783. He built this complex through a process of repair and expansion. The complex, which has not survived to the present day, was enlarged by building new additional structures over time. Despite the fact that the mosque underwent repairs in 1887, 1891, and 1893, it is understood that the complex's structures remained neglected for much of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This circumstance shows that repairs were limited. They became unusable after the Great Earthquake in 1914 as they suffered significant damage due to years of neglect and in 1951, these were demolished. In this study, the remarkable visuals of the buildings mentioned in various sources will be included through drawings and old photographs. In addition, some of the adventures of the artifacts during the 19th century, a period of approximately 100 years, can also be learnt through the sources.

**Keywords:** Isparta, Halil Hamid Pasha, Grand Vizier, Complex, Mosque

### ÖZ

Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa 18. yüzyılda yaşamış, ıslahat hareketlerine verdiği desteklerle anılan önemli bir siyasi figürdür. İki seneyi biraz aşkın, kısa sadrazamlık yaşamı trajik bir şekilde sonlanmış, Padişah I. Abdülhamid tarafından III. Selim'i desteklediği gerekçesiyle Bozcaada'da başı kesilerek katledilmiştir. Vücudu Bozcaada'da iskele karşısındaki camide, başı ise İstanbul'da Karacaahmed Mezarlığı'nda gömülmüştür. Bu çalışma Sadrazam Halil Hamid Paşa'nın memleketi Isparta'da 1783'te onarım ve genişletme suretiyle yaptırdığı külliye yapılarını konu almaktadır. Günümüze ulaşamayan külliye zamanla yeni ek yapılar inşa edilerek büyütüldüğü anlaşılmaktadır. 1887, 1891 ve 1893 yıllarında caminin onarım geçirdiği bilinse de külliye yapılarının 19. yüzyıl boyunca bakımsız olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu durum söz konusu onarımların sınırlı olduğunu

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göstermektedir. 1914'teki büyük depremde bakımsızlığın da etkisiyle büyük hasar alarak kullanılamaz duruma gelmiştir. 1951'de ise bu yapılar tamamen yıkılmıştır. Çalışmanın dikkate değer noktası çeşitli kaynaklarda bahsi geçen yapıların görsellerine çizim ve eski fotoğraflar aracılığıyla yer verilecek olmasıdır. Bununla birlikte eserlerin 19. yüzyıl boyunca, yaklaşık 100 yıllık bir süreçteki kimi serüvenleri de kaynaklar aracılığıyla öğrenilebilmektedir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Isparta, Halil Hamid Paşa, Sadrazam, Külliye, Cami

*Zaferpenâh Vezîra cihângüşâ sadra  
Eyâ sûtûde cihânân-ı adel ü ekrem  
Nef'i*

## 1. Introduction

With the 1699 Treaty of Karlofça, the Ottoman Empire stopped expanding its territories. It weakened soon afterwards with the Treaty of Pasarofça (1718). There were gaps in economic, military, and administrative fields, and innovations were needed. Important viziers and grand viziers of the period made some European-styled reforms in the fields of industry, science, and military; however, these reforms remained incomplete and were often prevented from actualization by internal disturbances. Halil Hamid Pasha, one of the grand viziers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was also a statesman known for his innovations in many fields. Although he had a reputation as an important high-level administrator, conflicts with his rivals prevented the realization of the reforms.<sup>1</sup>

Halil Hamid Pasha had foundation works in his hometown of Isparta, but as these buildings were lost in the middle of the last century, information about them is limited. Today, the new mosque bearing his name in Isparta is the one built after the old one was demolished. Ottoman period documents in the State Archives attest that this mosque and *shadirvan*,<sup>2</sup> along with the library, *muwaqqithana* (timekeeper's office)<sup>3</sup>, and other buildings would have been among the original works of the Ottoman period if they had not been lost, and that they together reflect the period characteristics of Ottoman art and architecture and local practices in the provinces. These documents include some construction survey reports and drawings, and they constitute the starting point of this study. The survey reports, which also include drawings from the documents, were recorded because the Halil Hamid Pasha Mosque, library, and school were

1 The first and comprehensive publication on Halil Hamid Pasha based on primary sources is Uzunçarşılı's work. Böküzade Süleyman Efendi's work titled *History of Isparta* and some articles in *Isparta Ün Magazine*, one of the local publications, are important publications on Halil Hamid Pasha based on first-hand sources. In addition, the thesis prepared by Akkuş is a comprehensive and informative work. Apart from this, the studies directly dealing with Halil Hamid Pasha's life, foundation works, or political life are largely based on Uzunçarşılı. For publications, see: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, 'Halil Hamid Paşa', *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 5 (1936): 213–67, <https://dergipark.org.tr/pub/iuturkiyat/issue/18502/195182>; Böküzade Süleyman Sami, *Isparta Tarihi*, ed. Suat Seren, vol. 1 (İstanbul: Serenler Yayını, 1983); Böküzade Süleyman Sami, *Isparta Tarihi*, ed. Hasan Babacan (Isparta: Isparta İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2012); Neşet Köseoğlu, 'Osmanlı Kitabeleri ve Eski Eserleri II', *ÜN Dergisi* 28, no. 3 (1936): 385–88; Fehmi Aksu, 'Sadriâzam Halil Hamit Paşa'ya Dair', *ÜN Dergisi* 64, no. 6 (1939): 908–13; Mustafa Akkuş, 'Halil Hamit Paşa'nın Hayatı, İslahatı ve İslahatına Ulemânın Tavır' (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, 2001); Kemal Beydilli, 'Halil Hamid Paşa', *Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi* (Yapı ve Kredi Bankası Kültür Sanat Yayınları, 2008); M. Zeki Oral, 'Mevcut Vesikalara Göre Burdur Kütüphaneleri ve Kitap Vakfiyeleri Vesikaları', *Bellekten* 94, no. 24 (1960): 245, <https://belleten.gov.tr/tam-metin-pdf/2884/tur>.

2 A tank of water, sometimes with a jet in the center, and with taps at the sides for ablutions; usually attached to a mosque.

3 The office of the person who checks the time for the ezan.

in dire need of repair.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, a committee came together in 1866 to conduct an exploratory inspection, and survey reports and drawings were prepared for a detailed breakdown of the repairs. In the drawings, the buildings are depicted from the façade, but perspective is also used from time to time. The fact that some buildings were damaged was noted in the documents which also recorded the interventions required for each building together with their costs. Another survey report, dated 1875,<sup>5</sup> is about similar repairs and is written in a similar manner. From this document, it can be concluded that the previous repairs were not carried out or were incomplete. Apart from the survey reports, there is another important document written by the grand vizier himself, which indirectly conveys some information about the madrasa cells.<sup>6</sup> Here, the grand vizier gives some information about the wages and benefits to be paid to the *madrasah* (college) students and the people working on the foundations.

In addition to the documents, testimonies of those who saw the buildings of the complex and various images were also consulted for this study. These sources include topics such as the repairs of the buildings on different dates, the locations of the buildings in relation to each other, inscriptions, and images of the mosque before its demolition. In a sense, these topics constitute the complementary elements of the study. To obtain accurate information about the buildings, one must consider how to utilize all the sources together, and how much the sources overlap with each other in content. The documents and other sources are important in terms of introducing the buildings of the complex correctly, comparing them with similar examples, and determining their place in Ottoman architecture.

Unfortunately, written sources that shed light on art history research are limited. Despite the scarcity of individual written sources, the records kept by the Ottoman state in almost every field contain many direct and indirect references to art history. Official correspondence, survey reports, plans, projects, and sketches are the most well-known documents related to art history in the Presidential Ottoman Archive. Most of the plans and drawings of the object of this study in the state archives today belong to the 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These consist of the drawings of the plan and façade. This study's source drawings depict the buildings of the complex from the façade and offer great insights into a place otherwise lost to us. The fact that the drawings are in color indicates that great attention was paid to detail. Moreover, small notes written on the drawings at points where the narrative is incomplete also show attention to detail. Although the reason for this detail was to provide good documentation for architectural repair, the skills and wishes of the person who made the drawing seem to have been effective in providing greater detail. This study, which uses the multi-source descriptive method, aims to

4 Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives /Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Plan, Proje ve Krokiler (PLK.p), 6771, 11 Rabi' al-Thani /1283 (23 August 1866).

