

## ANALYSIS OF DOCUMENTATION ABOUT OTTOMAN HERITAGE IN BELGRADE VIA DIGITAL RECONSTRUCTION OF SOKOLLU MEHMED PASHA CARAVANSERAI

This city as wonderful as a diamond in a ring was founded by one of the Serbian kings, King Despot. It was the conquest goal for all kings wrote in 1660 Evliya Çelebi.

### Abstract

In the period from 16<sup>th</sup> to the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Belgrade became one of the most important cities of Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. During this era of peace Sultans and Grand Viziers erected numerous waqf endowments, which formed an enviable economic, educational and religious center. Most important Belgrade waqf was certainly the waqf of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmet Pasha. It consisted out of several buildings with the most famous one being vizier's caravanserai, probably the biggest architectural complex of Ottoman Belgrade. In the following centuries, the city was constantly changing power and turmoil that followed many savage battles resulted in destruction of famous caravanserai and many other monuments of Ottoman Belgrade. The only testimony of these glorious objects that we have today is partial documentation scattered throughout museums and archives in Serbia and abroad. Modern means of reconstruction of cultural heritage through analysis of available documentation reveal new possibili-

\* Felsefe Fakültesi, Belgrat- SİRBİSTAN.

ties for further study and presentation of Ottoman heritage in Belgrade. Now we can revitalize politicized or neglected historic heritage with virtual forms of presentation which would promote cultural tolerance and real identity reference of Belgrade.

This approach will be discussed through the example of digital reconstruction of Sokollu Mehmet Pasha caravanserai.

**Key words:** Ottoman Belgrade, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai and bedesten, museum documentation, digital reconstruction, virtual museum.

## 1. Rise of *şehir* Belgrade in the 16<sup>th</sup> century

„This city as wonderful as a diamond in a ring was founded by one of the Serbian kings, King Despot. It was the conquest goal for all kings“ wrote in 1660 Evliya Çelebi.<sup>1</sup> A very important strategic position of Belgrade was both historic blessing and curse. Sultan Süleyman considered conquest of Belgrade as key point of the strategy to enable further progress of the Ottoman Empire into the north of Europe. The city was conquered in 1521 and immediately became the seat of Semendire (Smederevo) sanjak which till then was in Semendire, and first Sanjak-bey in Belgrade became Bali Bey, former Bosnian Sanjak-bey.<sup>2</sup> Until the conquest of Buda in 1541 and establishment of Buda pashalik, Belgrade was a priority military base of a border sanjak whose governors were the most prominent statesman and commanders with broad powers. After losing its military priority in 1541 the city began to experience gradual transformation from military to economic, trade and cultural center of the Empire on the Balkans. This development was conditioned by number of waqf endowments built by Sultan, Viziers and Sanjak-beys. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century besides Sultans, the largest waqfs in Belgrade were founded by Grand Viziers and Semendire Sanjak-beys: Grand Vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha (early 1520s), Grand Vizier Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha (1540s, till 1548/49), Semendire Sanjak-bey Bayram Bey (1557-68) and Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (1570s).<sup>3</sup> The establishment of waqfs and their distribution in the urban matrix of the city certainly was not a coincidence, but part of pre-designed development strategy of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>4</sup> In the conquered cities Sultan often set the example by establishing the first waqf and sometimes ordering that waqfs should be built in the same place, thus forming casabas.<sup>5</sup> The first steps in the reconstruction of Belgrade after 1521 were taken by the Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent and Grand Vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha.<sup>6</sup> Because of the distribution of waqfs and the terrain that Belgrade occupied, city outside the fortress was also divided in Upper and Lower town. Somewhere in the city between years 1521 and 1523, Grand Vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha erected a hammam, a caravanserai and an imaret.<sup>7</sup> Two very important waqfs of 16<sup>th</sup> century Belgrade were Grand Vizier Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha waqf and Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha waqf, both located in the main city street called *Uzun Çarşu* (modern Cara Dušana street). They formed a religious, trade and cultural center of Lower town.

1 Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis. Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, prevod Hazim Šabanović (Sarajevo: 1967), 80.

2 Vasa Čubrilović, editor, *Istorija Beograda Vol. I* (Beograd: 1974), 323.

3 Aleksandar Fotić, „Belgrade: A Muslim and non-Muslim cultural center (sixteenth – seventeenth centuries)“ in *Provincial elites in the Ottoman Empire*, (Halcyon Days in Crete V, A Symposium held in Rethymno 10-12 January 2003), 57.