5 Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives /Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Evkâf-I Hümâyûn Nezâreti Defterleri (EV.d.), 23447, 1 Moharram 1292 (7 February 1875).

6 Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives /Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), Cevdet Evkaf (C. EV.), 509-25732, Rabi' al-Awwal 1199 (9 February 1785).

introduce the architectural depictions of the Halil Hamid Pasha Complex through the drawings in question. Therefore, this method is expected to answer the question “What is the nature of the relationship between art history and archival sources?”

## 2. Life and Works of Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Pasha

Halil Hamid Pasha (F.1) was born in Isparta in 1736.<sup>7</sup> His father was Hacı Mustafa Aga and his mother was Zeynep Hanım. He came to Istanbul with his father at an early age and received an education. After his education, his first official job was as a clerk (katib) in the “Divan Kalemî” (the office where official documents of the Grand Vizier were drafted) in 1757. He was promoted from clerk to *Amedi Kalemî* (office of the principal clerk of the Reisülküttâb, the head scribe) and was quite successful. Halil Hamid Pasha was famous for his diligence and honesty, and as a result of these qualities he was appointed as *Amedci, Tezkireci*, (author of the reports written on the civil servants in the bureaucracy) and *Reisülküttâb* respectively.<sup>8</sup> In 1780, he was elected as the *Grand Vizier's Chamberlain*, the closest person of trust to the Grand Vizier, and in 1782 he became Grand Vizier instead of Yeğen Mehmed Pasha through Silahdar Mehmed Agha.<sup>9</sup>

Although Halil Hamid Pasha was intelligent and knowledgeable in state affairs, his *vizierate* (time in office) coincided with a troubled period. Painful relations with Russia turned into a state crisis with the annexation of Crimea in 1873. The annexation of Crimea was accepted in a secret meeting, and new wars with Russia were avoided as a result of Halil Hamid Pasha's intervention. This situation caused Halil Hamid Pasha to adopt the idea that military reforms were vital. The reforms he tried to carry out in the military field were his most important and potentially dangerous activity. The reform of the Janissary Corps, the inspection of existing soldiers, the dismissal of those who did not work, and the liquidation of those who received salaries without working created enmity against him. He paid particular attention to the training of soldiers, especially in the technical field, and the restructuring of the institution known as Mühendishane-i Bahri-i Hümayun (imperial school of naval engineering). He worked to secure the borders with Russia and Austria. He attached importance to friendship with France against Russia and benefited from France's military and technical assistance. He also took some economic initiatives, taking steps to encourage domestic production while restricting luxury goods. He cooperated with various European countries to strengthen the navy and to challenge Russia's supremacy in the Black Sea.<sup>10</sup>

7 Although some sources say that he was born in Burdur, Uzunçarşılı states that Halil Hamid Pasha was from Isparta based on his own foundation. Uzunçarşılı, ‘Halil Hamid Paşa’, 214; M. Zeki Oral, ‘Mevcut Vesikalara Göre Burdur Kütüphaneleri ve Kitap Vakfiyeleri Vesikaları’, 245.

8 For the concepts and further information, see. Mustafa Akkuş, ‘Halil Hamit Paşa'nın Hayatı, Islahatı ve Islahatına Ulemânın Tavrı’, 43.

9 Uzunçarşılı, ‘Halil Hamid Paşa’, 217.

10 Kemal Beydilli, ‘Halil Hamid Paşa’, 516.

He prepared codes of law on almost every subject and made reforms in state institutions. However, Halil Hamid Pasha's various reforms and achievements led to the rise of people around him who did not like him. As a result of their activities, he fell out of favor with the Sultan and this pro-reform policy failed. His term as Grand Vizier lasted for two years and four months. He was dismissed because he supported Selim III instead of Sultan Abdülhamid I. Captain General Cezayirli Gazi Hasan Pasha and Halil Hamid Pasha were at odds with each other, and Hasan Pasha was very influential with Abdülhamid I. Hasan Pasha heard Halil Hamid Pasha's plans about Selim III and reported them to the Sultan. Thereupon, the Grand Vizier was stripped of his powers and exiled to Gallipoli. He resided in Gallipoli for a while and was finally beheaded and murdered in Bozcaada on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February 1785. His head was brought to Istanbul and buried in Karacaahmet cemetery, and his body was buried in Bozcaada.<sup>11</sup>

Halil Hamid Pasha is credited with building many foundational buildings in Istanbul, Isparta and Kayseri.<sup>12</sup> According to his foundation, dated 1783, the Hacı Abdi Mosque, which is also the subject of this study, was renovated, a masonry library was built adjacent to it, and a shadirvan was built in front of it. The foundation records that he donated many books to his library there.<sup>13</sup> In addition, there are fountains in the Tavsun Village of Kayseri, fountains in Paşakapısı (opposite the building of Alay Köşkü) in Istanbul, a fountain in the courtyard of Sahaf Muhyiddin Mosque in Kasımpaşa in the name of his mother, Tekke of Sâdiye in the Beyazıd neighbourhood in Davud Paşa Wharf.<sup>14</sup> Apart from this information given in his endowments, a document dated 29 Rabi' al-Awwal 1199/9 February 1785 in the Presidential Ottoman Archive shows that Halil Hamid Pasha renovated a mosque in Istanbul, Toparabacılar Barracks, and a fountain in the Daye Hatun neighborhood.<sup>15</sup> The same document informs us that he had the Hacı Abdi Madrasah in Isparta renovated and enlarged by adding eight units to the existing 6 rooms.

### 3. Narratives on the Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Pasha Complex: Observations of Witnesses

The mosque in the center of the complex was originally built in 1563 by Hacı Abdi, a well-known and wealthy person in the region. For this reason, it is also known in the sources as Hacı Abdi Mosque. The building was located in the center of Isparta, in the vicinity of

11 Uzunçarşılı, 'Halil Hamid Paşa', 239–41.

12 Uzunçarşılı read the endowments of Halil Hamid Pasha's foundation works, but these sources do not contain detailed information about the works. See Uzunçarşılı, 'Halil Hamid Paşa', 261.

13 Apart from Uzunçarşılı, the foundation was read by another person named Türcü Tütüncü who conducted research on the library and the books therein. Tütüncü does not give any different information than Uzunçarşılı regarding the works of the Halil Hamid Pasha Foundation. For the library, he states that it was built adjacent to the mosque to be frequented by the students and scholars of the period and that this meant it was always open to everyone, citing the foundation deed as a source. Türcü Tütüncü, 'Halil Hamid Paşa Vakfiyesi ve Isparta Kütüphanesi', *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* 20, no. 2 (1952): 86–92.

14 Uzunçarşılı, 'Halil Hamid Paşa', 261–62.

15 BOA. C. EV., 509-25732-1.

the bazaar in the Çelebiler Quarter, on the site of the building known as İplikçiler Mosque. However, it was later demolished, and the present mosque was built at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Research reveals that in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there was a complex including a school, a madrasah, shops, a shadirvan, a muwaqqithana, and a library apart from the mosque, albeit damaged. People witnessed the architectural works belonging to Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Pasha and left written documents about them that provide information about these works.

The first of these documents is the two-volume work entitled *Isparta History* written by B c zade S leyman Sami, who lived from 1852 to 1932.<sup>16</sup> The book, which contains comprehensive research on Isparta, includes some descriptions of the Halil Hamid Pasha Complex and observations regarding the condition of the buildings. According to B c zade S leyman Sami Bey, when the mosque was built first, it was masonry (*k gir*) and had a dome covered with lead.<sup>17</sup> In the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as it was in disrepair, the lead on the dome was removed for repair purposes and it was covered with a wooden roof for a while, and then repaired in 1725. In 1783, Halil Hamid Pasha expanded the building to the east and west and had a masonry minaret and a library built on the north side, and a two-storey (*fevq ni*). wooden porch (*son cemaat yeri*) built. Additionally, he built a timekeeper's office and an ablution room (*abdesthane*), a shadirvan in the courtyard of the mosque, and an elementary apprenticeship school at the gate of the mosque courtyard. B c zade states that there is an inscription of these two repairs (1725 and 1783) on a plate on the minbar of the mosque. Therefore, B c zade links his narrative to this document. B c zade also states that the grave of Hacı Abdi, the first builder (*b ni*) of the mosque, is adjacent to the minaret.