4 Aleksandar Fotić, „Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha's evkaf in Belgrade“, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* Vol. 54, 4 (2001): 437-438.

5 Ibid.

6 Čubrilović, *Istorija Beograda I*, 395.

7 Ibid.

Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha waqf consisted out of mosque, maktab, madrassa, imaret, caravanserai, sebil, fountain and a Grand Viziers mausoleum as one architectural complex, but it also included a musalla, tekke, shops and lots in the marketplace.<sup>8</sup> His endowments were described by various travelers as one of the most beautiful and most significant in Belgrade. For the cultural life in Belgrade between 1521 and 1688 the greatest contribution had Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha madrassa which had the same rank as a Istanbul madrassas. A profesor (*müderriis*) of this madrassa was paid 50 *akçes* and was often Belgrade mufti.<sup>9</sup> The most significant profesor was great Ottoman scholar Muniri Belgradi who was buried inside this complex.<sup>10</sup> The main avenue of Lower town will grow to become crucial trade and economic center in 1570s, after the erection of waqf endowments of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.

Great contribution in the development of Upper town had waqf of Semendire Sanjak-bey Bayram Bey who held this position several times. He started to build his endowments in 1557 when he came to power for the first time, and till 1568 he erected a magnificent mosque, imaret, madrassa and his own mausoleum (*türbe*).<sup>11</sup> His madrassa had a great influence in 1660 when Evliya Çelebi visited Belgrade, but erection of his waqf endowments had ill reputation, because of repressions and exploitation of peasants and their livestock.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. History of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai in Belgrade

The greatest of all Grand Viziers of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and a great benefactor Sokollu Mehmed Pasha laid the foundations of his waqf in Belgrade probably during the year of 1567. To provide the material for his endowments he „purchased and demolished three Serbian Christian churches and Jewish synagogues“.<sup>13</sup> Such an action was maybe determined by the possibilities of the new law introduced by Sultan Selim II (1566-74) of so-called „confiscation and sale of monasteries (churches) and their estates“.<sup>14</sup> We still can't be exact about the number of endowments that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha built in Belgrade. Based on testimony of the travelers, it was determined that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha erected Belgrade's most beautiful and most significant complex of caravanserai with bedesten, hammam which Evliya Çelebi saw as the most prominent in Belgrade, sebil in the *Uzun Çarşu*, and two fountains (*çeşme*). His endowments were located in and around the *Uzun Çarşu* street, with the exception of a fountain (incidentally, the only remaining object of his waqf) which was built in the fortress next to the mosque of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent. Annual revenues for the maintenance of the waqf were coming from the villages of Levač district.<sup>15</sup>

The most famous endowment of the waqf was caravanserai with bedesten. Described by many travelers it was monumental architectural complex, one of the biggest in Ottoman Belgrade. It was located among today's Cara Dušana, Tadeuša Koščušskog and Strahinjića Bana streets.<sup>16</sup>

8 Fotic, *Yahyapaşa-oğlu Mehmed Pasha's evkaf*, 442.

9 Natali Kleje, „Muniri Belgradi – život i delo jednog od najuticajnijih beogradskih intelektualaca s početka 17. veka“, *Godišnjak grada Beograda* LIV (2007): 115.

10 Ibid., 109-122.

11 Čubrilović, *Istorija Beograda* I, 401.

12 Ibid., 332.

13 P. Matković, *Putovanja po Balkanskom poluotoku XVI vjeka: X. Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafete ili drugo putovanje Antuna Vrančića u Carigrad 1567 g.*, Rad JAZU, C, (Zagreb: 1890), 134.

14 A. Fotic, „The official explanations for the confiscation and sale of monasteries (churches) and their estates at the time of Selim II“, *Turcica* XXVI (1994), 33-54.

15 Андреј Андрејевић, „Удео Мехмед-паше Соколовића у подизању Београда“, Зборник Филозофског факултета XI-1, (Београд: 1970), 432.

16 This location was determined by Željko Škalamera who compared the locations of the complex on old city maps. Željko Škalamera, „Lokacije nekih znamenitih beogradskih građevina XVI i XVIII veka“, *Godišnjak grada Beograda* XX, (1973): 172-173.

This location was well chosen, because it was situated next to a merchant colony from the city of Ragusa (modern Dubrovnik) which contributed immeasurably to the development of trade in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Belgrade. Unknown traveler from the embassy of David Ungnad which visited Belgrade on route to Istanbul in 1572 wrote that construction of the complex was preceded by great fire of shipbuilding material in the harbor, and that many houses and shops of the Ragusans were burnt.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, as traveler wrote, Sultan himself instructed and helped one merchant Ragusan to whom fire caused major damage, to construct new merchant house, which was called caravanserai.<sup>18</sup> According to the testimony of Lutheran scholar Stephen Gerlach who came in Belgrade one year after with the embassy of David Ungnad in 1573, caravanserai and bedesten were almost finished.<sup>19</sup> Based upon these two testimonies, building of the complex can be dated in the period between 1571 and 1574, although preparations were made a few years earlier - in 1567, and the erection of other buildings of the waqf probably lasted longer, somewhere until 1577.<sup>20</sup> Another fact that goes in favor to this theory is that in 1571 Semendire Sanjak-bey became Hasan Pasha, a son of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who stayed on this function in Belgrade until 1573.<sup>21</sup> It is considered that his duty was to control the erection of his father's endowments, although during that time he also built his own endowment - a famous palace, known as Vizier's saray in the Upper town.<sup>22</sup> On the construction of this monumental complex and other stone structures in Belgrade worked enslaved Christians - especially Italians, as Stephen Gerlach wrote.<sup>23</sup>

When finally finished, caravanserai caught attention of many travelers who visited Belgrade. Stephen Gerlach in 1578 and Evliya Çelebi in 1660 wrote important descriptions of the complex. Gerlach said that caravanserai housed many foreign merchants who sold the widest variety of goods; among them there were probably Ragusans and Jewish merchants from Italy and Spain.<sup>24</sup> Doubtless, representing a center of interaction for many traders of different faith, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai had significant impact on the development of trade in Belgrade as it became an integral part of highly developed trading network of the Empire on the Balkans. The key role in this process belonged with the Ragusan and Jewish merchants who were connected with their partners in other trade centers. Therefore, Belgrade markets had not only wide variety of goods from all over the Empire, but also goods that reached beyond its borders.<sup>25</sup> Also, trade created the opportunity for cultural exchange among communities of different faith, because their closest cooperation was based on mutual interest, so they sometimes even formed partnerships.<sup>26</sup>

Caravanserai will share the tragic fate of the *şehir* and suffer from first ravages of war during a battle for the city between Ottoman and Habsburg Empire in 1688. After this battle came a long period of uncertainty, wars and rapid changes of government from which the city never fully recovered. During this period, many famous buildings of Ottoman Belgrade will disappear from

17 P. Matković, *Opis putovanja dvaju carskih poslanstava u Carigrad: K. Ryma godine 1571 i D. Ungnada godine 1572*, Rad JAZU CXII (Zagreb: 1892), 215.

18 Ibid. Andrej Andrejević relates this testimony with the construction of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's caravanserai. Andrejević, *Udeo Mehmed Paše Sokolovića*, 433.

19 P. Matković, *Putopis Stjepana Gerlacha o drugom putovanju carskog poslanika D. Ungnada u Carigrad g. 1573-78*, Rad JAZU CXVI (Zagreb: 1893), 15-16.

20 Andrejević, *Udeo Mehmed Paše Sokolovića*, 440.

21 Čubrilović, *Istorija Beograda I*, 333.

22 Ibid.

23 Matković, *Putopis Stjepana Gerlacha*, 16.

24 Ibid. 55-56.

25 Čubrilović, *Istorija Beograda I*, 359-375.

26 Fotić, *Belgrade*, 55.

the city landscape, or will be much more modestly renovated. This was eventually the destiny of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai. The complex was mentioned in one firman from 1712 as *Yeni han* built from the waqf of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.<sup>27</sup> Then a trustee (*mütevelli*) of waqf and descendant of Grand Vizier's son demanded that Janissaries who lived in han should move, so he could restore it and rent it to the merchants.<sup>28</sup> After 1717 during Habsburg rule in the city *Yeni han* belonged to Ashkenazi Jews but all the stores and warehouses were given to Oriental artisans.<sup>29</sup> In 1727 the complex was restored, so caravanserai and bedesten renewed their original purpose.<sup>30</sup> After 1740 *Yeni han* is not mentioned under this name and its fate is not clear. Radmila Tričković thinks that it was renamed to *Gümrük han* because this building had the same large number of rooms on two levels, but this theory remains only as a assumption.<sup>31</sup> The faith of the complex is unknown until 1789 when a drawing of his ruined bedesten was made.<sup>32</sup> At that time a caravanserai was completely destroyed. It's hard to tell when where the ruins of bedesten finally leveled, but that probably happened somewhere around the end of 18<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 3. Methodology of digital reconstruction