According to B c zade, the mosque was repaired in 1892-93 for 30 thousand piastres/*kuruş* (Ottoman currency) in an initiative led by one of the leading tradesmen of the city, Kadı Tahmas Remzi from Ergiri, and the *Sanjak Awqaf Director*, (director of trusts of the province), Hacı Emin Efendi, from Beypazar. The repair was carried out in the line with the recommendations of an Egyptian engineer who resided in Isparta at that time. The engineer stated that the cracks and fissures in the domes would not pose a danger and if they were compacted with highly resinous pine kindling, and lime mixed with molasses was poured between them, and in this way the domes would remain intact for a long time. Upon this recommendation, the lead plates on the domes were immediately stripped and the aforementioned procedures were applied, but

16 Born in Isparta, S leyman Sami Bey's grandfather was engaged in trade in Bursa and the silkworm cocoons he carried to Isparta caused his family to be known as *B c zades*. B c zade S leyman Sami Bey, who worked in various high-level official jobs, served as Mayor until the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy (1908) and was elected as MP for Isparta on 18 January 1908. Upon the dissolution of the Parliament in 1912, he retired and returned to Isparta. He wrote various works by combining the documents and information he collected during his retirement in Isparta. The History of Isparta is one of these works. The original work consisted of two volumes and was written in Ottoman Turkish. The translation of the work in Latin letters was made by different people and publishers at two different times. B c zade S leyman Sami, *Isparta Tarihi*, 1983, 1:195-237; B c zade S leyman Sami, *Isparta Tarihi*, 2012, 120-21.

17 B c zade S leyman Sami, *Isparta Tarihi*, 2012, 120-21.

the lead plates were destroyed while stripped and had to be renewed. To produce lead plates, professionals melted the lead, poured it into molds, and renewed. Lead plates covered the domes, the interior of the mosque was plastered and decorated with gilding. Böcüzade states that the reason why the people undertook the repair works in question was that permission for the repair of the mosque had not been obtained for 15-20 years and the state had been unconcerned with the issue, as demonstrated by their not even giving an answer. As a result of an earthquake the dome was damaged, and the mosque was not in a condition for prayers to be performed; therefore, an application was made to Cemal Pasha, director of al-Masjid an Nabawi al-Madinah al Munawwarah, and the trustee of Halil Hamid Pasha Foundation, who was Halil Hamid Pasha's descendant. Although Cemal Pasha requested the cost of repair from the Ministry of Awqaf, the state did not take any action regarding the repair the mosque. The mosque was kept damaged for 15-20 years and was repaired in 1308/1892 as mentioned above.

Nuri Katircioğlu was another eyewitness who also saw the complex and the buildings belonging to the foundation before demolition. In his work dated 1953, there is information that the mosque is masonry, its dome is covered with lead, and its minaret, an elegant example, is made of limestone.<sup>18</sup> He writes that Halil Hamid Pasha had the right and left façades of the mosque demolished and renovated in 1781 and that he expanded the mosque from both these areas and the porch. The same source contains the following statements about the other buildings of the complex:

*Halil Hamid Pasha had a library built next to the minaret, a muwaqqithana opposite it, various foundation shops about a hundred meters away, and four ablution rooms beyond it. On the right side of the narrow road leading from the yarn bazaar (İplik pazarı) to the Bayram bazaar, he had an apprentice school built with ten steps up the stairs, and in the middle of the yarn bazaar and fifteen steps in front of the mosque, he built a very artistic shadirvan and ten fountains on the side of the house on the opposite side facing the mosque.<sup>19</sup>*

Katircioğlu states that the mosque was the most artistic one in the city. He repeats the information that Hacı Abdi Pasha, the first known builder of the building, had a grave adjacent to the minaret. As mentioned by Böcüzade Sami, the minaret was moved from west to east during Halil Hamid Pasha's renovation of the mosque. The mosque repaired in 1887, 1891 and 1893, and in the great earthquake occurred in 1914 the walls cracked, and the top of the minaret collapsed. The mosque, which became inaccessible, waited until 1929 and was included in the group of registered buildings by the General Directorate of Foundations. After that, the building waited without any intervention until 1951 the year it was demolished and the new mosque, which is in its place today, was built.

18 Nuri Katircioğlu, *Bütün Isparta* (Isparta: Bereket Matbaası, 1953), 14–15.

19 Katircioğlu, *Bütün Isparta*, 14–15.



Nuri Katırcıođlu also includes a detailed description in his work of the shadirvan in the mosque courtyard. He says that the shadirvan was the most artistic work among the shadirvan in Isparta and continues his narration as follows:

*This shadirvan has a high, very artistic dome made of cast bronze and placed on five columns. Under this dome, there are fountains with eight taps arranged around the base of a cylindrical water reservoir made of white marble, two meters wide and one meter high. At the places where the dome rests on the marble reservoir; that is, above each tap, bronze cast elegant floral dress hangers were placed, and on the ground on which the five columns holding the main dome sit, fixed kerevets (stable stool) were built all around.<sup>20</sup>*

Saying that Halil Hamid Pasha was the Reisülkütab when he had the shadirvan built, Katırcıođlu continues by stating the bronze dome of the shadirvan was cast in Istanbul by the masters of Süleymaniye and decorated with flower motifs.:

*As for the water reservoir built in Isparta, the sub-section of the reservoir is made of monolithic, round, white marble. The tenons of the marble slabs surrounding this part, the spiral embroidery, the beauty of the relief flower varieties in each piece, and the elegance of the ornaments emphasize the artistic, bronze, flower-shaped dome above it. The beauty of the art in the shadirvan was recorded in the travelogues of some travelers who visited Isparta and was appreciated by many art connoisseurs.<sup>21</sup>*

The author concludes his remarks about the shadirvan with the information that it was demolished during the expansion of the İplikçi Mosque courtyard.<sup>22</sup>

In his article from 1936, Neşet Köseođlu gives information about the dimensions of and the text written in the inscription on the shadirvan.<sup>23</sup> According to Köseođlu, there is an inscription text of six lines in total, consisting of three lines each on the marble with a *thuluth calligraphy* (an Arabic script), measuring 46x36 cm, and the inscription text is as follows:

*Yaptı Hamid Efendi anı reisülkütab  
Bir nev eser bu yerde lillah teşnegâne  
Bu ab saf olunca manendi feyz-i cari  
Bağ-ı cinana döndü Pazar-ı hinduvane  
Dad oldu revanı ham yazdı bu resme tarih  
Bu çeşme-i mübarek her an ola revane  
Year 1194*

20 Katırcıođlu, *Bütün Isparta*, 14–15.

21 Katırcıođlu, *Bütün Isparta*, 14–15.

22 Katırcıođlu, *Bütün Isparta*, 21.

23 Neşet Köseođlu, 'Osmanlı Kitabeleri ve Eski Eserleri II', 385.

Köseoğlu mentions that eight years after the grand vizier's death, his mother Hacı Zeynep Kadın built a madrasah and a muwaqqithana in his name, and states that these were among the outbuildings of Halil Hamid Pasha Mosque. According to the author, this madrasah and muwaqqithana has an inscription measuring 58x45 cm. which he says was taken to the museum. This inscription is also written on marble in thuluth calligraphy, and its text is as follows:

*Sahibü'l- hayrat el-hac Zeyneb kadın mader-i  
Sadr-ı esbak merhum Halil Hamid Pasha  
Gaferallahu lehuma*

Neşet Köseoğlu states that the mosque had no inscription, that it was repaired by the Grand Vizier and his mother Zeynep in 1781, and a minaret, library, shadirvan, madrasah and muwaqqithana were built during this period of repair, and another repair was made by the public in 1892-93. In 1936, when the article was written, the mosque had been damaged and the minaret destroyed in an earthquake.

#### 4. Grand Vizier Halil Hamid Pasha Complex in Archival Documents

The Ottoman Archive of the Presidency contains several documents providing information about the complex. Of these, the document dated 29 Rabi' al-Awwal 1199/9 February 1785 is the earliest extant source. It is understood from the document written in his own words about the expenses and aids made to some of his foundations that the grand vizier had some additions made to the Abdi Pasha Madrasah, which was previously located in Isparta.<sup>24</sup> The Abdi Pasha Madrasah had six rooms, and Halil Hamid Pasha had eight more rooms added to it, thus increasing the number of cells to 14.<sup>25</sup>

There are also some official correspondence, survey reports, and visual sources of the complex buildings that are the starting point of the study in the Ottoman Archive of the Presidency. The first three of eight pages of the documents contain the façade view of the complex buildings.<sup>26</sup> Document number four provides some information and summarizes the reason for writing up the results of an inspection of the buildings and for providing the drawings. According to the document, the Halil Hamid Pasha Mosque, library, and school in the Çelebiler neighborhood in Isparta were in dire need of repair. For this purpose, a committee came together on 23 August 1866/11 Rabi' al-Thani 1283 to make a survey and inspection. The committee included District Governor Sadık Efendi, the *mufti*, (Muslim legal expert) a

24 BOA, C. EV. 509/25732.

25 The document, which is not directly related to the complex and its physical structure in Isparta, continues with lines about the aid of oil lamps and bread for the students who would stay in the madrasah cells: (... In Isparta, I had eight rooms added to the Hâcı Abdi Madrasah, which had previously consisted of six rooms, and increased it to 14 rooms. I have allocated each of the aforementioned fourteen rooms, with a daily allowance of four lucre daily, two of which are for kindling and two of which are for bread for those who stayed in the cells...)

26 BOA, PLK.p 6771.

group of council members, chief architect Salih, and Mehmet the construction foreman, and Es-Seyyid Mustafa Hakkı who was appointed by the *qadi* (Muslim judge) of Isparta to keep the written records and sign the document. Selim Efendi, the Director of Awqaf in Isparta, and the residents of the neighborhood met the delegation when they got there, and they all went to the complex together to make observations to record the current state of the buildings. As a result of these observations, they decided to replace the lead in the dome, as well as in the lean-to roof, and in the eaves. They also decided to repair the mosque with lime pointing and *çivileme* (a kind of pointing)<sup>27</sup> because the walls of the mosque on the east, west, and south sides were about to collapse. Finally, they decided to renew the plaster as it had completely fallen off due to heavy snow and rain. A detailed breakdown of the repairs was prepared in survey reports and drawings. It was foreseen that the repair of the mosque would cost 46.978 piastres 10 penny (*para*), the repair of the wooden school would cost 1500 piastres, and the repair of the library adjacent to the mosque, including its lead, glass-frame, and plasters, and other repairs, would cost 50.978 piastres 10 penny.

The next document, number five, is the record of the exploration and shows the details and costs of the repairs mentioned in the previous document. Accordingly, 240 *lead plates* were purchased for the renovation of the dome and the lead over dome. Lead plates is probably the name given to lead plaque with certain dimensions. Of these, 160 were to be used for the covering of the two-storey porch<sup>28</sup>, and 80 were to be used for the repair of the lean-to roof and the reinforcement of the borders. A total of 4320 *okka*<sup>29</sup> of lead plates, called *tabaq*, each weighing 18 *okka*, were to be purchased, and 24.920 piastres was to be paid. In addition, the dome was to be reinforced with flooring (*rihtim*)<sup>30</sup> and *khorsan mortar* before being covered with lead. Apart from this, there is a record of the expense of the repair which was to be made

27 “Çivileme” is used as a construction technique. It is a technique used for both joint and crack repairs in rubble stone walls by filling the gaps between the stones with small pieces of stone or brick with or without mortar and compacting them. See. Deniz Mazlum, *1766 İstanbul Depremi-Belgeler Işığında Yapı Onarımları* (İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Yayınları, 2011), 283.

28 The document uses the terms *maksoorah* and *show case* (*camekân*) for the two-storey porch. *Maksoorah* refers to the high spaces reserved for certain individuals, separated by railings. This term seems more appropriate to describe the second floor of the porch. See Doğan Hasol, *Ansiklopedik Mimarlık Sözlüğü* (İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 1979), 324.

29 *Okkiye*, *vukiyye*, *vakiyye* or simply *kıyye*, *hokka* and *okka* is a unit of weight. According to the information provided by the sources, different *okkas* were used in different places and times throughout the Ottoman history. According to the lawbook dated 20 Jumada al-Akhir 1286 (26 September 1869), while the same value is given for the old *okka*, the new *okka* value in the metric system is specified as 1 new *okka* = 1 kilogram = 1000 dirham. With the 1298 (1881) decree, the term new *okka* was adopted instead of old *okka*, and it was equalized to 1000 new dirhams. See Cengiz Kallek, ‘Okka’, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 2007, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/okka>; Garo Kürkman, *Anatolian Weights and Measures* (İstanbul: AKMED, 2003), 379.

30 The dictionary meaning of the word is a flooring consisting of fine gravel or brick crumbs and cement or lime mortar, which is laid under the surface to be covered with cement and stone or tile in places such as courtyard (*taşlık*), cistern and sewer, and here it is the flooring or coating to be made under the lead. For the meaning, see. Celal Esad Arseven, *Osmanlı Dönemi Mimarlık Sözlüğü-İstulâhât-ı Mi'mariyye*, trans. Şeyda Alpay (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2017), 89.

due to the dilapidation of the other three façades, excluding the north façade. For the repair, the cost of lime, sand, limestone, and scrap stone for the filling of cracks and demolish areas, and the wages of masons and laborers were calculated, all of which were expected to cost 3183 piastres in total. Lastly, as stated in the previous document, this document explained that the lead on the cover was old and worn out, which caused the mosque to take in snow and rainwater, and therefore the plasters had fallen off. They also decided to redo the plaster, but no cost amount was specified for this. The document concludes by stating that the survey was made at the lowest possible cost, that the repairers could not offer a lower price by dutch-auction (*munaqasa*),<sup>31</sup> and that other repair work could potentially be put on the agenda after a second survey. At the bottom of the document are the date and the seals of both the commission members and Es-Seyyid Mustafa Hakkı, who recorded the document.

The sixth page of the document contains a summary of the properties of the foundation that were put up for sale to generate revenues to cover the cost of the repairs. It also provides information about the administration of the foundation's revenues by Cemaleddin Pasha, the governor of Cezâyir-i Bahr-i Sefid, the trustee over the foundation. The seventh page consists of some official notes on the properties of the foundation, their registration, and the appointment of the trustee, and does not provide any other information about the complex. The eighth page shows that the mosque, school, madrasah, and library were in ruins and that a man named Burhaneddin Efendi verbally reported this situation to the qadi of Isparta. The undated official letter with the seal of Nâib Es-Seyyid Abdurrahman asks the sultan for permission to repair the complex and informs him that it will not be too costly. This document, classified last, must have been the first application requesting the repair of the complex.