Nowadays modern buildings are standing on the location of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai, and it's almost impossible to conduct any kind of archaeological excavations. The only material evidence that this glorious complex ever existed represents documentation scattered in museums and archives throughout Serbia and abroad. Even though available documentation has been thoroughly analyzed, this knowledge remains available only for the scientific circles. There was also no recent initiative to re-examine the results of previous researchers, and there was surely no strategy for presentation of intergraded knowledge. Now, we have tools and knowledge to change this, and that's why we have chosen to re-open the issue of Ottoman foundations in Belgrade by creating a model for the analysis, and presentation of this neglected heritage of Serbian capital. The fact that many monuments of Ottoman Belgrade were demolished and that only few of them remains today compels scientists to use new methods for the analysis of available documentation. The only way to revitalize this heritage is to integrate it in everyday life. We undeniably live in time when distribution of information through media of communication offers much for heritage popularization. This theory is based on the experience of number of virtual museums whose main concept is distribution of information about their objects of interests through presentations via high resolution photos, 3D models and other multimedia presentations. Such form of presentations enables rapid spreading of knowledge and can have significant role for positioning of scientific research into the focus of wide audience. This method would be especially efficient in the education of society about heritage which was neglected by ideological reasons.

27 Škalamera, *Lokacije*, 175. *Yeni han* was the biggest han in Belgrade at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. We also share Željko Škalamera's opinion who thinks that this is Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai. Radmila Tričković has determined that *Yeni han* belonged to Sokollu Mehmed Pasha waqf, but she didn't related it with caravanserai. Čubrilović, *Istorija Beograda I*, 660.

28 Čubrilović, *Istorija Beograda I*, 660.

29 Ibid. On the Mathias Seutter plan of Belgrade (1735-39) the courtyard of caravanserai was marked as courtyard of German Jews. This is the evidence that *Yeni han* and caravanserai were the same building. Škalamera, *Lokacije*, 175.

30 Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Beograd kao orijentalna varoš pod Turcima 1521-1867* (Beograd: 1977), 94. Divna Đurić-Zamolo also didn't related *Yeni han* with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai. Her theory was that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century caravanserai was adapted in the residence of Habsburg governor in Belgrade. Unfortunately, there is no evidence to support this claim. This building, called „the palace of prince Eugene of Savoy“ or *Pirinčana* was on different location and had much smaller dimensions. Ibid., 82-87.

31 Čubrilović, *Istorija Beograda I*, 660.

32 This very important drawing was discovered by Milorad Dželebdžić in the National museum in Budapest under the sign. T. 59.

The main issue here belongs to the theory of museology as a science that goes beyond the borders of the museums walls, and reveals it's meaning in the interaction of everyday life and heritage. Particularly important is a concept of eco-museum, or city as a museum whose theoretical basis were set by French museologist Henry Riviere and archeologist and art historian Quatremere de Quincy.<sup>33</sup> The fact that city can be an example of a museum opened many new possibilities for further interpretation of its spatial references.<sup>34</sup> For example, some city locations which have great memory potential can be objects of this museum and every historical period of this locations could be one layer of information capacity of this objects. That's why a period of Ottoman Belgrade represents very important memory potential of the city and integral part of Belgrade as a museum. If we accept this concept we are obliged to map these locations, and to collect, organize and present documentation about them through the process of museography.<sup>35</sup> But how and where we can arrange and present this museum to the public? The answer lies in the possibilities of modern technology and intangible virtual space or in one of the theoretical virtual museums discussed by French museologist Bernard Deloche.<sup>36</sup> This theory will be further analyzed via first two phases of digital reconstruction of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai- organization and analysis of documentation as basis for virtual presentation and revitalization of the complex.

### 3.1. Organization of documentation

Available documentation about this subject was organized through the standard museum procedure. It was divided in three basic groups: primary, secondary and tertiary<sup>37</sup>, with the addition of quaternary documentation. Primary documentation is created in direct interaction with the object and it records information code available in the time of interaction. In the case of caravanserai these are written testimonies of the travelers from 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century and this category is one of the most significant for the digital reconstruction.<sup>38</sup> Secondary documentation is visual documentation, and it contains drawings, prints and old city maps from which we can see a ground-plan, position of the complex and it's approximate dimensions.<sup>39</sup> However, some of the visual documentation must be reviewed by comparative method with other groups, especially primary and tertiary documentation because it can be more freely interpreted.<sup>40</sup> Tertiary documentation or research archive is based on previous works of experts in this field.<sup>41</sup> This documentation also needs to be reviewed by comparative method. Depending of their approach to the object experts have used different methodology, sometimes dealing with only one aspect of the problem, so our work here is based on selection, synthesis and organization of previous

33 Tomislav Šola, *Eseji o muzejima i njihovoj teoriji: prema kibernetičkom muzeju* (Zagreb: Hrvatski nacionalni komitet ICOM, 2003), 251; Bernar Deloš, *Virtuelni muzej: ka etici novih slika* (Beograd: Narodni muzej, 2006), 143-144.

34 Mišel Fuko, *1926-1984-2004 hrestomatija*, editors Pavle Milenković, Dušan Marinković (Novi Sad: 2005), 29-36.

35 Museography is a standard museum procedure applied to every object that enters into museum.

36 Deloš, *Virtuelni muzej*.

37 Model by Ivo Maroević. Иво Мароевић, Увод у музеологију (Загреб: Завод за информацијске студије, 1993), 191-192.

38 There are many testimonies in which Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai was mentioned. Important testimonies were written by: anonim from the escort of David Ungnad (1572), Stephan Gerlach (1573, 1578), Vaclav Vratislav (1591), Evliya Çelebi (1660) etc.

39 Visual documentation consists of: drawing from National museum in Budapest (1789), drawings from Johann Baptista Gumpff plan of Belgrade (National library of Serbia, 1688), a ground-plan of a complex from Italian plan of Belgrade (Belgrade city museum, 1696) and Mathias Seutter plan (Belgrade city museum, 1735-39) and drawing from H.Ottendorf panorama of Belgrade (Military archive Vienna, 1663).

40 This was the case with drawings from J. B. Gumpff plan. Because of the quantity of work Gumpff didn't paid much attention on accurate presentation of the architecture.

41 Research archive consists of publications by Hazim Šabanović, Andrej Andrejević, Željko Škalamera, Divna Đurić-Zamolo etc.

knowledge. Such organization of documentation would be compatible with basic principles of museum documentation. Digital reconstruction however demands one more step which leads towards creation of more viable virtual presentation. It is necessary to form a set of rules that are applicable to the structure of every individual object; in other words to create a museum collection. This is the theory of Bernard Deloche and it is based on his interpretation of the object of virtual museum.<sup>42</sup> The main problem in the traditional museum documentation as Deloche saw it, lies in the iconographic description of the object which is a superficial approach based on the description of only visible categories. The full exploitation of documentation is possible only through morphological and structural description of the object.<sup>43</sup> This way we can understand the set of rules which create a basic structure of the object. That's why the next step integration of other objects with the same morphological and structural frame or integration of relevant analogies.<sup>44</sup> In the case of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai these are other 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman caravanserais in the Balkans whose architectural solution can be compatible with the Belgrade complex. All documentation about these objects in the process of digital reconstruction can be classified in the separate group and called quaternary. On the closest analogy pointed Andrej Andrejević who believed that complex of Gazi Hüsrev Bey bedesten and Tašli (*Taş*) han in Sarajevo (1540s) can represent a model for the reconstruction of the Belgrade complex.<sup>45</sup> Fortunately, Gazi Hüsrev Bey bedesten still exists but *Taşli han* was demolished. If we compare applied architectural elements in the construction of Belgrade bedesten on the drawing from National museum in Budapest we can recognize similarities with Sarajevo bedesten.<sup>46</sup>