The drawings on the first three pages at the beginning of the document were made by the survey committee to determine the condition of the buildings at the time. The first drawing (F. 2) shows Abdi Pasha Mosque, which was extended by Halil Hamid Pasha and a library was added to the east. In the drawing, which has no scale, the mosque is depicted from the north façade, and perspective is used to show the west façade and the library. There is a minaret between the mosque and the library. The pulpit of the minaret is made of ashlar, and it is probably square. A wide transition segment on the pedestal that is narrow and curves upwards provides a transition to the angular body. The body is made of ashlar and formed

31 This method was the most common method used in construction work in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Construction tenders were awarded to the lowest bidder on a lump sum (fixed price) basis by means of "dutch-auction" (*munaqasa*). According to this legally regulated method, the time of the auction had to be announced at least one week in advance through newspapers after preparing the preliminary survey report. Those who volunteered to construct the building had the chance to come and examine the plans and specifications within a week and ask questions. The specifications for the dutch-auction contain information about the construction process, the price, and the payment methods. Contractors who accepted the terms of the previously announced dutch-auction would meet at the open auction on the appointed day and time, compete for a discount, and the one who offered the lowest price would win the tender. See. Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, vol. 2 (İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı, 1995), 1741–42; Oya Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarlık Örgütlenmesinde Değişim ve Dönüşüm* (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2011), 117.

with a herringbone pattern. The upper part of minaret body is also made of stone and the spire is covered with lead. There is a two-storey porch on the north façade of the mosque, and it is covered with a lean-to roof. On the upper floor of the porch, the wooden portico array is supported by columns with ion imitation capitals. The arches of the portico have a curved appearance with concave and convex structures. On the ground floor, there is also a portico array, but its form is different from the upper floor. Columns with simple capitals connect eight round arches. The entrance of the building is in the center of the north façade. The door has a simple round-arched span and there are geometric decorations on the wooden wings. The elaborate “S” and “C” shaped decorative elements, probably made of plaster, over the span attract attention. There are two simple rectangular windows to the east and west of the door, a mihrab between these windows, and an oil lamp motif in the center of the mihrab niches. The mosque is covered with a lead-covered dome. Above the dome, there is a large gilded *alem* (end ornament). The library, which is on the east of the mosque and adjacent to it, is a small-scale building made of ashlar with a barrel vault.

Document number two depicts a U-shaped complex with a courtyard where eight madrasa cells lined up on the east and west sides and are restricted by an ashlar wall on the south side (F. 3). At the northern end of the western cells is a two-storey building with a hipped roof labelled two-storey school (*fevkani dersane*). The building has similar features with the mosque in terms of façade arrangement. The cells of the madrasah are single-storey simple stone buildings with hipped roofs. The northern ends of the east and west sides of the “U” shaped courtyard are restricted by round-arched madrasah gates made of ashlar. No structure or wall is shown to border the courtyard from the north. However, since there are gates at both ends, there must be another structure limiting the madrasah courtyard.

Drawing number three (F. 4) shows shops along two long and opposing sides, in the center of which there is the two-storey school (*fevkani mektep*) on the short side. Next to two-storey school there is the gate of the bazaar with a round arch made of ashlar supported by small columns. These buildings surround the courtyard, and there is an elegant shadirvan in the center of the courtyard. Each unit of the shops on the right side is placed in a perpendicular position, while those on the left side are placed in a horizontal position. Thus, the front facades of the buildings are shown on both sides. In front of the shops on the right side, there is a warning that they are dilapidated. The shops are bounded on both sides by ashlar doors, which are stated to be bazaar doors, showing the same characteristics as the madrasah door in picture number two. There is also a statement saying that the door on the right wing is ruined. Muwaqqithana is located between the gate and the shops. Three front façades of the muwaqqithana, covered with a lead cone, are pictured. Opposite this, in the left corner between the gate and the shops, there is an unidentified structure resembling a tower. The shadirvan in the center of the courtyard is covered with an onion dome, and its two sides and five columns are pictured. The columns are combined with round-arches, and there is a floral motif on the corners of

the arches. There are taps on the corners corresponding to each column, and a water jet is visible under the dome. The shadirvan has an oriental appearance with its dome and concave curving eaves under the dome.

Approximately ten years later, another expense record dated 1 Moharram 1292/7 February 1875 shows that similar repairs had been required.<sup>32</sup> The document, which has three pages, is missing the first line of all three pages because the top part is torn. According to the document dated 16 Moharram 1292/22 February 1875, the mosque is to be plastered both inside and out with a plaster consisting of sand and lime. The measurements of the long and short sides and the height of the mosque are given, and the parts of the mosque to be plastered are calculated in detail in *zira*.<sup>33</sup> After the measurements of the places to be plastered, the costs of lime, sand, and padding (*kitik*)<sup>34</sup> and the daily wages of the craftsmen and laborer are given. The document states that the plastering work will cost 23.620 piastres in total. Furthermore, the document notes that there are cracks in the door of the mosque, that these should be repaired by grouting with khorasan plaster both inside and out, and that it should be whitewashed from the inside.<sup>35</sup>

On the second page of the document, a sentence with a missing head discusses the renewal of the upholstery. The paper also states that because the lead on the porch and the library was damaged, it should first be melted, then a fair amount should be added, and then it should be refurbished. In the document, the weight of the lead required for the construction of four lead plates to the library and 82 for the porch was calculated in terms of the *okka*. Other labor and material costs were added to this.<sup>36</sup>

The document ends with information about the addition of the missing railings to the minaret's balcony, the renewal of the frames and glass of the windows, and the calculation of wages for the foreman who would work and transport the materials. Although it is not clear whether the windows of the mosque or the minaret were to be repaired with glass and frame repair, one can infer that these were the windows on the minaret since they are included in the section referencing the minaret.

The third and last pages of the document include an estimated cost of 62,464 piastres for the repair. There is the seal of Mehmed Sadık, head-architect of Isparta Municipality at the end of the document. The document continues, explaining that the tender for the repair work

32 BOA, EV.d. 23447.

33 Zira: An old measure of length from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow, with variations ranging from 75 cm to 90 cm. Assuming that the document is calculated in terms of "architectural zira" (zirâ-ı mimarî), 1 zirâ should be calculated as 75 cm. Hasol, *Ansiklopedik Mimarlık Sözlüğü*, 569. When only the long and narrow sides of the internal dimensions are calculated in meters (*Internal: length: 22 zirâ, width: 12 zirâ*), the dimensions of 16.5X9 meters are obtained.

34 Flax or hemp wires used in plaster. Hasol, 295.

35 6720 piastres were calculated for the repair of cracks, plastering and whitewashing lime, khorassan, stuffing, plaster, kindling, labor, and plasterer's wages. The kindling will most probably be used in the manner previously mentioned by Böcüzade Sami Efendi in the repair of cracks in the dome.

36 In addition to these, the lead renovation work was planned to cost a total of 20,788 piastres with the calculation of the unit price of the headed nails, master, foreman, and laborer wages.

was made on 1 Moharram 1292/7 February 1875 with a discount of 500 piastres and was awarded to a person named Architect Saatcizâde es-Seyyid Hasan. It ends with the signatures of the person who made the “dutch-auction” and the witness, and the commitment of the architect Saatcizade es-Seyyid Hasan to perform the work for 61,964 piastres. At the end of the commitment is the date 16 Muharrem 1292 / 22 February 1875 and the seal of the architect.

## 5. Evaluation and Conclusion

The drawings, which are the source and starting point of the study, are important in terms of showing the individual components of the Halil Hamid Pasha Complex. However, since the drawings, which depict buildings that are grouped closely together, are illustrated on three separate pages, the positions of these buildings in relation to each other cannot be precisely determined. At this point, Nuri Katırcıoğlu's account gains importance.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, in the drawing with the shadirvan and the muwaqqithana, the mosque and the library are in the viewer's standing point and there is a bazaar with shops about 100 meters away from the library and mosque. It is possible that the bazaar is located in the direction of the historic Grape Bazaar in Isparta's city center today. Drawings include neither the house opposite the shadirvan, nor the ten fountains built on the side of the house facing the mosque Katırcıoğlu mentioned. However, when the testimonies, and the written and visual sources regarding the Halil Hamid Pasha Complex are compared, it is clear that the data regarding the complex mostly overlaps, but at times there are some differences. For instance, in the document dated 1785, the grand vizier himself states that he had eight cells added to the existing six madrasah cells, forming a madrasah with 14 cells. In contrast, the drawing made in 1866 shows 15 cells surrounding a courtyard, and there is a two-storey classroom at the northern end of the madrasa cells. This situation can be accounted for by structural changes in the intervening century. Neşet Köseoğlu, one of the witnesses who saw the complex, states in his 1936 work that the grand vizier's mother had a madrasah and a muwaqqithana built there eight years after the grand vizier's death. Since there is an official document about the madrasah written by Halil Hamid Pasha himself in which the number of cells is clearly stated, it is possible that the grand vizier's mother had some additions, repairs or changes made to the madrasah. Therefore, the structural changes in the madrasah may have been caused by these interventions, or the building may have undergone other processes during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Looking at the components of the complex one by one, it is notable that the mosque and the shadirvan are extremely elaborate structures. Indeed, Nuri Katırcıoğlu states that these are the most artistic structures in Isparta. The masonry mosque displays characteristics of late Ottoman Mosque architecture. The dome, the lead-covered lean-to roof in front of the dome, and the curved or segmented arches connecting the column capitals in the porch show orientalist influences, while the ion capitals on the columns show neoclassical influences.