We can also point out on other caravanserais built in the same architectural style as Belgrade complex, which are preserved today. Those are caravanserai known as *Kurşumli (Kurşunlu) han* in Skopje (1550s), caravanserai of Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha in Edirne (1560s) and complexes in cities Lüleburgaz (1565-69/70), Payas (1567-74) and Havsa (1573-77), last four constructed by famous Ottoman architect Mimar Sinan.<sup>47</sup> In these three examples advantages of flat terrain allowed Sinan to combine market (*arasta* or *bedesten*) and caravanserai into one complex. The interesting characteristic of these structures is that their markets have a dome positioned above central corridor at the entrance to caravanserai in the form of the transept.<sup>48</sup> The same solution repeats in Belgrade. At this period Sokollu Mehmed Pasha often hired Sinan for the construction of his endowments. It is possible that a project for Belgrade complex came from a hand of a great master himself, or maybe from one of his assistants.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.2. Reconstruction of architecture of the complex based on analyzed documentation

Caravanserai and bedesten were built as one architectural complex. Reconstruction of architecture of bedesten is primary based on secondary documentation- a drawing from National museum in Budapest and quaternary documentation- data about preserved Gazi Hüsrev Bey bedesten in Sarajevo. It also includes results of the researchers from tertiary documentation.

42 Deloš, *Virtuelni muzej*.

43 Ibid., 170-174.

44 Ibid.

45 Andrejević, *Udeo Mehmed Paše Sokolovića*, 435-436.

46 However, Belgrade bedesten had a central dome positioned over the main nave, which is not the case in Sarajevo bedesten.

47 Documentation available at <http://archnet.org/library/images/sites.jsp?select=collection&key=1463>  
About Mimar Sinan caravanserais Godfrey Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture* (London: 1971), 241, 295-299.

48 Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman*, 295-299.

49 Andrejević also thinks that an architect of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's endowments in Belgrade had to be from the highest circles of empire architects or maybe even Mimar Sinan himself. Andrejević, *Udeo Mehmed Paše Sokolovića*, 440.

According to the measurements from old city maps, dimensions of the bedesten were approximately 80 meters by 10 meters.<sup>50</sup> Entire length of main facade of the bedesten was positioned towards *Uzun Çarşu*, today's Cara Dušana street. In its foundation, the structure was three-nave basilica with main nave and two aisles. The main nave was a wide corridor for circulation of the customers, while the shops for goods and merchants were positioned in aisles along both sides of central corridor in the form of arcades with pointed arches. The central nave and shops were vaulted with barrel vaults. In the upper zone of the main nave above every shop was positioned a window topped with pointed arch which cuts into the barrel vault of the main corridor creating the system of basilica lighting. Bedesten also had a transept which wasn't at the middle of the structure but slightly dispositioned. At the intersection of the central nave and the transept stood dome on pendentives supported by four pointed arches on massive columns. On one side of the transept was main entrance to the bedesten from the *Uzun Çarşu* street vaulted with smaller dome and on the opposite side was an entrance from bedesten to the caravanserai's inner courtyard. This whole area was lit by the windows from the central dome and the transept. Beside this main entrance, there were two more on the narrow sides of the bedesten in the line with the central corridor. Wide and high central nave of the bedesten with barrel vault induced a great pressure on higher areas of the walls with windows, so it was supported from the outside with a number of buttresses. This buttresses transferred the weight of the vault on the walls which separated the shops in aisles. In the inside of the central nave the vault was probably supported by massive arches on columns flanking a bay of the central nave which corresponded to the three bays of the aisles. Bedesten was built from the stone blocks while the upper zones and the vaults were built from the brick or tufa. It was completely covered with lead roofing. Right after the construction of the building along the main facade in the *Uzun Çarşu* street, many wooden shops of the craftsman were added.

Caravanserai was built on a square foundation, with four wings which formed enclosed inner courtyard. All four wings of the building had two stories. According to the measurements from old city maps dimensions of caravanserai were approximately 55 by 55 meters.<sup>51</sup> One wing of caravanserai was connected to bedesten. Along all four wings of the building were positioned rooms for merchants. Facades oriented towards inner courtyard had galleries on both floors, that way forming corridors which connected all four wings of the building. Galleries of inner courtyard were solid, vaulted structures with open arcades visible on the drawing of J.B. Gump, and described by the travelers as similar to the Royal Exchange in the City of London or to the cloisters of catholic churches.<sup>52</sup> Rooms on the ground floor were vaulted with barrel vault or cross vault and this pattern was likely repeated on the first floor because the whole building was covered with gabled roof.<sup>53</sup> Every room had its own fireplace so many chimneys were visible on the roof of caravanserai. The main entrance to the building with a large iron gate was on the opposite wing from the one attached to the bedesten. Above the gate was a chronogram (tarîh) reading „All those who rested here, left safely“.<sup>54</sup> The main entrance led to the enclosed courtyard which was paved with stone slabs. At the center of the courtyard was a fountain which used to belong to a Christian church, indicated by the Latin inscription on the circular stone from which water

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50 Škalamera, *Lokacije*, 173. Belgrade bedesten was certainly wider than 10m. Gazi Husrev Bey bedesten in Sarajevo is wide 19, 40m but it has one aisle more with shops oriented towards the main street.

51 Ibid.

52 V. Popović, *Putopis dr. Brauna*, Glasnik istoriskog društva u Novom Sadu VII (Novi Sad: 1934), 285; Radovan Samardžić, *Beograd i Srbija u spisim francuskih savremenika XVI-XVII vek* (Beograd: 1961), 201-202.

53 Zamolo, *Beograd kao orijentalna varoš*, 94. When she discuss about the architecture of *Yeni han* Zamolo claims that it had vaulted rooms on the ground floor. If this solution was not repeated on the first floor that these rooms had ceiling from wooden planks.

54 Čelebija, *Putopis*, 100.

flowed – „Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit. Anno 1538“.<sup>55</sup> Based on this information it was probably shaped as baptismal fountain. On the wing opposite the main entrance was a passage which led from the inner courtyard to bedesten.<sup>56</sup> Caravanserai was built in „roman style“ or *opus listatum* with the alternation of stone and brick while all the vaults of the structure were probably made from brick or tufa.<sup>57</sup> The roof of the building was covered with lead.

Next to the caravanserai a big complex of stables for horses and camels was built and these structures also formed enclosed inner courtyard.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4. Potential results of the method and further problems

We have presented a model for organization and analysis of available documentation about Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai in Belgrade. However, this process is far from complete, and it demands a constant update of present knowledge. There are still many unsolved issues which can be answered only through further research and cooperation between the experts. But this method also has a goal to create a strategy for presentation of available results. This is a high priority task, because during the years, Ottoman heritage in Belgrade became neglected identity reference, and period of Ottoman rule in Belgrade and Serbia is still shrouded with a veil of misconception and ignorance. Although modern capital still has identity marks of an old Ottoman city, and some parts of old town still carry Ottoman names, through politicization of cultural memory Ottoman heritage in Belgrade became marginalized and unavailable historical content. That's why we have to preserve this heritage as mutual, because heritage can't be adopted by any side. With the potential of modern medias, we have instruments and knowledge to educate society about this problem. In the case of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai, we are supporting a virtual revitalization because present location doesn't have a potential for adequate presentation. Also, a virtual museum would be a good solution for creation of virtual collection of documentation about the complex in one place. This documentation is divided by different archives and museums which presents a difficulty for further research. This way all visitors of a virtual museum will be familiar with current documentation and also with its practical use through architectural solutions, history of the complex, his role in development of trade in the city etc. We believe that this kind of approach may lead towards democratization of the knowledge and creation of real identity reference of Belgrade.

Approach may also be useful in scientific research. Digitalization can offer many new solutions especially as an instrument for questioning of validity of documentation.<sup>59</sup> Advantage of digital reconstruction also lies in a fact that rules valid for traditional *in situ* reconstruction are not applicable in the same way to this method. All eventual mistakes can be fixed very easily and it is possible, even desirable integration of new information about the object. This virtual museum would be a living organism and center of interest of many individuals. If this method of analysis and presentation of heritage is shown as successful, it could present a model for preservation of other neglected cultural heritage, which on the Balkans is by no doubt numerous.

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55 He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. Year 1538. (Gospel of Mark, 16:16) Andrejević, *Udeo Mehmed Paše Sokolovića*, 434.

56 This passage is clearly visible on the ground-plan of the complex from the Italian plan.

57 Travelers mentioned that caravanserai was built with the combination of stone and brick and in „Roman style“. Matković, *Putopis Stjepana Gerlacha*, 15-16; Matković, *Opis putovanja dvaju carskih*, 215.