37 Katırcıoğlu, *Bütün Isparta*, 14-15.

Thus, the mosque appears as a sample of eclectic style. The “S” and “C” curved ornaments surrounding the entrance are the only ornamental elements that are detailed, and they reflect the ornamental features of the period. Although the two-storey arrangement and different portico arches are not common in late mosques, some similar cases exist. The Dengere Village Mosque in Burdur (17<sup>th</sup> century?)<sup>38</sup> and the Darkale-Kırkoluk Mosque(?)<sup>39</sup> are examples of buildings where the porch is arranged in two-storey. The porch of the mosque, on the other hand, is closer to some examples of residential architecture in the region. Taşoda (17<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>40</sup> and Baki Bey-Kocaoda (17<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>41</sup> mansions, which have gained importance as two monumental examples of civil architecture in Burdur, are arranged similarly to the porch façade of the Halil Hamid Pasha Mosque. In particular, Baki Bey Mansion is very similar to the upper floor porticoes of the mosque with its hand-drawn decorations under its wide eaves. (F. 5-6). In a photograph of the mosque taken at the beginning of the 20th century (F. 7),<sup>42</sup> the corners of the arches of the upper floor porticoes are decorated with hand-drawn floral motifs.<sup>43</sup> However, the drawing showing the façade of the mosque does not include any ornamentation in this section. In this case, it is clear that not every detail about the buildings was given in the drawings prepared for the repair work.<sup>44</sup> Similar wooden porticoes on the upper floor can be found often in the porches of mosques of the westernization period. Emir Hızır Bey Mosque in Soma (1791-92),<sup>45</sup> Bademli Kızılcızade Mehmed Ağa Mosque in Ödemiş (1811),<sup>46</sup> and Hırka Village Mosque in Denizli Tavas (19<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>47</sup> all share this architectural characteristic. The minaret bears a close resemblance to those frequently seen in the region, which are made of ashlar, have a high pulpit, and generally have floral decorations under the nave. For example, the minarets of Isparta Ulu Cami (1931) and Burdur Ulu Cami (1914-15) continue the traditional technique and style in minaret construction and are similar to the minaret of Halil Hamid Pasha Mosque (F. 8).<sup>48</sup>

38 Süreyya Eroğlu, ‘Burdur-Dengere Köyü Camisi’nin Ahşap Üzerine Kalemîşi Bezemeleri’, *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 6, no. 25 (2013): 233-48.

39 Gamze İlhan, ‘Manisa Soma’da Bulunan Türk Devri Yapıları’ (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, 2019), 133.

40 Mustafa Murat Bozcu, *Burdur İlinde Türk Mimarisi* (Burdur: Burdur Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası Yayınları, 2013), 9.

41 Bozcu, *Burdur İlinde Türk Mimarisi*, 11.

42 “Bazı memalik-i Osmaniye şehirlerinin görünüşü: Isparta’nın Halil Hamid Paşa Cami-i Şerifi,” *Yıldız Albums of Abdülhamid II*,

[http://katalog.istanbul.edu.tr/client/tr\\_TR/default\\_tr/search/results?qu=Isparta&rw=12&lm=IUNEKABDUL&isd=true](http://katalog.istanbul.edu.tr/client/tr_TR/default_tr/search/results?qu=Isparta&rw=12&lm=IUNEKABDUL&isd=true), Access date: 01.03.2022.

43 In the photograph, it can be seen that the wide eaves around the dome are covered with tiles. However, in the sources mentioned earlier, it was seen that this area was covered with lead. It must have been covered with tiles during one of the later repairs.

44 It is seen that the round arched porticoes on the lower floor are completely destroyed in the photograph.

45 İlhan, ‘Manisa Soma’da Bulunan Türk Devri Yapıları’, 104.

46 İnci Kuyulu, “Bademli Kızılcızade Mehmed Ağa Camii (Ödemiş/İzmir)”, *Vakıflar Dergisi* 24 (1994), 147-58.

47 Ramazan Uykur, “Denizli’de Bilinmeyen Bir Yapı: Tavas Hırka Köyü Camisi”, *Erdem* 15, sayı 45-46-47 (2006), 213-33.

48 Beste Çök, “Isparta ve İlçeleri Cami Süslemeleri” (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi, 2010),



In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, library buildings became a building type in Ottoman architecture. After 1740, libraries were opened in the provinces by statesmen in the central administration, and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this tradition was continued mostly by local notables. In the provinces, from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the construction of a library next to the largest mosque in the city was a very common feature.<sup>49</sup> When evaluated in this context, it is evident that the Halil Hamid Pasha Library, which was adjacent to the northeast side of the mosque, was one of the few provincial libraries founded by members of the Ottoman bureaucracy.<sup>50</sup> Necip Pasha Library in Tire (1827-28)<sup>51</sup> and Yusuf Aga Library in Konya (1795) are other examples of such buildings.<sup>52</sup>

From an architectural point of view, some libraries bear similarities to the library of Ottoman period. Ottoman library buildings, which do not follow a specific plan typology, may have been built adjacent to or close to the mosque, madrasah, fountain, school, tomb, and shop buildings within the complex.<sup>53</sup> The library adjacent to the western façade of the mosque in the Hacı Beşir Ağa Complex in Eminönü, Istanbul (1745),<sup>54</sup> the Mirzazade Mehmet Efendi Library in Üsküdar (1730-31),<sup>55</sup> and the Aziz Mahmut Hüdai Complex (Lütfi Bey) Library in Üsküdar (1889) are separated libraries within a complex and have a rectangular plan scheme.<sup>56</sup>

Witnesses also declared the şadirvan in the drawings to be a monumental building. The şadirvan is in the orientalist style, which is similar to others built in the same period. The great<sup>57</sup> and small<sup>58</sup> şadirvan in Balıkesir (1898), which were repaired during the reign of Abdülhamid II, are similarly covered with a dome. A square fountain in Izmit, which is thought to have

28, 115, 118.

- 49 Yavuz Sezer, 'The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries' (PhD Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Department of Architecture, 2016), 19–21, 258.
- 50 It is known that Ottoman bureaucrats, especially the clerks (*kâtip*), pioneered the construction of various library buildings in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, mostly in Istanbul. Although there are various reasons for this, the fact that they were well educated and had intellectual tendencies and tastes is the main factor. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the number of members of this class increased and it is believed that they played a major role in the modernization of the late bureaucracy of the empire. The fact that Halil Hamid Pasha, whose first official job was as a clerk, had a library built within the structures of the complex should be considered in this context. For extensive information on the subject. See: Sezer, 'The Architecture of Bibliophilia: Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries', 26.
- 51 Godfrey Goodwin, *Osmanlı Mimarlığı Tarihi*, trans. Müfit Günay (İstanbul: Kabcacı Yayınları, 2001), 509.
- 52 Goodwin, *Osmanlı Mimarlığı Tarihi*, 509.
- 53 See: Alime Şahin, 'İstanbul'daki Osmanlı Dönemi Kütüphane Yapıları Üzerine Bir Araştırma ve Hacı Beşir Ağa Kütüphanesi' (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, 1997).
- 54 Şahin, 'İstanbul'daki Osmanlı Dönemi Kütüphane Yapıları Üzerine Bir Araştırma ve Hacı Beşir Ağa Kütüphanesi', 177–80.
- 55 Hatice Sibel Ünal, 'Üsküdar'da Kütüphane Mimarisi', *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 19, no. 2 (2010): 65–67.
- 56 Ünal, 'Üsküdar'da Kütüphane Mimarisi'.
- 57 "Müceddeden inşa olunan büyük şadirvan: Balıkesir'de vücuda getirilen mebani, nafia ve Hayriye," Yıldız Albums of Abdülhamid II, [http://katalog.istanbul.edu.tr/client/tr\\_TR/default\\_tr/search/results?qu=bal%C4%B1kesir+%C5%9Fad%C4%B1rvan&te=&lm=IUNEKABDUL](http://katalog.istanbul.edu.tr/client/tr_TR/default_tr/search/results?qu=bal%C4%B1kesir+%C5%9Fad%C4%B1rvan&te=&lm=IUNEKABDUL), accessed on 05.03.2022.
- 58 "Müceddeden inşa olunan küçük şadirvan: Balıkesir'de vücuda getirilen mebani, nafia ve Hayriye," Yıldız Albums of Abdülhamid II, [http://katalog.istanbul.edu.tr/client/tr\\_TR/default\\_tr/search/results?qu=bal%C4%B1kesir+%C5%9Fad%C4%B1rvan&te=&lm=IUNEKABDUL](http://katalog.istanbul.edu.tr/client/tr_TR/default_tr/search/results?qu=bal%C4%B1kesir+%C5%9Fad%C4%B1rvan&te=&lm=IUNEKABDUL), accessed on 05.03.2022.