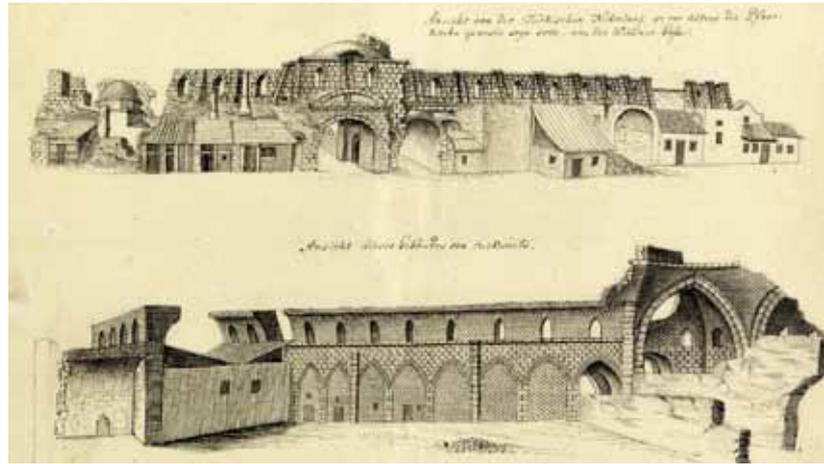
58 Complex of stables is drawn on Gump's plan, and it was also mentioned by Stephan Gerlach and Evliya Çelebi. Matković, *Putopis Stjepana Gerlacha*, 55; Čelebija, *Putopis*, 99.

59 Computer software which is being used for the construction of 3D models can detect irregularities and mistakes in the documentation such as an inappropriate dimensions and construction system etc.

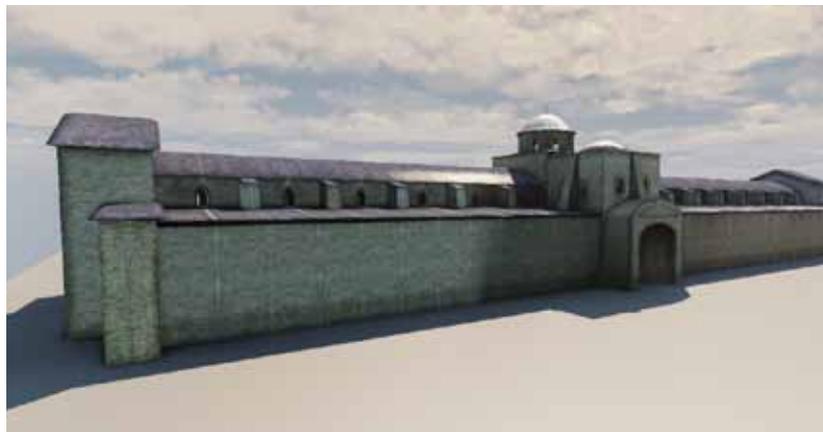
## Illustrations



Picture 01. Digital reconstruction of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha bedesten and caravanserai



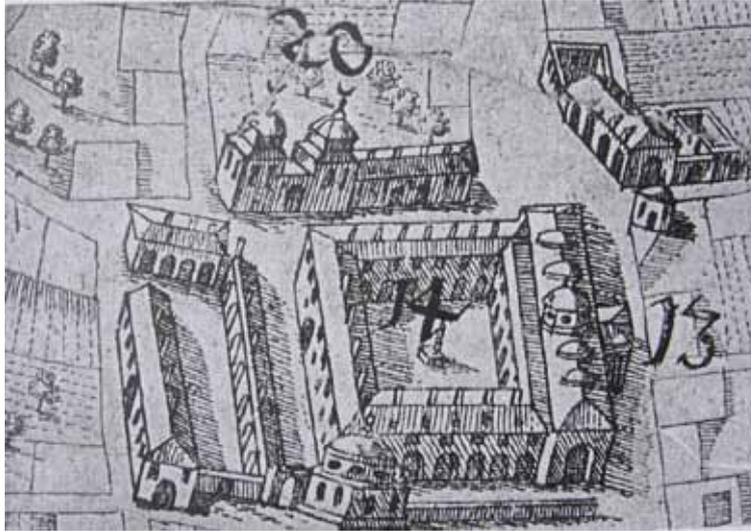
Picture 02. Drawing of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha bedesten, National museum in Budapest T.59.



Picture 03. Digital reconstruction of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha bedesten



Ottoman Belgrade on the plan of Johan Baptista Gump, 1688



Sokollu Mehmed Pasha caravanserai Complex of caravanserai,  
1688 (J.B. Gump plan National library of Serbia)

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**Vladimir Božinović**, graduated art historian, master student of museology on Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade, Serbia

e-mail: vladimirbozinovic@hotmail.com

**Viktor Popović**, graduated art historian, Belgrade, Serbia

e-mail: viktor.popovic.1982@gmail.com