been built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and does not exist today, shows a great resemblance to the Halil Hamid Pasha shadirvan, as far as it can be identified from an old photograph (F. 9).<sup>59</sup> In drawing number three, which also includes the fountain, three façades of muwaqqithana are visible, since the building's backside was likely attached to the stores. In this form, it resembles the muwaqqithana in Kütahya (1831)<sup>60</sup> (F. 10) and the muwaqqithana in Trabzon Ortahisar (19<sup>th</sup> century?)<sup>61</sup>. The two-storey classroom next to the madrasah cells and the two-storey school next to the shops also show similar characteristics to those of the civilian building examples in the region. The madrasah cells and shops are simple masonry buildings with no special features.

The Ottoman adoption of western art styles began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in conjunction with a series of political developments. In this context, the fact that Halil Hamid Pasha, who is famous for his reforms in the political, military, and economic fields, had the complex built in new western styles has a meaning beyond merely being influenced by the fashion of the period. Halil Hamid Pasha may be considered among the figures who pioneered, at least mentally, the transfer of the new fashion rather than being influenced by it. In terms of artistic production, the combination of innovative understanding with local elements causes western styles, especially in traditional building types such as mosques, to have a different appearance from their applications in Europe.<sup>62</sup> In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, contemporary western architectural movements, like the neoclassical, gothic, orientalist, and art nouveau started to manifest themselves in the monumental buildings of Istanbul in new building types or just façades. When these styles were applied to western building types, they remained a copy of European examples; however, when they were applied to traditional building forms, they emerged as interesting, hybrid constructions that clearly differed from traditional Ottoman architecture.<sup>63</sup>

The new construction types and methods frequently employed in the Empire's capital display the difference that functionality brings about in practice. It seems other factors were also influential in their samples in the provinces. In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially in Western Anatolia, there were Muslim notables and *Ayan* (noble) families who amassed great wealth in conjunction with the collapse of the traditional Ottoman regime. These individuals, under the supervision of the state, emphasized their elitism by standing in as state officials and building many works reflecting the fashion adopted by the palace.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, it is natural that Halil Hamid Pasha, as a high-ranking state official, should have contributed to the construction

59 Şennur Kaya, 'Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İzmit Kenti' (Doktora Tezi, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2008).

60 Erdal Zeki, Tomar, "Anadolu Muvakkithaneleri" (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Selçuk Üniversitesi, 2011), 193-204.

61 Tomar, Erdal, *Anadolu Muvakkithaneleri*, 280-89.

62 The work of Rüstem Ünver, who evaluates the Ottoman self-representation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with a special focus on baroque architecture, provides a new consideration. For Ünver's work and extensive information, see. Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque: The Architectural Refashioning of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (Princeton N. J.: Princeton University Press, 2019), 17.

63 Zeynep Çelik, *19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Başkenti: Değişen İstanbul* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2019), 164.

64 Ayda Arel, '18. ve 19. Yüzyıl Ege Dünyasında İkonografik İzlek ve Kalıplar', in *Sanat Tarihinde İkonografik Araştırmalar - Guner İnal'a Armağan* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1993), 21.

and repair of such buildings in his hometown. However, unlike the palace, the molds and models adopted by the public represent a more ordinary taste. This taste is thought to have been conveyed by the rich merchants and non-Muslim bourgeoisie in the Balkans, who had considerable commercial relations with Central Europe.<sup>65</sup> Some of the local architectural features seen in the two-storey porch of the mosque and the two-storey classroom and school in the complex, which are the subject of this study, should also be evaluated within this framework.

It is noteworthy that perspective is used in the drawings and vertical views are shown in a horizontal position. This method used in architectural drawings is a result of the adoption of scientific methods (*fennî mimari*) by western engineering schools, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Especially after the industrial revolution, new materials, such as iron, included in the art of building, made it necessary to adopt innovations in architectural drawings.<sup>66</sup>

When the subject is re-evaluated as a whole, it is seen that the structures built in the 18<sup>th</sup> century or renovated for repair and expansion reflect the architectural styles of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The differences indicate that the mosque and the shadirvan, in particular, were renovated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century before the repair in 1866.

In summary, two pre-survey records from 1866 and 1875 were introduced above. From B c zade's account, it is apparent that repairs were not carried out after the surveys. Instead, some simple repair work was carried out in 1892, led by influential people of the region. In 1914, 3.700 buildings were destroyed in a great earthquake in Isparta and those that survived were not viable.<sup>67</sup> According to Katirciođlu, the walls of the mosque cracked, and the upper part of the minaret fell down. The mosque, which was already in disrepair and facing collapse, became unusable. The building remained in this state until 1929 and was included in the group of registered buildings by the General Directorate of Foundations (F. 11).<sup>68</sup> After this time, the building remained untouched until 1951, when it was pulled down and the new mosque was built in its present location. The shadirvan was also demolished to expand the mosque courtyard. There are no extant accounts of when and how the other buildings disappeared, but it is probable that these buildings were damaged in the earthquake and that they then completely disappeared due to neglect.

65 Arel, "18. ve 19. Y zyıl Ege D nyasında İkonografik İzlek ve Kalıplar", 21.

66 Orhan Cezmi Tuncer, 'Ondokuzuncu Y zyıl T rk Mimarlık  izimlerinden Bazı Yeni  rnekler', *Osmanlı Bilimi Arařtırmaları* 13, no. 1 (2011): 32, <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/pub/iuoba/issue/1218/14300>.

67 The earthquake struck at midnight on 3-4 October 1914 in the Lakes Region, covering a wide area including Alařehir, Denizli, Burdur, Isparta, Eđirdir, Seydiřehir and Akřehir. A 7.1 magnitude ground tremor occurred, and a 40 km long crack was formed in the Burdur basin. The earthquake was felt most strongly between Burdur and Eđirdir lakes and caused great damages especially in Burdur and Isparta and the villages between these two settlements. Nedim İpek, 'Isparta-Burdur Depremi (1914)', *S leyman Demirel  niversitesi-Fen-Edebiyat Fak ltesi-Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 1 (1995): 191.

68 In an early 20<sup>th</sup> century photograph showing the general view of the city of Isparta, the dome of Halil Hamid Pasha Mosque is visible, but there is no minaret. Probably the minaret was destroyed in the earthquake and the mosque must have waited until the day it was completely destroyed. The other buildings of the complex cannot be seen in the photograph. See Figure 11.

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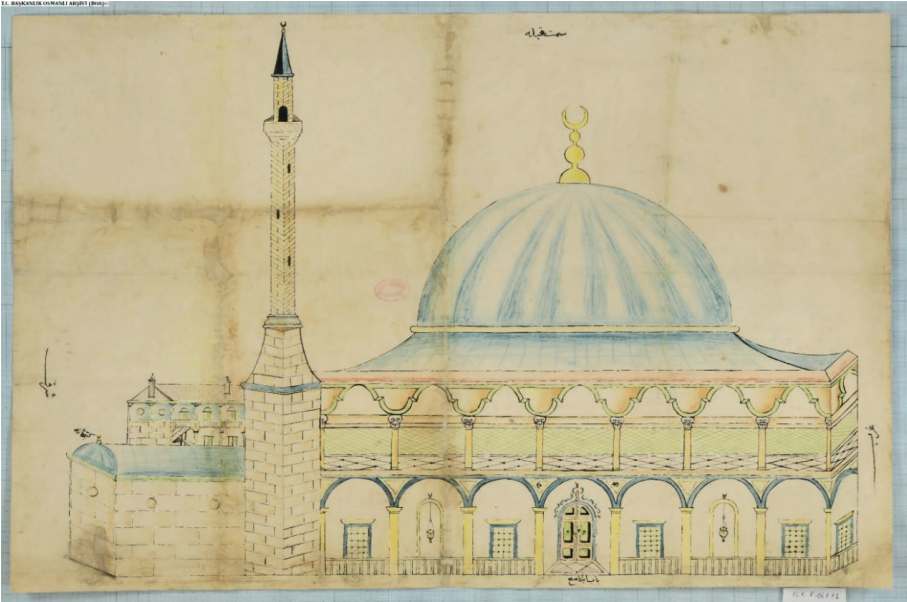
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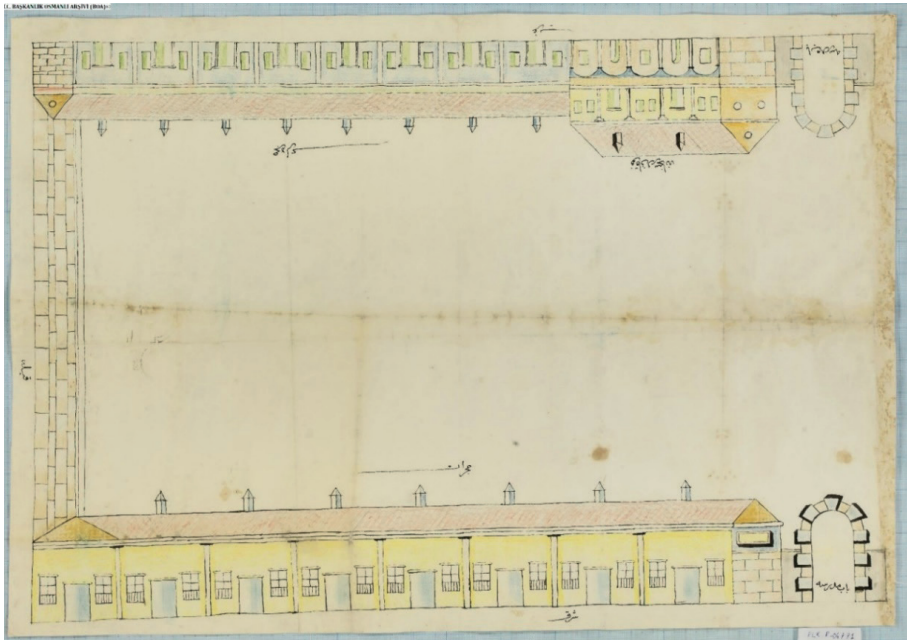
## Figures



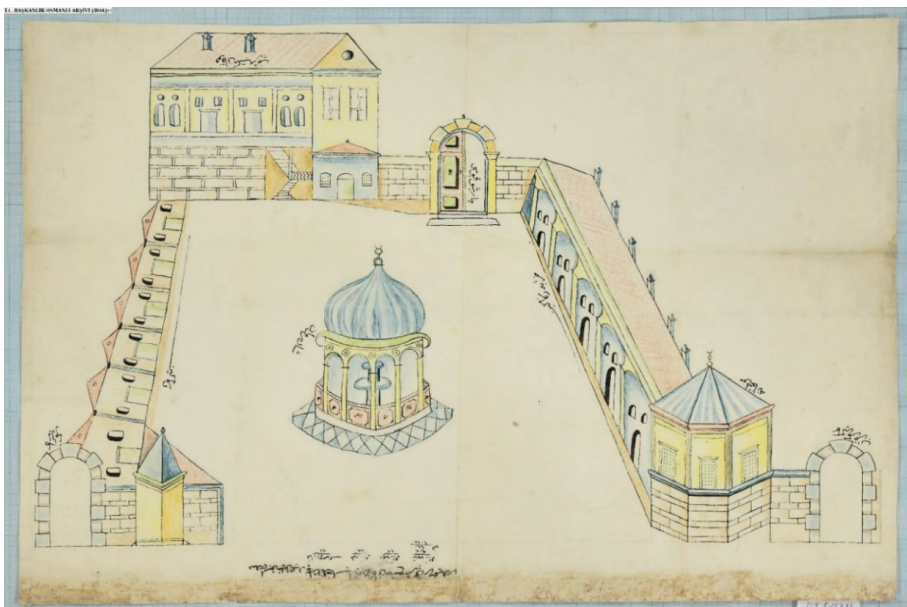
**Figure 1:** Pencil Drawing of Halil Hamid Pasha by a French Artist (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, 1936).



**Figure 2:** Drawing Indicating the Halil Hamid Pasha Mosque and Library.  
(BOA. PLK.p., 6771-1).



**Figure 3:** Drawing Indicating the Halil Hamid Pasha Madrasa Cells and Classroom. (BOA. PLK.p., 6771-2).



**Figure 4:** Drawing Indicating the Halil Hamid Pasha Shadirvan, Muwaqqithana, School, and Shops. (BOA. PLK.p., 6771-3).



**Figure 5:** General View of Baki Bey Mansion (M. M. Bozcu, 2013).



**Figure 6:** Detailed View of Baki Bey Mansion Decorations (S. Derin, 2022).





Figure 7: Photograph of the Halil Hamid Pasha Mosque in Isparta in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century.



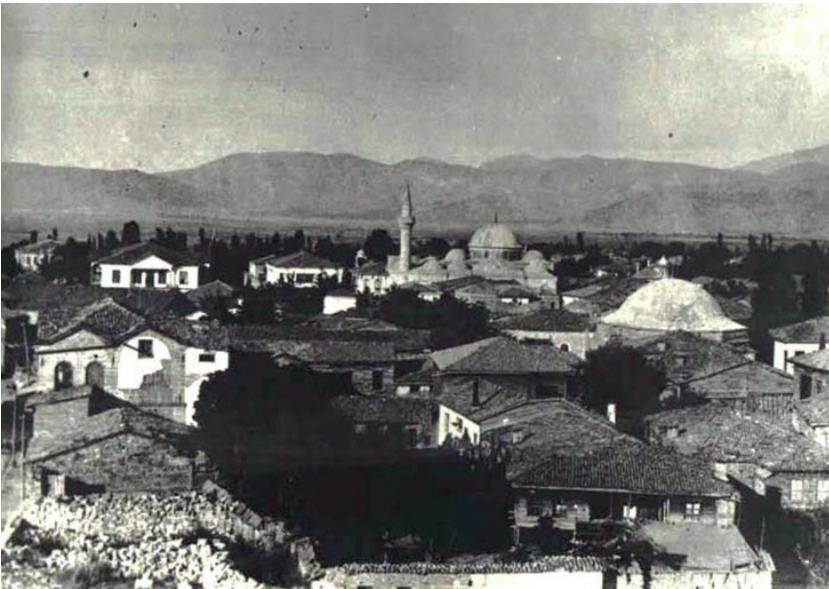
**Figure 8:** Minaret on the West Side of Burdur Ulu Mosque (S.Derin, 2022).



**Figure 9:** Square Shadirvan Built in Izmit in the 19<sup>th</sup> century That No Longer Exists (cited by A. Oral, Ş. Kaya, 2008).



**Figure 10:** Muwaqqithana in Kütahya. (E. Z. Tomar, 2011).



**Figure 11:** Isparta About 100 Years Ago. (D. Demir, 2011).

